Defining the Meaning of Music for Youth in the Context of Human Security in Kampala, Uganda
Front page photo collage by Renske den Uil (photo's taken during fieldwork)
'Music to the Rescue'

Defining the Meaning of Music for Youth in the Context of Human Security in Kampala, Uganda

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Gate of Mlisada, photo taken at 26th March 2013 by Renske den Uil
Introduction

After being dropped off by a boda¹, I enter an unpaved path that leads to the gate of Mlisada. A piece of graffiti on the gate reads: 'Music to the Rescue. Music, Life Skills and Destitution Alleviation'. I enter the gate and as usual, a group of children comes running towards me and starts hugging my waist and holding my hands. After this warm welcome, I find my way to the music room, where I find the twenty year-old Obina Charles trying to play his first notes on the piano. After explaining to him that I am doing research on the meaning of music, he quickly answers: "We need it for a living". Although throughout my research it becomes clear that music has very divergent meanings, Charles does touch upon something very important in his statement: that music is closely intertwined with the terms and conditions of living in the case of my informants and with changing these terms and conditions. The slogan 'Music to the Rescue' on the gate of Mlisada refers to this interrelation between music and the terms and conditions of living for my informants. Throughout this thesis it will become clear how this interrelation works.

Art, and music in specific, is often seen as a nice hobby for privileged people in the West. Perceived as a superfluous element in society, the art sector seems to be one of the first sectors in which budgets cuts are made by, for example, the Dutch government. It is therefore remarkable that in Uganda, a society where many people struggle to get their basic needs fulfilled, the number of music projects seems endless. When looking for organisations and projects to do my research in Uganda, I came across a wide array of music projects: music projects for street children, art projects for children from the ghetto, traditional music groups, AIDS awareness programs that use music in their outreach projects, and so forth. This raises the question: why are there so many music projects in Uganda if music seems to be a superfluous hobby for privileged people in the developed countries such as the Netherlands? This paradox lies at the basis of my research.

Throughout my research I have tried to gain insight in this paradox. I tried to find out what meaning people give to music in a context in which music does not seem to be relevant at first sight. I have decided to take human security as the denominator of this context, as it enabled me to be open to a variety of music projects that I came across during my period of fieldwork. In the end, I mainly focused on two music groups. The first was Mlisada, a shelter for (former) street children that provides food, housing, and regular as well as music education. The second group was The Crane Performers, a commercial, traditional music group that provides talented youth with either food, housing and fifty percent of their tuition fees or small allowances, in exchange for their participation in performances. Throughout my fieldwork in these two projects, I aimed to find answers to the main question that underlies this thesis: how do Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music in their context of

¹Ugandan motorbike taxi
I have divided this research question into two sub-questions. The first sub-question is: how do Ugandan youth in Kampala define their human security? This question was aimed at defining the context of my research from which the meaning of music should be understood. The second sub-question is: how do Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music? This question was aimed at finding out why and how music is important in the lives of my informants.

Throughout this thesis it will become clear that, contrary to the western hobbyist image, music is actually very vital in the lives of my informants. This argument makes this thesis socially relevant, as it addresses the myopic vision regarding the importance of music. Moreover, this thesis draws attention to the importance of development projects. Whereas the Dutch government has recently decided to cut billion euro’s on development cooperation by 2017\(^2\), this thesis shows that development projects in the case of my informants are crucial in enabling them to secure a minimum set of requirements for a stable and promising future. My research is also socially relevant for another reason. A few days before leaving the field, Shafic, one of my informants, asked me what image of Uganda I would present at home. He wanted to make sure that I would not portray my research group as a group of hopeless, helpless youth, as this is the image that is often represented of people in Africa. My research shows that, although my informants have limited opportunities, they have found room for manoeuvring within these limitations and music is crucial in creating this wiggle room. By also showing this flipside of the coin, this thesis is contributing to a more balanced construction of images regarding people in Africa in general.

The scientific relevance of this thesis lies in the first place in its contribution to the literature regarding the meaning of music. Not only does this thesis highlight meanings of music that are not yet extensively discussed in other literature, such as its importance as a prime source of living, but this thesis also shows that these meanings of music are not to be seen as separate functions, but are closely intertwined. Moreover, in addition to the work of Merriam (1964), this thesis shows that my informants have appropriated music to change their situation for their own benefits, whereas the model of Merriam (1964) provides a rather static insight in the meanings of music. The scientific relevance of this thesis also lies in its contribution to the human security debate. In the first place, the link between human security and music has not been examined explicitly yet. Moreover, the fact that my informants have appropriated music to change their living conditions to their own benefits points towards the importance of individual agency. Whereas works by Leaning and Arie (2000), King and Murray (2001-02) and Cilliers (2004) approach human security top-down, seeing the state and other institutions as the crucial actors in changing notions of human security, this thesis emphasizes how

\(^2\)http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/nieuws/2013/04/05/nieuwe-agenda-voor-hulp-handel-en-investeringen.html [last visited at 26-06-2013]
individuals are crucial agents in bringing about change at micro-level regarding their human security. I argue in this thesis that including individual action at micro-level in the discussion of human security is not only essential in defining human security through the eyes of my informants, but also in the aforementioned construction of images with regard to these informants.

In order to answer the main question that underlies this thesis, the structure of this thesis will be as follows. I will start this thesis with presenting a theoretical framework that has served as a guideline throughout my research and continues to do so in this thesis. In this framework, I will discuss the term 'youth', the concept 'human security' and a wide array of literature regarding the meaning of music. Secondly, I will describe the local background regarding themes that turned out to be relevant throughout my research, such as the importance of education for economic success, the erosion of the family as a social safety net, the war inflicted by the Lord's Resistance Army and some general information regarding music in contemporary Kampala. My third chapter is a methodological one, describing my research group and the variety of research methods I used. Moreover, I will use this chapter to reflect on the challenges I faced during my research, the reliability of my data and my position as a researcher. My fourth chapter is my first data chapter, discussing the notions of human security as defined by my informants. This chapter aims to answers my first sub-question and forms the context in which the meanings of music should be understood. These meanings of music will be the focus of my fifth chapter, in which my second sub-question will be central. In my sixth chapter, I will bring all these data together in one conclusion, aiming to answer the main question that underlies this thesis.
1. Theoretical Framework

In this theoretical framework, I will set forth some theories that are crucial in understanding my research findings. In the first paragraph, I will define what group I am referring to with the term 'youth'. The second paragraph will provide a conceptual framework regarding the term 'human security'. Last but not least, I will devote attention to the possible meanings of music in the third paragraph.

1.1 Defining 'Youth'

As my research questions contains the term 'youth', it is inevitable to define what is actually meant with this term. As there is no unilateral definition of the term 'youth', I will highlight some definitions posed by the UNESCO (2012), the Youth Employment Report (UBOS 2012b), the African Youth Charter (2006) and the National Youth Policy (2001) of Uganda. All these documents agree on the fact that a youth is a person who is in transition from childhood to adulthood and that this is not an irreversible shift, but an ongoing two-way process between childhood and adulthood. The age categories that these reports appoint to the term 'youth', however, show a great variety.

The UNESCO (2012) describes this transition by referring to the age at which a person is moving from compulsory education to finding her/his first employment. They thereby define 'youth' as a person between 15 and 24 years old. The National Youth Policy (2001) describes this transition as a period of time which "(...) seeks to prepare and empower the youth to be able to take on socio-cultural, economic, civic, political and adult roles and autonomy." (National Youth Policy 2001: paragraph 3.0). Their age boundaries therefore are defined from the age of 12 up to 30 years. The Youth Employment Report (UBOS 2012b) defines a youth to be a group which has "(...) recently left or are about to leave school" (UBOS 2012b: 1) and that constitutes "(...) the productive and reproductive life of the population" (UBOS 2012: 12). In line with the definition posed by the Government of Uganda, this report therefore defines youth as persons between 18 and 30 years old. Without further explanation, the African Youth Charter refers to 'youth' as being any person between 15 and 35 years old.

Based on the literature, the term 'youth' is thus mostly defined on a shift in roles and responsibilities, and all three reports have attempted to characterize this shift with an estimated age category. During my fieldwork, however, I encountered that it is difficult to characterize the term 'youth' based on a transition in responsibilities and roles in society, as suggested by the reports mentioned above. Many of my informants started having 'adult responsibilities' far before reaching the age of 12. Taking this shift in roles and responsibilities as a marker for the term 'youth' thereby makes the creation of any category based on age ambiguous. For the purpose of my research I prefer a definition of the term 'youth' which leaves room for this ambiguity. 'Youth' in this thesis therefore
refers to people between the age of approximately 12 and 35 (the extremes of the abovementioned reports) who have recently been and currently are shifting between different roles and responsibilities in society with regard to education and employment.

1.2 Human Security

The concept ‘human security’ was first introduced by Mahbub Ul Haq in the 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) by the United Nations. The main objective of this new concept was “(...) to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, without impeding long-term human fulfilment” (Alkire 2002: 23). In contrary to previous ideas about security, human security is characterized by its focus on individuals rather than on state security.

As human security was considered to be a vague concept, many working papers and conceptual frameworks have attempted to grasp the content of this newly defined human security. Although they all agree that human security should concern individual security rather than state security, many have a different definition of the basic elements of this human security. The Human Development Report itself (United Nations Development Program 1994) suggests that security should be divided into seven dimensions, namely “personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health, and food security” (United Nations Development Program 1994: 24-25). Bartels, Knibbe, de Koning and Salemink (2010) argue that the dimension of ‘existential security’ should be added, which refers to “(...) cultural, cognitive, emotional, religious, and symbolic dimensions as well (...)” (Bartels et al. 2010: 117). Leaning and Arie (2000) argue that human security is an interplay between both the fulfilment of material, basic needs (such as food and shelter) and the fulfilment of psychosocial needs, such as among others a network of family support. Another view is suggested by King and Murray (2001-02), who argue that the definition of human security should be based around generalized poverty, which is not just referring to a lack of income, but to "(...) the deprivation of any basic capabilities" (King and Murray 2001-02: 10).

Many more attempts to define the basic elements of human security have been made. There is something remarkable about these definitions, however: what these articles are essentially doing is defining the boundaries of which issues should and should not be part of human security. If human security is a concept that refers to individual security, however, it would be logical that the content of this concept is defined by these same individuals. This does not mean that the abovementioned examples are useless, but it does mean that the definition of human security should not be limited to these boundaries imposed by theory. For the purpose of this thesis, I will therefore see the concept human security in line with an argument made by Alkire (2002), who stated that the basic elements of human security cannot be defined outside "(...) the views of the people" (Alkire 2002: 23). If human security really concerns individual security, than it should not provide clear-cut boundaries for what is...
security and what is not, but rather leave room for individual perceptions of people regarding elements that influence their sense of security.

When looking at literature about human security, there is something else that is remarkable as well. Although human security is a concept that is said to be concerned with individuals, achieving a higher level of human security often neglects the role of individuals in this process. Leaning and Arie (2000), for example, refer to human security as something that should be incorporated in policy guidance (Leaning and Arie 2000: 12); Cilliers (2004) refers to the state's obligation to "(...) provide a facilitating environment for equality and individual participation through democracy, adherence to human rights and the participation of civil society" (Cilliers 2004: 12) and Alkire (2002) argues that human security is protective, urging "(...) institutions to offer protection which is institutionalised" (Alkire 2002: 2). Although the state can indeed play an important role in the improvement of notions of human security, these articles suggest that increasing human security without state interference is almost impossible. As Salman argues (2010), however, individuals have agency when it comes to processes of human security.

Throughout anthropological theory, a duality between structure-centred and actor-centred approaches keeps occurring. Whereas a structure-centred approach focuses on the subjection of humans to a pre-defined system without being able to put pressure on this existing structure, an actor-centred approach stresses that people are agents capable of "(...) choice, goal-directed action and individual idiosyncrasies" (Eriksen 2001: 84). An attempt to reconcile these two approaches was made by, for example, Anthony Giddens (1984), who argues that "according to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (Giddens 1984: 25). A structure is thus a necessary condition for action, but at the same time a result of action by human agents.

This interplay between both structure and individual agency, is a crucial addition to these representations of human security. It can be true that there are some factors concerning human security that individuals perhaps cannot influence. This does not mean, however, that people are passive victims of a structure, waiting for fate to strike them; individuals can play an active role in increasing their human security, even without support from the state. I therefore argue that human security should not be seen as a responsibility of merely the state and other institutions, but should acknowledge the ways in which individuals create room for manoeuvring at a micro-level.

1.3 The 'Meaning' of Music

As the 'meaning' of music is a rather vague issue, I will use this paragraph to define what is actually meant with this 'meaning' and what possible meanings music can have. The meaning of music regards the reasons why music is used in a certain situation and what meaning it has for the people in that
specific situation. I will start by presenting a model of ten functions of music based on the work of Merriam (1964). I will then continue to critically discuss this model based on literature with regard to music in Africa, as specific literature about music in Uganda is inadequate.

**1.3.1 Ten Functions of Music: A Model by Merriam (1964)**

Although the work of Merriam (1964) is rather old, I believe that his work forms an interesting basis from which to understand the meaning of music, as I have not yet found another scientific work that provides such a theoretical understanding of the different uses and functions of music.

The model contains ten functions of music, based on a series of case studies on different types of music from mainly sub-Saharan Africa, North America and Oceania, some researched by Merriam himself. These functions should not be mistaken by the ‘use’ of music; whereas the ‘use’ of music regards the objective way in which music is used (for example: women are singing while doing the dishes), the ‘function’ of music regards the deeper meaning of that use, addressing why music is used at a certain point and what meaning this has for the people in that specific situation. As Merriam (1964) uses the term 'function' when talking about this meaning of music, these two terms will be used interchangeably in this paragraph. Note that the functions of music contain both functions of active participation in music (such as singing and clapping) as well as passive participation in music (such as listening to music).

The first function of music that Merriam (1964) suggests is its meaning as a tool for emotional expression. This means that people or groups of people can let off some steam and release some of their issues, problems, thoughts and ideas that they would not be able to express without music. This is specifically true for music that includes song texts, in which the creation of texts is freely, whereby people can literally use words and sentences or express ideas that they would not express in spoken language. Next to that, music can represent as well as invoke different moods, such as tranquillity, sentiment, group solidarity and nostalgia. Last but not least, music is also an escape mechanism, in which people deliberately avoid addressing their specific situations.

The second function of music is the function of aesthetic enjoyment (Merriam 1964: 223), which is according to Merriam (1964) a function that is more prevalent in the West and in certain areas in the Middle- and Far East. In order to speak of an aesthetic enjoyment, six factors have to be present: people have to be able to detach themselves from the music and objectively listen to it; the form of the music has to be manipulated into a well-organized framework by, for example, measures, rhythm, harmony and intervals; music has to have the power to evoke emotions regardless of the performance or execution; a form of beauty should be attributed to the music; the music was made with the intention to create something aesthetic; last, but not least, aesthetic enjoyment can only take place when there is a philosophy on what aesthetics actually is in the context in which it is enjoyed.

The function of entertainment is the third function that Merriam (1964) mentions. According to
Merriam (1964), this function is present in every society. There is a distinction, however, between
music purely for entertainment, which “(...) seems to be a particular feature of music in Western
society (...)” (Merriam 1964: 223) and music that is entertaining alongside one of the other functions.

The fact that music can also function as a way of communication, is described in Merriam's
(1964) fourth function. Of all functions, music as communication is the hardest to understand, since it
is clear that music communicates something, but it is not clear what this ‘something’ is. Through text
the message might become relatively clear as long as people understand the language, but whenever a
song text is lacking, it already becomes more difficult to understand what exactly music is
communicating.

Fifthly, music can have the function of symbolic representation. A symbol, in this sense, is
something that exists by the grace of the “(...) human attribution of abstract meaning which makes a
thing a symbol” (Merriam 1964: 231). In the case of music, this symbolic representation can be
whatever meaning the performer or listener gives to the music. An example is given about the ‘Rite of
Spring’ by Stravinsky; people were asked to put in words what the music might denote, and they
answered: “a herd of wild elephants in panic, a Dionysian orgy, mountains being formed by geological
processes, dinosaurs in conflict” (Merriam 1964: 233). Next to the symbolic representation that music
might have for individuals, music can also symbolize values of a society. Jazz, for example, was from
1920 to 1940 associated with all kinds of social ills in society, such as crime and insanity, and thereby
became “(...) a co-symbol of the degradation of a nation (...)” (Merriam 1964: 242).

Music also invokes physical response, which is the sixth function of music. In the case of a
music performance, the crowd can, for example, be instigated by music to clap or dance.

Next to that, music also functions to enforce conformity to social norms. By this is meant that
songs can play a role for social control in a society, “(...) both through direct warning to erring
members of the society and through indirect establishment of what is considered to be proper
behavior” (Merriam 1964: 224). In case of a theft, for example, a song can be composed to bring the
incident out in the open; by performing this song in front of everyone, the incident is openly ridiculed
and shame is brought upon the thief. Music hereby also becomes a legal mechanism (Merriam 1964:
197). Music can also in a less personal way be used to effect behaviour change or quest for some sort
of action in a society.

The eighth function of music is that it can validate social institutions and religious rituals.
Regarding this function, Merriam (1964) comments that music in the first place is used to co-ordinate
ceremonies and rituals and preserve order in this regard. Through reciting myths and legends in songs,
however, religious systems are also validated. Through music, people can also set forth what proper
behaviour is in a society. This is what Merriam (1964) means with music validating social
institutions.

All these eight functions of music together, create the ninth function of music. According to
Merriam (1964), music reflects a society’s culture by the former eight functions of music. By the fact that music is allowing emotional expression, is entertaining, is communicating and so forth, in ways that are appropriate to a society’s culture, the first eight factors together contribute to the continuity and stability of a culture (Merriam 1964: 225). Music is not the only feature that functions as creating continuity and stability of a culture, but it is one of the contributions in a society that does so.

Last, but not least, music can contribute to the integration of people in a society. By playing music, groups of people can create solidarity and can therefore create a stronger integration of all members in the group. Music is one of the ways in which groups of people involve in the same activity at the same time and in order for a musical activity to be successful, it is crucial that all the members cooperate.

1.3.2 Readdressing the Meaning of Music from an African Perspective

In this paragraph, I will readdress the ten functions of music according to Merriam (1964) by looking at the functions of music as they occur in literature about music in Africa. I will start with presenting descriptions about the meaning of music which show similarities with Merriam’s (1964) work. Subsequently, I will present some meanings of music which are not in line with the work of Merriam (1964), devoting attention to both meanings that seem to be absent in other literature and meanings that are an addition to the work of Merriam (1964).

In a description by Eller-Isaacs (2011) music is presented as a tool for emotional expression. Doing research on music in the context of HIV/AIDS, one of his informants said: “When you come here, you rejoice, you sing, you dance, you see. So you can forget all about the AIDS. When we share each and every thing about the disease, we cannot get scared as when we are alone at home” (Eller-Isaacs 2011: 67). Music can thus take people’s minds off their problems and give hope. A similar description is found in Barz (2011), who quotes: “When we come together and sing, we get some new feelings. For example, some of us have problems. But when we are together singing, we forget our problems. So it saves us, too” (Barz 2011: 22). These examples are in line with Merriam’s (1964) first function of music, namely the function of emotional expression.

In his article, Idolor (2007) describes the function of entertainment. In line with Merriam (1964), Idolor (2007) argues that music can only be a form of entertainment if the content is meaningful (Idolor 2007: 16). Music is entertainment when it “(...) provides the listener (individual or audience) the opportunity to experience visual and/or aural variety other than what the person is/was doing” (Idolor 2007: 16). Moreover, music can serve as a fill-up in a moment of inactivity. Idolor (2007) also suggests that in most African societies entertainment often goes hand in hand with other functions. Idolor (2007) for example mentions how music is used during night vigils in funeral ceremonies and during marriage ceremonies (Idolor 2007: 16). In these cases, music does not solely serve the function of entertainment. This is in line with Merriam (1964), who also argues that outside
the West the entertainment function is often accompanied by other functions as well (Merriam 1964: 223).

Another interesting description of the meaning of music in Africa is given by Gray (2010), who argues that, more than merely expression and entertainment, both dancing and music throughout mankind have been central to African societies in reinforcing the sense of community and connecting people through a public activity (Gray 2010: 78). Through music and dance, communities referred to and preserved a shared history, thereby unifying themselves as a group. Especially after the period of colonization, music has increasingly been used for this purpose: as nation borders were drawn, tribes were split up or put together with other tribes. Music has since then functioned as a means of creating a sense of belonging to the different tribes and representing different customs and values associated with these groups (Gray 2010: 79).

This description is in line with several functions suggested by Merriam’s (1964). In the first place, Gray (2010) also refers to expression and entertainment, which are similar to Merriam’s (1964) first and third function of music. Gray (2010) also mentions music as central to reinforcing a sense of community and connecting people, which is very similar to Merriam’s (1964) description of music as a tool for solidarity and for the integration of people in a society. Gray’s (2010) description of the representation of different customs and values through music is also close to Merriam’s (1964) seventh function, referring to music as a tool to enforce conformity to social norms. Although less explicitly mentioned, it can also be argued that in this example by Gray (2010) music is used to communicate several things, such as the expectations of a society with regard to customs and values. Merriam’s (1964) fourth function, being music as a form of communication, could therefore also be observed in this example by Gray (2010).

Idolor (2007) also refers to music as a functional element in any religion, which is in line with Merriam’s (1964) eight function of music, namely the validation of social institutions and religious rituals. According to Idolor (2007), music is part of the “(...) whole process of praise, requisition, supplication, confession, admonition, initiation and proclamation” (Idolor 2007: 14). Music is thus for example part of religious processions, of praising a deity or it invokes the deity to be present in the praise himself, by the habitation of a worshipper’s body (Idolor 2007: 14). Not only is music part of religious worship, but music is also often used to give explanations for the mysteries of life, such as “(...) the cosmology, the purpose of man’s existence, fortunes and misfortunes in man’s endeavour and life after death” (Idolor 2007: 14). Through such explanations, doubts are taken away and people are given hope (Idolor 2007: 14). In addition to Merriam (1964), Idolor (2007) thus suggests that music does not only validate religious rituals, but that music also gives hope through religious explanations.

Next to this meaning of music, Idolor (2007) also describes how music characterizes individuals and societies through peculiar patterns (Idolor 2007: 15). By for example tonality, rhythms, language and text, Africans create a cultural identity. This identity is created and reflected in
music, but intertwines with ideas and beliefs outside musical practice as well, such as leisure, human
dignity, work and religion (Idolor 2007: 15). Music is thereby “(...) part of a style of life, of a so-called
cultural pattern” (Idolor 2007: 15). The fact that Idolor (2007) argues that music characterizes
individuals and societies, is closely related to Merriam’s (1964) ninth function, namely that music
reflects a society’s culture. Idolor (2007) adds to this notion, however, that music does not only
represent a cultural identity, but that it also actively creates one.

So far, many of these descriptions show clear similarities with Merriam’s (1964) work. Although some authors do make some adjustments and suggest some additions, almost all functions as
described by Merriam (1964) are reflected in the abovementioned descriptions. There are, however,
also some descriptions that I did not come across in this literature. The second function by Merriam
(1964), which is the function of aesthetic enjoyment, is not represented in these descriptions. The fifth
function, namely the function of symbolic representation, also seems to be absent. Last, but not least,
one of the descriptions above describe how music invokes a physical response. It is debatable
whether this means that these functions are actually absent in the African context; it might very well
be that these functions of music are not discussed separately as they are inherent to music rather than
separate functions.

Moreover, I also found some literature that adds new meanings of music. An example is found
in an article by Barz (2011), who argues that music also has an educative function. There are several
examples in which music is used as a tool to spread knowledge about, for example, HIV/AIDS. Barz
(2011) describes how a group of Ugandan women use songs to teach their community about the
importance of condom use, abstinence, blood testing and counselling before marriage. Other examples
of this educative function of music can also be found in Alviso (2011) and Cohen (2011), who both
argue that music is capable of promoting behaviour change.

Some other new functions are found in the article by Gray (2010), who argues that music is a
tool for the documentation of the past and the present (Gray 2010: 83). Moreover, Gray (2010)
suggests that music can also contribute to empowerment. “(...) Music has taken on the role of elevating
the status of children in society despite the poverty and war that they face” (Gray 2010: 83). This
statement is based on the case of child soldiers in the North of Uganda, who after returning from the
war had problems in reintegrating and being accepted by the community (and accepting themselves).
Music played a very important role in the healing process after returning, as it was through music that
the children could explain what had happened to them (Gray 2010: 82).

In short, it can thus be said that on the one hand, many of Merriam’s (1964) functions are
supported in other literature as well. On the other hand, additional literature does make some
adjustments to these functions and moreover, adds some new functions of music as well.
1.3.3 Untangling this Tangle of Theory

In the previous paragraphs, some interesting ideas on the possible meanings of music have been presented and moreover, they clearly show some overlap. The fact that the functions of symbolic representation, physical response and aesthetic enjoyment are not discussed separately in contemporary literature about the meaning of music in Africa, leads me to think that these meanings of music are less frequent or at least less easily identifiable.

I believe that some of the meanings of music presented in the previous paragraphs, however, refer to the role of music in society rather than to the individual meaning that people give to music. The function of validating social institutions and religious rituals and reflecting a society's culture are examples of such meanings. I believe that these meanings of music are therefore less useful for the purpose of this thesis.

Some general remarks regarding the aforementioned descriptions, however, do have to be made. In the first place, the functions presented by Merriam (1964) and other authors are presented as separate functions. I expect, however, that these functions will not be as separate as suggested in this paragraph, but will be more intertwined in practice. It is imaginable that whenever music serves as a tool for education, music is enabled to function as this tool as a result of its communicative function. I expect my research to give more clarity on this behalf.

Last, but certainly not least, a remark has to be made concerning processes of change in the context of Africa. Idolor (2007) argues that Africa has increasingly been influenced by the Western world; as music is the result of human behavioural processes, music inherently changes with societal changes (Idolor 2007: 17). Next to the fact that societies of course are not static entities, this draws extra attention to the fact that music in Africa has changed and that its functions therefore inherently might also have changed. Idolor (2007) gives an example of such changes, arguing that because of technological developments, music for pure entertainment has become increasingly important. The same might be said about any of the other meanings of music presented in this theoretical framework. Throughout this thesis it will become clear that certain changes in the Ugandan society are indeed crucial in the construction of meanings of music to my informants.
2. Local Background

In this chapter I will provide some general information about Kampala and Uganda, with regard to themes that are relevant for this research. The first paragraph presents some demographic statistics; the second paragraph concerns the role of extended family networks and its recent failure to function as a social safety net; the third paragraph discusses the importance of education to succeed in the Ugandan society; the fourth paragraph shortly discusses the conflict in the North of Uganda; last, but not least, I will use the fifth paragraph to describe the role of music in the contemporary Ugandan society and in Kampala in specific.

2.1 Demographic Characteristics

According to the 2012 Statistical Abstract, Uganda currently has 34.1 million inhabitants (UBOS 2012a: xiv). About 14.7% of these inhabitants live in urban areas, and Kampala in specific counts an estimated 1.72 million inhabitants (UBOS 2012a: xiv). This division between urban and rural is not static, however, as many youngsters migrate to urban areas (UBOS 2012b: 12). This also became clear during my research; most of my informants were born outside Kampala in "the village" but now lived in Kampala. Of the total population, about 22.3% is youth aged between 18 and 30 years. Of these youth, about 22% is living in urban areas.

2.2 Dysfunctional Social Safety Nets

Throughout this thesis, it will become clear that many of my informants had to become self-sustaining at a very young age. This is remarkable, as Africa is often characterized by strong family ties in which both direct and extended family play an important role as a social safety net for each other. This social safety net, however, appears to be absent in the lives of my informant. Foster (2000) draws attention to the changing notions of extended family networks. In his view, the extended family as a safety net has recently started to erode due to, for example, labour migration, the cash economy, demographic change, formal education and westernization (Foster 2000: 56). One of the consequences of this erosion, is the fact that children can end up living on the streets. Although there are no statistics about the exact number, during an expert interview with Ceasar Scott Barole he emphasized that the number of street children rapidly grows and becomes increasingly problematic.

During my research, I also discovered another cause of dysfunctional safety nets. Many of my informants stated that they faced abuse by their stepmother. There are no statistics about the number of stepmothers in Uganda, but during my expert interview with Ceasar Scott Barole, he stated that stepmothers are a big problem in Uganda. Due to, for example, remarriage of a father or polygamous

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3 Rural areas that are not considered to be part of a city or town.
relationships, many children in Uganda have a stepmother. Mostly out of jealousy, many of these women make life miserable for their step-children and the family therefore becomes a challenge rather than a safety net. As a result, this often causes children to run away from home and leave their family networks behind.

The dynamics of family networks as social safety nets are of course more complicated than represented in this paragraph; the length of this thesis, however, sets some limits in this regard. This paragraph, however, does give some understanding about why many of my informants had to become self-sustaining at such a young age.

2.3 Education Attainment and Economic Success

Throughout this thesis, it will become clear that education is perceived to be very important to my informants, as they believe education is crucial in finding a job that can provide them a decent living in the future. In this paragraph I will investigate this relation between education and job opportunities based on some statistic reports and my expert interviews.

When looking at educational attainment in Uganda, according to the Youth Employment Report (UBOS 2012b) almost 10% of the youth population has attained no education at all; 47% finished up to primary level; 34,9% attained secondary level and only 6,1% attained higher education (UBOS 2012b: 9). The number of people who have attained education is thus, with regard to both primary and secondary education, a minority. This raises the question how important education can be for job opportunities if more than half of the population has not attained this minimum level of education.

According to the Youth Employment Report (UBOS 2012b), however, education is indeed crucial in finding a decent job. "Lack of education tremendously reduces one's productivity and hence chances of engaging in decent work" (UBOS 2012b: 13). Statistics on the different job sectors also confirm this claim. About 80% of the youth with no or merely primary education work in agriculture and fishery (UBOS 2012b: 24); of these jobs, 82% is produced for own consumption, thus resulting in no cash income (UBOS 2012b: 44). Of the youth that attained above secondary level, on the other hand, only 10% worked in the agricultural and fishery sector (UBOS 2012b: 24); the majority of this group worked in the service sector and thus received cash income. In order to find a job that actually provides a cash income, education is thus indeed crucial. This importance of education was also emphasized during an expert interview with Ceasar Scott Barole; he argued that most jobs require someone to speak English and, as English is taught in schools, a lack of education inherently means a lack of proper English. Moreover, Ceasar claimed that even casual jobs, such as being a nanny, nowadays require certain skills. As a result, even these casual jobs become unattainable for the uneducated.
Education attainment does not only give access to certain jobs, but it inherently gives access to certain wages. According to the Youth Employment Report (UBOS 2012b), wages for non-educated are on average 55,000 USH per month\(^4\), while the highly educated receive on average about 500,000 USH per month\(^5\) (UBOS 2012b: 30). The fact that my informants see education as crucial in becoming able to provide for themselves and their family in the future, thereby becomes understandable.

### 2.4 The Lord's Resistance Army

For decades, Uganda has been characterized by dictatorship and conflict. The bloody ruling of Idi Amin and his successor Milton Obote have long determined the image of Uganda. Since the power transition by Yoweri Museveni in 1986, however, Uganda has increasingly become the success-story of Africa. Radical changes such as a liberal and market-friendly system, decreasing state control in the market, a decrease in the number of new HIV/AIDS infections and the introduction of women's rights are part of Museveni's merits (Mwenda 2007: 23; Tripp 2004: 2 - 3). Although Museveni's success has recently become more debated, as he starts to show some dictatorial traits as well, a large part of Uganda thus recently has been characterized by relative peace.

This relative peace, however, does not cover the whole country of Uganda. Only two years after Museveni became president, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) came into being. The LRA was an army led by Joseph Kony, who wanted to seize power and rule Uganda according to the Ten Commandments from the Old Testament (Apuuli 2006: 182). The battle of the LRA was essentially a battle against the national government, but due to the location of the battle, the Acholi region in the North of Uganda, many civilians have been dragged into the fight as well (Apuuli 2006, Van Acker 2004). The LRA perhaps became most notorious because of its child abductions; since 1990, at least 20,000 children have been captured by the LRA and forced to fight as child soldiers (Vinci 2006: 370). Some of my informants grew up in this war-torn North of Uganda and although only one of them was actually captured by the LRA, throughout this thesis it will become clear that more than one informant experienced the consequences of this war to some extent.

### 2.5 Music in Contemporary Uganda

Two decades ago, Chernoff (1991) stated that Africa was characterized by high levels of musical activity and that music was used in a variety of contexts by many people (Chernoff 1991: 1094). A similar view was posed by Agawu (1992), who stated that there is "(...) the sheer need for Africans to make music" (Agawu 1992: 248). Nketa in (in Agawu 1992) claimed that music can be seen as another “human need that has to be satisfied” (Nketa in Agawu 1992: 249) in Africa societies. The music

\(^4\) Which is about 18 euros  
\(^5\) Which is about 170 euros
discussed in these articles is the 'traditional' African music. These authors confirm the stereotype image of music in Africa that I, and probably many others, believed in, namely that music is invoked in almost every aspect of everyday life in Africa. Although I did hear music in various places and occasions, I never heard someone singing while doing the laundry or while ploughing a piece of land, I rarely heard or saw people play drums and do dancing at other occasions than commercial performances and there were plenty of moments where I heard no music at all. The image of a society where people on a daily basis participate in mostly traditional music, thus does not match my observations in Kampala.

This difference can partly be explained by the fact that I did my research in an urban environment. According to Professor Jackson Kamuntu, who I did an expert interview with, there is a difference between the role of music in urban and rural areas. According to Jackson, rural areas have higher musical activity when it concerns the traditional music scene, with participation from all members of the community. In this setting, many children learn the traditional instruments from their parents, at community gatherings or at school. Urban life, however, often does not enable parents to teach their children instruments and communities in the cities are less cohesive than in rural areas. In urban areas, children often thus do not learn to make music at all. This partly explains why I saw few people actively engage in musical activities in Kampala.

The fact that music is less intrinsically related to Ugandan daily life, is crucial in understanding the high amount of commercial traditional music groups in Kampala. Professor Kamuntu explained that twenty years ago, it would have been impossible for a cultural troupe such as the Crane Performers to exist. As playing traditional music was something that was considered to be a common skill, no one would be interested in paying a group of outsiders to play music at their wedding, it would rather be a collective activity. In rural areas, this often still is the case. Nowadays in Kampala, however, as music is less widely practiced, commercial music groups such as the Crane Performers and Mlisada have become wanted for several functions, such as weddings, introduction ceremonies and business parties.

Although there is a high number of commercial, traditional music groups, Uganda's music scene is not at all limited to traditional music. Weekly 'modern' jam-sessions at the National Theatre, live music performances of jazz-bands in restaurants and cafés, and the brass-band of Mlisada are only some examples that elicit the increasing popularity of modern instruments and modern music. Moreover, many people that I spoke with considered traditional music to be backward and low in

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6 I deliberately put traditional in quotation marks as this term suggests that there is one type of 'traditional' African music; there are, however, many different types of traditional music and they are not static, but also change over time.
7 See Appendix 1: Table 1 for additional information
8 Examples of these instruments are given in Appendix 2: Figure 4 - 5
9 Except for, for example, the president or king.
status and they preferred to learn to play modern, Western instruments such as the guitar and the piano. One of my informants, Charles, claimed to be one of the best adungu players of Uganda. Nonetheless, he believed that playing a few chords on a guitar would immensely increase his status, despite being a talented adungu player already. As Western instruments are not accessible for many people in Kampala\textsuperscript{10}, however, there are only few people that can actually play these instruments.

Although Western musicians are perceived to have an increased status compared to traditional musicians, during several informal conversations and during my expert interview with professor Jackson Kamuntu, it became clear that the overall status of musicians is relatively low in the Ugandan society. In the first place, this is due to the fact that music used to be a community practice and it was therefore believed to be impossible to earn a living through music. Parents and acquaintances thus discouraged people to become musicians. As a result, people who wanted to become musicians often dropped out of school, as they were secretly practicing their music skills during school hours. Becoming a paid musician therefore was not only perceived to be impossible, but also became associated with being a school drop-out. A more recent reason for the low status of musicians in society, is according to professor Jackson Kamuntu the fact that musicians are perceived to be responsible for spreading HIV/AIDS.

The dynamics and the changing role of music in the Ugandan society is much more complex than this paragraph suggests, but the length of this thesis sets some limits in this regard. Nonetheless, this paragraph does give some understanding of the musical environment in which my informants define their meanings of music.

\textsuperscript{10} Not just because of the price of these instruments, but also because these instruments are not yet available in Uganda in large numbers.
3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will discuss where and how I gathered my data. I will first discuss my research group and the methods used to collect the data represented in this thesis. Subsequently, I will reflect on the data that I gathered, discussing the reliability of my data, the challenges I faced in collecting my data and how I, as a researcher, might have influenced these data.

3.1 My Research Group

My research took place in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. I did my research within a cultural troupe\textsuperscript{11}, the Crane Performers, and a music project, Mlisada. I will present a brief description of both groups.

\textit{The Crane Performers}

The Crane Performers were founded in 2001 by Gordon Kayovu and Benedict Muhigo. Their aim was to provide youths who do not have money, but who do have a talent, a way to receive education. Currently, Gordon is directing the Crane Performers together with his assistant director, Abbey Atambi. The Crane Performers consist of thirty-four members (including Abbey himself) between the age of sixteen and thirty-four, of which thirteen are girls and twenty-one are boys. Many of the performers come from 'the village' (meaning rural areas that are not considered to be part of a city or town), where they have learnt to play the traditional music and dance. In Kampala, they participate in performances in exchange for either housing, food and half of their tuition fees or small allowances to pay for their own livelihoods. In addition to that, they receive 10,000 UGX\textsuperscript{12} (about three euro's) for every performance they do. For a performance, only about fifteen to twenty of the members are deployed to perform. The boys do dancing, singing and playing instruments, whereas the girls are traditionally seen - only allowed to do dancing and singing, although they do carry bells around their ankles which also contribute to the sound and rhythms of the performance. Most of the occasions where the Crane Performers perform are family celebrations, such as weddings and introduction ceremonies, and corporate and government functions. The Crane Performers have at least one show a week, but from Easter up to Christmas, which is high season for family functions, the performers have up to ten shows a week.

\textit{Mlisada}

Ssegawa Bosco ended up living on the streets when he was twelve. One day, he heard music and when he went to see what was happening, he was amazed by the live brass-band that he saw performing.

\textsuperscript{11} Term referring to a traditional music group
\textsuperscript{12} UGX = Ugandan Shillings
Bosco immediately approached the director of the brass-band and asked him to teach him some of the instruments; the director, however, sent him away. Bosco remained persistent and in the end, he did find himself a teacher. More and more street-children joined Bosco, which eventually led to the foundation. Mlisada stands for 'Music, Life Skills and Destitution Alleviation'. Since its foundation, about 400 street-children have been enabled to access shelter, food, sanitation and education. Next to that, many of these children have learnt to play brass-instruments.

Currently, Mlisada works with about 140 children. Some of them are street-children who come during daytime to take a shower and get some food; next to that, Mlisada hosts 80 children (mostly former street-children) who have access to shelter, food, education and music training in Mlisada. For music training, Mlisada hosts a cultural troupe, a jazz band, an acrobatics group and offers individual music lessons on instruments like the piano, violin and guitar. The youth living at Mlisada are between three and twenty-four years old, but for my research I mostly worked with the older group living in the Dreamhouse. The Dreamhouse is a self-contained house, a five-minute walk from Mlisada, where youngsters between the ages of 15 and 24 sleep. Mlisada gets financial support from both performing in Uganda, and funding by several organizations or individual donors mostly from outside Uganda. The management tasks in this organisation are executed mostly by former residents of Mlisada, but Mlisada also frequently hosts volunteers from abroad.

Anonymity

It has to be noted that the names in this thesis are my informants' real names. I discussed the option of anonymity with my informants, but in all cases they were very clear that I should use their real names, mostly because they were proud that their story would be heard in the Netherlands. I believe that the data in this thesis will not harm my informants and I have therefore honoured their request.

3.2 My Research Methods

Interviews

For my research, I did eighteen interviews. Of these interviews, nine were done with members of the Crane Performers and five were done with members of Mlisada. The remaining four interviews were done with experts in the area of some of my sub-themes. Almost all of the interviews were done in English, except for one, which was partly in English and partly in Luganda. This is the only interview where I used a translator. My first interviews took place on a semi-structured base, but I gradually moved to doing non-structured interviews, offering my informants the opportunity to emphasize what they deemed important in their life-histories. The interviews with experts were

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13 See Appendix 1: Table 1 for a detailed description of these informants
14 Luganda is the language of the Buganda Kingdom, a sub-national Kingdom of Uganda.
mostly done during the last weeks of my research in order to verify the observations I made, to place
the stories of my informants in the broader context of Kampala and to ensure whether the conclusions
that I had drawn thus far were correct.

**Informal Conversations**

During my research, I spent a lot of time at both the base of the Crane Performers and the Dreamhouse
of Mlisada. These moments led to endless conversations, sometimes with people I already
interviewed, but also with members that I did not succeed to do interviews with. I also had some
informal conversations with people outside these groups, who shared their views on music and human
security on a more informal base. These people included friends (who involved in music themselves
sometimes), people that I met during music performances, people that had their own (music) project
and members of other music groups. Lastly, after returning from the field, I have remained in contact
through Facebook with some of my informants, which also led to some interesting data. These
informal conversations have confirmed, but also questioned some of my findings, and moreover, have
enriched my data by adding on new perspectives and stories.

**Biographies**

As some of my informants preferred writing down their story in the format of a biography, I included
writing biographies as part of my research methods. In sum, five informants wrote down their life
histories. As my informants did not master typing on a laptop very well, in most cases I wrote down
what my informants were dictating. In some cases, I did ask for clarification when something was
unclear, but for the most part I did not involve with the content of these biographies. After five
biographies, however, I did find out that not everyone was as gifted as a storyteller as my first
informant. When the biographies did start to demand more input from me as a researcher and became
too similar to interviews, I stopped using biographies as a research method.

**(Participant) Observation**

Most part of my participant observation concerned collective musicking. In the case of the Crane
Performers, this meant that I started playing the adungu (the bow harp), the djembé (drum) and the
engoma (set of drums) as well as learning some traditional dances. My teachers in this case were my
informants themselves. In the case of Mlisada, most informants were involved in a different kind of
music: mostly popular songs, either in the brass-band, or on a more individual level. At Mlisada I gave
some piano and singing lessons to those who asked for it; moreover, I sang together at the piano or

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15 See details in Appendix 1: Table 2
16 Appendix 2: Figure 1 - 3 give some impressions of our music practices.
17 Appendix 2: Figure 4 - 5 show some instruments.
with the guitar with some of my informants.

Doing participant observation had several advantages. In the first place, making music together turned out to be an easy way to connect with new informants as we had a shared interest in music. This shared interest also enabled me to build a strong relationship of trust with my informants within such a short period of time; a relationship that made it possible for my informants to share some of their most personal stories. Participating in these musical activities also offered me direct starting points for conversations; I could refer to observations that I made during collective musicking when talking to my informants. Some occasions, however, did not allow me to really participate while observing, such as in the performances of the Crane Performers or during practices when they only had a few hours to practice a new routine for their show. Plain observations, without participating, are therefore also part of my research methods.¹⁸

**Focus group**

During my interviews, I mostly spoke with my informants about their personal situation. I found out, however, that there were topics that my informants would never discuss about their own lives, such as having a sugar daddy or being HIV-positive. As I wanted to find out to what extent these topics do play a role in the society, I decided to organise a focus group to discuss these topics on a more general base. This focus group involved eight members of Mlisada¹⁹. Most of the informants that actively participated in the discussion were informants that I already spoke with; the 'new' informants, however, were mostly shy and, even after the encouragements from their friends, they found it hard to speak up. The added value of this focus group was therefore eventually limited.

**Notebooks**

Especially at Mlisada, it was difficult to conduct interviews. Most of the children living at Mlisada were in high school, which meant that from Monday to Friday, and sometimes even on Saturday, they were at school between 6 am and 6 pm. The number of members from Mlisada that I could spend a lot of time with, was therefore limited. In order to also reach the members of Mlisada that I did not meet on a regular basis, I bought a notebook which I left at the Dreamhouse of Mlisada. I appointed two of my informants, Lilian and Nyombi Michael, to be the 'director of the book', who would take care of the book and encourage as many members of Mlisada as possible to write something down in this book about the meaning of music. In the end, they returned to me a notebook which consisted 21 stories, sometimes short, sometimes long, written by members of Mlisada.²⁰ As this method turned out

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¹⁸ Appendix 3: Fragment 1 gives some impressions of the music practices I observed
¹⁹ Appendix 1: Table 3 gives insight in these informants.
²⁰ Appendix 1: Table 4 gives insight into these informants.
to be fruitful, I also left a similar notebook at the base of the Crane Performers. As I only did this two weeks before I left, this resulted in three written stories by members from the Crane performers.21

**Lyrics**

As there were some informants who wrote their own music, I collected songs and lyrics where possible. I used these lyrics as an enabling technique, to which I could refer in interviews in order to discuss the lives of my informants and the meanings they give to music. Moreover, these lyrics are data themselves, as they often directly describe thoughts, issues and problems that occupy the minds of my informants.

### 3.3 Reliability of Data

Regarding the reliability of my data, some remarks have to be made. In the first place, I cannot overlook the fact that during my stay in Kampala, I found out that lying, even about the most trivial things, occurred on a regular basis. Although not always told intentionally, I often heard stories that in the end proved to be false, whether it would be about someone's age, or about the motivation for founding the Crane Performers. The fact that I did establish a level of saturation in the stories I heard, however, leads me to think that the important data regarding my research do match my informants' truth.

Another remark which should be made, regards the difference between representation and reality. This can be illustrated by the following example: whenever I meet Prossy at the base of the Crane Performers, she almost always looks the same. She wears her black skirt, slippers that are four sizes smaller than her feet and a simple shirt that is often full of stains. Whenever Prossy leaves the base, however, she puts on her best clothes, combs her hair, puts in the pair of earrings she owns and wears her high heels. Since I know Prossy, I know that she has little means of sustaining herself; if I had not known Prossy, however, and I would observe her in the streets of Kampala, I would think that Prossy is a privileged girl wearing those fancy clothes. This example shows how observations can be blurred by the representations that people chose to bring out.

Especially with regard to the Crane Performers, this boundary between representation and reality made it difficult to observe during musicking. Whenever I was observing the performers, they were practicing or performing; these practices and performances, however, are accompanied by a forced smile to entertain the audience. In order to find out the realities behind this smile, I had to rely on the stories that my informants told me. The anthropological idea of 'finding out whether people's stories also match their actual practices' thereby does become debatable.

Last but not least, I have to point out that this thesis is the result of a research I did with two

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21 Appendix 1: Table 5 gives insight into these informants.
specific groups in Kampala. Even though I did establish a level of saturation in my data, which enabled me to draw the conclusions presented in this thesis, it has to be emphasized that the outcome of my research cannot be generalized to all youth in Kampala who involve with music.

3.4 Problems and Challenges

When I first arrived at Mlisada, I spoke to Gotfried, one of the 'uncles'²² of Mlisada. Gotfried is very welcoming and states that I can come to Mlisada as often as I want for my research. Mid conversation, Gotfried all of a sudden asks: "So, what else do you do, next to your research? Are you good in writing proposals? Fundraising? Or do you have experience with administration?" I emphasize to Gotfried that, although I am willing to do something for the project, these extra activities should relate to my research. After we have agreed on me giving some music lessons, Gotfried tries again: "Do you have knowledge about medication, hygiene and sanitation? Maybe during daytime you could teach some streetkids about that?" When I try to convince him again that it is best for me to stick with music, Gotfried accepts my offer. "Let's just start with the music and see after what more you can do". The fact that people are helpful, but often do hope to get something in return, is a challenge I encountered numerous times during my research. This made me somewhat reticent when help was offered, especially since I often already felt conscience-stricken about the fact that people were so helpful without me doing anything in return. I thus continuously had to negotiate the boundaries of this reciprocity for both myself and others.

Something else that challenged me during my research, was the Ugandan etiquette regarding appointments. Although I did expect this to raise some difficulties, I did not expect this to influence my research to the extent it eventually did. There are at least ten more informants who agreed to do an interview, but who never showed up. An example is Derek Black, one of the boys I frequently met at Mlisada; he agreed to do an interview, but whenever I ran into him, it was a bad time. One day, I ran into Derek on the way to the Dreamhouse. "Lenny, today we can do the interview! I just have to drop off the car first, but then I'll come to do the interview! I'll be there in a few minutes!" A few hours later, Derek still had not returned and in the end, the interview with Derek never took place.

Another challenge I faced regarded taboo issues. During my research, I came across topics that were difficult to discuss, such as AIDS and sugar daddies. Whenever I spoke to my informants, they would tell me that many people in Uganda suffer from HIV/AIDS and that almost every girl at both high school and university level has a sugar daddy to meet her material needs in exchange for sex. Whenever I would ask my informants if they had any personal experience with these topics, either themselves or some of their friends, all of my informants denied this. The fact that these subjects are

²² Within Mlisada, the managers are at the same time the guardians of the children. As Mlisada functions as one big family, the children call these managers 'uncle'.
apparently tabooed, does make it difficult for me to judge to what extent these topics are substantially present in the lives of my informants.

Even though Uganda's official language is English, I also experienced some difficulties with language. The pronunciation of Ugandan English differs from English to the extent that I sometimes really encountered difficulties in understanding what people were saying. At one point, a friend was showing me around in Kampala and he asked me if I had ever seen 'toto's'. Toto's? No, I had never even heard of toto's. When we reached the toto's, I discovered that my friend had been talking about 'turtles' all the time. Next to pronunciation, Ugandans also use words which have a different meaning than its direct translation. "You look smart" does not mean you look like Einstein, but means that you look nice; and whenever you bump your toe and someone says "I'm sorry", they do not mean they feel guilty about making you bump your toe, but it is just a way to sympathize with you. I believe that, at least to some extent, this language barrier might have influenced mutual interpretations of conversations.

Last but not least, I also faced an ethical dilemma regarding the extent to which I could dig in my informants' pasts. During some interviews, some very personal and often tragic stories came up. It occurred several times that my informants started crying during the interview. At these moments I was really questioning whether I should continue asking my informants to remember memories that they had often tried to forget. Since I am not a certified therapist, I lack knowledge of what possible damage I cause by raking up these stories.

3.5 Some Reflections On my Position As A Researcher

When I am passing the winding road that leads from my home to Mawanda Road, I pass by the house of one of my neighbours. Some children are playing around the house, but when they notice me, they stop playing right away. They start waving and shout: "Mzungu, mzungu! Bye, mzungu!" Even after three months of passing that house several times a day, I am still confronted on a daily basis with the fact that I am different because I am white. The fact that I am white has influenced my relations and conversations with my informants. On the one hand, people in Uganda are often happy to have a white friend, and my position as a white researcher has therefore made it easier for me to come in contact with informants. The downside of this position, however, is that Ugandans often associate white people with being rich; as a result, many people were friendly because they were hoping that they would get something out of it.

As a result of being a white, blond girl doing research in Kampala, I was also challenged by the fact that almost everyone was 'in love' with me. Especially among my informants, this sometimes led to itchy situations. As there were more than one informants in love with me, they at some point

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23 Luganda for 'white person'.
even started competing for me, calling me several times a day, sending me messages, stroking my hair in front of each other, just to make clear that I belonged to them. At some point this resulted in the fact that I really wanted to avoid some of them, whereas my research required me to do the opposite. Although informants being in love with you seems to be a minor issue, it thus really affected my research sometimes.

Last but not least, it should be emphasized that this thesis is the outcome of how I interpreted my informants' interpretation of their reality, how I analysed their interpretations, structured them and eventually put them together in one story. As my role as a researcher is so crucial to the eventual representations in this thesis, I therefore have to make a remark regarding my own background as a music fanatic. I carried this background as a music lover with me throughout my fieldwork and also throughout the process of writing this thesis. Although I have tried to look critically at my own data and conclusions, I am aware that this background might have influenced my observations and conclusions at least to some extent.
4. Notions of Human Security

In this chapter, I will set forth what my informants described as affecting their notions of human security. Since these notions of human security have roots in the pasts of my informants, in the first paragraph I give room to my informants to narrate the major challenges they faced while growing up. The living conditions, however, rigorously changed for most of my informants when they joined either the Crane Performers or Mlisada. How my informants came to be part of these music groups in the first place, will be shortly discussed in the second paragraph. How joining these music groups have changed their lives and inherently shapes their current notions of human security will be discussed in the third paragraph. As these paragraphs mostly portray the negative side of my informants lives, I will devote the fourth paragraph to highlight the resilience and pride of my informants and their role as agents in their own lives. This chapter will thereby answer my first sub-question: How do Ugandan youth define their human security?

4.1 Embedding Current Notions of Human Security - Growing up in Uganda

What is it like to grow up in poverty? How do step-mothers make life miserable for their step-children? How has the conflict in the North of Uganda affected the lives of my informants? And what does life look like when you end up living on the streets? These themes will be discussed in this order throughout this paragraph, providing a context from which current notions of human security can be understood.

4.1.1 'The Conditions Were Very, Very, Very, Very Bad' - Living In Poverty

"The names, my names, I'm Elvis Muhumuza. Now I have 22 years. I was born in the Western part of Uganda, and it is Kabale. I was born to a woman called Kyomogisha Grace, who is my mother, and then the late Bakesigakyi Herbert, who was my father. My mother, by the time I was born, my mother and father were not together. (...)When I reached P3\textsuperscript{24}, my mother could not finish up, she ran poor. I did not know why, up to now I never discussed it with her and to know why, but she lost, she ran poor and she decided to shift back to the other grass-thatched house that we left around three years ago, or four. It's condition was alarming, the grass had just fallen, it had some holes so that if it rained, rain could easily penetrate inside. (...) So we just went in, and we prayed that it could not rain that night. Really, it did not rain and it was God, we prayed that it would not rain. Next day, it would not rain. Remember, we had nowhere to sleep; I used to sleep on my mother on a mat, on a mat which was very rough and you cannot just sleep on it, just putting it this way on the floor and you sleep. So, one day which I think was the third day, it really rained. Me, I was young. I could not care, the moment I lay

\textsuperscript{24} Third year of Primary Education
down I could just sleep, but my mother could not sleep. Why? The house was very, its condition was very bad, it had fake doors and windows, anybody can enter inside and harm you, up you would be sleeping and you would be looking at the clouds, so the house is like that. So me, when I just fall down, I could sleep. So I had my mother calling me one time, saying, 'Muhumuza', she used to call me that, she calls me Muhumuza, she can't say Elvis, she likes calling me the local name, said 'Muhumuza, get up. We should shift to the other corner cause it is raining on us'. By the moment I did like this, cause I was getting wet, we were getting wet, it was raining, nothing could really stop it to rain on us, because up, there was no grass. Now, we shifted to the other corner. Still it could rain on us, we shifted and we almost went in every corner (...) until we found a corner where it could not rain very heavy on us, but then it was almost the same condition. So, it got in the morning. The other day, it also rained. The other day, it also rained. The other day... One night my mother said 'no'. When it reduced raining, she just walked out, went in somebody's garden, collected some sorghum, whatever, some sorghum stems so that she climbs and put it on a certain hole, so that it cannot reach us, but it was just a try, because it still rained on us, cause she could not collect enough stems to put, or we can call it grass, to put on the house so that it could not rain on us. We really suffered for like three, four months. (...) I left the other school I had joined, I sat down for almost the whole year when I was not studying, the conditions became also so bad, I had no clothes, my mother had no any clothes to put on, we really suffered, we even had no sauce pan to put on cooking stones and to maybe cook some water. So the conditions were very, very, very, very bad" (Muhumuza Elvis)

In this example, Elvis narrates about what it is like to grow up in poverty, a challenge faced by most of my informants. In the case of Elvis, poverty meant that at some point, he and his mother were living in a leaking house, with no clothes to put on and no food to eat. In the case of some other informants, however, food and housing were not such a big problem. Kalenzi Abedi, for example, explains why food was never an issue:

"Food was available. You know, Busoga, I can say we are gifted by nature. Food is there, you can't imagine! The fruit, mango, avocado, all those fruits you can hear are from there, so food is available, yeah."

The consequence of poverty that most of my informants described as something that did worry them during their childhood, was the difficulty they encountered in accessing school, as the money to pay for school fees was often absent. An example is given by Mudhasi Jaffer:

"I was actually in the village and the first problem I faced was school fees. I couldn't afford paying school fees and my parents couldn't afford and also the relatives couldn't help us, cause they had other kids to look after".
As will become clear in the next paragraphs, this struggle for school fees is an extremely important factor in the lives of my informants, and moreover, in their definition of their human security.

4.1.2 'The Whole Mattress Was Like A Swimming Pool' - Living With An Evil Stepmother

"So in senior three, my mother became fed up and told my father 'I am going to send your son to Kampala, such that he also lives with you, because he has lived with me, I have done everything I afforded, so, let you start from there and look after our son, cause me I can no longer go beyond'. So, what I skipped, when I joined senior one, my father married a woman, in Kampala. (...) So my father said 'ok, send him'. (...) So one day, when that house-girl continued to be bad like that, my stepmother befriended her and said: 'You know what, you take the baby this time, take the baby to Elvis his bed, such that the baby urinates on his bed. So when the baby urinates on his bed, you will quarrel with him. Don't just worry, as long as you quarrel, maybe he just reaches you and pushes you, then he will have beaten you, you call and tell me he has beaten you, and I will tell the father that I am fed up of the son.' Indeed the lady did like that, I just discovered they had agreed after, me I thought it was out of her decision that she could take the baby out to my bed. He just sat on the bed like this, the whole mattress was like a swimming pool, and my sister, that baby, could really urinate, because she used to take a lot of milk, she did not breastfeed, they could leave her at home and feed her with these bottles, feeding on milk, so she would urinate very much. I said: 'How can you put the baby on my bed?'. She said: 'No, it is not your bed, it is the mother's bed'. I said: 'What have you said?' So I took the mattress out and I dried it. Next day, she did the same thing. I just sat there and asked myself: why is this lady doing like this? (...) Another day, when I went on the bed and sat, it was again like a swimming pool. She had put the baby and the baby urinated there again. I said: 'You lady, why?' and I pushed her, I was now annoyed. Then she cried, that I am beating her, even neighbours came, 'don't beat her!'. I said: 'I have not beaten her, she has beaten me'. Immediately she has called my stepmother. 'He has beaten me'. Okey, now my stepmother came and my father, and she started narrating to my father. "You see, in the morning, lalalala, then he beat the house-girl today, the neighbours are the ones who came and saved the situation, he almost killed our house-girl'. My father was annoyed immediately and he got a very big stuff, like the other one, a very big rock, and he started beating me. So now I went back in the village." (Elvis Muhumuza)

Having a stepmother was something that many of my informants described. Some of my informants, for example, were born in polygamous families, meaning that their fathers had many wives; other informants were for example produced outside marriage, while their father was already married to another woman; another cause is remarriage after either a divorce or the death of the mother.

Disregarding the causes, however, the stories of my informants show many similarities regarding the consequences of living with a stepmother. In the aforementioned quotation, Elvis looks
back at the abuse he faced when he started living with his stepmother. This abuse by stepmothers is something that I came across often during my research. Aidah, for example, described how her mother constantly mistreated her at the age of six:

"After food, I had to wash the utensils and after that, they could dress, and I could always kneel on my knees, she could put me in stones, I kneel on stones, building blocks, bricks, she could put two-two and I sit for the length they were sleeping, until they wake up" (Nalugo Aidah.)

These encounters with stepmothers have to be kept in mind throughout this thesis when my informants refer to experiences in their past.

4.1.3 'In Primary Four I Was Captured' - Living In A War Zone

"My name is Obina Charles. I was born on the 25th December 1992, so Christmas is surely my birthday. My father is Kiwel Andrew and my mother is Acayo Eromina and both are Ugandans by Nationality. They were both peasant farmers in Northern Uganda. Both parents relied on Agriculture for survival as it is the case with most of the people in Uganda. For the last twenty five years Uganda, especially the North, has suffered the insecurity from the Lord’s Resistance Army. I was born in the conflict. (...) We continued just surviving like that; sleeping in the bush, you know, hungry, on some days surviving on the help that the government gave, like the world food programme; some days you were a whole week in the bush, so you could not go to school, and this affected the education as you look at some of us; some of us are too old and they are in a lower class. In Primary four I was captured, I was around 12 years, by the soldiers from the LRA, and then they started training me military, forcing me to like punish civilians, kill them sometimes, capture them, like that. I trained with them for three years. I stopped going to school for three years. I felt very, very insecure. Someday they just felt like punishing. so beating captives for no reason and even killing them, moving to destination unknown while carrying heavy luggage on the head imagine, carrying 50 kilograms of sugar, stolen from somebody’s shop on the head for a distance that is not defined? You were never secure. Whenever you put it down, they will kill you. They might tell you to rest, but if you put it down, they will kill you. That’s what they mean with ‘you resting’. One day, they send us to go and look for food from people’s homes. We reach your home and pick anything. They sent us with one commander, he had a gun. When we went there, they all entered inside, the commander and the one who I came with, went inside and they found honey. So these people were hungry, and started eating, eating, eating, just forgetting that I was outside. So I ran, it was very far, I couldn’t locate home, I was in the bush, and slept in the bush for four days, no food, no road.... just in the bush. I finally landed on somebody
digging and asked him for directions. So he decided to get his bicycle and ride me to a place I knew, so that I could locate home. That’s how I reached home."

As already described in the local background chapter, the past two decades are known for the presence of the Lord’s Resistance Army led by Joseph Kony (Apuuli 2006: 179) in the North of Uganda. Some of my informants encountered the consequences of this war.

In the abovementioned example, Charles narrates how he grew up in a region of conflict and how he even got captured by the LRA to serve as a child soldier. Although Charles was my only informant who actually served as a child soldier, there were more informants who were affected by the war in some way. Okot Michael, for example, explains why he spent many nights sleeping in the bush:

"There it's more hard, you don't have to stay home, but you sleep in the bush, because we were afraid of being arrested by the rebels. (...) If you get caught, you become a child soldier, teaching you how to hold guns, shoot people. And it's not a good thing, a good life, not that `good life, like wild life."

Another consequence of the war is presented by Okwir Jaspher, who lost his father due to the conflict. Again, these stories ought to be kept in mind throughout this thesis when my informants refer to their 'past'.

4.1.4 'No One Cared Even If Like You Live Or Not' - Life On The Streets

"I am Tamale Derek and I am 24. (...) When I was like 5, the family like, separated and I had to go somewhere else to start like living. And after leaving, so I started, that's when I started living on the street. At first it wasn't so hard. Like, to me, as a kid, I only like, cause I liked playing a lot, now I could go and play without stopping me. Because, when I used to go and play a lot, they would say: 'Come back!' and I would have to be home... Then this time, like I play, but when it came time of food, I would like starve and have nothing to eat.(...) And then that's when I would go maybe to anywhere, all persons, all women, and say how I want something to eat. And sometimes they would give me, sometimes they would not. (...) When it came time for sleeping or like going anywhere to sleep, it was horrible, because there were no shelter and I like, sometimes I had to sleep on verandas, sometimes in old houses, like unfinished house or on sites (...) under still construction. (...) When I met this friends, this friends started teaching me how, several ways how to survive, like on the streets of Kampala, and they told me that if you want like to have much, you do not only have to ask, (...) you also have to get other ways, and these ways were stealing. (...) Sometimes when people having phones like this [places hand next to ear to simulate someone calling], you have to get it, and take it, and so they told me several ways of how like to easily get what I want. (...) And also like, one thing we did was also like smoking, taking different types of drugs, but most especially, there is fuel of old trains, we would take
it in a handkerchief and sniff it. That was the most we could do (...) and so that we went doing anything and when we do it, you don't fear anything. (...) That's how it was, I think, on the street. Security wasn't there. Because no one cared, you only had to live by yourself, (...) no one cared even if like you live or not."

Due to many reasons, such as the loss of parents and poverty, or in the case of Derek because of neglect, many of my informants had to become self-sufficient at a very young age\textsuperscript{25}. As a result, many of them ended up living on the streets, sometimes only for a short period, or sometimes long-term. Derek has lived on the streets of Kampala for fifteen years and although not all of my informants lived on the streets for such a long period, many of my informants do share the experience of Derek to some extent. Again, the experience of living on the streets plays a large role in current notions of human security and should therefore be kept in mind when my informants refer to their 'past'.

4.2 The Turning Point - Joining a Music Group

Somewhere along the way, however, the living conditions of my informants changed. In this paragraph I will address how my informants ended up in their current situation, that is their current participation in either Mlisada or the Crane Performers.

\textbf{4.2.1 Joining Mlisada}

"So one time, when I was there on the street, looking for food in garbage, I saw some brass-band, it was playing near Constitutional Square in Kampala. I started following where they were going, because their music was much interesting to me and had much fun. So, I was like, how can I be one of these people of which I never had any way to get into them? So I asked one of the boys who was in the group, he was a brass member, of how I could join them, and I was like, that I was a street boy. Someone who was organiser of the function, told me: "You boy, go, and leave this place and eat your garbage elsewhere". So there was one person who was gentle and who was feeling sorry for me, but after what that guy told me, then immediately I was leaving the place. One of the owner of the band, called me up; he said: "You boy, first come". At first I feared him, I thought he was going to beat me off, but he called me several times to come. Later on I came to him, and then like we stayed down with him, he told me what are you doing here, and where do you come from? I told him: "My name is, I'm called Michael", and where I came from, which was Masaka, and what happened to my parents. So he felt so much sorry for me, he told me what a pity, he asked me whether I was once in a school. Then I told him I was once in school, and I was in P5, but due to the loss of my parents and the requirements,

\textsuperscript{25} This is why I argued in my theoretical framework that putting an age category to 'youth' based on a shift in roles and responsibilities is arbitrary, as Derek for example already experienced this shift at the age of five.
I couldn't be able to turn back to school. Then he told me that: Can you join my band? Can you learn how to play music? Of course I never rejected what he said, because since I was young I liked music. He took me to the place (...)” (Nyombi Michael).

Like many of the members of Mlisada, Michael was living on the streets of Kampala when he first saw the Mlisada brass-band performing. Attracted by the sounds of the brass-band, many of my informants became interested in what was going on and wanted to be part of it. This is when they were either approached by Bosco, or approached Bosco themselves, to join Mlisada. Note that most of my informants thus did not know how to play music before they joined Misada.

Although Mlisada officially is an organisation that aims to provide street children with opportunities, a remarkable number of the members of Mlisada have never actually lived on the street. These members of Mlisada were mostly brought to Mlisada by family members, hoping to provide them with opportunities. Rosemary and Okema Bosco are an example of this, as they were brought to Mlisada by their older brother Obina Charles.

4.2.2 Joining the Crane Performers

Contrary to my informants of Mlisada, most of my informants from the Crane Performers started learning music long before joining the Crane Performers. Some of the performers, such as Aidah and Jaspher, started learning music at school. In many other cases, however, my informants started 'learning' music in their community. I refer to 'learning' within quotation marks on purpose, as most of my informants were clear that they never actually 'learnt' music. According to Kalenzi Abedi, for example, his ability to play music was "genetic" and a similar argument was posed by Obina Charles, who argued that his ability to play music was an "inherited skill". Elvis was my only informant who claimed to have taught himself how to play the naanga.

As my informants had become talented musicians, many cultural troupes became interested in them. In some cases, directors of cultural troupes went into the villages to offer talented youths a position in their troupes in exchange for food, housing and school fees and this is, for example, how Prossy and Charles joined the cultural troupe "Music Beat of Africa". In some cases, my informants approached the directors of cultural troupes themselves and this is how, for example, Edward became a member of "Nkwanzi". After becoming part of a cultural troupe, many informants either easily got invited or asked themselves to join the Crane Performers. In some other cases, my informants joined the Crane Performers because they were brought by family members. When the naanga-player of the Crane Performers died, for example, the director of the Crane Performers heard that this naanga-player had a son who was a talented naanga-player as well; this is son was Muhumuza Elvis and he therefore was invited to join the Crane Performers. Another example is Kalenzi Abedi, who accompanied his brother who was already part of the Crane Performers. Only one of my informants, Nakuya Annet, did
not join the Crane Performers to benefit from the provision of food, housing and school fees, but merely because she really liked dancing.

4.3 Defining Current Notions Human Security

My informants from Mlisada are currently in a different phase of their lives than my informants from the Crane Performers: most of my informants from Mlisada are still in secondary school whereas my informants from the Crane Performers either finished or dropped out of secondary school. Their notions of human security inherently differ as well. I have therefore divided this paragraph into two separate parts. In the first sub-paragraph, I will focus on the notions of human security as defined by my informants from Mlisada. The second sub-paragraph will concern the notions of human security as defined by my informants from the Crane Performers.

4.3.1 Notions of Human Security in Mlisada

"My life now in Mlisada is like, I have so, first of all I will say that like, I'm glad to be at Mlisada, because I have so many things, so many opportunities which I had not before I came to Mlisada... Now, I know how to play band, I go to school, I have so many things... Now, I care about my future, (...) I work so hard to see that I become what I want, (...) they made me to see how important it is for me like in the future, so now I think I have a bright, maybe I will have a bright future, yeah (...) Now I have so many different things in different fields, like I have a certificate in entrepreneurship, and I have a certificate in peer counselling, and I like, it has really given me so many opportunities and I now have like so many like, I don't know, I have now some skills which I didn't had before, I was there, now I have skills, leadership skills". (Tamale Derek)

This quote by Derek shows how joining Mlisada has offered my informants many opportunities that they did not have before joining Mlisada. Among these opportunities is the access to education, something that my informants did not have access to before they came to Mlisada. This education is crucial in the notions of human security of my informants, as it is the key to finding a job in the future. Education is thus not something that necessarily enhances their human security at this very moment, but it is seen as something that will secure their ability to sustain themselves and their family in the future. Next to education, Derek also mentions other things he got access to through Mlisada, such as acquiring skills. These skills refer to both skills in music, such as being able to play an instrument, and to skills outside music, such as the leadership skills that Derek refers to. Through education and acquiring skills, Mlisada has given my informants the feeling that they are important and capable of achieving things.

As a result of this renewed feeling of importance and capability, my informants now care

26 Mlisada also offers trainings in, for example, leadership skills.
about the future and believe that they are able to achieve things in this future. The fact that they have many plans for the future came back in many conversations and interviews. Kawere Shafic, for example, said:

"You know, I’ve grown up in Mlisada where I see, I meet many people, people come from different countries to make a change, to reach out to teach people, whom I live with, and I also admire that, I want to do that maybe in Zimbabwe, go out, go to Zimbabwe, go to different countries, where there’s some other third world countries whereby I may be useful".

Uwase Lilian is another example, who said: "I want to become a lawyer when I grow up", which clearly shows that she is thinking about the future in a hopeful manner.

Next to these securities that my informants gained through Mlisada, Lilian also mentions another change that brought her feelings of security:

"(...) I have new friends who can help me, when I’m in trouble, yeah... compared to the street life or like, when I was still living in the camp, (...) yeah, I feel safe (...)Mlisada helped me a lot cause right now Mlisada is my family," (Uwase Lilian)

This quote shows how Lilian has found a new family in Mlisada. The importance of the music group as a new family was something that was shared among all of my informants. The sense of belonging to a family who cares when something is wrong, was a radical change from a life where, as clearly described by Tamale Derek, "(...) no one cared even if like you live or not". In Mlisada, however, the children and uncles do care about each other. Nyombi Michael stated:

"(...) if someone is in the same home with you, having some problems, of which you feel concerned, cause you don't want him to regret why he or she was born. Some people there are crying, for example because they have a virus and they don't understand why they were born and start regretting, blaming themselves, why they are like that and others are not like that".

Some of the main things that were causing insecurities in their previous lives, such as food, education, future perspectives and abusive family situations, thus become the denominators of security in the current lives of my informants. The fact that these insecurities now have been fulfilled, however, makes room for new insecurities. As my informants no longer need to worry about basic needs such as food, shelter and education, some of them now have room to think about their 'real' family. Tamale Derek and Nyombi Michael, for example, emphasized that when they were living on the streets, after a while they did not care anymore about losing their parents, due to both drugs and having survival as a priority. Currently, however, Derek has started thinking about his family again:

27 When I ask for clarification, Michael explains that he means HIV/AIDS.
"Really, living with your family for of course I have that desire into myself, I, it gives me like sometimes like not even wanting to do anything at all, like, even though like I live in like this life where I am, but I would like also to have a family, like, who I can call mom and dad, or sister, but it's like, I'm just alone, like, all alone... and so it's like that desire keeps in my heart, like, will I ever have a family, how like, how do you feel like maybe to have a mom and like when you get like or hurt or something, and then mom comes and says oh, this is my daughter or my son, like this, so it's like, that desire is... it's like it keeps on like, will I ever have a family to live with..." (Tamale Derek)

As many of my informants are now less occupied with worrying about how to sustain themselves, this has also made room for worrying about each other and other people. The feeling of being a 'family' has a flipside, as for example Michael and Derek are now very worried about one of their friends who is HIV-positive and who often cries in her room, wondering what the purpose of her life is. Their concern for other people, however, does also transcend the boundaries of Mlisada. Michael, for example, stated:

"Now, for me being secure, is like I really feel so much bad when I see those kids on the streets, suffering as if they are not a citizen of this country. At least they would have a basic education, and at least they would have been put in different homes. Because I know the situation that is really out there is not easy, so I don't even know how I can say this, but the only thing I can say is that... [interlude]

...those children on the street live really a complicated life." (Nyombi Michael)

The notions of human security of my informants from Mlisada are thus on the one hand constructed around securities that were lacking in the past, but which are at hand in the present. On the other hand, however, the fulfilment of these securities has now made room for other insecurities to become important as well.

4.3.2 Notions of Human Security in the Crane Performers

The living conditions of my informants from the Crane Performers are somewhat different from Mlisada, as I already argued. The main reason for this is that my informants from the Crane Performers have either finished or dropped out of secondary school. As they find themselves in a different phase in life compared to most members of Mlisada, this brings along a array of different notions of their current human security.

From the moment my informants have joined the Crane Performers up to now, certain things

28 At this point in the conversation, Michael cannot continue talking, as he feels he is going to cry. We therefore have a short break after which we resume.
have changed that they see as crucial in feeling more secure now. Just like Mlisada, the Crane Performers function as a substitute family. This is clearly described by Nalugo Aidah:

"We all take ourselves as sisters and brothers (...) I think it's because we do something in common, we have something that binds us and that's music, and being in the same field we had to be like sisters and brothers so that we bring out the best, cause we really need that connection and working together, we don't need to be separated cause if you are one-on-one you can't bring out something that is good, so you had to be close to each others, be like sisters and brothers, that's why most of us, you hear us at times 'sister this', we are sisters, we are like that." (Nalugo Aidah)

This would become clear on a typical day that I spent at the base of the Crane Performers, when some of the boys were cleaning the house, Annett was buying groceries, while Prossy, for example, would cook a meal or do the laundry. As most of my informants either lost their parents or left them behind somewhere outside Kampala, they now have a new group of people surrounding them who care about them when something is wrong.

Regarding my informants who grew up in a conflict area, joining the Crane Performers has also taken away the fear of being captured or abused by rebels from the Lord's Resistance Army:

"I am always safe. In the LRA-sense of the word 'safe' I'm very safe now. (...) LRA-wise I feel safe. In the north there is still not enough food, here it is better. It is enough to maintain a life (...)" (Obina Charles)

In this quote, Charles compares his current situation with his past experience of living in a conflict area, as he states that "LRA-wise", he feels safe now.

Some of my informants also described that living with the Crane Performers has decreased their insecurities with regard to accessing basic needs. This is described by, for example, Okwir Jaspher:

"I liked it because they gave me the fees, the residence, and the food also, that is what I liked also, because I wasn't receiving all that kind of services."

Just like with the members of Mlisada, Jaspher thus refers to the opportunities that he has been able to access through the music group. Although in this quote Jaspher also refers to the access to tuition fees, it soon became clear that most of my informants actually saw the access to education as an insecurity. This is very well illustrated by Muhumuza Elvis:

"But the reason why I am not comfortable in the troupe now, is that the troupe is not giving me hopes that I will finish studying, because now the level that I am at now is very very very
small, actually I have, if it is in terms of a journey, I have moved over 1,000 kilometres and I am remaining with two kilometres, but the two kilometres I am remaining with, if not covered, I am finished, they are very, very, very vital. The troupe is not giving me the hopes. Why? Our director is a young man, you know him, he has got his own goals he wants to fulfil, you see, he has got his own plans because he has enough money, so he also sees his money in his own way, so I am not the son, I am not anyway related to him, so he can easily don't mind about me, which is the thing that is taking place right now." (Muhumuza Elvis)

Although the Crane Performers were founded to give talented youth access to education, in practice this is a desire rather than reality. In the first place, being a member of the Crane Performers only grants you fifty percent of the tuition fees, while my informants are in no way capable of collecting the remaining fifty percent. Moreover, as Elvis already describes in the aforementioned quote, the director of the Crane Performers has his own agenda when it comes to paying tuition fees. In practice, his promise of paying fifty percent of the tuition fees is therefore often not lived up to, as he either pays his fifty percent too late, meaning that my informants often miss the first semester, but in many cases he does not come up with the fifty percent at all.

The fact that my informants thus in practice cannot access higher education, is the most important thing that they perceive as a threat to their human security. Again, higher education is not seen as something that directly improves the current human security of my informants, but they see it as vital in finding a proper job and therefore as vital to designing a stable and secure future. This future, in their eyes, is not necessarily a life of excessive luxury, which is clearly explained by Charles: "For me, I wouldn't mind achieving so many things, but at least I want to live a slightly better life than I saw my parents live".

Moreover, they do not just want to be able to take good care of themselves in the future, but they also want to be able to take care of their family:

"Why? I want to have some money in some time to come, which can help me to raise up my family, the whole of it, because my family, when I say my family, and I mean not my mother, that is a small thing, but I mean the whole family, the whole family, my aunties, my uncles, my grandmother, and all of their sons and daughters, all everybody that I am related to, I want them to be happy, in some time to come, and I am the one making him or her happy, because they are really not happy because they are poor. So that is the only thing I want." (Muhumuza Elvis)

At this moment, however, my informants are not in the position of going to school, which makes them uncertain about their ability to really help their family in the future.

In addition to their worries about the future, many already encounter difficulties with getting
by at this moment. Although Gordon provides in some cases food and housing, and in other cases small allowances, the payment of the Crane Performers is insufficient to satisfy the needs of my informants:

"Another problem is payment; after a show, you are paid 10,000 but on that 10 you have to save and get yourself clothes, the needs, shoes, those simple needs that I personally need. And for us who came to the city, we have to take care of our brothers and sisters in the village, and it's actually difficult, because you need to get whatever you want and at the same time save, because the parents are now old and they can no longer work that much. I have no qualifications to find another job." (Mudhasi Jaffer)

In short, the notions of human security of my informants are mostly concerned with an idea of 'decent survival', where they can provide both themselves and their relatives with at least the basic needs, both in the present and in the future. The fact that they are unable to sustain both themselves and their family members in the present, becomes a source for insecurity. Moreover, the lack of prospect of being able to do so in the future, due to their inability to access education, is also crucial in their definition of human security. A concluding quote by Elvis very well summarizes this insecurity faced by my informants:

So now I can just lie on my bed and start asking myself questions. Will I really be somebody important in some time to come? What annoyed me, you know me, I am always a happy man, when you see me outside you cannot see that my heart is almost rotting, you can't know that I have many things which are disturbing my heart, but they are really there and they are very much, because I can now ask myself, how am I going to complete, will I study, will I be somebody, will I help my mum? (Muhumuza Elvis)

4.4 The Flipside of the Coin: Resilient Agents

Thus far, I have focused on the stories my informants told regarding the challenges that shape their notions of human security. In these stories, my informants almost seem to propagate their suffering, portraying themselves as helpless victims of a structure they cannot change. Although the challenges described in the previous paragraphs are real to my informants, this image of suffering victims is contrary to the image that I got from my informants while participating in their daily lives.

I clearly remember the first time I spoke to Charles. We were sitting at the stage at the courtyard of Mlisada and Charles and his younger brother, Okema Bosco, had just played some tunes on the adungu for me. We then started talking about how they ended up living in Mlisada and the
Crane Performers\textsuperscript{29}. Charles started narrating what happened to his family, something which he later on also described in his biography: when he was ten years old, 28 civilians from his village were captured by rebels. "Around ten people were slaughtered first, they were cut into pieces and put in a pot and cooked (...) and the other 18 were forced to eat them. And afterwards they were also killed. My parents were among these 28". I am shocked not only by the story itself, but by Charles’ apparent impassivity when he narrates this story. When I tell Charles that I am really sorry for what happened to his parents, he starts laughing, shrugs his shoulders and says: "Well, we are not the only ones, there are so many others in the same situation". This reaction by Charles very well represents the attitudes of most of my informants: they laugh away any problems and challenges.

Instead of propagating their suffering, many of my informants actually never showed what they felt or thought. Jaspher emphasized this by saying:

"(...) I'm the person who never shows what I have. Even if I'm miserable, you will never know that I am, that is I'm happy, I always want to show that I'm happy, even if I'm miserable, you'll never see it in my face, I don't show that expression to people that I'm so miserable."

When Jaspher talks about his mother's death and remains smiling as always, he explains why he seems a bit callous:

"I cried, I cried, but then the tears got finished, that's why even I don't know whether I don't just care but I always go and visit her grave, see, mother, I still love you, wherever you are, but I don't need to cry no more because crying will not help anything. It is just the determination to move ahead, that is it."

Many of my informants kept their worries and problems to themselves and it was not until I started asking for their stories that they revealed their experiences to me.

More than just laughing away or hiding their problems, my informants even actively propagated an image of determination to make something out of life. Charles, for example, kept convincing me that he was very courageous and strong and that he would achieve things. This belief also shows in messages he recently posted on Facebook, such as: "Your background doesn't tell your future, it's up to you to design your own destiny" and "I know am gonna get somewhere in life, I don't care what the world says about me". Another example is Shafic, who wanted to check what kind of representation of Uganda I would give at home. When he asked me what image of Uganda I got during my fieldwork, I explained to him that I saw that people faced many challenges but that they seemed determined to make something out of life. Shafic then responded: "Then you have really experienced Uganda".

\textsuperscript{29} Charles himself lives with the Crane Performers, but his brother Bosco lives at Mlisada.
This determination to make something out of life shows that my informants see themselves as agents and moreover, they have proved to be active agents in their human security numerous times already. They took the initiative to get out of their past situation by, for example, running away from home to avoid abuse, by coming to Kampala to look for opportunities, by either approaching a music group themselves or by choosing to accept an offer by a music group to increase their living conditions. Somehow, my informants were able to survive, as they are currently alive, and their own role in this survival is vital. Even today, my informants make choices and undertake action in order to ensure a better living condition for themselves and their families. Shafic, for example, is practicing hours a day to make sure that he becomes as skilled as possible on the piano, aiming to attract sponsors for his tuition fees; Charles recently left the Crane Performers because he was done being subject to, in his opinion, verbal abuse and underpayment of the director of the Crane Performers and he is now looking for another job; Jaffer recently accepted an invitation to travel to China for six months to perform as a dancer; and Prossy is trying to find a sponsor for her visa in order to make a similar trip to China, despite the risks that such trips can involve. These examples show that my informants have found room for manoeuvring within the boundaries that at first sight seem to limit their possibilities.

4.5 Wrapping Up

I argued in my theoretical framework that notions of human security should be defined on the basis of individual perceptions rather than creating limitations to the basic elements that human security should contain. In line with this argument, in this chapter I presented the notions of human security as defined by my informants, letting them bring up any possible issue that they perceived to influence their notions of human security. In the first paragraph, I devoted attention to the challenges that my informants faced in their pasts, as many of the current notions of human security were embedded in these past experiences. These past experiences provided vivid images of the living conditions that my informants were determined never to experience again and therefore formed the basis on which a desire for action and change was built. In the second paragraph, I described how my informants became part of the music groups, an event that significantly changed the lives of most of my informants. The third paragraph narrated which issues are part of the current notions of human security of my informants, such as money, education, basic needs, a caring family and a kind of decent survival for both themselves and their family members. Moreover, the prospect of maintaining these issues in the future also played an important role in the notions of human security by my informants. When

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30 About a month after I left the field.
31 According to some of my informants, there are plenty of cases where girls are invited to perform in China, but once they arrive there, it turns out to be a false invitation. These girls then often end up in prostitution.
these issues seemed to be fulfilled, they formed a solid basis for a feeling of security to some extent. In the case of the members of Mlisada, many of these issues are currently fulfilled and many of them indeed described to feel secure in that regard. The fact that former insecurities such as food and education were now secure, however, did also enable them to define new insecurities, such as missing your real family. This shows that human security is not a static end-goal which can be achieved, but that it is a continuing process. Contrary to the members of Mlisada, many of my informants from the Crane Performers only saw part of these issues as fulfilled. A lack of money and problems with accessing education in their case often remained an insecurity rather than a basis for security. Especially the prospect of not being able to take care of themselves and their family in the future, was described to be the major challenge to their human security.

These notions on human security on the one hand show that my informants are facing a challenging life, growing up in a society that does not automatically grant them the opportunities to increase their living conditions and, inherently, their feelings of human security. In this context, it would be easy to again represent a top-down approach, portraying my informants as helpless victims of a society who have few possibilities to take action themselves. I argued in my theoretical framework, however, that there should be more attention for a bottom-up approach of human security, focussing on the wiggle room that individuals create to increase their feeling of human security. In the fourth paragraph of this chapter, I therefore explored my informants' role as active agents in their lives and at drawing attention to the resilience and determination that my informants show alongside their challenges. The following data chapter regarding the meaning of music will contribute to this representation of my informants as resilient, proud and hopeful youth even more. Describing this flipside of the coin is crucial in the construction of images of, in this case, Ugandan youth; without looking at the micro-level activities of my informants, this thesis would again have been an illustration of a single-story.
5. 'Music Is The Reason Behind What I Am And Everything I Have Achieved On This World'\textsuperscript{32}

Imagine being Charles, a former child-soldier, having to continue life without parents and having many siblings to take care of. Envision being Lilian, having fled from a conflict area and forced to find ways to sustain yourself at the age of five. Picture being Derek, being abandoned at the age of five and then living on the streets for fifteen years. What possible meaning can music have in your life if you have faced and perhaps still are facing so many challenges?

Throughout this chapter I will discuss the meanings of music that my informants described. The first paragraph shows that many of my informants value music for the opportunities and benefits that it has brought them. In the second paragraph, I will discuss how my informants define music as a socializing tool. The third paragraph will set forth how music has empowered many of my informants. Music is also often seen by my informants as a tool that can be effective in community outreach; this will be the focus of the fourth paragraph. Many informants also described how music enabled them to express things, a meaning that will be discussed in the fifth paragraph of this chapter. Last but not least is the meaning of music as a coping mechanism, which is explained in the sixth paragraph. This chapter therefore aims to answer the second sub-question: How does Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music?

5.1 'Music Is My Converter'\textsuperscript{33} - Opportunities and Benefits

"It has been barely music that has gotten me to where I am... Without it, believe me, I could still be in the village, without knowledge, possibly married with many desperate children, like it is the case with most of my friends that I left there. (...) It is quite clear that the impacts of the war onto my friends has been equally hurting. So many orphans like me, with disabilities caused by the rebels are everywhere in my village. They are practising their agriculture, but the floods are ruining their crops and so they are starving... and that is how I would be, had it not been for music." (Charles)

This quote by Charles represents one of the main arguments that my informants made during both interviews and informal conversations: Music has improved their living conditions significantly. As the first chapter already showed, many of my informants grew up in poor living conditions, characterized by among others a struggle for food, sometimes a lack of housing and often difficulties in accessing education. Currently, however, my informants have many of these things which they consider to be basic needs, fulfilled. Although music is not directly eatable or does not directly provide shelter, in their case it did provide these opportunities indirectly. Music is therefore to my informants a

\textsuperscript{32} Quote by Maurice Tonny
\textsuperscript{33} Quote by Musaazi Tonny
vehicle for achieving a higher standard of living.

This higher standard of living is based on several opportunities and benefits that my informants gain through music. In the first place, music enabled almost all of my informants to access to basic needs, either through earning an income or by the direct provision of food, health care and shelter in their music group. More important than food and shelter, however, seemed to be the access to education that many of my informants gained through music. As already discussed in the previous chapter, my informants see education and knowledge as vital in finding a decent job. Music, in their case, was crucial in attaining this education. Musaazi Tonny summarizes this point:

"Music is my converter. (...) The reason to why music is my converter is because when I came to Mlisada, music according to me, if it wasn't music I could have not been the person who I am today, because through music I was able to acquire school fees."

Music thus directly improved the living conditions of my informants by granting basic needs and access to education.

In some cases, my informants also believed that music would continue to improve their living conditions throughout their lives by earning money with their musical talent. This is, for example, mentioned by Okwir Jaspher:

"I think music means a lot to me, because it has been able to change my life and I know if I continue with it, I can earn more from music, a lot, from it, can become rich because of music, because I've seen footballers becoming rich, because of their talent, so if I can take up music as footballer take up their talent, why can't I become rich? That is it."

Next to this access to certain basic needs, many of my informants described that music was also important to them because it gave them travelling opportunities. In the case of Mlisada, these travelling opportunities are mostly within the Ugandan borders, but some of the Crane Performers have also performed outside the Ugandan borders, in Africa, Asia and Europe. These travel opportunities were also one of the first things that many of my informants, especially from the Crane Performers, mentioned when we spoke about the meaning of music. Soon after I first met Prossy, for example, she started talking about a tour they did in Spain, France and Belgium and how much she enjoyed these trips. Abedi Kalenzi explains why he likes these travel opportunities:

"But I've been also exposed to people abroad because of music. I've also discovered a few things! For example, when I went to France I got to know the cultures, because we were competing with people from Venezuela and where, so I got to know other kind of music that is only in our environment.

34 As it is the case with some of the Crane Performers
In some cases, my informants in the first place defined the meaning of music purely in these rather materialistic terms of providing access to basic needs and offering opportunities and benefits. Shafic for example stated:

"How important is music in my life... it's still (...) a vehicle that I'm using to take me somewhere I want, I don't know, it's just a vehicle that I want to use to take me somewhere. (...) Because it's the only alternative that I have, there's no other alternative, yeah...."

This view of music being a vehicle for opportunities, which in the case of Shafic means a vehicle for accessing university, was a shared view among most of my informants. There was only one informant, Nakuya Annet, who did not describe the meaning of music in these terms, which is understandable since she never experienced difficulties in accessing these basic needs and opportunities at home.

5.2 'Music Brings Togetherness'[^35] - A Socializing Tool

"Let me say: music has helped me to make friends with people, because when I was still on the streets, I never knew anyone (...) Now, because of music, I know different people (...) and right now you also know me, cause all the way from Netherland to Uganda, so that's also being special" (Uwase Lilian)

Many of my informants claimed, just like Lilian, that music was important to them because through music they have been able to make new friends. Okema Bosco, for example, wrote:

"It [music] creat friendships e.g. I am having many friends at M-lisada because of music".

As many of my informants live together with each other, they have established strong relationships with each other. These relationships sometimes even go further than friendships; Lilian and many others, claimed:

"... right now Mlisada is my family".

Music as a tool to make new friends, however, does not limit itself to the youth living in both groups. Many of my informants emphasized that through music, they have also been enabled to meet many new people from outside the music groups and even from outside the country. Abedi Kalenzi, for example, stated:

"Because of music, I also got the chance to talk to other people, it's because of music that you're talking to me! If there was no music, I wouldn't sit here."

[^35]: Quote by Maurice Tonny
These contacts between different people closely relates to something that many of my informants mentioned: the meaning of music as a tool to unite people from different backgrounds. One of my informants, Musaazi Tonny, beautifully explains this meaning:

"If you're playing music, you feel that music motivates you to know more about other people and networking with them, we play with other members, from other bands, you get to know about other things, so music is about sharing, which is not in other fields. So, hereby at Mlisada this character is most seen when where twenty people come together, with different backgrounds, but they produce very good music." (Musaazi Tonny)

Music thus does not only connect people from different backgrounds, but also has the power to overcome these differences during a musical activity.

Whether it is through creating new friendships, connecting people or overcoming differences, it is clear that music has meaning as a socializing tool that brings people together. This meaning of music to some extent comes close to Merriam's (1964) tenth function of music, which refers to the integration of people in society. Although the term 'society' is perhaps somewhat too big for the descriptions of my informants, on a micro level music definitely seems to integrate people in their music group to the extent that they even define themselves as a family.

5.3 'Because Of The Music I Feel Proud' - Empowerment Through Music

For many of my informants, music also played an important role in a feeling of empowerment. Gray (2010) referred to empowerment as "(…) elevating the status of children in society" (Gray 2010: 83). It has to be noted that this definition of empowerment is quite narrow compared to other definitions of empowerment in literature. Narayan (2005), for example, defines empowerment broadly as "(…) increasing poor people's freedom of choice and action to shape their own lives" (Narayan 2005: 4), a type of empowerment that depends on numerous components and preconditions. Drydyk (2008) supports a similar view on empowerment. Although the definition of empowerment by Gray (2010) is quite narrow compared to other literature, for the purpose of this thesis it does however highlight a particular kind of empowerment that was clearly visible in the descriptions of my informants, namely that music elevates their status and position in society. In addition to this definition of empowerment by Gray (2010), my research shows that my informants did not only experience an increase in their status in society, but that they also internalised this increased status in the constructions of their self-image. I believe that this internalisation process should also be considered to be part of empowerment. I will illustrate both types of empowerment in the upcoming two sub-paragraphs.

36 Quote by Nyombi Michael
5.3.1 Empowerment in Society

Many of my informants described that, because of their talent and participation in music, other people started looking at them differently. This is very well explained by Nyombi Michael:

"If it weren't for music, I wouldn't be respected by society. When I used to be a street child, they used to call me anything, thieves, drug addict, rappers, and other words, big words. But music has changed my life, I can make friends, responsible friends, because of music. I met big people in different occasions. Music increases my way of life, so I cannot leave music behind. Kids respect me and also some friends whom I have, people whom I jaz with."

Some of my informants claimed that, when they were younger, people looked down at them. This is shown in the quote by Michael. Another example, is given by Aidah:

"Considering the place where the NGO that I grew up was located, most people always had a belief that it's a place for prostitutes, that is a place where thieves live, actually up to now many people fear to come in that area, (...) So that's how I grew up, people always feared us, no one could talk to us"

From the moment my informants started participating in music performances, however, they believe that they were treated differently; as Michael already emphasized in the aforementioned quotation, he feels respected by society now due to music. Aidah makes a similar argument, saying:

"Maybe before they didn't respect it, but now, a parent can see me perform and think "I wish she was my daughter" and they think, I want my daughter to be like her, or I want my son to be like him. (...) Until they hear that I went abroad and then they think "oh I wish that was my daughter"

These examples show that because of music, my informants feel like they have turned from social outcasts to talented citizens who are being wanted and respected. It is remarkable that my informants feel respected because of music, since I described in my local background that musicians have a rather low status in society in general. It has to be noted, however, that my informants see this increased respect and status from their frame of reference. As they used to be for example street urchins and orphans with no future perspective, they have indeed relatively increased their status in society.

In line with this increase of respect, many of my informants also feel famous because of their musical talents. Many of my informants have had the opportunity to meet and perform for important people. Okot Michael, for example, said:
"I've even seen the president, the queen, because of music. I've seen the ambassador of the USA, I've seen the first lady of China, I've seen many, many people and made friends"

The fact that my informants were invited to perform for the president shows my informants, that their status in society has changed: instead of pariahs in society, they now feel respected, wanted, and in some cases even famous. This very well links up with what Gray (2010) calls empowerment.

5.3.2 Internalised Empowerment

"[Music] makes me happy, I feel like there's nothing I can't do, it consoles me. It makes me to feel in a group, and to feel proud, in fact.. because of the music I feel proud" (Nyombi Michael)

This quote from Michael very well summarizes what many of my informants argued: that through music, they have become aware that they are capable of achieving things. This awareness has different consequences. In the case of Lilian, and many others, music increased her self-esteem:

"I remember one day, when I used to be shy, so and cause, after, when you are getting your certificate, after examinations, music examinations, you have to play, you have to stand in front of a lot of people and present your piece there playing.. So and I got scared... but right now, I'm not scared of anything, someone can call me and yeah, talk about myself in front of people. (...) Because of music right now I have a dream (...). Because I'm successful in music, that means that I can also be successful in other things" (Uwase Lilian)

Notice that Lilian says "I am not scared of anything", which is similar to Michael's quote "I feel like there's nothing I can't do"; both Lilian and Michael thus argue that because of music, they have trust in their own capabilities and that they believe that they can achieve things in life.

An increased self-esteem was also something that I clearly witnessed during participant observation. Prossy is a good example of this. Whenever I would speak to her, she came across insecure. When I wanted to do an interview with her, she became somewhat reticent, as she was afraid that her English would not suffice. During numerous occasions, it also became clear that Prossy was somewhat ashamed by the fact that she never finished secondary level. Dancing, however, was something that Prossy mastered at a really high level. Whenever Prossy thus started dancing, her insecurity vanished like frost under the morning sun and she would come across as a really self-assured woman.

This sense of self-assurance of Prossy is closely related to a feeling of pride that many of my informants also described as a result from music that they highly valued. As Michael said in the first quote of this sub-paragraph: "in fact, ...because of the music I feel proud". This sense of pride is something that I also observed during informal conversations. Many of my informants were really
proud of their talent and kept propagating this to me; Elvis, for example, kept emphasizing that he was the only one who could play the naanga in Kampala, and Charles told me at least ten times that he was the best adungu player of Uganda and actually the only one who mastered the adungu with 19 strings.

This sub-paragraph shows that through music, my informants have started to believe themselves that they are capable of achieving things and that they can be proud of themselves.

5.4 ‘An Easy Way Of Reaching Out To People’ - A Community Outreach Tool

"Another thing, I have a heart, me, myself, whereby I look at other people’s conditions like they're mine, and one time, if God helps me, I want to go back to the north, I want to help so many of the children, may be set up an orphanage home like MLISADA in the northern part of Uganda... There are so many orphans there... So they could benefit from it, because I have that heart." (Obina Charles)

Most of my informants grew up under poor conditions. In the case of my informants, however, their conditions already significantly changed because of music. Because they have been able to improve their lives, almost all of my informants have developed a desire to do something similar for other people. The abovementioned quote by Charles is an example of this desire.

Many of my informants thought of music as functional in these desires for community outreach. Kawere Shafic, for example, stated:

"Yeah, it's [music's] impact is very important to me, because it's an easy way of reaching out to people (...) the main reason is to reach out to people and so... you know, I've grown up in Mlisada where I see, I meet many people, people come from different countries to make a change, to reach out to teach people, whom I live with, and I also admire that, I want to do that maybe in Zimbabwe, go out, go to Zimbabwe, go to different countries, where there's some other third world countries whereby I may be useful..."

As Shafic grew up in Mlisada, he experienced up close what positive impact music can have. As music has enabled him to achieve many things, he believes that music is a perfect way for him to also help others. A similar idea is posed by Tamale Derek:

"There are things which I would like to do, maybe in my project like to change or to do things that I can do this through music, I can go sing to communities, sing about like what affects our community, and they can get time to listen to music more than like... they would listen to me... music, a lot of people can listen to music, more than like listening to one person who is talking to them..."

37 Quote by Kawere Shafic
This quotation by Derek not only shows that he is also determined to reach out to his community, but he also clearly explains that he believes music is an effective tool that can bring across a message. This explanation very well links up with Barz' (2011), Alviso's (2011) and Cohen's (2011) idea that music can have an educative function or is capable of promoting behaviour change in the community. The description that Derek gives about using music as a tool for community outreach also links up with Merriam's (1964) fourth function, namely the function of communication. Although Merriam (1964) was quite reticent in describing what actually music can communicate, Derek is quite clear about what he can communicate through music when he states that he can sing about ‘(...) what affects our community’. The fact that the function of communication is less vague than suggested by Merriam (1964), will also become clear in the next paragraph.

5.5 'I Can Express That Through Music'\(^{38}\) - An Expressive Tool

During my research, many informants emphasized that music was an important expressive tool for them as well. In this paragraph, I will focus on what exactly they are able to express through music, such as feelings, moods, dreams, desires, thoughts and worries.

5.5.1 'It's going to calm me down'\(^{39}\) - Expressing Feelings And Moods

"Yeah... it depends... I can come to Mlisada en play something rough, depending on how, how I've been, if I'm annoyed I go there and play something rough. It really shows that... it's going to calm me down, instead of yelling to someone "Ggwe!!" Instead of yelling to someone, because I don't want to fight... the last fight I had as I knocked, they knocked my tooth out, someone just kicked me and I fell down, I was lying and I thought I was going to die... Yeah, that's the last fight I had, it was at Mlisada, I fought with someone.. So from that day swear not to fought, eh, fight... So whenever I'm angry at someone I just leave and go bang my piano (...) when I'm annoyed I play something rough, like parararara [pretends to bang the piano], just thundering really loud " (Kawere Shafic)

Some of my informants, mostly from Mlisada, argued just like Shafic that music provided them a way to express feelings such as anger or excitement. Instead of expressing these emotions such as anger, for example, by violence, music offers an alternative way to express these feelings. This is very well explained by Shafic in the aforementioned quotation. This meaning that my informants give to music very well links up with the function of emotional expression described by Merriam (1964), as he argues that music can represent different moods and emotions.

\(^{38}\) Quote by Tamale Derek
\(^{39}\) Quote by Kawere Shafic
5.5.2 'I Wanna Be A Movie Star' - Expressing Dreams And Desires

Especially for my informants who wrote their own songs, music was a meaningful tool in expressing dreams and desires. Both Lilian and Derek, two informants who wrote their own songs on a regular basis, wrote several songs that refer to their dreams and desires. A first example is a text written by Tamale Derek:

*I Wanna Be*

*There is something inside my head*
*And it troubles me so many times*
*Tryin' to resist but still I can't*
*Cause my heart always stays where my mind is*

*Chorus:*
*Oh I wanna be,*
*I wanna be a movie star (3x)*

*Have you ever tried,*
*No I've never ever tried,*
*Reaching for your dream,*
*You wanna be and I wanna be*

*Bridge:*
*You wanna be a teacher*
*And she wants to be an engineer*
*Every journey starts with one step*

These lyrics literally refer to Derek's biggest dream: to become a movie star. Derek explained that he really likes music because he has desires, such as becoming a movie star, and he can "(…) express that through music". A similar example is provided by K2LB Dynamites, who wrote the following text:

*This is the time*\(^{42}\)

*Chorus:*
*This is the time,*
*This is the time,*
*To be one, cause we are one,*
*To help each other, to join hands,*
*To help each other,*
*Cause we live in the same planet,*

\(^{40}\) Quote by Tamale Derek
\(^{41}\) K2LB Dynamites refers to the music group of Tamale Derek, Uwase Lilian, Kabuye Ronald and Okot Michael (all members of Mlisada) who write songs together.
\(^{42}\) Watch Appendix 3: Fragment 3
In this song, the K2LB Dynamites express their dreams for a society in which people join hands and work together to make life better for everyone. When discussing this song with Lilian, she further explained what they meant with this song:

"It's about like, (...) you can find like a street child eh, on the street, eh, doing what, and for you driving your car you're doing nothing, instead of helping that kid, you just, leave that kid there, so we, we sang that song to tell those people that it's the time to become one and help each other, instead of fighting, instead of finding me there on the streets, eating the garbage, and for you go home, you throw your food in the dustbin, just take me there, help me, cause to make also my future bright, yeah...so... kind of that..." (Uwase Lilian)

This song thus expresses a desire for a society in which people unite, and moreover, the song also seems to directly urge people to put this desire into practice. Especially the fact that this song urges people to take action, draws attention to the seventh function of music that Merriam (1964) describes, namely the function of integrating people in society. In this function, Merriam (1964) describes how music can quest some sort of action in a society. In the explanation that Lilian gives about the song 'This is the Time', it becomes clear that in their song, K2LB Dynamites indeed quest society to work together and to help the less privileged.

Moreover, these examples of expressing dreams and desires draw attention to the vague description of music as a communicative tool as defined by Merriam (1964). Again, in this paragraph it becomes clear that music can indeed convey messages and, in the case of my informants, these messages are very clear and to the point, rather than vague and cryptic.

5.5.3 'You And I Are Meant For A Reason' - Expressing Thoughts and Worries

My informants who wrote their own songs also saw music as a tool to express worries and thoughts that were occupying their mind. A clear example of this meaning of music can be found in the following text by Derek:

\[
\text{Meant For A Reason}^{44}
\]

\[
\text{Verse 1:}
So many times you wonder,
Why you live the way you live,
Desires in your heart,
But you never get none of it.
\]

---

43 Quote by Tamale Derek
44 Listen to appendix 3: Fragment 2
Oh why it's me, why it's we
That's the way you'll always be
But look now, you will keep going

Chorus:
You and I are meant for a reason,
There is a reason why you live,
And a reason why I live,
There is room for us somewhere anyway

Verse 2:
There are tears, in your eyes,
That keeps coming every time,
You was born a poor life,
Still you living a poor life,
Should there be a miracle which can change your life,
It's you now, get my hand.

Derek explained to me what this song was about. In the first verse, he sings about the desires he has and which remain unfulfilled. An example of such a desire is described by Derek:

Really, living with your family for of course I have that desire into myself, I, it gives me like sometimes like not even wanting to do anything at all, like, even though like I live in like this life where I am, but I would like also to have a family, like, who I can call mom and dad, or sister, but it's like, I'm just alone, like, all alone... and so it's like that desire keeps in my heart, like, will I ever have a family, how like, how do you feel like maybe to have a mom and like when you get like or hurt or something, and then mom comes and says oh, this is my daughter or my son, like this, so it's like, that desire is... it's like it keeps on like, will I ever have a family to live with...

These kinds of desires, and especially the fact that they remain unfulfilled, often lead both Derek and some other members of Mlisada to question why they were born in the first place. Derek explains this very clearly:

"You really like wonder why am I living, why do I live like this kind of life, and when you look at other people, they live the way like they live ehh... you may be like, I may be go to like a poor school, someone going to a good school, and maybe eating once a day, one eats like, like one can eat any time when he likes eating, can throw some food away, so it's like... life is like so many times you wonder why you live, it's like, me, I don't get what I want, and others get more than they even want, and they don't even have regrets"
The song 'Meant for a reason' is, however, not only an expression of these thoughts, but is at the same time an encouragement for people who have these same thoughts in their minds. This encouragement is visible in the chorus of this song. Derek explains:

"And so when I wrote that song, the chorus, like, gives, I wrote the chorus to give chorus, like, there are a reason why you live, me, who lives a good life, and you who lives that life, or anybody else, there is a reason, to why you living, there is a purpose, why you are there, even though right now you were there, I know you will at least make it”

Both the examples from K2LB Dynamites and Derek show that music is a perfect way to express thoughts and frustrations that occupy the minds of my informants. Both the expression of dreams and desires as presented in the previous paragraph, and the expression of thoughts and worries as presented in this paragraph, are an addition to the function of emotional expression as suggested by Merriam (1964), Eller-Isaacs (2011) and Barz (2011). As this paragraph shows, music enables people to express more than merely emotions. The qualification of 'emotional' expression should therefore in the case of my informants be broadened to 'expression' in general.

It has to be noted that not all of my informants wrote their own songs and therefore not all of them defined the meaning of music in these terms of expressing dreams, desires, thoughts or worries. This meaning of music, however, was important to a number of informants who did write their own songs\textsuperscript{45}, and may therefore not be neglected.

5.6 'Music Brings Me Back To Life'\textsuperscript{46} - A Coping Mechanism

For many of my informants music also had meaning as a coping mechanism. Through music they could not only express feelings, dreams and worries, as discussed in the previous paragraph, but they could also release these feelings, thoughts and worries. Almost all of my informants referred to music as something that ‘relaxes their mind’. Some examples of this meaning of music are given by Derek and Elvis:

“Music... means a lot... it's, ehh, it's really a part I think of my life, because... I don't know how I can express this, but music... when I listen to music, there is a feeling hidden in the music which like you can't really express... music there's a way how music makes me feel, and even like so many times when I feel like hopeless, music brings me back to life...” (Tamale Derek)

“When it comes to entire traditional music, oooh, I really like, when we are on the stage, I cannot think of most of my problems, I really enjoy music. (…) When I am on the stage, I

\textsuperscript{45} Tugume Edward, Kabuye Ronald, Musaazi Tonny, Uwase Lilian, Okot Michael and Tamale Derek were the informants with whom I discussed songwriting and their own songs.

\textsuperscript{46} Quote by Tamale Derek
forget about most of my problems, because my mind just go away from all my sorrow, from thinking other stuffs, and concentrate directly on what is taking place on stage, music, very good singing, and myself I am a part of it, so I tend not to have no thought on other things” (Muhumuza Elvis)

These examples show that through both listening and making music, my informants are able to replace worries and hopelessness by feelings of enjoyment, happiness and relaxation. This in line with a meaning of music that both Merriam (1964), Eller-Isaacs (2011) and Barz (2011) describe; they all argue that music can function as a release mechanism, enabling people to forget problems and worries.

Closely related to this meaning of music is the fact that many of my informants claimed that music regulated their memories. On the one hand, some of my informants claimed that through music, they were able to forget bad memories. Michael clearly explain this meaning of music:

"Music makes me forget the past, cause when I'm with friends playing and training, I don't remember my past in this hard life. I just feel like, ahh, this is paradise. I just forget about the past. Play music and focus on that.” (Okot Michael)

On the other hand, however, music also allows my informants to remember good memories and look back at things they liked in their past. An example of this meaning of music is given by Charles:

“It reminds me even...especially of my late father because he was good playing Adungu, my best instrument and he played it for leisure... it reminds me of where I come from, the music instrument is inherited I believe because my parents, my brothers, everybody plays it... so it reminds me of home too.” (Obina Charles)

This quote by Charles is contrary to Merriam's (1964) description on how people might deliberately avoid addressing their situations and problems in music in order to feel better. Instead of merely forgetting certain things through music, Charles namely describes how music helps him to remember things as well. This is an important addition to the work of Merriam (1964) and others.

Whether it is through forgetting problems, sadness and bad memories or through remembering loving memories, my informants were all very clear that music made them feel happy. A concluding quote by Akampurira Bruce very well summarizes this meaning:

“Whenever I hear music, I feel like being in paradise”.

5.7 Wrapping Up

Before turning to drawing some conclusions in this chapter, an important reflection regarding this positive story of music in the lives of my informants is inevitable. This reflection regards the
boundaries of these meanings of music, as there is an aspect of temporality in the situation of my informants as well. Shafic, for example, has finished his secondary level. As Mlisada only grants its members benefits and opportunities during secondary education, this means that Shafic now has to become self-sustaining. Although during living at Mlisada he had no worries, he claims that his "(...) life right now is a life of hustle... trying to make the best of yourself, it's, this is a kind of life where, where you're not sure of what you're going to have tomorrow... what you're going to eat tomorrow". Although many of the members of Mlisada are not yet aware of this temporality, Shafic hereby does point to the transience of the meanings of music within the music groups. Another example was given on Facebook by Charles. He explained to me that his younger sisters, Rosemary and Betty, were blamed for not improving their dancing skills enough during their stay at Mlisada. As a result, Mlisada did no longer grant his sisters access to education and they were asked to leave the project. These examples do not contradict the various meanings of music as presented in this chapter, but they do point out that there are boundaries to the positive impact of music in the lives of my informants.

Having said that, a number of conclusions can be drawn from this chapter. In the first place, it becomes clear that my informants give many different meanings to music in their lives which are in most cases shared among many of my informants, despite the fact that they involve in different types of music. Many of these meanings partly link up with the literature presented in the theoretical framework, although in some cases they did need some adjustments. An important new meaning of music, however, came up during my research, namely music as a tool for providing food, housing and education, for example. This meaning of music was a very vital meaning, shared among almost all of my informants, who were very clear: if it were not for music, they would not have their basic needs fulfilled and they would not be in their current situation. Especially this meaning of music is an important contribution to the already existing literature about the meaning of music in Uganda.

Despite the fact that this rather material meaning of music was vital to my informants, the importance of other meanings of music should not be neglected. What binds all of these meanings of music together, is the fact that my informants have appropriated music to alter their living conditions, whether this regards changes on a material, social or more psychological level. The fact that my informants have appropriated music in their behalf is crucial in the construction of images regarding my informants. As I already emphasized in my previous chapter, it is easy to depict my informants as a group of hopeless youth who are vulnerable and underprivileged. This chapter, however, shows that as soon as my informants were offered to play music, they have seized the opportunity to appropriate music to their own benefits. Through music, my informants have enabled themselves to become hopeful towards their future, to become proud of themselves, to become caring about each other and to become happy and venturous. Although there are many things that still appear to them as being out of reach, music has thus strengthened my informants as agents in their own lives.

The fact that my informants appropriate music for change is also in direct opposition to
Merriam's (1964) idea that music contributes to the continuity and stability of a culture (Merriam 1964: 225). This notion in the first place implies a bound, static idea on culture, whereas my research showed that the Ugandan society is all but static, especially with regard to music. Moreover, my research showed that instead of maintaining something, many of my informants actually appropriated music to change their situation. This finding is an important contribution to the model presented by Merriam (1964).

Finally, this chapter shows a clear interrelation between music and human security. In some cases, music seems to directly improve the human security of my informants, such as through the fulfillment of basic needs and increasing their future perspectives due to the access to education. In other cases, music perhaps does not directly improve some insecurities, but it does take away the attention from these insecurities, as my informants can for example forget their worries and replace them by feelings of hope and happiness. Whether directly or indirectly, the meanings that my informants give to music are thus closely related to issues that influence their notions of human security. As I did not come across this relation in other literature, I believe this is an important contribution to the existing literature as well.
Conclusion

During my three month period of fieldwork, I was showered with an overwhelming quantity of beautiful stories, helpful people and inspiring music. It has been my job during the past three months to translate these experiences and information into one, coherent thesis. Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to represent a glimpse of the daily lives of my informants, with a special focus on the meaning of music in their lives. This thesis thereby provided the data to answer the main question: How do Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music in their context of human security?

In the first data chapter, I unravelled the definitions of human security as they were described by my informants. I started with a memoir of their pasts, as many of the current notions of human security and the actions undertaken by my informants concerning this human security, were based on and shaped by these past experiences. Stories about poverty, abusive stepmothers, living in conflict and living on the streets were characterizing these past experiences. These past experiences still function as a vivid image of a life where none of my informants ever wish to go back to and they form the basis in which current notions of human security are embedded. In an attempt to run away from these unpleasant living conditions, my informants found a safer haven in both Mlisada and the Crane Performers. Especially in the case of Mlisada, notions of human security significantly changed due to changing living conditions after joining Mlisada. Insecurities such as a lack of food, shelter and education, but also a lack of people caring about your existence, were replaced by a relative excess in basic needs and a caring environment. In the case of the Crane Performers, the living conditions of my informants also changed, but less radically as in the case of Mlisada, as many of the members of the Crane Performers still defined a lack of money, mostly for paying tuition fees, to be one of the main issues influencing their notions of human security.

The role of my informants is crucial in these current notions of human security. Despite the fact that the lives of my informants are still characterized by challenges, either in the present or with regard to the future, my informants have found ways to manoeuvre themselves into a position that has taken away at least some of the insecurities they faced in their past. Drawing attention to the initiative my informants have taken to improve their living conditions, therefore emphasizes the importance of acknowledging the role of my informants as agents in the construction of preconditions for increasing one's own human security. Moreover, depicting my informants as agents is crucial in the construction of images regarding my informants. As I already emphasized numerous times throughout this thesis, it is easy to portray my informants as hopeless, underprivileged passive youth. In this thesis, however, I have attempted to illustrate that, although my informants indeed face many challenges in their lives, the image of hopeful, proud and venturous youth is the flipside of this coin that is integral in the lives and notions of human security of my informants.
For the construction of this more hopeful image, the second data chapter has been crucial. In this chapter, I analysed the numerous meanings that my informants gave to music. My informants described several meanings, such as its meaning for providing basic needs, offering travel opportunities, connecting people, creating a sense of family, expressing dreams, desires, thoughts, worries and emotions, enabling them to release these same issues, empowering them both intrinsically and in society and providing a tool for community outreach. Although this implies that my informants give very divergent meanings to music, in practice they turn out to be closely intertwined. In all cases, these meanings of music show that my informants have appropriated music to their own benefits, addressing exactly the needs that they deem important in their lives. Instead of hopeless, passive youth, this highlights how my informants have succeeded in converting one simple thing, namely music, to get control over their lives in several ways. This dynamic representation of music as a vehicle for change is an important contribution to the rather static work of Merriam (1964) in which music is presented as a tool for the preservation and representation of culture rather than a tool for invoking change.

It is remarkable how interconnected the meanings of music as defined by my informants are with their notions of human security. Not only do these meanings of music by coincidence play into the several issues that shape the notions of human security of my informants, but my informants give meaning to music by purposely invoking music to improve their own situation in numerous ways. In some cases, my informants see music as something that directly improves the terms and conditions of living. The meaning of music for providing opportunities and benefits and the fact that through music my informants have found a new family are clear examples of these improvements. In other cases, music does not directly influence issues regarding human security, but it is invoked by my informants to clear away or deal with worries regarding their notions of human security. The meaning of music as a coping mechanism and the meaning of music as a tool for expression are clear examples of these indirect influences of music on human security. Whereas before I did my fieldwork, the relation between the notions of human security and the meanings of music seemed rather vague and far-fetched, my research thus shows that the opposite is true. Regarding my main question, this thesis shows that the meanings that my informants give to music are numerous, but are all inextricably intertwined with their terms and conditions of living and their ability to control terms and conditions. Although my informants are not yet sure what the future holds for them, they have appropriated music to cope with the past, to enjoy the present and to maximize their chances for a bright future.

This conclusion has several broader implications. In the first place, this conclusion challenges the often narrow-minded views on the importance of music. Where music is, from a Western perspective, often perceived to be merely a nice hobby, this thesis shows that music has a vital
meaning in the lives of my informants that goes way beyond a merely superfluous hobby. Moreover, the fact that my informants give such divergent yet coherent meanings to music in close relation to their human security, is also an important contribution to both literature regarding the meaning of music, such as the work by Merriam (1964), and to the broader human security debate.

A critical remark concerning this broader implication has to be made, however. In the first place, it has to be noted that the scope of the impact of music as described by my informants in this thesis, does have limits. The conclusion drawn in this thesis is based on a research I did in two music groups in Kampala. Although I do believe that the researched groups in this thesis fit into a wider trend of music projects in Kampala, as I observed numerous similar projects and groups, the conclusions drawn in this thesis regarding the meanings of music cannot be bluntly generalized to the meaning of music for any other random individual. Especially since not every Ugandan youth is growing up in a music group such as Mlisada or the Crane Performers, the stories in this thesis cannot represent neither all Ugandan youth nor the meaning of music to every other Ugandan youth. Last but not least, I described in my fifth chapter that the temporality of these music groups also create boundaries to the appropriation of music by my informants. Although not all of my informants were aware of this temporality, or at least did not explicitly stress this during my research, the appropriation of music by my informants does have boundaries, as my informants will eventually leave the music groups they are currently living in.

A second broader implication that comes as a result of this conclusion, regards the fact that my informants have appropriated music to their own benefits. This appropriation is crucial in the construction of images of my informants as active agents in their own lives. Whereas literature by Leaning and Arie (2000), Cilliers (2004) and King and Murray (2001-02), for example, stresses the importance of state action to increase human security, this thesis shows that individual agents are well capable of increasing their notions of human security at least to some extent and these micro-level activities should therefore not be overlooked in any analyses of human security.

Again, a reflection concerning this broader implication is inevitable. Although the appropriation of music as a way of creating wiggle room at micro-level is crucial in the construction of images regarding my informants, these opportunities for negotiating an increased human security should not completely overshadow the challenging structure in which my informants are forced to invoke these opportunities. The fact remains that my informants face many challenges in life and the purpose of this thesis is not at all to deny the precarious situation in which my informants had to grow up, are still living and perhaps also will continue to face in the future.

Nonetheless, this thesis does represent the narratives of a group of young Ugandans who show that there is more to their story than merely insecurity and hopelessness. Their story is also characterized by resilience and pride, and in the case of my informants, the appropriation of music to their own benefits is an essential part of this story.
Executive Summary

Before my three month period of fieldwork, I had a drive to find out what the meaning of music could be in a context where some basic necessities of life were not fulfilled. This drive was based on a confrontation with a fellow student during my first year at university, who argued that it would be useless to bring a violin to a developing country, as people in those countries would only be looking for food. In Uganda alone, however, there are numerous projects that work with music. Mlisada, one of the organisations where I did my research, is only one of these projects, but there are many others. The question that arises from this observation, is: do these projects then only involve people who already have the basic necessities in life fulfilled, or was my fellow student wrong and does music have meaning for people in less privileged situations as well?

This thesis gives a clear answer to that question. The main question that underlies this thesis is: how does Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music in the context of human security in Kampala? My first data chapter was aimed at exploring the definitions of human security by my informants, answering my first sub-question: how does Ugandan youth in Kampala define their human security? Human security is a concept that was first introduced in the 1994 Human Development Report by the United Nations and broadly refers to the perceived security by individuals. This perceived security can thus be based on anything that is deemed important by individuals in their feelings of security and insecurity. In the case of my informants, these ideas on human security were in the first place based on the fulfilment of basic needs, such as food, housing and education. When these needs were fulfilled, some other issues, such as family and future perspectives, also became important in the ideas on human security as described by my informants.

It happens quite often that people, especially children, in developing countries such as Uganda, are being portrayed as hopeless, vulnerable and underprivileged. Such an image is also lurching in my first data chapter. My second data chapter, however, refutes this image while answering my second sub-question: how does Ugandan youth in Kampala give meaning to music? My research showed that music has many meanings for my informants; what binds all of these meanings together, however, is the fact that my informants have appropriated music to their own benefits, altering their living conditions on a both material, social and psychological level. This chapter therefore illustrates the resilience and determination of my informants to make something out of life.

The main conclusion of this thesis shows that, instead of being useless, music actually has a vital meaning in altering the lives of my informants, as music is closely intertwined with the ideas on human security by my informants. This research thereby radically quests for an adjustment of the often myopic public opinion with regard to the importance of music.
Bibliography


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Appendices
Appendix 1: Background of my Informants

Table 1: Interviewed Informants (alphabetically)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Group / occupation</th>
<th>Schooling</th>
<th>Current living situation</th>
<th>Place / tribe / district of Birth</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceasar Scott Barole</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Expert on street-children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12-03-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prof. Jackson Kamuntu</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Teacher at Music, Dance and Drama department at Makerere University</td>
<td>Finished University - Master Degree</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>25-03-13</td>
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<td>Kalenzi Abedi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Crane Performer</td>
<td>Enrolled in University, currently not schooling</td>
<td>At Crane Performers</td>
<td>Busoga (East-Uganda)</td>
<td>25-03-13</td>
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<td>Kawere Shafic</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Former resident of Mlisada / piano teacher</td>
<td>Enrolled in University, currently not schooling</td>
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<td>Kampala</td>
<td>14-02-13</td>
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<td>Muhumuza Elvis</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Crane Performer</td>
<td>Currently enrolled in University, not schooling</td>
<td>At Crane Performers</td>
<td>Kabale (West-Uganda)</td>
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<td>Nabukenya</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>With parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>15-03-13</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Masaka District, Buyoga (Central)</td>
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<td>Nalugo Aidah</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Receptionist at In Movement / Crane Performer</td>
<td>Finished Vocational Track</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
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<td>Namiiro Prossy</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Crane Performer</td>
<td>Finished up to Senior 3, not schooling</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Rakai District</td>
<td>19-02-13</td>
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<td>Ntambi Abbey</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Assistant Director of the Crane Performers / Communications manager of Buganda Land Board</td>
<td>Finished University - Master Degree</td>
<td>Independent</td>
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<td>Okwir Jaspher</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Philip</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Radio editor at Straight Talk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>23-01-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ssebagala Patrick</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Teacher at In Movement, former street child</td>
<td></td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td>19-03-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamale Derek</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mlisada</td>
<td>Currently in Senior 3</td>
<td>Dreamhouse</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>15-02-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tugume Edward (Eddy)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Crane Performer</td>
<td>Finished up to Senior 4 (O-level), not schooling</td>
<td>Independent (with his smaller brother)</td>
<td>Ankole (South-West Uganda)</td>
<td>11-03-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uwase Lilian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Mlisada</td>
<td>Currently in Senior 4</td>
<td>Dreamhouse</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>15-02-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 2: Informants of Biographies (alphabetically)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyombi Michael (Micho Dre)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mlisada Currently in Senior 6</td>
<td>Dreamhouse Masaka (Central)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Obina Charles</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Crane Performer Enrolled in University, not schooling</td>
<td>At the base of the Crane Performers Acholi (North-Uganda)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tugume Edward (Eddy)</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Crane Performer Finished up to Senior 4 not schooling</td>
<td>Independent (with his younger brother) Ankole (South-West Uganda)</td>
<td>03-03-13</td>
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Table 3: Participants In Focus Group (alphabetically)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Gender</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charity Lilian</td>
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<td>Kamukang Judith</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mwesigwa Michael</td>
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<td>Nyakaisiki Monica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyombi Michael (Micho Dre)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamale Derek</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Uwase Lilian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Aciro Betty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akampurira Bruce</td>
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<td>Alito Betty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baluku Ashieyo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Julius Tuba</td>
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<td>Kabagimu Rebecca</td>
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<td>Mugerwa Robert</td>
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<td>Mutibwa Innocent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Namwanje Edith</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Kasume Richard</td>
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<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obina Charles</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Pictures

Figure 1: Me and Charles playing adungu

Figure 2: Singing with Tamale Derek

Figure 3: Lilian at the piano
Figure 4: Instruments

F.l.t.r.: Jaffer playing tube fiddle, Charles playing bass adungu, me playing engoma, unknown guy playing adungu, Ivan playing engoma.

Figure 5: Instruments

F.l.t.r.: Engoma, me playing djembé and Jaffer playing engalabi
Appendix 3\textsuperscript{47}: Audio / Video

1. Some impressions of my fieldwork

2. "Meant for a Reason" by Tamale Derek

3. "This is the time" by K2LB Dynamites

\textsuperscript{47} For computer use only