Museums in the Making - Emerging Modalities in East African Independent Museums

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Dedication

For my father

‘I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul’ – William Ernest Henley.

For my mother

Who taught me the power of education and instilled my love for culture.

Abstract

This research focuses on emerging independent museums in Kenya and Uganda, established since the 2000s, and the particular ways in which they are conceptualised in their east African context. It considers how museum-makers adapt and re-interpret the idea of a museum, reconfiguring the museum as a continuous process of translation that is fluid and changeable. While incorporating characteristics of 'museumness', such as the museum as knowledge repository, as a social technology and as a political entity, the independent museums are made up of several modalities at any point in time. They function as more than physical spaces and collections of material culture through the involvement of communities, the emphasis on larger cultural narratives and the utilisation of the museum as a vehicle for ethnic identity and visibility.

The thesis further investigates the ways in which east African independent museums are shaped by their relationships with national and international heritage actors. These larger networks of NGOs, national authorities and global organisations, such as ICOM and UNESCO, influence the on-going translation of the museum concept through the dissemination of a pervasive heritage and development discourse. Local to global interactions take place in the inverted 'zone of contact', where independent museums, located in the periphery, engage with international organisations in the centre, impacting upon thinking on museum development, standards and professionalism. As part of these negotiations, museum-makers conceive of their independent museums as nexuses of a rich cultural past and a prosperous future as well as potential instruments for social, economic and political recognition in the present.

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List of Abbreviations

ACPM	Abasuba Community Peace Museum
AFRICOM	International Council of African Museums
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
APMHS	African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies
BMAP	British Museum Africa Programme
CCFU	Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMK	Community Museums of Kenya
CHDA	Centre for Heritage Development in Africa
CPM	Community Peace Museum
CPMHF	Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation
CPMP	Community Peace Museum Programme
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
EANHS	East Africa Natural History Society
EAUNHS	East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society
EPA	L'École du Patrimoine Africain
GEAP	Getty East Africa Programme
HEP	Heritage Education Programme
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council of Museums
IDP	Internally Displaced People camp
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MAAC	Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

MAMA	Museum Association of Middle Africa
MATA	Museum Association of Tropical Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
NMPDC	National Memory and Peace Documentation Centre
NNM	Nairobi National Museum
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PCF	Prince Claus Fund
PREMA	Prevention in Museums in Africa programme
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics
SWAMP	Swedish-African Museum Programme
TARA	Trust for African Rock Art
TTF	Tourism Trust Fund
UCOMA	Uganda Community Museums Association
UM	Uganda Museum
UNM	Uganda National Museum
UNATCOM	Uganda National Commission for UNESCO
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WAMP	West African Museums Programme
WCCD	World Commission on Culture and Development

Preface

The fundaments for this thesis were laid in 2005, in the first year of my undergraduate degree at University College Utrecht in the Netherlands. While stumbling upon a summer course in Museum Studies taught by Dr Mary Bouquet I discovered that this field brought together everything that interested me; anthropology, art history and history. However, I soon became fascinated with the museum as an institution in society and the social, political and cultural implications of collections, buildings and exhibitions. Having found my academic interest, I pursued a MA degree in Museum Studies at the Institute of Archaeology of University College London in 2008 -2009 where my knowledge of museum theory and practice, of the United Kingdom in particular, was greatly enhanced. By a stroke of luck, Mieke Oldenburg of the UNESCO Mozambique office in Maputo advertised an internship in a Mozambican museum directly after finishing the Master's course. I was accepted as one of four interns and stationed at the Museu Nacional de Arte in Maputo for seven months. The intense whirlwind experience which saw me immersed in urban life on the African continent, working in an exciting contemporary arts scene and learning Portuguese, inspired in me a lifelong love for Africa which has not been diminished so far.

When I got the chance to return to Africa in 2011 to work at the Sierra Leone National Museum in Freetown for six months I was delighted and immediately packed my bags. Although living in this post-conflict and struggling country was a challenge, the digitisation of the collection of the museum taught me much about West African collections and some of the most pertinent issues in the African heritage sector. Back in the Netherlands, I endeavoured to work as closely as possible with these kinds of heritage topics; heritage for development, identity and education, heritage preservation and protection, and of course, museums. However, the next opportunity to really engage with these questions came when I returned to the United Kingdom in 2013 and started working at the British Museum, and briefly, the Horniman Museum in London. Julie Hudson's support when I first formed the idea to apply for a PhD position and her introduction to the Sainsbury Research Unit and to Professor John Mack proved a brilliant move and set me on the path that I am now on. Furthermore, the opportunity offered to work for the British Museum Africa Programme in early 2014 allowed me in many ways to already start my research and gave me the opportunity to add another African country to my growing list; Lagos, Nigeria.

Travelling, researching and working in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have been an invaluable experience and have shaped, and probably will continue to shape, my thinking on museums for a while to come. I was already, and have remained throughout this research, passionate about African museums and the wealth and potential of recognising and celebrating all forms of heritage and culture. I look forward to a continuing engagement with museums and heritage on the African continent for many years to come, contributing to both museum theory and practice, using the knowledge, skills and ideas that I have accumulated over the past ten years with the help and support of numerous kind people.

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First of all, this doctoral research was made possible by the generous funding provided by the Reiman – de Bas Fund, which is part of the Prince Bernhard Culture Fund in the Netherlands, who supported the first year of my research. In subsequent years, several Sainsbury Research Unit grants enabled me to continue studying, carry out fieldwork and present my work at conferences. I am very grateful to both of them for offering me the opportunity to conduct my PhD research at the University of East Anglia. My sincere thanks also go to the National Museums of Kenya and the Uganda National Museum for granting me research permits and allowing me to conduct research in these countries.

My PhD research has been a journey, in the literal and figurative sense, and there are many people who travelled with me for longer and shorter periods to whom I am very grateful. Having joked in several instances that the research was in many ways the least stressful part of my life, I can honestly say that this has been (mostly) true and that I have felt privileged to be able to do this research. I have received so much kindness from everyone I know and from many strangers who I have encountered in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and even though I cannot thank all of them, the reader should know that many people have contributed to the final result in many ways.

I have thoroughly enjoyed the whole process from fieldwork to writing, from getting back into academia to presenting at conferences, and this is mostly due to the support that has been given to me. First of all, I want to thank my excellent supervisors, Professor John Mack and Professor Anne Haour, to whose wisdom, calm and expertise I can only aspire and I am grateful that they have given me confidence in my own abilities. Apart from their professorial qualities, their advice will be useful for years to come, especially John's 'just get on with it' and Anne's 'I'm sure it will be fine' will help me face any conceivable obstacle.

This thesis would not be in front of you without the support from the former and present SRU and Arts crew: Fiona, Karen, Ed and Jack for their sound advice at different stages of the research, Annalisa for making awesome maps, Lynne for proofreading various earlier versions of chapters, Pat for her thorough bibliography check, and Lisa, Laura and Jeremy for their indispensable assistance as the pillars of the institute. Last but not least, Beverley's crash course in UEA bureaucracy and diplomacy served me well throughout my time in Norwich, and I would probably not have made it out of the SCVA (again both literally and figuratively) without the banter from the gallery assistants; a sincere thank you to everyone.

In Kenya I owe much to Dr Kiprop Lagat, who was instrumental in connecting me with the right people. I am very appreciative of those who lend me their time and agreed to an interview and I am grateful for the welcome I received in Kisumu from the National Museums of Kenya – Western Region staff. I want to thank the people at the Abasuba Community Museum, Emmanuel Obonyo and Paul Simba in particular, for their assistance and knowledge as well as the people from Mfangano Island Beach Club who took care of me as if I was family. My thanks also go to the British Institute in Eastern Africa and everyone I met there during my stay in Nairobi for the hospitality, network and opportunities they offered. In Uganda, Nelson Abiti generously provided me with contacts and advice, and he continues to be a true 'conference comrade', thank you very much. Again, I was amazed by everyone's willingness to be interviewed, the warm welcome at the Uganda National Museum and the generosity of the AVSI guesthouse people in Kitgum and the Fat Cat hostel in Kampala. There are many, many other people who assisted me in big and small ways during my stay in eastern Africa and I would have been lost (literally) without the kindness and friendship from those who crossed my path. Most of all, I would like to thank the museum-makers in Kenya and Uganda, especially Jack Obonyo and Peter Oloya, for allowing me to do research in their museums. I hope that this thesis will go some way to give visibility to the important work that independent museum-makers do.

To my fellow PhD friends and colleagues, with whom I shared existential crises, lunches and pizza: Giulia, Amy, Sylvia, Rachel, Maja, Alex, Cléa, Rania, Craig, Miriana, Shiura, Agata, Rachel, Will, Becky, Manu, and all others who I've found on the mezzanine over the past three years: thanks for sharing the Norwich experience! Special mention is deserved by my current housemates, Francesca and Amélie; thank you for sticking it out with me 24/7 and giving me food, and by Nikki, who somehow still wanted to do a PhD on museums and Africa after living with me for a year. Some people have been travelling with me since I first started to talk about museums overly passionately; Amber, Anouk and Sanne, you are my sisters by choice and I am grateful for our friendship. My friends from home, Ana, Hanneke, Danique and Esther, you have been around for so long and I am grateful for always being able to return to the Netherlands and just pick up where we left off.

Finally, there is no right word to describe how grateful I feel for my family; their unwavering faith in me and their invaluable support cannot be measured (however, without Marissa's formatting skills the list of contents would not have looked as fancy as it looks now). For lack of a better way to express myself: thank you!

Introduction

1. Rationale

> 'I see Africa as a catalyst in museum development as we enter the new millennium, for she remains the virgin who can still give birth to ideas that will lead to the development of new museum models which will be both challenging and exciting.' - Emmanuel Nnakenyi Arinze, 1998, 37.

This sentiment, expressed by one of the foremost champions of museums on the African continent, is an excellent starting point for this thesis and part of its motivation. The aim is to shine a spotlight on recent developments in Kenya and Uganda and the interesting ways in which the idea of the museum is interpreted and repurposed to various ends. While doing so, this research will also address a number of the challenges and obstacles faced by these museums and their makers, but I believe that thorough critical analysis and constructive feedback are imperative to contribute to moving thinking on, and practice in, African museums forward. Indeed, to appreciate these emergent phenomena is not the same as being blind to their complexities, and different facets of the museums will come to the fore in the course of this thesis. With that in mind, the introduction will answer the necessary questions of why, what, when, how and where this research was conducted before the full literature review and analytical framework of this thesis are presented in Chapter 1.

2. Why this Research? Contribution and Context

This research began out of a general interest in museums on the African continent and the question of why an institution that is associated with colonial legacies and academic elites is regaining traction in some countries in Africa in a very different form and environment. Although this development is not unique to Africa and can be seen as part of larger, global movements already identified in the edited volume *Museum Frictions* in 2006, the independent museums - initiatives from citizens - that are being established in Kenya and Uganda are unprecedented (Karp, Kratz et al.). Indeed, '[…] citizens' engagement with local heritage and history […]' in east Africa is identified by Hughes and Fouéré as '[…] one of the most significant developments since the mid-1990s, particularly in Kenya […]' (2015, 548). And even though the function, meaning and role of museums has been examined before, the

particular context, time and place explored in this research, offer new perspectives on older themes and enrich the current literature. Rather than taking one particular museum definition as a starting point for this thesis, I chose to forego the assumed meanings of the concept and accept the definitions that were offered by those interviewed, as well as the many people I interacted with during my stays in Kenya and Uganda. It was important for the research that everything that is described as a museum was accepted as such, in order to validate people's own interpretation of the concept. Another original element of this research is its comparison of museums in two different countries: most studies tend to hone in on one institution, exhibition or theme, and literature tends to cite museums only as examples to illustrate larger narratives and support broader arguments. By contrast, this thesis puts museums front and centre, because they are considered to be worthy of examination in their own right and this comparative research has a museum case study in each country at its core. It allows for greater visibility of transnational patterns: the influence of current discourse on museums and heritage, and similarities and differences in museum roles, functions and practice. This approach inevitably means that less space is assigned to each of the two case studies but considering the smaller size of the independent museums the individual chapters dedicated to each museum give an in-depth analysis which strengthens the overall research. Each case study has its own specificities but, as will become clear, on the whole they share many commonalities which enable connections to be made that can be extrapolated to describe larger frameworks present in east Africa. Overall, the subject matter and the type of approach ensure that the research provides new insight into local and global museological developments. The timeframe of the research is contemporary; it looks at museums established since the 2000s up to the present moment and the contemporary ideologies accompanying this growth. It further consolidates this thesis' place as part of a growing body of work on African museums and heritage, which is detailed below, as well as its relevance for policy- and museum-makers on various levels.

2.1 Contribution to African Museology

This thesis is located purposefully in the discipline of museum studies, an interdisciplinary field that is still expanding, and is, in the view of this author, a dynamic area in current academia as evidenced by, for example, the four edited volumes titled *International Handbooks of Museums* that came out in 2015 (Macdonald & Leahy). One of the strengths of this field, which also encompasses heritage studies, material culture studies and related

disciplines, is the integration of practice with theory. This research has been carried out with that symbiosis in mind: while grounded in the daily realities of independent museums in east Africa, it also critically engages with museum and heritage theories and shows how heritage and development discourse significantly impacts museums. Merging theory with practice opens up numerous possibilities for museum realities to influence critical discourse and vice versa and this is one of the greatest strengths of museum studies, to which this thesis endeavours to make a contribution. As such, the analytical framework of this thesis, which will be outlined in the following chapter, draws almost exclusively on museological theory, a conscious choice that shows the strength of the literature available in contemporary museum and heritage studies.

Within the sub-discipline of African museology, there have been a number of recent publications and theses that point towards a renewed interest in the subject concurrent with the growth of the entire heritage sector on the continent. In the United Kingdom alone there are a number of recent theses on museum developments in different parts of Africa conducted by Sarah Longair (2012), Sophie Mew (2012), and Johanna Zetterstrom-Sharp (2012) with several others in preparation. There have been a few edited volumes on heritage and museums in Africa such as *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* by Ferdinand de Jong and Michael Rowlands (2007), *Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Africa* by Kenji Yoshida and John Mack (2008), and *The Politics of Heritage in Africa* edited by Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua and Ciraj Rassool (2015). More specifically focused on museums, research has been published on West Africa by Claude Ardouin and Emmanuel Arinze in various edited volumes with *Museums & the Community in West Africa* of particular relevance for this research (1995, 1997, 2001). Other studies include Nuno Porto's work done on the Dundo Museum in Angola (see for example 2001), Mary Jo Arnoldi on the national museum in Mali (1999), Alice Bellagamba on the Gambia (2006), Paul Basu on museum policy in Sierra Leone (2008, 2012), Rowlands on the national museum in Liberia (2008) and museums and display in Cameroon (2011), a country also studied by Evelyn Tegomoh (2007). The museums in Ghana have received considerable scholarly attention from Enid Schildkrout (1999), Mark Crinson (2001), Arianna Fogelman (2008), and Kwame Amoah Labi (2008). South Africa is also relatively well covered, with a book by Annie Coombes (2003) and many contributions on the District Six Museum in Cape Town by Ciraj Rassool (see for example 2001, 2007) and Leslie Witz on the Migrant Labour Museum (2011, 2013), among other authors. This list is not exhaustive and does not include papers presented at conferences, workshops and symposia, nor the considerable number of articles appearing

in professional journals such as *Museum International* (see for example Abungu, 2001). In east Africa, studies on museums are fewer but can be found on Ethiopia (Tarsitani, 2011), Rwanda (De Becker, 2016) and Tanzania (Longair, 2015) but although other heritage topics are often explored, extensive research on museums *per se* remains limited and is often focused on state museums in particular. In Kenya for example, pieces on the national museums have been written by Idle Farah on the state of the National Museums of Kenya (2006), Edward Luby, Isaya Onjala and Daniel Kibet arap Mitei on intangible cultural heritage at the Kisumu Museum (2017) and Kiprop Lagat has recently discussed nationhood in the National Museum in Nairobi (2017).

The authors of the relevant book *Managing Heritage, Making Peace: History, Identity and Memory in Contemporary Kenya* (Coombes, Hughes and Karega-Munene, 2014), on contemporary heritage developments in Kenya, also edited an insightful special issue of the journal of African Studies in 2011 which deliberated on heritage 'civil society-led initiatives' (2011a; 2011b, 176). Significantly, they stated that: 'In particular, community-driven heritage initiatives that have sprung up since the mid-1990s have received no scholarly attention until now.' (2011b, 177). Indeed, with the exception of Sultan Somjee's writings on Community Peace Museums (1997, 2014) this research is one of the few to analyse the state of independent museums in Kenya and one of the first to investigate this emerging phenomenon in Uganda. While John Giblin (2014) has written on Ugandan post-conflict heritage and Kigongo and Reid (2007) have focused on the Kasubi tombs, they do not prioritise museums. An unpublished PhD thesis written by Susan Plumb (2002) investigated the Uganda National Museum and recently Derek Peterson has been analysing its history and development (2015, 2016). But the only article published on Uganda's independent museums, which appeared in *Museum International* in 2016, was written by a staff member of the NGO involved with the museums and did not comprise an in-depth analysis (Ssenyonga). One of the most informative articles on independent museums in east Africa, titled 'Heritage and Memory in East Africa Today', gives a broad overview of the current issues pertaining to 'private museums' and 'community museums' (Fouéré & Hughes, 2015, 549 –550). While they briefly touch upon some of the broader museological trends, this research provides a more elaborate and in-depth analysis of some of the arguments presented there.

As can be gleaned from the above, despite a recent proliferation of studies on museums in Africa more generally, the in-depth consideration of independent museums in east Africa is still limited and under-researched. Especially compared to what has been written about

museums in other parts of the world and even if the wider literature on African heritage is taken into account. Furthermore, very few analyses engage with the museum concept in and of itself, something which this research has intended to achieve. This thesis therefore deliberately uses different museological theories to examine the east African situation and proposes some amendments to them where this is more appropriate to the context. This broader analytical framework that underpins the thesis can be found in Chapter 1: Placing East African Independent Museums in Current Museological Theory.

2.2 Independent Museums

The decision was made to use the term 'independent museum' to describe the subjects of this study. Pape Toumani Ndiaye states: 'An independent museum is an institution conceived and managed by a community or a foundation, endowed with legal and corporate personality, managing its own financial resources and organising its services in a structure distinct from the State, run by individuals directly appointed by the people or foundation concerned.' (1995, 60). Toumani Ndiaye's definition is useful because it is quite broad and takes into account the variety of museums in the region; but it is certainly not the only correct term to describe them. These museums are often called local museums, community museums, civic museums, non-state museums among other terms, and these denominations are used throughout the thesis where appropriate. Among the diversity of these recently established, often local, mostly community, museums the one factor that unites them is that they have not been started by the state, and are therefore independent from government, although as will be shown in the thesis they still interact with, and are affected by, government policy. Within this framework all the institutions call themselves 'museum', but they can be owned privately, by one individual, or by universities, communities, women's associations, church organisations, or families. They are all non-profit and have some kind of collection (sometimes intangible, sometimes in a suitcase) and usually possess a space to engage with the public (although this may be a landscape in some cases).

2.3 East African Focus

Considering the continent-wide changes and innovations taking place in the area of heritage the choice for east Africa may seem arbitrary. However, the opportunity to look at a wave of newly established independent museums (instead of one particular museum) appears to be

quite rare; the only similar phenomenon would be the Culture Banks in West Africa, that have re-interpreted the relation to, and value of, artefacts threatened by looting (Crosby, 2015). The manner in which the independent museums raise questions about the nature of the museum allows for this research to explore what a museum is in two post-colonial, post-conflict, globalising African countries with growing economies and changing social and cultural fabrics. Apart from practical concerns related to language, safety and ease of access, Kenya and Uganda are two of the few countries in east Africa where there is civic space for these initiatives to grow: Fouéré and Hughes state that '[I]n countries where power remains centralised and national building is still viewed as the product of top-down unification through standardisation rather than the recognition of diversity, like in Tanzania, or where the government is highly autocratic, notably Rwanda, the incidence of civil society-led heritage initiatives is markedly less important, not to mention countries where conflict continues, like South Sudan.' (2015, 549).

This confirms the case for Kenya and Uganda as the most suitable places to investigate one of the most interesting current developments on the continent: independent museums. In both countries a case study museum was identified with help from knowledgeable informants, after which contact was made with the museum-maker and permission was sought to conduct research for a month. In Kenya, the Abasuba Community Peace Museum on Mfangano Island in Lake Victoria was selected for its multi-faceted mission as a Community Peace Museum and as a place where the indigenous language of the Abasuba is preserved, but also for its strong focus on tourism. In Uganda, the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture nearby Kitgum was chosen for the opportunity to witness a museum space and collection under construction in a post-conflict setting. Both museums are part of larger museum associations and are, to an extent, representative of the museums united under these organisations.

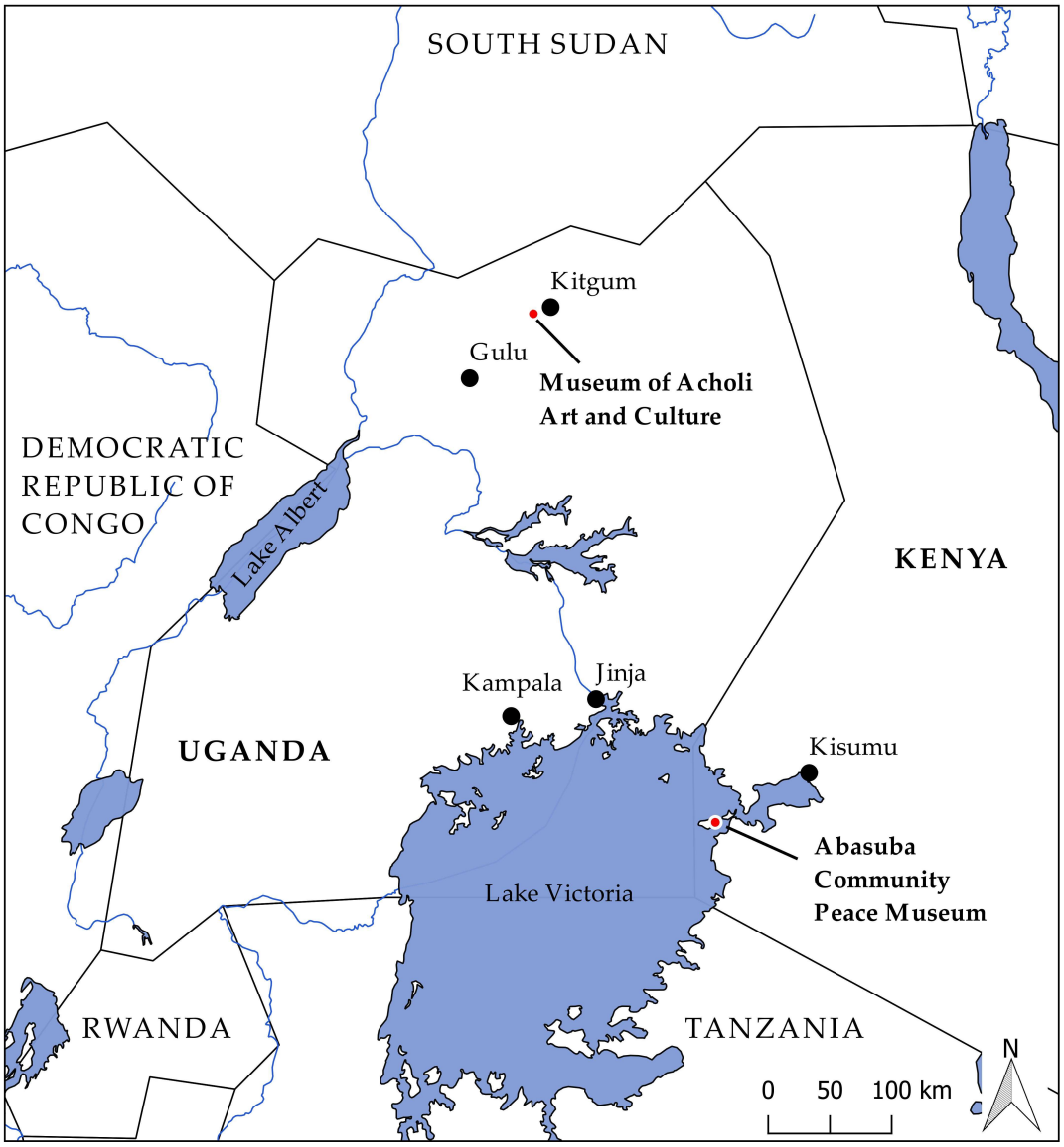

Figure 1: Locations of the case study museums in Kenya and Uganda.

3. What is the Research about?

3.1 Research Questions

In summary, this research focuses specifically on independent museums in Kenya and Uganda and the particular ways in which they are emerging, established and conceptualised while adapting and re-interpreting the museum idea. It investigates the ways in which they are shaped by their local context and relations with national and international stakeholders; how do these smaller and larger networks of heritage actors influence these processes of change and translation of the museum concept?

The following research questions are designed to enable this dynamic, complex and fluid situation to be analysed in a comprehensive way:

1. Why has there been an increase in independent museums in east Africa since the 2000s and what do the selected case studies tell us about this development?
2. How are these independent museums conceptualised in the context of the local and national museum and heritage sector?
3. How are independent east African museums shaped and influenced by local, national and international networks?
4. How do independent east African museums relate to current heritage and development discourse?

The first two questions look at how independent museums, and the selected case study museums in particular, are translating the concept of a museum and adapting it to the circumstances in which they are established. It will be considered how the museum-makers at the case studies and other museums create museum spaces, collections and displays to meet their goals and visions for the institutions. In addition, the loaded concept of community will be explored in each case, raising issues pertaining to the political, social and economic role of the museum in a local environment. Furthermore, the local and national museum field will be described to understand the context in which independent museums are emerging. This leads to the last two questions which are concerned with the national and international networks of the independent museums represented by governments, NGOs and transnational organisations. The environment in which all these actors operate is examined for how it disseminates a pervasive and dominant heritage and development discourse that heavily influences current museum developments and promotes the museum as development in and of itself. It will become evident that the emergence of independent museums in east Africa is part of global movements, but that nevertheless these museums adapt and adopt different aspects of museum models in continuous processes of change.

3.2 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 – Placing East African Independent Museums in Current Museological Theory lays down the fundaments for the analysis of the museums in Kenya and Uganda. It looks at how the concept of the museum can be, and has been, approached in museum literature and proposes some adaptations to theoretical configurations for thinking about the developments in east Africa.

With this analytical framework in mind Chapter 2 – Museum Modalities in East Africa: Past and Present will describe the histories of museums in both countries with the emphasis on national museums. Their colonial and post-Independence trajectories provide insights into early museological thinking while the subsequent account of the present situation of both state and non-state museums sets the scene against which independent museums are being established.

This leads into Chapter 3 – Kenya: The Abasuba Community Peace Museum, which presents the first case study of an independent museum located on Mfangano Island in Lake Victoria, where a number of the themes surveyed in Chapter 1, such as the museum's space, and its social and political role, will be made tangible through concrete examples.

Chapter 4 – Uganda: The Museum of Acholi Art and Culture presents the next case museum which is located in a building that is still under construction on a site near Kitgum, in northern Uganda. It further contextualises theoretical issues of collecting, materiality and community also addressed in the Kenyan case and elaborates on the arguments put forward to answer the research questions.

Chapter 5 – International Heritage and Development Discourse: Local Museums - Global Networks then compares the museums' transnational networks and the ways in which these relations impact their formation by questioning the juxtaposition of local versus global, and the mechanisms inherent in the current heritage and development discourse.

Finally, Chapter 6 - Processes of Translation: Independent Museums as Living Museums will bring together a number of strands that have come to the fore in the previous chapters and examine the present and future of the independent museums in Kenya and Uganda.

A concluding statement then summarises the findings of this research, identifies how these east African developments fit into worldwide trends and makes recommendations for possibilities of future research.

Each chapter corresponds to its counterpart; Chapter 1 and Chapter 6 respectively introduce and conclude the analytical framework and theoretical themes of this thesis, Chapter 2 looks at museum histories and the current situation on a national level while the argument in Chapter 5 focuses on international networks and the accompanying impacts on independent museums. At the literal and figurative heart of the thesis are Chapters 3 and 4, which pertain to museological developments in Kenya and Uganda respectively.

4. When & How - Methodology and Discussion

4.1 Field Research

Although the field research started in January 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya, the preparations had begun even before the start of the PhD study in September 2014. While working for the British Museum Africa Programme between April and August 2014, I was introduced to Jack Obonyo, the curator of the Abasuba Community Peace Museum, as well as Ray Balongo and Juma Ondeng of the National Museums of Kenya, who I met again during the research. In 2014, at the Sainsbury Research Unit (SRU) in Norwich I also met Nelson Abiti, current Head Conservator of the Uganda National Museum, who was doing the MA degree in the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the time, and Dr Kiprop Lagat (a former PhD student at the SRU), who spoke at the SRU 25th Anniversary Symposium; each of them have been extremely generous with their time, advice and contacts during my time in Kenya and Uganda and were instrumental to the success of this thesis.

Fieldwork is a term with which I am slightly uncomfortable, since it suggests a rigid distinction between 'the field' and the 'non-field' and it is often interpreted as a long-term stay leading to an ethnographic study, neither of which was the case for this research. For want of a better term however, field research somewhat describes the manner of data collection that I undertook for three months in each country. The first research trip took place in Kenya from 6 January 2016 to 28 March 2016. About one month was spent interviewing people and visiting museums in Nairobi, then another was filled with travelling around the country, finishing in Kisumu. From 24 February to 26 March I stayed on Mfangano Island, researching the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM). Subsequently, I carried out an informative museum consultancy in Iringa, Tanzania, which did not form part of the research but was helpful in understanding the movements and developments in the heritage field in eastern Africa more generally. I made two trips, each of two weeks, one in October 2015 and the second in April 2016. From 12 May to 2 August 2016 I stayed in Uganda, again with the first month in Kampala to visit museums and interview various heritage and museum actors, the second travelling around the country to visit other independent museums and the last, from 24 June to 25 July in and around Kitgum, with the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture (MAAC). Details of all visits and interviews that were made can be found as appendices at the end of this thesis.

4.2 Museum Ethnography

The literature on doing ethnography in the museum is extensive (see for example Bouquet, 2001, 2012; Kreps, 2003, 2008) and although long-term immersive field research was not possible due to time and financial constraints, it still retains the most essential element of ethnographic research described by Mary Bouquet as: 'a way of exploring social relations and cultural meanings in all their complexity at a particular time and in a particular place or places.' (2012, 94). She further propounds the concept of museum ethnography where '[E]thnography can thus be engaged for looking into and contextualizing museum activities, both on- and offstage, on- and off-site. The ethnographer looks, with varying degrees of engagement in the process under way, at constructions of the past, present and the future; at plans and visions and what actually happens; and at the negotiations taking place.' (2012, 99/100). It is this type of research and daily engagement with the case studies that was planned for the research, using participant observation and interviews, as well as methods based on museum visitor studies such as questionnaires and evaluations. While the first two methods became the main sources of data for this research, I was not able to employ the latter, mainly for lack of visitors and staff, and periods of inactivity in the chosen museums.

Even more than anticipated, the museums are reliant on motivated individuals for visitor access and events in the museum. The nature of the museums, and the pressure on museum-makers to manage the museum and provide for their families, meant that in both case studies the engagement with the museum-makers was more limited than anticipated. Although both agreed to long, extensive interviews I was only able to interview the ACPM museum-maker once and the MAAC museum-maker thrice. Rather than intensive time spent with a few individuals, I opted for a tactic where I interviewed many professionals working in the heritage and museum field in each country, concluding the interview series with two heritage professionals in the Netherlands. This broad approach encompassed people on all levels involved with museum work; local, national and international, and from different backgrounds, which enabled me to construct the analysis that forms the core of this thesis. Due to the time restraints of the research - one month of fieldwork at each case museum - my engagement with people outside of the museums was limited and I could not delve into the perspectives of various community groups, such as women and youth, in depth. This may be an avenue that can be explored in future research. All interviews were held in English with the exception of the Dutch interviewees and Chief (*rwot*) Oceng of Labongo, for which Alfred Okot Moon was kind enough to translate between Luo and English. The interviews were conversations with open-ended questions that lasted approximately one to two hours

maximum and would be recorded only if the interviewee gave permission to do so. On several occasions interviews were conducted with more than one person at the same time. For example, I interviewed the directors of the Trust for African Rock Art (TARA) and the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU) together, leading to an open-ended dialogue. In a few other cases I interviewed a group of people, such as the Suba and Mfangano Elders, and this context is mentioned in the relevant parts of the thesis. In a number of instances, more informal conversations yielded data where only notes were taken but consent was always asked to ensure all information was given freely, and where this occurred they are referred to in the text as 'conversations'. Two informal group conversations took place during fieldwork; the first in Kenya with some participants at the Bridging Ages workshop at Kisumu Museum on 20 February 2016 and the second in Uganda with students of the Kitgum Comprehensive College Heritage Club on 14 July 2016. Both these occasions are listed as 'visits' in appendix B but are described in the relevant sections of the thesis. Where consent was given to use a person's name they are cited in the thesis, where this was not the case their information and citations have been anonymised. All the research was conducted within the terms of UEA's ethical policies.

Doing museum ethnography as a museum professional, I expected that it would include a certain level of involvement with museum practice, and it was a conscious choice to immerse myself in this manner and become part of the very network of external impacts that form part of this research. As such, I offered to write a funding proposal to a European embassy fund for the ACPM museum-maker which he accepted, and, although it was not submitted in the end, it was a very informative process. This situation, of being a participant in museum development projects has been described by Basu and Modest: '[…] they are not merely neutral agents enabling local communities to bring about their own 'indigenous' museum visions; there is, rather, an acceptance that the very idea of a museum carries a colonial baggage, as does their own participation in the projects as foreign experts of one kind or another' (2015, 21). Indeed, my previous knowledge of museums may have influenced expectations and interactions at certain times, especially since I was not usually able to deliver the benefits associated with international expertise. This mechanism in itself found its way into the thesis as a discussion of international museum training programmes and their impact on museum developments in eastern Africa. At all times I aimed to adapt Kreps' approach of 'appropriate museology' (2008, 26) to the aims of fieldwork which comprises of respecting local and cultural knowledge, understanding the socioeconomic conditions and meeting the interests of the museum and community - in other words, using common sense

and respecting human dignity and varying perspectives. In this research, my involvement with the case studies and familiarity with the museum context informed the data gathered and the writing up of the final product. It has been inspired by Loïc Wacquant's ethnography of the pugilistic habitus in a ghetto in Chicago who, while actively participating in the pugilistic practice, examined the space of the boxing gym and the habitus created by and for this environment (2004).

4.3 Discussion

Owing to the methodology used, there is no way in which the researcher as an individual can be removed from the research context. Most challenging during the field research was my position as a young (unmarried) woman in environments where these characteristics place one low in the hierarchy despite academic credentials, particularly because most of those interviewed were male. It did influence the way in which some interviews were conducted, but it did not have a major impact on the type of information shared. This part of my identity also placed some limitations on modes of travel; I did not travel at night or without considerable preparation, leading to a lower number of museum visits in Kenya than initially planned. Of importance also is my position as a foreigner in both countries which affected me in both positive and negative ways. As an outsider, it can be easier to discuss sensitive internal organisational matters that people cannot speak about with their colleagues, but I have to acknowledge that there may have been limits to the depth of understanding of social, cultural and economic situations. Despite learning some words in Swahili, Suba and Luo, I cannot claim any fluency in these languages and this too may have led to a loss of nuance or detail in some cases. In the end, it is the person interviewed who decides to share a certain perspective and construct a story and my identity as a white, Dutch, female museum professional and PhD student is likely to have had an impact on what was shared with me. All these elements were important to consider when writing up the research and will be important to keep in mind when reading this thesis.

5. Where - Brief Introduction to Kenya and Uganda

Two countries in east Africa form the core of this research; Kenya and Uganda. The decision was made to use the terms east and eastern Africa interchangeably and without capitalisations. This is primarily because both terms are often used for a collection of

countries and regions, depending on how one wants to define the region, and thus it does not denote one 'East Africa'. The other reason is that discussing Kenya and Uganda as East Africa recalls colonial uses of these words in relation to the past of each of the countries; something that should be avoided. Although the specific histories of museums in each country will be covered in Chapter 2, this section will give some basic information that will enable the reader to form a more general understanding of Kenya and Uganda.

5.1 Geography

Kenya and Uganda are neighbouring countries, with Uganda lying to the west of its larger neighbour. Kenya measures about 580,000 square km², while Uganda is about 241,000 km².[2] Kenya shares other borders with South Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania, and incorporates an Indian Ocean coastline and a small portion of Lake Victoria. Uganda also shares the Lake's coastline, as well as bordering on Tanzania, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan. The borders in Lake Victoria are contested between the two countries, a fact of which Mfangano Island inhabitants are very aware; they are close to the border but the allegiance of the island itself is not debated. Both countries consist of varied terrain and climate: Kenya has low coastal plains with tropical weather and cool central highlands divided by the Great Rift Valley; the west of the country is fertile, while the north has an arid climate. In Uganda the southwest is bordered by mountains and the majority of the country is situated on a plateau. Most of the country is tropical with two rainy seasons but the north-eastern part is semi-arid (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018a & 2018b). The population of Kenya is around 47 million while Uganda has 40 million inhabitants, although numbers are highest in the southern parts of each country, with dense populations around Lake Victoria and in the capital cities and the coastline in Kenya. The composition of the populations is diverse, a characteristic of many African countries, broadly divided into Bantu, Nilotic, Cushite and Sudanic peoples according to linguistic origins. Kenya has over 70 ethnic groups of which the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin and Kamba make up over 70% of the people (University of Pennsylvania, 2010). In Uganda there are 65 ethnic groups recognised by the National Culture Policy of 2006. But in both countries these numbers are disputed by smaller, unrecognised groups (Uganda Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development,

[2] For this section a number of online sources were used: The Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, the UN Data website and the BBC Country Profile webpages, the numbers given in these sources differ and are therefore approximate.

2006, 36). Although the largest ethnic group in Uganda are the Baganda with around 16%, the other twelve large ethnic groups each make up less than 10 % of the population, with the Acholi constituting 4.4% of all Ugandans, while about 20% of the population is a member of a smaller ethnic group (University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

5.2 History

Historically, the area that would become known as Uganda became a protectorate of Great Britain in 1894 while British East Africa, or Kenya, became a colony with a considerable white settler population. These different colonial systems impacted each country differently and it has resulted in divergent trajectories after Independence. Uganda became independent from Great Britain on 9 October 1962, followed by Kenya on 12 December 1963; but whereas the transition in Uganda was peaceful, the struggle for Independence in Kenya was marred by violence, a period known as the Mau Mau uprising. After Independence, Uganda experienced multiple dictatorial regimes with devastating consequences for the country's social and economic fabric, although relative stability returned after 1986 when the current president, Yoweri Museveni, seized power. Significant for this thesis is the war that raged in northern Uganda from the 1980s until 2008 between the rebel movement, called the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony, and the Ugandan Military Forces. Elections held in 2016 re-elected Museveni, though this outcome was contested by multiple parties. Recently, he removed the 75 years age limit for presidents, suggesting he intends to stay in power for the long-term despite his age. Kenya's struggle for a fair and inclusive democracy has been tainted by inter-ethnic and political violence on several occasions since the 1990s, notably 1992, 1997, and 2007, a fact with which the national and independent museums in Kenya have tried to contend, as will be discussed later. Although the recent elections of 2012 and 2017 were relatively peaceful, the latest appointment of President Uhuru Kenyatta is disputed by Luo supporters of Raila Odinga in western Kenya in particular. Kenya has suffered from multiple terrorist attacks since 1998, with Al Shabaab carrying out several brutal attacks across the country although they are predominantly located in the border area with Somalia. Economically however, Kenya is still regarded as the powerhouse of the region, with an average GDP growth of 5% a year. It is considered a middle-income country although income disparity may obscure the living conditions of remote regions, such as the Suba region which is featured in this work. Uganda has also registered steady economic growth in the last three years but it still lags behind Kenya in terms of purchasing power. According to the Central

Intelligence Agency World Factbook, 71.9% of Ugandans work in agriculture making this the most important economic sector (2018b). With these facts in mind, and the reasons for this doctoral research explained, we can now proceed to the main body of this thesis.

Chapter 1

Placing East African Independent Museums in Current Museological Theory

> 'The 'museum-ness' of museums, then, is a subject which needs to be addressed and theorized in its own right.' – Sharon Macdonald, 2005, 6.

1. Introduction

The research questions motivating this thesis can be broadly divided into two theoretical sections, the first looking inward at what takes place inside museums and the second looking outward from museums, to their local, national and international relations. This is reflected in the analytical foundations of this thesis, as each set of questions deals with aspects of museum development throughout eastern Africa that require a different theoretical approach. Just to reiterate, the first two research questions focus on why the number of museums is growing in Kenya and Uganda, and how these new institutions are conceptualised, putting the theoretical emphasis on what museums are, what their role is and how they function. The last two, which focus on the museums' local, national and international relations and their place within a growing heritage and development framework, require an approach that highlights how museums manage their relations, how their interactions influence the museums' conceptualisation and how the discourses that they operate in and are part of, were shaped over time. To enable the investigation of these queries, this chapter will touch upon fundamental themes in museology, and provide the theoretical framework for the thesis.

2. Museum Definitions, Museum Models

> 'A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and

> its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.' (International Council of Museums [ICOM], 2016a)[3]

The description above is the current definition of a museum according to the International Council of Museums (ICOM). Although they recognise that the definition is constantly evolving, and it has been changed regularly since ICOM's establishment in 1946, varieties of this definition are often cited by academics, policymakers and museums themselves when explaining what a museum is. In practice, the diversity of museums and museum-like institutions and organisations is greater than can be incorporated in the ICOM definition. This has long been recognised by museologists; Duncan Cameron questioned the museum's function in 1971 in his seminal deliberation on *The Museum, a Temple or the Forum* and in her introduction to *Theorizing Museums* in 1996, Sharon Macdonald declared that museum professionals no longer know what a museum is, noting that while their numbers are increasing, they 'are also diversifying in form and content' (1). A number of years later she confirmed this trend: 'just as significant as the expansion in the number of museums was a stretching of their range and variability, including a blurring into other kinds of institution and events.' (Macdonald, 2011, 4/5). Recently, the introduction to *Museum Theory*, one of the four volumes of the *International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, referred to 'the explosion of resources for thinking about museums [.]' and that '[…] museums themselves, which now, more than ever, resist any attempt to generalize what they are and what they might mean, so varied is their practice across the globe […]' (Witcomb & Message, 2015, xlvi). So, to account for the variability found across the world but also to satisfy the perceived need for a museum definition, authors often create their own particular museum model. Cases in point are the endless list of publications that have coined new versions of the museum, attempting to 'remodel' it, such as the poetic museum (Spalding, 2002), the delirious museum (Storrie, 2006), the responsive museum (Lang, Reeve and Woollards eds., 2006), the green museum (Brophy & Wylie, 2013), the interrogative museum (Karp & Kratz, 2015) and the liquid museum (Cameron, 2015). Although they are often valid contributions to literature, the potentially endless variations on the museum model runs the risk of making each one meaningless. One of the more enduring notions that has been mentioned in recent years is the 'post-museum' '[…] as the future, but as yet ill-defined, shape of the museum-to-come' which has 'both shaped, and been shaped by, Western knowledge and continues to change under the influences of post-modernist perspectives and new technologies'

[3] This is the current ICOM definition that was adopted on 24 August 2007. On its website, ICOM emphasises that: 'This definition is a reference in the international community' (ICOM, 2016a).

(Simpson, 2007, 236). Attributed to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, the term 'post-museum' is meant to embody the changes advocated since the 1990s; a move away from objects to people, and a concern for immaterial heritage, community engagement and collaboration, accessibility, diversity and responsiveness: the potential of the post-museum is enormous (Barrett, 2011, 111). This broad concept also suggests that a move away from singular definitions and models is what lies ahead for the future, positing that 'the museum in the future may be imagined as a process or an experience.' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 152). Further confirmation is given once more by Macdonald who sums up the state of museum studies as follows: '[…] a shift to seeing the museum and the meaning of its contents not as fixed and bounded, but as contextual and contingent.' (2011, 3). This will also be the approach of this research; by accepting the ever-increasing diversity of museum forms, including those in east Africa, trying to narrow down the idea of a museum would become a never-ending and futile exercise. Since the museums featured in this thesis challenge the currently accepted models, approaching the subject with any preconceived views would severely limit the scope of the research and its findings. Rather than coining yet another definition or museum model, the unique features of eastern African museums will be discussed on their own merit with the understanding that the idea of the museum is constantly changed and adapted under specific circumstances. Instead of considering museum models, this research will look at modalities, and the ways in which diverse modalities of the museum are incorporated in new conceptualisations of initiatives in Kenya and Uganda.

Thus, the concept of continuous change, or processes, will form one of the foundations of the analysis of the nature of museums in east Africa. Although the museum is often associated with permanence and even stagnation rather than an openness to alteration, this thesis will argue that there are multiple processes to be discerned in independent museums in eastern Africa. As will be demonstrated in detail in the case studies, processes of adaptation and change take place inside the museum, in relation to its collections, its displays and audiences but above and beyond that the independent museum itself can be seen as a continuous process, a fluid concept, or in the theoretical framework proposed by Fiona Cameron, as 'liquid' (2015).

3. Translation in the Museum

But how can a process of contingency and adaptation be understood, especially considering processes of transformation take place on multiple levels within the museum, at different times and with variable outcomes? Taking inspiration from Ray Silverman's edited volume with the apt title *Museum as Process* (2015), a work which uses the concept of translation to analyse museums in Africa and beyond, this work also proposes that translation can be applied in 'talking about the circulation of objects of knowledge […] between cultures and generations' (2015, 4); it provides a framework for thinking through how processes take place in museums.

Translation, and the notion of cultural translation in particular, has been a concept in anthropology, and especially in British social anthropology, since the 1950s, as discussed by Talal Asad who pointed out the embeddedness of power in the academic structure that casts the anthropologist as translator (1986, 164). He also argued that translation is not limited to staying in the same, textual form but implies a new production of form rather than a reproduction (Bouquet, 2001, 194). As translation has been taken up by cultural studies, a broader notion of cultural translation has been advocated by Bhabha (2004) by which, Trivedi explains, 'he does not at all by this term mean literary translation involving two texts in two different languages and cultures […]' (2005). The emphasis on translation as a process takes precedence over translation as a literary exercise. Although there is a wealth of literature in translation studies and beyond that develops the argument that is briefly touched upon above, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine its finer points in detail. The focus will be exclusively on the concept of translation as it is used in museum studies and material culture studies. Indeed, over the past twenty years, translation has been used and broadened in various disciplines related to anthropology and cultural studies, including those concerned with material culture (Glass, 2010). In a report on a colloquium held in 2010 entitled *Materiality and Cultural Translation* it was suggested that translation reflects 'the intensified pressures of globalization, the re-emphasis of cosmopolitan values, and the revival of comparative and 'world' frameworks of study.' (Glass, 2010). With the increased occurrence of the concept also came a diversification of its meaning which is equally visible when translation is applied to the museum, and material culture. The concept will be unpacked briefly below, in the context of the museum, followed by an explanation of how translation-as-process will be applied to this research.

Walter Benjamin states in his influential essay *Task of the Translator* from 1921: 'Translation is a form. To comprehend it as a form, one must go back to the original, for the laws governing the translation lie within the original, contained in the issue of its translatability' (2002, 254). This is the linguistic definition of translation as a process of rendering a source text in another language. When considering translation as a process in the museum however, this movement becomes less straightforward. In using the concept of translation for exhibitions, as Mary Nooter-Roberts (2008) does, or as part of the curatorial process, as John Mack does (2002), there is still an 'original text' that can be pointed towards. In these cases, it is the culture of origin, system of knowledge and context of the objects on the African continent that is referred to. Similarly, Mary Bouquet advocates using the concept of translation to understand exhibition-making processes in all kinds of museums: 'The translation of an exhibition concept into design differs from the translation involved in writing ethnographic texts by drawing on a network of people, skills and objects in a three-dimensional, visual process of meaning making.' (2001, 195). But when translation is employed for representing the continuous processes of change and adaptation of the museum as a whole, the question arises, which 'original' is being referred to? Since it has been established that there is no such thing as a definite museum concept, which original museum model should be considered as the source from which the translation is made, is problematic. A number of possibilities may be considered in terms of 'original museum models', such as the first national museums in Kenya and Uganda, the ICOM definition or the so-called 'modernist museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 151) as well as more universal concepts of collecting and displaying which Kreps has termed 'museological behaviour' (2003). But to attempt to draw lines from these options to African independent museums would require too much poetic licence and therefore be futile, indicating that the concept of translation must be employed otherwise.

In analysing both written ethnography and the anthropological museums as translation, Kate Sturge argues that: '[…] to study museums as translations is not to evaluate faithfulness but to ask how they work in the world as text-like artefacts themselves […]' (2007, 129). This idea is echoed by John Mack who speaks of translation as 'creating relationships' (2002, 197) and the translation process as a 'complex mixing of creative insight, intellectual settling down and articulation.' (2002, 199). For her part, Mary Nooter-Roberts considers translation to be a 'renewal' and a 'stage of continued life' re-emphasising once more that '[T]ranslation is never the sterile equation of two languages.' (2008, 179). Nooter-Roberts posits that translation is essential in the case of African objects and the exhibitions that attempt to present their narratives because both artefact and display are 'objects of knowledge' laden with meaning

(2008, 171). This is also the position taken by Silverman, who puts 'the translation of knowledges that are inscribed upon and around objects that move between museum and community' at the heart of the engagements between museums and communities (2015, 3/4). Translation in the museum sphere is, then, a departure from translation as text/language and an acceptance that material, social and cultural 'things' can be translated. The 2010 colloquium re-emphasised this and categorised translation as interpretation, as transformation, as displacement and in relation to agency (Glass, 2010) showing, as Silverman says, 'the multivalent nature of translation' (2015, 4). As the authors mentioned above, the colloquium was mainly concerned with the translation of material culture, be it artefacts or collections in museological and similar environments. By contrast, this research is concerned with the museum as a whole – which can be considered as an artefact in itself, and will analyse the museum as a process of translation.

3.1 Articulation

Clifford's approach, when theorising 'the complex terrain of contemporary indigeneity', includes museums as one of several 'articulated indigenous traditions' (2004, 158). In using articulation, performance and translation for practising 'realism', he describes these concepts as 'a portable toolkit for thinking non-reductively about social and cultural change' (2013, 45). For analysing independent museums in Kenya and Uganda as social and cultural phenomena, translation is an excellent vehicle because it is possible to apply the concept broadly to multiple processes taking place. Rather than a linear movement from source text to translation, the proposed notion in this thesis is one embodying the complexities of reality. According to Clifford: 'The concept of translation, better than transmission, communication, or mediation, brings out the bumps, losses, and makeshift solutions of social life.' (2013, 48). The strength of approaching translation as 'messy' will become apparent when discussing the achievements and challenges of independent museums in later chapters. In this sense, it is also related to Clifford's use of the term articulation, which highlights the continuous processes of connections and disconnections, inventions and deletions inherent in the processes of development taking place in east Africa. By looking at articulation theory, as Clifford proposes, the notion of culture as a naturally occurring, primordial phenomenon is rejected. As clarified by Rodney Harrison 'the transformation of one aspect of culture […] does not cause the "death" of the "culture-as-organism" but instead is seen as a moment of reassembling or remaking.' (2013a, 11). Articulation theory, coined by Stuart Hall,

emphasises process, assuming that 'cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade' (Clifford, 2001, 479) which is equally helpful in theorising translation as a permanently evolving process. By insisting on the pragmatic and political aspects of articulation and the rejection of the 'invention' of traditions (broadly defined as cultural expressions) and merging them with translation, a broad concept starts to emerge which will be used for this thesis. It moves further away from Benjamin's translator's task of capturing a certain poetic essence and grounds itself in the multiple flows and frictions of processes of change and transformation in museums on different levels and is, above all, concerned with the translations made by a range of different actors.

The notion of actors, or agents, brings up the last point about translation: who are, the translators carrying out the processes of change in east African independent museums? In these cases it is not, as in Asad's analysis, the anthropologist who translates a culture-as-text, nor is it Benjamin's poet (1986; 2002). The 2010 *Materiality and Cultural Translation* colloquium mentioned this question of locating agency and the conceptual grappling with the conventional roles of writer/maker, translator/curator, reader/user/visitor on the one hand, and the multidirectional, non-human agents of actor-network theory and Alfred Gell on the other (Glass, 2010). In museums, Mack and Nooter-Roberts have already identified the important role the curator plays in translation processes as part of exhibition-making, but as will be shown in the selected case studies, there are many more agents involved in the museum as process that take part in translating its modalities.

4. What is the Museum Good For?

Having rejected the notion of one museum definition and explored the ways in which the museum can be viewed as a process of translation, it is now vital to contemplate why it is important to look at museums on the African continent. One of the questions for this research is why museums, of all possible cultural institutions, are being established in east Africa, and what their role and relevance is in contemporary African society. Though the museum has undergone massive transformations over the past thirty years, it is still traditionally associated with elite culture and relative wealth. Moreover, as a modern institution it has been theorised as a disciplining entity, part of the 'exhibitionary complex', fashioning citizens out of the masses while embedded in colonial practices, imperialism and nationalism (see Bennett, 1995; Macdonald & Fyfe, 1996; Mackenzie, 2009). None of these characteristics seem to make the museum a particularly attractive medium for African

individuals interested in preserving and presenting culture. So, on a more general level the questions are: what is it about the museum idea that has changed, and how are these ideas being adapted to fit the demands of the twenty-first century in east Africa? What are museums good for in this environment and time?

For those unfamiliar with both Africa and museological theory, a question that comes to mind is why someone perceived to be living in poverty would be interested in starting, or indeed visiting, a museum. The equation of the museum with wealth and leisure and of people living in the global South with poverty and misery presumes that the two are mutually exclusive. It is an indication of how ingrained Maslow's (often criticised) hierarchy of needs (1943; 1970) is in general thinking, with the assumption that a museum, a self-actualisation need, cannot be fulfilled as long as there are other basic and psychological needs (Mcleod, 2017). It can be argued that in adverse conditions it would be particularly difficult to set up a museum; the museum-maker of the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture acknowledged this himself when he said: 'when you think about survival you cannot think about culture, entertainment; you have to be alive first and be sure of the future.' (Oloya, 2016b). Nevertheless, the current trend for establishing museums discussed in this thesis proves that a hierarchy of needs is not sufficient to explain the developments taking place. In fact, the explanations given for establishing museums come closer to the slogan of the Dutch Prince Claus Fund which states that: 'Culture is a basic need' rather than a luxury product only at home in the global North (Prince Claus Fund, 2017).

In his recent publication *The Return of Curiosity* Nicholas Thomas asked a similar question when discussing Kenyan peace museums: 'Why should a comparatively poor community make the effort to create an institution of this type that is supposedly the bearer of projects of imperial and cultural hegemony?' What, in other words, is the museum good for, in this time and place?' (2016, 56). His book attempts to answer these questions on a broader scale, suggesting that in this case there are two reasons: one being 'museums usually validate what they contain and represent' and, two, that the museum is a place of encounter which sustains and constitutes civil society (2016, 56). While acknowledging these conclusions as part of the analysis of independent museums in east Africa, it does not answer fully the questions that are raised in this research. By taking a more narrowly focused approach, it will delve deeper into the region's particular developments and the conceptualisation of Kenya's and Uganda's museums. What museums are good for is neither answered by placing them at the top of Maslow's pyramid nor by declaring them a basic need, and not even by Thomas' rather generalised statements which prompt a number of other questions. Through this research,

the multiple elements that make up independent museums, their developments and networks will answer the questions posed earlier, including the ever-pressing question of role and relevance. What will follow next aims to contextualise the questions raised in this thesis and place them within current museological theory.

5. Museum Modalities

While it is difficult to pinpoint what a museum *is*, it is significantly easier to identify what a museum *does*. Generally, museum definitions list what museums ought to do, indicating that the functions and roles of the museum are what define it, rather than an innate quality of 'museumness'. To put it differently, instead of recognising a museum model which presumes a circumscribed museum idea, this research proposes that the museum consists of a number of modalities that can be used and adapted to create new forms of museums. In order to understand the full range of what museum modalities entail it necessitates an analysis of common modalities that make up a museum, in preparation for a close examination of the case studies in Kenya and Uganda. Three broad themes will be outlined to set up the analysis of the museums in east Africa; first is the museum as knowledge repository, second the museum as political institution and third is the social role of the museum. All the discourses treated in the themes have come out of museological theory produced since the start of the so-called second museum age which led to a reformulation of many aspects of the museum and ethnographic museums in particular (Phillips, 2005, 83). While the literature mentioned below is a reflection of this new museology that has emerged since the 1990s, this thesis further aims to include, and expand on, current and relevant theories to shed light on the situation in Kenya and Uganda.

5.1 Museums as Knowledge Repository

The history of museums is usually traced to princely collections and cabinets of curiosity before moving to the public museums of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Although the rationale and forms of appearance of these museum models has changed significantly over the centuries, the common denominator was the perception of the museum as an object repository (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). Potential exceptions aside, collections were, up until the second half of the twentieth century, perceived to be the defining element of the museum. Starting in the 1960s, several ICOM and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) meetings placed a larger emphasis

on the museum as institutions in the service of society and its development leading to a strong belief in the social role of the museum (Davis, 1999, 53). The needs of the community were prioritised over the museum's traditional role of preserving and storing objects, a school of thought that came out of dissatisfaction with the role and relevance of museums in contemporary society as it was felt that the purposes of the museum needed to be reassessed in line with a rapidly changing world. The term 'new museology' came to signify the processes of critical assessment and practical shifts towards a socially relevant model of the museum: also called the 'second museum revolution', it described the global movements that led to 'the wish to develop museums as social institutions with political agendas' (Van Mensch, 1995, 135).

Initially, new museology was embraced more readily in the Francophone and Lusophone parts of the world, where the introduction of the 'ecomuseum' concept and the 'integrated museum' had already applied the principles of social engagement advocated by new museology (Davis, 1999). The ecomuseum or *ecomusée* was developed in France in the 1970s by prominent museologists Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine, who were both involved with ICOM in those years (Simpson, 1996, 71). Roughly based on open air and folk museums, these museums were strictly community-focused and built on the relation between the community and its natural environment. The preservation of natural and cultural heritage, in both the tangible and intangible sense, was intended to be at the heart of the ecomuseum (Davis, 1999) while the 'integrated museum', a term coined at a UNESCO round-table meeting in Santiago, Chile in 1972, was meant to be integrated in society by meeting the needs of the community, engaging with the local environment and aid in economic development (Davis, 1999, 53). These ideas caught on in the 1990s in the English-speaking museum world and not only foregrounded the museum as an institution in society but also started to problematise those collections that originated from the colonial and imperial world view that had informed collecting in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[4] The shift in paradigm reflected this move away from objects to people, as illustrated by Luis Monreal's appeal that in Africa 'museums must be humanized' (1976, 187). The idea of the 'living museum', which alludes to active engagement with audiences and communities as well as incorporation of immaterial cultural expressions such as dance, music and theatre in the museum (Reeves, 1998, 4), became a popular concept in African museology,

[4] Part of this reappraisal can be attributed to museums opening up to society and starting to engage with various communities, but the academic and popular discourse that led to the discussion of ethnographic museum collections cannot be covered in this thesis.

functioning as a repository of knowledge which encapsulates both tangible and intangible culture without freezing culture in a static manner.

In conjunction with new museology the study of material culture emerged, an interdisciplinary field related to anthropology as well as museum studies. With relation to museums, one of the central questions asked concerning material culture is what objects 'do' in museums, what happens to an object when it is put in a museum, and what are their meanings and biographies? There are a number of earlier works written about the position of museum artefacts, such as Pomian's coinage of 'semiophore' to describe objects which 'endowed with meaning' render the invisible visible (1991) and Greenblatt's notion of resonance and wonder (2004), as well as volumes on objects' trajectories from their place of origin to their place in museum collections, such as Kopytoff's seminal chapter on the biographies of objects (1986), Thomas' work on *Entangled Objects* (1991) and O'Hanlon's *Hunting the Gatherer* (2000). Other volumes have discussed the history and rationale behind collecting, such as Susan Pearce (1995) in *On Collecting* and Hooper-Greenhill's work *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992) among more recent others.[5] The history and impact of African collections in Great Britain has been detailed by Annie Coombes in the impactful book *Reinventing Africa* (1994). Part of the shift that took place with publications such as Peter Vergo's volume *New Museology* (1989) and Susan Pearce's aptly named edited volume *Objects of Knowledge* (1990) is that term 'object of knowledge'. As mentioned above in relation to the concept of translation, both Nooter-Roberts and Silverman consider objects in this way (Silverman, 2015, 3) describing them also as 'object-texts' (Roberts, 2008, 171). For African (and other so-called 'ethnographic') objects in particular, the concept has proven fruitful to analyse multiple layers of meanings attached to them, which Silverman calls an 'epistemological patina that may or may not be accessible and apprehended by those who encounter and engage with them' (2015, 3). More recently, critique has emerged in some museological quarters on the limits of this approach to objects. Sandra Dudley posits that the current view of objects as an 'object-information package' which she defines as 'a view in which objects have value and import only because of the cultural meanings which immediately overlie them and as a result of the real or imagined stories which they can be used to construct' limits the engagement with the object's materiality (2010, 3). She argues for a return to considering the object's material properties, and the possibilities of '[…]

[5] Recent publications on objects and collections include Knell, S. ed. 2004. *Museums and the Future of Collecting* and Edwards, Gosden and Phillips, eds. 2006. *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*.

embodied and emotional engagement with objects […]' for enriching the museum experience (2010, 4). The potential of this sensory experience repeats an argument made by Edwards, Gosden and Phillips who investigated '[…] a re-consideration of the whole sensory register in relation to material culture […]' in relation to colonialism and the various ways in which senses are conceptualised across the world (2006, 3). Although this thesis will consider multi-sensory engagement with objects as an important element of understanding collections and museum practice in east Africa, it will not move away completely from the 'object-information package'. This is because museum-makers in Kenya and Uganda understand and activate objects often as objects of knowledge, even at times privileging the meaning over the materiality of their collections. Nevertheless, sensory engagement will be shown to constitute an important element of several contemporary museum modalities, a development that appears to be aligned with broader museological theory according to Message and Witcomb (2015). In their introduction to *Museum Theory* they cautiously detect a 'third phase of the new museology' in which 'feeling' (or affect) takes precedence over the word 'meaning' (2015, xlvii). Although this thesis is not overly concerned with the notion of affect, multi-sensory engagement is also an avenue to 'nondiscursive modes of knowledge' (2015, xlvii), that will enrich the perceptions of multiple knowledges present in independent museums in east Africa. By acknowledging a variety of ways of knowing in museums, the multiple meanings of objects encountered and narrated by stakeholders in Kenya and Uganda can all be considered valid. As Hooper-Greenhill predicted in her description of the post-museum: 'Knowledge is no longer unified and monolithic; it becomes fragmented and multivocal' (2000, 153).

Materiality, then, is one of the keys to understanding objects and their meanings. But as objects of knowledge, meanings may lie beyond their material qualities, in the realm of intangible culture, defined in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage as: 'practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills' that people recognise as their cultural heritage (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2003).[6] As becomes clear from this definition, the seeming dichotomy between tangible, or material, culture and intangible culture which categorises

[6] The full text reads: 'The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.' (UNESCO, 2003).

heritage as either one or the other, does not hold when closely scrutinised. As Smith and Akagawa state: 'Heritage only becomes 'heritage' when it becomes recognisable within a particular set of cultural or social values, which are in themselves 'intangible'.' (2009, 6). The convention in itself was meant to be an instrument to restore the imbalance created by prevailing western concepts of heritage and allowing for a more holistic approach. As such, it was welcomed in Africa in particular because much of its heritage is clearly understood to incorporate both the material and the immaterial. Considering the immaterial as of equal (if not more) importance in museums may seem at odds with its aims of preservation of material culture, but the museums studied here will demonstrate that they consist of much more than the physical space and its collections. This chimes well with the consideration of non-discursive, multi-sensory engagement with the museum's collections as well, and its conceptualisation as a knowledge repository, which includes, apart from the material, the potential for a multitude of narratives to be expressed.

5.2 Collections

If the intangible is as much a part of what museums contain as the tangible, what is the value for museums in having collections? Although most independent museums have collections of some kind, there are also a number of institutions in Kenya and Uganda and beyond that do not have collections at all and can be considered knowledge repositories without containing the material objects. One such example is the Manhyia Palace Museum in Kumasi, Ghana as described by Malcolm McLeod, who made clear that the Palace Museum was not seen as the place to keep and display royal Asante 'working' objects but nonetheless functioned as a successful focal point for visitors to the heart of the Asante kingdom (2004). These museums, where the narrative is no longer reliant on the presence of the material, resonate with the call for Africanised museums from Konaré and colleagues, whose interest in the social impact of the museum was greater than in grand collecting efforts (Konaré, 1983). Christina Kreps has identified this as a larger trend which '[…] signals how museums today are being defined more in terms of their relationships and responsibilities to people than to objects, collections, and tangible culture.' (2009, 202). Her emphasis is on 'indigenous curation' in so-called indigenous museum models, which have been incorporating intangible cultural heritage into museum-like spaces for much longer than the western object repository focused on material collections (Kreps, 2009, 201). Concurrent with these developments it will become evident that the museums in Kenya and Uganda are no longer preoccupied with collections as their main activity. Even though objects can be found in the

museum space, their treatment and value are of a different nature signalling the museums' participation in wider museological trends.

5.3 Space

Another significant contribution to museum theory in the nineties was the consideration of museum space and its effects. Notable among several theorists was Carol Duncan's analysis of the museum as a ritual site (Duncan, 1995) but also Alpers 'museum effect' showing how looking at objects in museums is not a neutral act (Alpers, 1991), as part of the influential edited volume *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Karp & Lavine, 1991). Reflecting on the museum space, especially in relation to people's access and the way it shapes a museum visit, has led to a reconsideration of museum buildings and their architecture. In conjunction with acknowledging the political and social function of the museum, which will be discussed below, space, both its material expression and its immaterial form, has been evaluated and adapted in different ways. Space is also of importance for the analysis of the African independent museums investigated in this thesis; the ways in which buildings are designed, constructed and used are significant, as is the consideration of the museum space beyond their immediate physical confinements. Some of these modalities of museums have been highlighted in Kreps' study of indigenous models of museums and the concept of museological behaviour which were mentioned above (2003). Moira Simpson also discusses indigenous models in relation to the '[…] potential forms of the future museum […]' (2007, 236), describing '[…] the deconstruction of the idea of the museum as a physical entity contained within the boundaries of a building (and especially one whose classical architecture speaks so loudly of its European philosophical and architectural origins) with a complementary idea of the landscape as museum […]' (2007, 237) as one of the changes visible in global museum contexts. By exploring the two case studies in Kenya and Uganda it will become clear that Simpson's conclusions are valid for eastern Africa as well.

6. Modalities: The Museum as a Political Institution

In 1971, Duncan Cameron mused on whether the museum should be a temple or forum, detecting an identity crisis in what museums are; was it still acceptable for a museum to simply exist as a temple for the muses or should it function as a forum for debating issues of identity and history? Eventually concluding that museums should become forums, this type

of critical self-evaluation of the museum took flight in the second half of the twentieth century, culminating in the aforementioned new museology which puts the public function of the museum at the heart of the discussion. The aforementioned *nouvelle muséologie*, which first emerged in the French-speaking academia in the late 1960s, grew out of the realisation that the nature of the museum is political, a notion also put forward by authors such as Tony Bennett (1995) and Hooper-Greenhill (1992) who analysed the museum in relation to Foucault's writing on governmentality and Gramsci's theories of hegemony. In addition, according to Witcomb and Message, Habermas' 1989 publication *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* also had a direct influence on the theorists of new museology, recasting the museum as a political instrument (2015, xxxix). Often combining academic criticism with calls for an evaluation of museum practices to correct historical biases, the new museology's analysis is mainly concerned with the 'modernist museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 152). This museum model emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century and 'was conceived to play a public role as part of the nation-state, a major part of which concerned the education of large sections of society' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 151). It became the archetypal museum, collecting and classifying objects and specimens to fit into a western world-view emphasising the dominance and superiority of colonial empire and nation-state (2000, 151). The modernist museum is a useful umbrella term which can be applied to universal survey museums such as the British Museum and the Louvre as well as ethnographic museums such as the Pitt-Rivers Museum and a range of renamed 'world cultures museums' such as the National Museum of World Cultures in the Netherlands. Within the larger framework of the new museology the discussion of ethnographic museums has occupied a prominent place as a particular example of the so-called 'exhibitionary complex' (Bennett, 1995) which, by amassing collections from all corners of the colonial empire, collected, ordered and classified the people living in various corners of the world, including the African continent (see for example Coombes, 1994, Mackenzie, 2009; Longair & McAleer, 2012). Presented as an exotic and primitive 'other', ethnographic museums played a significant role in presenting and promoting empire and colonialism putting their own nation-state at the top of the sociocultural evolutionary ladder. A major aim of museological thinking has been to reckon with the legacies of this colonial and imperial history of the museum although studies of individual collections (as mentioned in the previous section) have also shown that collecting histories are not always that clear-cut and often involve mutual relations between collectors and those whose cultural objects ended up in museums. Nonetheless, debates have been on-going both inside and outside museums on decolonising the institution by confronting its legacies, producing a large body of literature

which include anthologies such as *Exhibiting Cultures* (Karp & Lavine, 1991), Simpson's *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (1996), Ames' *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (1992) and Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture* (1988). But more recent publications give an indication that there has been no closure on these issues and that, with changing paradigms influenced by thinkers such as Bruno Latour and Arjun Appadurai, the discussion on the (post) colonial museum and its political implications is still pertinent (see for example Karp, Kratz and Szwaja, 2006; Clifford, 1997, 2013; Harrison, Byrne & Clarke, 2013). Although the importance of these themes in both museum theory and practice is not in doubt at all, the general concerns may not apply so neatly to the reality of contemporary African museum practice. As Mack mentioned, referring to the *Exhibiting Cultures* anthology: 'The bibliography of this "crisis" is very largely American, and European - that is from countries with a long and extensive colonial history or with significantly mixed ethnic populations.' He goes on to say that: 'It is less of a question of representing "the other" as of presenting "the self" […]' (2001, 198). This last point is extremely relevant for the museums featured in this research, as most of the literature describing museums in Europe, or the settler colonies such as the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, deal with a radically different set of questions pertaining to the colonial history of their institutions and collections. While the literature mentioned above is helpful in understanding the museum as a political entity in society, what will become evident is that the way in which non-state museums in Kenya and Uganda function and relate to the concepts of coloniality and imperialism is not the same as the museums with which most theory is concerned.

Indeed, the museums featured in this thesis are still implicated in questions of coloniality and ethnography, but these notions play out differently in sites that have been established on very different terms. As will be explored, notions of time play a role in the museums that hark back to salvage ethnography thinking of the early 1900s, as displayed by the early curators of the Uganda National Museum, but these temporalities are reconfigured as museum-makers engage with the present and future in their museums. In the present heritage discourse, culture is not just meant to be saved from disappearing, but also to strengthen and revive cultural practices for the present and future, which may or may not be used to represent ethnicity. Objects that are considered of the past are gathered in spaces in the present to inform younger generations for the future, or in other words, to ensure cultural continuation in a developing society. Basu and Modest describe this seeming paradox as 'past-making' versus 'future-making' in which heritage is an instrument to creating pasts and

development works as an instrument for making the future (2015, 6). The juxtaposition of heritage and development can be identified in the researched museums but they also confirm that the two notions are inextricably linked and exist simultaneously. Both concepts are mentioned as expressions of modernity, and a study on the Nakambale Museum in Namibia has expertly analysed how the performance of tradition (or what in Uganda is called 'traditional culture'), which may be defined as the past, can constitute participation in, and identification with, a modern and developed future: '[…] the local discourse about 'tradition' and its meaning suggested that in the context of a museum and a developing heritage industry, talking about 'tradition' *is modern*.' (Fairweather, 2006, 162). Chapter 6 will consider how these notions play out in the emergent museums of Kenya and Uganda.

7. Modalities: The Social Role of the Museum

'However political the agency of the museum may be, there are likely to be curators who manage to subvert or alter the course of official messages just as there are visitors who domesticate the museum for their own purposes.' (Bouquet & Porto, 2004, 21). Mary Bouquet and Nuno Porto give a useful reminder that in the end a museum is made by and for people who make their own mark on the use and ends of the institution. This paves the way for the third and final major museum characteristic to be deliberated: the social role of the museum. The idea of the museum as social technology extends the discourse described above: similarly, the importance for museums to engage with their audiences emerged half way through the twentieth century, developing in parallel with the realisation that the museum is not a neutral place but rather a theatre (Phillips, 2005), forum, or site of conjuncture (Witcomb & Message, 2015, xliv) where citizenship and its contestations can be acted out. Out of this paradigm shift, came the realisation that museums needed to open up their various audiences and become more inclusive and accessible, foregoing an authoritative and elitist position for one of shared ownership and knowledge. For museums with collections from other parts of the world this became even more urgent as so-called source communities demanded to be recognised as owners, knowledge-bearers and inheritors of objects related to their cultural heritage. Spurred on by controversial exhibitions such as *Into the Heart of Africa* at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto in 1989 (Schildkrout, 1990), museums re-evaluated their methods and strove towards better representation and more inclusion of previously excluded groups (Jones, 1993, 211). Writing in 1996, Simpson stated optimistically: '[…] museums are now undergoing a radical change in the way that they

function and in their relationships with the cultures represented in the collections; a change which reflects shifts in the relationship between dominant western cultures and those of indigenous, minority, and suppressed cultures everywhere.' (1). In the wake of this museological re-examination the term 'community' was embraced as the keyword for a socially active and relevant museum, reflected in edited volumes such as *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Karp, Kraemer & Lavine, 1992), *Museums and Source Communities* (Peers & Brown, 2003), *Museums and Communities* (Watson, 2007), *Museums and Community: Ideas, Issues and Challenges* (Crooke, 2008), and finally *Museums and Communities* (Golding & Modest, 2013). Although some of the chapters in this body of literature examine museums that are made by communities, most of the writings are focused on how, mostly state-funded, museums can invite, collaborate and communicate with neighbouring or originating communities. Nevertheless, there is a separate but related development of independently established museums across the world that, rather than relying on already existing institutions which are perceived to carry colonial and authoritarian biases, are meant to serve specific aims and purposes of a particular group (see for example Camarena & Morales, 2006; Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014; Message, 2014). These museums, it will be suggested, resemble much more closely the types of museums emerging in eastern Africa, sharing similar issues and challenges.

7.1 Community Museums

The French concept of the ecomuseum, developed in the 1970s, is mostly advocated for the way it is embedded in a local, often rural, community that collectively manages and preserves the cultural heritage that they deem important. The community-based museum has found fertile ground in different places around the world and led to a proliferation of community-led, grassroots and activist museums. Apart from neighbourhood museums in the Americas and cultural centres in the Pacific, Message has also described the spread of so-called tribal museums in the United States as a trend that is 'underpinned by growing recognition that culture was central to social, economic and political regeneration…' (2013, 148).[7] Tribal museums provide an example of the wider development of the museum as a technology or instrument for political, social and economic change. On the African continent, the District Six museum has received most of the attention when discussing community museums and it

[7] Camarena, C. & Morales, T. (2006) 'Community Museums and Global Connections: The Union of Community Museum of Oaxaca' In: Karp et al. (eds.) Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/ Global Transformations.

has turned into a symbol for the idea of a community museum, having succeeded in its mission for justice and recognition of a displaced community. Established in 1994, the museum was the outcome of a prolonged clamour for justice and memorialisation of the District Six area in Cape Town, which had been forcibly cleared under the apartheid regime. The museum has functioned as a space where former residents can share their memories and recollections of their lives in District Six, but it has also been involved in supporting a successful land claim (Rassool, 2006, 288). Indeed, stating in 2006 that 'in South Africa the category of "community museum" has come to be associated strongly with the cultural work of the District Six Museum' (Rassool, 2006, 289), it would not be an exaggeration to say that it is now the most well-known community museum in Africa across the world. However, the definition of a community museum is an issue that equally comes to the fore in the composition and evolution of this particular museum. According to Rassool: 'The District Six Museum defined itself as a community museum because it sees its work as a locus of social organizing and mobilization. This definition also signalled a desire to create a participatory and enabling framework of interpretation and empowerment and to generate the museum project as an ongoing process.' (2006, 312).[8] Nevertheless, the term community museum has been contested in the District Six Museum and outside it, which has been addressed by Rassool as follows: 'The idea of a "community museum" tends to conjure up notions of authenticity and representativeness in a local institution that supposedly works with an audience considered as a bounded community.' (2006, 311). If the arguably prototypical community museum on the African continent (and beyond) is challenged to what extent it fits the imagined idea of a community museum, then it will certainly throw up questions of definition for the museums encountered in this research. Like Rassool, this thesis will also argue against the 'paternalist sentiment and ideas of innocence and naiveté' that 'the notions of "community" and "community museum" invite' where 'the community now has access to modes of cultural and historical expression from which it had previously been excluded.' (2006, 311). This localised, and somewhat romanticised, concept of the community museum may be rooted in the first ecomuseums, but it certainly does not cover the wide range of initiatives that now identify under this umbrella term. The recurring debate for many community museums centres on how, and if, the community is involved and engaged with the museum, and whether or not this is enough to correctly bear the name, but in itself the term 'community' is problematic as well. Virtually all anthologies on museums and

[8] It is interesting to note the mention of process here, a concept which will be applied, as discussed above, to independent museums in Kenya and Uganda as well.

communities discussed above acknowledge that the term is fraught with difficulty, despite reconceptualisation of the term 'as a noun but not a thing' (Karp 1991, cited in: Golding & Modest, 2013, 20). For example, Watson explores no less than six ways of defining communities in the volume *Museums and Their Communities* (2007, 4). Despite the many, often positive, connotations attached to community, they are actually imagined notions of a heterogeneous and amorphous nature, as expressed by Hooper-Greenhill's usage of 'interpretive communities' (2000, 120). Throughout this research, while acknowledging the contested nature of the term, 'community museum' will be used for museums that identify as such, leaving the decision to use that descriptor with African museum-makers. The implications of this will be analysed in depth in Chapters 3 and 4. It will be understood that the community is 'fluid and unstable' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 122) and 'can also be exclusive, serving to divide and marginalize' (Golding & Modest, 2013, 20). In each case the community discussed will be specified further as and when appropriate, also depending on if, and how, a community defines itself.

7.2 Identity & Agency

What both community-based museums and museums including communities have in common is the recalibration of the museum as a social technology, 'through which statements about history, identity, value, and place' are being made as well as 'to claim recognition' (Kratz & Karp, 2006, 4). This discourse of museums no longer being ends in themselves as repositories of artefacts, but rather part of an 'exhibitionary complex' which makes museums active agents in creating and shaping identities, is another element of the new museology which has had lasting effects on public museums in the global North as well as civic museums in the global South. Museums have become understood as promulgating and creating narratives pertaining to identities of nation-states in public museums but, as museums have flourished in multiple forms, any group identity can potentially be presented and narrated in the museum. The term 'identity' has become ubiquitous and, as stated in the edited volume *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*: '[…] it is common sense now that heritage has everything to do with identity.' (Anico & Peralta, 2009, 1). However, they further assert that identity is an elusive concept that is difficult to define, as also confirmed by Watson, who provides a useful starting point to thinking about identity by considering 'the multiple ways in which individuals and communities privilege a range of common factors that define the way they see themselves and are seen by others […].' (2007, 6). Identity then, is linked to both the individual and the

group, or community, and museums have been associated with the national community in particular, which is itself 'imagined' and a socio-cultural construct (Anderson, 2006, 6). One outcome of new museological theories such as the 'exhibitionary complex' is that museums are seen not just as representing certain groups of people but also as creative of group (or national) identity (Bennett, 1995). Witcomb summarises this neatly: 'museums need to be understood not as institutions which represent communities and cultures […] but as institutions which actually *produce* the very notion of community and culture.' (2007, 134). It is in this way that museums, as both narrators and producers of the dynamic and contingent concept of identity, are understood in this thesis. Identity in the context of east African museums is connected to the construct of ethnicity, a complicated concept to grapple with that has been discussed in a number of works such as 'Ethnicity Inc.' by John and Jean Comaroff who argue that ethnicity is '[…] *both* ascriptive and instrumental. *Both* innate and constructed. *Both* blood and choice.' Yet, despite this elaborate description they use ethnicity and cultural identity as synonyms (2009, 40). Kaplan, defining ethnicity in the context of museum work suggests that the distinguishing feature of ethnicity is: 'the accessibility and ready acceptance of the idea by diverse groups of *self-definition* usually associated with cultural behaviors [...].' (2011, 153). And she further notes that: '[F]oremost among the achievements of ethnic groups is the sense of unity it creates in striving for political power and change.' (Kaplan, 2011, 153). As will become clear, these descriptions of ethnicity play a role in east African museums because their usual focus on one particular ethnic group is often merged with the concept of community. So, the museums consider themselves representatives of one particular group, notwithstanding the fact that other groups present in the locality, which may identify with a different ethnicity, could potentially be excluded from the museum. Inclusion and exclusion are an inescapable effect of presenting identity and community in a museum. While previously national identity and representation were major concerns for museologists (see Coombes, 1988; Macdonald, 2003; Maclean, 2005, Kaplan, 2011) in smaller non-state institutions these issues play out differently but are nonetheless present. And while, as mentioned by Rassool above, the notion of local, indigenous community museums has positive connotations of harmony and authenticity, Derek Peterson is more critical about the emerging 'heritage economy' in Uganda '[…] that disposes people to regard themselves as members of bounded, separable, and antagonistic communities […]' (2016, 790). How ethnicity and identity are played out in the emergent museums of east Africa will be a point of discussion for the following chapters.

7.3 Museums in the Community

Finally, museum-making and -shaping are, in the case of the museums analysed in this thesis, not only group processes but also processes reflecting the identities of the individuals responsible for setting up the museum. Rather than describing those involved in establishing museums as curators, this work will call them 'museum-makers', a term taken from Thomas's book *The Return of Curiosity* (2016) because it more accurately describes the wide range of activities involving the museum rather than the more limiting term curator. The museum-makers are hugely influential people in the development of contemporary independent east African museums as their individual commitment is often vital for the continued existence of the initiative. In many cases, they position themselves as prominent members and representatives of their (ethnic) community, a standing which they have gained through their work on the museum and the opportunities they have received through this. To that extent engagement with museum-making has made them, in the sense of creating a career for themselves, as much as they have worked to make their museums. Their agency over the various museum processes is an important factor in answering the questions posed in this research.[9] But there are also other 'voices' present in the museum's environment impacting on their conceptualisation, a helpful concept in teasing out the different ways in which stakeholders influence the museums, directly and indirectly. These concepts will appear throughout this work to analyse the data and answer the research questions.

8. Placing Museums in a Wider Context

The second set of research questions is concerned with what happens outside museums, in terms of networks and the influence of the heritage field on museological development in both countries and on a transnational level. A vital component of this analysis is the discourse on culture and development that shapes the majority of thinking about heritage and museums in Africa, hence the need for unpacking how it shapes museum development in a very practical way. The analysis of the discourse is inspired by Laurajane Smith's concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (or AHD), that in turn uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological approach (2006, 15). Of interest is that CDA is '[…] both reflective of and

[9] Agency is usefully defined by Rao and Walton who take their inspiration from Amartya Sen's works: 'The translation of potential into functionings is a product of active choice by the individual as an agent – "as someone who acts and brings about change" in economic, social and political domains, making use of their capabilities, and indeed influencing personal and public action in ways that determine the future formation of capabilities.' (2004, 12).

constitutive of social practices [.]' (2006, 16) a theorisation of discourse that will be applied in this research also. Smith's critical approach to heritage discourse contains some elements relevant to the situation in east Africa. One of these is the way that the AHD 'defines who the legitimate spokespersons for the past are' (Smith, 2006, 29) which will be shown to resonate with the antagonistic relationships between the national museum authorities of Kenya and Uganda and the non-state museums. Secondly, she notes the way in which the AHD identifies heritage as 'inevitably saved 'for future generations'' (ibid.), a theme that can be found in the independent east African museums as well. Above all, Smith writes how the 'self-referential' AHD, '[…] whose authority rests in part on its ability to 'speak to' and make sense of the aesthetic experience of its practitioners and policy makers, and by the fact of its institutionalisation within a range of national and international organizations and codes of practice […]' (2006, 28) is an integral part of worldwide heritage networks - a statement that also rings true for the culture and development discourse dissected in this thesis.

To understand the culture and development discourse and its influence on the African continent, the history of heritage and development issues will first be traced, aided by the insights provided by Basu and Modest in *Museums, Heritage and International Development* (2015). The chapter in the same volume contributed by Yudhishthir Raj Isar also sheds light on UNESCO's practices concerning museums and development over past decades (2015). With this information in mind, the current situation, described by Fouéré and Hughes as: '[…] a growing international agenda for the protection, conservation and valorisation of natural sites and cultural properties for the presumed benefit of future generations.' (2015, 543) will be explored. Finally, a theoretical framework will be proposed for thinking about the many, intricate networks that independent African museums are part of, based on a reconfiguration of Clifford's museological 'contact zone' (1997), incorporating some of the main critiques that have been levelled at the concept in past years.

8.1 UNESCO, Culture and Development

In 1970, UNESCO held its first Intergovernmental Conference in Venice on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies. One outcome was that the notion of cultural development was expanded from culture, narrowly defined as 'the arts', to culture from a more anthropological perspective as both encompassing and driving economic and social development (UNESCO, 1970, 7). With reference to developing countries the report stated: 'cultural development is being increasingly recognised as an essential component of

social and economic development.' (UNESCO, 1970, 11). Interestingly, some of the key elements of the culture and heritage discourse that emerged later are already mentioned here, for instance the importance of culture for national identity strengthening, the perceived threat of an influx of foreign cultures and the need for promotion and preservation of culture in developing countries (UNESCO, 1970, 11). Raj Isar analyses UNESCO's practices and objectives from the 1950s onwards, but he confirms that it is from the 1970s that the ''cultural dimensions of development' discourse was solidly in place' (2015, 46). Crucially, this meant that for UNESCO development became the main goal: '[T]he flourishing of culture for its own sake took second place to the overarching ambitions of development […]' (Isar, 2015, 44). An example of this thinking pertaining to museums is the UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Better Adaptation of Museums to the Modern World in Bangui, Central African Republic in 1976 which discussed how museums can find '[…] approaches that truly contribute to sociocultural development […]' by incorporating community participation, promotion of national identity and improving the present and future by informing the public about the past (Monreal, 1976, 187).

At the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies that took place in Mexico City in the summer of 1982 the outcomes of the Venice Conference were affirmed and expanded. The notion of cultural development was further developed: 'the conference thus gave primacy to the concept of integral, endogenous development based on the culture of the people' (UNESCO, 1982, 10). Furthermore, cultural identity in Africa was singled out for recommendation No. 7 which stated: 'for the Black African peoples, the affirmation of their cultural identity is imperative, if they are to stand up to the onslaughts of a foreign form of modern life that continues to distort their socio-economic balance and to impair and alienate their political sovereignty' (1982, 62), an outcome traceable to the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies held in Accra, Ghana in 1975. What should be noted here is the perceived loss of culture and identity in Africa as a result of rapid change, a trope that echoes the salvage paradigm. In this light, training of museum staff was recommended particularly in developing countries 'considering the role of museums in stimulating the cultural development of peoples, and their consequent value as an economic and social investment.' (1982, 98). The 1982 conference also proposed a World Decade for Cultural Development (UNESCO, 1982, 4) which took place from 1987 to 1997. Raj Isar describes how a new concept of 'culture and development' emerged which resulted in a World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) in 1992 which produced a report entitled *Our Creative Diversity* in 1995 (2015, 48). It articulated one of the main challenges of culture and

development discourse: '[…] to acknowledge the far-reaching instrumental function of culture in development, and at the same time to recognise that this cannot be all there is to culture in judgments of development. There is, in addition, the role of culture as a desirable end in itself, as giving meaning to our existence.' (WCCD, 1996, 23). Despite this well-received report to UNESCO, Raj Isar detects a recent return to an 'economist emphasis […] expressed by the term 'cultural diversity' (2015, 51). His concerns are reflected in the 2015 *UNESCO Recommendation on the Protection and Promotion of Museums, their Diversity and their Role in Society*, which states that among many other virtues 'Museums also support economic development, notably through cultural and creative industries and tourism.' (UNESCO, 2015, 3). In 2015, the UN announced the new *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* and UNESCO has stated it is the first time that there is 'unparalleled recognition' for culture within the 17 Sustainable Development Goals found in the Agenda (UNESCO, 2016).[10] Indeed, point 36 of the new Agenda mentions: 'we acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development.' (United Nations General Assembly, 2015, 10). It is also part of goal 8: 'Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all' (ibid. 2015, 19) which includes promotion of local culture as part of sustainable tourism (ibid. 2015, 20). The emphasis on tourism in relation to culture will prove to be important for the analysis of independent museums in east Africa. The history of this culture and development discourse has shaped the way museums and heritage are perceived across the globe, including Kenya and Uganda.

8.2 ICOM, Museums and Development

The culture and development trope has been firmly embedded in UNESCO's policies since the 1970s but it has also shaped the International Council on Museums (ICOM), which has been affiliated with UNESCO since its establishment in 1945. Most obviously it can be seen in the evolution of museum definitions put forward by ICOM since 1961. Then, they stated: 'ICOM shall recognise as a museum any permanent institution which conserves and displays, for purposes of a study, education and enjoyment, collections of objects of cultural or scientific significance.' The amended 1974 definition reflected the significant changes in

[10] The UN Brundtland Commission report on the environment, also known as 'Our Common Future', was responsible for introducing the term sustainable development, which is still used extensively today.

thinking about the function of the museum in the intermittent decade as ICOM included the phrase: 'in the service of the society and its development' in its definition (ICOM, 2017a). According to the ICOM website, it started to become more responsive to developing countries in the 1970s, in parallel with UNESCO's and wider academic theorisation of the culture and development debate (ICOM, 2017b). The resolutions adopted at the 14th General Assembly of ICOM in 1983 paint the clearest picture of ICOM's involvement with this discourse; the first resolution concerns 'museums for a developing world' and the second is titled 'museums and development'. This states that as repositories of cultural identity 'museums can make an important contribution to development' (ICOM, 2017c). That ICOM has continued to be strongly committed to museums and development is shown in a resolution from the nineteenth General Assembly in 1998, where the third resolution on regional museum development calls for 'recognising the universal understanding of the role of culture in development […]' (ICOM, 2017d). ICOM has, through the years, been a strong voice in the international heritage field in advocating professional museum standards and ethics. The current vision expresses both the 'key role' museums play in development while also emphasising the value of collections and the contribution ICOM makes 'to the knowledge and transmission of identity and heritage values specific to each culture.' (ICOM, 2017e). ICOM's strategic plan for 2016-2022 aims to increase its visibility worldwide as well as enhancing its international role specifically with regard to cultural property protection (ICOM, 2016, 15).

8.3 Culture and Development in East Africa

As the points made above confirm, there is a continuing discourse that has, at its heart, the conflict between culture as of intrinsic value in itself and culture and heritage and museums by extension, as an instrument for achieving development. As Fouéré and Hughes state: 'With the growth of mass tourism, national and international policy-makers have come to consider heritage to be an economic asset for income-generation and sustainable development.' (2015, 534). This dichotomy, which UNESCO and ICOM have grappled with on a transnational level, has also manifested in virtually all heritage organisations that were encountered in east Africa. Several authors identify this discourse as the 'heritage economy' highlighting the way in which heritage has become part of an economic rationale (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006, 183; Peterson, 2017). This thesis does not seek to take a position on this debate, but as will become evident later, there seems to be neither

consciousness nor constructive criticism of the reigning heritage and development discourse. Basu and Modest also recognise this: 'While many claims have been made concerning the 'power of culture for development', we argue that the true power of culture, as a force acting in relation to development has yet to be fully explored and understood.' (2015, 26).

The impact of the culture and development discourse is evident at all levels of stakeholders in the east African museum field. The 2006 National Culture Policy of Uganda, for example, addressed the perceived lack of recognition of culture as capital for development and provided 'strategies to enhance the integration of culture into development.' (Ministry for Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2006, 2). When discussing cultural sites, monuments and antiquities their socio-cultural and educational values are mentioned, but also that 'they promote tourism and consequently create employment for people' (2006, 10). This perceived direct link to tourism and job creation, income generation and poverty alleviation is rarely questioned and still perpetuated. This thesis acknowledges Basu and Modest's statement that: '[E]ven understood as an instrumentalizable resource, there is a need to recognize that the greater value of heritage may lie not in its potential for income generation (through tourism, for instance), but in the kinds of nonmonetized benefits that are often invoked in the culture and development rhetoric, but are all too readily dismissed in practice as woolly, unquantifiable and of lesser importance in an assumed hierarchy of needs.' (2015, 26).

8.4 The Promise of the Museum

The potential for museums to have a positive impact on local economies – sometimes referred to as the Bilbao effect after the famous regeneration of Bilbao as a result of the opening of the Guggenheim Museum - has proved to be an enduring trope in justifying new museum projects worldwide (Whitehead, 2005, 99). However, as will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4, there is very little evidence of independent museums and other cultural sites in Kenya and Uganda making a profit that can directly benefit their communities. Nevertheless, the argument that investment in museums and cultural sites will promote cultural tourism and create revenue for local economies has pervaded the cultural sector in eastern Africa. The expectations of the impact of cultural heritage and museum initiatives are high, and shared among UNESCO, ICOM and national governments. A strong case in point is the 2010 UNESCO brochure *The Power of Culture for Development* which promotes culture as a vehicle for economic development, social cohesion and stability, and environmental sustainability

(2010c). This example shows the wide range of benefits that museums are expected to deliver but the effects of museum and heritage projectsare seldom quantified, as will become clear from the analysis of both case studies. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of the promise of museums' transformative potential is widespread and proves particularly potent in bringing together independent museums and international stakeholders. As will be elaborated upon in chapter 5, both museum-makers and their national and international partners are invested in the promise of the imaginary museum. The former because it allows them to participate in, and profit from, the tangible and intangible benefits offered by the global museum and heritage networks, and the latter because the promise of independent, grass-roots, community-based museums fits in neatly with the larger narratives of transformative potential inherent in the current heritage and development discourse. The interactions between actors within the heritage field will be explored in the following section, using the concept of the 'contact zone' as a lens through which the networks of museums and their impact can be understood.

9. From the Contact Zone to a Zone of Contact

James Clifford's formulation of a 'contact zone' (1997) has been used by authors in museology for twenty years now to analyse the interactions between museums and their stakeholders (see Purkis, 2013; Schorch 2013; Golding & Modest 2013 for recent examples). The concept has frequently been used for museums in the global North, where it has been applied to numerous cases of museum collaboration. Boast stated on this: 'Especially in Europe, the contact zone is now more or less synonymous with these inclusionist, collaborative programs.' (2011, 56). While the contact zone is an enduring notion in museum studies, Clifford's original use of it was meant to describe situations in museums North America and as such the common implementation of the contact zone does not correlate to the reality of museums in Kenya and Uganda. It cannot be applied so easily to their current situation for the prime reason that museums in east Africa are not the sites of authority that Clifford (1997) described when introducing the contact zone as a concept borrowed from Pratt (1991). However, in this thesis, the use of the contact zone, as a museological concept, will highlight how the east African environment differs from so-called ethnographic and modernist museums, the perceived sites of the contact zone, and by adapting Clifford's concept into a 'zone of contact' it will better reflect the actual situation in Kenya and Uganda

and engage with recent critiques.[11] Harrison identifies the problems with the concept in the edited volume *Reassembling the Collection* stating that: 'A key aim of this book is to […] develop new models for understanding the networks of social and material interactions that center on the space of the museum collection' (Harrison, 2013a, 5). The expansion of the contact zone in this thesis is also an attempt to further understanding of museum networks in a similar way to Harrison.

Clifford describes the contact zone as a place of crossing, and '[…] places of hybrid possibility and political negotiation, sites of exclusion and struggle […]' (1997, 212), he also asserts that in museums it means '[…] active collaboration and a sharing of authority […]' (210). As a concept, the contact zone is still employed and discussed by authors as a useful tool but, as Boast has noted, it has been increasingly made to fit '[…] into the goals of a postmodern new museology […]' (2011, 59) which constitutes an overly optimistic view of collaborative approaches in museums since the 1990s. Boast critiques the application of the contact zone in recent years, declaring that the simplification of the complex layers of the original concept that both Clifford and Pratt proposed has led to a limited and neo-colonial concept. He points out that Clifford's description of the contact zone went beyond the museum as merely a consultative space and that a long-term contact history was being addressed and negotiated (2011, 61). Boast therefore returns to Pratt's original text, as this thesis will do, to contest the current application of the term contact zone 'as a means of masking far more fundamental asymmetries, appropriation and biases.'(2011, 67). Boast calls for a complete redraft of the contact zone, to 'confront this deeper neo-colonial legacy' (2011, 67). While considering the radically different context of east Africa this thesis hopes to contribute to this debate and expand the notion of the contact zone to include the museum environment in the global South.

Returning to Pratt's original definition of the contact zone reveals that it can have relevance in the east African context: '[…] social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today.' (1991, 34). In 1992, she further clarified her definition: 'By using the term "contact" I aim to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination' (6/7). In short,

[11] In this chapter the term ethnographic will be used to refer to museums. The author is aware of the sensitive nature of the term but finds that (like a zone of contact) ethnography exposes the history of the institution where the 'safer' terms anthropology or world cultures museum covers it up.

the idea of the contact zone allows for the complexity of interactions in historically and geographically unequal relationships such as those found in the environment of independent museums in Kenya and Uganda (and indeed museums in other parts of Africa). Their setting consists of layers of colonial legacy, postcolonial interactions and neo-colonial relations which incorporate various degrees of (in)equality, exchange and interdependency. Furthermore, this version of the contact zone allows for the agency of all involved parties in influencing the outcomes of interactions instead of a centre to periphery movement only.

9.1 Adaptation of the Contact Zone to Zone of Contact

Clifford argued that if museums are to accept that contact work is essential to their mission it will mean accepting their decentralisation from the perceived 'centre': 'decentered and traversed by cultural and political negotiations that are out of any imagined community's control – museums may begin to grapple with the real difficulties of dialogue, alliance, inequality and translation' (213).When referring to centre and periphery, it is always assumed that the museum 'usually located in a metropolitan city, is the historical destination for the cultural productions it lovingly and authoritatively salvages, cares for, and interprets.' (Clifford, 1997, 193). In other words, the museum is perceived as the centre, the site of authority and western hegemony. Even when Clifford mentions community museums and cultural centres he treats them as points of contact for conventional museums: 'In counterpoint with the decentering of established institutions, alternate "museums" make new demands of the contact work of managing and interpreting patrimonies, cultural traditions, and histories.' (210). In this text, it seems that Clifford does not see these 'alternate museums' as focus points in their own right; he does not seem to engage with them as sites where contact work can take place and where agency is located, they are seen as reactive rather than proactive. However, as will be shown, in east Africa the non-state museums occupy a different position from the one the museum is presumed to occupy in the contact zone. Instead of the museum being situated at the centre and the originating community in the periphery, the east African museum operates proactively from the periphery and it is the national institutions, the NGOs and international organisations that operate from the centre. The same argument can also be discerned geographically; the independent museums are generally located in remote places such as Kitgum and Mfangano Island, while their partners are in Kampala and Nairobi or in one of Europe's capitals. The asymmetrical power relations have remained, reflecting the historical inequalities that

continue to play a role in the present. Only the museum has changed position in this repositioning of the contact zone and it is not the east African museum that occupies the position of power, but the international and global partners who offer the opportunities for collaboration, funding and education.

This adaptation of the contact zone will be called 'a zone of contact' in this thesis. Rather than being inside the museum, where it has been located since Clifford's introduction of the concept to museology, the zone of contact exists in the space between museums and their stakeholders. In fact, the zone of contact can be located as both a physical and intangible space where the interactions each carry their own weight in terms of knowledge, concepts, and funding; the culture and development discourse and its related epistemologies get transported, transformed and translated in a variety of ways. In both spaces, the centre exerts its influence on the periphery but this notion is complicated by the agency of the museum (i.e. the periphery) in navigating its own course. It remains important to recognise that, like the contact zone, the 'zone of contact' steers clear from reducing relations to binary settings of coloniser versus (neo-) colonised, it is also a space for collaboration, struggle and mutual exchange. Nevertheless, as will become evident, the 'zone of contact' with its remaining power imbalance between stakeholders still runs the inherent risk of reproducing neo-colonial relations.

The main point of introducing the zone of contact concept in this thesis is to critically engage with current relations in the zone of contact that are taken for granted and demonstrate that independent museums in eastern Africa do not fit into the same mould as ethnographic or modernist museums in the global North. Their modalities overlap in multiple ways but their histories do not, particularly because independent museums have been established in a postcolonial context while ethnographic and modernist museums emerged from a colonial mentality. With colonial history and its aftereffects in mind, the zone of contact is pertinent, as ongoing relations between African museums and their centred counterparts continue to shape the development of museum modalities through their collaborations

9.2 Habitus in the Zone of Contact

The culture and development discourse discussed is actively communicated in texts and embodied unconsciously through the museums' networks. This may be described using the concept of habitus, as coined by Pierre Bourdieu and concisely explained by Loïc Wacquant as the notion that 'human agents are historical animals who carry within their bodies

acquired sensibilities and categories that are the sedimented products of their past social experiences' (2011, 82). It provides the key to understanding how stakeholders at different levels have internalised ideas about culture, development, heritage and museums. According to Basu and Modest, who describe habitus as one of three 'heritage temporalities' which may be used to investigate heritage related to development, considering heritage as habitus is 'a useful theoretical framework to consider both processes of social reproduction and social change that are key to contemporary heritage debates, and especially to the relationship between heritage and development.' (2015, 9). Although the movement from centre to periphery seems to suggest linearity, this is not how it should be interpreted. The connections between local museums and their international stakeholders take multiple forms; agency and exchange shape their interactions in distinct ways and relations may also include governmental institutions at the regional and national levels.

If the zone of contact is the space outside museums where interactions take place and discourses are exchanged, adapted and subverted as part of the heritage habitus, then it is also the space where translations take place. Significantly, Sturge proposes the contact zone as useful for analysing translation in museums. She states: 'the directionality of translation in museums is much more confusing and richer, within and between cultures participating (willingly or not) in the display.' (2007, 164). Conceptualising the zone of contact as the space where the museum as process takes place will allow for an in-depth study of museum developments in Kenya and Uganda, and will provide the basis for the analysis of the case studies that will follow in the next chapters. After relating the history of national museums in Kenya and Uganda up to the present-day situation in chapter 2, the Abasuba Community Peace Museum in Kenya will be discussed in chapter 3, followed by chapter 4 on the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture in Uganda.

Chapter 2

Museum Modalities in East Africa: Past and Present

> 'The museum has constantly changed […]. This flux shows an unceasing inner dynamism, with the museum as witness and example of its own time, even when it aims at enacting the past and celebrating memory, or when it undertakes the task of setting a perennial, universalising canon.' – Itala Vivan, 2014, 196.

1. Pre-colonial Histories of East African Museums

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will trace the formation of diverse forms of museums in east Africa from the pre-colonial past to the colonial histories of the national museums and their challenges to redefine themselves in the post-Independence period. It will then shed light on the current situation, showing how national museum bodies are trying to position themselves in the current 'heritage economy' and in relation to recently emerged independent museums.

Although the museum as a concept did not emerge in east Africa until the first colonial museums, the concept of museological behaviour was coined by Christina Kreps to describe so-called 'non-western models of museums and curatorial practices' (2006, 457) in order to '[…] further the liberation of culture from the hegemony of the management regimes of Eurocentric museology' (Kreps, 2003, 5). Defining museological behaviour and practices as: '[…] how people in varying cultural contexts perceive, value, care for, and preserve cultural materials' (Kreps, 2006, 457) she nevertheless places most emphasis on care for material culture and curatorial practices (Kreps, 2003). Kreps' efforts are laudable but retain a rather limited view of museums conceived only as archives of material culture, leaving little room for museological variety and the concept of modalities introduced in Chapter 1. The notion of 'behaviour' suggests innate or unconscious actions while the modalities proposed previously are elements in a conscious process, emphasising agency and choice. So while the concept of museological behaviour is a useful starting point, it is not sufficiently broad whereas the concept of modalities prioritises processes of translation, selection and articulation which can truly 'liberate the east African museum' as envisioned by Kreps.

Presenting examples from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, it will be demonstrated that before museums were introduced as colonial institutions, people in east Africa were concerned with the display and preservation of material culture, forms of cultural transmission and ritual spaces, all of which can be construed as modalities.[12]

1.2 Uganda

The most readily identifiable example of a museological modality dating back to precolonial times in Uganda is the current world heritage site of the Kasubi tombs.[13] The site, located in Kampala, dates from 1882 but the tradition of this type of building can be traced to the 13th century (UNESCO, 2010a), holding the remains of four previous kings, or *kabaka*, of the Buganda Kingdom (Kigongo & Reid, 2007, 372). The site is well-known as an example of traditional Bugandan architecture and, apart from the tombs, contains other buildings which include 'important houses used for keeping royal relics' (Kigongo & Reid, 2007, 373). The site serves as an example of a collection of objects that was preserved, cared for and displayed within the royal enclosure. In the main structure, the *Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga*, the deceased rulers are buried in an area which has been closed off with bark cloth and only accessible for special officials (2007, 378). In front of a platform representing the four tombs, the regalia of each of the four *kabaka* are displayed, serving to separate the sacred space of the represented tombs from the court area where visitors enter (2007, 376). It is believed that the objects, consisting of pictures, different kinds of spears and other metal items 'embody the power and ritual significance of the king' (2007, 376).

Similar examples of the storage and display of objects are mentioned by Kreps, who identifies shrines, temples and altars as places that have been compared to museums in their function and 'as a means of protecting and passing on cultural heritage.' (2003, 74). The museum itself has also been analysed as a ritual space related to the architecture of Greco-Roman temples and as the enactment of walking through a sacred space which can be compared to the visitor's experience of the Kasubi's tombs strong architectural structure (Duncan, 1995). The 'museum ritual' is being described as a civilising ritual; a visit means enacting the ritual of

[12] Indeed, the idea of the museum is not limited to the global North at all; Sidney Moko Mead already pointed out that 'a museum-like structure is not unknown to the cultures of the Pacific.' (1983, 99).

[13] The Kasubi tombs were heavily damaged by a fire in 2010. They are still listed as a UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) world heritage site but marked as 'in danger' (UNESCO, 2015). A project to reconstruct the tombs was started in 2014 and is still on-going (UNESCO, 2014).

citizenship of the triumphant state imposing both civilisation and universality (Duncan & Wallach, 2004, 68). In the case of the *Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga* the civilising ritual can be interpreted as fashioning the visitor into a subject of the Bugandan Kingdom, protected and impressed by the regalia and power of the deceased rulers. The Kasubi tombs were not the only sacred spaces in Bugandan society; the house, whether for people of high status or average citizens, was 'considered as something sacred' (Lugira, 1970, 122). Each house would contain objects of veneration called *mayembe* (which also means horns), which are man-made objects with strong powers to ward off evil and bring good luck (Roscoe, 1965, 271). Each person and household would possess multiple *mayembe* for different purposes and Roscoe says that 'they were kept in numbers in a special place in each house' (1965, 279). The domestic space was therefore also a space for the storage, preservation and display of culturally valued material; a practice that can be considered to be museological. Space, as discussed in Chapter 1, forms one of the emerging modalities in contemporary independent museums, but the Bugandan cultural practices indicate that there are also historical precedents to be found in east Africa.

1.2.1 Collections

While the missionaries Lugira and Roscoe describe the *mayembe* as 'fetishes', they can be interpreted as collections in exactly the same way as Pomian described ancient Greek and Roman collections; 'intermediaries between the onlooker and the invisible' (Pomian, 1990, 23). They do not differ substantially from relics, believed to have been in contact with a supernatural being, as Roscoe describes the horns from which most fetishes were made were seen as vehicles of a particular 'god', after whom they were named (Roscoe, 1965, 279). The *mayembe* would fit into Pomian's range of objects he called semiophores; objects removed from economic circulation, of no practical use but collected as mediators between the visible and the invisible (Pomian, 1990, 23). Both the regalia on display in the Kasubi tombs and the *mayembe* in the Bugandan houses fit into the category of semiophore and, continuing Pomian's argument, of museum object. The transition from 'fetish' to museum object turns out to be a small step indeed, as Lugira states that while many *mayembe* were destroyed with the arrival of Christianity, others ended up being collected for the Uganda Museum (1970, 25). The duality of the collections in the national museum is reflected by its reputation as *enyumba ya mayembe* or 'House of Horns' which was apparently viewed 'with awe as the seat of Mayembe' (Lugira, 1970, 25). It reaffirms the previous point that materiality is only one avenue to understanding objects and that intangible notions play an important role in the engagement with museum collections, in the past and, as will be shown, in the present.

1.3 Kenya & Tanzania

Intangible culture plays an even more prominent part when looking at pre-colonial examples of museum modalities in the territory of contemporary Kenya. Finding cultural practices that are related to the display or preservation of material culture in one place proves challenging in an area where permanent settlement was limited and no large centralised societies, such as the Buganda Kingdom, emerged. John Mack has noted that: 'The changing nature and small scale of groups living in Kenya has led to a limited historical narrative compared to other parts of East Africa.' (Mack, 1995, 16). Coupled with cultures that have highly specialised forms of immaterial and (often mobile) material culture, the importance of considering fluidity and process is even more apparent in the Kenyan context. Where material culture is ephemeral, multi-functional and portable (Mack, 1995, 118), a museum concept limited to preserving material objects in a permanent structure cannot easily be detected. Kingdon and Arero state that: 'Somewhere at the root of all this, however, is the fundamental western preoccupation with material objects as 'instruments of possession' and as relations of attachment to a world forged by the power of capital.' (2005, X), revealing the flaws of the heritage economy which underpin museum-making currently.

Historical museum modalities in Kenya can be found in forms of cultural transmission involving activities and spaces such as festivals, folklore and shrines (Kreps, 2003, 74). Rowlands' comment on museums in Cameroon can also be applied to the Kenyan context: '[…] it is the act of making things visible that is shared by museums, festivals, liturgies of the state, and everyday levels of display' (Rowlands, 2011, 26). The act of making things visible shares similarities with Pomian's semiophores which make the invisible world of the object visible to the onlooker. If museums are in the business of displaying and making visible, historical modalities of display can be discerned in rock art sites, which might be the best preserved and most ancient displays, giving visibility to unknown invisible worlds and acting as cultural transmission, both in the past and in the present. These sites can be found in different parts of Kenya including on Mfangano Island where the Abasuba Community Peace Museum is located.

1.3.1 Tanzania

One example on Bukerebe (Ukerewe) Island in Lake Victoria, Tanzania, where the King of Bukerebe, Omukama Machunda appears to have 'owned a collection of curiosities, including a menagerie, with which he amused and impressed his subjects and visitors' (Hartwig, 1969, 87 in Kingdon, 2005, 10) closely resembles early European museums. It can be recognised as

a princely collection, used to display wealth and power, in this case related to the far-reaching trade relations Machunda maintained. The above examples given of museological practices are limited and not representative of the wealth of modalities that surely could be identified in Kenya and Uganda with thorough research, but the aim here is not to provide a full overview of all museum modalities but rather to demonstrate that they can be found in many different contexts in east Africa. It can be concluded that east African museum modalities were present long before the introduction of the 'modernist museum' even though the term 'museum' was not used for any cultural practice or space before the arrival of colonial regimes which reiterates the move away from the perception that African museums are merely a colonial inheritance.

Kreps' museological behaviour advocates for the recognition of non-western models of museums as a way to restore the unequal power relations between western museums and the non-western collections they hold, linking it to repatriation requests and newly established 'tribal museums and cultural centres' (Kreps, 2003: 105). This thesis takes a step further and develops the notion of east African museum modalities, not in relation to 'western' museums, but in relation to their own unique histories and environments as well as their contemporary influences. Tracing the histories of Kenya's and Uganda's first national museums, established in the colonial period, and their interaction with global museology will aid in analysing the independent museums that are the main subject of this research.

2. National Museums in East Africa – Colonial Histories

2.1 Global Museum Developments

Colonial museums can be placed within global museum developments and the large increase of museums towards the end of the 19th century coined the 'first museum age' (Sturtevant in Phillips, 2005, 83). Museums, world fairs and international exhibitions, which together formed the exhibitionary complex turned into a worldwide phenomenon around 1900, extending well into the 20th century (Bennet, 1995; Rydell 2006, 135). Museum developments were not limited to the global North but reflected colonial relations more generally, a process described in depth by John Mackenzie in *Museums and Empire*: 'The museum's intellectual framework, its collecting habits, and so many of its methods were closely bound up with the nature and practices of imperialism [.]' and 'Thus the museum

revealed its modernity through its organisation of the pre-modern' (2009, 4).[14] Nevertheless, Mackenzie also reminds the reader that the reality of colonial museums was often haphazard, underfunded and dependent on individual curators, a point also made by Longair and McAleer in their introduction to *Curating Empire* (2012). Meanwhile in Europe, a diverse range of open air museums, folk museums and railway museums sprang up around the turn of the 20th century (Prösler, 35). East African colonial museums were very much part of this wave of museum development taking place worldwide.

2.2 Kenya (East Africa Protectorate, 1888 -1963)

The colonial history of museums in Kenya starts with the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society (EAUNHS). Founded in 1909 by a small group of elite colonial settlers with an interest in the study of natural history, the EAUNHS created a private storage space for their collected natural specimens in a small building in Nairobi in 1910, which opened as a museum in 1911 (Karega-Munene, 2014). With collection efforts on-going the building soon became too small for its contents and in 1922 the museum moved to a larger building. It appears that during this time the museum remained a private undertaking of amateur naturalists and it is probable that it bore a closer resemblance to a cabinet of curiosities than to the public museum model in Europe at the time, where increasingly museums had a strong educational objective (Hein, 2006, 340). The museum gained a more prominent public standing in 1929 when it was moved to the building currently housing the Nairobi National Museum which was constructed with funding from the Coryndon Memorial Fund after Governor Robert Coryndon suddenly passed away. He had been an active member of the East Africa Natural History Society (EANHS) as well as Governor of the East Africa Protectorate. As a result, the museum hill site and half of the funding were provided by the colonial government which had not been involved previously. The Coryndon Memorial Museum opened in 1930 and kept that title until 1964, when the name was changed to National Museums of Kenya (Kanguru et al., 1995).

[14] Between 1850 and 1870 British colonies in Asia opened their first museums followed by a significant increase in museums in Latin America and Africa from the 1870s. After South Africa in 1825, Egypt was the second country on the African continent to build a museum in 1863 with Algeria, Tunisia and Madagascar following in the 1890s, and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1901 (Prösler, 25). Kenya and Uganda's national museums were founded in the first decade of the 1900s and Tanzania's museum opened in 1940 even though their first collecting mission was initiated in 1934.

The museum had already employed a number of British curators by the time the post was taken over by L. S. B. Leakey in 1940. According to a Leakey biography, upon appointment he immediately opened the museum to Asians and Africans, indicating that previously it had been open to Europeans only (Cole, 1975, 133). It highlights the Coryndon Museum's arduous transition from a private cabinet for white settlers to a fully public museum for the colony. The efforts put into the museum by Leakey paid off judging by the visitor numbers in 1945: 50,000 visitors came in with more than double that figure recorded in 1947 (Cole, 1975, 134). As an archaeologist Leakey emphasised the prehistory of east Africa in collections, displays and research in particular; he remained curator until 1961. In that same year, a snake park was opened on the museum grounds and Mr. R.H. Carcasson was appointed director of the museum (Enzi Museum, 2015).

2.2.1 A Colonial Collection

The Coryndon Museum was technically the first public museum in the East Africa Protectorate although the process of its development from private, colonial collections to public institution was slow. As has been examined by Karega-Munene (2014), the stance of the colonial government in relation to the museum was one of reluctant involvement for at least two decades. This is notable because 'having a museum' in Europe was regarded as part of building a nation since the early 19th century (Prösler, 1996), while colonial governments, such as in Uganda, collected and ordered the colonised territory in their museums (Peterson, 2015, 4). The Coryndon Museum may have been the first public museum in Kenya but it was certainly not perceived to be a national museum until after Independence. Only when the EANHS ran into financial trouble in the late 1930s due to the ever-expanding collections and size of the Coryndon Museum, did the government pass the 1934 Museum Trustees of Kenya Act. A Museum Trustees Board was assigned ownership of the museum in place of the EANHS and the government took over responsibility for the payment of staff (Karega-Munene, 2014, 25).

The Coryndon Museum emerged out of a private endeavour by naturalists, so the initial emphasis of the collections was on natural history and archaeology from eastern Africa. The nature of the collections was strongly influenced by individual curators throughout the colonial era and their supporters from the EANHS. Longair and McAleer's observation that 'in the absence of a centralised government-sponsored 'museum-project', agenda and fields of study were subject to the interests and enthusiasm of individual curators' (2012, 9) rings very true in the case of the Coryndon Museum. Their divergent interests are reflected in the

museum collections: '[b]y 1963, the Coryndon Memorial Museum boasted of galleries that exhibited mineral and geological collections; prehistory and palaeontology, including rock art; flower paintings; birds; botanical specimens; insects; reptiles; fresh-water biology and a limited number of ethnographic objects' (Karega-Munene, 2014, 29). The focus of the Coryndon Museum remained on scientific research and collections, and until Independence it seems it did not in any way consider itself an educational institution for the majority of the Kenyan population. In 1962, just before Independence, Fort Jesus in Mombasa became the second nationally-recognised museum of the East Africa Protectorate but plans for other national museums did not surface until after 1963 (Karega-Munene, 2014, 26).

2.3 Uganda (British Protectorate of Uganda, 1894-1962)

In 1963, Dr Merrick Posnansky, then Uganda Museum (UM) curator, wrote: 'The Uganda Museum, which was founded in 1908, is the oldest museum in East Africa' (149). He immediately tempered his statement by mentioning that the present museum building dated from 1954 and that it did not fully open until 1959 'because of a structural fault in the roof' (Posnansky, 1963, 149). In the Curator's Report of 1956, the earliest beginnings of the UM are mentioned as being 15 January 1908, the date when the Deputy Commissioner sent a letter to all District Commissioners to inform them that the Governor wanted to open a 'protectorate museum' in Entebbe (Wachsmann, 1957, 7). The 1908 museum was housed in a small building designed in the style of a Greek temple funded by donations given by the colonial government and Bugandan chiefs (Miller, 1975, 52). After the museum was established, its development stagnated for at least 30 years and Plumb recounts how, in this period the museum suffered from a badly designed building with a leaking roof that took 13 years to fix, limited space for its collections and the advent of World War I (2002, 72). Different government departments were responsible for the UM over the years until, in 1927, a committee was formed to consider 'Museum Policy in the Uganda Protectorate' (Deming cited in Plumb, 2002, 74). The prominent committee members expressed great ambitions for the museum but very few of their plans were realised due to lack of funding and initiative.

One of the few recommendations implemented was the appointment of a curator, a role taken up as a volunteer by Margaret Trowell in 1941, who was also a committee member (Plumb, 2002, 77).[15] A British arts teacher at Makerere College, she moved the collections of

[15] 1941 to 1946 is described by Trowell herself as the period of her curatorship at the Uganda Museum (Trowell, 1953, 3). However Plumb (2002) uses the period 1939 – 1945 and Miller stated it

the museum to the campus of the university and set out to identify and catalogue the collections as well as carrying out ethnographic collecting in the field (Trowell, 1953, 3). Under her directorship, the museum's constitution was written and annual funding guaranteed by the colonial government (Miller, 1975, 53) which raised the museum's profile despite its questionable reputation amongst Ugandans. As mentioned above, due to the focus on collecting of ethnographic material, and because of forced confiscation of items of 'witchcraft' (Peterson, 2015, 5), the museum was known as 'the house of horns' (*mayembe* or charms). Margaret Trowell wrote in the Uganda Society Journal that the museum was visited for its shock and horror value, not for its contents (Trowell cited in Plumb, 2002, 73), but as a teacher, Trowell strongly believed in the educational purpose of the museum and she strove to interest Ugandans in their history and culture (Trowell, 1953, 3). She seems to have succeeded in making the museum more attractive because 10,000 visits were recorded 1945 (Miller, 1975, 53).

With the end of World War II new ideas of working towards colonial progress and development also created increased awareness of the museum as a vehicle of the colonial state. From 1946 onwards the colonial government started to show more interest in the museum serving as the cultural centre of the Uganda Protectorate and exhibiting the improvements made by the government in modernising the country (Plumb, 2002, 81). Under this favourable climate new curator, Dr Klaus Wachsmann, a well-known musicologist, managed to greatly enhance interest in the museum by highlighting its educational value and expanding the collection of musical instruments. In 1952, the museum moved from Makerere campus to its present location, north of the centre of Kampala. Shortly before the move, a survey of the museum's public had shown that African visitors made up the majority compared to European and Asian visitors, with people commenting that 'people should be interested in the museum because it shows the ways of the past' (Vowles, 1963, 153), revealing that 'shock and horror' may no longer have been the sole motivation for visiting. A record number of 13,500 visited the museum in the first six months after opening (Deming cited in Plumb, 2002, 85), attracted by live music performances and opportunities to play Ugandan musical instruments (Posnansky, 1963, 150). In 1958, after Wachsmann's retirement, Dr Merrick Posnansky took the curator position and continued the development started a decade earlier. He helped found the first 'folk museums' in Uganda as he perceived it to be the way to reach the Ugandan public outside Kampala. The museums were conceived

is 1941 – 1945 (1975). A biographical article on Trowell speaks of a period of 1939 – 1945 (Court, 1985, 40).

as locally driven initiatives with minimal funding and donations from the local community and the first Folk Museum opened in Soroti in 1959 with two more set up after Independence (Walz, 2010, 184).[16]

2.3.1 A Modern Museum

The committee report produced in 1927 demonstrates their belief in the museum as a place for 'meeting the educational demands of a people who are so rapidly changing their outlook and mode of life' (Deming cited in Plumb, 2002, 76) To the critique that everyday household items did not have a place in the collections the committee responded that 'the different tribes in Uganda' had a diverse material culture which should be shown and that because of Uganda's rapid 'civilisation' common items would soon become historical curiosities, or even forgotten. As a result of coming 'into contact with civilization' and with the improvement of education, Ugandans' interest in their history and heritage would grow (Deming cited in Plumb, 2002, 77). It was the duty of the museum to preserve the past and the disappearing present for future generations. The report reflects contemporary reasoning on the inevitable progress of civilisation which would lead to traditional Ugandan culture soon disappearing.

This salvage ethnography trope noted in Chapter 1 was not exclusively colonial; in 1949, Braunholtz, the keeper of the ethnographical collections in the British Museum, stated: '[…] traditional handicrafts are unlikely to escape the kind of fate which befell them in England at the time of our own industrial revolution' (1953, VII). The disappearance of traditional life as a result of development can be found as the rationale behind ethnographic collections but it also motivated the establishment of open air and folk museums. [17] Even though the collections at the UM show similarities with many ethnographic museums, it could be perceived as closer in concept to folk and open air museums in Scandinavia and North-Eastern Europe which emerged around the same time. These museums appeared first in Scandinavia to record the disappearing rural ways of life as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation.[18] Just as in the UM, open air museums were meant to showcase both traditional and past ways of life with a strong focus on national and regional culture. In 1963,

[16] A more detailed history of the Uganda Museum can be found in the unpublished PhD thesis by Plumb (2002) *The challenges of social, political, and economic change: multiple portraits of the Uganda Museum.* She makes frequent use of Louise Deming's History of the Uganda Museum published in the Uganda Museum occasional paper in 1966.

[17] See Coombes (1994, 121) for a discussion on the validity of this trope used to amass ethnographic collections in the United Kingdom.

[18] For example, plans for an open air museum in the Netherlands date to 1912, with the purpose of protecting traditions, working methods and regional diversity from the threat of a rapidly changing world (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, 2014).

describing the ethnology gallery as giving a 'glimpse of traditional Uganda' and that 'the year 1890 is taken as the end point for the purely traditional culture' (1963, 150), Posnansky still employed the same thinking as the museum committee in 1927 and the founders of open air museums in European countries who perceived folk culture as a more authentic, simple but disappearing form of culture (Jong, 2006). In 1964, Curator Bishop mentioned plans for the construction of a craft village and an open-air theatre for performances in the UM (105) which are concurrent with the development of open air and folk museums in the United Kingdom, where such museums emerged in the late sixties and early seventies.[19] Also of note is the (open air) Village Museum built in Tanzania in 1966 by the Danish curator Meyer-Heiselberg (Miller, 1975, 50).

2.3.2 A Museum for the Nation?

Another aspect that resonates well with the wider developments of the early twentieth century is the museums' designation as a national museum, which is frequently related to the formation of nation states and nationalist mass movements (see Bennett, 1995; Duncan, 1995; Prösler, 1996). The museum, as in Uganda, was supposed to embody the nation by preserving its culture and history, presenting the nation as a unity and educating the younger generations (Prösler, 1996). Despite colonial and curatorial aspirations, the early museum was not particularly successful in achieving its status as a national symbol; its earlier reputation as the House of Fetishes, feared and powerful, did not correspond with the colonial civilising ideal. Only gradually, from Trowell's curatorship onwards, did Ugandan engagement with the museum grow, but the image of the house of fetishes never completely disappeared. The current Principal Conservator of the UM confirms that the *enyumba ya mayembe* is still a modality of the museum because, to this day, visitors will use the museum galleries to gain good health or mediate in private matters (Abiti, pers. comm. 2015). From Trowell's early years to Posnansky, the colonial curators tried to get rid of the reputation of the museum as a powerful, magical place and replace it with a scientific and educational 'modernist' ideal (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). In 1963 Posnansky lamented that the museum was often viewed as a 'storehouse for relics' but notes optimistically that this has now changed into '[…] a live museum rather than the 'house of charms' it was known as when originally founded' (1963, 152). The fact that its name has endured demonstrates that the house of fetishes is not in fact a storehouse of the past, but a vital aspect of the living museum

[19] With a few exceptions most open air museums were established after 1965. The Museum of East Anglian Life, the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum and the Avoncroft Museum in Worcestershire all opened in 1967.

revealing that 'traditional culture' has not disappeared, nor has the significance of the objects with powers which are still strong despite their transformation into semiophores. At the UM, culture has been preserved but not rendered powerless. In this manner the Ugandan public have appropriated the UM from its colonial inception and made it their own.

2.4 East African Cooperation

From the involvement of the Ugandan Governor in the East Africa Natural History Society in 1909 to the eventual foundation of the Museum Association of Middle Africa in 1959, regional African museum cooperation has its roots in the colonial era. The first meeting between curators took place in 1945 between Margaret Trowell, Louis (L. S. B.) Leakey, and Dr John Desmond Clark of the Livingstone Museum in Zambia (Plumb, 2002, 80). Another meeting was held in 1957 in Nairobi with curators from east and central Africa, followed by a larger meeting in 1959 in Kampala, where curators from east Africa discussed topics such as the educational responsibilities of museums, labelling in multiple languages and conservation in tropical climates (Plumb, 2002, 88). One outcome was the foundation of the Museum Association of Middle Africa (MAMA) (Posnansky, 1963, 153) later renamed Museum Association of Tropical Africa (MATA), which held a General Assembly in Livingstone in 1961 (Muller, 1965, 121). Here it was decided that a bi-lingual training centre for museum technicians would be set up in Jos, Nigeria with financial support from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). The interregional and international collaborations that started to appear in the final colonial years point towards an increasing consciousness of African museum curators and museums' potential role for African populations. Further expansion of international cooperation took place after decolonisation, which will be explored in more detail next.

3. National Museums after Independence 1962 – 1992

3.1 Introduction

For the museums of Kenya and Uganda, the move to Independence did not lead to immediate changes. With many other challenges ahead, museums were not at the forefront of new government policies. But neither museum was immune to the massive political, social and economic changes that took place in Kenya and Uganda in the postcolonial era. After Independence, national museum networks were expanded with local and regional museums.

Increasingly, museums in east Africa were involved with international professional organisations such as ICOM (International Council of Museums) and UNESCO. Influenced by new museological theory and practice propagated by international and African cooperation, east African countries adapted their views of what an African museum should be. But under mounting economic and political upheaval, causing immediate obstacles to museum practice, they struggled to redefine themselves.

3.2 Museums in Independent Uganda

Museums in independent African states were embedded in the new nation building structure as new governments tried to forge a national culture out of a multitude of ethnic groups and affiliations and national museums were part of this identity-formation process (Fouéré & Hughes, 2015, 543; Peterson, 2015).[20] However, it appears that the Uganda National Museum (UNM) was initially able to continue in much the same way as it had prior to Independence. With renewed optimism the museum flourished and expanded its collections, buildings and audiences with vigour. Another British curator, William Bishop, took over from Posnansky in 1962 until Charles Sekintu, a long-time Ugandan museum employee became curator in 1965. He studied museology in the United States with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and he became the second African curator on the continent (Plumb, 2002, 89; Bishop, 1964, 104). The UNM experienced its glory days just after Uganda became independent: an Independence Pavilion of Science and Industry was opened on the eve of Independence Day in 1962, displaying 'the development of science and industry in Uganda from 1862' (Bishop, 1964, 103). The first foreign funding received by the museum came from the Ford Foundation in 1963, for the construction of a state-of-the-art education centre with auditorium and generous government funding allowed for an extensive new educational service and the opening of a natural history wing in 1967, with a live animal park (Plumb, 2002, 93). Writing in 1964, Bishop concludes with much satisfaction that '[…] within ten years, the Uganda Museum […] has become a lively and attractive centre close to the heart of the people, where everyone […] can appreciate something of the intricate pattern of history and landscape, music and wild-life, prehistory and industry, which is Uganda' (105).

Heritage was brought into action for the state, or rather its potential threat to national unity and political power was realised, in 1966 when Prime Minister Milton Obote destroyed the

[20] See also Mary Jo Arnoldi (1999) for a discussion of the National Museum in Mali and Kwame Amoah Labi (2008) and Arianna Fogelman (2008) on the Ghana National Museum.

palace of the Buganda *kabaka* and subsequently banned all kingdoms (Peterson, 2015, 11). This move, aimed at wiping out 'tribalism' and increasing governmental power, affected the UNM by way of a large collection of regalia that suddenly entered the collection and made it a political instrument in the hands of the state (Peterson, 2015). Apart from this continued influx of contentious objects the museum seems to have continued relatively unencumbered until 1971 when Idi Amin took over Uganda in a coup. Plumb remarks that initially his new government took a more active interest in the museum by instructing it to disseminate Uganda's culture to its people to enhance mutual understanding and unity (2002, 94). Amin expressed enthusiasm for heritage for the purpose of tourism and Peterson mentions that 'Amin himself barnstormed through the country, laying foundation stones for historical monuments and opening provincial museums for tourists to visit' (2015, 23). [21]

From 1972, the turmoil caused by Amin's dictatorship led to the end of the museum's progress. Even though the government still funded much-needed repairs to the building in 1973-1974, external funding slowly disappeared and most professional and technical museum staff fled the country after the expulsion of the Asian Ugandan population in 1972 (Kamuhangire, 2004; Plumb, 2002, 96). Another major change that took place in 1977 was the amalgamation of the museum into the Department of Antiquities and Museums which meant its semi-autonomous status was abandoned, its board of trustees dismissed and it became a sub-division of the Ministry of Culture and Community Development (Kamuhangire, 2004). The integration of the UNM into the government led to further decline as its administrative structure became more rigid and it was dependent on the Treasury for all finances (Plumb, 2002, 114). With a severely limited budget and economic and political upheaval taking its toll, the building and collections deteriorated and the UNM was forced to close in 1985. It would not re-open until 1992, when peace returned to Uganda.

3.3 National Museums of Kenya after Independence

In the second year of Independence the Coryndon Memorial Museum was renamed the National Museum of Kenya at the request of President Kenyatta (Cole, 1975, 270). The former colonial institute changed its name but little else; staff and trustees remained the same as before and continued the status quo, of a public museum, but not necessarily as a

[21] The fact that Idi Amin allowed the body of the deceased *kabaka* Mutesa II to return to Uganda in 1971, where he was interred in the Kasubi tombs, is worth mentioning in this regard (Oloka-Onyango, 1997, 176).

symbol of the state. (Karega-Munene, 2014, 30). With the earlier addition of the Fort Jesus Museum, the national institution was known as National Museums of Kenya (NMK), revealing ambitions for a future with a network of national museums. The curator, Robert Carcasson, made plans in 1966 for the expansion of the NMK with so-called scientific museums and cultural museums which were also termed village, or provincial museums (Karega-Munene, 2014, 29). The aims Carcasson had in mind for the scientific museums were very similar to the old Coryndon Museum; the acquisition and preservation of natural history and palaeontology collections, a strong emphasis on research and academic knowledge sharing and an educational service to the public (Karega-Munene, 2014). Carcasson's belief in the importance of natural history and science was expressed in an article written for *Museum* in 1963 where he described the Coryndon Museum as 'the most important natural history museum in Tropical Africa' (1963, 183) and lamented the lack of interest from the 'African intelligentsia' in their natural heritage. While the African elite is busy with pressing matters of politics and economy, it falls to institutions such as the Coryndon Museum to 'impress upon the population the need to preserve the surviving remnants of wild life and wild habitats' wrote Carcasson (1963, 185). This narrative, of loss and need for preservation, was a repetition of the same salvage paradigm already expressed in the context of the Uganda Museum, but this time related to natural heritage rather than cultural heritage. His interests did not extend to how a national museum might represent the new realities of the Kenyan public after Independence: by contrast, the envisioned cultural museums would aim at 'illustrating and preserving customs and traditional crafts and skills of particular tribal groups' (Carcasson in Karega-Munene, 2014, 30). These museums, envisioned as village or provincial institutions, would be funded by the national government but run by local authorities.

By 1968, Richard Leakey, son of former curator Louis Leakey, had become the new NMK director of a considerably larger organisation. The expanding NMK had been made responsible for prehistoric monuments and sites spread throughout Kenya in 1966. This included for example, the Hyrax Hill Museum created in a small farmhouse in 1965 to exhibit prehistorical artefacts found at the archaeological site nearby. In 1969, the Regional Museums Development Programme was initiated as a way to 'take the museum to the people by establishing regional museums in high-density areas of Kenya' (Schmidt & Kirigia, 1976, 203). The first regional museum opened in 1974 in Kitale and was named the National Museum of Western Kenya followed by the regional museum in Meru, the creation of which

is related in detail in a *Museum* article in 1976.[22] Emerging from an idea by the Meru District Council in 1973, it was soon decided that the Council and the NMK would jointly establish the museum. A local teacher-turned-curator set out to collect ethnological and 'traditional indigenous material culture items [that are] being discarded or destroyed' (1976, 204). A building was being prepared and three traditional buildings were built, echoing open air and folklore museums which were emerging simultaneously in the United Kingdom. Further similarities can be gleaned from the planned live demonstrations of traditional skills, dances and music with the intention to 'familiarize the local people with their own heritage' (1976, 208). The curator travelled through the district with a free film programme to 'tell the story of the museum' (1976, 205) thereby involving the communities at an early stage. Local knowledge was also incorporated: elders and a Museum Advisory Committee commented on exhibition development at different stages. Like the UNM and the Nairobi National Museum (NNM), Meru Museum was given a garden area with a fish pond, a tortoise and the planned addition of reptiles and small mammals. The purpose of this museum was radically different from the first colonial museum; it was 'opened by and for the people' of Meru and had a strong local focus (1976, 209). The Regional Museums Development Programme expanded with the addition of a museum in Kisumu, where construction on a museum compound mimicking traditional architecture started in late 1976 and finished in 1980 (Enzi Museum, 2015).

Within the NMK, it is regional museums that provide most information about the changes in museological thinking taking place in Kenya. Not only did NMK invest in getting 'museums to people', a public engagement that was quite recent, it was actually the Meru District Council that took the initiative stating that 'such a museum would be of great interest to the future generations of our District and Municipality and it is also believed that the Museum, if developed to the standard, would be of great interest to the tourists who pass through Meru' (Schmidt & Kirigia, 1976, 203). These themes, educating future generations and catering to tourists, herald a paradigm shift in thinking about the social and economic role of the museum in Africa, which are reflected in a special issue of *Museum* from 1976 dedicated to developments in African museology. The issue refers to the UNESCO Regional Seminar on the 'Better Adaptation of Museums to the Modern World' that took place in Bangui in April 1976 (Monreal, 1976, 187) and hints at a lively debate capturing African museologists on the future

[22] *Museum*, now *Museum International*, is a quarterly journal that was published by UNESCO from 1948 to 2013. After that publishing rights were transferred to the International Council of Museums (ICOM) (Isar, 2015, 40; ICOM, 2018).

of their discipline and its institutions. It is noted that 'by rejecting the museum of traditional, colonial conception – alien to African realities of today – a step forward was made towards finding approaches that truly contribute to sociocultural development' (Monreal, 1976, 187). While it cannot be traced exactly how much the Regional Museum Development Programme was influenced by current ideas on African museums, the topics mentioned resonate remarkably well; the role of museums in Africa is identified as strengthening community participation in preserving and using national heritage, promoting cultural identity while furthering mutual understanding and improving 'present and future life' by learning from the past (Monreal, 187).

3.4 African Cooperation and Museology

As a result of the Idi Amin regime, the UNM, once famous and thriving, was slowly deteriorating, while in Kenya the NMK grew to be an organisation responsible for virtually all heritage sites in the country. Buts as the articles published in *Museum* show, NMK also participated on a global platform and collaborated with other African museums. From 1961 onwards, the Museum Association of Tropical Africa organised cooperation between African countries and in the same period UNESCO became progressively more involved in the development and support of museums in 'underdeveloped' countries foreshadowing the culture and development discourse that would emerge a decade later (Isar, 2015, 41). Indeed, in 1962 UNESCO collaborated with ICOM to organise an expert meeting in Switzerland on 'the problems of museums in countries undergoing rapid change' (Gessain, 1965, 118) while the *Museum* issue of 1963 mentions that 'Unesco is taking a direct part in aiding the development of museums in Africa' (Frin, 1963, 122). In addition, UNESCO organised a number of regional meetings in Africa from 1962 onwards: in 1964 in Jos, Nigeria the meeting was titled 'The Role of Museums in Contemporary Africa' and was introduced as 'the first to be devoted to the development of museums and museum programmes in Africa' (UNESCO, 1965, 3). Another regional meeting took place in April 1976 in Bangui, and focused on 'the Better Adaption of Museums to the Modern World'. In the subsequent *Museum* issue, calls were made for the 'Africanization' of the museums on the continent and to infuse 'the role of museums in Africa with new dynamism' (Myles, 1976, 197; Aithnard, 1976, 189). UNESCO and ICOM's activities also reveal the role both organisations played in shaping museological thinking in Africa (Frin, 1963, 122). As mentioned in Chapter 1, it is conferences,

seminars, meetings and journals that have aided in disseminating an internationally accepted heritage and development discourse that is still prevalent today (Isar, 2015, 40).

3.4.1 An African Museology

The invigoration of museum professionals on the African continent in the 1970s is made visible by comparing articles in *Museum* in 1963 and 1976. In 1963, the *Museum* issue on African museums included only colonial curators such as Bernard Fagg of Nigeria, Merrick Posnansky in Uganda and Stanley E. West on Tanzania, who mention the changes brought about by Independence but still describe the national museums mainly in terms of buildings, collections and conservation. By contrast, in the 1976 issue, African museum development is addressed by mainly African authors who focus on the educational, social and developmental role of the museum. One author writes that the search for new forms and techniques that are better suited to the conditions of Africa has been going on 'imperceptibly for the past decade or so, and now it appears to be emerging rather more conspicuously.' (Myles, 1976, 196). African museum professionals were well-informed by current theories and examples of new practices and took an active role in calling for museums to be better aligned with the African environment. Proposals for change included for example: promoting national unity, education, links between people's past and future, and cautious development of the tourist trade (Aithnard, 1976, 189). In order to achieve these ambitions the author put forward the concept of the 'living museum' which he defined as promoting 'endogenous development' by mobilising communities to achieve progress. The 'living museum' would be a collective enterprise, by and for the community, to present the past, cultural diversity and be a symbol of unity, a description that fits the ideas of the ecomuseum and 'integrated museum' as well (Aithnard, 1976, 192). Combining community services with economic development, Aithnard further envisions that 'the museum is an open-air school' with gardens full of flora and fauna, open-air theatre, a 'traditional hairdressing salon', a restaurant, working craftsmen, and a shop to sell crafts (1976, 194). These 1976 articles only represent a small fraction of the wider developments that took place in the 1970s, nevertheless they demonstrate that the museum in Africa came to be defined broadly and fluidly with a focus on community, cultural values and education.

3.4.2 Museum Training Programmes

In line with the emerging culture and development discourse explored in Chapter 1, the first intercontinental museum exchange or support programmes began to emerge in the 1980s.[23] In 1982, the West African Museums Programme (WAMP) started as a project of the International African Institute in Abidjan and, contrary to its name, the Board has included east African membership, notably former Deputy Director of NMK, Omar Bwana (WAMP, 2015; Mack, 2018). Shortly afterwards the Swedish-African Museum Programme (SWAMP) developed a 'friendship museum' exchange programme initiated by the Swedish ICOM National Committee (Olofsson, 1988) and in 1985, ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Conservation of Cultural Property) started PREMA, a conservation programme for Prevention in Museums in Africa (ICCROM, 2015). In the same year WAMP organised a symposium on local museums in West Africa because it was recognised that 'the inherited model of a single 'national museum' was increasingly found to be inadequate' (Ravenhill, 1995, 1). This had already been noted by Alfred Oumar Konaré who stated that 'the traditional museum is no longer in tune with our concerns' (1983, 146) and declared that a new ethnographic museum 'would be more like family and community museums' (1983, 147).[24] He further mentioned that 'of the different models of museums existing in Europe today, Africa would do well to examine the ecomuseum system' (ibid. 1985). This continuing debate on the role and relevance of African museums, supported by international programmes, was intent on breaking with received colonial templates and moving towards an African museum closely aligned with theories on ecomuseums, 'living museums', and local museums. Most innovations seem to have taken place in west African countries however, with the exception of NMK's Regional Museums Development Programme. After this period of optimism and innovation a new crisis began for African museums in the 1990s; faced with increasing neglect and irrelevance, museum professionals and scholars called once more for a reform of the African museum (Arinze, 1998). A crucial expert meeting organised by ICOM in 1991 in Benin Republic, Togo and Ghana asked the question 'What Museums for Africa?' and brought together a large number of African museum professionals. It represented a step towards museological renewal which would

[23] As mentioned in Chapter 1, in 1982 UNESCO organised the World Conference on Cultural Policies which recommended museum staff training in developing countries.

[24] Konaré was a member of the WAMP board and later became Director of the Mali National Museum before becoming the country's President. His most recent position was as Chairman for the Commission of the African Union.

eventually lead to the establishment of AFRICOM, the International Council of African Museums, in 1999, with the main office located in Nairobi.[25]

4. New Roles and Relevance for Museums in East Africa

4.1 Introduction

In the preface to the proceedings of the 1991 expert meeting, Alpha Oumar Konaré expressed one missed opportunity:

> 'I regret that the African professionals did not engage a reflection more deliberately distanced from the Western model of a museum. […] It is with the elite of our villages and rural communities, who have created our cultural treasures and traditions, that our young elite, the museum professionals, must work out new solutions.' (1992).

It seems that his plea materialised later on in the 1990s in Kenya; not in national museums but with civic initiatives responding to a need within society.

4.2 Community Peace Museums in Kenya

Fouéré and Hughes claim that: 'One of the most significant developments since the mid-1990s, particularly in Kenya, has been the upsurge of citizens' engagement with local heritage and history.' who suggest that this was related to: '[…] the widening of democratic space, the rise of identity politics, the proliferation of local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) linked to international NGOs and globalised indigenous rights' activism […]'. (2015, 548) The Community Peace Museums (CPMs) are one of these civil initiatives and the project that would eventually lead to their formation was a Kenyan Material Culture project led by Dr Sultan Somjee focusing on the material culture of peace of eight pastoralist ethnic groups. Beginning in 1994, the projects' funding originated from the Mennonite Central Committee Kenya with Dr Somjee, then Head of Ethnography at NMK, as the project leader. Somjee initially recruited eight young men from different pastoralist groups as research assistants, who each carried out research in their own communities. The original goal of the project was to record the material culture of peace and reconciliation practices but it soon came to

[25] AFRICOM as an organisation is currently dormant although there seem to be efforts from museum professionals to revive it.

include intangible heritage such as peace traditions and rituals, language and customs remembered by elders (Somjee, 2014b). Training workshops provided the research assistants with guidance on how to make exhibits to share and display their collected material. A further step towards exhibiting the assembled objects and related cultural knowledge took place in 1998, when an exhibition titled 'Heritage of Peace' took place in the NNM. It was linked to Somjee's book *Honey and Heifer, Grasses, Milk and Water: A Heritage of Diversity in Reconciliation* which had come out the year before. Meanwhile the project also continued investing in relations with the pastoralist communities by organising multi-ethnic meetings that created a forum for elders to speak about peace, stimulate dialogue between groups, and facilitate cultural performances. The emphasis on intangible culture would later play an important role in creating the community peace museums' ideology and Somjee identified multi-sensory engagement, such as dance movements, listening to music and touching peace-related objects to be part of the 'community based and participatory approach that the peace museums of Kenya followed' (Somjee, 2014a, 285).

The first CPMs started to take shape in the late 1990s and the project, sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee until 2003, was renamed the Community Peace Museum Project (Somjee 2014b). The first two museums, located in Maasai and Rendille communities, were constructed in traditional ways with locally available materials which became the template for future museum-makers to follow (Somjee, 2014a, 275). Other museums appear to have been established around 2000, and in 2002 eighteen CPM's from different regions in Kenya united under one umbrella organisation: the Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation (CPMHF). The CPMs focus on peace cultures originated from the initial project mission and collected material, but it was also a response to repeated inter-ethnic violence in Kenya during the 1990s as a result of long-standing colonial and post-colonial divisive political tactics. Somjee mentions that the humiliation and disenfranchisement experienced by ethnic minority groups was not remedied by the NMK as their culture and knowledge went unrecognised (with the exception of Somjee's own projects at the NNM).[26] He further discerns a political 'culture of violence' stemming from the colonial period that has eroded away traditional ways of dealing with conflict which government institutions, then and now, have failed to address. These experiences prompted the need for museums, based locally, that promoted cohesion and peace, although Somjee testifies that in a climate of distrust it

[26] More information on exhibitions Dr Somjee organised at the Nairobi National Museum is given in 'Building Kenyan Identities: Art Education, Material Culture, Indigenous Aesthetics and Community Peace Museums' (Somjee, 2008).

took a decade to build meaningful relationships with the different ethnic communities (2014a, 275; 2014b). The perceived failure of state institutions, including NMK, has led the CPMs to adopt an independent and somewhat distrustful stance in relation to governmental bodies: '[…] all the museums were registered at regional administrative offices as community cultural organizations, and thus escaped the suspicious eyes of the local politicians and central government.' (Somjee, 2014a, 285). Suspicion was expected from politicians who were worried about the potential political motives of the museums as well as the central government's legislation that required museums to receive approval from the NMK before being recognised as such, a point that will be explored in detail below.

4.2.1 A Heritage of Peace and Reconciliation

The CPMs differ in many ways from the museums under the NMK's umbrella, not just because they are independent but also because of their exceptional mission to promote peace and reconciliation in and between ethnic communities (Karega-Munene, 2011, 227). In addition, a number of modalities can be seen which will be analysed in depth in future chapters. For example, while most CPMs have material collections that are displayed and used, objects do not form the core of the museums' practices and it seems that outreach activities outside the museum take precedence. Examples, such as planting peace trees, convening meetings with elders, documenting sacred sites and teaching at schools, were described by the museum-maker of the Aembu Community Peace Museum as forming the core of his work (Njiru, 2016). Another, more practical, reason for the emphasis on museum activities outside the museum space might be the often bad condition of the buildings because the CPMs that are currently operating survive on a minimal budget and struggle with issues surrounding maintenance and land ownership. Their most valuable resource is the enduring relationships with the elders and communities who take part in, and provide knowledge about, cultural practices related to peace and reconciliation. The focus on intangible culture appears to be the main strength of the CPMs, an element that will also come to the fore in the analysis of the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM). In an interview, peace is broadly defined by the Aembu museum-maker as permeating all aspects of harmonious living who says that: 'Peace starts in the family, and then goes to the national level.' (Njiru, 2016) but despite this broad focus some CPM's are located in places where they directly address a legacy of fraught relationships. The conflict between Mau Mau fighters and Home Guards is commemorated in the Lari Memorial Peace Museum, the main subject of Annie Coombes' research in *Managing Heritage, Making Peace* (2014), which strives for peaceful relations between the two factions who fought each other during the Lari Massacre

of 1953. The violent legacy of colonialism is equally given expression in the Agikuyu Community Peace Museum where the Mau Mau struggle against the British and the Home Guard is narrated (Karega-Munene, 2011, 237; Coombes, 2014). The direct confrontation of the memory of one particular conflict seems to be an exception compared to most other CPMs however, a fact also acknowledged by Coombes who concedes that most CPMs focus on one ethnic group only (2014, 87). The variety of narratives being constructed in CPMs about culture, history and memory are noted by Coombes, an element of the museums that will also emerge when looking at the ACPM on Mfangano Island.

Most museums appear to adhere to a broad definition of heritage: '[…] heritage includes material culture, indigenous knowledge, religious practices, rituals, indigenous food crops and food production systems, poetry, song, proverbs, riddles, stories, dance, art, peace trees, biological and physical environment, spaces/sites of memory, oral traditions, performing arts, social and cultural practices, festive events, and the production of traditional crafts.' (Karega-Munene, 2011, 226). Karega-Munene juxtaposes this definition with the more narrow ideas on heritage that characterised the NMK up until recently, but also suggests that the CPM definition shows similarities to definitions used by UNESCO, hinting at the various national and international stakeholders that play a part in the creation and development of the independent museums (2014, 38). Not all CPMs that were established in the early 2000s are still functioning: numbers vary depending on the museum-makers' ability to commit to the museums and their precarious financial situations. In a conversation with the current chair of the CPMHF he makes a division between museums that are active and museums that are not, not depending on whether they currently have museum structure but rather on if there is a museum-maker involved in peace research and community engagement (Gachanga, 2016). Collaborating with international partners has given a boost to a number of CPMs who participated in 'Journeys of Peace' and 'Youth for Peace' programmes with the Swedish NGO Cultural Heritage Without Borders in 2013 and 2014 (Perrin, 2014). It is possible to argue that the emergence of the CPMs has changed the heritage landscape of Kenya, and there are signs that they influenced the new Kenyan Constitution adopted in 2010 as well.[27] Coombes says about CPM's '[…] that we need to understand them as representing attempts to create an alternative vision and model of civil society […]' (2014, 54) but she also warns

[27] In an online article Dr Sultan Somjee describes how the CPMHF was invited to participate in conferences organised by the Constitutional Review Commission of Kenya. Somjee himself expresses hope that: 'Now under the new 2010 Constitution of Kenya (Art. 11), there is finally an opening in retrieving, assembling and exhibiting the nation's social remembering of how conflicts were/are resolved, both ancestral and current, both among citizens holding high cultural maintenance and those in transition.' (2014b).

against creating a dichotomy of CPMs against the NMK arguing that it '[…] seems to me to be a more complex issue than simply one of state versus non-state, not least because the deliberate invoking of 'museum' (as opposed to community centre, for example) derives its potency precisely from its use in the context of national institutions such as the NMK.' (2014, 54). To better understand the complex relationship independent museums have with the national heritage body in Kenya, the NMK and its recent transformations will be discussed next.

4.3 National Museums of Kenya Now

The contemporary situation in Kenya is changing significantly due to the implementation of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya. The new regulations represent a significant shift in thinking about culture and heritage and will impact the NMK as well as independent museums. It is useful to scrutinise the legal documents underpinning these changes to elucidate just how much the landscape for museums has altered with the implementation of the 2010 Constitution. Previously, the National Museums and Heritage Act of 2009 (revised from the 2006 version) defined museums as: ' […] ''museum" means a public or private institution which collects, preserves, analyses and exhibit objects of cultural and natural heritage; "national museum" means a museum vested in the National Museums.' (Kenya, 2009, 7). The Act established the authority of the NMK and confirmed the functions of museums as national repositories, places of research and knowledge that protect and conserve Kenya's natural and cultural heritage and […] promote cultural resources in the context of social and economic development (2009, 9). The NMK was responsible for all sites of cultural and natural heritage in the country and was given considerable authority to ensure its maintenance and protection. Most significantly for independent museums was Part XI – General, point 67 (1): 'No person shall operate a museum except in accordance with a licence granted by the Minister, which shall be subject to such terms and conditions as the Minister may think fit.' (2009, 34). Furthermore, subsidiary legislation for private museums added in 2008 states that, in order to be eligible for a license a private museum needs to provide evidence of: 'a facility which qualities (sic) to be used as a museum', 'a substantial collection for exhibition', 'able to provide professional and authoritative expertise', 'tenure building in which the proposed museum is located' and 'name and qualifications of the proposed curator of the museum' (2009, 39). In addition, the applicant should provide a history of the collection, an acquisition policy and a collection handling, storing and display policy (2009,

39). Considering these particularly stringent demands, none of the independent museums that were established in Kenya in the past would qualify for a license and it explains why the CPMs were registered as community cultural organisations instead. According to Karega-Munene, the mandatory license was intended to 'tame Community Museums of Kenya (CMK)' (2014, 35) which operated the Kipsaraman Community Museum. This museum had refused to hand over newly discovered fossilised remains and instead displayed them in their own building, contrary to heritage law and NMK policy (2014, 35). This incident illustrates NMK's fear of losing control over the country's cultural and natural heritage assets and its determination to retain its jurisdiction. Apart from the legislation's inhibiting effect on the establishment of new museums, it also subscribes to a particularly narrow view of what a museum is. Coombes substantiates this by stating that not only did NMK determine the definition of a museum, '[…] in Kenya the NMK also functions as arbitrator on what constitutes national heritage and memory.' (2014, 54).

NMK's previous efforts at establishing its authority have been obstructed significantly by the 2010 Constitution. Compared to the National Museums and Heritage Act, the new Constitution of Kenya takes a radically different standpoint; it has put in motion the devolution of many functions of National Government to 47 County Governments including the function of museums. The Fourth Schedule: Distribution of Functions between National and the County Governments states that included in the functions of the county are 'Cultural activities, public entertainment and public amenities' of which '(g) museums' (Kenya, 2010, 195). The only authority remaining with the National Government is identified in Part One, point 25 as 'Ancient and historical monuments of national importance', a major reduction to the NMK's remit that has created some uncertainty and concern in the organisation (2010, 194). Opinions on the implications differ among the staff of the NMK; from a positive perspective, the devolution offers more space for the development of new heritage initiatives including museums, as well as more room for closer consultation with local communities than the NMK was previously able to carry out. A more cautious view is the risk of fragmentation of heritage now that each County Government can decide if and how to allocate funding to the maintenance of museums. As often happens with major changes in organisations, staff expressed worries about their own or their colleagues' job security, especially for those working at sites that will likely become part of the County Government's responsibility.

Evidently, the changes present both challenges and opportunities but according to the most recent information the number of museums that will be devolved to County Governments is

limited. In fact, there are currently only five museums out of a total of 21 that are scheduled to be devolved.[28] All other museums in Kenya can be classified as national monuments according to the NMK, meaning that most fears for the museum department; collections safety, loss of expertise and jobs, have been abated. Enthusiasm in taking up heritage tasks has varied across county authorities but, with an eye to the development of the tourism sector in particular as a potential source of revenue, they have taken the opportunity to look at the management and possible expansion of their existing museums and local heritage sites. Experience from Western Kenya indicates that County Governments are interested in developing local heritage sites to raise their cultural profile as well as to improve the economic possibilities of heritage exploitation.

4.3.1 Devolution to the Counties: A New Role for NMK

In the context of this large transformation of the national heritage field, the NMK is faced with the task of adapting to the new situation and finding new relevance. Even though it will still manage the majority of heritage sites in Kenya the organisation is now forced to look critically at its functions and redefine its mission as a national heritage body. While in the headquarters of NMK the ideas on the consequences of the devolution process have been rather mixed, local NMK staff are already living in the new reality of devolved governments and have incorporated it in their activities. At a potential heritage site in Western Kenya, staff members from the NMK were consulting county representatives on development of heritage sites. The expertise of the staff was welcomed and the collaboration on future heritage development promised to be fruitful.[29] This situation gives an insight into the new role that the NMK is planning to take on in the changed heritage landscape, as consultants and heritage experts. In addition to this, the NMK launched a new Kenya Heritage Training Institute in Mombasa in early 2017. The training programme on offer, called 'Heritage and Museum Basics', is aimed at staff working with heritage all over the country, anticipating that civil servants will need to be trained to manage local heritage sites and museums at the County Government level (Abdullahi, 2017). In collaboration with the University of Nairobi, the Institute will also offer museological courses, with emphasis on the practical elements of heritage work. While the previous training institute located in Mombasa, the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA), was an international organisation established as a

[28] The museums in the process of devolution are Kisumu Museum, Kitale Museum, Narok Museum, Loiangalani Desert Museum and Wajir Museum.

[29] The meeting between Siaja County Government representatives and NMK Western Kenya was attended by the author on 24 February 2016 (See appendix B).

continuation of the ICCROM-PREMA (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property – Prevention in Museums in Africa) programme for Anglophone countries on the continent, the Kenya Heritage Training Institute's target audience is mainly Kenyan professionals. Providing this educational service to the County Governments is seen as an integral part of the new role of the NMK.

In the search for a new position, a senior staff member at NMK mentioned English Heritage as a model to emulate for NMK, indicating that the emphasis of the organisation will be placed on national heritage management rather than museums (Lagat, 2016). To this end, NMK is trying to reconstitute itself legally: a 'Kenya Heritage Authority Act' bill is currently being drafted. In it, NMK rebrands itself as the Kenya Heritage Authority and shapes its mandate to place more focus on national heritage, although in the new act this may include museum collections and museum buildings. For example, it states that 'any place or object of national importance' may be declared to be 'a national heritage' (National Museums of Kenya, 2015, 21) if it meets a certain set of criteria which could potentially include objects from any museum collection in Kenya.[30] It further proposes that 'All collections of national importance shall be deposited with the Authority', which would effectively place almost all museum collections in the country under the new Kenya Heritage Authority remit (2015, 22). Furthermore, the Act proposes the establishment of National Heritage Centres managed by the Authority. The draft Act shares many similarities with the 2009 National Museums and Heritage Act but now the word 'museum' is replaced by the term 'national heritage centre'. Further additions to the Act are the inclusion of a National Heritage Register which will replace the various museum registers in current use and a Heritage Tribunal which will deal with any legal processes arising from this Act (2015, 43). If this Act is implemented the newly created Kenya Heritage Authority will return NMK to the large and powerful national organisation that it was before devolution. Through the rephrasing of the definitions of heritage and museum it will stay in charge of the vast majority of its current national museums and heritage sites. Finally, NMK's Director-General revealed in early 2017 that the organisation is currently 'unveiling at least 100 monuments and historical significant sites

[30] Part III – Management of National Heritage, point 2.8 mentions: 'movable objects, including - (h) objects recovered from the soil or waters of Kenya, including archaeological and paleontological objects and material, meteorites and rare geological specimens; (ii) objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage; (iii) ethnographic art and objects; (iv) military objects; (v) objects of decorative or fine art; (vi) objects of scientific or technological interest; and (vii) collections of national significance.

across the 47 counties' (Abdullahi, 2017). As the protector and manager of the national heritage in Kenya, NMK still has a voracious appetite.

4.3.2 New Museums

Crucially, now that the term 'museum' is no longer under license of NMK, it opens up space for independent museums to proliferate in numbers and diversity. This provides new opportunities for different narratives and perspectives in independent museums belonging to counties and civic organisations. There is a remarkable increase in organisations and government authorities with a wish to found museums in Kenya which may be a result of the diminished authority of NMK. Several examples illustrate these shifts: in early 2016, the last preparations were made for the new Judiciary Museum inside the Supreme Court building in Nairobi. This museum, which opened in June 2016, was initiated to make the public more familiar with the Judiciary system and to preserve its heritage (The Judiciary, 2017). Apart from this museum, NMK staff said that the police force, the military, the Central Bank and Kenya Ports Authority are all in various stages of establishing museums.[31] NMK staff are involved with these projects as consultants, further consolidating their role as museum experts in Kenya. The arguments cited for these initiatives are to preserve materials they have gathered over the years, and to have something visual and tangible while educating the public and 'demystifying' the functions of various institutions (Lagat, 2016).

NMK also advises non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on their museum initiatives, such as the Maasai Museum which is part of a project run by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation for their Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems initiative (Sironka, n.d.). Previously such museums would often be absorbed by NMK once they were running; a case in point is the Loiyangalani Desert Museum which was an initiative of an Italian corporation conducting anthropological research in the area (Lagat, 2016). Compared to the CPMs, the current semi-independent museums seem to be better funded, more professional and more standardised in their museum practices. Their spaces and long-term sustainability are often more stable and secure but it appears that they follow more conventional museum practice, advocated by the NMK, whereas the CPMs interpret their mission as a museum much broader and fluidly. The difference is illustrated by the museum-maker of Aembu CPM who described his museum as '[…] something that grows from the community, if the community is there, the museum is there.' (Njiru, 2016). This greater

[31] A newspaper article from 7 June 2017 confirms that Kenya's first maritime museum is in preparation in Mombasa, a collaboration between Kenya Ports Authority and NMK. (Mwakio, 2017).

emphasis placed on community by independent museums is an element that will become more prominent when looking at the current developments in Uganda.

4.4 National and Independent Museums in Uganda

In Uganda, the management of heritage and culture has for years been neglected by the National Government which can be seen as one of the reasons for the emergence of independent heritage initiatives. Small, local museums, often started by individuals, seem to be filling a perceived gap in the preservation and passing on of culture; a markedly different situation from Kenya which has impacted the conceptualisation of independent museums.

Contrary to the historical engagement of colonial and post-Independence governments with the UNM, the Government that has been in power since 1986 has displayed little interest in culture and heritage apart from its potential for income creation. On the whole, the Government heavily emphasises Uganda's economic growth in order to become a middle-income country, and promotes the advancement of the agricultural sector and STEM subjects and the hard sciences. The general disinterest in culture is reflected in the Ugandan Constitution of 1995 which only refers in non-committal terms to culture and heritage with the exception of 'the institution of traditional and cultural leaders' which is the subject of Chapter 16 of the Constitution.[32] The UNM, which since 1977 has been part of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, has been housed with the ministries of 'Culture and Community Development', 'Culture, Youth and Sports', 'Tourism, Trade and Industry' and currently falls under 'Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities' mirroring the various interests and purposes that the museum has served (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities, 2015a, 4). The staff at the UNM widely regarded the museum's complete dependence on government approval for all operations as the cause of its chronic lack of investment and initiative over the past three decades; the museum does not manage its own budget nor can it make any decisions on policies, organisational or technical changes.[33] And

[32] Point XXV of the Constitution of Uganda concerns the 'Preservation of public property and heritage.' It states: 'The State and citizens shall endeavour to preserve and protect and generally promote the culture of preservation of public property and Uganda's heritage.'(Uganda, 1995, 24) The phrasing 'shall endeavour' weakens the statement in the defining constitutional document of Uganda. Other brief references to heritage and monuments are found in the Sixth Schedule, 'Functions and Services for which Government is responsible', point 10: 'National monuments, antiquities, archives and public records, as Parliament may determine.'(ibid. 1995, 190).

[33] UNM staff stated that the general budget caters only for the bare minimum; salaries and basic maintenance, while any expenditure outside of the budget needs to be applied for separately.

while over the years there have been several attempts to re-establish the museum as a parastatal authority similar to the NMK's status in Kenya, this plan has still not come to fruition. A World Bank International Development Fund project that ran from 1997 to 2000 was aimed at raising institutional capacity and establishing a semi-autonomous National Commission of Antiquities and Monuments, a process that changed the name in 2003 to the Uganda Museums and Monuments Agency, but despite multiple efforts in 2005 these plans were finally blocked by the Ministry of Finance and the chances of ever becoming more autonomous seemed slim (Tumwebaze, 2010). An additional bureaucratic oddity is the fact that 'culture' is the responsibility of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, essentially categorising the museum's contents as the 'antique' past while 'culture' is seen as part of a contemporary social fabric. The consistent absence of interest in the museum was further confirmed by the fact that, in early 2011, the Minister of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities attempted to close the UNM and build an 'East African Trade Centre' on its land (Reid, 2014, 377).

4.4.1 Positive Changes for the Uganda National Museum

Recently there have been cautious indications that the national museums in Uganda may be heading towards some progressive changes with the acceptance of the 2015 Museums and Monuments Policy which was accepted by Parliament in 2016. The policy will replace the 1967 Historical Monuments Act, and will hopefully grant the Museums and Monuments Department the status of a parastatal authority, although even if it is approved it may take several years before the Policy is implemented. Nevertheless, there is now a large project underway called 'Development of Museums and Heritage Sites for Cultural Promotion' from 2015/2016 to 2019/2020 which will improve and expand the UNM and develop existing regional museums in Soroti, Kabale and new regional museums in Fort Portal and Arua (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Culture, 2018). These efforts are part of a more extensive tourism development plan which also includes the creation of new heritage sites with the aim to have them listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities, 2015b, 39). The strong emphasis on heritage's value for tourism and social and economic development is evident from the text in the Museums and Monuments policy: 'Museums and Monuments coexist in the development of the nation through community participation, cultural heritage product development and services investment by the private sector in the Tourism industry.' (ibid. 2015a, 11). It remains to be seen how the UNM, celebrating its 100th anniversary in 2018, will be able to innovate as an institution considering displays have not been changed since the 1960s.

4.4.2 New Museums

Meanwhile, the past and, until recently, paralysed state of the Department of Museums and Monuments (the current name) has created space for independent museums to rise up. These small, mostly local, museums have been created by diverse people and organisations; churches, retired teachers, the Central Bank, universities, a wealthy publisher, and a human rights organisation among others. Many (but not all) museums have been united under the umbrella of so-called 'community museums' by the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU), an NGO that works to integrate culture in development, and whose relationship to, and impact on, independent museums will be analysed in Chapter 5.[34] CCFU has worked with independent museums since 2009 and has created a museums network; initially thirteen selected museum-makers were invited for training in Kampala in 2009, an e-newsletter was circulated and small grants distributed (Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda [CCFU], 2012, 20). In 2010, CCFU organised the first 'Community Museums Exhibition' in Kampala, further presenting the museums as a united group. Brochures and a map indicating the museums' locations were also produced in 2012 and 2013 (CCFU, 2012, 21; CCFU, 2013). On the map from 2013 there are thirteen museums listed as 'fully operational', fifteen as 'appointment needed', indicating that these museums only open when visitors make an appointment in advance, and seven museums were 'in preparation' at the time. To date CCFU still supports the community museums but they are conscious of the fact that they will not be able to offer long-term support to the growing number of independent museums (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). For this reason they have made efforts to set up an independent body where the community museums can combine their knowledge and promote their interests. This has resulted in the Uganda Community Museums Association (UCOMA) which is meant to: '[…] speak with one strong voice while

Figure 2: Community Museums Map (CCFU, 2013).

[34] The discussion on the validity of the term community museums will be held later in this thesis.

articulating matters concerning community museums in Uganda especially to the government and prospective sources of support' (UCOMA, 2015, 7).

4.4.3 Tense Relations: State versus Non-State Museums

In 2016, the Uganda National Commission for UNESCO (UNATCOM) published *Museums and Monuments' Development in Uganda: A Status Report* authored by Dr Allan Kenneth Birabi. The report describes a number of major problems in the Ugandan museums and monuments sector in the early 2000s and then proceeds with the heading: 'Interventionist Solution amidst the Indeterminate Institutional and Managerial Climate: Development of Community Museums in Uganda' (Birabi, 2016a, 53). The report is thus full of praise for the community museums that have come up in the past two decades and describes them as '[…] catalysts of greater cultural renaissance and solution for rural economic and social marginalization.' (2016a, 55).[35] His outlook on the formation of independent museums is very positive: 'Uganda's new epoch of community museums has convincingly embraced the three Ds: Diversity, Dialogue, and Development, which have significantly enriched the sector's institutional and management regime.' (Birabi, 2016a, 57). However, past and current National Museums and Monuments staff are more hesitant to embrace these non-state developments and the opinion expressed by a number of interviewees is that independent museum-makers think that a museum is an opportunity to make money. The technical advisor of CCFU, who has dealt with the government for different cultural programmes suggested that the government's position is evidence of how 'government looks upon itself as somehow monopolising a particular space' (De Coninck & Drani, 2016), a statement corroborated by the current Commissioner who said: 'Museums are things that governments should be able to invest in because it's a long-term investment for the good of the people and the development of this country.' (Mwanja, 2016). For this reason, the UNM initially did not engage with the community museums despite attempts from CCFU to interest them in closer collaboration. Although staff from the UNM assisted on museum training for community museum-makers, they do not seem to view the community initiatives as being on an equal footing with the national museums. The museums are perceived to be 'not serious' and 'more like craft shops' elucidating partly why UCOMA is focused on representing community museums as a professional organisation (Kamuhangire, 2016). A small step towards closer relations has been made by the inclusion of non-state museums in the

[35] Although the report, and several other informants, state that independent museums in Uganda were already present in the 1990s, the vast majority of the currently existing museums were established after 2005.

National Museums and Monuments Policy of 2015. In Uganda's Vision for Museums and Monuments Services under Public-Private Partnership it is stated that: 'Government shall put in place the necessary supportive infrastructure, regulate and provide technical support for the activities of museums.' (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities, 2015a, 25). However, the policy also states that there is 'a lack of clear guideline for the involvement of stakeholder (sic) particularly the Universities, NGOs and the private sector […]', indicating that while non-governmental involvement in the heritage sector has been recognised, the way in which cooperation will be shaped in the future is still uncertain (op. cit., 27).

4.5 International Collaboration and Training

The 1990s brought forth several African training programmes such as the aforementioned ICCROM-PREMA which ran from 1990 to 2002 and resulted in the establishment of the French-speaking EPA, or L'École du Patrimoine Africain, in 1998 and the English counterpart CHDA - Centre for Heritage Development in Africa, in 1999 (Abungu, 2011, 45).[36] Although EPA is still active in Porto-Novo, the CHDA has terminated its activities in Mombasa, as has AFRICOM; a loss for the NMK since both organisations were located in Kenya. Recently, it seems that there are attempts to reactivate AFRICOM, but these efforts are not coordinated from Kenya. Another recent international collaboration has been the Getty East Africa Programme (GEAP), run by museum professionals from the British Museum, which was held in Kenya from 2011 to 2015 with participants from Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique. Although the effects of international training programmes on museum development will be discussed in Chapter 5, it is interesting to note here that in this evolving heritage landscape, where the heritage and development discourse appears to be playing an increasingly vital part, there has been a lull in regional, African and international collaboration programmes since 2015. Despite this, there are some signs that African museum professionals are keen to revitalise AFRICOM. Promising on a smaller scale, is the exposure visit organised by CCFU for eighteen Ugandan community museums and a representative from the UNM to five Kenyan CPMs in 2014 (CCFU, 2014).

[36] Patrick Abungu's Master dissertation on *Assessing the Roles and Contributions of Heritage Training Institutions in Community Development in Africa: The Case of the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa* gives an in-depth analysis of the CHDA's challenges and achievements (2011).

Chapter 3

Kenya - The Abasuba Community Peace Museum

> 'What is at issue is not the content, or the actuality of the museum – which may occasionally or even often be overcrowded, irritating or frustrating – but what it promises.' - Nicholas Thomas, 2016,

1. Introduction

This chapter illustrates some key themes that influence independent museums in eastern Africa. As has been outlined previously, the concept of a museum is being adapted in east Africa due to multiple factors and networks involved with independent museums. While the museum-makers insist on the use of the term 'museum', they also adapt the characteristics to their own vision. This trend, which can also be seen in other parts of the world (such as the Pacific and the Americas), takes on particular forms in Kenya, the subject of this chapter. By focusing on the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM) a number of translations of particular museum modalities will come to the fore. This chapter will discuss materiality in the museum and the vital role of intangible culture, emphasising the museum as a knowledge repository, as noted by Silverman (2015), where the material stored serves as a mnemonic for layered meanings and multiple knowledges and as an avenue for multi-sensory engagement. It will discuss how the idea of community is articulated in the museum and how local stakeholders exert influence on the museum's development in conjunction with national and international partners with particular agendas. The processes of translation taking place in the museum focus on multiple narratives related to ethnically defined identity, cultural survival, peaceful co-existence and ancient art forms, which are presented to various audiences. Furthermore, the major role of the individual museum-maker in balancing social, economic and political interests will become clear in this case study, showing that his presentation as a representative of the community and his involvement is key to the ACPM's conceptualisation. The way in which the museum functions as both a vehicle for translation of museum processes and as a translated entity in itself will become clear.

This chapter commences with the introduction of Mfangano Island, the ACPM, and the island's residents, followed by the museum's history. The focus will then shift to the analysis of the material aspects of the museum: collections, displays, buildings and space. A consideration of the heterogeneous elements of the community follows, discussing the museum's social, political and economic role. In closing, the terms by which the ACPM identifies itself will be scrutinised as part of the process of translation and for the different modalities that they represent.

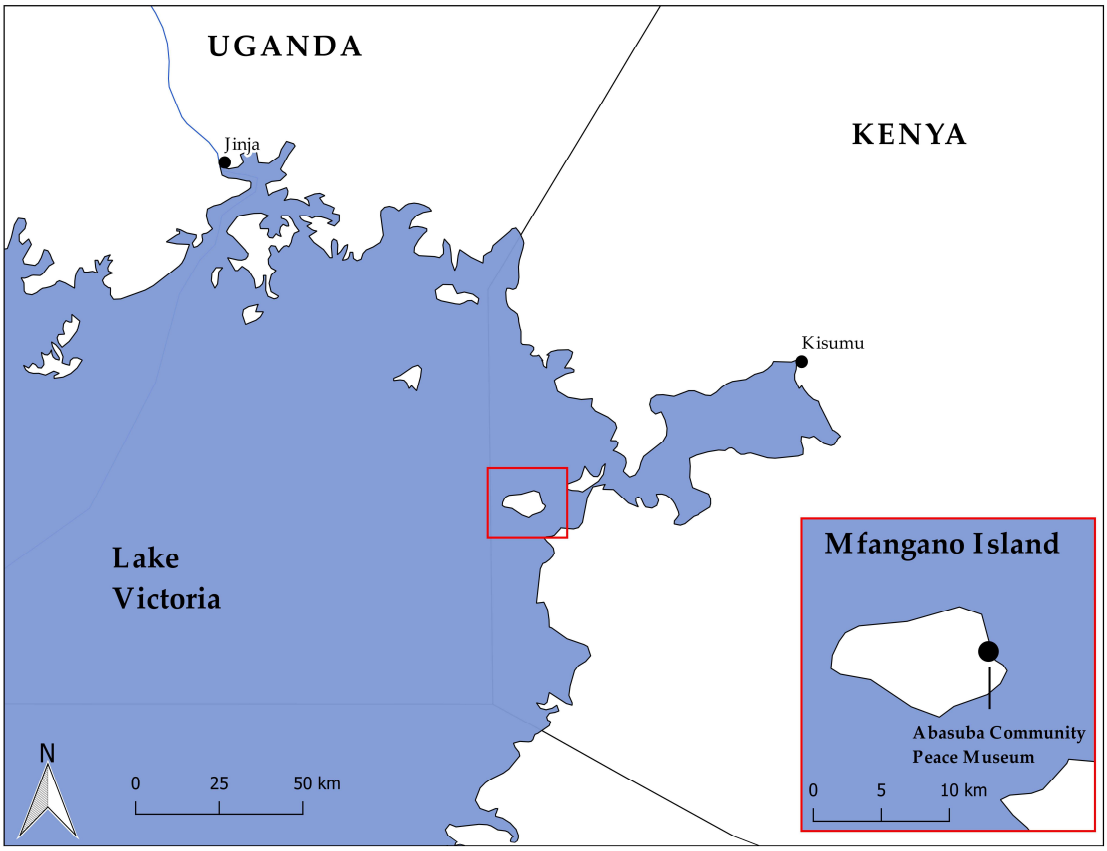

Figure 3 : Location of the Abasuba Community Peace Museum.

1.1 Introducing the Abasuba Community Peace Museum

In order to visit the ACPM one needs to travel to Mfangano Island, a 65 km² landmass in Lake Victoria located in the western-most part of Kenya. The ferry from Mbita on the mainland takes around two hours and provides the main connection to the island, although other modes of transport include wooden, open boats that leave throughout the day. Arrival at Mfangano Island provides a stunning view with the island's Mount Kwitutu rising up high from the lake. The main road that circumvents the island and was constructed around ten years ago, provides access to the museum. The ACPM lies near a hamlet named after the

Ramba clan who traditionally live in this part of the island. The museum is the largest structure in the vicinity and two signs announce its presence. The museum has a considerable amount of land around it, including a garden with some trees stretching towards the lake and looking towards nearby Rusinga Island. The site is fenced with a mixture of trees and barbed wire, though the gate is never closed and people and livestock can enter throughout the day.

The current museum structure consists of two large round buildings, with domed, thatched roofs located near the road. Both buildings are half-open and supported by pillars, with the open spaces facing the lake; they are connected by a short, covered walkway.

Figure 4: The ACPM seen from the shoreline.

Nearest to the road is the building defined as the community space which has a separate kitchen, storage space and a meeting room with more chairs and a television (figure 5). The main open space, furnished as a restaurant, also boasts a large television screen with portable speakers next to it which is on during the day. Visitors walk in and out freely and can buy sodas for a small price. At night, the museum broadcasts UK Premier League football and other football competitions for a small entry fee, mainly catering to nearby neighbours. The second building is designated as the museum space and houses the museum collections and exhibitions (figure 6). The main half-open space houses a large, painted canoe commemorating the translation of the New Testament into the Suba language while on the walls a panel exhibition about the museum and rock art in east Africa, produced by the Trust for African Rock Art (TARA), has been mounted (figure 7).

Figure 5: The community space and restaurant.

Figure 6: The museum space.

Figure 7: TARA panel exhibition.

Figure 8: The collections display

Figure 9: The museum-maker's office and library.

The first room on the left houses the collections of the museum; all objects are displayed on plastic sheets and include a variety of artefacts ranging from metal tools to chiefly walking sticks with the architectural model of the museum as the only artefact in a case (figure 8). Next door is a small storage room that is not in use while a larger room at the back serves as the museum-maker's office with a desk and personal archive but also holds the museum's library which is currently not in use (figure 9). The books were donated from abroad and shipped to the museum a few years after its opening. Apart from the main structures there is a hut in the corner of the museum's land, the only reminder of the first museum construction. Next to it is a dysfunctional water reservoir: its connection to the pump by the waterfront is broken. There is a small outhouse with toilets and a bathroom next to the community building, but there is also a latrine further down in the garden. On the plot of land next to the museum, a banda has been constructed. This round hut is meant to accommodate tourists who come to visit the island but the construction has not yet been completed.

1.2 Locating the Community on Mfangano Island

Mfangano Island is home to around 25,500 people who identify themselves as Abasuba, an ethnic group whose identity was recognised as separate from their Luo neighbours with the establishment of a Suba district in 1995 (Elimu Asilia, 2015b). Presently living on the islands and shores of Lake Victoria, the Abasuba trace their origins back to southern Uganda, where they lived before they were caught up in a royal conflict and had to flee across Lake Victoria. Their origin myth identifies several waves of migration from the 1760s onwards, each related to different Suba groups, who arrived in canoes on Mfangano and Rusinga islands and also spread to the mainland shores of Lake Victoria (Ayot, 1979). Based on their history and language the Abasuba identify themselves as Bantu people, distinguishing themselves from the surrounding Luo groups, who are of Western Nilotic origins and language. According to Okello Ayot, who is one of the few authors to have studied the history and culture of the Abasuba and who wrote a book entitled *A History of the Luo-Abasuba of Western Kenya* which traces the movement of the Abasuba from Uganda to Kenya,, their assimilation into the larger Luo groups is estimated to have taken place between 1850 and 1940, concurrent with colonisation processes in eastern Africa (1979, 162). Motivated by social and economic factors, the Abasuba adopted many Luo practices including the use of the Luo language and

as a result they came to be considered part of the Luo ethnic group, leading to the decline of both Abasuba language and customs. The adoption of the Luo culture was so extensive that, writing in 1979, Okello Ayot traced the process of the Abasuba becoming a Luo sub-group, concluding that the Abasuba had lost 'their separate identity' and noted that only the elders were left speaking the Suba language (209). However, the book did not cover the increased consciousness of a Suba identity that arose in the second half of the twentieth century and developed during the following decades. The campaigns for recognition culminated in 1995, when President Daniel arap Moi granted the Abasuba their own Suba District. Nevertheless, many Subans still maintain that they are not taken seriously as a separate ethnic group, nor benefiting from national and regional public funds. Under the new Constitution adopted in 2010, Suba District was subsumed into the newly formed Homa Bay County which includes Suba as one of eight constituencies.

The Abasuba consist of around seventeen clans which are linked by ancestral history, alliances and conflicts that still resonate today. Each of the clans has a number of elders who occupy positions of authority in the community. In 2005, the position of elders became more formalised when a regional council of elders was founded, called the Suba County Council of Elders, consisting of elders from the five Suba regions: Rusinga, Gwasi, Kaksingri, Kasgungu and Mfangano. On the island there is a smaller group of elders, the Mfangano Council of Elders, who represent the island in the larger Suba County Council of Elders and who are most involved with the museum. One of the main causes the Suba Council of Elders is fighting for is the preservation of the Suba language which is related to broader political and social representation as well as with the museum's narratives.[37] The Mfangano elders gave several reasons for the disappearance of the Suba language: intermarriage between Suba and Luo due to the fact that the Suba are entirely surrounded by the much larger Luo group, the arrival of colonisation and the subsequent introduction of education in the Luo language. They also pointed out that when missionaries arrived in Western Kenya they first settled in Luo territory before moving into the Suba regions which led to religious texts and education being offered in Luo only. By the time they reached the small ethnic group of Abasuba, Luo was the language used for education. If a person wanted to improve their life and develop themselves they would have to speak Luo; indeed, people who spoke the Suba language were perceived as backward and those who had gained an education would often stop speaking

[37] The Suba language will be treated here as one language, but there are different dialects depending on the region. Mfangano and Rusinga Island generally speak Olusuba, while the mainland regions speak Ekisuba. According to John Ogone Obiero, Olusuba was introduced in schools which led to discontent with Ekisuba speakers who are not fully familiar with the dialect (2010).

the Suba language and not pass it on to their children, recounted the Mfangano Elders Council members in a group interview (2016). Related to this is the continued migration of Subans seeking work in the more prosperous parts of Kenya: several of the Mfangano elders lived and worked in other parts of Kenya for most of their lives and only returned to the island after retirement. The loss of language that has resulted from these long-term developments is associated with the disappearance of Suba identity.

In 1995, teaching of the Suba language was reintroduced at primary school level, a government decision which was politically motivated to gain the support of the Suba group for the upcoming 1997 elections (Obiero, 2010, 284). According to John Ogone Obiero, when the Suba did not vote for the government party, probably because the main opposition party is identified with the Luo, they fell out of favour and interest in language revival was lost (2010, 284). When evaluating the language revitalisation programme, Obiero judged it to be unsuccessful and inconsistently carried out (2010, 287), which may explain why the elders were unaware of a mother tongue programme in schools in Suba district and proposed that one should be set up (Mfangano Elders, 2016). Other efforts to preserve the Suba language have been the translation of the New Testament into the Suba language by the Bible Translation & Literacy group (BTL), headed by School Director, Naphtaly Mattah, which started in 1992 and was completed in 2011 (Mattah, 2016). Other initiatives have been radio broadcasts in Suba in the late 1990s by KBC Kisumu Radio and, until recently, by the Mfangano-based community organisation Ekialo Kiona.[38] Despite these efforts the language is still perceived as endangered and is included in UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Mosely, 2010).

While the language of the Abasuba is a main concern for the elders and others with vested interests in the Suba cultural and ethnic identity, there are many other issues that preoccupy the majority of the Mfangano islanders, such as the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, which is close to 30% in this community of migratory fishermen. Due to this, the island was visited by a number of American researchers trialling HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment programmes during the field research in early 2016 (Sheehy, 2015). Mfangano Island is one of the most disadvantaged regions in the country, with few facilities available and few people able to afford regular transport to the mainland. Subsistence farming and fishing are the main

[38] At the time of my visit in early 2016, Ekialo Kiona was not allowed to broadcast radio programmes because of a conflict over broadcasting rights.

sources of income although many educated Subans find employment elsewhere in Kenya and only return to their families during the holidays.

1.3 A History of the Museum

1.3.1 Language Preservation

The history of the ACPM is narrated by museum-maker Jack Obonyo, Suban-born and raised on Mfangano Island. In an interview, hee traces his inspiration to start a museum back to the late 1990s when he saw the translation activities of the BTL and was motivated to start collecting Suba artefacts when he realised that the Bible translators had no place to store the information (both material and immaterial) they were gathering from people around the island (Obonyo, 2016). According to a booklet about the ACPM produced by the Trust for African Rock Art (TARA), the museum-maker's additional incentive was an article he read in July 2000 on endangered languages in Kenya, where Suba was listed as the number one language under threat in Kenya (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 15). Enthused by these preservation efforts the museum-maker met with Dr Sultan Somjee around 1999, who was running the Community Peace Museums Programme (CPMP) at that time.[39] Somjee recruited the museum-maker as a research assistant for the Suba community and encouraged him to do research on material culture and peace traditions in the Suba region. Having done research and collected objects, the museum-maker garnered the support of the elders to establish a museum, recounting in an interview that he wanted a place where we 'could keep and showcase our things' and that would be 'a platform of debate and dialogue' (Obonyo, 2016). Before finding a site to house the museum, it was first registered as a self-help group with eight elders as members (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 15). Subsequently, the museum-maker's father gifted him a plot of land with the choice of either using it for a family house or for the museum; this became the location of the museum and around 2001 he first constructed six small huts with financial support from Somjee's CPMP and help from family and elders. As research assistant and curator, the museum-maker was supported by Somjee's CPMP for his work until 2003. As part of the programme, the Suba elders took part in community participatory meetings all over the country where the emphasis was on sharing traditions of peace and reconciliation. When Somjee left Kenya in 2003 and the CPMP's funding from the Mennonite Central Committee finished, the ACPM was also affected. The

[39] The museum-maker is not certain exactly when events occurred, so approximate dates have been used.

constructed huts deteriorated and fell apart and as a result the collection of objects was no longer safely preserved. Like many other community peace museums (CPMs), the museum-maker struggled to maintain the museum as a physical site, leading the elders to believe that the museum was no longer viable.

1.3.2 Rock Art

In the early 2000s David Coulson, a photographer and Chairman of TARA, visited Mfangano Island and explored its rock art sites. The pictures he took were eventually incorporated into a temporary exhibition at the Nairobi National Museum which opened on 1 November 2004 and remained in place until February 2005. The exhibition coincided with a conference organised by TARA, entitled *The Future of Africa's Past* (Deacon, 2005, 5). When the museum-maker visited this exhibition and discovered the pictures of Kwitone rock art on Mfangano Island, he took the initiative and visited the TARA offices in Nairobi, hoping to introduce the ACPM to them in a last attempt to revive it (Obonyo, 2016). Initially, TARA employed the museum-maker to do research into Mfangano's rock art sites, later followed by a visit to the island to meet with the Suba Elders Council and other people involved with the museum. Shortly after, in 2005, TARA and the ACPM signed a Memorandum of Understanding which led to their collaboration in applying for the Tourism Trust Fund (TTF) which, after several unsuccessful attempts, they were awarded in 2007. Additional support was given by the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), the Ministry of Tourism, several embassies and corporations. This grant was awarded after the museum-maker had gone to the University of Western Cape for a postgraduate diploma in Museum and Heritage Studies, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, which was seen as a prerequisite for receiving the TTF funding, a point that will be returned to later in this chapter (Obonyo, 2016).

Once the large grant had been received, TARA and the ACPM were given around ten months to reconstruct the new museum as a gateway for visitors to rock art sites on the island. This resulted in the two large buildings as they stand today, with one envisioned as a restaurant with meeting facilities intended to generate income as well as serving as a communal space, while the second building became the museum space and the museum-maker's office, housing the ACPM's collections. All the construction materials were locally sourced where possible and emphasis was placed on using traditional architecture. The new museum's ownership was handed to the Suba County Council of Elders and the official re-opening took place on 17 October 2008 with many Kenyan dignitaries and representatives of international organisations present (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 45). The time immediately after the

opening was a blooming period for the ACPM. Fuelled by the museum-maker's enthusiasm and TARA's international support, network and marketing, the museum and the island received a significant number of visitors and recognition (Little & Coulson, 2016).

After the TTF's grant ended, the ACPM managed to secure a grant from the West African L'Ecole du Patrimoine Africain (EPA) with assistance from TARA. This educational programme called 'Meeting and Engaging the Students' was sponsored for around 1.2 million KSH ($11,000 USD) but it ended early due to the different expectations of ways of operating (Obonyo, 2016). It also brought the ACPM's collaboration with TARA to a close. It did receive funding from the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) around 2010, which was used for constructing one banda, or hut, to serve as tourist accommodation. However, from 2010 onwards the ACPM has not received any funding from foreign donors, but operates on its own.[40] In the meantime, the museum has been maintained using income earned from entry fees from visitors and local Subans. Tourists from abroad are charged for visiting the museum and for guidance to the different rock art sites on the island while local visitors are asked for a small fee of 30 KSH ($0.30 USD) when they come to watch football matches at night. The sale of drinks is an additional source of income. The museum is busiest during the holiday months of December and January when many Kenyans come to spend time on the island and camp in the museum grounds. In addition, the museum has hosted several large community events and fundraisers, such as the installation of the former chairman of the Suba Council of Elders on 12 August 2011 (Elimu Asilia, 2015a). Since the re-opening in 2008, the ACPM has fluctuated in its activities, largely depending on when the museum-maker has been away, for example, to pursue further education. Currently, the museum-maker lives in Mbita and works in Homa Bay for the Affirmative Action Social Development Fund of Homa Bay County, so in early Spring 2016, when this research was conducted, the museum was managed on a voluntary basis by Emmanuel Wanyende, the eighteen-year old brother of museum-maker Jack Obonyo, and Paul Simba, his twenty-one year old brother-in-law. Wanyende, who grew up on Mfangano Island, also acted as a guide to the rock art sites and sacred forests on the island. The museum employs a lady to clean the museum and prepare meals for visitors when required. In early 2017 the museum-maker communicated in an email that the museum had secured funding to 'restructure the museum' and that he had been able to employ a museum manager and a chef for the restaurant (Obonyo, 2017).

[40] The collaboration with TARA and its influence on the ACPM will be analysed in Chapter 5.

2. Materiality: Collections, Buildings, Sites

2.1 Introduction

Traditionally, the museum is defined as an object repository, a space where a material archive is kept, preserved and presented to visitors. Although the contemporary museums in Kenya are certainly concerned with their material collections and physical space, the independent museums do not fit comfortably into the category of the object repository. Going beyond the dichotomy of tangible versus intangible heritage, which so often places African heritage firmly in the 'intangible' category, these museums engage with both manifestations of heritage, making the distinction irrelevant. Nevertheless, as Coombes states: 'Because of the attachment to the concept of a 'museum', it is important to engage seriously with the role that material culture is made to play in stimulating memory, in reinventing a past - and in forging a renewed relevance to this past in the present.' (2014, 54). In the ACPM, the objects of knowledge, with their multiple layers of meaning, bridge the apparent divide between material and immaterial while also embodying multiple narratives that can be engaged with discursively, as 'object-information packages', or nondiscursively, through direct multisensory engagement (Dudley, 2010, 3). Depending on the audience and the 'agenda' of the narrator, the collections can be translated in various ways, an act which can be regarded as a type of agency activated both in the displays of the collection, but also in guided tours. There is a conscious engagement with the perceptions and expectations of the outside world. However, the processes of translation do not just take place inside the museum alone, but also outside it in other heritage spaces. It expands the museum from only a physical building with a material collection to include the rock art sites and sacred forests as part of its wider tangible and intangible repository of knowledge.

2.2 Collections

The ACPM collection consists of 229 objects of a diverse nature which can all be found on display on black plastic sheets on the floor and wooden pedestals in one of the museum's closed rooms (figure 10) which functions as exhibition space and storage at the same time. The objects all originate from the Suba district and have either been collected by the museum-maker on his research trips to the

Figure 10: The collections display.

different Suba regions for the CPMP or donated by elders and other residents. The object register that was introduced in 2008 is no longer in use, nor is labelling of objects used at present (figure 11): in an interview the museum-maker expressed the view that he now believes that this is a 'eurocentric' practice which is tied to colonial ideology (Obonyo, 2016). His education and experiences of visiting museums in Europe convinced him that, rather than displaying objects with individual labels, it is better to present a guided narrative, which is how the museum currently presents its collections (Obonyo, 2016). Despite the emphasis on the collections and their meaning as a whole, the museum-maker did state that the museum is a place of storage, where the community can keep things for younger generations to see. The same idea is corroborated by one of the elders on the Mfangano Council, Charles Kasera, who is respected for his knowledge of Suba culture and history and recounted in conversation that when the museum was set up, the elders went to people's homes to ask for donations of artefacts. The elder remembered that many objects were no longer in use, so donors agreed to give artefacts like weapons, cooking pots and chairs to the ACPM; he articulated the opinion that it is better to keep them at the museum so that visitors can 'see what Mfangano people are doing' (Kasera, 2016). Using himself as an example, Kasera mentioned to the researcher that he donated two objects and also plans to bequeath a painting of the first president, Jomo Kenyatta, to the museum. The modality of the museum as storage space is synonymous with the traditional perception of the museum as an object repository; however, in the ACPM the collections alone do not define the museum. Both the museum-maker and the elders assign some value to them but have nevertheless adapted their interpretation of the object repository considerably.

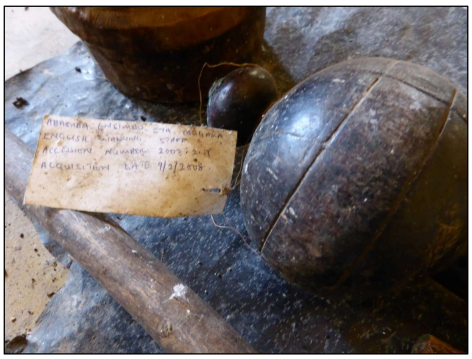

Figure 11: One of the few remaining labels.

2.2.1 Objects of Knowledge

The objects in the ACPM are exhibited according to type, a decision which was inspired by the museum-maker's educational experiences. Walking around the room in a clockwise direction, the displays can be loosely categorised as sacred canoe remains, baskets, food preparation (mortars and pots), ritual equipment, calabashes, stools, spearheads and knives, walking sticks and shields. In the middle of the room there is a collection of miscellaneous metal tools and weapons on a plastic sheet ranging from swords to axes and cattle bells; there are also ankle bells, bracelets, anklets and a wooden medicine mixer. The room also

holds very long spears for fishing and an architectural model of the museum. The canoe in the main space was donated by the Bible Translation & Literacy on the event of the arrival of the Suba translation of the New Testament on Mfangano Island. On 15 April 2011, the brightly coloured canoe was used to carry the books around the island as a symbolic gesture of bringing life and prosperity (Bible Literacy & Translation, 2016).

Figure 12: The canoe.

Apart from a few unique objects such as the sacred canoe parts, several examples of each object type are displayed and rather than emphasising their unique and authentic nature, the objects are laid out next to each other with no apparent hierarchy. As such, the objects bear closer resemblance to Greenblatt's notion of resonance: 'the power of the object displayed to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged […]' rather than the 'arresting sense of uniqueness' or wonder that particularly art objects are expected to convey (Greenblatt, 1990 (2004), 546). Indeed, these objects of knowledge, while valued as 'object-texts' imbued with layers of meaning that can be translated as and when necessary to encompass different narratives, are not singled out in any way leading to a type of display that may be described as democratic. The lack of informative text on the one hand, combined with the potential of these objects' resonance, suggests that these collections provide an interesting hybrid form between the object as an intangible 'information-package' and a direct visual and tactile experience that prioritises its materiality. The process of articulating these two forms of object engagement in one collection offers yet more scope for translating the tangible and intangible aspects of the museum collections simultaneously.

If the ACPM's collection was placed in a museum in the northern hemisphere it would be categorised as ethnographic, but that classification does not fit the ACPM's methods of collecting and displaying comfortably. Instead, Somjee offers an alternative modality for the CPMs in Kenya, stating that they are '[…] closer in their set up to small religious community museums of the USA and the smaller rural Folk Museums of UK than to the ethnographic and other monumental museums in the West' (Somjee, 2017). Although he does not refer explicitly to the museums' collections, these can also be compared to the contents of folk and open air museums. As noted in Chapter 2, the philosophy of a threatened and

disappearing ‘traditional’ and ‘authentic’ way of life that is behind the collecting efforts of folk museums can be compared to that of peace museums. However, these artefacts appear in a postcolonial context in response to globalisation and therefore present a different picture. The collections, acquired and donated with a certain intent of representation and cultural preservation in mind, are translated from a useful tool to a museum object symbolising the peacefulness and distinct origins of the Abasuba. Carrying the potential to be translated as objects of local significance, as representing international interests in rock art, or from a canoe to a symbol of Suban ethnicity, these objects are processual in many ways, making up one element of the complex ACPM.

2.3 Display

2.3.1 Divergent Narratives

When visiting the museum, it seems at first glance that the collections are merely ‘there’; but as noted above, their systematic and democratic layout illustrates a preoccupation with access. Everyone who has donated an object to the museum must be able to find it there and every object can potentially be highlighted in a guided tour. Without explanation from a guide, visitor understanding and interpretation is limited as there is no obvious order to the display. With no written information accompanying the collection, visitors must rely on their guides to explain what objects are, how they are used and what their story is. This allows guides to translate the objects before them as they see fit for that particular audience.

Just as the collections contain multiple potential narratives, so do the museum displays, as evidenced by the three different stories presented in the space, demonstrate the impact that stakeholders with three different agendas have had on the museum. Firstly, upon entering the building the eye is drawn to the large canoe used to carry the translated New Testament across the island. This can be linked to the original interest of the museum-maker in creating a museum: the threatened state of the Suban language under the perceived pressure of Luo assimilation and globalisation. The Suba Council of Elders represent the interest in highlighting this narrative but the canoe is the only artefact in the museum that explicitly refers to language revival. In the same space, the only panel exhibition in the museum, produced by TARA, offers

Figure 13: TARA 'Gateway' panel.

a second story which presents the ACPM as 'a gateway to the Abasuba culture, the historic rock art and the rich natural heritage found in the Suba District'. Two of the eight panels describe the museum's history and its role as 'gateway', while the other six concentrate on rock art in Africa, with one dealing specifically with the rock art sites in the Suba district. Being the only text in the museum, the panels draw immediate attention and visitors usually take the time to read them, making TARA's narrative about rock art a dominant one in the museum; the panels are easily accessible in comparison to the objects that are solely accessible through a separate door, accompanied by a guide. Thus, four potentially opposing narratives can be detected here: one on the Suba language and its biblical resurrection; one which reinvents the museum as a gateway to rock art sites; a third on Suba history and culture as articulated through the collections; and a fourth, less obvious, narrative on peace, which is often interwoven in the other three larger stories. All of them have been part of the museum's processes, told by different stakeholders at different stages of the museum's existence. The preservation of the Suba language is the preoccupation of the elders and other elite members of the Mfangano island community such as the School Director. The narrative on rock art and the creation of the museum as a gateway to the island was introduced as part of the museum's collaboration with TARA and their shared TTF grant to which the panels serve as an introduction. Lastly, while the collections are now used to represent the Abasuba, the museum's collection has its roots in the museum-maker's collaboration with the CPMP and this element is alluded to by the guides and elders. The ACPM is not unique in communicating a number of, if not competing, at least inconsistent, messages: Coombes also identified two divergent narratives '[...] about historical heritage and cultural knowledge' […]' in the Lari Community Peace Museum: 'on the one hand 'setting the record straight' about the massacres and on the other hand 'preserving artefacts for posterity'' (2014, 64). Her explanation for this proliferation is that these narratives aim to create relevance for the past in the present (2014, 54) but, since not all of the ACPM's 'messages' are about the past, it seems more appropriate to acknowledge that the past is not the only temporality the different stakeholders are concerned with. The elders, the museum-maker and TARA all have a vision of a future where the Abasuba are more visible, recognised externally and more prosperous. This vision suggests that the different narratives, which are in themselves evolving translations, incorporate the past in the present for the future with all those involved as museum-makers or agents exercising influence on the museum processes.

2.3.2 Guided Tours as Social Process

As part of a museum visit, the guide, at the time of the research this was the young caretaker Wanyende who was trained by the museum-maker, will take visitors around the display room pointing out each object or group of objects, recounting stories and suggesting their related meanings. For example, the wooden remains of a canoe are accompanied by a story of the mythical powers of the canoe which would always make sure its passengers would be returned safely to shore. This short story is surrounded by a wealth of others that relate to the mastery of canoe-making, knowledge of sacred trees, rituals and the history of the Abasuba as a people who fled in canoes to Mfangano Island. Not all of these aspects are always articulated directly and what is understood will depend on the visitors' prior knowledge and experiences creating a constant interplay between the agenda of the narrator and how he (all the guides are men) interprets the interests and agenda of his audience. The guided tour can therefore be construed as a continuous process of translation which may be more or less successful depending on who 'reads' the translation. This applies neatly to Silverman's proposal that translation '[…] is a social process that brings knowledges into a common signifying space in which meanings are negotiated and articulated, in which objects of knowledge are defined and redefined and given new meaning.' (2015, 4). In the ACPM, both narrators and visitors are involved in this social process of translation, interacting with the objects in many ways from the visual to the olfactory, and from the aural to the tangible made possible by the fact that most objects, such as a fly whisk, pestle and mortar, loin cloth and shields are used for demonstrations. Objects are offered to visitors for handling and interaction is encouraged by the guides; in one instance an older, male German visitor was offered a stool, given a shield and a sword and encouraged to pose for pictures - a social process through which meaning is elicited in interaction.

Figure 14: Demonstration of wearing a loin cloth.

The guided tours tend to present the Abasuba way of life, its practices and traditions, as if it is in the past. Although this may be the case in some instances, others are still part of daily life, such as the manual tools like hoes and grass cutters that are still used for agricultural work. It is the Abasuba themselves who are presenting their 'old ways of life' to visitors from

within the community as well as to visitors from outside. In presenting culture as being in the past, the guides are also repeating a trope that closely resembles the salvage paradigm mentioned in Chapter 1, which has been identified as part of the heritage and development discourse prevalent in eastern Africa. It shows that, as part of the zone of contact, the museum guides embody the habitus as described in Chapter 1, which emphasises heritage and museums as keepers of the past for a changed present and a 'developed' future.

2.3.3 Multisensory Engagement

The multisensory engagement with artefacts by visitors and guides is perhaps one of the most obvious departures from the museum idea prevalent in the global North; the absence of reverence for the individual object as unique and, quite literally, untouchable. Instead, through the hands-on experience of objects the usual distance between object and viewer is bridged, opening up possibilities for non-discursive engagement but not precluding an intellectual, information-based approach either. This revaluation of the material qualities of the object, propagated by a number of authors, allows the intangible aspects to emerge as well, through the stories related to what the objects represent: history, rituals, community life, traditions of the past and present.[41] It is an experience of the 'epistemological patina' of objects, as Silverman calls it, that allows the collections to be translated in multiple ways, in different contexts, over time; in other words, within the overarching museum as process, they are also micro-processes of translation.

2.4 Buildings

2.4.1 Traditional Architecture

As previously mentioned, the current ACPM consists of two buildings shaped like 'traditional' Suban houses: round, with a high domed thatched roof. This concept of using 'local architecture and material' (Somjee, 2014, 275), originates from the first CPMs which were constructed in this way, stimulated by Somjee's vision of revaluing indigenous cultural knowledge whilst pragmatically drawing on the ready availability of local materials to reduce costs. For the TTF-funded project, TARA embraced the traditional design of the museum for similar reasons: 'to embrace eco-friendly standards, to engage local people in the supply of materials, to reflect cultural traditions in the area, and to promote traditional knowledge in

[41] See Chapter 1 for the authors mentioned such as Sandra Dudley, Kylie Message and Andrea Witcomb and Ruth Phillips et al.

building construction' (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 28). The museum-maker also endorsed this approach and stated in an interview that the different groups from Suba district all contributed different materials and skills to the museum like 'poles from Kisii, thatchers from Rusinga' (Obonyo, 2016) indicating that the choice for traditional architecture was motivated by many good intentions from all the museum-makers involved. However, the situation in Mfangano Island turned out to be more complex: due to the decline in construction of traditional homesteads, the buildings were more expensive to construct than anticipated as materials needed to be transported to the island and skilled roof builders had to be sourced from elsewhere and remunerated for their specific knowledge and skills (Little & Coulson, 2016). As can be gleaned from the majority of current housing on the island, the traditional architecture of the museum is a vision of the past, confirmed by recent data which shows that 90% of all households on Mfangano Island use corrugated iron sheets for their roofs whereas only 5.4% still use grass thatched roofs (Ngugi, 2013, 57). It raises the issue whether a traditional architectural design that is financially unappealing can actually amount to a revival of such building methods or if it turns the museum into 'a reinvention of the past' (Coombes, 2014, 54), at risk of turning the entire structure into an object to be preserved for posterity in the face of disappearance and loss. Indeed, the expense and labour intensity of traditional thatched roofs is another argument for the decision to build houses with iron corrugated roofs. Owing to climatic conditions and the absence of up-keep since its construction, the ACPM roofs are not in good condition and the museum-maker would like to remove the thatch and replace it with iron sheets because of the difficulty of maintaining it stating that 'the sustainability of the thatch is another nightmare' (Obonyo, 2016). Another environmental contribution to the state of the roof is the open design of the buildings; insects, birds and reptiles have made the space and the roof their home, with bird droppings in particular causing damage to the exposed collections and library books. While this architectural decision provides fresh air and daylight, the structure is not ideal for the preservation of museum objects or archival material. As Longair mentions in a review of

Figure 15: Swallows living under the roof.

Figure 16: A stool covered in bird droppings.

colonial architecture in British Eastern Africa, architects then, as now, tend to misunderstand the requirements of museum buildings (Longair, 2017, 172). Although it may be argued that the building is designed according to an 'African' type of museum, there still seems to be a mismatch between the original design of the structures and their functional use in daily practice.

Besides these practical considerations there is an argument to be made for the use of traditional architecture as part of alternative modalities for museums in Africa.[42] In this way, the 'western' museum model is almost literally translated into a 'local form', with the building as its evidence. Both the motivations of the peace museums and TARA for 'traditional' buildings reflect a desire to fit into the local context and preserve traditions that have come under threat from imported building materials. But it seems that in this particular case, and despite the best efforts for an appropriate and attractive design, the impracticalities of the buildings and the expense of maintenance exacerbate the challenge of fulfilling one of the museum's purposes as a storage of material culture. Both the museum-maker of the Aembu Community Peace Museum – at Embu - and the Chairman of the CPMHF confirmed that maintenance of CPMs is a major struggle for museum-makers; without structural funding buildings often deteriorate and collapse over time. The Aembu museum-maker, who managed to reconstruct the museum building on newly acquired land in 2011 after it collapsed in 2006, confirmed the difficulties of securing land and sustaining a space in an interview saying: '[…] my greatest achievement is the land the museum is on […]' conveying the efforts that museum-makers have to put into finding a permanent location for their museum building (Njiru, 2016). The CPM museum-makers, rather than defining their museum's mission through the physical presence of a building, locate the museum in its activities: some museums with a strong focus on peace, like the Lari Memorial Peace Museum, have an active educational programme using material culture to teach about peace and reconciliation (Coombes, 2014, 72). In the Aembu CPM, the museum-maker explained, one of their main activities consists of making school visits to promote peace and reconciliation in the community (Njiru, 2016). It can be concluded that, in CPMs in Kenya, the building and its design constitutes just one element of the museum. In the case of the ACPM, there are no educational outreach programmes but the museum is still active beyond the physical structure; rather like its collections, it operates on both a material and immaterial

[42] Traditional architecture as part of an Africanised museum model was proposed by several influential African museum scholars. See for example, Konaré, 1983, 147; Aithnard, 1976, 193 and the design of the Mali National Museum.

level, connecting different places of heritage on the island. Realising the idea of the museum as the gateway envisioned by TARA, the museum's remit stretches beyond its buildings to two other types of heritage site on the island, namely rock art and sacred forests. In line with Simpson's extension of the museum beyond its physical boundaries mentioned in Chapter 1, the ACPM and other independent museums in Kenya are reinterpreting the museum in a liquid, and intangible, form no longer reliant on architecture to define 'museumness' (Simpson, 2007, 237).

2.5 Rock Art Sites on Mfangano Island

In effect the museum's understanding of its remit stretches beyond its buildings to the whole of Mfangano Island and the other Suba regions on the shores of Lake Victoria. One of its main foci after the re-opening in 2008 was the inclusion of guided tours to the various rock art sites around the island. The costs of visiting each site are 500 KSH ($5 USD) for visitors which the researcher also paid, being guided by caretaker Wanyende on all visits. Two sites have been signposted and developed by TARA during the project sponsored by the TTF; Kwitone, on one of the island's north-western hills and Mawanga, a cave close to the shoreline also on the northwest part of the island. Kakiimba, another site with rock paintings, also features on the map in the ACPM (figure 17) but no infrastructure has been developed there.

Kwitone is an overhanging rock which depicts, among other symbols, the striking sun-like symbol that is also the logo of the ACPM (figure 18). Part of the developed infrastructure leading to the site includes a metal board signifying the location of a picnic site on a hill overlooking Lake Victoria and (figure 19) indicating the signposting is clearly aimed at tourists, even though it is not possible to find the way to Kwitone without a guide, as there are no clearly indicated pathways and routes are frequently fenced off to demarcate land ownership. On arrival at the site, another metal sign, which was designed by TARA, explains Kwitone's history and significance. The guide's own account differs from the presented text; he presents the site as a celebration of a covenant between settled and migrated clans in Mfangano, emphasising its importance in reconciliation. Further signage includes a board with a rock art 'code of conduct' (figure 20) and a sign to the toilet, a heavily overgrown cabin some metres away from the rocky outcrop. All signs carry the logo of the Abasuba Community Peace Museum and TARA, creating a presence and demarcating the site as part of the museum's sphere. Despite the attempt to homogenise the information provided at

the site, it is clear that different processes of translation are ongoing, highlighting the site's nature as a multivocal object of knowledge and part of the ACPM.

Figure 17: Map of rock art sites, part of a panel.

Figure 17: Kwitone rock art symbol..

Figure 19: Picnic site near Kwitone.

Figure 20: 'Code of Conduct' sign at Kwitone.

Mawanga, on the lake shore, is the island's largest rock art site. This shallow cave with a large number of drawings is associated with the Wasamo clan, who are respected for being powerful rainmakers. Visitors intending to visit the site are first led to a primary school called the Mawanga Rock Art School, which was established with support from TARA and is sustained with income from rock art tourism. Fees for this site are therefore charged separately from the ACPM and at a higher fee, the school serving as evidence of how this source of income is used. During a visit it became apparent that, despite similar infrastructure being set up at Mawanga, the ACPM is no longer recognised by the Mawanga community as representing this rock art site and that there were tensions between the ACPM and the guide of the Mawanga site. TARA's support for the school indicates that they have accepted this situation and thus the inability of the ACPM to maintain their status as a 'gateway'. In a conversation about Mfangano Island, TARA's Community Projects Coordinator suggested that tensions between Mawanga's local community and the ACPM were due to clan rivalries that emerged following the prospect of resources and development (Kabiru, 2016). In addition, the Community Projects Coordinator stated that the Wagimbe clan living near Kwitone have now also requested support for constructing a school, signifying that the museum's extended presence on the island is not always accepted by other communities. The Abasuba community of Mfangano is relatively cohesive but not homogenous, and different clans feel ownership over sites and their potential benefits. The museum's ambition to represent all the Abasuba people is not tenable where the prospect of development and income is concerned, as the limited income that the museum receives from occasional visitors is not sufficient to benefit all the communities on the island. Paradoxically, the museum has been successful in raising awareness of the value of protecting the rock art sites on the island, even though the museum no longer gains an income from the sites' exploitation. The infrastructure and publicity around the rock art sites installed during the TTF-funded project has resulted in their positioning as cultural heritage and opportunities for development. Similar to the communities living around Kwitone and Mawanga, aspiring local guides have discovered the economic potential of the rock art sites and now offer their services to visitors. Elder Kasera said in a conversation that the generated interest pertains to more than just income because 'people did not know Kwitone and Mawanga before, but since the museum is there they remember them again' (Kasera, 2016).

2.6 Sacred Forests on Mfangano Island

The sacred forests or groves in Mfangano Island, called *kibaga* in the Suba language, form part of the history and mythology of the Abasuba (Ogol, Ogola & Khayota, 2004, 51). Elders and the museum guide explained that these sites are special because of the ancestors who had lived there, the rituals that used to be performed there, and the unique qualities of the trees in the forest. They are one aspect of the narrative that focuses on the cultural and historical distinction of the Abasuba identity with the forests' ancestral connections projecting a narrative of longevity on the island, and of a rich traditional culture that predates Christian, and therefore colonial and Luo, influence. In addition, the groves function as water catchment areas because their microclimates contribute to the island's ecosystem and counterbalance the increasing problem of deforestation; when entering these small patches of dense forest the decrease in temperature is noticeable. Both for their cultural and environmental significance, it is forbidden to cut down trees in the sacred forests, indeed in the past people would have been heavily fined by means of the payment of cattle, although nowadays trespassers can be taken to court for destroying a water catchment area.

While the sacred forests are not mentioned in the museum itself, they are part of the fabric of Abasuba heritage articulated by the elders and the museum guides. Just as the rock art sites became an extension of the museum as a result of TARA's involvement, the sacred groves are an element that fits in with the overall expression of Suban identity the ACPM is trying to convey. While the rock art sites are on the museum's 'official' range of services offered to tourists, complete with a receipt for the fee paid, the sacred forests still comprise a more informal circuit. Walking tours to these places were proposed by the museum guide, but a number of other people also present the option of guided tours to visitors to the island. Whereas the rock art sites have been formalised into recognised heritage sites, the sacred forests have not. However, it seems that under the influence of the museum, cultural sites such as the sacred forests are becoming part of the marketable heritage on Mfangano. So, even though the sacred forests are still preserved for their spiritual and ecological values, these sites are now in the process of being translated into heritage sites which, as described by Clifford, is a non-linear and messy process, resulting in a multitude of possible translations depending on the agents involved. Currently, it is uncertain how the sacred forests will come to be articulated over time; but it seems that the presence of the ACPM has been instrumental in creating the possibility of conceptualising the sacred groves as heritage sites that can be visited by outsiders and function as part of the narrative of Abasuba ethnicity and culture.

3. Communities: Museum-Maker, Elders and Youth

The ACPM has a number of audiences and stakeholders on Mfangano Island, each of which make the museum their own and assert influence on its development. The personal investment of each group exposes the heterogeneous nature of the Mfangano Island community and highlights some of the challenges that come with the representation of multiple voices in a community museum.

3.1 The Museum and the Museum-Maker

The key person in the museum is Jack Obonyo, the museum-maker or founding curator of the ACPM.[43] His role in the museum has been pivotal in its development and therefore merits its own discussion. As the main agent in the establishment and development of the museum, his voice has been the most influential on the conceptualisation of the museum he initiated in the 1990s, when he was still a job-seeking high school graduate living in Nairobi. A speaker of the Suba language, the museum-maker's initial idea was to 'just have a centre' where information and collections about the Abasuba could be kept (Obonyo, 2016). Looking back in an interview, he now believes that his 'reasoning was a bit shallow in terms of the museum' conveying the changes in his thinking that have occurred since then (Obonyo, 2016). The education and museum training programmes he has taken over the years - a postgraduate diploma in museums and heritage studies from the University of Western Cape and a Master's degree in Museology from the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam - have enabled him to become a knowledgeable museum professional. The museum-maker confirmed his capabilities and praised the education of the Reinwardt Academy in particular, which he said in an interview had given him the 'tools […] to reinvent the museum at a greater height' (Obonyo, 2016). Presently, he describes the ACPM as a platform for dialogue and a place for relaxation, but his ambitions are to use his expertise to reinvent the museum, enable 'its second revolution', which should lead to a more stable and financially sustainable institution (Obonyo, 2016). When interviewed, the museum-maker referred to the power of education to become bold and move the museum forward, stating that 'the ACPM will never collapse' because 'I have everything that's required of me to ensure that the museum can move'

[43] The use of the term 'founding curator' is one employed by Obonyo himself, and it frequently recurs in documents written by TARA (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 13) and in conference papers (Obonyo, 2012, 27).

(Obonyo, 2016). In conjunction with the evolution of the museum itself, the museum-maker has developed as a museum professional, linking the process of the museum with the process of personal growth. In his case, the two are indeed connected: as the only person responsible for the continued existence of the museum, the continued dedication of the museum-maker has been essential. The passion to keep the museum going and the astute business sense of the museum-maker has ensured the ACPM's continuation; but the reliance on one person for managing the museum, a frequent problem for contemporary museums in eastern Africa, is also its greatest risk.

The museum-maker's involvement with the museum has naturally led to a strong personal connection; the hard work and financial investment that are required lead him to refer to the museum in conversations as 'like his baby' and as 'my entire life investment' (Obonyo, 2016). Apart from the challenges the museum-maker experienced in making the ACPM what it is, the museum also 'made' his career. The international connections gained from different universities have allowed him to deliver the museums' message successfully to both national and international stakeholders and have given him a platform from which to present the ACPM in the heritage sector in Kenya and abroad. On Mfangano Island, the museum-maker and the museum are equally well-known - indeed, it is frequently referred to as 'Jack's museum' despite the official transferral of ownership to the Suba Council of Elders in 2007 that shows that while the museum-maker sees himself as a representative of the whole community, wider feelings of engagement and ownership are limited.

3.1.1 Ownership and Leadership

Due to the continued dependence on the museum-maker for the management and maintenance of the museum, it is obvious that everyone, the museum-maker included, regards the museum as his personal responsibility. This complicates the notion of a community museum; even though the museum-maker hails from the community, the question is whether one individual can represent all of the community. After all, he is one man from a specific part of the island, belonging to one clan and his international education firmly places him in an elite position compared to the majority of the island population. As noted in the theoretical framework, community museums are generally considered to be owned *by* the community, exemplified by the District Six Museum in Cape Town, but the ACPM is managed *for* the community by one individual. As the account of the Mawanga rock art site has shown, the museum's authority and representation is not always accepted by different localities on the island. This is an element with which many other community

museums also grapple; the idealisation of the community museum as representing a homogenous community is ill-founded and unrealistic. While the symbolic ownership of the Suba Council of Elders could have widened the communal representation in the museum, it has not led to significant changes in the museums' activities nor to a more communal perception of ownership. The risks of relying on one individual for the continuation of a museum are well-known to other CPMs. Both the chairman of the CPMHF and the museum-maker of Aembu CPM confirmed in different interviews that one of the main pitfalls CPMs suffer from is the risk inherent in it being one person's responsibility, an apparent inheritance from the research assistants who usually operated on their own in one specific region. If this person cannot manage the running of the museum for any reason or, more importantly, secure the funding, the museum ceases to exist. Several CPMs have in fact collapsed while others, as the CPMHF Chairman put it, 'are dormant' (Gachanga, 2016). In the ACPM a similar situation occurred during the periods when the museum-maker was away to further his studies and it was run by acquaintances and family members. One solution would be to recruit and educate other staff and share the leadership of the museum but until now the museum-maker has not shared his museum and heritage education with any new recruits, thereby preventing possible successors to emerge. This option has been implemented by the museum-maker of the Aembu museum, who in 2016 was training an apprentice with the prospect of him taking care of the museum more permanently (Njiru, 2016). Although the museum-maker has recently hired a museum professional for the daily management of the museum now that he is working as a Fund Manager of the Affirmative Action Social Development Fund (AASDF) at Homa Bay County, it remains to be seen whether this will be a long-term commitment from both parties. It shows promise for the sustainability of the ACPM, but it will be dependent on continued funding and income to pay the staff's salaries.

3.2 Politics in the Museum

Apart from the struggle of individually managing the museum, the museum-maker also has to contend with the political nature of the museum. The CPMs have always had a political function; they were partly established in response to the lack of a historical and local cultural narrative available in the national museums in Kenya. As described earlier, their existence was meant to promote peace and reconciliation within, and between, different ethnic groups after several instances of political violence across the country and Somjee specified that 'as a response to the on-going brutalities, the peace museums grouped as a joint body of broad

inter-ethnic rural-based civil society' (2014, 275). Considering the political nature of museums it is not surprising that the ACPM, despite its limited emphasis on peace and reconciliation, still has to navigate the political relationships and interests from stakeholders on a local, regional and national level. The museum-maker has been instrumental in sustaining these relationships in order to secure the museum's financial position throughout its existence. By involving the Suba elders from an early stage the museum-maker received approval from traditional authorities and the collaboration with TARA propelled the museum into a connection with the NMK and many international organisations. In contrast to other CPMs, the ACPM is the only community peace museum affiliated with NMK, a conscious decision of the museum-maker who believes that the only way for the museum to grow is to collaborate with the Kenyan Government, saying in an interview that 'in this global world you cannot live alone' (Obonyo, 2016). After the country's recent devolution he hopes that the increased local responsibilities of the Homa Bay County Government will lead to new financial opportunities for the museum (Obonyo, 2016).

The fact that the museum-maker is so closely connected to the ACPM also means that his function of Fund Manager at the Homa Bay County administration has potential implications for how the museum is perceived. He is working for the Women's Representative of Homa Bay County, an elected position that is currently held by Gladys Wanga of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the main opposition party in Kenya which has a strong base in the Luo ethnic group, though it is also traditionally supported by the Subans.[44] The Women's Representative, herself familiar with the ACPM, has used the museum to hold meetings on visits to Mfangano Island and one elder expressed concern about this, positing that it threatens the political neutrality of the museum and that, like the elders, the museum should not campaign for any particular party (pers. comm. 2016). The museum-maker has to negotiate the different interests of local stakeholders, while also keeping in mind the interests of its potential funders, added to which he also has to secure income to provide for his family. That said, the museum has now hosted other events that included prominent members of the ODM party: a fundraiser held on 26 December 2015, organised by well-known Suban, Mark Matunga, hosted Oburu Odinga, brother of Raila Odinga, the presidential candidate for ODM. In early January 2017, in the build-up towards tense national elections, Raila Odinga himself was a guest at the ACPM. It is uncertain how these politically sensitive events will affect the perception of the ACPM by the wider locality and its ability and wish to

[44] Gladys Wanga is a former employee of TARA and she worked on the TARA-ACPM project in 2007-2008.

represent the entire Suba community, but that the ACPM is a political entity, and that the museum-maker will have to continue to struggle for the sustainability of the ACPM whilst juggling several stakeholders interests, is a certainty.

3.3 Elders and the Museum

Formally, the Suba Council of Elders are the owners of the ACPM, but in practice they are leaving the daily management to the museum-maker who they praised for his dedication in a group interview.[45] The Mfangano Elders Council, a sub-division of the Suba Council, stated in a separate group interview their intentions to build a small hut on the museum's land which could function as their office space, suggesting that the elders would like to be more actively engaged rather than just seen as the symbolic 'owners' of the museum.[46] The nearby presence of the elders, with their knowledge of Suba language and culture, was also seen as beneficial for the museum by the museum-maker, but their plans appeared more aspirational than an immediate reality in light of their financial situation. The active involvement of community elders is common in CPMs - indeed, Somjee's original CPMP involved elders at inter-ethnic community participatory meetings in the late 1990s and early 2000s (2014, 281). Somjee describes elders as 'the keepers of collective historical and cultural memories that CPM tapped into for communal wisdom and creativity' thus emphasising their importance for preserving the knowledge that is at the heart of the CPMs (Somjee, 2014, 282). In other CPMs, such as the one located in Embu, the museum-maker regularly consults the elders for advice, while in the Lari Memorial Peace Museum the advisory board consists of a number of elders who play a vital role in ongoing reconciliation processes related to the Mau Mau struggle (Coombes, 2014). The elders of Mfangano, important stakeholders of the ACPM, influence the conceptualisation of the museum and perceive it as a tool in a larger effort for recognition of the Suba ethnic group.

[45] This interview took place in Sindo on 8 March 2016 at the end of a meeting already scheduled by the Suba Council of Elders to discuss other matters related to the Suba region (see also appendix A).
[46] This group interview took place on 15 March 2016 at the ACPM, present were Samuel Paul Okech, Charles Okumu Kasera, Joshua Owor Amisi, Luke Duncan Ouma, Peter Maviri Omoka and William Otieno Obilo. It was decided by the elders that the history of Mfangano Island should be recounted in the Suba language first before being translated to English for the interviewer.

3.3.1 Elders, Language and Suba Identity

To the Mfangano and Suba Councils of Elders the issue of language revival is as much an ambition for a defined cultural identity as it is for political recognition and representation.[47] When asked about the importance of keeping the Suba language alive, the elders answered that it is how you can be recognised as a Suban person; the language distinguishes them as Western Bantus, distinct from the linguistically different Nilotic Luo. One elder, Samuel Okech, summarised their views by stating: 'Language is identity, culture is identity, tradition is identity' (Okech, 2016). This indicates that language is perceived as one of the defining features of the Suba identity and the way in which a Suban can be identified by the government: 'If the government want to give priorities for employment in the Nyanza region, how will you identify yourself as a Suban if you don't speak the language?' (Okech, 2016). It is through language revival that the Suba elders intend to establish themselves better politically and receive their piece of the so-called 'national cake' in the form of improved access to public services, infrastructure and other support. The elders hope to benefit from the changes made in the Constitution because in Kenya's Bill of Rights (Chapter Four), minorities and marginalised groups are recognised and promised affirmative action programmes to aid their equal participation and representation in society. Significantly, the last point refers to '[…] affirmative action programmes designed to ensure that minorities and marginalised groups […] develop their cultural values, languages and practices […]' (Kenya, 2010, 41). This has the potential to strengthen the Suba elders' case but, as yet, no programmes or projects have materialised.

Although language is the intangible element of Suba identity, it is the museum that lends visibility and physical presence to Suba material culture. Therefore, the elders consider the ACPM a tangible expression of who the Abasuba are and consider it a useful instrument, mentioning in the group interview that 'the idea of a museum [..] is to preserve our culture, […] we have our artefacts, if we did not have somewhere to preserve them then those things would vanish' (Abasuba Council of Elders, 2016). Referring to the role of the museum as a means of cultural preservation, they expressed the view that objects are evidence of the history and lives of the Abasuba, describing them as mnemonic devices, ways to remember stories and to help illuminate them. This modality of the museum as a mnemonic was

[47] Hughes put it rather more explicitly, describing the 'extinction discourse' employed by the chairman of the Suba Council of Elders who expressed the feeling of loss of 'their language, history and identity as a discrete group' had led to the Luo taking most of the political cake. Hughes states: 'Yet the subtext is clear: concern about loss of financial resources was linked to a desire for political power.' (Hughes, 2014, 195-196).

confirmed when the elders used the example of Tom Mboya's portrait - they said 'unless it is kept here, when you talk about Tom, those who come will not see the meaning, one day the grandkids will say, that is the mzee […] that is the point of the community museum' (ibid., 2016). [48] The artefacts are thus considered part of a translation process, their meanings articulated as part of the expression of a distinct Suba identity. The museum itself is reflective of this process as a whole; a recognition that the Suba exist as an ethnic group distinct from the Luo majority in Western Kenya, serving as a memory of the Suba culture through its storage of artefacts. The museum's political nature and promise of social, economic and cultural betterment was subtly expressed during the group interview conducted at a meeting of the Suba Council of Elders who plan to establish a museum for all the Suba regions at their future office in Sindo, a town located on the mainland. The council maintained that the ACPM currently only serves the Abasuba community on Mfangano Island and did not adequately represent the whole of the Suba region; however, from their envisioned office with 'speaking walls' the Suba Council would be able to coordinate all the Suba regions.

The main reason the elders give for their efforts at saving Suba language and culture is their importance for future generations of Abasuba; intricately related to the Suba identity, its perpetuation through the education of the younger generation is seen as imperative, hence the emphasis on language education and the museum's value as a place of memory. The elders say that the museum 'is owned by the community […] it is going to impact on the present generation, going through the artefacts, they will know that they have a tradition' (2016). Traditions like the Suba culture and language, will help to strengthen a marginalised group on the borders of Kenya and enable them to be more visible. However, there is some danger in overemphasising ethnicity in the way that history and culture are articulated in this environment, even when, as stated by Kaplan, there can be a 'sense of unity it creates in striving for political power and change.' (2011, 153). The Abasuba have for a long time intermingled with other groups such as the Luo and have lived together harmoniously, both adopting and adapting each other's customs (Ayot, 1979). In the current political climate of Kenya, where ethnicity is bound up with political alliances, establishing a distinct ethnic identity can lead to complications. In 2012, during the lead-up to elections, some online sources suggested that the increased ethnic consciousness of the Suba and the establishment of a Suba Council of Elders weakened Suban support to the ODM party (Omolo, 2012a &

[48] Tom Mboya, although generally considered to be of Luo ethnicity, is viewed by the Suban elders as of Suba ethnicity. His ancestral home on Rusinga Island suggests this could be the case, especially since, during Mboya's lifetime, the Abasuba were still considered Luo-Abasuba or just Luo in origin (Ayot, 1979).

2012b). Despite the fact that elders are considered to be traditional authorities concerned with matters of culture and social conduct, their political influence and voice is considerable as evidenced by their actions in early 2017, when the Suba Council of Elders advocated for neutrality in the elections of the Suba parliamentary seat and urged Oburu Odinga to refrain from endorsing one ODM candidate (Omoro, 2017). This illustrates the position of the elders and shows that their sphere of influence reaches beyond cultural matters as their positions of traditional authority allow them to weigh in on how the Suba constituency is represented. The museum, while not directly involved in the elders' activities, has a function in the larger framework of 'Abasuba-ness' that has increased in visibility over the years: it is a testament to the longevity of the Suban presence in the Lake Victoria region and showcases the material evidence. For the elders, the latter is the main narrative and modality of the ACPM, more so than the other aspects concerned with peace and reconciliation (although there is pride in the peacefulness of the Suba people) and the rock art sites.

3.4 Youth, the Museum and the Television

It will depend on the education of the Suba youth how the idea of being Suban translates into daily life in the future. Apart from the EPA-funded educational programme that ran around 2008-2009 no other programmes have been initiated and the museum has not been able to play a significant role in the formal education of younger generations by other means. However, the attraction of the ACPM to the youth is not to learn about the Suba language or its history, but to get acquainted with the wider world and its popular media by watching television. This seeming paradox highlights the difficulty of defining the museum's role and relevance in the community and in defining what a community museum is.

Figure 21: Young men watching television.

The activity of watching television exemplifies a question asked by many museums the world over, namely how to define what the museum is and who it is for: public or private, entertainment or education? Furthermore, it touches upon the perpetual issue of how museums can be relevant for young audiences in the twenty-first century and questions what kind of site the museum is and who is, and should be, represented. Once again it underlines that in a multi-voiced community, where different museum-makers impact upon the continuous processes of adapting the museum idea, these questions are constantly asked and reinterpreted.

3.4.1 Television as a Community Service

On an average afternoon in the museum a small number of young men will be sitting on plastic chairs while watching the large television set up in the restaurant space. Those who can afford it are sipping from a soda but others just come to relax. The programmes selected include soap operas from India, Nigeria or Latin America, dubbed in American English, broadcast from DSTV (Digital Satellite Television) as well as pirate films and series mainly from the United States.[49] The evenings are the busiest times for the museum, when it broadcasts football games from the major, mostly European, football leagues. Visitors can enter for a small fee, enjoy the football and drink sodas and beer. This may seem like an activity more suited to a community centre or bar, but, like other establishments in villages on Mfangano Island, it provides a service for nearby villagers who do not own a television. The museum-maker's philosophy for bringing in the television is that the museum should be a place for entertainment and relaxation, in the same style as European museums (Obonyo, 2016), so for this purpose a large flat screen television and a big speaker on wheels have been acquired. Another television in the conference room provides a second option for visitors, with programmes made available through DSTV, for which the museum pays a costly fee every month. The television idea was initiated before 2010, but the museum-maker also stated that the focus on entertainment is part of the skill-set he acquired at the Reinwardt Academy. At a conference, the museum-maker described the museum as a 'centre of information for the local community, like watching news and world cup finals' (Obonyo, 2012, 29) translating the museum as a window on the world in a location that is, both literally and metaphorically, remote from what is shown on the small screen.

[49] Almost all films displayed were in the action genre because elders disapprove of anything with overt displays of romance, but it may also have been due to the preferences of the caretakers Wanyende and Simba.

3.4.2 Young Men and the Television

The television offers daily amusement for a group of, mostly, young men who have just finished secondary school and are often unemployed or doing casual work, such as driving motorbike taxi's (called *bodaboda* or *pikipiki*). Others go fishing during the night and spend their afternoons on the land. This type of work was also given as a clarification for why the majority of the museum's visitors are men since the women are understood to do most of their work during the day, while the men return from fishing on Lake Victoria by early morning. However, the explanation for the appeal to this part of the community is not that straightforward. Occasionally women would use the restaurant space for a while and, rather than being a matter of division of labour, it appeared that the museum space was not regarded an appropriate place for (unmarried) women to be. Particularly at night, very few women would go out to visit bars and similar public places, and the museum, offering the same entertainment as many other small bars on the island, was viewed similarly. It can be questioned whether the interest from a young male audience was due to the presence of the equally young male caretakers at the museum, but continuation of the football evenings suggests that the appeal for this segment of the population persists. Coombes noted when visiting other CPMs that they are predominantly male spaces; all the museum-makers are 'young men in their 30s', which is also true for the museum-maker of the ACPM (2014, 69/70). Although she remarks that the narratives in the peace museums focus primarily on the role of women in 'procreation/reproduction', at the ACPM currently none of the presented narratives feature women, their roles or lives (Coombes, 2014, 70). During this research, the museum-maker, caretakers and all the elders were men and their standpoints reflected their male perspective, making it plausible that a woman might have offered a different story. Nevertheless, despite the museum-maker's insistence that women had been involved in the donation of objects and the reconstruction of the museum, there is no discernible female voice in the ACPM. This has considerable impact on the conceptualisation of the museum as a community space and confronts some of the major questions posed above, not least how it adapts and translates the envisioned social role of the museum.

3.4.3 Entertainment or Education; Past or Future?

For the men from nearby Ramba village, the museum offers some respite and relaxation from the daily struggles of life on Mfangano Island and it could therefore be argued that the museum acts as a community centre, providing a public service just like the latrine in the back of the museum garden is used by neighbours who do not have their own. But the

television, and the type of material broadcast, opens the discussion about whether a museum is an institute for education or entertainment, or possibly both. The international television programmes offer knowledge about the outside world, exposing people to other cultures and ways of life and broadening the viewers' frames of reference. For example, most content came from three different continents and countries - India, Nigeria and the United States - with the dramatised hyper-reality of the soap operas, action films and music videos significantly impacting the views the youth have of the world beyond Mfangano Island. For example, several of the young men expressed their desire to emulate African-American actors in their style and conduct and American expressions were adopted in the language spoken between the men. Although this familiarity with an urban and cosmopolitan lifestyle might be useful information for the young men who might look for opportunities beyond Mfangano, it arguably contradicts the original mission of the museum. The ACPM was set up to preserve the Suba language and culture, to be 'a place where the material culture of the community could be kept, documented, exhibited and stored for future generations' (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 15). Now those future generations are dreaming of an urban lifestyle, speaking American slang rather than the Suba language. Does the window on the world provided by the museum contradict the museum's ability to promote Suban language and culture, or is it one more narrative capable of co-existing with the others? One elder declared that the television is a way to attract young people to the museum so they know it exists, explaining that, once they are in the museum, step two is buying a soda and step three is learning about culture (Okech, 2016). In his vision, the television is a strategy to slowly expose visitors to the collections and narratives of the museum. The museum's television is part of a process of translating the complexity of contemporary Suban identity in the museum, articulating a past, present and future ethnic identity. Negotiating local traditions with global modern media and combining the Suba language with American hip-hop, in a community peace museum that broadcasts European football matches, is the very definition of a process of translation. The television can be perceived as another modality of the museum, providing a community service for one particular audience, drawing people in and generating income to maintain the space.

4. Community, Peace, Museum

In the museum's displays and guided tours a number of stories are intertwined: the Abasuba history and heritage, the peacefulness of the island and its people, the rock art found on

Mfangano Island, and possibly the museum as a window on the world. However, they are not told separately but interwoven into one grand narrative of Mfangano Island and its inhabitants, the Abasuba, as each particular stakeholder selects from the narrative to present their own version of Suba identity, culture and past. For example, the Suba elders involve the rock art sites in their retelling of Suba history and ancestry to highlight their distinction from the Luo ethnic group, even though the sites predate their arrival and they were most likely produced by Twa people. The rock art sites are similarly described as places of reconciliation, with the various pictograms being assigned values as symbols of peace, fitting in with the CPMP context. In the museum on Mfangano Island these narratives co-exist and mingle without diminishing their 'truth' or value, corroborating what was stated in Chapter 1: that in the post-museum '[K]nowledge is no longer unified and monolithic; it becomes fragmented and multivocal.' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 153). To bring together all that has been said previously about the museum the next section will discuss how the perceptions and functions of the museum relate to its name: the Abasuba Community Peace Museum.

4.1 Abasuba Community

As discussed in Chapter 1, the definition of a community as homogenous and united is problematic, but it is a category that is nonetheless extremely powerful in conjuring up interest from national and international partners in the current heritage and development field. Despite the museum's title and the efforts of the Mfangano and Suba Councils of Elders, neither the Mfangano Island community nor the Suba community are entirely united, even if society is relatively interconnected. Similar to many other communities, the Abasuba are made up of many regions, clans and sub-groups with different dialects as well as being divided into church communities, school groups, extended families, the educated elite, fishermen and so forth. It seems that, during the reconstruction of the museum in 2008, many men, women and youth were mobilised to support the museum stimulated by the intense activity on the site, but when activities declined from 2009 onwards, interest in the museum slowly waned (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 48/49). At present the museum still claims to represent the whole of the island and all of its people, but the reality is that it mainly serves those people who can access it, which is a small male audience. Thus, the term 'Abasuba Community' is as much a political and social statement as it is a genuine intention to represent the Abasuba to the wider world. In order to achieve this goal it is beneficial to present the community as a united whole, with a clear-cut history, common ancestry, culture

and language leading to a simplification that can be described as commodification. But this narrative is contradicted by different groups within the Abasuba community, such as the Suba Council of Elders and the communities around the rock art sites, even though its name, and the museum-maker himself, aspire to serve larger constituencies. It highlights the complications of representation in a museum, an issue familiar to museums worldwide, which becomes increasingly complex when considering the museum as being present in more than one location and when one individual is perceived to be the owner. Nevertheless, the ACPM is still the only museum in the Suba region and visits from tourists, researchers and national politicians have raised its profile locally and internationally, which will, hopefully, contribute to the much-desired recognition and appreciation of the Abasuba.

As the only museum on the Mfangano Island, the ACPM's authentic-looking buildings and grounds amaze visitors, and when they are taken around by animated guides who narrate the history of the Abasuba, its customs and rock art, they come away with a clear impression of the Abasuba, with whom most tourists were previously unfamiliar. In this way, the ACPM provides the only available information on the ethnic group, making it an appealing place in which tourists can learn about 'local culture' from the community itself. As such, its function as a community museum is a powerful tool for attracting tourists and development organisations which will be analysed further in Chapter 5. What does this mean for the museum's articulation as a community museum? When viewing the museum as a continuous process of translation, the different needs of partners and others constantly morphing both its concept and narrative, the museum can be conceived as a community facility serving different parts of the community at different times as it responds to the challenges and opportunities that present themselves. This does not mean that its role and relevance in the community is unproblematic, as the different museum-makers will still need to confront which parts of the community are not currently represented and how they can include the narratives of those excluded from the museum. As active agents in these processes they could strive to include more diverse knowledge than those of the male voices that currently dominate and become more aware of the ACPM's political nature and potential embroilment in party politics. Since the community is constantly morphing and changing, and the Suba identity with it, so too should the museum: on Mfangano Island, the ACPM is not a permanent institution but an adaptive entity.

4.2 Peace

The origins of the word 'peace' in the museum's name is connected to the museum-maker's early involvement with Somjee's Community Peace Museums Programme and its membership of the CPMHF. A number of these CPMs have been established in areas with a post-conflict history where ethnic groups try to come together, reconcile their differences and find common ground after recent conflict (Coombes, 2014, 87). By comparison, Mfangano Island has no history of recent conflict and has not suffered from the political violence that erupted in the 1990s and 2000s after national elections. In fact, it is the island's peaceful nature that is stressed when asked about the meaning of the word 'peace' for the museum. In the group interview the elders explained that the island's name was first pronounced *Ifwangano* but with the arrival of the colonisers the name was mispronounced and became Mfangano. The original spelling *Ifwangano*, meaning reconciliation, was given to the island after the seventeen clans of the island sat down together and reached a reconciliation after the Wasaki wars.[50] (Abasuba Council of Elders, 2016). This story, repeated by others such as the museum-maker and TARA, implies that living harmoniously is part of the spirit of the island community. In its promotional material, TARA emphasises the peacefulness of the island when describing the welcoming nature of the community in times of post-electoral violence (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 28). This explanation for the ACPM as a peace museum is an alternative, but still valid, version of Somjee's conceptualisation of peace museums. Coombes mentions this, stating: 'It is true that, as with Lari, oral narratives and 'myth' attached to sacred sites and specific artefacts are also sometimes a response to historical violence. But it is a violence less concerned with the specific struggle for independence and the emergence of the nation and more concerned with pre-colonial wars, migration and assimilation' (2014, 88).

There are some disparities between the ACPM and other peace museums in Kenya which are more focused on reconciliation, such as Lari Memorial Peace Museum and Agikuyu Community Peace Museum (Coombes, 2014). Although collecting was carried out in similar ways to other CPMs, there is no current reference in the displays, guided exhibition tours or TARA panels about peace and reconciliation. The museum does not focus particularly on cultural expressions of peace such as peace trees (as at the Aembu Community Peace Museum) nor did it participate in the 2013-2014 'Journeys of Peace' and 'Youth for Peace'

[50] The Wasaki wars were inter-clan wars on the islands of Mfangano and Rusinga which took place sometime between 1849 and 1872 (Ayot, 1979, 110).

programmes organised by the Swedish NGO 'Cultural Heritage without Borders' in collaboration with the CPMHF.[51] Lastly, the ACPM museum-maker has not shied away from working with government bodies such as the NMK, and has applied for government funding, in contrast to other CPMs, whose distrust of the state has led them to act completely independently of government. Nevertheless, the museum-maker's strategic networking has enabled the museum to develop in certain ways, but it has lost some of the characteristics that originally defined the CPMs as powerful expressions of civil society (see also Coombes, 2014, 54). It will remain a delicate matter for the museum-maker to maintain independence as a CPM while also benefiting from the funds that regional and national government may have to offer.

4.3 Museum

The ACPM translates varying modalities of 'museumness', some of which are easily recognisable: it is a physical site with artefacts on display and panels on the walls which communicate and present a number of narratives related to Suban identity, it acquires and preserves its collections and functions as an archive for Abasuba material culture. Beyond this traditional interpretation of the museum as a knowledge repository, the museum's social, political and economic functions come to the fore in its articulation as a tangible expression of the Suba identity. Although the museum does not have any current educational programmes, and school groups visit only occasionally, it fulfils a social role by providing a space for members of the community to enjoy popular media. Even though the Mfangano Council of Elders would like to reignite the educational elements of the museum, the museum-maker is more focused on the museum as a meeting place for both locals and visitors and he has invested in technical equipment, chairs and tables to bring in the public (2016). Taking inspiration from visiting European museums, his approach broadens the museum's social remit to include a space for entertainment and simultaneously ensures income, blending the non-profit institution with profitable activities. Moreover, as an expression of Suba identity, the museum performs a political role; giving a voice and a visible presence to the marginalised Suba ethnic group, whose existence has long been denied and is still marginal in Kenya. The museum exists in defiance of this neglect and has been a place

[51] The term peace tree is an umbrella term which describes trees that stand at sacred sites, have a historically sacred meaning and/or whose properties are used in reconciliation and peace ceremonies. While researching peace traditions in Kenyan ethnic groups, Somjee identified peace trees as one of the material expressions of peace and reconciliation (Somjee, 2014, 289).

for events related to Abasuba social life, an archive for its material culture and a knowledge repository for Suba language and traditions. Finally, the wealth of narratives that are permanently being created and recreated around the complexities of contemporary Suban identity, by local, national and international partners involved with the museum at different stages, leads to the conclusion that the ACPM can indeed be defined as a process of translation.

Chapter 4

Uganda - Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

> 'Insofar as the race towards 'modernity' shadows anything deemed to be outdated, and as public and private resources focus on meeting immediate and practical 'basic needs', community museums play an important role in preserving the heritage of communities in a quickly changing environment.' - Fredrick Nsibambi Ssenyonga, 2016, 126.

1. Introduction

This chapter serves both to compare museum practices in this part of the world and to deepen exploration of the elements that shape the emerging museums. Similar themes related to materiality, community, representation and identity will be discussed in the context of Uganda and allow an extrapolation to regional developments in the wider region. However, the different ways in which museum modalities emerge in Uganda will also further enhance the analysis of civic museological renewal conducted in Kenya and the conceptualisation of these initiatives as processes of translation. While the ACPM is a relatively unique case among CPMs in Kenya, because of its engagement with national government, external parties and its focus on language survival, the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture (MAAC) is much more connected with wider museum developments in Uganda as an active member of UCOMA (Uganda Community Museums Association), a flourishing network that can largely be attributed to the NGO Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU) which has been engaged with non-state museums in Uganda since 2009. This chapter, then, takes a wider view than that which has been taken on Kenya, including examples from other independent museums, to enrich the analysis. Besides this, the MAAC's establishment in northern Uganda, a post-conflict environment, will add another dimension to the roles and functions of the independent museum in eastern Africa.

1.1 Locating the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

Before travelling to northern Uganda from Kampala it became clear that this part of the country has a reputation in Uganda's capital for heat as well as violence, stereotypes with a

long history that shed light on the perceptions of that part of the country and its residents, that have been covered in various texts about the region and its recent conflict (see for example: Finnström, 2008; Dolan, 2009; Allen & Vlassenroot, 2010).[52] To gain a deeper understanding of the region, a brief overview of its history and heritage will be given as it pertains to the MAAC and its local stakeholders.

The name *Museum of Acholi Art and Culture* firmly places it, like many other Ugandan independent museums, in a particular region and ethnicity, in this case the Acholi. Researchers have proposed different theories for the emergence and reification of the Acholi identity and ethnicity in pre-colonial and colonial times but this deeper history will not be fully elaborated upon here because the focus is on contemporary Acholi identity in relation to the museum (Finnström, 2008, 31). For this thesis it is sufficient to note that Finnström states that: 'The Acholi people today generally consider themselves as a distinct ethnic group.' (2008, 32). Similar to the Abasuba in Kenya, language plays a significant role in the Acholi ethnicity. In fact, the ethnic group and language are both called Acholi, of western Nilotic origins related to the Luo and belonging to the larger Luo linguistic and ethnic group. The museum-maker of the MAAC, Peter Oloya, conscious of the importance of language for Acholi identity, has given the museum an Acholi name: *Gang gwoko deyo ki te kwaro pa Acholi* meaning 'Home where we keep art and culture of Acholi'.[53] A large part of northern Uganda is described as Acholiland, which generally refers to the districts Pader, Amuru, Gulu and Kitgum, each of which has a local government that is responsible for culture, falling under the Department of Community Development. Alongside the government authorities is a network of chiefs, *rwot* in Acholi, who have 'traditional' authority: they are responsible for the management of cultural affairs.

1.1.1 Conflict and Culture

Located near Kitgum, the circumstances under which the museum is emerging - and the museum-maker's motivation for this project - are directly related to the region's recent history of internal conflict and its aftermath. The protracted war has generally been traced from the late 1980s to 2008 and became known internationally as a battle-ground of the Ugandan Government against the rebel movement of Joseph Kony called the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which is notorious for its abductions of children in particular. However, Chris Dolan describes the atrocities as having been committed by *all* fighting

[52] Finnström also touches upon the stereotype of Acholi people as violent and militaristic (2008, 78-81).
[53] This translation was provided by the curator of the MAAC, Peter Oloya.

parties at the expense of the people living in northern Uganda including rape, killings, lootings and general destruction (2009).[54] From 1996 onwards the Ugandan Government began to (forcibly) relocate people to so-called Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps in towns to ensure their safety. This had a profound impact on people's lives and the processes by which the IDP camps were created are associated with a breakdown of cultural norms and values and a loss of moral authority (Dolan, 2009, 168-187). Although a ceasefire agreement was signed on 26 August 2006, it was not until 2008 that most people dared to leave the IDP camps and return to their homesteads in the countryside. Even though the region has been peaceful ever since, the Lord's Resistance Army has actually never signed a peace agreement, a constant reminder for residents of the fragile situation. As a result of the war and its aftermath, people in Acholiland and other affected regions are severely traumatised, often both physically and mentally. A number of issues such as land conflicts, high prevalence of HIV, alcoholism and large numbers of missing persons, were all mentioned by people interviewed in Kitgum; but the situation of those abducted returning from the bush, including women with children, also needs to be considered.

The effects of the long conflict continue to be felt by everyone living in Acholiland and a perceived loss of culture in the broadest sense is one of these. The MAAC museum-maker, who himself was a victim of abduction during the conflict, told of the bitterness that many people still feel, further describing the problems related to IDP camp life in an interview which, together with a general moral decline, he characterised as 'give me culture', explaining that particularly the youth who grew up in the camps have become used to receiving donations from international NGOs rather than learning how to make a living for themselves (Oloya, 2016a). Dolan confirms these accounts and labels it 'cultural debilitation' writing that: 'In effect, the various discourses of moral, social and cultural breakdown […], although at times exaggerated, sought to do justice to a level of complexity and breadth of impact not captured in individual physical or psychological debilitation.' (2009, 171). He goes on to describe several areas of culture which are considered under threat as a result of the conflict and intervention from NGOs and government initiatives: burial and funeral rites, traditional justice systems, songs and dances and changed social relations. While Dolan questions whether the disappearance of cultural practices and values can be seen as a complete breakdown, he explains it as a reflection of 'a loss of social predictability' (2009, 186). Although published in 2009, it was apparent that in 2016 a general loss of culture was

[54] Chris Dolan is also Director of the Refugee Law Project, which manages the National Memory and Peace Documentation Centre in Kitgum.

still a major concern for the Acholi: one secondary school teacher and radio DJ with a programme called *Leb Luo Kur*, translating as 'Luo Language Flavour', expressed a strong nostalgia for Acholi society as it was before the war remembering it as 'paradise' (Okello, John, 2016).

1.2 Other Museums in Acholiland

Against this background, several initiatives were set up to aid the population of northern Uganda to recover from their experiences; one example was the 'Road to Reconciliation' project funded in 2012-2013 by the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage in collaboration with the Uganda National Museum (UNM). It aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation by identifying and supporting efforts of memorialisation of conflict-related sites in northern Uganda. The UNM identified sites for memorials such as abduction sites and IDP camp sites (Giblin, 2012, 508 & Abiti, 2016). Another prominent post-conflict institution in Kitgum is the National Memory and Peace Documentation Centre (NMPDC). Established in 2011, it is part of the Refugee Law Project based in Kampala that falls under the Conflict, Transitional Justice and Governance Programme and identifies itself as 'a museum-like war memorial, that helps people heal from the wounds of the past.' (Refugee Law Project, 2016b). The centre has an exhibition in its office building and visitors are led through a narration of the history of the conflict and its consequences with photographs, texts and objects, such as bombs and axes. It then moves to the themes of peace and healing, with newspaper articles and photographs of cultural practices and *mato oput* reconciliation ceremonies displayed on the walls.[55] The display ends on an optimistic note with a blackboard encouraging people to express their hopes for the future and a painting depicting a vision of the prosperous life ahead. Material from a travelling

Figure 22: The NMPDC exhibition.

[55] The mato oput ceremony is a reconciliation ceremony bringing together (families of) victims and perpetrators who both have to drink of the bitter root (mato oput) in order to reconcile and restore social relations. Traditionally carried out when a murder was committed, the *mato oput* has been embraced as a means of reconciling families after the conflict (Abiti, 2015).

exhibition that was organised in 2014, called *Travelling Testimonies*, is used and the display inside the centre also covers other conflicts in Uganda. The travelling exhibition, another initiative from the Refugee Law Project aimed at post-conflict recovery, toured a number of regions in Uganda that have been affected by armed conflict since 1962, including Kitgum (Fallon, 2014). The Centre occupies land next to the District Government offices and collaborates with them as it considers it the best way to carry out advocacy (Nono, 2016). Apart from these activities, which for a significant part have been funded by international donors, the museum-maker expressed his dissatisfaction in several conversations and interviews at the inactivity of the district authorities in spearheading projects related to Acholi culture (Oloya, 2016a). The current Community Development Officer of Kitgum District, who is also responsible for culture, expressed many ambitions in an interview, including a cultural centre or cultural village that would host exhibitions, but most of the ideas proposed were so-called 'unfunded priorities' and the chances of these materialising are slim (Okello, James 2016). The failure of the District Government to take the lead in cultural activity was cited by the MAAC museum-maker in an interview as one of the reasons for establishing the museum (Oloya, 2016c).

Figure 23: Painting of the future of northern Uganda.

Near Kitgum, in Pader District, *rwot* Oweka Dermoi Ajao the Second (known as *rwot* Ajao) has also taken up the idea of creating a museum and started the Dure Community Museum on his compound next to his house. The traditional hut is painted on the outside with colourful symbols expressing the need for peace and the return of missing people. The construction of the hut was sponsored by the Refugee Law Project, the organisation behind NMPDC, and during a visit on 1 July 2016 the chief described his museum as a memorial to missing people in his chiefdom, where 416 families are still missing their abducted relatives (see appendix A). The museum was launched in early 2016, accompanied by rituals for calling back the missing, and


Figure 24: Dure Community Museum.

in conversation with the MAAC museum-maker and the researcher, *rwot* Ajao expressed the wish that it would function as psycho-social support for his constituents, a place where people can talk freely and find peaceful resolutions. Inside the hut, a number of objects related to Acholi culture are labelled in Acholi and English on a piece of calabash, because the chief did not want to use 'white people's things' (Dermoi, 2016). A unique feature of this museum is the long list of missing people that is hung from the ceiling reaching to the floor which, combined with the everyday artefacts on display mimicking a traditional household, makes clear how much culture is perceived to be a crucial part of the reconciliation and restoration process. It confirms the statements above that conflate the return to a peaceful society with restoration of Acholi culture, including its norms and values. The Dure Community Museum is also collaborating with the NMPDC; the *rwot* was approached by the NMPDC and has donated artefacts to their collection, which they started in 2011 with the intention of constructing a separate museum, although until now it has not materialised, with only the foundations having been laid on a plot of land next door.

Figure 25: Label on a piece of calabash.

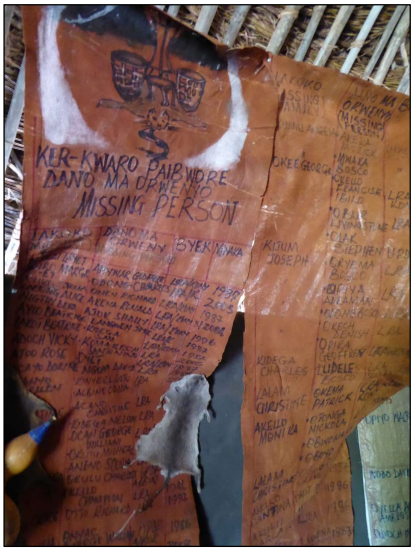

Figure 26: List of missing persons.

The plans of the District Government and the NMPDC for a museum or cultural centre, together with the already established MAAC and Dure Community Museum, brings the total number of potential museums about Acholi culture and history to four - and this does not include the Human Rights Focus Peace Museum in Gulu which is relatively remote from the Kitgum region. These initiatives signal an interest in capturing Acholi culture in museums, in a location where resources are extremely limited. Collaboration would be an obvious option, but there is significant suspicion between the different cultural actors: neither seems to trust the motivations of the other in developing a cultural institution. In a number of conversations and interviews there were suggestions from different sides that museums were started because the initiators were expecting to earn money from it, either as income from visitors

or by receiving funding. So far, however, it seems that none of the initiatives have benefited financially from their endeavours in the heritage sector.

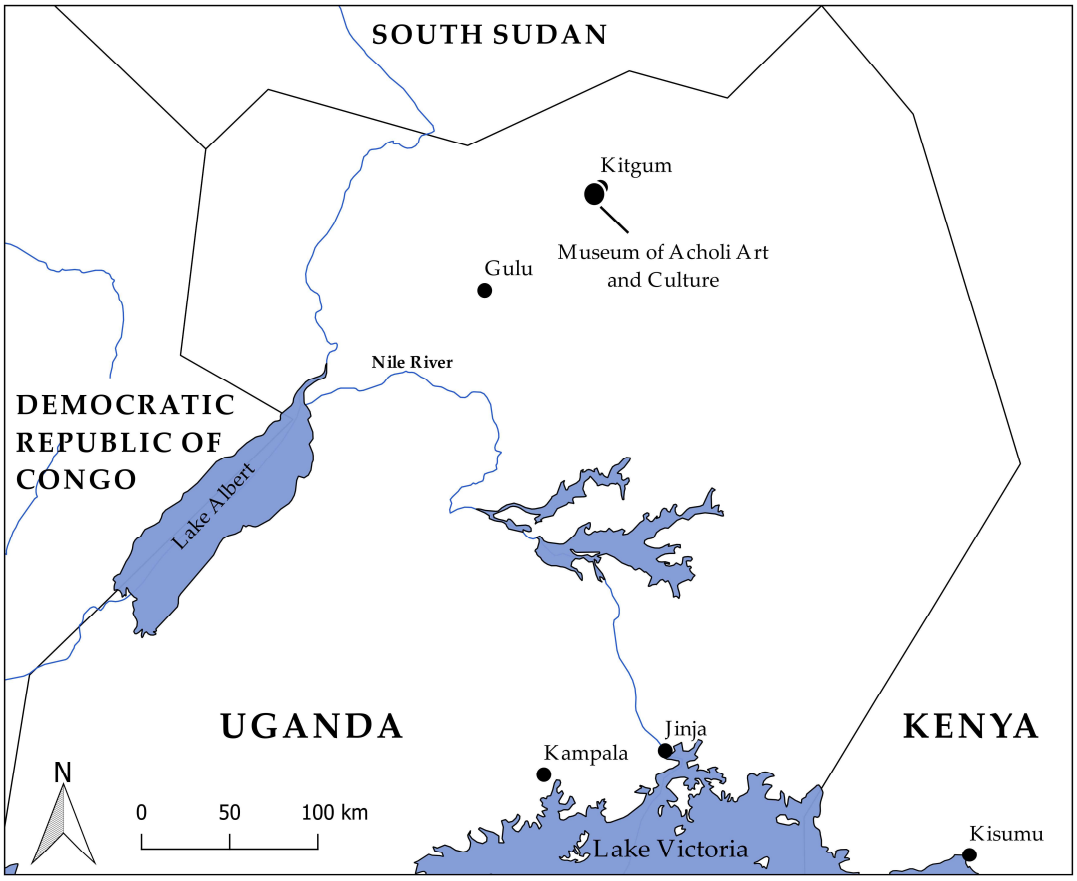

Figure 27: Location of the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture.

1.3 The Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

Like the ACPM on Mfangano Island, the MAAC near Kitgum is located remotely from the country's capital and takes six hours to reach, largely due to the conditions of the road between Gulu and Kitgum. Improvements of the road are underway, bringing hopes of future economic opportunities to the region, including a potential increase in tourism. The MAAC opened in its first location on Independence Day, 9 October 2011, in a rented room in the centre of Kitgum town but when the rent became too high the museum had to move to a space with three rooms about 1 km out of town on the main road. Again increasing rents plagued the museum, so the museum-maker planned to secure a permanent place for the museum, cutting out reliance on rented premises. Purchasing land is a complicated task in a region where many land disputes are waged as a result of the recently ended conflict, but in 2013 the museum-maker managed to procure some land with the help from the local *rwot*.

While the location, in between towns, is not ideal at present due to the on-going construction of the road, the site could become a convenient stopover for passing visitors on their way to the far north of Uganda and South Sudan. The ceremony of breaking ground took place on 11 May 2013 and the building has slowly been constructed as and when the museum-maker has been able to finance the work, resulting in it being in a permanent state of construction. At the time of this research in June 2016, the MAAC building was still under construction, although the spaces that have been finished are already in use as exhibition rooms and offices.

Figure 28: Museum of Acholi Art and Culture.

1.3.1 Visiting the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

A few kilometres before reaching Kitgum, the MAAC can be seen on the left-hand side, situated on a large plot of land some 50 m away from the road. The façade of the building is finished, as well as the entry hall with offices on either side, and although there is no door yet, the iron frames for sliding glass doors have already been installed. Two doors at the back of the building indicate where the entrance and exit to the galleries will be.

Figure 29: The museum entrance.

The spaces on either side of the entrance hall consist of two rooms with the right-hand side designated as the office space as well as a room that might become a storage or accessioning space for objects, but is empty at the moment. On the left, the museum exhibition has been temporarily installed in the same way as the displays in the museum's previous locations: artefacts are positioned against a white wall and on white wooden pedestals and illustrated with photographs and texts. The exhibition starts with an elaborate section on iron-working (figure 30) followed by some agricultural and food production tools and a few calabashes. A large drum is displayed on a pedestal but more space is given to a section on pottery with both texts and images on the wall accompanying a number of pots (figure 31). A separate lower platform holds an old grinding stone which was donated by a woman who, upon returning to her old home after the war, found only the grinding stone, everything else having been looted by passing troops (figure 32). This subtle reminder of the conflict endured by the region is made explicit with a series of photographs, (shown in figure 33), that aim to demonstrate the process from war to peace and the role that art plays in the process of peace as the museum-maker explained in an interview (Oloya, 2016b). A final series of photographs on the wall pictures the museum-maker as a working artist, which is his profession, and the most successful and lucrative artworks he has created (figure 34). These commissions have been instrumental in financing the museum's establishment and highlight the success of the museum-maker, consciously positioning him as part of the museum's narrative.

Figure 30: Ironworking display.

Figure 31: Pottery display.

Figure 32: The grinding stone.

Figure 33: Photographs related to the war and peace process.

Figure 34: Photographs showcasing the museum-maker's work as an artist.

1.3.2 The Imagined Museum

Most of the museum however, is not realised yet. In an interview on 30 June, the museum-maker laid out his ambitious plans for the land adjacent to the museum to include a Luo garden with sculptures as a space for events, a cultural village with traditional huts where visitors can stay overnight, a foundry for bronze sculptures, an art gallery for both Acholi artists and artisans; and there are plans for a restaurant and a craft shop. In addition, he wants to expand the heritage education programme by going into the community with an outreach programme (Oloya, 2016b). In terms of exhibitions and collections, the MAAC is still very much in the process of being developed. With a current collection of 26 objects in the

object registry the strategy for further expansion is to visit 'resource persons' such as elders and artisans who can donate or loan artefacts. When the rest of the building is finished, the collections will be made up of mainly traditional cultural artefacts, but the museum-maker also imagines a separate gallery for photographs and artworks. Thematically, the museum as it is imagined now will cover a wide range of topics: the history of the Acholi including the recent history of the conflict and the process towards peace, aiming to play a role in educating youth about peaceful living in society; and Acholi culture and art, both defined in broad terms to include such topics as the art of hunting and woodwork and the processes of making tools related to those practices. The underlying idea is that the museum should function as a space where processes and skills related to Acholi culture are preserved and passed on to the next generation (Oloya, 2016b). The museum-maker has a number of plans to enthuse Acholi people about their culture by means other than the museum, such as recreating traditional cultural artefacts in a contemporary material for modern audiences and producing films about Acholi culture. Lastly, plans for commercial ventures are aimed at affluent travellers: as the main connection to Kidepo Valley National Park, the stream of tourists is expected to increase in the near future.

1.4 Community Museums in Uganda

The MAAC, like the ACPM in Kenya, is not a phenomenon standing on its own; both case studies serve as examples that can be extrapolated to more general movements in the heritage field and the broader development of independent museums in eastern Africa. Neither museum, although located remotely, is isolated, and the networks of museums in which each operates are of vital importance to their continued existence. The community museum network of which the MAAC is part therefore merits closer scrutiny, although the important role that CCFU plays in the museums' networks will be analysed in depth in Chapter 5. Here, the value of the UCOMA network for the MAAC will be discussed and compared with the different ways in which community museums have faced their challenges and constructed their museum.

The museum-makers who have established the museums show that interest in having a museum comes from a diverse range of institutions: the Cultural Research Centre Museum in Jinja is run by the Catholic church; Kabaka Mutebi's Collections in Kampala are located in the palace complex of the Buganda Kingdom; The Home of Edirisa Museum is now managed by an NGO and part of a hostel in Kabale; the Ham Mukasa Museum can be found on his

family compound; the C.N. Kikonyogo Money Museum is located in the Bank of Uganda; and the Uganda Martyrs' University Museum is part of the university. In addition, there are a number of museums which, like the MAAC and the ACPM, have been set up by individuals. Despite this diversity, all the museums are collected under the umbrella term 'community museum'. It is relevant to note that the characteristics shared by these museums outnumber their differences, and it is therefore valid to speak of an emerging civic network of museums in Uganda. There are many similarities between them, particularly in terms of collections and displays and, with the exception of the C.N. Kikonyogo Money Museum, the majority can be described as local, cultural or historical, museums, sharing most of the challenges of conservation, funding and management. However, contrary to what their collective moniker of 'community museum' suggests, there are also large variations between the museums, particularly in their social and political roles. There are a few other museums in Uganda that are neither national or part of the community museum network. These museums, such as the Namugongo Martyrs Museum dedicated to the historical massacre of early Christians, contribute to the emerging museum field in their own right but will not be discussed here.[56]

2. Materiality: Collections, Displays, Space

As has been explored in the previous chapter on Kenya, materiality is a specific modality in independent museums in eastern Africa. Acknowledging these museums as repositories of knowledge helps to understand the collections and the museum itself as acts of translation in continuous processes of transformation. In Uganda, the intertwined nature of tangible and intangible culture will become even more evident as the processes of collecting artefacts, their display and use are analysed. The analysis of materiality will elaborate on the argument put forward in the previous chapter, further challenging the notion that the material aspects of the museum are its defining features.

2.1 Collections and Collecting

When asked in an interview about the number of artefacts in the MAAC, the museum-maker explains that even though there are 26, there are 14 objects he values the most and that he does not count others that are easily available, such as gourds. He does not see the collection

[56] During field research for his thesis sixteen museums were visited in Uganda, of which nine are part of the community museums of Uganda network. Please see appendix B for the full list of visits.

as a permanent entity (Oloya, 2016b). The method of registering the collection corresponds with this philosophy: there is a dummy version of the accession register which is used first to avoid mistakes before entering data into the more permanent accession register. The register itself is kept tidy so it can be displayed when they open the new museum building so visitors can see how well the museum keeps its records. While using conventional methods to record objects, the museum-maker has given his own particular twist to it, adapting a layout for an object register taken from a UNESCO webpage to fit the purposes of the collection. Although an artefacts registration book, an accession register and catalogue data cards have been produced, this is combined with the above-mentioned approach to keeping objects; while all objects entering the museum are registered, they may not end up in the collection as permanent accessions. Objects may enter and leave the MAAC again with the possibility that some artefacts may even end up in a crafts shop once that idea has come to fruition. The permanent entry of objects in the collection is not assumed; rather the movement of objects and their changing meanings and functions are taken as a given. A sense of process is also evident in the collecting activities of the museum.

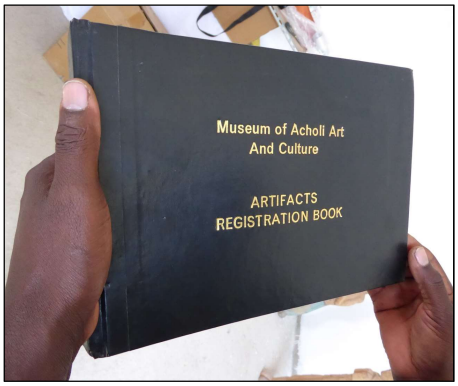

Figure 35: The artefacts registration book.

The museum-maker undertakes regular trips around Acholiland to speak to, and collect artefacts from, elders, artisans and other potential donors. For example, the researcher accompanied the museum-maker on a visit to Mary Atube, a women's leader and collector of artefacts appointed by the local *rwot*.[57] A member of a prominent Acholi family, she lives in a well-established family compound where one hut is filled with cultural artefacts, functioning as a display space for her collection as well as a welcoming room for guests. Tasked by the *rwot* to collect artefacts, she acquires those things that represent the Acholi people from


Figure 36: Mary Atube's display space.

[57] The visit to Mary Atube took place on 28 June 2016 together with the curator, museum helper and teacher Alfred Okot Moon and a fellow teacher from Kitgum Comprehensive College.

community members, such as rare examples of large pots which are not made in that size anymore because the skills have been lost with the passing of the potters. The museum-maker's goal for the visit was to request some objects from her collection to exhibit in the museum; a delicate negotiation and a reminder of how translation can also be the creation of relationships (Mack, 2002, 197). Transforming the desired object from the private sphere into a museum artefact, all parties in the exchange have some agency in deciding what becomes part of the collection or not, thus contributing to the process of museum-making, creating the collection and articulating a particular narrative. In this instance, Mrs. Atube decided that she would give the MAAC a traditional loin cloth, a baby carrying bag and a calabash which can be considered the start of a collaboration between the MAAC and the collector.

2.1.1 Collecting as a Process of Translation

This experience of the collecting process is representative of other museum-makers in Uganda as well: when being interviewed, two other museum-makers (one from a national museum and one from a community museum) mentioned that 'good language' was necessary to talk to elders about contributing artefacts to their museums (Nabukalu, 2016; Kitaulwa, 2016). It demonstrates that museum-makers need to establish positive relationships with so-called 'resource persons' in order to add artefacts to their collections, a time-consuming and occasionally costly undertaking that underlines the argument made by Silverman that translation is a social process. On a more practical level, the diplomatic complexities of acquiring objects explains why museum-makers also buy new artefacts from markets or collect artefacts that show signs of a long history of usage. The collection process is thus a very conscious one in the hands of the museum-makers and, in the MAAC and many other community museums, they are solely responsible for the museum and the onus is on them to put together a collection and create a narrative. In the MAAC, the museum-maker decides what to display in the museum and what to omit, naming objects of witchcraft as things he does not want to collect because he sees it as a retrograde part of culture that '[…] hinders development […]' (Oloya, 2016c). However, most other objects adhere to the trope of traditional culture, the most common type of collection among community museums in Uganda: out of the 36 community museums listed in a leaflet from 2015, 27 have a material collection with 'ethnographic' artefacts. The nature of these collections is not surprising considering the mission of most museums is to preserve the culture and identity of a specific ethnic group, but it is notable that the displays and collections closely resemble those of the ethnographic exhibition at the UNM in Kampala, the archetype of a museum in Uganda.

As concluded in the chapter on Kenya, defining the objects in independent museums in east Africa as objects of knowledge is congruous with their diverse uses and multiple meanings. Furthermore, the museum-maker divides the collections into unique objects and replaceable objects: objects for which their material matters and others where, not materiality, but immaterial function and meaning are the most important to convey. The material as well as the immaterial qualities are contained in each artefact: a hoe may represent the iron-working process and agricultural methods but it is also a traditional wedding gift. Any example of a hoe could represent these intangible processes, functions and symbolism but its material presence (rather than, say, a photograph), is still valuable, further confirming that the seeming distinction between tangible and intangible heritage is obsolete in east African independent museums. It could be said, of course, that in principle all objects in museums are objects of knowledge and therefore contain both the material and immaterial. But it seems that in Kenya and Uganda, rather than the exclusive focus on the material, these institutions are more concerned with the intangible knowledge and narratives inherent in their collections.

2.1.2 Displays

According to the museum-maker, the current displays are only a glimpse of what is to be developed once the museum building is finished. However, at the moment these displays are what is presented to visitors to the museum and, though the number of artefacts is limited, it communicates a number of interesting concepts. First of all, there is the emphasis placed on the processes of making artefacts. Rather than focusing on use, as can be seen in other museums which have divisions based on agriculture, fishing, cooking etc., the themes here are iron-working and pottery, with elaborate texts in Acholi and English and high-quality photographs educating the visitor in the skills needed to make the displayed artefacts (see figures above). As an artist, the museum-maker has an interest in the production of objects but he is also convinced that the knowledge of making these items should be preserved, hence its depiction at the MAAC (Oloya, 2016b). Noting that it is the intangible processes, knowledge and skills related to the objects that are presented, the objects themselves, especially those in the iron-making theme, are diverse and range from agricultural tools to spears, to combs and armlets, highlighting the craft instead of the type or function of the product.

A second theme that stands out is the photo collage narrating the process from war to peace, culminating with a photograph of a painting, made by the museum-maker, being gifted to

President Museveni. Though currently not on display, the museum-maker has indicated in conversations that he has two narratives in mind for this section of the museum: one is to show the history of Acholiland, including the conflict, to show 'where we came from, where we are so that we know what to do when we're going to where we're going' (Oloya, 2016b). Secondly, in line with the aforementioned discourses in Uganda and with the peace museums in Kenya, the museum-maker believes that culture and art play a big part in contributing to peace and conflict resolution so the museum aims to fulfil a role in the promotion of harmonious living as well. This story, in which the culture and history presented at the MAAC contribute to sustaining peace, is currently told through just one artefact: the grinding stone which was the only thing left of a household after its destruction by warring forces. However, the photographs already convey some of the larger narratives in development to the mainly youthful visitors.

The MAAC's displays can be described as more 'western' than those of other community museums; the panels and labels reproduce a style promoted in museum guidelines and all text is available in Acholi and English. The white walls of the exhibition space resemble an art gallery and objects are placed on white pedestals or hung on the wall like artworks. There are no glass cases as in the UNM and the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum, but this seems to be for financial reasons rather than a curatorial decision. Visitors are still accompanied by a guide when they come to the museum but there is no hands-on engagement with exhibits, contrary to many other independent museums. This approach is explained as being a concern for valuable artefacts, but the museum-maker states that the community should be consulted on what they want to do with the collection, conceding that most people want to touch artefacts: 'if it's something that belongs to them, like the music instruments, someone will want to play to try and see how it sounds' (Oloya, 2016b). Ideally, the MAAC would like to find a middle ground, to display some artefacts that cannot be touched interspersed with artefacts that can.

Figure 37: A drum.

2.1.3 Multisensory Engagement

At an UCOMA meeting, the debate was held on whether visitors touching artefacts should be allowed (Oloya, 2016b), a pertinent discussion because most of the museums visited in Uganda offer tactile engagement with their objects. During a visit to the Cultural Research Centre Museum in Jinja the museum-maker demonstrated the use of a pestle and mortar and played the xylophone, while the museum-maker at the Busoga Cultural Museum showed the use of a pipe (figure 38). At the Kigulu Chiefdom Museum, the curator handed out samples of traditional foods to feel and smell, a designed interactive resource (figure 39). The Home of Edirisa Museum in Kabale was even more hands-on, with a guided tour that approximated to a performance, including demonstrations of shooting arrows and a re-enactment of a visit to a diviner's hut, thereby creating an experience that resembles an open air museum or a historical re-enactment site. In these cases, all the senses (except taste) are activated during the museum visit, contributing to the experience of the visitor. This multisensory engagement, is one of the most important aspects of independent museums in east Africa, animating artefacts as part of a 'living' culture and prioritising meanings over their material preservation, making them more than just 'object-information packages'. Multisensory engagement enables the visitor to engage with the object's use, production process, social, political and economic meanings, an experience closer to 'feeling' than 'knowing'. 'Knowledge' itself in these museums is not monolithic and is open to change and interpretation. Indeed, these modalities of collecting, display and engagement offer a new perspective on the 'third phase in museology' detected by Message and Witcomb (2015, xlvii) showing that 'affect' is a major element of independent museum development in Kenya and Uganda.

Figure 38: Charles Mulindwa of Busoga Cultural Museum explains the use of a pipe.

Figure 39: Traditional food samples at Kigulu Chiefdom Museum.

2.1.4 A Conventional Museum Display

However, a few museums stand in stark contrast to the examples mentioned above, most prominently the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum on the main road to Mbarara in south-west Uganda. The museum, founded by James Tumusiime, the influential owner of a publishing house, is finished to a high standard: the permanent exhibition is displayed in glass cases, accompanied by texts, labels, photographs, drawings and even mannequins . It covers a large number of themes, both cultural and historical related to the people living in the region, with a theatre and two traditional huts in a 'cultural village' on the grounds outside. The museum is part of a complex which also houses a restaurant, craft shop, event grounds and a hotel, a business model promoted by Tumusiime during a museum workshop in Kampala in July 2016, who said that while the museum does not generate profit on its own, the other businesses create revenue which can be invested in the whole cultural centre. He explained that he saw the museum as a nucleus for other profitable services where the museum acts as a magnet for people, adding a 'spice' to the centre which is otherwise designed to attract tourism (Tumusiime, 2016). The Igongo Museum, which aligns most closely with international museum standards, is widely praised in Uganda, with some suggesting it surpasses the UNM, which is striking because the Igongo Museum closely emulates its ethnographic exhibition, an often criticised part of the UNM known for its static and outdated presentation. The similarity is no coincidence; the previous Commissioner of Museums and Monuments from 1995 to 2006, Dr Ephraim Kamuhangire mentioned in an interview that he was involved in the design of the Igongo Museum and is one of its co-founders (Kamuhangire, 2016). Despite being the most conventional of all museum concepts in Uganda, it seems that its business model is the main inspiration for the MAAC. The location, a few kilometres away from a city centre and next to the main road imitates the Igongo Cultural Centre, as do the museum-maker's plans for extra facilities. The comparison is no accident because the MAAC museum-maker was commissioned to create sculptures for the exhibition at the Igongo Cultural Centre.

Figure 40: A display at Igongo Cultural Centre Museum.

The fact that the Igongo Museum is perceived as the most accomplished museum in Uganda reveals something about the ideas of what a 'proper' museum is. Although it can be argued

that the (im)-material modalities of the community museums in Uganda offer one of the most innovative takes on the conceptualisation of the museum, this is not the general view of heritage practitioners in Uganda who are concerned with ensuring that their museums are taken seriously. The conventional model, as exemplified by the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum, is seen by many in Uganda as the way a museum should look and it also happens to be the culture-for-development model as promoted by international heritage discourse and national cultural policies. The founder of the Igongo Cultural Centre has given the museum the motto 'where the future meets the past' which he explains as follows: 'Culture evolves but not to the point of ignoring its roots, we are interested in the root, the foundation of our culture, the human and creative aspect. Then we build on that for the development of society.' (CCFU, 2012, 18). It reiterates the strong emphasis on culture as a resource for development and the key to a prosperous future, a characteristic detected earlier in Kenya.

The much-admired displays in the Igongo Museum are reminiscent of the conventional displays of modernist museums and do not enrich the museum field, but this does not mean that the achievements of the Igongo Cultural Centre should not be celebrated. The museum appears to be a success and an example of significant investment in cultural heritage in a country where public and private investment are otherwise lacking. But the funds available at the Igongo Cultural Centre make this 'Bilbao model' unattainable for the majority of independent museums in eastern Africa where sustainable income generation is usually aspirational.[58] Ironically, it is the restricted financial resources that lead independent museums to come up with creative solutions, while the emphasis on being a 'proper' museum run like a business venture could paradoxically limit creative solutions to current problems and lead to risky financial overreaching when those means are not available. The focus on conventional museum standards in the museum would constitute a loss to the museum field in the sense that practices in independent museums in Uganda have the potential to enrich the wide range of those existing around the world.

[58] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Bilbao model refers to the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, whose spectacular building and collections are credited with the rejuvenation of the city.

2.2 Use of Collections

2.2.1 Loaning out Artefacts

The preoccupation with being taken seriously as a museum has not prevented any inventive developments at the MAAC, as a closer look at the use of artefacts in the museum reveals. Even though the museum-maker is preoccupied with maintaining standards, he does apply his own methods of collection management, including making objects available for loan to neighbours when they are in need of them. For example, the pestle and mortar and the hoe are used by people who cannot afford to buy their own, and their use does not prohibit them from being displayed again after they have been returned. Bearing in mind that the museum-maker dislikes hands-on displays, it is interesting that the use of artefacts is not an issue when loaned out. But he does maintain a distinction between artefacts that can be used and those that are unique, such as artworks, and which cannot be used or touched. By contrast, the personal story attached to the grinding stone representing the devastation after the war makes that an irreplaceable object, whereas the authenticity of any particular hoe or mortar is not essential for its display. With the museum's mission to represent the Acholi people and to provide them with a centre for education and inspiration, this loaning 'service' is currently an important part of their outreach activities which establishes good relationships with the museum's neighbours. That the discussion on multisensory engagement and use of artefacts remains undecided and may yet evolve is expressed by the following statement of the museum-maker in an interview: 'I think it's all about the community, how would they wish to represent it […] do you feel satisfied if you don't touch it?' (Oloya, 2016b).

2.2.2 Guided Visits in Community Museums

Just as in Kenya, a museum visit to the community museums in Uganda cannot be undertaken without a guide. As collections are often displayed without information, the guides act as interpreters of the artefacts, translating and interpreting the objects for the visitor. Even in the MAAC and the Igongo Museum, where text panels are available, visitors will still be accompanied. In the smaller museums, it is usually the museum-maker who will take people around with tours including object handling and demonstrations, following a set route through the exhibition. While the level of interactivity varies, the narratives generally emphasise the history and culture of one ethnic group, as the MAAC does for the Acholi. As Nsibambi Ssenyonga, heritage specialist at CCFU, writes in an article in *Museum International*: 'Community museums in Uganda serve to depict and preserve the cultural heritage of different ethnicities […].' (2016, 125). Interestingly, while most museums are

mono-cultural in their collections, there are many resemblances between the artefacts: objects of everyday use, such as mortars and gourds, appear in most community museums. Even though uses, methods of making or symbolic meanings may change by region and group, such strategies also have the potential to show that Uganda is as culturally similar as it is diverse. This does not preclude the fact that the narratives often emphasise the threatened state of the ethnic group's culture and the need for recognition on a regional and national level.

2.3 Building and Space

As can be seen from figures 28 and 29 the MAAC is not traditionally built: in fact, with two columns on each side and an entrance with stairs, it strongly resembles the Greek temple structure the archetypal museum is known for.[59] The decision to use modern materials and a conventional design instead of building a traditional round, grass-thatched hut was a carefully thought through decision. Leading factors considered were the functionality and security of a modern building that would guarantee the safety of an increasingly valuable collection over time, as opposed to the risks of fire and collapse inherent in traditional architecture. The museum-maker noted in an interview that his views were further confirmed after an exchange visit to CPMs in Kenya organised by CCFU, where the issue of traditional architecture was discussed with museum-makers from museums such as the Akamba Community Peace Museum, where some huts had collapsed and had had to be rebuilt several times (Oloya, 2016b). With the intention of leaving 'a legacy', the museum-maker remarked that while the culture is important, traditional architecture can be displayed in a cultural village, separate from the main museum building (Oloya, 2016b). In contrast to the Kenyan museums, where traditional architecture was integral to the Peace Museum Project, most Ugandan museums are either in existing buildings or constructed in a contemporary style. The museum-maker's conviction of the need for a stable building also stems from the museum's previous precarious residence in rented spaces. The struggle to procure the land and construct the museum building is aimed at securing a place that will exist for posterity. However, it also signals to the Kitgum District Government that the MAAC is a serious enterprise at the same time as its facilities are designed to be attractive to potential corporate sponsors.

[59] See for example, the UNESCO logo, which resembles a Greek temple structure.

2.3.1 Beyond the Museum

Because the building is still under construction and a visit has to be arranged to ensure it is accessible, visitor numbers to the MAAC are limited. Thus, it is still more active outside the museum than inside it. Like the ACPM on Mfangano Island, the MAAC's influence reaches beyond the museum itself, mainly through the Heritage Education Programme (HEP) initiated by CCFU in 2011, which consists of establishing heritage education clubs in secondary schools throughout the country and which plays an important role in making the youth and their parents acquainted with what the museum has to offer. The heritage club's activities take place mainly at the respective secondary schools but the MAAC supports different events and acts as a coordinator of the HEP, such as connecting schools with elders and hosting visits to the museum. A few HEP events took place on the museum's land during 2015: the cultural night, where 'everything was done culturally' including food, cooking, music, games and storytelling (Museum of Acholi Art and Culture, 2017) was positively remembered by the student members of the heritage club in Kitgum Comprehensive College in a group conversation during a visit on 14 July 2016 (see appendix B). Other events organised were a painting workshop, a traditional music performance and dance performances by heritage clubs, engaging mostly with the intangible aspects of Acholi culture as part of the HEP.

Many other community museums in Uganda have been involved in CCFU's HEP and the NGO has been supporting the museums by offering financial remuneration for their involvement. For the community museums, the HEP has been one of their main outreach activities and an opportunity to raise their profile, with the museum-maker from the Kigulu Chiefdom Museum saying in a conversation that, through the HEP, CCFU had 'helped to publicise the museum' (Kitaulwa, 2016). In short, many of the museums' activities have taken place outside the museum space. And most of those activities were engaging with immaterial culture, especially the highly popular dance and music performances. Once more, this demonstrates that the MAAC and other community museums are not defined by the physical aspects of the museum - its collections and buildings. Although having a permanent place is important to ensure sustainability, the MAAC has been most successful in reaching out to its constituency through HEP activities, showing that preservation of material culture is not its defining feature, which is made particularly obvious by the fact that the current museum has been under construction since 2013. But the slow construction process has not impeded its growth as a museum known to the locality and the on-going conceptualisation of the museum is evident in the articulation of both the tangible and intangible modalities.

3. Communities

As a recently established museum that is still largely aspirational in nature, relationships with the local constituents of the MAAC are still in progress. Even though there are indications that different stakeholders in the Acholi community around Kitgum are involved in the museum's development, the most influential voice is still that of the museum-maker. The reasons for this will be explored below in the context of the multiple interpretations of the term 'community museum' in Uganda, their national network, and the influence this has on the relationship with the national government.

3.1 The Museum and the Museum-Maker

The museum-maker comes from a village near Kitgum and describes himself as 'purely Acholi' (Oloya, 2016b). Born in 1979 he is, like most other Acholi, a victim of the long-waging war in the northern region of Uganda. Although he lived in Kampala for most of the period of the conflict, he frequently returned to the north in his youth. Later, as a budding artist he started doing art workshops with the youth in IDP camps, making exhibitions with the artworks in Kampala and selling them to support the young artists. In multiple interviews, the museum-maker cited several reasons for coming up with the idea for a museum while at Makerere University in the early 2000s: firstly, his love for his culture which he said is his main source of inspiration, and seeing culture 'get lost' during the war spurred him on to do something to preserve it (Oloya, 2016b). His hopes for the museum include many elements: inspiration of future generations, uniting the Acholi culturally, addressing social issues and contributing to peace. The museum-maker designed the logo for the museum while studying at university, using symbols referencing Acholi culture and mythology such as the elephants and spear.[60] It was not until 2007, when he won the prestigious commission to design a sculpture for Queen Elizabeth II, as a gift from the Ugandan people on the occasion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, that he gained the financial means to put his plans into practice. With the ambition of doing something with the funds 'that keeps a legacy of my art and the culture' and 'that would last

Figure 41: The MAAC logo.

[60] The MAAC motto 'Where culture meets the people' is remarkably similar to the Igongo Museum's motto 'Where the future meets the past'.

forever' he started collecting artefacts and renting the original museum space in the centre of Kitgum (Oloya, 2016b).

The museum-maker of the MAAC has not had any museum education or training, contrary to the ACPM museum-maker, but his education as an artist and experience of participating in art exhibitions have shaped his thinking on how to manage the museum, which he envisions will include spaces for making, exhibiting and selling art made by contemporary artists. His views on museums have been shaped in part by the opportunities he has had to visit museums in Europe, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum and Natural History Museum in London and the Nobel Peace Museum in Sweden. For further information, the museum-maker also uses the internet to educate himself on museum and collection management methods, which has helped him to put together the administration of the museum in anticipation of potential activities. This ability to imagine the bright future of the MAAC is laudable, as the museum-maker has run out of funds multiple times causing the museum's development to stall. But like the ACPM museum-maker, the MAAC founder attributes 'the desire to keep it alive' as his motivation for continuing to procure funds for the museums' development (Oloya, 2016b). The museum is a 'plan for many years' that he will write down so that, in case he passes away, others will know 'how it should be done' (Oloya, 2016c). It can be surmised that the dedication to the museum, similar to that expressed by the Kenyan museum-maker, is an indication of how much both see their initiatives as their life's work and their most important legacy.

Figure 42: Folders meant for administration.

3.1.1 Ownership and Leadership

Considering the personal commitment found in independent museums in Kenya and Uganda, it is no surprise that the MAAC museum-maker is considered to be the owner of the museum. Nevertheless, in interviews he insists that the museum is effectively 'owned' by the community, but in an indirect way because in his view, people do not care if something is owned communally: 'something that is owned by everybody is owned by nobody' (Oloya, 2016c). Instead, the museum-maker is convinced that there must be a leader who is part of the community who heads the organisation, in this case himself, stating that he wants to 'lead the change he wants to see' encompassing the museum in his vision of broader societal

change (Oloya, 2016c). In order to be the leader of the MAAC, the museum-maker focuses on building up 'critical mass' by involving like-minded stakeholders, such as teacher and Heritage Club patron Alfred Okot Moon, consulting with elders and chiefs and other Acholi cultural resource persons. By asking them for feedback, such as whether his ideas for the museum are approved of and what else should be collected, the museum-maker hopes to ensure that the museum represents everyone in Acholiland (Oloya, 2016c). Moreover, the museum-maker recognises the risks of having the sole responsibility for the museum's continuation and management, a challenge also evidenced by Kenyan CPMs. The museum-maker would like to find someone to manage the museum but acknowledges that the main challenge would be to guarantee the monthly payment of the employee's salary whilst it would also be difficult to find someone appropriately qualified in Kitgum region. Despite the good intentions, the MAAC will remain reliant on individual support as affirmed by Nsibambi Ssenyonga: 'These museums depend financially on the good will and commitment of their founders.' (Ssenyonga, 2016, 127). Like the ACPM, the MAAC museum-maker believes he has to work outside the museum to guarantee funding, by holding exhibitions and selling his art in Kampala, which is the case not only for the MAAC but for a large number of community museum-makers, in particular for those who have started the museum as a private undertaking. Success depends on the tenacity of the museum-makers, but will also be determined by their level of education and capacity for managing these projects long-term, as underlined by CCFU's directors in an interview (De Coninck & Drani, 2016).

3.1.2 A Professional Community

The national network of community museums, UCOMA, aims to support the individual museum-makers, a mission actively promoted by the MAAC curator who has been the Chair of UCOMA since 2016. For the moment, UCOMA is sponsored by CCFU, but in the long-term it is meant to be an independent organisation. Currently, UCOMA promotes sharing knowledge and experience among museum-makers with very similar challenges, it also works to strengthen their position as a group in potential funding applications and lobbying the national government. CCFU has previously facilitated knowledge sharing by circulating an online newsletter on museum practice as well as providing workshops, training and excursions but the limitations of this approach are illustrated by CCFU's experience that not all museum-makers are able to, or want to, implement the information and skills to which they have been exposed (De Coninck & Drani, 2016). Further limits to maintaining UCOMA as a network among museum-makers pertain to practical issues, such as, limited internet access and the inability to pay transport costs when meetings are held in Kampala. Among

the needs for capacity building listed by Nsibambi Ssenyonga are, museum management and governance, documentation, collection management and networking (2016, 128). This sentiment is shared by the MAAC museum-maker who is concerned with 'quality assurance' for community museums and wants to organise a 'needs assessment' (Oloya, 2016c). UCOMA is a young organisation with potential but it remains to be seen how effective it will be in promoting and supporting the case for Uganda's community museums. For now, its network creates a sense of common purpose among the community museum-makers, serving as a professional, or as Hooper-Greenhill would say, interpretive, community (2000, 120).

3.2 The Museum and the Local Community

Because there is no equivalent in the Acholi language for the word 'museum' and the concept is a foreign one, the use of the word 'home' in the Acholi name of the MAAC is explicable. The museum-maker claims that the creation of the MAAC has introduced the idea of a museum to Acholiland, that visitors discover what a museum is when they come and see that it is a place where cultural artefacts are kept (Oloya, 2016b). Though the reception of the museum by local visitors has been positive, it has nevertheless taken time for the museum to become recognised and accepted by the community. The HEP has played a large role in establishing the museum as a trusted organisation and making the connection to a larger audience, and the museum's role as coordinator of HEP and facilitator of school visits for 6 schools in the region has made the MAAC known to students, their parents and caretakers.

Apart from this segment of the population, several elders have also played an instrumental role in the establishment of the museum in the local community, such as the *rwot* Oceng of Labongo, who holds the 'traditional' authority over Akworo Langlela, the area where the museum is located, and who coordinated the sale of the land and convinced the seller to add extra land to the original plot. In an interview, the *rwot* expressed his support for the museum, seeing the museum as a stimulus to bring in tourist income whilst encouraging local people to learn about their culture and ways of life. In an interview the *rwot* recounted that he participated in a number of the museum's activities, such as, the cultural night and visits to heritage clubs, taking pride in the museum as a place to regenerate Acholi culture and values (Oceng, 2016). This type of support from a *rwot* is an example of the museum's largest support group - the elders of the community – who stimulate the younger generation to visit the museum to learn and approve of the museum narrative. The museum-maker said that he now calls in on radio programmes to speak about cultural issues such as land ownership,

identifying his contributions with the MAAC, a sign, he says, that the museum is developing a good reputation and is accepted in society (Oloya, 2016b).

Among many other plans, the museum-maker has intentions to 'take the museum to the people' by photographing the objects and then, with accompanying explanation, bring them to villages as a showcase for the museum. The villagers would be asked for their contributions and ideas, as well as being invited to come and see the museum for themselves. This plan – part-outreach, part-marketing - exemplifies the museum-maker's approach to the museum's community stakeholders: input and feedback are appreciated but the control over when, where and how, objects are presented and represented remains in the hands of the museum. There is some sense of shared agency, especially because the museum-maker is a willing listener to advice from those with cultural knowledge in particular, but final decisions, such as the narrative presented in the museum, and the process of translation on multiple levels, are still largely defined by the museum-maker. While allowing others to comment on his vision and ideas he is mainly looking for confirmation, which, by his own account, he has received from most visitors (Oloya, 2016b).[61] This level of involvement is understandable from a person who has invested a large part of their earnings in the museum, but it begs the question whether a museum that is managed by one person *for* the community is the same as a community-based museum with a more democratic mode of governance such as that demonstrated in community museums like in Oaxaca, Mexico (Camarena & Morales, 2006, 332). The issue is whether partaking directly in the processes of translation in museums, collections, displays and interpretation is necessary to engender a sense of ownership. Indeed, is involvement and a sense of ownership the defining characteristic of a community museum? This museological issue, which remains unresolved, is relevant for many museums in Uganda, that may adapt the notion of a community museum as they see fit, even if it includes some questionable examples. The C.N. Kikonyogo Money Museum at the Bank of Uganda, for instance, is run by the bank and located on its premises, meaning that a strict security check forms part of its visitor experience. Similarly, some museums, such as the Kabaka Mutebi's Collections in Kampala, which form part of tourism itineraries, and the Edirisa Museum housed in a hostel mostly frequented by tourists, arguably attract more foreign than local visitors. In comparison, the MAAC fulfils the social role of a community museum on different levels, engaging with different groups within the local community, particularly the youth and the elders, through HEP and personal networks. This platform will

[61] Due to the absence of visitors during the field research the opinions of visitors could not be verified.

hopefully be broadened as the museum-maker expands the network of 'resource persons' who can influence the museum's on-going processes of translation and help shape it for the future.

3.3 The Museum and Politics

Contrary to the ACPM in Kenya and the close relationship its museum-maker has with local and national authorities, the MAAC does not engage with local or national government. As described in Chapter 2, there are tensions between the community museums and national government, particularly because of the different museum-like initiatives and ambitions that have been emerging in the country. In Kitgum District, tensions are also present and the museum-maker thinks that his museum, started in 2011, has prompted the NMPDC and the District Government to start their own initiatives, suggesting that each is trying to occupy the same civic space. Whether or not this is the case is open to speculation, but the NMPDC was aware of the MAAC earlier, because they contacted the museum-maker to ask if he wanted to donate any artefacts to *their* new centre (Oloya, 2016b). It is a sign of the mistrust between the organisations that no interest was expressed in a more equitable collaboration that might have been engendered if the NMPDC had regarded the MAAC as a potential partner. Going back to notions of what entails a 'proper' museum, it further motivated the museum-maker to start looking for a permanent site for the museum, in an effort to ensure that the MAAC would be taken more seriously by the local authorities in the future. The disregard for the MAAC is further evidenced by the lack of interest shown by the Community Development Officer of Kitgum District who, despite being invited by both CCFU and MAAC, has never attended meetings (Oloya, 2016c) and did not show any awareness of either CCFU's HEP or the MAAC in an interview, when he proposed ideas for culture clubs in schools and for a cultural museum without acknowledging that these initiatives are already taking place (Okello, James, 2016).

3.4 The Meaning of Community

The term 'community museum' was introduced by CCFU when they started working with a number of museums; initially termed 'people's museums', it gradually morphed into community museums, which proved attractive to its first funder, UNESCO. From then on, CCFU said in an interview, they were 'stuck with it', although they still think the term is

applicable to all their museums to a greater or lesser extent (De Coninck & Drani, 2016). The vagueness of the term 'community museum' allows for room to manoeuvre as expressed by the technical advisor of CCFU: 'Does it mean that it's a museum that belongs to the community, does it represent the interest of the community, does it showcase some cultural dimension of that community?' (De Coninck & Drani, 2016). The questions aptly describe the variety that can be found in eastern Africa. Although CCFU concedes that a more correct term would be non-state museum, the term 'community museum' has been embraced by the museum-makers and their networks. The MAAC, which could be described as representing the interest of the community and showcasing the community's culture, is one of the many ways in which the modality of a community museum can be articulated. Discussion of what a community museum is, and whether the current models established in Uganda can be classified as such, is an on-going debate in the cultural sector. Several people in key positions in the cultural field - such as, the UNESCO Programme Officer for Culture, the Senior Advisor on Culture to the President and a senior lecturer at Makerere University – have all expressed doubts in different interviews about whether 'community museum' was the appropriate term for all initiatives in the country: issues raised ranged from questions about whether the 'real aspect of a community museum' was being addressed, to accusations that the lack of regulation has led to museums exploiting communities and partaking in the illicit trafficking of cultural artefacts (Kaweesi, 2016; Kamuhangire, 2016). Whereas some emphasise the good work that civic museums are doing, issues remain about whether or not the emphasis should be on 'community' when most museums are privately owned, Birabi remarked in an interview that: '[…] it is not the right label but provisionally it suits the current setting because it's really having to organise the people to have a sense of co-ownership of the museums' (Birabi, 2016b). The discussion, which also touches upon the aforementioned concern with 'genuine' museums, relies on unspoken presumptions of what a community museum is. As Rassool argues 'The idea of a community museum tends to conjure notions of authenticity and representativeness in a local institution that supposedly works with an audience that is considered to be a bounded community.' (2009, 120). This narrow conception circumscribes the opinions of heritage professionals in Uganda on the independent museum developments currently taking place.

Instead of getting diverted by arguments concerning the 'correct' definition however, it is the adaptation, articulation or translation of the idea of a 'community museum' that actually goes to the heart of what contemporary museums in eastern Africa are. Just like other museum modalities, the social role of the museum is multi-interpretable. There is no doubt

that the idea of the community museum is understood differently across Uganda and Kenya and that levels of engagement with communities differ depending on its management. But to allege that some museums do not fit the bill is missing the point. Indeed, as Rassool says of the District Six Museum in Cape Town, South Africa: '[T]he museum's use of "community" is not one that is naïve, but one that is conscious and strategic.' (2009, 120). The MAAC and the ACPM both identify as community museums because they believe they represent, serve and engage with a certain community that is ethnically bounded. To a certain extent, the use of the term is aspirational and reflects the desires of the museum-makers for an idealised situation where an entire, homogenous community will support their efforts with financial, moral and social support. But on a pragmatic level, the museum-makers are very effective brokers who employ a great deal of diplomacy and tact in maintaining diverse relations within the heterogeneous communities in which their museums exist.

4. Resource: Visibility, Representation and Revenue

Many aspects of the MAAC and community museums in Uganda have been discussed in this chapter, but in this last section, one of the broader patterns to the contemporary establishment of museums in Uganda will be explored: namely, the museum's conceptualisation as a means to a range of ends from post-conflict restoration and general preservation of culture to ethnic visibility and income-generation.

4.1 Post-Conflict Cultural Restoration

The MAAC's broad support from its visitors and community is partly derived from its fit with the broader ideas in society on the restoration of traditional culture after the conflict in the region. The sentiments in northern Uganda match those described by Rowlands in post-conflict Liberia: there 'wanting things back as they were' is the concern and in northern Uganda it is 'original Acholi culture' (2008, 139). Rowlands suggests that in Liberia's situation 'conservatism in the need to restore the materiality of everyday life coincides with the restoration of a sense of national unity [...]' (2008, 140). This chimes well with the situation in Kitgum; the conflict in northern Uganda was more localised but a wish for restoration of unity on a regional, or ethnic, level is still extant. The MAAC museum-maker expressed this exactly when stating in an interview: 'I was looking for a form of uniting my people and there's nothing that unites us better than our culture […] there we are all the same' (Oloya,

2016b). The MAAC is thus a timely initiative in the reconstruction of Acholi society in a post-conflict environment that reflects the broader concerns of a larger constituency. However, the concept of restoration, remembrance, revival of culture is viewed positively, not just in Acholiland but in Uganda as a whole, where phrases such as 'appreciating who we are', 'celebrating our cultural diversity' and 'we want to preserve our culture' could be heard at the International Cultural Fair of 2016 in Kampala (31-07-2016). Beyond cultural preservation as post-conflict restoration, there is a discourse on 'loss of traditional culture' that runs parallel to the community museums' development and the majority of museums, the MAAC included, cite the purpose of their museums is to teach younger generations about the past and serve the community in their development. The extent to which this ambition is realised differs by museum and depends on their activities and their participation in programmes such as CCFU's HEP. Museum-maker Emmanuel Masereka states in a CCFU publication: 'Today many people are looking at culture negatively but they are forgetting that culture can help in development because, when they come to the museum, they can use what they have learned for their personal and community development, to use it tomorrow and design the future' (CCFU, 2012, 11). There is a strong belief from museum-makers and CCFU that this is the main contribution museums make to their communities: 'to ensure that Ugandan peoples' cultural roots are preserved for future generations.' (Ssenyonga, 2016, 126).

4.2 Saving Culture

Culture in Uganda is, mostly, assumed to be a univocal concept; it is used in speeches, conversations and documents without explaining how its meaning is being interpreted. This applies to the definition of 'traditional culture' in particular, which is associated with notions of the past, ancestral culture and morality, mostly identified in opposition to 'modern' culture. But there are several arguments against this presumed universality that point to heterogeneous interpretations of these notions. The aforementioned debate on good versus bad culture is one, which in turn is strongly connected to the seeming paradox of promoting traditional culture in the context of a desire for a developed society. Apart from the discourse on good and harmful culture that derives from views on the promotion of universal human rights, Christian views on traditional rites are also occasionally critical, explained teacher Alfred Okot Moon in a conversation, rendering ideas of what constitutes Acholi culture itself unclear (Okot Moon, 2016). The narrative in the MAAC is certainly not the only way in which Acholi culture and history can be translated and articulated as shown by the decision not to

display ‘witchcraft’ even though it is still part of many peoples’ lives. It may also be argued that the strained relations between the different cultural initiatives can be partly explained by concerns about who controls the ‘traditional culture’ narrative. This holds true for both the regional situation in Kitgum and the national environment of the UNM, where the Senior Advisor to the President for Culture expressed the belief in an interview that ‘these cultural resources are national resources and therefore the state has an obligation to manage them’ (Kamuhangire, 2016).

Culture, its preservation and continuation, interpreted broadly, are a major motivation for setting up new museums in Uganda and the increasing number of sites that are currently under construction suggest that having a museum is seen as a form of cultural presentation. For example, the Ik, a small ethnic group living in the far north-east of the country, are identified as one of a number of ‘indigenous minority groups’ by CCFU who helped them set up a small museum in a thatched hut for which they chose the name *House of Memory of the Ik* (UCOMA, 2015, 34). According to CCFU, indigenous minority groups face many challenges because of their marginalised status, including the risk of losing their culture from domination by larger groups, a concern that resonates with the experience of the Abasuba. Their numbers are so small that they struggle to be represented politically, resulting in a lack of access to resources and services (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). Working with three such minority groups, CCFU supported the establishment of museum-like structures because the groups articulated a wish that they wanted a place where ‘young people can come and learn’ said Drani and Ssenyonga of the CCFU in an interview (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). This example is illustrative of the many roles the museum is expected to fulfil, ranging from the preservation of culture in the face of perceived loss and the education of younger generations to ensure continuation of ways of life, norms, values and practices, to political representation. As described, these roles are also strongly present in the MAAC, with the additional element of the post-conflict environment. The Ik experience their culture as being under threat in the present, whereas the perception in northern Uganda is that a large part of culture and ways of life have already been heavily compromised by the conflicts of the recent past. So, where marginalised groups and others in Uganda advocate for the preservation of a disappearing culture, in Acholiland the emphasis is on restoration of a situation that is already lost to a certain extent. It explains why there is a great deal of nostalgia involved with imagining the Acholi life in the pre-conflict past. Apart from this restoration of an idealised pre-conflict state of society, the museum and similar initiatives in Acholiland are also related to a renewal of Acholi identity and peaceful co-existence. Aware

of the existing stereotypes, presenting the positive aspects of Acholi culture is a way to counteract the negative views of Acholi people and instil pride in the young generations learning about their cultural heritage. In addition, the MAAC is meant to contribute to sustaining peace in the region, inspired by the community museums trip to the Kenyan CPMs in 2014 and the ways that they use material culture for conflict resolution and peace promotion.

Another aim for the *House of Memory of the Ik* and for the MAAC is to achieve visibility. The Ik's lack of political participation is a situation that does not just apply to indigenous minority groups; the Acholi also feel marginalised and discriminated against by central government despite their much larger numbers. The stark difference in living conditions in the northern region in contrast with the south is a sign that these feelings are at least partly justified. The museums are therefore also a potentially strong signal that the Acholi exist with a culture, language and their own separate past and identity. This type of visibility and political representation is equated to access to government resources and a so-called 'slice of the national cake', another strong parallel with the Kenyan case. For those whose experience is that the cake is not equally divided, a museum is one of the instruments to create a presence. It is a declaration of agency from the periphery to the centre of the zone of contact, which might suggest another reason for the government's suspicion towards independent museums.

4.3 Ethnic Focus

It can be concluded that the MAAC and other community museums are strongly focused on their own ethnic group and there are many similarities between the ACPM on Mfangano Island and their aim of furthering the cause of the Suba and the MAAC's representation of the Acholi. A consequence of this ethnic focus is the definition of cultural identity along ethnic lines and the description of the community as homogeneous and bounded, as much an imagined community as any nation. But in the MAAC, the story of the Acholi is also placed in a wider ethnic framework based on the ever-influential linguistic traces of African people's migrations. The relation to Luo groups, who are linguistically related to the Acholi but have migrated south to Kenya and Tanzania, are highlighted by the museum-maker who plans to convey the Luo origins of the Acholi in a 'Luo Garden', meant to be a 'unification garden […] so we feel one again' (Oloya, 2016b). Although the concept of ethnicity plays a significant part in understanding independent museum development, it cannot be regarded as a

phenomenon on its own. It is strongly connected to, and at times equated with, wider cultural identity, political alignments and attitudes towards peace underscored by a telling comment from the MAAC museum-maker: 'What is there to unite us if not our culture?' (Oloya, 2016b). According to him, strengthening the identity of the Acholi and the cultural ties with the wider ethnic group can be achieved by means of culture as a remedy against the devastation of war and the current political climate. Culture, broadly conceived but always 'traditional', presents a moralistic, idealised vision of a harmonious past that, if lived in the present, can secure a prosperous future by enabling undeterred development. Seen in such a light, the ethnic modality turns museums into powerful political instruments.

Nevertheless, there is an obvious down side to overemphasising ethnicity and a culturally separate identity that means that museums should exercise caution in how they narrate this. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 1, Peterson is extremely wary of the use of ethnicity in what he calls the heritage economy, regarding the trademarking of culture and heritage in the recently recognised kingdoms as a danger to democracy, he states that '[I]n the economy of heritage, multi-culture is decadence [.]' and that it gives rise to 'unequal and undemocratic forms of government' (2016, 802). Even though his arguments pertain mostly to the return of kingdoms in Uganda, classed as cultural institutions but operating as corporations exploiting their heritage and culture for profit and power, it can be understood more broadly as a concern for the essentialisation of culture around distinct ethnic groups.[62] The community museums, with their focus on their own ethnic group, operate as part of this heritage economy and risk contributing to this divisive discourse. Ethnicity then, as it is presented in independent museums in eastern Africa, is both empowering and divisive, an argument also made by John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (2009). As a result, the community museums' ethnic focus can be seen as a tool that can aid marginalised communities in strengthening their identity, but their emphasis on ethnic and cultural difference may also hamper cohesiveness in society at large.

[62] The definition of culture as the area or property of traditional cultural leaders in Uganda is explored by Peterson who writes that '[…] today, undemocratic polities like the Buganda Kingdom, the Rwenzuru Kingdom, and the *Obudhingiya bwa Mwamba* define the cultural landscape.' (2016, 791).

4.4 Museum as Resource

'As Ugandans we need to value our culture and after realising its importance then we can sell it out, we can showcase it.' (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). These are the words of the Heritage Programmes Manager of CCFU in an interview, succinctly explaining the instrumental value of culture. Although CCFU insists on the intrinsic value of culture, it also strongly adheres to the discourse of culture for development - their slogan, after all, is: 'Culture *in* Development' (emphasis in original). The museum-maker of the MAAC also views culture as a resource and, to make the MAAC profitable, he is following the entrepreneurial strategy adopted by the Igongo Cultural Centre: the museum attracts visitors, who will in turn spend money in the adjacent commercial ventures such as the envisioned art gallery and craft shop. By selling works made by local artisans and artists from the community, the museum would also produce income for the wider community, with the museum taking a percentage of the total earnings. The two potential markets for this are a local market of more affluent Acholi people and tourists visiting the region along the planned international road between Uganda and South Sudan, which is expected to increase tourist traffic passing through to Kidepo Valley National Park. Here, as in Kenya, the anticipated benefits of tourism are high, with the example of the largely unredeemed profits that were projected from the ACPM's rock art tourism initiative as a cautionary tale not to rely solely on the potential revenue that tourism may bring. Nonetheless, some museums in Uganda remain hopeful of bringing development to their community by acting as a magnet for tourism and thereby providing a source of income.

However, Nsimambi Ssenyonga also writes that 'Ugandan community museums […] focus on ethnic culture and the preservation of culture for culture's sake rather than, say, on tourism.' (2016, 125). And for most it is not the main aim to attract international visitors; their location is too remote and their museum too small or impermanent. But tourism is of interest to a number of other museums, such as the Igongo Cultural Centre, the Kabaka Mutebi II Museum which is on the Kampala tourist itinerary, and the Home of Edirisa Museum which is located inside a tourist accommodation complex. Also of interest is that *rwot* Ajao of the Dure Community Museum has also put the English names of artefacts on his labels, clearly anticipating a non-local element within the museum audience. Cultural tourism is increasingly promoted by the Ugandan Government as well: it is one of the priority areas that was identified in the National Culture Policy of 2006, which says of cultural sites, monuments and antiquities that '[T]hey promote tourism and consequently create employment for people.' (Uganda Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2006, 10). As already

seen in Kenya, turning culture into development is perceived as a linear sequence where the presence of culture will naturally attract tourism which will inevitably lead to income, hence ensuring development for those living nearby. The community museums, while on the one hand are aware of their limited prospects in terms of tourism revenue, are on the other hand still primed to think of themselves as resources for development. This dual mode of thinking is visible in an UCOMA leaflet which, after listing all of the cultural, societal and educational benefits of the community museums, posits*:* 'The contribution of community museums to our national prosperity is also practical: they add to employment and to the growing realisation that cultural tourism can create income, just as the more traditional safaris to national parks do.' (2015, 8).

The community museums, then, including MAAC, also exist as at least a potential source of income from cultural tourism. Peterson articulates why the museum as a resource, as part of the heritage economy is not wholly unproblematic. Relating it back to the increased ethnic dimension of culture and heritage in Uganda he states that: 'The trademarking of cultures – as assets to be sold abroad – makes culture into the property of a particular people and invites brokers to define authentic cultural expression.' (Peterson, 2016, 802). Furthermore, when culture has to be packaged, marketed and sold it becomes static, stifling the continuous process of translation, of redefinition and adaptation that is still taking place in Ugandan museums at the moment. It is necessary to recognise that museums need to find ways to be sustainable to exist, but it is important to add that the museum's function as a resource impacts on how it is conceptualised.

Chapter 5

Local Museums – Global Networks: Heritage and Development Discourse in the Zone of Contact

> 'In order to promote heritage and cultural creativity as powerful and unique tools for sustainable development, in particular with respect to economic success, social cohesion and mutual understanding, UNESCO has continued to harness its comprehensive normative framework in the field of culture'. – UNESCO, 2013, 10

1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the focus has been on the case studies and their, mostly local, environment. The Kenyan ACPM exists within a larger group of community peace museums but it operates and interacts with its partners on its own, while the Ugandan MAAC, though located equally remotely, is part of a nationwide community museums network that has led to more collaboration between these independent museums. Apart from the relations between independent museums, it has already become apparent that in both cases the museums' networks are not just local or national, but go beyond the borders to include regional and international partners and funders. This chapter will therefore shift away from scrutinising individual museums to include a wider perspective of the different global players that are involved with the otherwise very local institutions that have been discussed so far. To understand how the translation and articulation of independent east African museum modalities are influenced by international stakeholders the concept of the zone of contact put forward in Chapter 1 will be implemented here. By using the NGOs and funders involved with the ACPM and MAAC as examples, how the heritage and development discourse discussed in the theoretical framework has come to have a major impact on current museum developments in east Africa will be explored. Furthermore, it will be shown how the largest international organisations in the world concerned with museums, namely UNESCO and ICOM, perpetuate and influence museological thinking that prioritises the practices and standards of the global North. Themes that have infused heritage-making in east Africa will be analysed, such as the idea of professionalism, tourism, the discourse of cultural endangerment, culture for peace, helpful versus harmful cultural practices and the notion of

communities as part and parcel of heritage and development projects. In conclusion, it will be briefly observed how the ability to secure the necessary partnerships that enable museum developments relies on strong storytelling skills that envision the bright, communal future of independent museums delivering benefits to local stakeholders.

1.1 The Zone of Contact

Thus far, each chapter has focused on the part of the theoretical framework that puts independent museums as processes of translation at the heart of the analysis. However, when looking at the relationships that museums sustain, the application of the aforementioned 'zone of contact' is more appropriate; but, as mentioned by Sturge, the contact zone (and by extension its inverted version here) can also enrich the notion of translation because, as she states, '[…] translation in museums is much more confusing and richer' (2007, 164). The zone of contact introduced earlier will serve as the analytical space in which the heritage networks are examined, taking into account the different critiques levelled at the concept by various authors and Boast in particular (2011). The theory is made concrete by discussing the actions and ideologies of international organisations and NGOs, which will show that there is indeed a heritage habitus which is responsible for the dissemination of the heritage and development discourse throughout the African cultural sector. While 'habitus' is largely conceptualised as an embodied set of 'sensibilities and categories', the zone of contact can be located physically in the visits between museum-makers and partners, in heritage clubs in schools, in visits to NGO offices, conferences and workshop spaces (Wacquant, 2011, 82). In a more intangible sense, the zone of contact exists in phone calls, e-mails, Facebook pages and websites, memoranda of understanding, bank accounts and awards ceremonies, that together ensure that the messages communicated have long-term effects on independent museums in Kenya and Uganda. The culture and development discourse will be further contextualised showing, through practical examples taken from field research, that it is a strong trend that is leaving an impact on museums currently emerging in the global South.

2. Non-Governmental Organisations in the Zone of Contact

2.1 The Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda

CCFU is the only nationally operating NGO in Uganda that supports cultural heritage through a number of programmes that focus on culture in development, cultural rights and diversity. While other national and international organisations, such as Alliance Française and the German Goethe Zentrum, concern themselves with the visual arts in general, CCFU specifically supports cultural heritage and plays a very active role in an area that has been neglected by past and current national governments. Established in 2006, CCFU has built an extensive network that spans the entire breadth of the culture and heritage field, and it is successful in reaching out to other heritage and culture practitioners, communicating its messages about culture and cultural heritage through a variety of media. Their mission 'to promote the recognition of culture as vital for human development that responds to our national identity and diversity[.]', explicitly links culture and development, a rationale that is elaborated on in an early paper by the Executive Director: 'CCFU was established on the premise that development practice in Uganda currently does not take existing cultural values, principles, and systems into account and therefore rarely leads to sustained change. We therefore consider identifying, understanding and using positive aspects of our culture in development work as essential.' (Drani, 2007, 2). Both founders of CCFU have a background in development work and were dissatisfied with the lack of long-term results from development projects, seeing that communities would return to the methods they knew rather than adopting those introduced by projects. This led them to the conclusion that incorporating culture into the terms of reference of development initiatives would be more likely to ensure a sustained transformation (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). Thus, even though CCFU's programmes are concerned with culture, their greater purpose is to support sustainable development in Uganda, consciously placing itself in a culture and development framework and also actively promoting this. CCFU's mission is part of what Basu and Zetterstrom-Sharp call 'that circulating concatenation of ideas, terms and images that characterizes what we might regard as the 'ideoscape' of international development', pertaining to 'the power of culture for development' discourse that has emerged in the last few decades, but was particularly influenced by the *Our Creative Diversity* report published by the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) in 1995 (2015, 56). Although they are concerned with 'the institutionalization of global discourses of culture for development in contemporary Sierra Leone' it is obvious that the same movements are taking place in Uganda and Kenya. Conceptualised in this thesis as the zone of contact, CCFU

embodies the heritage and development habitus and contributes to its further institutionalisation in eastern Africa. CCFU appears to be a very well-organised and effective NGO that is trying to make a positive difference in Uganda with a reputable image and frequent praise from all those involved with their collaborations. The critical assessment of the organisation and its networks does not detract from their effective programmes, but is rather meant to serve as one example of the larger frameworks of which it is part. Their reliance on a multitude of culture and development tropes that pervade its programmes, workshops and communication with community museums will show that CCFU and its network of funders, partners and beneficiaries are operating in the context of a culture and development discourse that has so far been insufficiently analysed.

2.2 Situating CCFU in its Network

In 2012, CCFU published a booklet and a short film on community museums in Uganda with the subtitle 'If we do not save our heritage for our children, who will?' (CCFU, 2012). These publications serve as examples of the local and international networks of CCFU: both were produced in collaboration with the 24 community museums they partnered with in 2012, and the publications were funded by the Dutch NGO, the Prince Claus Fund (PCF). In the booklet CCFU's engagement with a range of local museums is traced back to 2009, when the NGO was going through the country looking for 'initiatives that illustrated the positive role that culture can play in development work' (2012, 20) in partnership with the UNESCO Regional Office for Eastern Africa, located in Nairobi. This collaboration continued during 2010, when the first project to map the museum initiatives was funded by the regional UNESCO office and executed in collaboration with the national Department of Museums and Monuments. This short overview represents virtually all the main actors in the cultural heritage field in Uganda and in the network of CCFU: community museums operate at the most local level, followed by national authorities such as the Department of Museums and Monuments, while on the international level NGOs such as the PCF can be found, supported by the major transnational organisations like UNESCO.

2.2.1 CCFU and the Community Museums of Uganda

Starting in 2009 and supported by UNESCO, CCFU first carried out a mapping exercise that resulted in the identification of thirteen 'viable' museums, organising training for the museum-makers delivered by the Uganda National Commission of UNESCO (UNATCOM) and

staff from the UNM about museum management, documentation, marketing and publicity (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016; 2012, 20). Other supporting activities consisted of an e-newsletter shared among the museums, seed grants for twelve museums after submission of practical action plans, and the creation of a brochure and road map (of fifteen museums by now) to advertise their existence. UNESCO lent its support again in 2010 for a national community museums exhibition in Kampala, where the Uganda Community Museums Association (UCOMA) was initiated and the national authorities pledged they would include private (i.e. non-state) museums in its new national policy on museums, a promise that has materialised in the National Museums and Monuments Policy of 2015. Subsequently, in 2011 and 2012 CCFU received funding from the PCF to publish catalogues for the promotion of community museums which included the abovementioned booklet and promotional film, followed by the publication of a map of all 35 community museums in Uganda (Prince Claus Fund, 2011, 7).[63] In September 2014, CCFU organised an exposure visit to Kenya for the Ugandan community museums in collaboration with the Kenyan Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation (CPMHF) to several CPMs, Karura Forest and UNESCO regional offices. Further training in December 2014 focused on capacity building for twenty of the museums (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). In addition to CCFU's activities aimed at the community museums themselves, it has engaged a number of them as coordinator and facilitator for the Heritage Education Programme (HEP) for secondary schools, discussed before in the context of the MAAC.

2.2.2 CCFU, UNESCO and UNATCOM

CCFU's networks include the regional office of UNESCO as well as the Uganda National Commission for UNESCO, or UNATCOM, who have both provided support for CCFU's Cultural Heritage Preservation and Development Programme. The 2009 study, aiming to identify community museums, used existing research, advertisements in newspapers, phone calls and field visits to 'find' the museums. As such the identification process, defining what constitutes a community museum, has largely been decided by CFFU and UNESCO's regional office (UNESCO, 2016).[64] UNATCOM perceives itself as more than just a funder to CCFU; in a 2010 Country Programming report the training and networking opportunities facilitated for thirteen community museums is recognised as one of their achievements (UNESCO, 2010b,

[63] Thirteen museums are identified as 'fully operational', fifteen are 'appointment needed' meaning that it is necessary to arrange a visit beforehand and seven are 'in preparation'.
[64] The UNESCO website states that: 'According to CCFU, which visited 54 initiatives on reported community museums, 13 of them can be considered as established and vibrant, while 10 others are either dormant or with potential for future development.' (UNESCO, 2009).

13). CCFU and UNATCOM have been closely involved with the development of community museums and their activities have contributed to the ways in which the museum-makers conceptualise their initiatives, and it is therefore unsurprising that the mission and mandate of both organisations are reflected in their current practices. The reasons CCFU lists for the support of community museums are: preservation of cultural heritage, contributing to sustainable development and promoting cultural diversity, reproducing UNESCO's ideologies. It touches upon several of the main themes of the heritage and development discourse which are most directly expressed in the 2010 *The Power of Culture for Development* brochure which presents an exhaustive list of 'the work' culture can do (UNESCO, 2010c).

Uganda has had a version of UNATCOM since 1963, but it was only legislated as a government body in 2014 (Uganda, 2014). This increased recognition has given it more room to manoeuvre in the cultural sector and influence government and related bodies. UNATCOM has focused on the museums and heritage sector recently. In 2016 they commissioned the publication of *Museums and Monument' Development in Uganda: A Status Report* mentioned in Chapter 2, which broadly repeats the same concerns that CCFU and other government documents put forward: the long-term neglect of the sector and the consequent danger of disappearing cultural heritage, but also its potential as a rich and vibrant resource whose contribution to sustainable national development goes unrecognised. The report is a significant attempt by UNATCOM to make policymakers aware of the potential of museums and monuments for development purposes but it also heavily criticises the national Government, suggesting it wants to be both an advisor and a critic in future discussions on heritage development. Echoing the *Power of Culture for Development* brochure, the report states: 'the nation of Uganda can rest assured of distinct, immense and massive socio-cultural, economic and developmental returns upon embracing a multiplicity of investments in its Museums and Monuments' sector'. (Birabi, 2016a, V). It is plain that CCFU, UNESCO and UNATCOM share similar outlooks in terms of the potential of museums for development in Uganda.

2.2.3 CCFU and the Prince Claus Fund

Like many other NGOs, CCFU relies on a number of varying funders and collaborations to carry out its programmes such as Hivos, Bread for the World, Irish Aid, Plan International and ActionAid Uganda which are both past and present supporters of the NGO. Although this wide range of funders illustrates the global connections that NGOs such as CCFU have, it is

beyond the scope of this research to investigate all of the CCFU's links and partners, so the focus is on those partners that have directly funded CCFU's community museums activities which, apart from UNESCO, is the Prince Claus Fund. Tracing the funding streams is informative for the overall analysis of the zone of contact because funding will be given based on how well the aims and goals of the requesting organisations align with those of the funding body. Therefore, the way that requesting NGOs present their projects and programmes is essential to successful fundraising, a fact of which the NGOs and independent museums mentioned in this thesis are well aware.

PCF is an NGO based in the Netherlands, established in 1996 to honour HRH Prince Claus, the late consort of the previous Queen of the Netherlands. As a tribute to the Prince's commitment to culture and development, the Fund was set up with the same goals expressed in its motto 'culture is a basic need' which communicates that it 'is committed to demonstrating the importance of culture in development' (Prince Claus Fund [PCF], 2016a). Since its inception PCF has been funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the addition of the Dutch Postcode Lottery funding since 2001, of which the first is the most interesting relationship to examine in light of the zone of contact (PCF, 2018). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Fund have had a mutually beneficial relationship that nevertheless is characterised by the fact that they underplay how much they interact. Both have emphasised the independent position of the PCF, the Ministry profiting from PCF's ability to access politically sensitive areas a government institution would not be able to, whereas the 'cultural diplomacy' of PCF offers avenues for dialogue. PCF on the other hand values its independent reputation and ability to support projects and countries that get overlooked in national policy plans, giving it a broader base for its operations (Stolk, 2016). However, the name of the NGO has sometimes led to perceived entanglement with national politics and the Dutch royal family, so while it benefits from the Ministry's support it also has to be conscious of its association with the Government of the Netherlands.

Following an evaluation report commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2015, PCF is changing its course to enable a 'greater focus on the network and an emphasis on cultural initiatives that foster an environment of understanding' (PCF, 2016b, 2). Although the report was positive on the Fund's overall achievements over the period of 2012-2016, it recommended a clearly defined 'theory of change' that better reflected the global challenges of the present. Moreover, it advises paying more attention to how PCF's activities and funding are perceived in their local context remarking that: 'It is rather a recommendation for PCF to be more aware of its position as an external funder and not consider itself to be a

neutral actor within the often-conflictive contexts in which it operates.' (Compernolle et al., 2015, 75). The vision statement that was the outcome of PCF's efforts to redirect its mission lists among its main changes that it wants to work beyond borders and move 'from culture and development to cultural exchange' (PCF, 2016b, 2). This adjustment of its focus is pertinent to analyse in light of the culture and development discourse in which it operates, since it seems that PCF is reconsidering the commitment to the linear 'culture for development' argument and re-inventing itself as a more activist organisation supporting 'alternative narratives' which it describes as 'narratives, which run against prevailing discourses that stand in the way of positive forms of exchange, foster prejudice and limit mutual understanding.' (PCF, 2016b, 3). It means that PCF wants to shed light on untold stories to present a more complete view of reality rather than pre-selected narratives that abound in times of prejudice and misinformation. Despite this change of direction, PCF is still mentioned several times in the Ministry's International Cultural Policy 2017-2020, which plans an increased focus on international networking, emphasising the connecting role of culture and cultural diplomacy, a reminder of PCF's continuing contribution to government strategy (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken & Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2016).[65]

Like museums, NGOs such as PCF cannot be seen as neutral agents because their involvement carries with it their own mission, vision and relationships with *their* funders. Even though PCF's work is a unique contribution to the cultural sector and it has an excellent independent reputation, its policy documents are evidence of how it consciously places itself within a politically charged cultural world. Funding activities such as those in Uganda show that while PCF is largely invisible as a funder to CCFU, collaborations are premised on sharing the same ideological convictions; CCFU and PCF both believe that a vibrant cultural life creates the conditions for enabling sustainable development (PCF, 2016a). The analysis of the PCF is meaningful because it shows that even though the community museums in Uganda do not engage directly with them, they are still part of the same zone of contact. In order to acknowledge the influence of international networks on local museums, making their connections more obvious could lead to a more mindful consideration of the kinds of ideologies that are disseminated through the zone of contact.

[65] Translated from Dutch: Beleidskader Internationaal Cultuurbeleid 2017-2020.

2.3 TARA – Trust for African Rock Art

The Trust for African Rock Art (TARA) has its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya, but operates all over the African continent in order to achieve its mission, which it defines as 'to create greater global awareness of the importance and endangered state of African rock art; survey and monitor rock art sites; serve as an information resource and archive; as well as promote and support rock art conservation measures.' (Trust for African Rock Art [TARA], 2016a). Due to the abundant presence of rock art, it is very active in Kenya and Uganda and collaborates with the NMK, the UNM and many other organisations in order to discover, preserve and protect rock art sites. The NGO started out as a passion project for photographer and current Director, David Coulson, who has worked to promote rock art since the 1980s. TARA was officially set up in 1996, but Coulson traces his engagement with rock art to conversations with Dr Mary Leakey and Laurens van der Post, who shared a concern for the disappearing rock art in Africa (TARA, 2016b). TARA's main emphasis has been on identifying and recording rock art sites on the African continent and, in 2003 TARA received support from the Andrew Mellon Foundation to turn images taken on their surveys into a digital archive. A similar project to digitise and make all rock art documentation TARA had assembled accessible was initiated eleven years later in a partnership with the British Museum. Another awareness project highlighted as a milestone in TARA's history was their exhibition, *The Dawn of Imagination*, shown in the Nairobi National Museum in 2008-2009 (TARA, 2010, 6). Despite TARA's involvement with communities and other 'development'-related projects, rock art preservation is the ultimate goal of the NGO, so, rather than seeing culture as a means to enable development, TARA perceives development as a means to ensure the protection of rock art sites in Africa. The project that involved reconstructing the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM) as a gateway to rock art tourism was the first of a number of community-engaging projects with rock art conservation in mind that signalled a change in TARA's approach. TARA's 'development for culture' strategy may seem contrary to the current discourse, but they have been successful in completing a large number of projects, generating considerable local and international media attention and building up a large network for their cause.

2.4 Situating TARA in its Network

2.4.1 TARA and the Abasuba Community Peace Museum

Around 2000, the Director of TARA found out about the rock art sites located on Mfangano Island, but 'knowing the site is one thing, and knowing the community is another', meaning that TARA initially lacked the connections to organise any activity there (Little & Coulson, 2016). When connections were made with the museum-maker of the ACPM, TARA found a contact from the local community actively engaged in heritage preservation and a link between the museum and the rock art sites was easily made, with the museum-maker recounting that upon meeting TARA he 'felt that my museum problems had managed to find the right doctors' (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 17). Once relationships were established in 2004, TARA and the ACPM signed a Memorandum of Understanding and activities such as producing booklets were initiated. TARA soon identified an opportunity to apply for funding to the then-active Tourism Trust Fund (TTF), and TARA and the ACPM applied several times. In 2007, funding was awarded for a tourism-focused project with the overall goal expressed in the title: *Project to Promote Rock Art Tourism in Suba District* (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 5).[66] The five objectives of the project consisted of creating local awareness, conserving the sites, marketing the rock art heritage, development of infrastructure and improving community livelihoods - together representing a combination of TARA's focus on rock art with community-oriented development goals. Working together with NMK and several other institutions, the overarching aim was to create a tourism infrastructure with the museum as a gateway to the island and the rock art sites, meriting the construction of two large buildings. Designed as a one year project with a budget of $250,000, the bulk of the funding went towards the reconstruction of the ACPM and setting up the tourism infrastructure that has been described in Chapter 3. The intended start date of June 2007 was delayed by the late disbursements of funds and the construction of the museum could not start until January 2008, giving the partners six months to complete the project before the end date of June 2008 (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 52). An additional complication was the electoral violence that wrecked Kenya in early 2008 and made travelling and transport exceedingly difficult and expensive. Nevertheless, with help from the museum-maker and the community on peaceful Mfangano Island, they managed to hold the grand opening ceremony on 17

[66] The Tourism Trust Fund was an initiative supported by the European Union with the Government of Kenya. It received its funding from the European Development Fund (Sekenani Camp Maasai Mara, 2016).

October 2008, with the buildings ´reasonably complete´ (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 42).

The account above is part of the founding story of TARA and the ACPM presented in a book titled *Managing Community Projects: TARA and the Abasuba Community Peace Museum* which is aimed at presenting the collaboration as a showcase for community projects. The book is realistic and insightful but its contents have been coloured by the narrative that both the NGO and the museum want to present, namely of community agency and local pride in rock art. This somewhat naïve and sentimental presentation, already discussed in the context of community museums as noted by Rassool, accompanies the description of many heritage and development projects (and indeed many development projects in general) at the expense of acknowledging economic and pragmatic motives which are, naturally, present too. On the other hand, the merging of the museum's mission with rock art promotion was innovative and advantageous for both parties as the ACPM museum-maker had actually tried to apply for the TTF since 2002 but had always failed to be selected on his own. Their joint efforts as an internationally operating and well-connected NGO with a solid reputation and a community museum with grass-roots origins provided the solid basis for a heritage and development project. A similar pattern can also be detected in CCFU's collaboration with the community museums, pointing to the ingredients that lead to successful funding applications for culture and development projects.

2.4.2 TARA and its Funders

Some of TARA's connections have already been mentioned above by its connections to the Suba Rock Art Tourism Project, but these are only a fraction of the enormous number of collaborations, partnerships, funders, supporters and VIP relationships that TARA has maintained through the years. Although investigating TARA's entire network is beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief look at the stakeholders involved with its community engagement projects shows the extent of the contacts NGOs operating on this level in eastern Africa have.

The project that led to the reconstruction of the Abasuba CPM included an impressive number of partners in different capacities: the first to be involved was the United States Embassy which granted TARA $29,500 to promote rock art tourism in Kenya (including in the Suba district), which was followed by the European Development Fund, the funders of the Tourism Trust Fund in 2007 (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 14). The Safaricom Foundation, a corporate donor with the mission to 'build communities and transform lives', awarded a grant in October 2008 (Safaricom Foundation, 2018; Borona, 2008, 20). In 2009

the *L'Ecole de Patrimoine Africain* contributed to the ACPM's development with their *Museums in the Service for Development Programme* funded by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The *École*, usually focused on West Africa and francophone countries, also held a workshop called *Innovative Museum Marketing* at the ACPM in September 2008 where four educational programmes were developed for the museum (École du Patrimoine Africain, 2016). Other partners of TARA and the ACPM included the NMK, Kenya Tourism Board and Ministry of Tourism, government authorities that most CPMs prefer not to work with but which supported this collaborative project. It is clear that TARA's collaboration with the ACPM did impact on the museum's development; the museum buildings are evidence of this, but the range of partners also show that it enhanced the museum's national and international connections, moving it further away from its original remit as a community peace museum. TARA increased the profile of a local museum, its status as NGO allowing it to attract funding it would otherwise not have been able to access. It is a testament to their impact that after the collaboration with TARA ended, the interest in the museum wound down considerably. The same goes for the tourism figures to Mfangano Island; although the year following the re-opening of the museum showed impressive figures, tourism slowed down when TARA was no longer involved with the project and stopped promoting visits to the island (Little & Coulson, 2016).

For other community engagement projects, such as at Kakapel rock art site, located near the Ugandan border in Western Kenya, TARA received funding from the Safaricom Foundation once more and the Australian Government (TARA, 2013a, i). To help preserve rock art in Lokori, Turkana County, in the north of Kenya, TARA received support from the United States Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation. The NGO regularly uses exhibitions as a medium to spread awareness of rock art: a panel exhibition on rock art produced by TARA can be found in the UNM and a similar exhibition is also installed in the Tanzania National Museum in Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, it works with a number of national museums to promote rock art heritage; in 2004, TARA and NMK signed a Memorandum of Understanding about the conservation of rock art and the promotion of sustainable tourism (Borona & Nyasuna-Mwanga, 2010, 18). In Uganda, TARA works with the Uganda Department of Museums and Monuments, the United States Embassy and UNESCO World Heritage Centre to record and conserve rock art sites in eastern Uganda and Lake Victoria, with a plan to nominate six rock art sites for World Heritage status (TARA, 2013b, I; 18). TARA often looks to incorporating rock art in the world heritage narrative, for instance, another Memorandum of Understanding was made for three years with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in 2008

(TARA, 2008, 19). From 2015 to 2017, TARA collaborated with a familiar name; the Prince Claus Fund, whose Cultural Emergency Fund enabled the NGO to work on rock art preservation, raising awareness and 'engaging with models through which heritage can be made an intrinsic part of economic development' (PCF, 2015).

This short overview gives insight into how TARA and many other NGOs operate: in order to carry out projects and secure funding it is necessary to build networks and present a convincing and cohesive narrative. TARA has performed very well in doing so, and its reliable reputation has allowed it to work with almost all the main funders and organisations in the heritage field in Kenya as well as much further afield. They liaise with other relevant NGOs, such as CCFU, in the heritage sector and have worked with many embassies and cultural institutions which often have small sums of funding allocated to cultural initiatives. They have collaborated with global professional organisation such as UNESCO, ICOM, ICCROM and corporate funders such as the Safaricom Foundation. Lastly, with features in National Geographic and on CNN's *Inside Africa* in 2016, they also manage to secure media attention to spread awareness of their cause, evidence of their continued commitment to maintain and expand their reach.

3. Training Programmes and Professional Standards

3.1 Introduction

With the networks of both NGOs involved with the case studies explored and the range of the zone of contact in the east African heritage field revealed, the local independent museums emerge as participants in, and subjects of, a broadly accepted heritage and development discourse. However, NGOs are not the only means by which discourses are circulated: UNESCO's and ICOM's 'normative frameworks' are also internalised through the various training programmes, educational materials and professional guidelines present throughout the African continent (UNESCO, 2013, 10). There are great benefits to these programmes and institutes that enable many heritage professionals and museum-makers to advance their careers and improve their museum. But, how it influences thinking about essential questions such as 'what is a museum', 'what constitutes good museum practice', and 'who can take care of heritage and museums?' remains to be critically evaluated. In addition to questioning the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) idea that any heritage is valuable, Laurajane Smith also critiques its accompanying assumption of professionalism:

'[…] the idea that the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places.' (2006, 29/30). The information gathered in Kenya and Uganda confirms that similar ideas on expertise, knowledge and standards greatly impact museum developments and emerging museum-makers and heritage professionals in eastern Africa.

3.2 Museum Training

One element that has played a large part in the further development of the ACPM is the plethora of museum training opportunities offered in various forms, that the museum-maker undertook over the last ten years. His development as a museum professional shaped the progress of the museum, his own career and ability to interact with the wider heritage network. The first course the museum-maker completed was the Postgraduate Diploma in Museums and Heritage Studies at the University of Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa, a long-running programme that has educated a large number of museum professionals across the African continent, including staff at NMK and UNM. He attended the programme from 2006 to late 2007 with a Rockefeller Foundation Grant, arranged with help from TARA (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 17). According to the museum-maker, having the diploma contributed to the successful application made to the Tourism Trust Fund in 2007, pointing to the necessity of being seen as an educated professional to be considered for funding (Obonyo, 2016). Subsequently in 2007, he did a course on the conservation of immovable heritage as part of ICCROM's AFRICA 2009 programme, a programme that preceded the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA), located in Mombasa (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 17; ICCROM, 2015). In 2010, the ACPM museum-maker was given the opportunity to participate in the *En-Compass Project*, funded by the European Union, which aimed to: 'promote the management and the safeguarding of cultural and heritage resources internationally' (En-compass, 2016). As part of this project with Newcastle University and the CHDA, he visited Manchester, Guyana and China. The following year some of the workshops organised in Kisumu as part of the Getty East Africa Programme (GEAP) were attended as well, run by museum professionals from the British Museum. Meanwhile, the ACPM founder also travelled to the USA for the 'International Visitor Leadership Program' on museum

management from 25 April to May 13 in 2011.[67] Then, in 2013-2014 he attended the Reinwardt Academy in the Netherlands, to complete a Master of Museology degree, having received a grant from Nuffic, the Dutch scholarship organisation. The choice to study in Amsterdam was not coincidental as three years earlier he had been invited to a conference at the Reinwardt Academy where he delivered a presentation on the ACPM (Obonyo, 2012). The museum-maker has remarked on many occasions that the Dutch museum studies college changed his thinking on museums, saying that the Reinwardt Academy has given him a 'toolkit' to deal with all the practical challenges of the museum, from setting up exhibitions to applying for funding (Obonyo, 2016).

There is no doubt that the training received has enriched and empowered the museum-maker as a person and as a professional as well as helped to support the museum, and his educational achievements can be credited to his motivation and passion. But the accumulation of training, conferences and workshops also illustrates that such experiences most likely create new opportunities for more experiences, a snowball effect that allows one person to gain access to platforms that most other heritage practitioners in Africa do not have. And while it has raised the profile of the ACPM, it also influenced its stagnation, as the museum-maker's absence during periods of study halted the development of the museum.

It is useful to consider several aspects of this individual account to illustrate a wider system of training for African museum professionals that has been affected by the lack of national and regional institutions. Instead, international (or internationally funded) institutions and programmes have filled up the space to provide education for museum and heritage practitioners throughout Africa.[68] This is another aspect of the zone of contact - its centre is located in the global North, which is characterised by the universities, colleges and museums playing a considerable role in terms of exchange, discussion and grappling with museological theory and practice. But the material that is taught in these programmes and workshops makes up a substantial part of the discourses surrounding museums and heritage, informing scores of African professionals about what constitutes ethical and professional museum practice, and further influencing conceptualisation of museums in eastern Africa.

[67] This was a world-wide programme that included only two Africans, one of whom was the museum-maker (Obonyo, 2016).
[68] See Chapter 2 for a brief discussion on the history and current state of museum training programmes in Africa.

3.2.1 Training Programmes

One example of an African training programme is the British Museum Africa Programme (BMAP), which operated under the name of GEAP (Getty East Africa Programme) in Kenya from 2011 to 2015.[69] The Kenyan museum-maker has been a participant in this programme, as have other museum staff from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, though mainly from national museums. The GEAP organised different workshops in Mombasa and Kisumu concentrating on museum documentation, collections management, preventative conservation, exhibition display and education, often combined with visits to individual museums by a team of professionals from the British Museum. Another part of the programme included visits from African professionals to the British Museum, where they would receive further training, view the museum and collections and often give their expert opinion on artefacts from their respective countries. The programme, initiated by John Mack and Claude Ardouin, was designed after conducting a survey of museums in east Africa and concentrated on technical staff members in order to enhance their practical skills.[70] According to the general opinion of staff in Kenya and Uganda, the BMAP was highly valued and has left a fruitful legacy, affirming that the training delivered equipped them well to manage practical issues encountered in their museums. The hands-on methods of the BMAP received unanimous praise from museum staff, and in Kisumu Museum and the UNM the results of the training were visible in the exhibitions, stores and education departments. While acknowledging this positive legacy, the BMAP also serves as an example of a training programme in Africa that teaches a particular version of museum practice, thereby influencing how these museums develop, making it an appropriate case to examine in this context.

The BMAP (or GEAP) prides itself on its teaching methods that take into account the local context the African staff work in, proposing local substitutes for materials and chemicals that are not readily available, or too expensive, for African museums. This delivers direct benefits: the museum-maker recounted how at the ACPM solar bagging is now used once a year to clear the objects of pest infestations, a BMAP method that is cheap and effective and has been used to effect in different museums (Wendland Chole Kiziili, 2013).[71] Not all training

[69] I briefly worked for the British Museum Africa Programme from April to August 2014 and assisted in preparing and delivering a two-week documentation workshop in Lagos, Nigeria.
[70] The BMAP, in partnership with NMK, also delivered a large exhibition called Hazina: Traditions, Trade and Transitions in Eastern Africa in 2006 with loans from the British Museum displayed in Africa for the first time (British Museum, 2018).
[71] Solar bagging is a method where objects are packed and sealed into plastic bags and placed in a clear plastic tent in direct sunlight. The increase of temperature ensures pests inside the object are killed.

has been applied for the benefit of the collections: the openly displayed objects show damage from the environment, such as bird droppings termites and other insects, suggesting that not all exercises were implemented. However, the state of the collections can also be regarded as a conscious choice because the collections of the ACPM are not the main focus of the museum's conceptualisation. While for the British Museum, the collection is seen as the heart of the museum and its main modality, in the ACPM objects are only one part of a multifaceted and constantly adapted narrative in which objects play only a supportive role. The emphasis on material heritage and collections care by the BMAP is based on the model of the British Museum, hence the focus on conservation, collections management, storage and mounting. Even though this seems appropriate for the many national museums that it works with, it may be less applicable to the emerging independent museums in eastern Africa that include collections as one of many processes of translation. The ACPM, for instance, does not have a storage room, an active collection policy or a working catalogue system: in fact, the museum-maker says they removed the labels from the objects because after his education at the Reinwardt Academy he realised that labelling objects was reflective of a 'colonial ideology' (Obonyo, 2016).[72] Nevertheless, at BMAP, the British Museum is used as the norm for professional museum standards; the adaptation to an African environment does not change the idea of what a museum is and how it should function. When examining the BMAP's programmes, there are some basic common denominators that come to the fore, such as: all museums have object collections, all museums have a store, all museums need to document their objects, and all museums have exhibitions and display. If museums do not adhere to these principles they are not considered museums, or are considered to be operating below professional museum standards. Although it is understandable that a working definition is needed to operate a museum training programme, upholding the British Museum as the template other museums should emulate presents a challenge for east African independent museums. As this research has shown, independent museum modalities in eastern Africa do not neatly correspond with, what is arguably, the largest, archetypal, modernist museum at present. The BMAP has an excellent track-record in teaching practical skills to museum workers but it was not the programme's remit to allow for a broader conception of what museums are. To that extent it unavoidably perpetuates a conventional

[72] It is also interesting to note the contradictions between two different museum training programmes, in this case exemplified by the 'modernist museum' approach of the British Museum and the 'new museology' approach of the Reinwardt Academy.

idea of the museum. The BMAP is far from the only programme offering training to African museum professionals, but it is one of the more recent and successful ones.

3.2.2 New Museology

Another range of training programmes is those offered by a number of institutions abroad, such as the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam and the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies (APMHS) at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town (as well as Master's programmes in the United Kingdom).[73] The two degree programmes are relevant for understanding the impact of education on museum modalities in east Africa. Each of them offers vocational training combined with theoretical engagement with museum and heritage studies with a strong focus on critical heritage studies and the new museology (University of Western Cape, 2018; Reinwardt Academy, 2018). Students are therefore made aware of the social role of the museum, community-based collaborations, such as at the District Six Museum, and critical approaches to the existing global cultural hegemonies. The APMHS has been running since 1998 and offers a Postgraduate Diploma and a Master's track, not only educating an impressive number of African museum professionals from across the whole continent but also creating a network of alumni who reunite with each other in workshops and conferences, further consolidating and reinforcing its educational outlook.

The ACPM museum-maker's education, with degrees from both institutions, has profoundly shaped the conceptualisation and translation of the museum on Mfangano Island. One such shift in thinking, directly linked to the heritage and development discourse, is the museum-maker's conviction that he does not want to rely on foreign funding any longer. Although the museum has previously benefited significantly from international support, the ACPM has experienced the demands and restrictions that accompany such financial support and, as has been shown in Chapter 3, these interactions have impacted the narratives and direction of the museum to a large extent. Another factor that plays a role is that the ACPM has only been able to secure funding from international donors, such as embassies, when working with TARA. In the case of the TTF grant for example, it was TARA, the NGO in the centre of the zone of contact, which was in charge of managing the funding during the project, leading to questions about the equal nature of the collaboration (Obonyo, 2016). The ACPM struggled to comply with the rules and regulations that came with sponsored projects and as a result

[73] It seems that language plays a role in the choice of degree programmes, all of which offer English-language degrees. The francophone and lusophone countries in Africa may have access to other programmes.

TARA and ACPM ended their collaboration.[74] Thereafter, ACPM has never managed to secure foreign funding again, but more recently the museum-maker has managed to obtain support from governmental sources such as NMK, contending that Kenyan funders have more insight into the situations of applicants and demand less bureaucracy of them (Obonyo, 2016). These experiences of the ACPM illustrate that the relationships in the zone of contact are complicated and often based on contradictory views of what a successful project entails, and on what compromises those in the periphery often need to make to participate in international collaborations. Motivated by his Reinwardt education, the museum-maker is now convinced there are alternative options for the ACPM; such as financial support from local government and income generated from broadcasting football games and selling drinks. The education at Reinwardt, based on new museological teachings inspired by grass-roots museum movements in the Americas, as well as the likes of District Six Museum, proved an inspiration for the ACPM to define itself more independently. This also means developing profitable services in the community space of the museum, reinterpreting the museum as a place for entertainment, which, the museum-maker states, is similar to how museums in the Netherlands are conceived nowadays (Obonyo, 2016). Even though, as a small independent museum, financial sustainability remains a struggle, he says that the education from Reinwardt will enable him to create a 'second museum revolution' at the ACPM. This phraseology refers to a term coined by Peter van Mensch, a key theorist from the Reinwardt Academy, who used it to describe the period from 1960 to 1980, mirroring the new rhetoric on museums labelled as 'new museology' (1995, 136). Placing the ACPM within this new museological framework, the museum-maker now envisions a future where the museum will be able to exist without external support and with full independence to determine the museum's development.

3.3 Professional Standards

Although the community museum-makers in Uganda have not had the same educational opportunities in museum studies, they have had training from the staff at the Uganda National Museum facilitated by the CCFU, a number of whom have a degree from the University of the Western Cape as well as other institutions. In addition, the national museum

[74] In a 2014 article, Terry Little and Gloria Borona, writing on behalf TARA, state that '[…] the administrative demands from the EU were a huge burden for our small organization that took a long time to overcome.' (2014, 183).

staff have participated in workshops organised by the BMAP, which were founded on the principle of sharing knowledge and passing on expertise to colleagues (Hudson, 2011, 1). Another indirect link with international museum training originates from the CCFU: from 2009 to 2011 they circulated a community museums' newsletter on topics such as 'how to measure financial performance of our museums', 'developing catalogues for museum objects' and 'basic international museum standards' (CCFU, 2013, 3). The Heritage Programmes Manager, who is responsible for the community museum activities at the CCFU, has a Master's degree in Economics and Administration of Cultural Heritage from the University of Catania in Italy and a Postgraduate Diploma in Museums and Heritage Studies from the APMHS at the University of the Western Cape, so he is equally well-versed in museum and heritage theory and practice (Ssenyonga, 2016, 125). Through the workshops and materials provided CCFU has aimed to 'build capacity' among community museum-makers, having identified that they lack skills in 'museum management and governance', 'documentation', 'linking and networking', and 'collection management' (Ssenyonga, 2016, 128). These skills, linked to the idea that community museums need to 'professionalize their services […] in order to realise their potential' are strongly reminiscent of the AHD mentioned by Smith above, and to the rationale of museum training programmes such as the BMAP (CCFU, 2012, 24). While it can be beneficial to community museums to improve the state of their initiatives, what occurs in the zone of contact is that the terms of professionalisation are not set by the independent museums in the periphery, but by the organisations that set the so-called 'normative frameworks' in the centre.

3.3.1 Quality Assurance

While UCOMA (The Uganda Community Museum Association) has been established to unite the community museums and allow them to be better represented in the heritage sector (i.e. the zone of contact), it is also focuses on making the museums more professional so that they are taken seriously by the stakeholders whose support they would like to attract. CCFU has been instrumental in helping to set up UCOMA, supporting them with financial and technical support with the intention that, in the long-term, the organisation would be able to operate independently from the NGO (Drani & Ssenyonga, 2016). So, while on the one hand UCOMA gives the community museums more agency over deciding their own course for the future, on the other hand their desire to be seen as professional forces them to aspire to adhere to internationally set standards. The museums are particularly conscious of their 'amateur' status in relation to the Uganda Department of Museums and Monuments, which, as a government body, regards them and CCFU with a degree of caution. The overarching

concern from the department is that independent museums are not 'serious', the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum being seen as one of the few examples of a museum that has conformed to ideas of what is considered a 'proper' museum. Other, less established, community museums have been described by government officials as only interested in profit, with suggestions that illicit trafficking may even take place in some museums at the expense of local communities (Kamuhangire, 2016). It is no surprise that the community museums are therefore very conscious of ensuring they are seen as 'professional'; so in 2016 they introduced the first Quality Assurance Standards for Community Museums in Uganda, to certify that the community museums can legitimise themselves and be recognised as 'real' museums because, 'not every craft shop is a museum' (Oloya, 2016a). The idea behind quality assurance standards originates from the NGO Quality Assurance Certification Mechanism which '[…] aims to enhance the credibility and effectiveness of NGOs […]' (Uganda National NGO Forum, 2016). The communication used by NGOs is simulated in UCOMA's quality standards: 'If adhered to, the UCOMA standards will also help community museums to re-assure their clientele that they are credible entities', with other parts of the booklet emphasising social responsibility and demanding that all museums have a Board with at least one woman on it (UCOMA, 2016, 6). Now, these are laudable standards to adhere to, but clearly are more reminiscent of what much larger organisations are meant to do in very different working environments. Furthermore, the wording and ideas borrow heavily from organisations such as ICOM and UNESCO, with ICOM being mentioned under *Heading IV: Conservation, Collections and Research*: '[…] make efforts to document them in a professional way according to the International Council of Museums (ICOM) standards, including accession registers, catalogues, labels etc.' (UCOMA, 2016, 8). A number of the quality standards, including this one, are mandatory for all members of UCOMA and failure to meet the requirements could potentially lead to the museum being expelled from UCOMA (UCOMA, 2016, 10). The booklet, in which the requirements are outlined, does not explain what ICOM standards are, making the assumption that community museums will be familiar with ICOM and its materials, or should familiarise themselves with them in order to adhere to the quality standards. It further recommends that museums register with 'relevant bodies' such as ICOM and AFRICOM, even though Uganda as a whole does not have a national ICOM department.

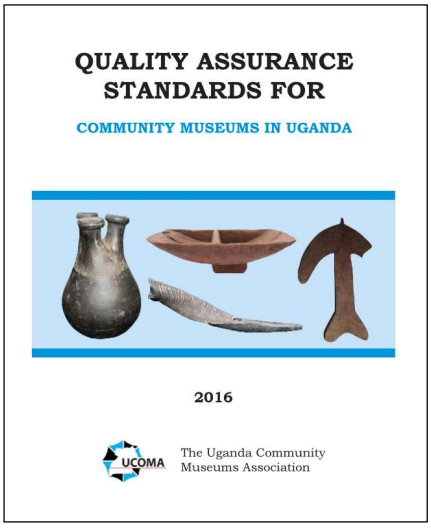

Figure 43: The front cover of the UCOMA booklet (2016).

The preoccupation with professionalism, spurred on by the museums' precarious relationships with national and international networks, have led to the production of standards that narrow the conceptualisation of independent museums in Uganda. Even though the standards are currently relatively basic and attainable, the references to ICOM's collection management standards will make it difficult for community museums to adhere to the set regulations. While ICOM has launched an evaluation of the ICOM museum definition in 2017, its current descriptor, which emphasises the museum as a permanent institution, does not fit comfortably with the independent museums' processes of translation. The adoption of language used by NGOs and ICOM illustrates once more that the periphery of the zone of contact is in an unequal relationship with the centre, whose ability to demand certain forms of 'museumness' in exchange for collaboration and support, means that museum development is shaped by the networks in which independent museums engage. As the ACPM museum-maker has shown, there is room to manoeuvre and it would be wrong to dismiss the agency of the museum-makers in forming the different museum modalities; but the continuous process of translation are certainly affected by the exchanges with external partners. Both museum-makers have made use of the resources offered by UNESCO and ICOM, and it remains to be seen how this information will be translated and adapted by independent museums in the future (Oloya, 2016b).

4. Heritage and Development - A Pervasive Discourse

4.1 Introduction

It has been demonstrated that the discourse of heritage and development is distributed by NGOs and their international networks, by museum training programmes and by the normative instruments created by ICOM and UNESCO. In earlier chapters, some of the themes that are the hallmarks of this discourse have already emerged but some of the most pertinent themes will be drawn out in this section to show that they are part of the everyday reality of independent museums in east Africa and of the habitus embodied by all stakeholders in the zone of contact.

4.2 Communities and the Benefits of Tourism

Both CFFU and TARA work with local communities to achieve their project goals, but their motivations for doing so are completely opposite. CCFU's aim to create sustainable

development means that communities are the prime beneficiaries of their projects, with culture promoted as a component that is necessary to achieve long-lasting results. TARA on the other hand, is not primarily preoccupied with development - rather its interests are in the conservation and protection of cultural heritage, and communities are thus seen as essential participants in achieving this wider goal.

One of TARA's main challenges is the conservation of rock art sites which are often threatened, both by natural causes such as climate change and by human interference such as graffiti, deforestation, stone quarrying and cultivation (Borona, 2014, 185). For TARA, trying to diminish the impact from human damage is a vital means of preserving sites and in previous years it was common practice to put up barriers to prevent sites from being damaged. However, as it became increasingly clear that fences actually increase hostility from those living around sites and invite vandalism when locals' paths and territory are cut off, participation of communities in rock art projects was deemed necessary (Borona, 2014, 185). The approach of involving nearby communities changed the way TARA operated and reconfigured community engagement as a way of conservation by recognising communities' knowledge of their environment and history, creating a feeling of ownership and giving community members a stake in the management of rock art sites. In an article written by Terry Little and Gloria Borona, present and former TARA staff members respectively, they posit that: '[…] the people who feel a sense of ownership for the heritage are most likely to assume responsibility for its conservation when they are engaged in its use and management.' (Little & Borona, 2014, 179). While reviewing their methods of working with communities to preserve rock art sites, using the Suba rock art project as a case study they further state that: 'Based on experience, TARA believes that the most effective way of conserving rock art is through involvement of local communities.' (2014, 179).

Although tourism does not feature in this description of community-based projects, the publications written by TARA employees in 2014 both introduce rock art as 'a major tourism interest' declaring that: 'The goal of TARA community projects is to promote responsible rock art tourism that ensures the improvement of local livelihoods by embracing a broad scope of development (social, economic, environmental and cultural).' (Little & Borona, 2014, 179; Borona, 2014, 185). The jump from community involvement to promoting tourism is not self-evident however, and in an interview Little recalls that there were initial doubts on whether tourism projects, such as on Mfangano Island, would be a departure from TARA's overall mission because as a rock art organisation, it is not their goal to improve the livelihoods of people (Little, 19-1-2016). TARA's move, to implement tourism as a working method,

coincided with the growing dispersal of the culture and development discourse in the 2000s following the *Our Creative Diversity* report in 1996 and is a confirmation of its effects. The discourse, which as has been shown, positions heritage as a means to an end, proposes tourism to heritage sites as *the* method of creating income generation for communities in the locality. It is no longer sufficient to preserve sites with participation from communities, they must also 'develop' i.e., generate income to improve people's livelihoods. Indeed, the widespread notion that 'the creation of a heritage tourism destination will *ipso facto* draw tourists and lead to prosperity' is noted by Pikirayi and Schmidt, who argue that it is 'virtually inevitable for anyone involved in heritage work that the issue of tourism will arise as part of the local agenda' (Pikirayi & Schmidt, 2016, 18). It re-emphasises that the expectations from heritage to function as a resource for income generation are shared by local communities, NGOs and global organisations alike.

That the expectations from tourism do not always live up to reality is evidenced by the case of the Suba rock art tourism project on Mfangano Island, where the intended results of tourism were not delivered in the long-term. After the re-opening of the ACPM in 2008, tourism to Mfangano Island did not become as popular as anticipated. While this was influenced by several factors, such as the global economic downturn in 2008 and increased insecurity in Kenya which reduced tourism at a national level, the situation may also have been exacerbated by the island's remote location and the lack of interest of the average tourist in rock art as a destination, a problem of accessibility acknowledged by Little and Borona (2014, 184). At present, there are low numbers of tourists who visit the ACPM, providing minimal income for the museum from entrance fees and rock art sites tickets. But the restaurant and accommodation were not functioning at the time of this research, and despite plans of rejuvenating these services, the income generated will most likely have to be re-invested in the museum itself. Independent museums operate on low costs and their incomes can therefore be modest in order to break-even; but there has yet to be an example of a museum that generates enough profit to sustain entire communities with this kind of economic model.

The Suba rock art project was the second, and the largest, project TARA had ever done in 2007, and it changed TARA's top-down approach, where the community was trained by TARA staff, to a bottom-up method where the community has a say in the objectives of the project. This model, described as a 'community-based tourism project' served as the model for managing rock art projects in Kenya and throughout Africa in later years, comprising of engaging the community in workshops to identify their expectations and any obstacles as

well as examining the infrastructure to the site and its improvement where necessary (Little & Borona, 2014, 180). In conclusion to their article, Little and Borona ask: 'Has rock art on Mfangano Island reduced poverty?' to which they answer with hope and frankness: 'We have seen many positive changes on the island in terms of infrastructural, cultural, and social outputs. We want to believe the answer is yes, but we will need now to collect and review the economic data to see whether we can talk about a real economic impact.' (2014, 185).

4.2.1 Rock Art: A Means to an End or an End in Itself

Instead of presenting an overly optimistic picture of the promises of tourism, it might be more useful to regard the independent museums and heritage sites as valuable in themselves. This dichotomy, which keeps returning in the heritage and development discourse, is also inherent in TARA's projects. The organisation consistently lauds the unique and universal qualities of rock art, citing Nelson Mandela who described it as 'the common heritage of humanity', but at the same time it promotes the exploitation of rock art for tourism, marketing its economic potential (TARA, 2018). While the founder of TARA strongly believes that there is an innate pride and sense of identity felt by communities living around rock art locations, it cannot be denied that the economic value of protection and exploitation of the site plays an in important role in securing support, and TARA concedes that the 'improving livelihoods' argument has been the most effective with finding funders for projects and interesting communities in rock art preservation (Coulson & Little, 2016). This should come as no surprise to the donors and the recipients of funding; most rock art sites are in remotely located and deprived regions, and TARA is conscious of this. Little and Borona explain that: 'Funding for culture is limited around the world, but even more so in Africa where issues such as health and education are prioritized. This has been a motivation for TARA to conceive projects which use heritage to leverage economic development.' (2014, 183). However, TARA's discomfort, also expressed by Coulson who prefers to emphasise the meanings of rock art, remains and is expressed by the claim made by Borona that 'the community's identity and pride can be (re)generated through tourism, especially in cultural tourism' (Coulson & Little, 2016; 2014, 186). By adopting a community engagement approach that is focused on tourism, TARA has moved into the realm of development NGOs, entirely on trend with the increasingly influential culture and development discourse imparted by UNESCO. Indeed, Borona finishes her article by citing a CCFU paper from 2008, declaring that 'a heritage in development perspective' (2014, 194) is needed. TARA and CCFU are just two examples of NGOs working with heritage in east Africa, but their working methods show that not only do these organisations increasingly subscribe to the role of development in their

own missions, it also appears essential in bidding for financial support from international funders, such as governmental organisations and larger foundations. In practice, funding bodies are reluctant to support culture without committing to supporting development as well and while these are clearly not mutually exclusive there seems to be no room for working 'with' culture on its own.

4.3 Discourse of Cultural Endangerment and Prosperous Development

Just as TARA attempts to balance the importance of rock art with the need to realise benefits for communities, CCFU struggles with the discourse's fundamental issue of seeing culture as a resource, as well as having intrinsic value. This continuous struggle to strike a balance between both is reflected in CCFU's policies and programmes but also illustrates the much broader conflict of the sector attempting to demonstrate the value of culture as a useful 'thing' to preserve and promote rather than stressing the abstract and immeasurable quality of intrinsic value. It has become the norm for the cultural sector to justify culture as a means to an end and even though the PCF states that 'culture is a basic need', even that organisation still needs to defend its decisions against a system that demands validation for expenditure on culture.

4.3.1 Vanishing Past – Future Generations

One of the main impediments to placing culture at the heart of development is, according to CCFU, the negative perception Ugandans have of their culture. Their working definition of culture is 'a constantly changing set of values, identities, traditions and aspirations that govern the way we relate as individuals, communities and nations' that is 'central to our well-being' (CCFU, 2016). CCFU supposes that Uganda's history of colonial occupation, education and religious missions have suppressed, demonised and destroyed Uganda's pride in its own culture. Therefore, they are active in promoting awareness of the value of Ugandan culture through various programmes focused on language preservation, culture and governance systems (i.e. cultural leaders), heritage education programmes, and cultural diversity and cultural rights (CCFU, 2015, 15/16). But when promoting culture in Uganda, CCFU focuses on so-called 'traditional culture' in particular. This term, which also emerged in the context of Acholiland, encompasses all those aspects of culture that relate to a past and more rural lifestyle untainted by 'western', colonial influences and is often intermingled with Christian teachings. CCFU's first foray into a more recent type of heritage was the launch of a map of Kampala's historical buildings in order to promote their preservation, entitled *Kampala's*

Historical Buildings and Sites – Our Valuable but Vanishing Heritage, which cautions that 'this heritage is at grave risk of disappearing, as the incessant drive for "modernity" sweeps older structures before it' (2015, 11). Describing heritage and cultural practices as 'endangered' and 'disappearing' is a common theme in the work of CCFU, a view not exclusive to the NGO, because it is regularly repeated by heritage practitioners, ministry officials and media when talking about Uganda's culture.[75]

Uganda's culture is often described as being 'threatened' and as under erosion from global influences and modernity and this lament is usually paired with a statement that the youth nowadays believe culture is 'backward' and that they prefer 'modern' things. Indeed, the MAAC museum-maker also aims to restore Acholi culture and pass it on to younger generations as he worries that external influences, such as American hip hop culture and a 'western' lifestyle, causes them to lose their identity (Oloya, 2016b). The younger generations are perceived to be lacking in traditional values, preferring western clothing and music to indigenous products, but in these communications the trope of loss is never explained but taken as a statement of fact. Even though this is a popular trope for those involved with culture throughout Uganda, there are some alternative perspectives that offer nuances to this generalised complaint. The principal conservator at the UNM wondered whether culture is indeed disappearing and posited instead that culture is being adapted and changed to fit contemporary society by young people (Abiti, 2016). Certainly, CCFU's use of the trope of disappearing culture and disconnected youth sits uncomfortably with their own description of culture as 'constantly changing' and actually correlates with a narrow definition of culture.

4.3.2 Heritage Clubs

The fear of younger generations growing up without a cultural identity prompted CCFU to start the Heritage Education Programme (HEP), with heritage education clubs which the MAAC coordinates for Kitgum. The programme is meant to interest Ugandan youth in preserving and promoting their culture. The HEP casts young people in the role of cultural ambassadors stating that 'young Ugandans […] must not only cherish their culture if it is to survive, but they must also assume a responsibility to pass it on to the next generations.' (CCFU, 2015, 10). The community museums and cultural coordinators now support 80

[75] At the Uganda International Cultural Fair held in 2016 from 29-31 July, for example, all speakers invoked the trope of a 'disappearing culture' and the Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament spoke about the need to 'teach the young about culture', related to the fact that 'there is no pride at being a Ugandan' (Kadaga,2016).

secondary schools in the whole of Uganda for the HEP. Each club has one or two teachers who are the patrons or matrons and CCFU has offered them training on managing the heritage clubs, as well as equipping them with a toolkit with ideas for activities. A conversation with the patron from the Kitgum Comprehensive College revealed that not all exercises are applicable to their northern Ugandan context: making a family tree was problematic for a number of children who grew up in IDP camps and who sometimes do not know their direct relatives or extended families (Okot, 2016). During a visit to the Kitgum Comprehensive College Heritage Club the students were asked in a group conversation why heritage was important to them and their answers broadly covered the language of the HEP varying from 'I want to know my identity' and 'I want to know the past of my grandparents' to 'I want to know my culture' (2016).[76] The students had been made conversant with heritage issues and discussed the merits of traditional music and housing as opposed to contemporary music and dress. Like other informants from the Acholi region, Christian values were intermingled with ideas of traditional culture, for example, modest dress was considered best even though this may not have been the way Acholi dressed in the more distant past. Although it is obvious that the popular complaint about the youth is an overstatement, the heritage club in Kitgum appeared to fulfil a useful role in a society that is trying to rebuild itself after a prolonged struggle and where there is a need for a feeling of belonging.

4.3.3 Culture for Peace

In Acholiland there is an on-going collation of culture with justice, peace and reconciliation, as analysed in Chapter 4, and several institutions have established museum-like places that focus on post-conflict healing, promoting peace, justice and reconciliation. From the NMPDC to the Dure Community Museum, it is obvious that, in the Acholi region, culture has been enlisted for the purposes of post-conflict development which, as explored by John Giblin, is a discourse adopted by a number of global organisation such as the World Bank and UNESCO (2014, 504/505). For instance, in the *Power of Culture for Development* leaflet, UNESCO claims: 'Culture is a vehicle for social cohesion and stability' (2010c, 6). Cultural heritage has become part of a larger narrative about post-conflict healing and reconciliation that seems to suggest that celebrating the culture and values of the past will contribute to a more stable society through rekindling Acholi identity and pride. However, independent museums and heritage institutions in northern Uganda are not just related to harmonious living but also to

[76] This visit was made on 15 July 2017 in the presence, and with the support of, Heritage Club patron Alfred Okot Moon.

notions of development; in this case the idea that only 'good' cultural practices and values should be taken into the envisioned prosperous future while 'bad' culture should be abandoned.

4.3.4 Good and Bad Culture

Development and culture are even more intricately linked in northern Uganda than elsewhere in the country; apart from a desire to return to the idealised past, culture is also perceived to be essential for development. Influenced by many years of engagement with international NGOs 'culture for development' has become the normal discourse, with accompanying discourse on 'good culture' versus 'bad culture'. The wider debate on how helpful culture can aid development whereas 'harmful' and 'outdated' practices will hinder it, centres around the right to culture versus universal human rights (Basu & Zetterstrom-Sharp, 2015, 57). The concept of 'bad' culture covers practices that harm traditionally oppressed groups such as women, children and ethnic minorities, with a prime example being female genital mutilation, a cultural practice that is generally perceived as harmful to young girls and women. Explored by Basu and Zetterstrom-Sharp in another post-conflict country, namely Sierra Leone, this tension between 'cultural plurality and universal ethics' is ever-present in Acholiland (2015, 57). The District Community Development Officer of Kitgum, who is also responsible for gender issues mentioned scarification, wife inheritance, polygamy and the drowning of disabled children as examples of bad cultural practices. However, in day-to-day life in Acholiland the division between what is helpful and what is harmful is more blurred and several informants, while emphasising the value placed on women in Acholi culture, also lamented the changed, more independent, position of women due to western influences. What constitutes a good cultural phenomenon or a bad one, is not clear-cut, as comes to the fore also in the account of Sierra Leone (Basu & Zetterstrom-Sharp, 2015, 79). For CCFU, this additional discourse poses an extra challenge when promoting culture as it requires them to recognise the 'good parts' of culture while trying to change the 'bad parts' – all the while being mindful of the communities they work with, which may each have differing opinions of which cultural elements will contribute towards prosperity. In the MAAC, objects of witchcraft were identified by the museum-maker as unwanted because this aspect of culture '[…] hinders development […]', a direct reference to 'negative' culture that exemplifies how contradictory the heritage and development discourse is: preserving the past and simultaneously dismissing it for a better future (Oloya, 2016c). From the prevalence of heritage and development language when speaking with Acholi residents, it becomes apparent that the region has seen an exceptional influx from

international organisations providing humanitarian aid and post-conflict recovery over the past twenty years. In Kitgum, it has brought with it a certain rhetoric about culture that plays out in different ways and impacts upon cultural institutions and independent museums; the legacy of scores of NGOs and IDP camps that were located in and around the city during the war have contributed to it being an exceptionally complicated zone of contact.

5. The Promise of the Imagined Museum

On a final note it is pertinent to shed light on the potency of independent museums as imagined museums by others in the zone of contact, particularly the ACPM which has benefited from different stakeholders who never visited the museum, but relied upon the picture painted of a community-based museum on an idyllic, but poor island in a remote part of Kenya. It has to be acknowledged that it is likely that the museum's narratives, which have been reinterpreted over the last two decades, have sounded attractive to museological institutions interested in grass-roots museums and that this has been instrumental in securing the various funding streams in cooperation with TARA. Furthermore, it has probably been a factor in the museum-maker being able to pursue virtually all the training programmes available to African museum professionals. These opportunities are not undeserved or unjustified, but they are unexpected, considering that other community museums, which may have been less visible and less successful in presenting their story, have not been given the same range of chances. It bears comparison with the deliberate use of the term community museum by CCFU, which has attracted interest from funders in the zone of contact particularly, because communities are part and parcel of the heritage and development discourse. Both instances point to an interest in the expectations of what museums can deliver, the promise of social, cultural and economic transformation that is evoked by those participating in the current heritage and development discourse.

Since the 2000s, the ACPM has, astutely, managed to tick all the boxes of development and heritage discourse. Starting as a community museum, it has also incorporated elements of peace and reconciliation traditions, intangible heritage, and income generation through tourism. These 'buzz words' that correlate with a number of UNESCO's recommendations and conventions, have attracted funders and educators, some without ever visiting Mfangano Island to see what takes place in practice. TARA's visit, which led to a Memorandum of Understanding, and its good reputation as an NGO led to the publication of the museum's message and interest from other funders. In its communication materials,

TARA has been very strategic in presenting the ACPM as a grass-roots initiative, 'one of the first community museums' and as a peaceful, unified, albeit struggling, island community (Borona & Nyasuna-Wanga, 2010, 13). But it is not only the external parties involved with the independent museums that buy into the promise of the imagined museum, it is also believed and activated by the museum-makers themselves and those involved with museum-making and heritage on the local level, even when the benefits from the museum might not be as forthcoming as everyone involved hopes. The ACPM museum-maker has displayed his passion for the museum to effect and has been a participant and presenter at a number of conferences and programmes all over the world, presenting the ACPM to an interested audience. It reveals that another element of the imagined museum is the ways in which the museum-makers are 'made' by their museums, as much as the museums are made by them. The utilisation of the museum's image within the zone of contact is key to the museums' trajectories and those of the individuals behind them. Indeed, at a conference in Amsterdam in 2010 the ACPM museum-maker remarked: 'it is important that the community museum's collections are used as typical tools of transferring knowledge, preserving civilisation, addressing societal concerns and serving as dynamic tools of development and forums for discussion and invention' (Obonyo, 2012, 30). This ambitious and idealistic perspective of the museum is imagined by the museum-maker, and the image is so persuasive that it motivates those at the centre of the zone of contact to support an aspiration for the future instead of a reality in the present. It shows that the promise that the museum is intended to deliver, informed by the heritage and development discourse, is very potent. This returns the thesis to what independent museums in east Africa are:, continuous processes of translation that actively take on, and reject, the narratives offered by their networks in a zone of contact that has been permeated with a discourse that prioritises museums and heritage as an instrument over being a goal in itself. The fact that imagination is a major factor in deciding how projects in the zone of contact in eastern Africa are conducted, demonstrates that critical assessment of this pervasive discourse is still insufficient in both academic and professional contexts.

Chapter 6

Processes of Translation: Independent Museums as Living Museums

1. Introduction

Understanding how the past, present and expectations for the future influence the conceptualisation, development and position of independent museums in the larger heritage field is crucial to answering the questions posed at the start of this thesis. Considering how modalities materialise out of these temporalities will aid in explaining the museums' emergence and popularity and the particular forms they take, furthering the analysis started in Chapters 3 and 4. This final chapter aims to draw together a number of themes that have cropped up throughout this research, consolidating the argument that a shift from museum models to modalities, as part of on-going processes of adaption, is an appropriate theory for understanding east African museums in a manner that incorporates their historical trajectory.

The independent museums discussed in the previous chapters have been established in the post-colonial period of the twenty-first century. But, as is currently debated on a larger scale in museums, legacies of the colonial regime are still present and influence contemporary thinking and practice. This chapter will commence with a discussion of the parallels that can be discerned between colonial museums on the African continent and recently established independent museums, in terms of collections, modes of display and communication. One of the questions to be answered is how these influences are translated in the processes of making museums. A similar enquiry can be made for the trope of threatened culture and identity prevalent in the east African heritage field which shows similarities with a nineteenth century salvage paradigm. It will become apparent, through the reflection on a number of topics historically embedded in the museum, that the institutional developments to be analysed cannot be regarded as neo-colonial, or repetitive of older patterns as this would not do justice to the amorphous processes happening in museums in the present-day. Moving from translations of past modalities in the present, to the museum as a future-making instrument, the incorporation of all three temporalities will show that independent museums are indeed living museums in the most literal sense.

The concepts unpacked below, such as modernity and ethnography, are vast and have their own intellectual framework which cannot be analysed exhaustively here. They will be explored exclusively through the lens of east Africa's independent museums and the modalities that emerge from these concepts.

2. The Past

2.1 Translating Colonial Legacies

One of the implicit assumptions inherent in questioning the new-found popularity of museums in east Africa is the colonial legacy of the institution. It has been mentioned in Chapter 2 that 'museum behaviour' existed before the colonial occupation, but the main perception of the museum is based on the so-called 'modernist museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 17). This legacy, the museum as a presumed 'western' construct and its negative connotations, does not sit easily with the surge in new museums in recent times. It is an issue that has bothered African museologists since the era of decolonisation and, unsurprisingly, they argued for the need to reform and transform museums to shed their colonial inheritance. Most of these criticisms however, were aimed at existing state museums that had been built under colonial regimes. In the case of contemporary independent museums, the configuration of colonial legacies is differently nuanced but nonetheless present: the museum as an institution is in many ways rooted in its fraught history and remains a place where selected narratives are presented authoritatively. While considering these legacies, the ways in which independent museums replicate or adapt these characteristics are a prime point of discussion here, as they are part of the processes of translation that take place within the zone of contact.

It is evident that the museum-makers interviewed for this research do not consider their museums to be part of a colonial museum tradition. In fact, the MAAC and ACPM museum-makers consciously distance themselves from the national museums. It should therefore be noted that the argument put forward here is not that these museums are colonial products, but rather that remnants of national museum practices, themselves rooted in colonial history, can be detected in the ways in which the independent museums operate. By examining a number of parallels in past and current practices, it can be seen how the past is translated into present modalities.

The National Museums of Kenya (NMK) has existed for 108 years and the Uganda National Museum (UNM) celebrates its 110th anniversary in 2018. These museums have a colonial past which Peterson describes in the following terms: '[T]he museum was only one among several institutions in which Africans' bodies, cultures, languages, and institutions were dismembered and reincorporated as museum pieces.' (2015, 6). Even though current museum staff would not recognise their institution in this description, it is a history that can be traced in the means of collecting and exhibiting exemplified by the UNM's moniker *House of Charms*, as outlined earlier in the thesis. Despite this initial negative reputation, the UNM is now the standard by which independent museums in the country measure themselves, as demonstrated by the close resemblance the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum bears to its national counterpart. Indeed, the national museum is encouraged by the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU) to function as a knowledge base and centre of expertise; the NGO has held workshops at the UNM and museum staff have provided training for community museum-makers. In Uganda, the UNM functions as a site of authoritative knowledge on museums, a characteristic found in most 'modernist museums' which 'bring the world into an apparent single, rational framework, with unified, ordered, and assigned relationships between nature, the arts and culture.' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 18; 126). In the selection of particular historical and cultural narratives, independent museum similarly retain control over their presented stories, resembling more authoritative museum models, as exemplified by the UNM, instead of those advocated by the new museology, such as ecomuseums, or the democratic model evident in various community museums.[77] The way that knowledge is imparted in independent museums, rather than discussed or questioned, turns the museum into an authoritative space where narratives are presented as 'true' or 'authentic', even if they are adapted to the audience and change over time. However, this legacy is not copied unaltered and the zone of contact provides a crucial context in Kenya and Uganda, because what is produced and reproduced by independent museums should be viewed as a counter-narrative, in the sense that they do not comply with a hegemonic account of national culture and history but rather take a local viewpoint. The adaptation of the authority of the museum can be seen as a departure from the familiar notion of museums as part of the 'exhibitionary complex', since museums in the periphery of the zone of contact make use of an authoritative modality in a manner opposed to dominant, centrally organised narratives, by representing marginalised ethnic groups. So, while methods of display may be

[77] For example, the District Six Museum in Cape Town. The community museums in Oaxaca, Mexico have democratic decision mechanisms which have been described by Teresa Morales in a number of publications (Camarena & Morales, 2006).

similar in some ways to 'modernist museum pedagogy' - through the use of labels, the ambition to have glass cases and the hierarchical presentation of knowledge – suggesting 'communication as a linear process from an authoritative source to an uninformed receiver' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 126; 133) this interpretation constitutes only one modality among many, as the co-production of nondiscursive modes of knowledge through multi-sensory engagement has shown.

2.2 Translating Ethnography

Another element of the history of museums is the notion of the ethnographic, a genre not usually examined in relation to independent museums. The assumption is that only museums in the global North produce this category and that it is just relevant there. Nevertheless, the inherited museum practices of the independent museums suggest otherwise: the main examples of museums in each country are national museums that have their origins in the colonial period of the early 1900s and, with significant ethnographic permanent exhibitions, they influence the creation of collections and displays in the newer museums. Therefore, the translation of the ethnographic must be part of the analysis to understand why and how museums are appearing in east Africa. If defined by the nature of their collections, as museums often are, most independent museums in Kenya and Uganda will be categorised as ethnographic. But that category is problematic, as evidenced by the statement by Classen and Howes that '[T]he ethnographic museum was a model of an ideal colonial empire in which perfect law and order was imposed upon the natives' (2006, 210) – who use the term 'natives' to describe the 'artifactual bodies' amassed by nineteenth century collectors (2006, 209). This is corroborated by Kirschenblatt-Gimblett's reminder that '[…] ethnographic objects are made, not found, despite claims to the contrary. They did not begin their lives as ethnographic objects. They became ethnographic through processes of detachment and contextualisation.' (1998, 3). Bearing this in mind, the question is if the collections in independent museums can be regarded ethnographically or whether a different categorisation would be more accurate. The basis for raising the query on the ethnographic nature of the museum collections, despite their postcolonial context, is that there are clear indications that the value attached to the objects and their expected style of display are derived from the practices of the national museums in Kenya and Uganda. The translation of the 'ethnographic' is one of the processes taking place in these new institutions leading to innovative modalities.

2.2.1 National Museums

The UNM's permanent ethnography gallery is over 60 years old and was installed when Uganda was still a colony, mainly by foreign curators. It has long been the only point of reference in the country for learning about Uganda's traditional cultures, with many different ethnic groups represented to a greater or lesser extent. Once hailed as state-of-the-art, the exhibition aims to showcase the 'tribal crafts of Uganda' and objects are divided into pottery, iron-working, basketry and such-like, combined with cases showing objects by use, including leisure, hunting and transport (Peterson, 2015, 6). Each case contains artefacts from different ethnic groups in Uganda categorised by type and function; for example, a case on livestock herding highlights the Ankole and Karamoja ethnic groups, even though they reside in different parts of the country. This method of display was also employed in the Nairobi National Museum's (NNM) ethnography gallery before its recent refurbishment, as described by Kiprop Lagat: 'The old ethnography gallery had 17 cases displaying different cultural artefacts of Kenyan communities based on functional uses of the objects.' (2017, 4). This type of exhibition may have stemmed from colonial rule in Kenya. As Lagat suggests, it could have been '[…] largely inherited [from] the older concept of culture in which the country was perceived as a mosaic of distinct cultural groups.' (2017, 5). Although these typological displays fit into the later aspirations of newly independent countries by diminishing ethnic differences, they were still rather stereotypical in emphasising, for example, the cultural divisions between pastoralists and subsistence farming, or between Nilotic and Bantu peoples (Kratz, 2014, 3). The NNM changed its ethnographic exhibition in 2005, moving away from the term 'ethnographic' to a theme entitled *Cycles of Life* that is meant to show key life-changes common to all cultures in Kenya. With a strong focus on 'unity in diversity' the exhibition aims to 'encourage interconnections between different groups' while the inclusion of contemporary artefacts is meant to show culture as dynamic (Lagat, 2017, 8). Although the UNM is in the process of discussing modifications to the ethnography gallery initiated by the *Future of the Uganda Museum* workshop held in July 2016, a complete overhaul of the displays is unlikely as several staff

Figure 44: Livestock display case with Ankole and Karamoja objects at the UNM.

members were hesitant to commit to large-scale refurbishments. It is therefore particularly in the independent museums in Uganda that translations of the ethnographic can be found, and that this notion is indeed challenged.

2.2.2 Independent Museums

Even though it is now frequently criticised for its dated displays echoing a colonial mind-set, the UNM is still visited by large numbers of school children every day and the CCFU has noted that the museum has been the only point of reference for most museum-makers in Uganda. When prompted in an interview, the CCFU Programme Advisor said that the majority of community museums are 'trapped in the sort of traditional ethnographic vision of what a museum should be' while further acknowledging that this was not something CCFU had questioned or discussed before (De Coninck & Drani, 2016). All independent museums in Uganda, with the exception of the Kikonyogo Money Museum in Kampala, have collections related to one or more ethnic groups that are considered 'traditional' as opposed to 'modern'. This type of collecting is not the result of financial restraints or limited access to artefacts but a conscious choice: the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum discussed in Chapter 4, is arguably the best-funded independent museum in Uganda and copies the UNM in its collections, manner of display (including dioramas with mannequins) and exhibition themes with the exception of the subject matter, which in the case of the Igongo Museum is the ethnic groups of south-western Uganda. Testament to the fact that the 'ethnographic' approach most closely approximates Ugandans' idea of a professional museum, the Igongo Cultural Centre Museum is frequently praised as being the best museum in the country. Also persisting in a typological display is the MAAC, which has ordered its objects by material and production processes with elaborate labels and photographs. The display at the Busoga Cultural Museum in Wairaka most closely approximates the 'ethnographic', showing the different stages of 'development' in lighting devices as well as different types of currency from the past to the present-day. It is reminiscent of social evolutionary displays such as the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford, in itself a relic from the nineteenth century when the British Empire was thought to be the pinnacle of evolution (Classen & Howes, 2006, 209).

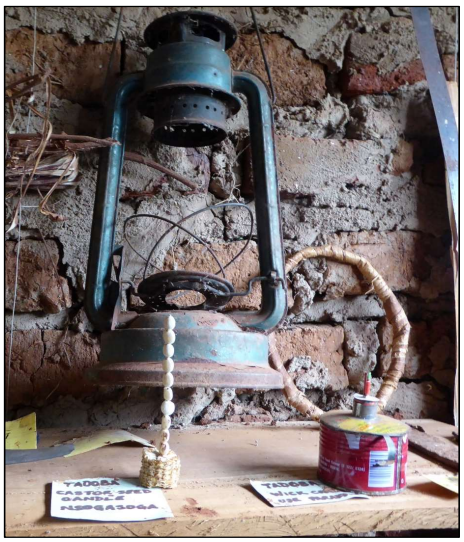

Figure 45: Lighting devices display at Busoga Cultural Museum.

In Kenya, the mindful distancing from the NMK by the CPMs means that the parallels with these older museum models cannot be drawn as clearly as in Uganda. However, the collections of CPMs still remain in the realm of traditional culture, ethnically defined. At the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM) most objects have been collected with peace traditions in mind, but this originated from Somjee's work when he was also Head of Ethnography at the NMK. The project, meant to enhance methods of reconciliation and conflict resolution, deliberately looked to reviving traditions from pastoralist communities, thereby foregrounding ethnographically regarded objects. In addition, the CPMs mainly preferred the use of so-called 'traditional architecture', a context of display which Kirschenblatt-Gimblett terms 'in-situ', to describe how they 'enlarge the ethnographic object by expanding its boundaries […]' (1998, 20). The argument for these displays is to present a culture as a 'coherent whole'; but as with other displays these also propagate a particular narrative of cultural distinction and historical continuity (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, 20). A shift from the ethnographic genre can be detected in the CPMs methods of displaying objects thematically based on the role they play in peace traditions; for example, honey containers feature in several CPMs to illustrate the use of honey when sealing an agreement, rather than to demonstrate a technical skill or a certain category of containers (Coombes, 2014, 66). It can be argued that CPMs share common traits with the renewed *Cycles of Life* exhibition at the NNM with this thematic approach. Nevertheless, the ACPM has not adopted this manner of display, preferring a social-cultural approach that highlights Suban life and focuses, to a lesser extent, on peace and reconciliation. The thematic approach of most peace museums combined with their accessible display methods on open shelves was an eye-opener for the Ugandan museum-makers on their trip to Kenya in 2014. CCFU suggests that the trip exposed some of them for the first time to a different kind of museum, distinct from the UNM, creating the opportunity for different modalities to emerge. In both countries, it is evident that elements of the ethnographic have been adapted by the newer museums, as collecting methods and displays share strong similarities with those found in national museums. But the notion of

Figure 46: A display at the Aembu Community Peace Museum.

ethnography does not sit comfortably in twenty-first century African museums and an alternative approach is put forward here to critically engage with current developments.

2.3 Autoethnographic Museums

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett speaks of the 'ethnographic fragment' instead of the object because she maintains that the ethnographic is defined by detachment, in a physical and metaphorical sense, from the original context (1998, 18). In ethnographic or world cultures museums in the global North this detachment is true for all those collections that have come from the African continent; they have been acquired, categorised, documented, displayed and through these processes 'translated'. As such, ethnographic museums, and anthropology, have researched and represented (and to a certain extent still do) the (African) 'Other' in their collections. Yet, for museums in Africa this detachment is of a different nature, not least because there is no physical distance between 'the fragment' and the context from which it originates. The colonial museums in the capitals, with galleries curated by outsiders, were still 'othering' and exoticising those represented in their collections, presenting them as coming from an archaic age and at risk of extinction in juxtaposition to the civilised visitor, whether it be an urban Ugandan in the case of the UNM or a colonial settler in the case of the NNM in Kenya. But in the postcolonial setting in which contemporary museums are emerging, there is no such detachment or 'othering'; the large majority of museum-makers collect things from their own ethnic group and localities, build a museum in their own hometown and cater to an audience of mainly local schoolchildren and adults. If these audiences are taken into consideration, the museums in Kenya and Uganda do not present the 'other' but 'themselves'.[78] The collections contain objects that have been made and used by ethnic groups in the vicinity of the museum; they originate from elders, neighbours and nearby markets and have often been in use up until their acquisition by the museum-maker. Now, if ethnographic perspectives are associated with a process of 'othering', what are the implications when these museums present a 'self', or possibly a (perceived) culturally alienated younger self? How can the 'ethnographic' modalities present in independent museums be understood? The author who coined the term 'contact zone' offers an alternative to the ethnographic trope that better encapsulates these emerging museum modalities.

[78] This is an oversimplification of reality, as noted there are no homogenous communities or groups, but for this particular argument the term 'self' is useful as a juxtaposition against the 'other'.

As a scholar of literature, Pratt (1991) presented autoethnography as a textual genre, but like the contact zone it can be translated into a museological context. Her definition of an autoethnographic text is: 'a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them' (1991, 35). It is obvious how this notion could be converted to a contemporary African museum context; museums can be perceived as 'autoethnographic' in the same way that they can be ethnographic. In their engagements with their national and international partners, museums make efforts to describe themselves in relation to a dominant narrative about themselves. Pratt makes the similarities even more apparent by stating: '[I]f ethnographic texts are a means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are texts the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations.' (2008, 9). Translating this into a museum context leads to the autoethnographic museums proposed below, which emerge from postcolonial relations on a national, transnational and global level.

Autoethnography as a museum modality, originally intended to be a genre in the contact zone, also fits into the 'zone of contact' proposed earlier in the thesis. Boast even noted that '[…] autoethnography is one of the most significant, and most neo-colonial, aspects of all contact zones.' (2011, 62). Incorporated in the previously reversed zone of contact, autoethnography, perceived by Boast to reproduce colonial relations, can be overturned as well and broaden the theory so that its neo-colonial aspects can be engaged with and include the agency of east African museum-makers. Boast suggests that autoethnography is a genre employed when 'the Other finds that they have to make account of themselves' (2011, 62), and in the zone of contact this offers a way for historically marginalised groups to be visible and recognised by the dominant centre. Employed in this manner, the place of centre and periphery are not only reversed, it also shakes up the dichotomy of who is the 'self' and who is the 'other'. In the zone of contact in east Africa the periphery is the one doing the representing, and this is no longer an 'other' but a 'self': a museum-maker with a strong sense of a cultural and ethnic identity creating the narrative. Indeed, many independent museums in Kenya and Uganda have been established with the purpose of increasing visibility, whether it is of a previously unseen culture or a marginalised ethnic minority such as the Abasuba, the Acholi or the Ik in the far north-east of Uganda. The autoethnographic modality can be noticed in the target audiences for independent museums; they exist for both the local community and a tourist (and mostly foreign) audience. Pratt confirms that: '[A]utoethnographic works are often addressed to both metropolitan audiences and the

speaker's own community' (1991, 35). As seen in the previous chapters, museums in Kenya and Uganda present themselves to the 'other' (the foreign visitor) in a narrative as much determined by the socio-economic and political agenda of the museum as by the perceived expectations of the foreign audience. To the local community, who are the main audience, the museum could be perceived as presenting its 'past self' to its 'present self', painting a portrait of an idealised past for today's youth. Pratt concedes that '[T]heir reception [of autoethnographic texts] is thus highly indeterminate' (35) and it can be argued that this is true for autoethnographic museums as well, whose narratives are in constant translation and therefore have a varied and unpredictable reception depending on the audience. The term 'autoethnography' offers an alternative modality that reckons with the ethnographic and colonial legacies of the museums but also takes account of the different position independent museums occupy within the zone of contact. As postcolonial museums they take the colonial legacies and appropriate it into something new, offering new avenues out of the ethnographic conundrum, not as victims of neo-colonialism, but as active agents in the process of reconceptualising the museum.

2.4 Translating Modernity

One of the issues with describing the new museum concepts independent museum-makers are creating as ethnographic, and another motivation to reconfigure it into autoethnography, is the 'denial of coevalness' coined by Johannes Fabian. This casts people who are described, researched or displayed as not existing in the same time frame as the ethnographer, exhibitor, or researcher (2006, 143). Mary Katherine Scott succinctly summarises this problem, which became more recognised in museums in the 1980s and 1990s: '[…] anthropology and museum displays have a tendency to freeze the history of indigenous peoples in a timeless past or present, precluding the possibility that they might ever find creative ways to respond to modernity and carve out their own futures.' (2012, 3). The notion of time plays a significant role in independent museums in east Africa; traditional culture is gathered and exhibited as an unfinished past, to be carried into a prosperous and developed future. Arguably, any heritage is concerned with time because, recalling Basu and Modest, heritage is essentially a past-making instrument. Crucially however, they also state: '[…] the past is conceived as a resource of value for the present and the future, a driver or enabler of development.'(2015, 8). As has been shown for the museums in both countries, preserving the past for future generations is cited as the main reason for establishing a museum, a case

in point being the Kigulu Chiefdom Museum's mission: 'To depict our past, present and link us to the future.'.

This relationship to the past and the future has been described as a characteristic of modernity, a multifaceted term that Harrison explains succinctly in *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013b, 23-31). He posits that: 'If one of the most distinctive aspects of modernity is its emphasis on linear progress and the distinct break it perceives between past and present, it follows that it must 'manage' its relationship with the past carefully.' (Harrison, 2013, 25). He also suggests that the current period could be described as 'late-modernity' for its accelerating sense of time and uncertainty (2013, 78). Nevertheless, the 'experience of modernity' as 'one of novelty, progress, speed and rupture from the traditions of the past' is still helpful in understanding an east African context where the effects of globalisation and development are often used to describe the experience of rapid change (2013, 24). As noted in Chapter 1, museums have been described as institutions representing and embodying modernity (see for example Bennett, 1995, Phillips, 2005, 83, Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This raises the question whether the east African 'experience of modernity' and the need for dealing with the past explains the museum-makers' participation in the rise of heritage-making associated with (late-) modernity and whether the contemporary museums in east Africa can therefore be viewed as expressions of modernity.

These queries, whether the museums are both a response *to* change and an instrument *for* change, should also be placed in the context of colonialism and the ethnographic turn. The need for preservation in the face of modernity has been expressed before in the context of the UNM, for instance: 'Owing to the speed with which civilisation is advancing in this country, the time cannot be very far distant when a first-class Museum will be as essential to Native culture as it is to that of Europe.' (Marriott, 1934, 82). This sentence, written in *The Uganda Journal*, illustrates how the so-called 'salvage paradigm' was used as motivation for supporting the expansion of museums in Uganda. Salvage ethnography was based on the assumed inevitability of social evolution; for the populations of colonised countries modernity and its linear progress would be the only way forward to 'Western civilisation'. The 1927 report from the UNM Commission, mentioned in Chapter 2, further exemplifies the concern the commission had for collecting everyday household items in the face of perceived rapid societal change. Even though the argument that Ugandan culture will become extinct is thankfully no longer used, the trope of a threatened and disappearing culture has resurfaced as part of the heritage and development discourse. The encounter with 'civilisation' has now become an encounter with globalisation, but the types of objects of

interest for collecting in independent museums are the same. In Kenya as well as Uganda, this strong awareness of the need for preservation can be found in museums and NGOs. In CCFU's community museum promotion materials the loss of culture is a recurrent theme: '[…] the forces of globalisation often threaten Uganda's culture: its social fabric and values seem to be evolving in ways that many do not approve of.' (2012, 7). Basu and Modest maintain that '[…] the agents of modernization and development, in both colonial and postcolonial eras, have had an ambivalent relationship to their own transformative projects' giving rise to '[…] a discourse of endangerment […]' that emphasised the disappearance of traditional cultures in the face of inevitable civilisation and development (2015, 5). Confirmation for this statement is most pronounced in UNESCO's documents, which as described before, consider heritage as future-making (culture for development) and on the other hand as past-making (protection of culture against globalising forces).

How this discourse of endangerment influences the case studies has been touched upon in previous chapters; but how is this type of thinking incorporated into practice in independent museums? The museums engage with, and subvert, notions of modernity in similar ways to ethnography; the divergence from the salvage paradigm is that museum-makers no longer think of their purpose as preserving a dying culture, but celebrating one that is 'living' and kept alive by means of the museum. Despite the museum's reputation in Africa as a place where old things are kept, the intentions of the emerging museums are to present a culture that is active, valuable and relevant to current and future generations. In a conversation with several NMK professionals in Kisumu at a Bridging Ages workshop on 20 February 2016, they mentioned their missions to reinterpret objects that had been 'dead' in the museums in order to 'give them life and meaning' (2016), repeating the calls for 'living museums' in 1960s and 1970s African museology (see appendix B). Although it can be concluded from the above that museum-makers respond to perceptions of modernity, this is, as Clifford says, not 'a multi-lane superhighway with only entry ramps' (2004, 154). Criticising the juxtaposition between tradition and modernity, (one bad and the other good), he proposes that traditions can be modern and modernity can be 'aprogressive', opening up the possibilities for a museum concept that allows people to feel modern while reconnecting with the past (2004, 155). This is in contrast with the previously introduced Nakambale Museum in Namibia, where people did not want to speak about the past, but considered the preservation of traditions in a museum 'an eminently modern thing to do' (Fairweather, 2005, 178). In east Africa, preserving traditional culture is currently seen as progressive, indicated by the number of older, educated men in Uganda with plans to have their own museum, and the

remarkable increase in 'civil service' museums such as, the Judiciary Museum in Kenya. There is a strong sense of the importance of history among heritage practitioners, but their struggle is to reach a larger public, which needs to be convinced to go into a developed future with the traditions and values of the past; a problem which Indonesian museum professionals termed a lack of 'museum-mindedness' in civil society at large (Kreps, 2003, 23). Similar to Kenya and Uganda, '[A] lack of museum-mindedness was also attributed to the country's stage of socio-economic development.' (2003, 23). As Kreps noted for Indonesia '[…] museums are seen as both a symbol of modernity and a tool of modernization, and becoming museum-minded is largely about becoming and being modern.' (2003, 24). This statement rings true for east Africa as well, particularly where the international development and heritage discourse is concerned, and culture is inserted as an instrument for development and modernisation, a technology against cultural 'endangerment' and a solution for improving livelihoods. Paradoxically, the independent museums do not break with the past as radically as expected from the experience of modernity; they bring the past into the present, selectively, keeping it alive for a prosperous future.

3. The Present

3.1 Translating Cultural Commodities

While there are a number of influences from the past whose effects are still noticeable in the present, as has been confirmed above, there are several contemporary elements that contribute to museum-making in Kenya and Uganda. Nsibambi Ssenyonga, the Heritage Programmes Manager of CCFU, states in an article that in community museums: '[T]he focus is often on ethnic culture and the preservation of culture for culture's sake rather than, say, on tourism.' (2016, 125). Three factors can be identified in this statement which play a role in the shape of current museums; the first being ethnicity, the second culture, and the third is the heritage economy, captured in the idea of tourism. Juxtaposing 'culture for culture's sake' with the notion of culture as a resource, Ssenyonga exposes one of the main paradoxes for museums, and for the heritage sector as a whole, in east Africa. Even though the national governments of Uganda and Kenya have been very suspicious of non-state museums, presuming their motivations to be purely economic, the case studies in Kenya and Uganda have provided evidence that the reality is more complex. What can be seen is that contemporary museum-makers in Kenya and Uganda regard culture as valuable in itself *and* valuable for social, political and economic motives, participating in the heritage industry with

cultural tourism in mind while also wanting to appeal to local audiences, educate younger generations and increase (ethnic) community visibility on a national level. It is one of the foundations for the appropriateness of modalities in independent museums; they defy categorisation and models, translating different strands of 'museumness' as they go along. A number of these elements, that play a role in independent museums at present and explain their *raison d'être*, will be examined next.

It is a given that the heritage economy, and tourism in particular, is a concern for a number of independent museums, as has been epitomised by the case of the ACPM on Mfangano Island. If independent museums are products of the heritage economy, it follows that they are, at least to some extent, cultural commodities aiming to generate income by attracting (international) tourists to cultural sites. Development ideologies posit that this participation in the global market economy, fuelled by international tourism, will lead to greater prosperity on a local level, but the mixture of entrepreneurship with ethnic consciousness and cultural (self-)preservation has been discussed as a new significant form of commodification, called 'ethno-commodities' by Comaroff and Comaroff (2009).[79] Ethnicity and culture, fixed within this narrow and bounded realm, are marketable for their perceived authenticity and their 'primeval' origins but it is also a double-edged sword, as the Comaroffs state: '[…] the producers of culture are *also* its consumers, seeing and sensing and listening to themselves enact their identity […]' (2009, 26). In other words, the Comaroffs argue that culture as a commodity is both a freezing of culture in a static form ready for consumption and creative of culture in the sense that it enables continuation of cultural practices and shapes them in new ways: '[T]he recuperation of "tradition" under the impact of Ethnicity, Inc. may have the effect of reifying "culture" as a thing in and of itself.' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 75). The theory put forward by the Comaroffs is observable to some extent in the independent museums. But none of the museums consider tourism and earning income as the only reason for their establishment and despite the museums' participation in an increasingly ethnicised heritage field, they do not fit the description of ethno-commodities comfortably.[80] The museum as a cultural product can be seen as one of the many modalities of the museums, but even this characteristic is often more aspirational than actual reality, as tourists still need to find their way to most museums. Critiques of *Ethnicity Inc.* have included the overt focus on the global market at the expense of other mechanisms such as the political landscape

[79] Comaroff and Comaroff use examples from South Africa in particular, although they emphasise that 'Ethnicity Inc.' is a global phenomenon (2009).
[80] See Peterson (2015; 2016) for an exploration of the role of royal kingdoms and ethnic groups in the heritage field in Uganda.

(Peterson, 2015, 18), and in the case of the independent museums it is obvious that a variety of needs, wishes and ideas are present in the process of making and re-making the museum on a day-to-day basis. The processes of balancing, or translating, between appealing to a global and a local audience, between tourism narrative and local stories is a constant refrain repeated by each museum-maker. This balancing act does go awry in some cases, resulting in the closing of museums, but admirably most museums seem to maintain an equilibrium and survive for longer periods of time. Ethnicity in east Africa is not just a marketing tool, but neither is it as straightforward as the phrase used by the CCFU's Programme Advisor: 'a strong identification with one's ethnic group', implies (De Coninck & Drani, 2016). As the accumulating power of the reinstated kingdoms in Uganda and the pervasive marketing of the Maasai in Kenya suggest, for better or for worse, ethnicity is also about political representation, claims to land rights and cultural expressions that are, in the end, tied to the improvement of living situations - socially, politically and economically (Peterson, 2016; Bruner, 2011, 895). The museums established for the Acholi and Abasuba illustrate that visibility is a powerful tool in the heritage field, and the museum is the perfect technology to employ because of its 'power to 'show and tell'' noted already by Bennett in 1995 (87). If you have a museum, you exist, you are alive; in the past, present and future.

3.2 Museums as Political Modalities

Politics, then, is another factor which cannot be ignored in the civic museum sector, even though their relation with government is different from the state-sponsored museums, as already noted. In the analytical framework, it was mentioned that public museums became instruments of governmentality in the nineteenth century, part of a larger exhibitionary complex of the state. Independent museums however, are not public in the same way as state museums and therefore their political nature differs; in the case of micromuseums discussed in Fiona Candlin's book *Micromuseology,* she contends that their size and private status 'does not disqualify them from being considered public spheres' even though their political 'voice' may be limited (2016, 45). Candlin writes about micromuseums in the United Kingdom and there are similarities between these small independent museums and those in east Africa; but in terms of political leverage it could be argued that the CPMs in Kenya and the community museums in Uganda have a much bigger voice in the heritage debate in their respective countries. Not only are there far fewer museums in these countries than in the United Kingdom, the national museum services are more aware of them and of their power

of representation, (counter-) narrative, and of their likelihood to attract funding. In both countries, the independent museums have emerged in response to inadequate government provisions; in Kenya a lack of engagement with real concerns over peaceful co-existence between different groups gave rise to the CPMs, while in Uganda an absence of investment and interest in culture and heritage as a whole encouraged others to step in. Located in the periphery of the zone of contact, the museums engage with national and local authorities from a marginal position and, especially on a local level, change may not always be forthcoming. In the case of the Abasuba, it is uncertain how much the museum contributes to the recognition of their presence in Kenya as a separate cultural group, but the effects appear to be more oblique and be part of a larger system of culture-related initiatives seeking recognition.

The collective voices of the museum associations seem to be received better on a national level, indicated by the recent changes to museum policies in Kenya and Uganda. The devolution of the museums as part of the 2010 Kenya Constitution and the 2015 National Museums and Monuments Policy in Uganda, both make room for non-state museums and their contributions to civil society. However, previous analysis shows that the political agency of the non-state museums is looked upon with some distrust by national museum staff, with interviewees identifying the museums' potential misuse of the term 'museum' for economic gain. In other words, their commodification is an issue. Because the political agency of the museum lies in its power to 'show and tell', the control over a particular cultural and ethnic narrative can be perceived as threatening by a national government that would prefer to have authority over the stories that are told, particularly if they contradict the national narrative or 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006, 15). Hooper-Greenhill states: '[M]useums thus have the power to remap cultural territories, and to reshape the geographies of knowledge. These are political issues, concerned with the opening up or closing down of democratic public life.' (2000, 21). Indeed, the CPMs in Kenya are critical of a politically corrupt system and opt for grassroots solutions, and the MAAC has the potential to change views of the Acholi as a belligerent group, questioning the causes of the internal conflict in northern Uganda.

A proliferation of museums creates the potential for a widening of democracy - a plurality of voices, but also a potential source of dissent, a reason for the former Ugandan Commissioner of Museums and Monuments to call for more regulation and control in an interview: 'I am for an establishment of a regulatory machine that would be initiated by the central government […] to make sure that what is established is genuine, well-managed and

meaningful to the communities.' (Kamuhangire, 2016). So, even though Peterson and other critics dismiss the heritage economy, its commodification of culture and its political implications as undemocratic and damaging, their focus on the political nature of heritage limits an account of current developments (Peterson, 2016, 802). It can be argued, in line with Coombes and Thomas, that independent museums facilitate a broadening of civil society and the heritage field (Coombes, 2014, 54; Thomas, 2016, 56). Critics seem to dismiss the fact that, as expressed in a number of interviews conducted for this research, the lived experience of people in Kenya and Uganda is one where ethnic identity and rekindling of culture are positive aspects in their lives. This does not discount the excluding, unequal and exploitative elements of the heritage industry, which are certainly present, but the large majority of those interviewed by the author saw museums as a social, cultural, economic and political opportunity for themselves as individuals and as communities. Cultural heritage is not seen as purely divisive, but also as cohesive, particularly in regions affected by conflict, such as northern Uganda. Whether it is a good idea to have one museum for each of the 65 ethnic groups in Uganda is another matter however. This proposal from the UNESCO Uganda Programme Officer for Culture is questionable, and it remains to be seen if and how 'unity in diversity', the ultimate culture and development slogan, can be implemented in practice (Kaweesi, 2016).

3.3 Cultural Identity

A major point in the conceptualisation of east African museums is their independence, meaning they are not aligned with state-orchestrated heritage-making and national identity-creation. They are concerned with identity on a more local level, which is, as noted before in both case studies, mostly related to ethnicity.[81] This does not mean that the aspirations for the visibility and recognition of that identity are local, as the abovementioned political and economic nature of museum-making proves: museums are actively involved in rekindling and creating narratives around an identity that appeal to national and international actors, as observed in the cases of the ACPM and the MAAC.[82] Ferdinand de Jong and Michael Rowlands

[81] There are exceptions of course, the Ham Mukasa Museum near Mukono focuses on the life of Mukasa. It should be noted there is still an ethnic component however; Mukasa was secretary to the Katikkiro (Prime Minister) of the Buganda Kingdom.

[82] Identity in this sense should be interpreted as identification with one group, defined along broad ethnic lines, but also within larger frameworks of 'Luo' or 'Bantu', marginalised and forgotten, endangered and lost, Kenyan and Ugandan. Just as community is heterogeneous and fluid, group identity is similarly changeable and 'liquid': in the ACPM, identity can include language, rock art and

mention the conflation of heritage (in this case museums) with identity in the context of the international culture and development discourse: 'Heritage is increasingly thought to offer recognition, in terms of a valuation of the cultural heritage of formerly colonized and underrepresented populations.' (2007, 16). It signals that even if culture-as-identity is preserved and presented in museums on a small scale, the mechanism is still part of the internationally promoted discourse of diversity, cultural rights and cultural expression. This is also corroborated by de Jong and Rowlands: '[…] the significant point is that, in Africa, the human right to participate in culture has come to incorporate the idea that cultural identity should be explicitly tied to cultural heritage. This point happens to be very conducive to the globalisation of cultural heritage and the performance of heritage for tourism.' (2007, 18). In the independent museums, culture and identity are merged, similar to the way in which ethnicity is perceived as being both innate and self-defined (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, 40; Kaplan, 2011, 153), as a result, culture is seen as an inalienable part of a person's or group identity – one's identity is conflated with one's ethnic group or nationality. However, culture is also seen as something that can be created, shaped and changed, where, as noted in the previous chapter, some 'bad' elements of culture can be abandoned while other 'good' parts of culture, such as, norms and values around relations between men and women, can be emphasised and strengthened. Museums in east Africa are thus not just culture-makers but also identity-makers, promoting the *longue durée* of a cultural identity, creating and recreating them in on-going processes in relation to other economic, political and social modalities that demand these adaptations.

3.4 Museums as Future-Making

The recognition of such an identity, be it Abasuba or Acholi, seeks the betterment of a community in the present and future, suggesting that while museums (or heritage) are considered as 'past-making', they may also be considered as 'future-making', concerned with aspirations for the future as well as the preservation of the past (Basu and Modest, 2015, 6). Johanna Zetterstrom-Sharp says in this regard: 'Arguably the main arena within which the notion of heritage as a 'future making' project has been debated lies in the recent interest in 'culture for development' initiatives, with large sums of money pumped into global heritage sectors with the aim of supporting economic growth, social cohesion, post-conflict

sacred forests just as it includes housing, dancing and gender roles for the Acholi in northern Uganda, and this will change as the museums continue their processes of translation.

reconciliation and local identity making.' (2015, 613). This statement makes obvious that the museums take part in this project on a local scale, even if, at the periphery of the zone of contact, financial incentives are thin on the ground, but the aims associated with 'future-making' listed by Zetterstrom-Sharp are certainly present. It is no coincidence that the museum-makers in the two case studies have great transformative plans for their museums, both counting on increased visitor numbers from a national and international audience in the near future that will enable them to renovate their buildings, expand their services to include a restaurant and accommodation, and strengthen their local (political) alliances. Having previously described future-making as an element of modernity, heritage is further discussed by Harrison: '[…] as a creative engagement with the past in the present [that] focuses our attention on our ability to take an active and informed role in the production of our own future.' (2013b, 229). The ways in which independent museums in Kenya and Uganda reinterpret these notions may be understood as both modern and aspirational, with museum-makers taking an 'an active and informed role' in shaping the future of their communities through creating narratives about their histories and culture in the broadest sense.

3.4.1 Museum Training

Another element of future-making is the training received by a number of museum-makers, which can be construed as aspirational in an individual regard. The term 'aspiration' outlines the ambitions and imagined futures for the museum-makers and their museums well, but it can also refer to Arjun Appadurai's 'capacity to aspire' (2004) which has been used by both Basu and Modest (2015, 9) and Zetterstrom-Sharp to understand the role of the future in heritage (and museum-) making (2015). The latter states: '[…] heritage is strategically applied to activate, or in Appadurai's words 'build capacity for', future aspirations.' (2015, 610). Even though she speaks in the context of heritage-making in Sierra Leone, the concept put forward by Appadurai can be applied to the museum-makers in Kenya and Uganda: 'Appadurai explores the role of recognition, voice and freedom in determining the way that individuals imagine and are thus able to navigate the possible routes that lead to a better future.' (ibid. 2015, 615). It can be contended that the museum-makers view their museums as a pathway towards a better future, for themselves and for the larger constituencies around them.

Museum training, as mentioned before, includes all the educational programmes, workshops and centres across the African continent and abroad that aim at 'building capacity' and increasing expertise for museum workers. While practical training provides students with the

skills to work professionally in museums, it is the theoretical foundations that are of interest for the creation of new modalities in independent museums. The translation of theory into practice is most visible in Kenya, where the ACPM museum-maker's qualifications have contributed directly to the reconceptualisation of the museum. As remarked upon earlier, this has led to the ACPM being conceived as a platform, a place for different generations to gather, and to a focus on secondary income to increase the museum's stability (Obonyo, 2016). As the museum-maker himself states: 'Training […] has reshaped my thinking' and 'the Reinwardt Academy gave me everything to run this museum whether I'm in Europe or in any part of the world' (Obonyo, 2016). In Uganda, CCFU's newsletters and the newly introduced Quality Assurance Standards for Community Museums in Uganda make mention of ICOM, confirming that this organisation is another factor in informing museum processes. The websites of these global organisations also function as sources of information; the museum-maker of the MAAC mentioned that 'the UNESCO website was very vital for me […] I always search online and then I get those details.' (Oloya, 2016b). While museum education is a key factor for the creation of independent museums through the translation of museum theory into practice, this does not diminish the ingenuity of museum-makers themselves and their professional qualifications as artists, teachers, publishers and NGO workers.

4. The Future

4.1 Museums as Development

What can be taken away so far, is that all three modalities of past, present and future play a part in museum developments in east Africa. Up to this point, the future has been considered in the context of the museums as future-oriented and as expressions of a certain kind of modernity and progress. National and international networks play a considerable role in the development of these modalities through the spread of the heritage and development discourse by means of training and habitus. One question remains: if museums can be analysed as 'future-making', and development is also an instrument in this project, does it follow that one of the east African museum translations is the museum-as-development in itself? (Basu & Modest, 2015, 6). There is a seeming self-contradiction here; while working to counteract the negative sides of development, perceived to be the loss of cultural and traditional ways of life under the pressures of modernisation and globalisation, the museum itself creates and shapes a forward-looking, development narrative and aims to serve future generations. In a way, these museums can be conceived as the nexus between these

temporalities, allowing traditional culture to persist, but in a controlled manner that selectively integrates an account of traditional culture into modern life. Ultimately, none of the museum-makers wants to return to the past or revive traditional life without scrutiny, even if it is nostalgically imagined as 'paradise'. The CPMs in Kenya and the community museums in Uganda translate the past; in the case of the former to promote peace and harmonious living, and in the case of the latter to bring 'good', 'original Acholi' cultural norms and values to the youth. Although Zetterstrom-Sharp looks at the Sierra Leonean context, the point she makes is also true for Kenya and Uganda: '[…] the process of selection central to the authoring of the past has direct implications for the transformational capacity of the present.' (2015, 624). In all east African independent museums, the past is translated in relation to social cohesion, identity-making and recognition in a variety of ways, with diverse ends in mind, but always as part of constant processes of looking towards a 'developed' present and future.

In Kenya and Uganda, the independent museums often engage elders as figures of authority on matters of culture, as shown in both case studies. In each country however, the divergent perspectives of the elders as gatekeepers of history and culture, in relation to the ideas and interests of the youth, conveyed that communities are not homogenous and a generational gap may be one of the most significant challenges for contemporary museums. Dealing with the past, in the present, for the future will require reflections on traditional culture and history that go beyond the threat of disappearance and engage the perceptions of future generations, illustrated by the Mfangano youth watching television and the awareness of the Heritage Club students in Kitgum. Zetterstrom-Sharp posits that in the context of '[…] growing heritage industries in the global south […] anxiety and loss seem insufficient as frameworks for understanding the efficacy of heritage' (2015, 624), which, as independent museums aspire to relevance and recognition from a broad constituency, is an equally important concern for them. Indeed, the persistent discourse of loss in the zone of contact is too limiting to understand the complexities of museum development in east Africa. As indicated, the museums depart from 'salvage ethnography' language because pasts are seen to be continuing in the present and traditional culture is 'living', albeit threatened, but the tropes may need to be grappled with more tangibly if independent museums are to attract the generations of the future. Another aspect of museum-making among all those that make up the totality of the museum is surely that it is conceived as an instrument for development, for a permanently re-imagined and adaptive future.

4.2 The Future of Independent Museums in Kenya and Uganda

From the museum *as* future-making we move to the east African independent museum *in* the future, since it is useful to look into the potential direction for these contemporary institutions. Predicting the movements of museums that are, by definition, amorphous and impermanent presents a challenge, not just because they are unstable conceptually, but even more because they are 'liquid' in practice. The reality facing independent museums is one of financial insecurity; despite their recently improved status in the national policies in both countries, there are few funding opportunities in a sector where state museums are already struggling with minimal budgets. Even when the ACPM museum-maker manages to secure financial support from governmental sources, the procedures are protracted and less than transparent. In addition to finances, museum space is another precarious issue reflected in difficulties with land ownership, rented space and maintenance and construction of buildings. As long as the independent museums cannot rely on regular income or financial support, these issues will continue to play a role and lead to the closure or 'hibernation' of museums. A further challenge is mostly relevant to those museums that are the responsibility of one individual, such as the ACPM and the MAAC: the museum is only as successful as its museum-maker, and if this person cannot continue its patronage it automatically leads to the closure of the museum. It is a major obstacle for the CPMs in Kenya, which still largely follow the example of research assistants-turned-curators initiated by Dr Somjee, although fortunately most CPMs have advisory boards and larger support networks that ensure the continuation of the museum's work. In Uganda, a number of museums are more embedded in existing organisations, such as church centres and universities, reducing the risk of discontinuation. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that, confronted with these major challenges, a considerable number of independent museums have managed to carve out an existence since the early 2000s. What is more, there are still new museums being established; making a museum seems a viable option for heritage professionals nearing the age of retirement.

So what will these museums look like? Here it appears that paths of Kenyan and Ugandan independent museums will diverge; in Kenya the CPMs are not increasing in number whereas there is a significant increase in civil service museums and more commercially motivated museums with cultural tourism in mind. These two types of museum are often being installed with consultancy from NMK staff and are modelled more conventionally and, thus are less likely to be as adaptive and processual as the CPMs, which still fulfil their social role in their respective communities. Although the process of devolution has opened up possibilities of collaboration with local governments, the lack of confidence in state influence will probably

prevent active CPMs from getting involved, the ACPM being the exception to the rule. International interest from organisations such as Cultural Heritage without Borders will provide short- and medium-term projects that can assist CPMs and create momentum among CPM museum-makers. It is therefore likely that the independent museums in Kenya will continue as museums in processes of translation, negotiating modalities and responding to uncertain circumstances. The hope is that their roles as promoters of peace and reconciliation can continue to educate younger generations as Kenya's political climate polarises along ethnic lines once again. The missions and the presentations of the CPMs certainly impressed and inspired the Ugandan community museum-makers on their visit to Kenya in 2014, and their efforts remain unique on the African continent.

In Uganda a different situation is emerging; UCOMA seems to stand at the beginning of an expanding museum field and ambitious professionalisation plans look to shortening the distance between the independent and state museums. If more progressive voices in the UNM are allowed room to manoeuvre, a rapprochement could be of benefit for all parties involved, and lead to a more democratic and diverse heritage sector that could even counteract some of the detrimental effects of the heritage economy observed by Peterson (2016). The new National Museums and Monuments Policy 2015 is one reason for this cautious optimism; but the MAAC case study illustrates how museums still have to navigate political tensions with traditional and official authorities at a local level. However, a closer relationship with the national government and the support, for the time being, of the CCFU, may ensure that the museums could evolve into more established and less precarious institutions. Ironically, this could lead to a decrease in creative solutions and adaptive processes, particularly if the constant focus on professionalisation demands standardised practices. The question is whether more stability, a substantial aim for UCOMA, will be gained at the expense of the innovative and creative solutions currently invented by museum-makers. Finally, the increase of tourism in Uganda in general, and the marketing of culture for tourists in particular, will also influence the development of the museums, potentially shaping them more as cultural products. In the end, their remote locations might prevent this from ever happening, as the ACPM on Mfangano Island has proved. As the growth of museums continues, their impact on the heritage landscape, contributions to changing perceptions of traditional culture, strengthening of communal identities and innovative display methods, will become more visible.

Mau Mau veteran Wamweya wa Kinyanjui, involved with the Lari Memorial Peace Museum told Annie Coombes that he thinks that any museum should be a 'living museum', meaning

‘[…] the cultural artefacts should be shown in use for the purpose and in the context for which they were originally made and not just sitting on a shelf somewhere.’ (Coombes, 2014, 76). The living museum concept is also embraced by the CCFU; in the distributed newsletters the theme is introduced and defined in a similar manner: ‘A living museum is a type of museum that recreates to the fullest extent, conditions of a culture, natural environment or historical period and connects with members of the community.’ (CCFU, 2013, 31). In both countries, the living museum is the ideal that museum-makers hope to achieve. But what if the concept of the ‘living museum’ was interpreted more literally: could a constantly evolving museum, always in the process of defining its narrative, be considered ‘alive’? Having theorised museums as processes of translations, could the ‘living museum’ provide the lens through which independent museums can be understood? Straddling the temporalities of past, present and future, the museums analysed in this thesis can essentially be viewed as ‘living entities’ in an uncertain world, permanently searching for relevance and meaning, struggling for income, land, and staff to take care of it. Even though the metaphor should not be taken too far, it would be entirely fitting within an African environment to consider museums as a place where history and culture is ‘living’. It is no coincidence that one Kenyan museum professional noted that African museums can be any ‘spaces that have very deep and intangible meaning’, subsequently stating: ‘meet a person you will meet a museum’ (Anon., 2016). As a reinterpretation of a concept that has been cited in African museology since the late 1960s, the independent museums can be seen as part of a much longer tradition, integrating different modalities from the past into vibrant, contemporary, relevant, and above all, living, museums.

Concluding Statement

> 'It is, in every instance, for the Africans themselves (and not for foreigners, however 'expert' they may be in the matter) to decolonize existing museums and create the types they need […].' – Alpha Oumar Konaré, 1983, 146.

1. Introduction

Throughout my research in Kenya and Uganda different descriptions of the idea of a museum were put forward. Primary school students visiting the Uganda National Museum were taught that 'a museum is a place where old things are kept'. Similarly, in Kenya it was suggested that the Swahili translation of 'museum' would need to include the word *zamani*, meaning past. As noted previously, Kenyan museum professionals working for the National Museums of Kenya offered an alternative view of an African museum, stating that it can be 'spaces that have very deep and intangible meaning' adding that you can 'meet a person, you will meet a museum' (2016). This broad interpretation was also reflected in Uganda, were many people I interviewed expressed their own wish to start a museum, showing that making a museum is considered a viable option for individuals and organisations. Based on this 'fluid' interpretation of the museum concept, this research has proposed that independent museums in east Africa are not permanent institutions but rather continuous processes. Translating and borrowing the various museum modalities available to them, their amorphous nature and adaptability is their greatest strength; it ensures continued existence and stimulates innovative solutions at the same time. The processes of translation are the result of interactions between local, national and international museum stakeholders who, as part of the heritage and development discourse, participate in promoting and reinforcing the transformational promise of the museum, whether this is imagination or reality.

The section below reflects on the answers proposed to the research questions posed at the start of this thesis and offers a summary of the findings of my doctoral research. Then, parallels will be drawn between the results of this thesis and museum developments elsewhere in the world, which will show that there is much scope for further research, in each country separately, on the African continent and in comparisons with independent museums worldwide.

2. Research Answers

1. Why has there been an increase in independent museums in east Africa since the 2000s and what do the selected case studies tell us about this development?

As this research has shown, both Kenya and Uganda have seen an increase in the number of non-state museums since the 2000s. Although the Community Peace Museum Project dates from the late 1990s, it was around the year 2000 that the first CPMs (Community Peace Museums) were constructed. A case in point is the Abasuba Community Peace Museum (ACPM), which emerged in its first form in 2001. Uganda's independent museums can be traced back to CCFU's (Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda) engagement with the so-called community museums in 2009. A large number of those identified by CCFU have been established since 2010, of which the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture (MAAC), that opened in 2011, is an example.

What led the east African museum-makers to choose the concept of a museum to convey their ideas over other forms of cultural media is based in part on the history of museums in the region. As a 'place where old things are kept' the museum is understood to be an institution that preserves the past in times of change. This example has been set by the national museums, the main point of reference for museums in each country, even if their approach has been somewhat static and, in the case of the Uganda National Museum, unchanged since the colonial era. The colonial legacy of the term museum does not hinder the museum-makers who borrow from a range of cultural influences to re-fashion the concept in their own terms. In the present, the national museum departments have, paradoxically, mainly stimulated the growth of museums through their lack of meaningful engagement with concerns for peaceful coexistence and perceived loss of culture related to societal changes. It has created space for civic initiatives to emerge, even as the state museums regard their non-state equivalents with some mistrust. In Kenya it is apparent that the CPMs were the result of a material culture programme that was already focused on collecting objects, and that the driving force behind the museums' establishment, Dr Sultan Somjee, was a museum professional himself. The CPMs antagonistic relationship with the NMK might be a further explanation for choosing the term 'museum'; they were set up in response to a perceived lack of engagement and offered an alternative to the regional state museums that did not fulfil a social role in periods of violent upheaval. In Uganda, community

museums came into their own with the financial support and technical expertise of CCFU, which allowed many fledgling museums to establish themselves more fully and claim recognition as part of a country-wide community museum movement. As part of a project that '[…] illustrated the positive role that culture can play in development work[.]' (CCFU, 2012, 20). CCFU has been instrumental in promoting the concept of a community museum as a site for keeping the past as well as the 'developed' future. Strongly based on theories that reimagine the museum as social technology, the community museums in Uganda are seen as an attractive medium for ethnic groups all over the country to gain social and political recognition.

With the trend in Kenya of parastatal and government agencies opening museums, and the devolution process originating from the 2010 Constitution expanding the legal and political space for more local and civic initiatives to be established, the growth in museums shows no signs of waning soon. In Uganda, a large number of state and non-state museums are in various phases of construction while several individuals expressed an interest in making a museum in the short- and long-term, a sign of the continuing appeal of the promise of the museum for cultural, social and economic transformation. Recently opened independent museums, such as the Madi Cultural Museum in Moyo District, indicate that expansion will continue in the foreseeable future.

2. How are these independent museums conceptualised in the context of the local and national museums and heritage sector?

In this work, a range of factors have come to light that explain the emergence of civic initiatives in the heritage sector in east Africa. Both case studies have demonstrated that the concept of the museum is being adapted to the local context in various inventive ways by individual museum-makers who are creators of, and created by, their museums. The museums can be conceptualised as processes of translation: continuously undergoing change under pressure of challenging circumstances, museum buildings, collections and displays are often temporary and transient. The need for adaptability leads museum-makers to construct a type of museum that does not conform to one particular model that is 'modernist', 'ethnographic', 'community' or 'living' but rather borrows from all these options in a way that is suitable. Translating ideas of the social role of the museum, the museum as knowledge repository, and as a political institution, the independent museums are the sum total of the modalities available to them at any given time.

This leads to the re-interpretation of a variety of museum characteristics. In terms of space, museum-makers struggle to secure a permanent site and building, but this ensures the museum is not physically confined and includes places of significance beyond its buildings such as rock art sites and sacred forests in Kenya, whereas in Uganda the museum is heard on the radio and present in secondary schools. Collections, while still partly functioning as knowledge repositories, are also part of processes of tangible and intangible culture being incorporated in multiple narratives about ethnic community, cultural identity and individual agency. Objects move in and out of the museums in complex negotiations with community elders, cultural resource persons and neighbours in need since the narrative of the museums is not tied to a permanent collection. Displays are therefore similarly in flux, as the open and basic way in which objects are exhibited allows for multi-sensory engagement: touching, smelling and listening where deemed appropriate by museum guides. Although museum-makers lament the lack of glass cases and would like their exhibitions to be more professional, the possibility of an 'embodied and emotional engagement with objects' (Dudley, 2010, 4) is at the cutting-edge from a museological point of view where the non-discursive is emerging as an avenue of research.

While the term 'community' has been recognised as problematic, partly because the involvement of individual museum-makers is often extensive, the museums still fulfil a significant social role in their locality. From functioning as a community centre for the male youth, to coordinating school heritage clubs, all museum-makers interviewed for this research expressed the wish to preserve culture for future generations. Furthermore, elders and chiefs played a significant part in supporting and validating the existence of the independent museums, giving them the mandate to serve as the centre for preserving the Suba language on Mfangano Island, or helping to negotiate the sale of the land for the MAAC. It has been confirmed that in Kenya and Uganda museums are expected to play a social, economic and political role in and for their constituencies, but the ways in which these expectations are managed shifts with the political and economic environments the museums find themselves in. The visibility afforded by the museums' cultural displays and narratives of community survival provides the (marginalised) ethnic groups with opportunities for political recognition by regional and national governments who could allocate them a 'bigger slice of the cake' in the form of financial support and the provision of public services - a motivation cited by the Mfangano Council of Elders for example (2016). Even though the heritage economy does affect the museums' conceptualisation to some extent, most independent museums are not particularly focused on tourism, and cater mainly for local audiences. Although there are a number of museum modalities that connect the development of

independent museums in east Africa, they are mostly united by the on-going processes of translation, which none the less provides each with a unique character at any given moment. For many museum-makers the conceptualisation of their museums is still aspirational, as they are imagining the museum in terms of a future-making entity rather than a backward-looking institution. However, from both case studies it is evident that the promise of the museum with its many potential modalities has not yet become a reality. This imagined museum and the museum-making efforts it has inspired in a number of individuals is affected by a network of stakeholders whose involvement is the subject of question 3.

3. How are independent east African museums shaped and influenced by local, national and international networks?

It has been emphasised throughout this thesis that independent museums are often situated in remote regions, operate locally and on a very small scale; but this does not mean in the slightest that they are isolated from wider networks. Indeed, the museums are profoundly influenced by their interactions with NGOs and their funders, and transnational organisations focused on culture and heritage, with UNESCO and ICOM as the main actors. The abundant museum training programmes in east Africa, the majority of which are run by museums and institutions in the global North, have also helped shape independent museums directly and indirectly. The interactions between independent museums and their international partners take place in the adapted 'zone of contact'; a space where the museums in the periphery meet with their powerful partners in the centre. The zone of contact makes the unequal positions of each stakeholder apparent, as the exchanges taking place impact the museums both positively and negatively.

NGOs have a noticeable effect on museum narratives, audience engagement, architectural design and the overall role and function of museums in east Africa. Significantly, the interest for NGOs to work with locally-based museums has led to an overemphasis of the term 'community', disregarding the diversity of forms in Uganda especially. Nevertheless, it has also enabled museum-makers to pursue a socially relevant mission more focused on education and NGOs such as CCFU and Cultural Heritage without Borders have promoted collaboration between their museum partners with group projects. The Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation (CPMHF) and the Uganda Community Museum Association (UCOMA) are examples of joint collectives of independent museums and, since Ugandan museum-makers visited a number of CPMs in Kenya in 2014, it could be suggested that cooperation beyond national borders is a possibility as well. UNESCO reaches independent

museums through their support of NGOs, national commissions, and government training, but, like ICOM, its presence online is a source of information and a point of reference for museum-makers and heritage professionals alike. Museum training programmes, often adhering to 'western' museum models, prioritise collections care over social engagement, even though independent museums stress the latter. But in these complex webs of relations, training in more traditional museum practice is often valued very highly, particularly as it supports museums to become more 'professional', emulating the international museum standards set by ICOM and UNESCO.

In Kenya and Uganda, the national governments have become increasingly involved with the civic museums, putting forth new legislation concerned with the use of the term 'museum'. Whereas in Kenya the prohibitive legal specifications for museums have been removed with the acceptance of the 2010 Constitution, Uganda has included independent museums in its most recent National Museums and Monuments Policy with a view to supporting their activities (2010; 2015). These seemingly positive developments have not produced actual change for independent museums yet, but may shape their conceptualisation if financial or technical support becomes more available. On the other hand, as these museums gain a more prominent status, they also become more vulnerable to political pressures from district governments and traditional cultural authorities, as they try to gain access to public funding and potential cultural tourism. The perceptions about museums held by international and national networks are informed by the widely accepted heritage and development discourse, which in relation to independent museums is answered in the next and final research question.

4. How do independent east African museums relate to current heritage and development discourse?

It has been demonstrated that the perception of culture generally, and heritage and museums in particular, as instruments to achieve various development goals is shared by the entire cultural sector in east Africa. Described in this research as the heritage and development discourse, the independent museums show how this pervasive ideology has been disseminated across the zone of contact. Communicated through policy papers, conferences and workshops, but also embodied unconsciously, the term 'habitus' covers the degree to which assumptions about museums and their socio-economic function have been internalised. The discourse is a double-edged sword: it has brought more attention to the importance of heritage and its relevance for society, but it has also limited its potential for

being an instrument for development, precluding the option of the museum being an end and a form of development in and of itself. The global interest in promoting museums can be gleaned from UNESCO's 2015 Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, and the recognition of heritage in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is unprecedented (UNESCO, 2016a). However, this last document also indicates that heritage is meant to be allied with, and enable, sustainable development, an idea that plays a large role in both Kenya and Uganda. Funding opportunities connected to the heritage and development discourse enable NGOs to create projects with independent museums, and participation in these collaborations is frequently financially attractive to the museums as well. At the same time, they also have a long-term effect on the museums' directions and narratives. All actors in these multi-layered networks are heavily dependent on generating positive outcomes for their development projects, affecting how independent museums develop in very specific ways, as shown in the case of the ACPM in Kenya. This aspect of the promise of the museum is linked to the common assumption that museums can generate financial resources by attracting cultural tourists who will spend enough at the museum to sustain it, and support local businesses in the neighbouring community at the same time, is an expectation that has not materialised for independent museums so far. It is a sufficient challenge to maintain a museum, keeping alive a culture for a community while moving into a 'developed' future, whilst also necessitating a certain level of commodification in order to cater for tourist audiences. The tension between culture as a means to an end, and culture as valuable in and of itself, remains.

3. Potential for Reconsidering Museum Theory and Practice

The aim of this research has been to broaden the museum idea, by presenting an analysis based on the perspectives and practices of museum-makers and their networks in Kenya and Uganda. It is grounded in the conviction that museum developments in east Africa and other regions of the continent merit academic scrutiny: they can confront and enrich current theorisations in museology but also contribute to global debates on notions such as modernity, decolonisation and ethnography.

Apart from theory, it is the ambition of this research to contribute to evaluating current museum practices and discourses, offering critical feedback for real change. Parts of this thesis have therefore been presented at conferences, with the ICOFOM (ICOM International Committee for Museology) 'Defining the Museum for the 21st Century' symposium in St

Andrews being particularly relevant in this respect. In such a way the research on independent museums in east Africa has already made a small contribution to the global debate on a new ICOM museum definition. It gives east African museums, and independent museums specifically, the larger platform they deserve and helps to dispel the continuing assumption that some museums are 'professional' and more valid, and others are not. Deconstructing these ideas connected to the official definition of a museum also opens up possibilities for change in museum training programmes and international engagement with African museums. Rather than assuming that the global North has the 'best' museum practice that should be imitated across the globe, a more diversified view of the museum idea could potentially allow for a more multidirectional flow of knowledge exchange on a more equal basis. Based on this thesis, I believe that museums in Europe and beyond could be inspired by the creative solutions put in place in museums in Kenya and Uganda, not least in how to keep a museum open with absolutely no budget. These museums contribute to a broadening of the concept and should be considered as examples of the future, globalised, idea of a museum.

4. East African Museums, Global Developments

The aforementioned symposium in St Andrews was hosted by *EU-LAC Museums*, a large international research project including countries in Europe as well as South America and the Caribbean. Funded by a major European Union grant it investigates 'small to medium-sized rural museums and their communities' in these countries, with the aim of contributing to museological theory and practice on community museums (EULAC Museums, 2018). This major project, running from 2016 to 2020, is a clear indication of the global interests in research pertaining to smaller, independent museums and their particular needs and prospects. It demonstrates the potential for more research on independent museums globally and for increased intercontinental collaboration between museums in east Africa and their counterparts elsewhere which can inspire both scholars and practitioners to '[…] extend[s] the parameters of the museum beyond those conceptualised within a Western frame of knowledge.' (Simpson, 2007, 237). In addition, this thesis is part of a rise in research projects on independent museums globally; the doctoral research carried out by Csilla Ariese-Vandemeulebroucke, at Leiden University, on social museums in the Caribbean, whose results share affinity with this work, being one example. Although it seems that the museums in this research are most compatible with others in the global South, Fiona Candlin's book on

micromuseums illustrates that small, privately owned museums can also be found in the United Kingdom (2016). Future collaborations that bring together the knowledge gathered from different locations will surely benefit the study and situation of independent museums.

5. Future Research

In addition to the scope for cross-cultural comparisons of small, independent museums and their localities, there is, as noted in the Introductory Statement, a general need for more research focusing on non-state museums on the African continent. There is evidence of these museums emerging in different countries, but too often publications still prioritise national museums, disregarding the wealth of potential to explore outside of governmental frameworks.

There are many museological strands in this thesis that would merit more exploration, such as the notions of space and materiality, the latent qualities of multi-sensory engagement, the relationship between tangible and intangible culture, and the multiplicity of narratives in exhibition displays. There is scope for more research into community perceptions of independent museums, particularly the views of women and youth, groups which this thesis was unable to engage with sufficiently. Although these topics have been discussed in literature on European and American museums in particular, more research is recommended in the context of (east) Africa. It was not within the remit of this research to cover all these themes exhaustively but their number and variety demonstrates how much scope there is for African museology to engage with the realities of African museums, offering critical reflection and evaluation. More research is thus recommended to increase analysis of independent museums in Africa and contextualise them in movements globally. Consequently, it is hoped that this doctoral research is just one piece of a much larger body of work that will be expanding in the coming years.

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Glossary

Autoethnography

Taken from Pratt, who defines autoethnography as 'a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them' (1991, 35) this thesis adapts the term in contrast to the ethnographic museum to discuss the way in which independent museums make account of themselves to their audiences.

Community

The term is used to refer to groups of people that share common characteristics or live in the same area. In the context of museums, communities are often assumed to be homogenous and harmonious but as several authors have noted they are heterogeneous and amorphous and can be exclusive and divisive as well as inclusive (See e.g. Rassool, 2006; Watson, 2007; Golding & Modest, 2013).

Habitus

The notion that 'human agents are historical animals who carry within their bodies acquired sensibilities and categories that are the sedimented products of their past social experiences' (Wacquant, 2011, 82).

Heritage and Development Discourse

Inspired by the use of Laurajane Smith's term Authorised Heritage Discourse, this term describes the language, behaviour and actions related to heritage and development that shape current thinking in academic and professional environments (2006).

Independent Museum

'An independent museum is an institution conceived and managed by a community or a foundation, endowed with legal and corporate personality, managing its own financial resources and organising its services in a structure distinct from the State, run by individuals directly appointed by the people or foundation concerned.' (Toumani Ndiaye, 1995, 60). At the most basic level independent museums are non-state museums, or civic museums.

Modality

Defined as a particular mode in which something exists or is expressed the term is understood in this thesis as an alternative to the restrictive notion of the museum model. The notion of modalities offers the possibility of multiple modes of existence within one museum.

Modernist Museum

'The modernist museum represents a nineteenth-century European model. […] it was conceived to play a public role as part of the nation-state, a major part of which concerned the education of large sections of society. The collection and classification of artefacts and specimens, frequently from territories under the control of the collecting nation, were drawn together to produce an encyclopaedic world-view, understood from a Western perspective. The modernist museum emerged gradually to become a fully established and very powerful institutional form by the end of the nineteenth century.' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 151).

Museum-maker

The term museum-maker is taken from Thomas' use of it in *Return of Curiosity* (2016) and describes individuals who are responsible for every activity in the museum. It is often also the person who has established the museum and is thus the sole person permanently engaged with the initiative.

Object of Knowledge

Objects of knowledge '[…] possess multifaceted significance ascribed to them by the various communities that have owned and used them. […] an epistemological patina that may or may not be accessible and apprehended by those who encounter and engage them.' (Silverman, 2015, 3).

Traditional Culture

A concept that is frequently used in Kenya and Uganda. Traditional culture is associated with notions of the past, ancestral culture and morality as well as a more rural lifestyle and is mostly identified in opposition to 'modern' or 'western' culture.

Translation

Translation in the museum sphere is a departure from translation as text/language and an acceptance that material, social and cultural 'things' can be translated. In this research, it is understood that the museum as a 'thing' in itself can also be translated. Translation is seen as a permanently evolving process that is always incomplete and 'messy'.

Zone of Contact

The reconfiguration of the zone of contact, a notion put forward by Pratt and adapted for the museum environment by Clifford which is defined as 'social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today' (Pratt, 1991, 34). While keeping the contact zone's emphasis on negotiation, struggle and collaboration the zone of contact reverts the positions of the centre and periphery, placing independent museums in east Africa in the periphery and the international stakeholders with whom it engages in the centre.

Appendix A - List of Interviews

Kenya

Name	Function/Organisation	Location	Date
Dr Kiprop Lagat	Principal Research Scientist/PA Director General's Office, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	8 January 2016
Dr Joost Fontein	Director British Institute for Eastern Africa	British Institute for Eastern Africa, Nairobi	11 January 2016
David Mbuthia	Coordinator Public Programmes, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	13 January 2016
Terry Little and David Coulson, Josiah Kabiru	COO and Chairman, Community Projects Coordinator, Trust for African Rock Art	Nairobi	19 January 2016
Roda Lange	Education Officer, Karen Blixen Museum	Karen Blixen Museum, Nairobi	19 January 2016
Juma Ondeng	Project Officer, formerly Getty East Africa Programme currently Kenya Heritage Training Institute, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	20 January 2016
Dr Purity Kiura	Director of Museums, Sites and Monuments, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	20 January 2016
Timothy Gachanga	Director, Community Peace Museums Heritage Foundation	Tangaza College, Nairobi	21 January 2016
Muthoni Thang'wa	Development Manager, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	21 January 2016
Freda Nkirote	Assistant Director, BIEA, former Director of Cultural Heritage, NMK	British Institute for Eastern Africa, Nairobi	25 January 2016
Karalyn Monteil	Culture Programme Specialist, UNESCO Regional Office for Eastern Africa	Nairobi	26 January 2016
Abdikadir Kurewa	Research Assistant, NMK, former curator Desert Museum	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	26 January 2016
Lorna Abungu	Heritage Consultant, former managing director of AFRICOM	Nairobi	27 January 2016
Njeri Gachihi	Senior Curator, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	27 January 2016

Dr Kiprop Lagat	Principal Research Scientist/PA Director General's Office, NMK	Nairobi National Museum, Nairobi	29 January 2016
Njiru Njeru	Curator, Aembu Community Peace Museum	Embu	15 February 2016
Paul Odondo	Curator, Kapenguria Museum	Kisumu Museum	20 February 2016
Patrick Abungu	Regional Coordinator Sites and Monuments Western Region, NMK	Kisumu	22 February 2016
Jack Obonyo	Curator, Abasuba Community Peace Museum	Abasuba Community Peace Museum, Mfangano Island	1 March 2016
Samuel Okech	Secretary, Mfangano Council of Elders	Abasuba Community Peace Museum, Mfangano Island	5 March 2016
Suba Elders	Suba Regional Council of Elders	Sindo, Homa Bay County	8 March 2016
Naphtaly Mattah	Chair, Bible Translation Project, Director, Gethsemane Garden Primary and Secondary School, County Executive Committee Member for Education & IT	Mfangano Island	12 March 2016
Mfangano Elders	Mfangano Council of Elders consisting of Joshua Owor Amisi, Samuel Paul Okech, William Otieno Obilo, Luke Duncan Ouma, Peter Maviri Omoka and Charles Okumu Kasera	Abasuba Community Peace Museum, Mfangano Island	15 March 2016
Charles Kasera	First vice-chairman, Mfangano Council of Elders	Mfangano Island	17 March 2016
Jack Obonyo	Curator, Abasuba Community Peace Museum	Abasuba Community Peace Museum, Mfangano Island	19 March 2016
Charles Kasera	First vice-chairman, Mfangano Council of Elders	Mfangano Island	24 March 2016

Uganda

Name	**Function/Organisation**	**Location**	**Date**
Patrick Yoa Bulenzi	Cultural Heritage Specialist, Retired UNESCO officer	Kampala	21 May 2016
Nelson Abiti	Conservator Ethnography, Uganda Museum	Uganda Museum, Kampala	23 May 2016

Emily Drani and Fredrick Nsibambi Ssenyonga	Executive Director and Heritage Programmes Manager, CCFU	Kampala	25 May 2016
Rose Mwanja	Commissioner Department of Museums and Antiquities	Uganda Museum, Kampala	26 May 2016
Daniel Kaweesi	Programme Officer, Uganda National Commission for UNESCO	Uganda Museum, Kampala	26 May 2016
Charity Atukunda and José-Maria Queiros	Cultural Coordinator and Director, Alliance Française Kampala	Kampala	27 May 2016
Ngabirano Vicent	Education Officer, Uganda Museum	Uganda Museum, Kampala	31 May 2016
Sarah Musalizi	Research Officer, Uganda Museum	Uganda Museum, Kampala	1 June 2016
Anja Göbel	Director, Goethe Zentrum Kampala	Kampala	1 June 2016
Dr George Kyeyune	Director, Makerere Institute of Heritage Conservation and Restoration	Makerere University, Kampala	2 June 2016
Andrea Stultiens	Initiator History in Progress (HIP) Uganda	Kampala	4 June 2016
Nyiracyiza Besigye Jackline	Conservator History/Archaeology, Uganda Museum	Uganda Museum, Kampala	6 June 2016
Dr Allan Birabi	Senior Lecturer, Makerere University, UNESCO expert	Makerere University, Kampala	8 June 2016
Nabukalu Solomy Nansubuga	Curator, Kabale Regional Museum	Kabale Regional Museum, Kabale	14 June 2016
Fred Oloka	Curator, Cultural Research Centre Museum	Cultural Research Centre Museum, Jinja	20 June 2016
Prince Kitaulwa Ibra	Executive Secretary and Coordinator Heritage Clubs, Kigulu Chiefdom Museum	Kigulu Chiefdom Museum, Iganga town	20 June 2016
Mulindwa Charles Kirunda	Curator, Busoga Cultural Museum	Busoga Cultural Museum, Wairaka	21 June 2016
Goretti Okello Odoki	Deputy Executive Director, Human Rights Focus	Human Rights Focus Peace Museum, Gulu	24 June 2016
Peter Oloya	Curator, Museum of Acholi Arts and Culture	Museum of Acholi Arts and Culture, Kitgum	27 June 2016
Ogwang Philip 'Silipa'	Harp player	Kitgum	28 June 2016
Peter Oloya	Curator, Museum of Acholi Arts and Culture	Kitgum	30 June 2016

Rwot Oweka Dermoi Ajao the II	Chief in Pader District	Dure Community Museum	1 July 2016
Francis Nono	Community Outreach Officer, Refugee Law Project	National Memory and Peace Documentation Centre, Kitgum	11 July 2016 and 20 July 2016
John Okello	Teacher, Kitgum High School and presenter of culture programme om 'Mighty Fire' radio	Kitgum	13 July 2016
Alfred Okot Moon	Teacher, Kitgum Comprehensive College	Kitgum	14 July 2016
Rwot Oceng of Labongo	Chief in Kitgum District	Kitgum	17 July 2016
James Okello	District Community Development Officer	Kitgum	20 July 2016
Peter Oloya	Curator, Museum of Acholi Arts and Culture	Kampala	26 July 2016
Dr John DeConinck and Emily Drani	Technical Advisor and Executive Director, CCFU	Kampala	28 July 2016
Dr Ephraim Kamuhangire	Senior Presidential Advisor on Culture, Former Commissioner Department Museums and Antiquities	Uganda Museum, Kampala	29 July 2016
Nelson Abiti	Conservator Ethnography, Uganda Museum	Uganda Museum, Kampala	1 August 2016

The Netherlands

Name	**Function/Organisation**	**Location**	**Date**
Paul Ariese	Museum professional and lecturer at Reinwardt Academy	Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam	31 October 2016
Deborah Stolk	Programme Coordinator Cultural Emergency Response, Prince Claus Fund	Prince Claus Fund, Amsterdam	31 October 2016

Appendix B - List of Visits

Kenya

Visited	Location	Date
Nairobi National Museum	Nairobi	Multiple times between 8 January 2016 -18 February 2016
British Institute for Eastern Africa	Nairobi	Multiple times between 11 January 2016 – 18 February 2016
Judiciary Museum (under construction)	Nairobi	13 January 2016
Karen Blixen Museum	Nairobi	19 January 2016
Nairobi Gallery	Nairobi	3 February 2016
Nairobi Railway Museum	Nairobi	3 February 2016
Aembu Community Peace Museum	Embu	16 February 2016
Kisumu Museum	Kisumu	20 - 21 February 2016
Bridging Ages Workshop	Kisumu Museum, Kisumu	20 February 2016
National Museums Kenya, Western Region	Kisumu	22 February 2016
Dunga Ecotourism and Environmental Group	Dunga, Kisumu	22 February 2016
Kit Mikayi heritage site	Kisumu region	22 February 2016
Odera Kango prison site	Yala township, Siaya County	24 February 2016
Tom Mboya Mausoleum	Rusinga Island	25 February 2016
Abasuba Community Peace Museum	Mfangano Island	26 February – 26 March 2016
Kakimba rock art site & Butende (mogamba geza) sacred forest	Mfangano Island	2 March 2016
Kwitone rock art site	Mfangano Island	4 March 2016
Mawanga rock art site	Mfangano Island	4 March 2016
Kinga sacred forest	Mfangano Island	17 March 2016
Witewe sacred forest	Mfangano Island	22 March 2016

Uganda

Visited	Location	Date
Uganda Museum	Kampala	Multiple times between 13 May 2016 – 1 August 2016
Uganda Society Library	Kampala	Multiple times between 13 May 2016 – 1 August 2016
Charles N. Kikonyogo Money Museum	Kampala	20 May 2016
Kabaka Mutebi II Collections	Kampala	22 May 2016
Namugongo Martyrs shrine and Catholic church	Kampala	30 May 2016
Namugongo Martyrs Museum	Kampala	30 May 2016
Makerere Art Gallery	Kampala	2 June 2016
Kasubi tombs (under reconstruction)	Kampala	5 June 2016
Wamala tombs	Kampala	5 June 2016
32◦ East Ugandan Arts Trust	Kampala	9 June 2016
Laba! Arts Festival	Kampala	11 June 2016
Igongo Cultural Centre Museum	Mbarara	13 June 2016
Kabale Regional Museum	Kabale	14 June 2016
Home of Edirisa Museum	Kabale	14 June 2016
Cultural Research Centre Museum	Jinja	20 June 2016
Kigulu Chiefdom Museum	Iganga town	20 June 2016
Busoga Cultural Museum	Wairaka	21 June 2016
Human Rights Focus Peace Museum	Gulu	24 June 2016
Museum of Acholi Arts and Culture	Kitgum	27 June 2016 – 22 July 2016
Mary Atube's family compound and 'collection hut'	Kitgum	28 June 2016
Dure Community Museum	Dure, Pader District	1 July 2016
'The Future of the Uganda Museum' Workshop	Uganda Museum, Kampala	4 – 6 July 2016
Ndere Dance Troupe	Kampala	6 July 2016
National Memory and Peace Documentation Centre	Kitgum	11 July 2016 and 20 July 2016
Kitgum Comprehensive College Heritage Club	Kitgum Comprehensive College, Kitgum	14 July 2016

Fort Lugard Historical Pictorial & Museum	Kampala	27 July 2016
International Cultural Fair	Uganda Museum, Kampala	29-31 July 2016