

**SUSTAINABILITY OF THE *BIGWALA* MUSICAL HERITAGE
OF BUSOGA KINGDOM, IN UGANDA**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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DECLARATION

This is to declare that this dissertation entitled “**Sustainability of the *Bigwala* Musical Heritage of Busoga Kingdom, in Uganda**” is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has never been submitted to any other University or institution for an award or publication.

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APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled “**Sustainability of the *Bigwala* Musical Heritage of Busoga Kingdom, in Uganda**” is ready for submission to the board of examiners for Examination and is therefore submitted with our approval as the supervisors.

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DEDICATION

To my mother and very great friend, Esther Sirisita Babindeba

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS

- ICH** : Intangible Cultural Heritage.
- NACOFU** : National Council of Folklorists of Uganda.
- UNESCO** : United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

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ABSTRACT

This study intended to investigate the sustainability of the *bigwala* musical heritage of Busoga Kingdom, in Uganda. The escalating extinction of rustic music traditions across the globe leaves *bigwala* heritage in a highly threatened situation. *Bigwala* is played to enthrone a King of Busoga, during royal funeral rituals, and in the communities. Basoga communities put in place measures to create a new generation of players by transferring knowledge and skills from the surviving elders to youths. Given the negative attitude that youths generally have towards traditions of this nature, it is doubtful that the practice of this heritage will be sustainable. A phenomenological study approach was used to investigate the viability of this heritage. The objectives of this study were: to establish the practice of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom; to find out the threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom; to suggest ways of ensuring the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Busoga Kingdom.

Findings revealed that *bigwala* was entrenched in the Kingdom practices and people generally revere their cultural institution. This entrenchment as well as the Basoga peoples' devotion to their cultural institution, and values was found to be the main contributing factor to the practice of *bigwala* for many years to come. The Basoga people learn music orally and aurally and this facilitated the creation of *bigwala* musical communities with structures for the continuation of this heritage. It was recommended that *bigwala* communities should look up more opportunities for performance of this heritage to increase their economic benefits, involve school in the practice and write resources for teaching this heritage in schools in case it does not violate the traditions of the practice altogether.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter presents the Background, the Research Problem, Purpose and Objectives of the Study, the Research Questions, and Significance of the Study. It also presents the Geographical Scope, Content Scope and Time Scope, the Theoretical Frame as well as Definition of Operational Terms, Key Words and Phrases used.

1.1 Background

This study investigated the sustainability of the *bigwala* Musical heritage in Busoga Kingdom. *Bigwala* is a Lusoga (language of the Basoga) expression that is used to describe the gourd trumpets music and dance of the Basoga people. *Bigwala* heritage is performed at the *Kyabazinga*'s (King's) or other royal coronation and burial rituals. *Bigwala* is also performed outside the royal setting for commoners at social ceremonies such as marriage, funeral rites, and house warming.

The researcher developed keen interest in cultural heritage and its transmission during fifteen years of working among different Ugandan communities. He worked as a music teacher in various rural schools and, since 1992, has performed folk music and dance with learners and with communities that surround learning institutions where he worked. From 2005 through 2013, he co-organized village music and dance festivals in various parts of the country. He co-founded the National Council of Folklorists of Uganda (NACOFU), a network of folklore researchers and performers from different parts of Uganda. Through these experiences, he learned that various community music and dance traditions among other heritage expressions were increasingly

becoming less performed while others were no longer practiced. This was partly due to the passing away of master musicians and dancers, and absence of youths that have knowledge and skills of that heritage. The researcher has also been involved in projects to revive the practice of musical heritage such as *entenga* (royal tuned drums music of the Buganda kingdom), *amakondere* (gourd trumpets music of Buganda kingdom), and *ekimasa* (royal harp music and dance of Busoga kingdom).

Bigwala musical heritage plays major roles in the Busoga Kingdom royal rituals such as enthronement, royal funerals and their anniversaries, and in community social celebrations. *Bigwala* is, for example performed during marriage, celebration of birth of twins, funerals among other community events. Unfortunately this heritage is faced with threats to its survival, some of which include: modernity, global society's neglect for rustic cultural music and dance practices. Despite measures to safeguard *bigwala* from extinction, sustainability of its practice is doubtful as Ampomah (2014) suggests that there is a "decline in the popularity of *bigwala*" (p. 29).

Over the years different communities have put in place measures to safeguard and ensure sustainability of their heritage. Winter (2014) explains that, as far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, safeguarding as an ideal of cultural expression was taking place in cities such as Rome, Venice, or Paris and that, during that time, "the heritage conservation ethos took hold" (p. 557). In the same vein, Brabazon (2012) states that "there is a long history of collecting music from the other...[people, through a] process of collecting, preserving, transcribing and arranging" (p. 186). In the 1950s, musicians in the United States brought back old songs and old-

style folk songs...establishing what is now known as the folk music revival movement” (Alves, 2013, p. 197). Furthermore, “in Northumberland...[in] the years immediately after the Second World War fewer than fifty people played...[the small pipes]. By the 1990s maybe two thousand people owned pipes...[an] instrument that nearly ceased to exist...but was revitalized” (Feintuch, 2006, p. 3). Iacono and Brown (2016) document recent UNESCO initiatives to safeguard, and revive heritage practices in Asia, South America, and Europe including: The Indian Vedic chanting, Iraqi maqam, Indonesian Wayang puppet theatre, Tibetan opera, Argentinean Tango, and Spanish Flamenco.

In Africa, various safeguarding initiatives have been studied. Impey (2002) suggests that “Lake St. Lucia was the first area in South Africa to be registered a UNESCO World Heritage Site” (p. 10), and where “the Kwazulu Natal Nature Conservation Services [put in place] a more comprehensive, sustainable approach” (p. 10) to safeguard it. UNESCO also supported revival of the puppets oral tradition in Markala, Mali (Iacono & Brown, 2016).

In East Africa, Deisser and Njuguna’s (2016) collection, gives a detailed account of recent heritage safeguarding needs assessment and initiatives that took place in Kenya which include, among others, the *baob*, a board game dated in Africa’s antiquity, and Agikuyu shrine at Mukurwe wa Nyagathanga. In 2009, Tanzania engaged in safeguarding the songs of the Moon, traditional Swahili music, and transmission of Traditional Knowledge in Burundian Refugee Camps of Tanzania.

In Uganda UNESCO recognized the threat to various traditions among Ugandan communities and inscribed some of them on the list of intangible cultural heritage in need of urgent safeguarding, and later funded community initiatives to safeguard them. For example the traditional craftsmanship of *Olubugo* (bark cloth) making of the Buganda kingdom (Iacono & Brown, 2016); the Ma'di bowl lyre music and dance, *Koogere* oral tradition of the Basongora, Banyabindi and Batooro, Lango male-child cleansing ceremony, and *Empaako* tradition of the Batooro, Banyoro, Batuku, Batagwenda, and Banyabindi. The above traditions are practiced in their communities in varied degrees.

In respect to trumpet traditions of Uganda the *agwara* of the Alur, *amakondere* of Bunyoro and Toro are still practiced however, a survey by that the researcher did revealed that *amakondere* of Buganda is no longer regularly performed. The researcher searched villages where former *amakondere* players in Buganda Kingdom lived and found that, at Bamunanika, there is no surviving player; at Ggavu, only elderly Byakyalo Kakanzu was still alive, and he was no longer able to play due to old age; at Kasanda in Mubende, seven youths learnt to blow *amakondere* but lack a repertoire. Singing Wells supported an initiative to facilitate a safeguarding project for *amakondere*, which the researcher participated in, but the funds got finished before a firm foundation for continual performance of *amakondere* was established.

This study is about the *bigwala* gourd trumpets of the Busoga kingdom. Musinguzi (2013) explains that “*Bigwala* were played in 18th century Bugabula chiefdom which merged with ten others to become Busoga Kingdom. *Bigwala* was adopted to lead the *kyabazinga*'s (king's) coronation procession and funeral rituals as well as other royal occasions” (p. iv). He suggests that *bigwala* represents “the identity of the Basoga people...[because] when a Busoga

King dies, before he is buried, the *bigwala* people have to play...[also,] when they are enthroning the King, it is the *bigwala* music that is played” (p. iv) to lead the processions.

Musinguzi further explains that:

a typical performance begins with one trumpet followed by the other [trumpeters] before the drummers, singers and dancers join in. Each trumpet contributes a tone...[and] a song is complete only when all five trumpeters play....The [trumpeters], singers and dancers move in a circular formation around the five drummers, swaying their waists gently and raising hands with excitement...women and other spectators ululate during the performance to mark the climax. (p. iv)

Bigwala heritage is a major aspect of the Basoga peoples’ culture from which many things are learned about the values of society. Romaine (2015) explains that:

UNESCO (2010) recognizes culture as a fundamental component of sustainable development because it functions as a repository of knowledge, meanings and values permeating all aspects of our lives and defines the way humans live and interact both at local and global scales. (p. 32)

Cultural heritage such as *bigwala* is a major component of culture and it manifests in various “expressive cultural practices....[It is also] a primary way that people articulate the collective identities that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups, which are in turn, basic to their survival” (Turino, 2008, p. 2). Turino adds that music is “often at the heart of our most profound social occasions and experiences; people in societies around the world use music to create and express their emotional inner lives...to sustain friendship and communities” (p. 1).

Measures to safeguard *bigwala* from extinction started when UNESCO inscribed this heritage on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in need of urgent safeguarding in 2012. Thereafter UNESCO provided funds in 2015 through the National Council of Folklorists of Uganda (*NACOFU*¹), so that community measures to safeguard *bigwala* from extinction could go on. However, among different Ugandan communities and particularly Busoga, village musical heritage practices lost popularity among youths. There is increasing inclination towards foreign music and dance partly due to globalization, technological advancement, modernization, cultural invasion (Letts, 2006) and media influence. The investigated what measures are in place to ensure that *bigwala* as an expression of the Basoga peoples' identity exists for many generations. What have the communities done to ensure that *bigwala* heritage continues to be practiced given its functions among the Basoga society?

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is theoretically informed by a post colonial theory. This theory is explained variously by different scholars. For example Agawu (2003) suggests that it is a theory “committed to explicit thematisation and theorization of the experiences of people whose identities are inflected by the metropolitan habits exported to Africa through British, French, and Portuguese colonialism” (p. xvii). This view resonates with mine in this study. Agawu (2003) argues that “European music in its most influential manifestations colonized significant portions of African musical landscape...transforming the musical background...[into] the entertainment

¹ NACOFU is a cultural development NGO that engages in identification, promotion and dissemination of Uganda's diverse cultural heritage.

industry” (p. 6). Musical expressions are one of the ways through which former colonized societies are still undermined by the effects of colonialism on indigenous cultural expressions, and a platform for those societies to express their cultural autonomy. Blench and Dendo (2004) explain that “globalisation is destroying traditional African music rapidly through...the spread of profit-driven global forms” (2004, p. 3) that are leading to extinction of nonmonetary cultural expressions. Miller (2004) presents a binarism of modernity versus traditionalism which underscores a contemporary context of competing loyalty in heritage discourse that “modernity is seen as the distorting power, whereas the concept of tradition suggests notions of history, stability and continuity” (p. 3) He adds that “commercialism, urbanism, market economy and capitalism are the opposition, and this develops into a countryside versus city attitude” (p. 3) all of which, affect rustic heritage practice. These arguments illustrate a postcolonial debate about control of cultural production as a legacy of imperialism, and exploitation of the colonized; and studying viability here seeks to understand the response of a undermined community to the colonial aftermaths such as those argued above.

The loss of interest in African heritage expressions is itself a product of the infrastructure that colonial systems set up in Africa. Postcolonial theory advocates for “a new self-awareness that should enable communities to rise above the colonial western intellectual gaze of other societies”(p. xvii). Agawu adds that it honors people with attention and thought, and leaves room for identity construction and argues for “a new self-awareness...and takes particular pleasure in relativising and de-centering European intellectual hegemony” (p. xvii). Hegemony in this case refers to a deception originated by oppressors to convince the oppressed that what benefits them (the oppressors) benefits all.

To address the colonial hegemony communities may need to find ways of sustaining their value systems and indigenous heritage. African musical heritage scholars have suggested ensuring sustainability of cultural practices among the communities in aggregate. Carver (2012) explains:

A strong guiding principal in African music allows for musical participation by the whole community....The music is learned and passed on to the next generation by means of oral/aural transmission...[There are] many activities of daily life that are accompanied by music...[which makes it] part of daily life. (p. 11)

Musical heritage is celebrated by the community collectively. Additionally, music heritage plays social roles towards people's survival both as individuals, and communities. In relation to that Agawu (2003) explains:

It is communal and inviting, drawing in a range of consumers young and old, skilled and unskilled. It allows for spontaneous and authentic expression of emotion. It is integrated with social life rather than set apart, natural rather than artificial, and deeply human in its material significance. (p. xi)

The above perspectives illuminate the social significance of a musical heritage among African communities. It is a spirit of belonging to a community which plays out in the practice of social heritage. This is because "music in Africa is for the whole community and everyone from the youngest to the oldest participates...[music] is so interwoven with the work, the play, [and] the social and religious activities of the natives" (Boulton, 1957, p. 4). Musics in communities is "frequently [a] fulcrums of identity, allowing people to intimately feel themselves part of the

community through the realization of shared cultural knowledge and styles” (Turino, 2008, p. 2) Turino (2008) suggests that “through the very act of participating together in performance...music and dance are key to identity formation because they are often public presentations of the deepest feelings and qualities that make a group unique” (pp. 2-3). Similarly, UNESCO (n.d.) explains that, “heritage...provides individuals, groups and communities with a sense of identity and continuity and constitutes a guarantee of sustainable development...[It is] transmitted from generation to generation” (p. 3). Turino (2008) adds that through musical heritage, people can “experience a feeling of oneness with others” (p. 3).

Musical heritage is a significant ingredient of community culture. Sustainability of such heritage is necessary, as Blake (2016) argues, to “promote a cultural alternative whose value rests in its purported fidelity to a historical tradition, or authenticity, and cultivate social uplift through exposure to certain values assumed to rest within this tradition” (p. 96). Blake roots sustainability of music traditions advocating for “revivals of folk music [to] transform tradition, [by] re-making musical practices associated with the past for present-day purposes” (p. 98). Also, Hearthman (2016) suggests that, “through their allegiance to the past, revivalists position themselves in opposition to aspects of the contemporary cultural mainstream...[taking into account] change as well as stability or continuity (p. 2). Agreeing with this perspective, Winter (2014) argues that “growing literature has proclaimed that the emergence of the heritage concept needs to be read in relation to the social, economic and cultural changes that took place in Western societies in the closing decades of the twentieth century” (p. 558).

Heritage plays a key role in society, as Rogoff (1990) argues, that “cultural practices are influential in setting the problems that need solving, providing...tools for their solutions, and channeling problem-solving efforts in ways that are valued by local standards” (p. 43). The UNESCO 2003 convention purposed to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, to ensure respect for intangible cultural heritage of communities, groups, and individuals concerned, and to raise awareness of the importance of heritage at the local, national and international levels. UNESCO (n.d.) characterizes sustainable safeguarding to include:

Measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage. (Article 2.3, p. 3)

In addition, “the most effective ways to achieve the sustainable safeguarding of...heritage would be to guarantee that the bearers of that heritage continue to further develop their knowledge and skills and transmit them to younger generations” (UNESCO, n.d., p. 1). UNESCO 2003 Convention “advocate[s] for local participation in identifying, and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, by encouraging participation of the actual culture bearers who are representatives of folkloric...traditions” (Kreps, 2005, p. 7).

1.3 Problem Statement

Heritage musical practices such as *bigwala* of the Busoga Kingdom express peoples’ cultural values, beliefs, social-community identities, and are means of uniting and socializing people of a society. Although such expressions play significant roles in the communities, they

are increasingly losing popularity among youths, thereby decreasing viability. Despite the fact that Basoga communities carried out a project to safeguard the *bigwala* heritage musical practice the sustainability of this expression in a modern context is doubtful. This is a threat to the continuity of the Busoga rustic musical and dance production, and heritage practice in a broad global cultural society. Therefore, this study investigated the sustainability of *bigwala* heritage musical practice in a contemporary society.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate the sustainability of the *bigwala* musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms of Busoga kingdom.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were:

1. To establish the practice of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom.
2. To find out the threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom.
3. To suggest ways of ensuring the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom.

1.6 Research Questions

The research questions of this study were:

1. How is *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom practiced?
2. What are the threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom?
3. How can the sustainability of *bigwala* Musical heritage in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms in Busoga Kingdom be ensured?

1.7 Significance of the Study

It was hoped that the potential users of the findings of this study would include researchers, leaders of safeguarding initiatives in various communities with similar cultural contexts, leader of cultural institutions, policy makers, and central government culture officials.

It was hoped that this study would also offer insightful information to communities to recognize and put in place measures to safeguard their cherished heritage. The study of processes in which Basoga communities engaged to safeguard their heritage could offer insights that can provide benchmarks of activities that communities with interest in safeguarding their heritage might use.

It was also hoped that the study could offer insights to leaders of cultural institutions to recognize what motivated Basoga individuals and communities to invest their lives in heritage safeguarding. This knowledge could help them engage in safeguarding with approaches informed by a contemporary example of the *bigwala* communities, to enable them succeed.

In the Ugandan context where research about heritage safeguarding has not received scholarly attention, this study can contribute literature that could serve as reference for heritage scholars as well as inspire further research into heritage safeguarding practices in different communities of Uganda and beyond.

It was also hoped that this study would offer to the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, as well as other stakeholders, additional information regarding community initiatives to safeguard their heritage. This would inform policy options and other government actions towards similar and related cultural heritage issues in the country.

It was hoped that this study would offer me knowledge and skills of how carry out research. Armed with this, he will be able to carry out more research in music and contribute literature to academic debate and towards social-cultural development.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Kumar (2011) characterizes scope as a description of the salient characteristics of a people as a “community in which you will conduct your study” (p. 230). He adds that scope briefly describes the main characteristics such as size of the community, social profile of the community and issues of relevance to central theme of the study.

1.8.1 Geographical Scope. This study was conducted in Busoga kingdom, among the Basoga people. Figure 1.1 below shows the location of Busoga Kingdom in Uganda. Busoga

kingdom was formed out of eleven former chiefdoms² that united on account of having similarities.

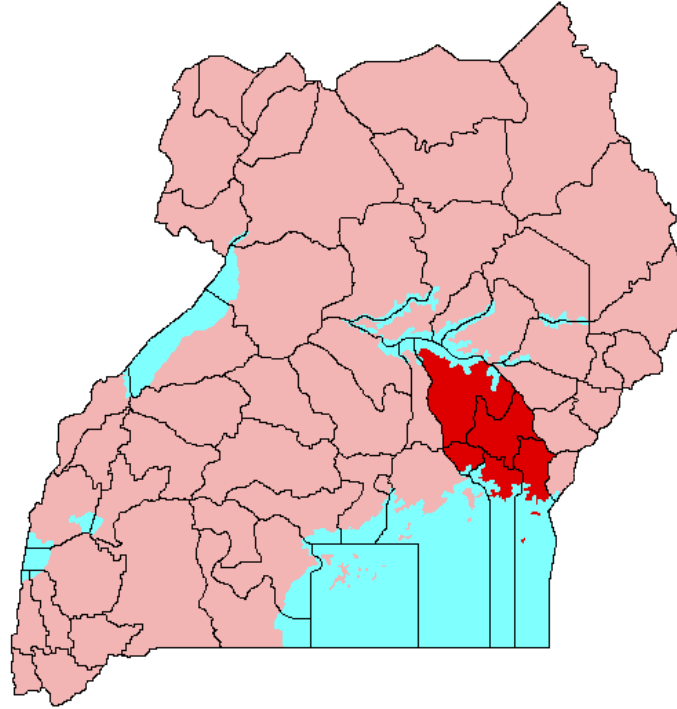


Fig. 1.1: Map of Uganda showing location of Busoga Kingdom³

The study was specifically conducted in Bugweri chiefdom (currently Bugweri district – Fig. 1.2) and Bukholi chiefdom (currently Bugiri district- Fig. 1.3). Bugweri chiefdom is made up of Namalemba, Buyanga, Ibulanku and Makuutu sub counties as shown in Fig. 1.2. Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms are about 120 Kilometers east of Kampala, Uganda’s capital city. This study focused on these two chiefdoms because this is where the older generation of *bigwala* players lived and a majority of youths that learnt from them live there too. Also, these are the places

²² The chiefdoms of Busoga kingdom include: 1. Bukono chiefdom (Part of Namutumba district); 2. Busiki chiefdom (part of Namutumba district); 3. Bukholi chiefdom (Bugiri district); 4. Bugabula chiefdom (Kamuli), 5. Bugweri chiefdom (Bugweri district) , 6. Kigulu chiefdom (Iganga district); 7. Butembe chiefdom (Jinja district); 8. Bulamogi chiefdom (Kaliro district); 9. Luuka chiefdom (Luuka district); 10. Bunya chiefdom (Mayuge district).

³ Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Busoga#/media/File:Busoga_\(map\).png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Busoga#/media/File:Busoga_(map).png)

from which the safeguarding activities were coordinated, thus data necessary for this study can be obtained easily in these places.

1.8.2 Content Scope. The study intends to find out whether the sustainability of *bigwala* musical heritage practice was ensured. This heritage is functional both in the royal coronation,

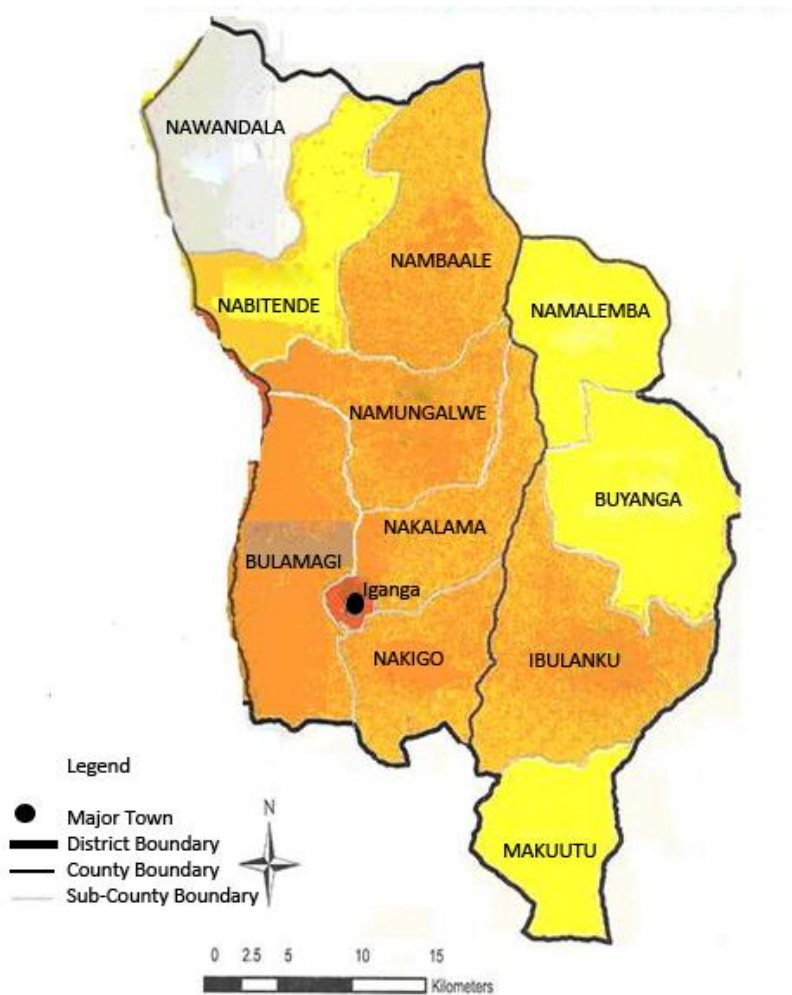


Fig. 1.2: Map of Iganga district showing the four counties of Bugweri

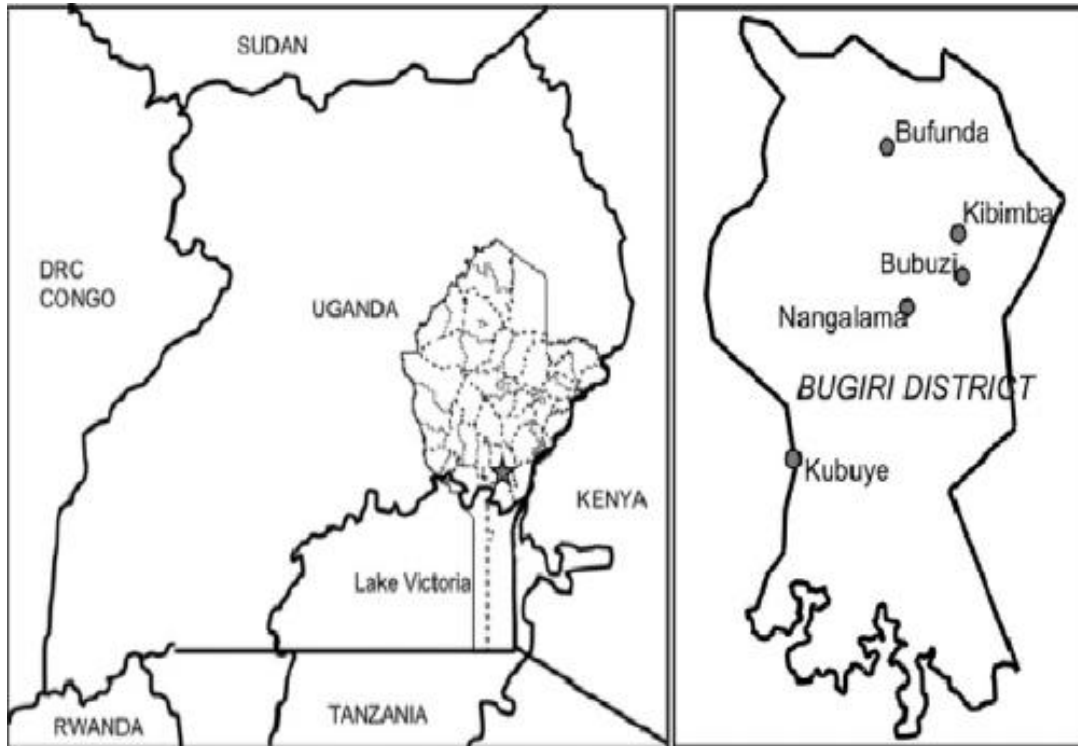


Fig. 1.3: Map of Uganda showing location of Bugiri and Map of Bugiri district

and funeral, and community social contexts such as twin ceremonies, and marriage. *Bigwala* plays a major in the socialization of the young as well as transmission of cultural values across generations. This study happened at a time when a safeguarding project for this heritage had just ended, and to find how its viability was ensured could provide insight for future initiatives of that nature.

1.8.3 Time Scope. The study intends to investigate *bigwala* safeguarding processes as a contemporary construct, which took place during the years 2012 to 2017. This is the period when UNESCO funded a project to safeguard *bigwala*, and is the period when measures to ensure sustainability of the *bigwala* heritage happened.

1.9 Limitations

The researcher was faced with some limiting factors to the realization of honest perspectives of some respondents. In some cases respondents expected to be paid money in order to participate. This was not only a threat to realization of dependable data, but hard for the researcher to sustain it within my means. The researcher had to explain to every respondent before participation in the study that they were not going to be paid for the information they were giving. In addition to that the researcher explained the significance of this study to the respondents in order to enable them to recognize that they too, could benefit from the study.

The researcher also found hardship to meet officials of the Kingdom due to their busy schedules. It became necessary to utilize any available opportunities including some that involved going to restaurants in Kampala to meet them during lunch breaks. Those interview opportunities were costly but the researcher mobilized financial resources in anticipation of monetary needs in respect of transportation.

1.10 Definition of Operational Terms, Key Words, and Phrases

Basoga	A Bantu speaking ethnic society that speaks Lusoga language.
Busoga	A region in Eastern Uganda, which is homeland to the Basoga people.
Community	A group of people who live together, and share beliefs, values, and norms as socio-cultural beings.
Culture	A totality of a peoples' ways of being: their values, beliefs, norms, feeding, and architecture among others.

- Heritage** Traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, norms, values and beliefs, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts, monuments, and collections of objects.
- Sustainability** Having an ability to continue to be relevant, practiced and to be in existence for a long time.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter presents a review of related literature, organized according to the objectives as follows: (a) the practice of *Bigwala* trumpets musical heritage, (b) threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* trumpets musical heritage, and (c) ways of ensuring sustainability of *bigwala* trumpets musical heritage. This chapter aimed at contextualizing the study into existing literature, and identifying gaps that exist, which the study filled.

2.1 The Practice of *Bigwala* Trumpets Musical Heritage

Musical heritage practices have been studied among different communities in various parts of the world. The practice of various heritages in society may be connected to their importance in that community. Barrett and Stauffer (2009) suggest that “traditional...music and dance are interwoven into the national psyche and sense of cultural identity, both in schools and in the local communities” (p. 60). This study focuses on a trumpets music heritage practice of Uganda.

In Africa there are various types of trumpet traditions for example, the *ntahera* or Asante ivory trumpets. These are “an oral tradition ... [with a] technique and practice that is taught orally by word of mouth and learned aurally by ear ... Trumpeters memorize their parts ... Kinesthetic education is part of this practice” (Kaminski, 2012, p. 55). In addition to those, Alves (2014), describes traverse trumpet playing in Ho, Ghana saying that “A large group can create a

melody by dividing the notes up among the different players a practice called alternation playing ... one musician plays the first note, another the second and another the third, and so on (p. 53). According to Kaminski (2012) “The lead trumpet imitates the intonations of speech. Ensembles play hockets over which the lead trumpets talks ... Players utilize selected elements of speech: whereas some syllables require two tones, other combinations of syllables are expressed by a single tone (, pp 2-3).

Uganda has trumpet traditions in various ethnic societies. Mbabi-Katana (1982) notes that a “set of royal trumpets was still found by the middle of 20th century in the regalias of various great lakes kingdoms many of which formed part of Kitara Empire” (p. 23). He adds that there is “striking similarity in the composition, make and musical style of the sets in the regalias of various great lakes kingdoms which is a living testimony to their common origin” (p. 23). Mbabi-Katana enumerates: “Trumpets sets...exist in Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, Buganda, Busoga, Ba Congo and Acholi royal clan of Payira” (p. 23). These trumpets are played in hockets. Cooke and Kasule (2011) note the “hocketing trumpet dances of the Alur” (p. 10). Pier (2015) also suggests that there are trumpets among “the Alur [who] have sets...called *agwara*, [adding that] the Batoro, Banyoro, Baganda have ones of about the same size as *ebigwala* called *amakondere* (p. 148). *Bigwala* heritage collectively characterizes a type of gourd trumpets, music performed on them, and a dance. The style of *bigwala* music playing and indeed other African trumpet traditions is based on “the linguistic system of trumpets communicating through tones ... [that allows] them to reproduce texts in ways similar to those used by talking drums” (Kaminski, 2012, p. 2).

One way to understand an instrument is to look at the materials used to make it and the processes followed. Cooke (1971) explains the make and process of making a traverse flute called Ludaya, saying that:

[it] is usually made from the dried flower spike of the giant Lobelia (vern. Litaya) found in the upper parts of the forests on East Africa's mountains....The material is ideal in many ways for flute making and is used for flutes....When the tall flower spike is cut off the plant...the dried flowerets are scraped off to leave a straight, hollow, thin-walled tube up to 1½ metres long with a clean, gently conical bore. The walls can easily and quickly be pierced by burning or cutting. (p. 80)

Another aspect is the social function of a heritage practice. Musinguzi (2013) notes: “*Bigwala* were played in an 18th century Bugabula chiefdom which merged with ten others to become Busoga Kingdom. *Bigwala* was adopted to lead the *kyabazinga*’s (king’s) coronation procession and funeral rituals as well as other royal and social occasions” (p. iv). In addition to that understanding how a practice is performed involves the way of playing the music. Musinguzi suggests that “a typical performance begins with one trumpet followed by the other four before the drummers, singers, and dancers join in. Each trumpet contributes a tone to a song; a song is completed when all five trumpets are played” (p. iv). According to Musinguzi, “The (trumpeters), singers, and dancers move in a circular formation around the five drummers, swaying their waists gently and raising their hands with excitement....Women spectators ululate as the performance nears its climax” (p. iv). I wanted to find out the processes involved in the practice of *bigwala* including the making, materials used to make the instruments, how the music

is played, how dancing to the music is done, and the taboos associated with the practice of this heritage.

2.2 Threats to the Sustainability of *Bigwala* Trumpets Musical Heritage

The political-cultural conflicts that characterized young African independent states like Uganda in the twentieth century caused the practice of heritage traditions that were attached to kingdoms such as *bigwala* to cease. Teffera (2006) asserts that “it is very doubtful that horn ensembles like that of the *amakondere*...instruments from the former kingdoms of Uganda and Rwanda are still practiced” (p. 36). In Uganda, the political crisis that led to abolition of kingdoms by the central government affected heritage practices such as *bigwala* music because the king and his officials were the primary patrons of these practices. As Kasozi (2013) explains, “Obote was sworn in as Executive President [and]...Uganda [became] a unitary state and the federal and semi-federal status of kingdoms and districts were abolished by the 1967 constitution” (pp. 51-52).

When kingdoms were banned, the practice of associated music heritage came to an end. Busoga kingdom posted on its home page⁴ that, “in 1966, the *Kyabazinga* [(king of Busoga kingdom)] was dethroned.” The abolition of kingdoms was to the detriment of heritage music and dance practices as Kubik (1968) asserts, that “most unfortunate is the destruction in the former kingdoms of southern Uganda; the court music of Buganda, Bunyoro, Butoro ... does not exist anymore” (p. 60). Therefore, when kingdoms were outlawed in Uganda master players of different heritage practices went into hiding for fear of being reprimanded by the central government. In this way, they scattered and others passed away, which became the primary

⁴ <http://busogakingdom.com/about-busoga/>

threat to sustainability of these practices. By the time cultural institutions were reinstated in 1993 by the National Resistance Movement government, most of the master players were too old to resume heritage practices such as *bigwala* and youths did not know these practices.

The passing away of master musicians without a young generation of players is a major threat to the sustainability of *bigwala* heritage. Pier (2015) explains that, “by the year 2006, the Lugolole group named after its founder was the last surviving group in Busoga that knew how to play and build the traditional trumpets...[The group] consisted of five very old male trumpeters in various degrees of infirmity” (p. 149).

Another threat to sustainability of heritage practice is commercialization of art, which does not favor nonmonetary engagements. Grant (2011) asserts that “music-making for profit has, in some cultures, overtaken...[and] the consumer boom in listening has even affected a decline of actual music-making in some communities” (p. 100). *Bigwala* is a musical heritage and its existence could be influenced by forces that affect music production such as *commodification*—acts of modifying, practicing, and managing a heritage expression with an objective of commercializing it. In addition to that some scholars are critical of heritage safeguarding “in both Europe and the USA [where] heritage became a focal point for concerns about the transformation of urban landscapes under the conditions of late capitalism” (Winter, 2014, p. 554), arguing that “a sustainable music genre is arguably one with the ability to reposition itself in new contexts, and adapt to new social functions” (Grant, 2011, p. 104). This is a discourse of heritage for modernity, commodification where tourists pay for heritage in a

manner that Impey (2002) characterizes as “production of a musical display towards...cultural tourism” (p. 12).

Also, sustainability heritage practices, which may not fit into the theatrical performance practices that are similar to western theatre, may not be ensured. Pier (2015) argues that “the (Lugolole *bigwala*) group...used to perform at a variety of social occasions for anyone willing to give them a little money” (p. 149). Thus, over time and in different places, heritage has been performed for various forms and types of payment in order to make the musician’s work economically viable. Therefore, if heritage does not fit into the contemporary monetary economy, as a part of “heritage tourism,” or performing for money before patron audiences within the communities or other traditional practice, its sustainability is not assured.

2.3 Ways of Ensuring Sustainability of *Bigwala* Trumpets Musical Heritage

To contextualize the sustainability of *bigwala* heritage, it is imperative to review related heritage practices around the world and how those expressions were or were not made sustainable. Bennett et al. (2014) conceptualize sustainability as the act of “keeping something going” (p. 5). Petocz et al. (2014) characterize cultural heritage as “the preservation in some form or other of the non-tangible aspects of society in the past...[which] might include musical compositions, performance genres and styles, musical instruments and techniques, social expectations around practice and performance” (p. 6). Petocz et al. add that cultural sustainability is “the continuation of these non-tangible aspects of society into the future, in some form or other, and necessarily modified in some way” (p. 7). Petocz et al. argue that cultural

sustainability is “based on cultural heritage, as the future is based on the past, but it in turn influences the re-assessment of cultural heritage, as the past is re-interpreted in terms of the future” (p. 7).

In relation to that Bennett et al. (2014) explain that “cultural heritage and sustainability as entwined concepts have both a backward- and forward-looking perspective in which human activity is seen as the sum of the legacy of the past and the potential of the future” (p. 2). The connection between past, present, and future is potential strength of any musical heritage. *Bigwala* musical heritage needs to reflect the quality of bringing the past into the present and offer itself as a viable cultural product for the future in order to be sustainable. This is particularly important for the agents of this heritage to reflect that connection of three generations within the *bigwala* musical heritage production.

When the practice of that music and dance practice takes place in schools and the communities, then its sustainability is ensured. Various societies regard their music and dance as important traditions, and this leads to a continual practice of those expressions. Feintuch (2006) explains that:

the idea of tradition runs through the Northumberian revival. An influential young musician...once told me that, we are repairing the tradition, and it is gaining momentum again...wanting to see the instrument revitalized...dedicating significant part of their lives to seeing the instrument come back, valuing tradition. Many saw the pipes as representing some sort of historical connection to place...this discourse of tradition seems a constant. (p. 4)

Additionally, young people can dedicate their lives towards practicing a heritage as a valued tradition because it connects with the history of the communities to which the youths attach value. Therefore, they do whatever is required to safeguard and sustain the practice of such a heritage. Blake (2006) explains:

The formation and growth of the University of Illinois Campus Folksong Club was sparked by the folk revival—the great boom...of interest in folk music in America that peaked between 1955 and 1965. While the folk revival was primarily based in urban centers like Boston, New York, and Los Angeles, folk music had been performed on campuses since at least the 1920s. Students increasingly brought their passion for folk music to college campuses during the 1940s and 1950s, organizing folk festivals and founding student organizations at the University of California-Berkeley, UCLA, University of Illinois, Indiana University, University of Michigan, Oberlin, and Swarthmore. (p. 95)

American youths developed passion for their heritage because it links to the history of their communities. This drove them to learn the practice of these traditions. When youth learn a tradition, they practice it after the older generations have ceased to do so, which is sustainability. Ensuring sustainability of a practice is what safeguarding or even reviving a heritage brings about: a transfer of knowledge and skills from the older generations to youths.

Contemporary safeguarding processes follow UNESCO regulations. The UNESCO 2003 Convention advocates for “local participation in identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural

heritage and encourages the participation of the actual culture bearers who are representatives of folkloric or popular traditions” (Kreps, 2005, p. 7) as a way of ensuring sustainability.

Participation of the local communities and culture bearers leads to encouragement of youths to learn the heritage in different ways from the older generations. In this way, the practice of a heritage expression is passed on to the next generations thereby ensuring its sustainability.

There are also practices that increase sustainability of a musical tradition. Schippers and Bendrups (2015) suggest the importance of the systems used to learn the music: “the transmission processes...[that] balances between informal and formal...notation-based and aural learning, holistic and analytical approaches” (p. 6) Secondly, they note the importance of “musicians and communities: the positions, roles and interactions of musicians within their communities, and the social basis of their traditions in that context” (p. 6). They add that “everyday realities in the existence of creative musicians, including issues of remuneration through performances, teaching, portfolio careers, community support” (p. 6), all contribute to the sustainability of a musical tradition. Thirdly, Schippers and Bendrups stress the importance of that “contexts and constructs: [which are] the social and cultural contexts of musical traditions...the underlying values and attitudes steering musical directions including musical tastes, aesthetics, cosmologies, socially and individually constructed identities, gender issues” (p. 7) affect sustainability. They note the fact that “regulations and infrastructure: [which include] places to perform, compose, practice and learn, all of which are essential for music to survive, as well as spaces for creation, collaboration, learning, and dissemination” (p. 7) also influence the sustainability of a musical tradition. Finally, Schippers and Bendrups note the role of:

media and the music industry: [which refers to] the distribution of music has increasingly involved recordings, radio, television and more recently internet; [and] the bearers of music tradition, whether endemic or endangered, are instrumental in seeking proactive and practice-based answers to making their music sustainable. (p. 8)

These suggested practices emerge from contexts where heritage is an economic venture. This makes the process sustainable since practitioners earn from working within the heritage and that sustains it, and them. A perspective that sustainability of cultural heritage is connected to economic benefit suggests that a way to do so is by connecting heritage practices to tourism, as Bennett et al. (2014) explain: “The core of tourism strategies in which buildings and townscapes, customary dances, and food create economic advantage for communities. Cultural heritage generally focuses on aspects that are perceived as familiar by the inhabitants but as unique by outsiders” (p. 2). They add that “in an attempt to preserve cultures and lifestyle, tourism can offer a means through which a group’s culture can become a commodity for exploitation” (p. 2). Offering an example, Bennett et al. talk about urban-based musicians who, “as expressed in the idea of culture-for-commodity...often create fusions of different musical forms to make their artistic voice unique” (p. 3) in order to create market and gain economically.

Heritage practices also enhance expressing of social identity, as Nketia (2001) suggests: “Heritage often represents the particular way in which the members of an African community or society express their own cultural identity” (pp. 225-226). In addition to social identity, heritage practices enhance unity and creativity in society, as Bennett et al. (2014) explain:

Cultural resources including tangible and intangible heritage including traditional knowledge and skills, as well as music, dance, theatre and festivals, can develop

sustainable creative economies, open up opportunities to youth, and help strengthen identity and social cohesion [and] promoting creativity for and among youth and harnessing young people's creative potential. (p. 2)

Hearthman (2016) writes of “the relationships between shared culture and individual lives bound together communities...[and] the consequent need of a society, a club, a country, a Church—whatever we call it” (p. 59). In view of this, ensuring sustainability of a heritage involves engaging in actions that aim at its identification and continual appreciation, particularly by the youths, in unity and in community. Bennett et al. proposed an “*Arts Sustainability Heritage (ASH)* model, which is designed to help understand the values and actions of creative workers in relation to cultural heritage and sustainability” (p. 2). The model is premised on a fact that “artistic work is essential both for cultural heritage through the work's reference and reinterpretation of culture, and for sustainability as a reflection on the current and future state of society” (p. 1).

Another way to ensure sustainability of a heritage practice is suggested by UNESCO that participation of the youths in the practice as critical. Bennett et al. (2014) explain:

UNESCO World Heritage Education Programme strives to give young people the opportunity to learn and develop by acquiring knowledge about World Heritage protection, conservation and promotion. The driving force of the programme is the involvement of youth as a major segment of the community, taking cultural dimensions into account, encouraging them to become thinkers and actors of development. (p. 2)

A major interest of young people in heritage practice is that it embeds their identities and that of their community, as Bennett et al. (2014) add that “young people across the world are increasingly [getting] involved in heritage protection and promotion, recognizing that heritage does not only belong to the past, but is also part of their identity” (p. 2). The “community aspect of a group is formed; ‘history,’ the creation of images of the past; the ‘present and the future,’ forming individual and collective identities; and ‘modernisation’ where past traditions are seen as the potential essence for future development” (Wooley et al., 2004, pp. 4-5). Transmission of heritage to the young generation becomes a critical engagement for any society because, as Bennett et al. (2014) explain, “transmitting heritage values to young people favors intercultural understanding, respect for cultural diversity and helps create an environment propitious to a culture of peace” (p. 2).

Another suggestion towards sustainability of cultural heritage deals with duration and depth of the engagements which the practice offers. Where a heritage practice calls for revival, the duration and depth of the engagements become a major factor towards ensuring sustainability. Bennett et al. (2014) explain:

It is essential that the different [heritage] projects and activities not [to] be considered as a one-time experience for the young participants. They should rather be a starting point for the youth to have continuous interest and participate further in the promotion and preservation of World Heritage (p. 3).

In addition, the nature of engagements with the youths and communities in general need to give varied experiences and cater for the obtaining context. Rorvik (2017) cites an example from the *bigwala* revival project⁵:

The process [involved] increasing knowledge of this music among young people... working with communities...not looking simply at preservation...[but to] create opportunities for...[that music] to fit into the contemporary context. If we cannot make it valid within current contexts, then it will not live. [By] ensuring that the people who make these instruments, and those that play them, earn a living from their work...[and also] document the history and the music. (pp. 115-116)

The intention of the leaders of the safeguarding activity was to enable *bigwala* tradition to fit into a contemporary context. The meaning of a heritage in light of the globalizing commercialized arts market is hinted at again. Other aspects which emerge from Rorvik's work include documentation of a heritage and its history. In addition, heritage practice needs to involve capacity development and also ensure participation of the communities, including gender equality, in order to realize its sustainability.

Heritage practice needs to be driven by “relationships between shared culture and individual lives, bound together communities...[and] the consequent need of a society” (Hearthman, 2016, p. 59), so that “identity is grounded in a particular place and conditioned by a respect for what people view as local tradition...where identity is real, not artificial...[with] well

⁵ The researcher characterizes a revival project as “a social movement which strives to restore a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society” (Olafsdottir, 2008, p. 104)

integrated community life [; a]...community-mindedness” (Feintuch, 2006, p. 11). I note that perspectives advanced by dynamists such as Kreps (2005), that “the 2003 Convention...must be used to encourage efforts that challenge old paradigms and give way to new modes of thinking and talking about heritage” (p. 7), continue to increase. The influence of a dynamist advocacy is partly what Winter (2014) refers to as “the rise of the heritage industry *vis à vis* late modern leisure consumption...[and a] Tourist Gaze” (p. 558). However, Kreps (2005) argues for exploitation of “the Convention [to advocate] for the less powerful and historically marginalized” (p. 7) of heritage production. Although he raises a plausibly affirmative argument for heritage diversity and safeguarding endangered heritage, it is doubtful that his perspective roots for the vulnerability of powerless peoples’ heritage.

A musical heritage necessarily needs to have power to pull interest of the communities that make it sustainable. The power of a musical heritage lies in its ability to create communities out of individuals and to connect people with their communities. Arnold and Kramer (2016) explain:

Music serves as a powerful vehicle for projecting our individuality while also connecting us with communities to which we feel a sense of belonging...[and act as] powerful symbols of place and, by association, history and value....[Thus its] intimate ties with place and time serve to illustrate the richness of its associations with identity. (p. 79)

In addition, Feintuch (2006) suggests that Northumberlandian pipe are “conflated with identity...a rural music [instrument], a purview of shepherds...embodying some sort of rural tradition” (p. 4). As a result, Feintuch adds, “The early twentieth century formation of the Northumberlandian

Pipers Society, [was] followed by several other organizations [which] devoted...concerted effort to save the instrument” (p. 5). Therefore, the research sought to find out how the communities view the *bigwala* music heritage and how it connects with their history and values. Communities need to recognize that heritage safeguarding is not an expression of conservativeness, or a way of sticking to outdated traditions, and being static. Feintuch (2006) argues that “much of the work on traditional music since the nineteenth century rests on ideas of continuity” (p. 14). This demeans music heritage safeguarding and could scare communities into giving up their valued heritage in order to not be conservative but embrace change and progress that is a major threat to sustainability.

Views about safeguarding as “continuity” and what it means to a cherished heritage call for further investigation in the *bigwala* community. Further, the binarism of change and conservativeness in heritage practice is potentially a subject of academic contest. In the wake of this discourse, Winter (2014) gives an origin of the demeaning view of heritage that “understandings of heritage today sit within a...[perception] that emerged under conditions of exploration and colonialism, with all their attendant assumptions and ideologies of orientalism, civilisational hierarchies, primitivism and so forth” (p. 560). An awareness of these negating aspects of heritage safeguarding and practice can form basis for putting in place measures that can ensure sustainability of a heritage practice.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter provides the methodological underpinning of this study. Methodology is a “more generic term that refers to the general logic and theoretical perspective for a research” (Bogan & Biklen, 2007, p. 35). This methodology chapter includes the Research Design, Study Population, Sampling, Research Instruments, and Research Procedure, and Data Analysis.

3.1. Research Design

According to Blaikie (2000), a research design “is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to the research questions and to control variance...[It] is the overall scheme or program of the research” (p. 37). Kumar (2011) explains that a “research design is a procedural plan that is adopted by the researcher to answer questions validly, objectively, accurately, and economically” (p. 94). The study utilized qualitative data Barone and Eisner (2012) that enabled the researcher to understand the meanings that people “have constructed about their world and their experiences... [and] how [those] people make sense of their experiences” (Merriam, 2002, p. 5). The researcher specifically used phenomenological research design. Moran (2000) suggests, phenomenology “describe[s] things as they appear to consciousness” (p. 6). Moran adds that “the way problems, things, and events are approached must involve taking their manner of appearance to consciousness into consideration” (p. 6). Phenomenology’s strength lies in “calling attention to aspects of [lived] experience”. This approach enabled the researcher to understand what *bigwala* heritage “means

for the participants, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in their setting...[to get] depth of understanding" (Merriam, 2002, p. 5). In short, the study involved in-depth exploration of the phenomenon that enabled the researcher to understand the meaning that the studied Basoga communities ascribe to *bigwala* heritage and its practice as a social or human experience (O'Reilly, 2012) drawn from their lived experiences.

3.2 Study Population

The study population includes the Basoga people whose heritage is the focus of this study. According to the Uganda population survey of 2014, the Basoga were 2.96 million (Uganda Bureau, of S., 2016, p. 20). Since it is not possible for the whole population to participate in the study, the researcher used a representative sample. These were selected from the youths, women, cultural leaders, local government officials, and participants in the *bigwala* revival project.

The researcher selected a total of sixteen respondents including: four cultural leaders or kingdom officials and chiefdom officials, four masters and youths who played *bigwala*, and eight youths and women selected from the two chiefdoms. After realizing that he had obtained sufficient data to achieve his objectives, the researcher did not continue to select more respondents, although he had planned to involve twenty-four respondents in the study.

3.3 Sampling

Collins, Onwuegbuzie, and Jiao (2007) explain that "sampling denotes the explicit strategy used to select units" for example people, groups, settings, and events that are to be studied. The study employed purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

3.3.1 Purposeful Sampling. This type of sampling is used “when the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem” (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). This study involved purposive sampling in order to enable the researcher to get participants who had the necessary information for the study. Thus only the officials and youths who had necessary information were selected. Reports about *bigwala* that the researcher accessed include names of persons who are regarded as masters of the *bigwala* practice. In addition to those, the culture officials in Busoga kingdom offered more information. Respondents were selected basing on their involvement in the *bigwala* heritage practice. After collecting data from the master musicians, kingdom officials, and leading elders and community leaders, the researcher used snowball sampling to select more respondents in order to get more data, and also corroborate the data that he had already collected.

3.3.2 Snowball Sampling. Kumar (2011) explains that snowball sampling “is the process of selecting a sample using networks...[where] a few individuals of a group or organization are selected and the required information is collected from them. They are then asked to identify other people in the group and the people selected by them become part of the sample” (p. 208). Kumar suggests that “this process is continued until the required number or a saturation point” (p. 208). The researcher used snowball sampling in order get additional data from informants that were recommended to him by the already identified respondents. In doing so, the researcher was mindful of the limitations associated with snowball sampling such as bias of the informants who may tend to recommend their friends only.

3.4 Data Collection

According to O'Reilly (2012), data collection involves systematically documenting details from daily life, documenting speech, habits, customs, as well as magic formulae, and myths; making lists, drawing maps, constructing genealogies and taking photographs and field notes, recording not only those occurrences and details that are prescribed by tradition, but also the actual actions that are observed as they occur. Additionally, Amin (2005) explains that “qualitative data [involves] observation, interviews [and] group discussions” (p. 282). The researcher used various methods to collect data, which is a process where a researcher triangulates different data sources (Amin, 2005). The researcher triangulated data sources by making transcriptions of existent audio and audio-visual recordings, and analyzing publications about the *bigwala*, interviewing individuals and organizing focus group discussions. This enabled the researcher to “acquire and analyze data from all angles and give a more concrete and realistic description” (Amin, 2005, p. 74) of the situation.

3.4.1 Research Instruments. A research instrument or data collection instrument refers to the methods that are used to gather data or information from the subjects. The data collection instruments for this study included interview guides, observation guides, focus group discussion guides, and audio and audio-visual recording devices.

3.4.2 Researcher as the Instrument. The researcher was the primary instrument of this study. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) argue that “qualitative research has actual settings as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument” (p. 4). In relation to that Merriam (2002) suggests that “the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis” (p.

5) in qualitative research. Maxwell (2005) states that “researchers have long recognized that in the field the researcher is the instrument of the research” (pp. 37-38), since the goal of this research was to get in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Merriam (2002) explains that “the human instrument, which is able to be immediately responsive and adaptive...[is] the ideal means of collecting and analyzing data” (p. 5). The researcher used his body parts such as eyes to observe, ears to hear information in the research context, hands to take notes, mind to process data and take decisions—and in that way he played a central role in the research process.

Merriam (2002) does not agree with researchers who argue that “the human instrument has...biases that might have an impact on the study” (p. 5), since can be difficult to eliminate biases or subjectivities, she suggests that “it is important to identify the [biases] and monitor them as they may be shaping the collection and interpretation of data” (p. 5). Additionally, Eisner and Peshkin (1990) explain that “subjectivity is not sometimes to be purged from the research community...[but] rather to be acknowledged, understood, and learned from in the process of constructing the relations and representations of cultural selves and others.” (p. 38). Recognition of these issues enabled the researcher to identify the various lenses through which to view the participants, and to imagine what perceptions the respondents had of him, and the power relations that needed to be cultivated in order to successfully gain access to the participants’ lived worlds. Thus in this study researcher subjectivity and power relations were taken into account. As Eisner and Peshkin (1990) suggest “the power relations set perceptible and imperceptible limits upon the range of choices and actions in which we may engage to further one or more of our interests and, in turn, variously affect our subjectivities” (p. 39).

3.4.3 Observation Guide. The researcher used “observation because it is with concrete incidents of human behavior that investigators can think more clearly and deeply about the human condition” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 43). He followed a predesigned observation guide with the objective of realizing “descriptive and reflective notes...about [his] experiences, hunches and learning...from portraits of the informants, the physical setting, particular events and activities, and...[my] reactions” (Creswell, 2007, p. 134) to all those.

3.4.4 Interviews Guide. The researcher used interview guides to conduct “un-structured interview” (Kumar, 2011, p. 160) both as “in-depth interviewing [and] focus group interviewing” (Kumar, 2011, p. 160). In-depth interviewing involved “repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants’ perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words” (Kumar, 2011, p. 160). The researcher used the interview guides during the “repeated contacts...[and] extended length time spent with an informant” (Kumar, 2011, p. 160). The researcher also used focus group discussion guides in order to “explore the perceptions, experiences and understanding” (Kumar, 2011, p. 160) of respondents “who have some experience[s] in common with regards to situation[s] or event[s]” (p. 160) that the study focused on.

3.4.5 Documentary Analysis. Additional data was obtained using documentary analysis. The researcher extracted descriptive, historical, and narrative information from existing literature about this heritage (Kumar, 2011). There were newspaper articles and other written resources that the researcher used to corroborate data. In doing this, he took into account the personal

biases of authors of information in cases such as newspapers and magazines. Therefore, he checked the plausibility of documentary information with data from other sources.

3.4.6 Audio and Video Documentary Analysis. The researcher also used audio and audio-visual tools to extract to collect data. Silverman (2010) explains that when the researcher records field materials in audio or audio-visual formats which may be an observed activity or interview, those materials “could be listened to repeatedly” and transcribed so that “textural transcripts could be produced” (p. 200). Kumar (2011) also suggests that “observations can be recorded on videotape or other electronic devices and then analyzed” (p. 143). The researcher recorded the interviews, focus group discussions, and performances of *bigwala* music and dance. The researcher also accessed extant audio and audio-visual recordings of how the knowledge and skills of *bigwala* gourds farming, *bigwala* instruments making, playing and dancing to the music were transferred from the elderly bearers of the heritage to the youths during the revival project. All these audio and audio-visual materials were analyzed and some of them transcribed for deeper analysis as part of the data.

3.5 Quality Control

Quality control was catered for by ensuring trustworthiness, credibility, as well as validity and reliability of research instruments. The researcher ensured quality first and foremost through triangulation of research instruments, data sources and sites. In addition to that he ensured trustworthiness and took into consideration issues of validity and credibility as recommended for qualitative inquiry.

3.5.1 Validity of Research Instruments. According to Amin (2005), validity is the ability to produce findings that are in agreement with theoretical or conceptual values, and in the case of this study design the objectives and research questions. The researcher took into consideration a post-positivist approaches of assessing validity including, as Butler-Kisber (2010) states, “descriptive validity or factual accuracy of the account, and interpretative validity...[a] degree to which the accounts reflect the insider perspectives ... and theoretical validity...[which means] how well the interpretation functions as an account of a phenomenon” (p. 14).

3.5.2 Trustworthiness. Butler-Kisber (2010) explains that pragmatists and constructivists use “trustworthiness or credibility and persuasiveness” (p. 13) instead of validity and reliability. In view of that, the researcher ensured trustworthiness by carrying out “a coherent and transparent research process and illustrating an adherence to researcher reflexivity and reflection” (Butler-Kisber, p. 14). He also ensured credibility by making sure that “the truth is accurately identified and described” (Butler-Kisber, p. 14). In relation to that she explains that “factors which enhance credibility...[may include] length of time in the field, multiple sources of field text and participant check” (p. 13). Also, Butler-Kisber adds that there is “need to work through consent process of the participants” (p. 13), not once but “as an ongoing negotiation rather than a single moment of consent” (p. 13) which goes without saying that “the relationship between the researcher and participants cover the entire period of the research” (Merriam, 2002, p. 5).

3.6 Research Procedure

A researcher may carry “multiple identities...[and must] sort out the ontological perspectives (beliefs about the nature of being / reality) and epistemological perspectives (beliefs about how knowledge is acquired) that [s/he] brings to her work” (Butler-Kisber , 2010, p. 5). She explains that qualitative inquiry is “emergent in nature” (p. 5). A researcher does not begin work “with a specific theoretical lens as critical theorists might do [but] accounts for her research perspective and monitors this clearly and transparently throughout the work, and allows understandings to emerge” (p. 5). The research process [involved] emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant’s setting, data analyzed inductively building from particulars to general themes, and [made textual] interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014).

Before going to the research field, the researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Head of Performing Arts Department that stated the reason for the study, and requested leaders and other members of the communities to assist the researcher in carrying out the study. In the field, the researcher treated each respondent independently and separate interview arrangements were made. Each respondent was interviewed many times as long as they were willing, and until the researcher reached saturation point. Focus Group Discussions were held separately. A SAMSUNG Galaxy Tablet was used to record the proceedings of interviews and discussions after obtaining permission from the subjects. Thus recordings of interviews and Focus Group Discussions were transcribed and included into the data. In addition to that the researcher took notes of observed phenomena and obtained additional data was in line with the study objectives. The process of data gathering and analysis was iterative as is often the case

with phenomenological inquiry. When all data was collected and analyzed the research report was compiled.

3.6 Data Analysis

The researcher followed Butler-Kisber's (2010) recommendation of "close reading and rereading [and] listening and viewing, dialoguing with [oneself] about what was being revealed" (p. 30). Analysis involved "looking for categories, themes, or dimensions of information" (Creswell, 2007, p. 153). Thus, this study involved "assigning names to categories" (Butler-Kisber, 2010, p. 31) of data and "working back and forth across the categories expanding and contracting them as the analysis" (p. 31) progresses. He then allocated "code names to categories that came from the words of the participants" (p. 31) in order to bring in their "*emic*—insider perspectives" (p. 31) and merge with his *etic*—outsider views to generate a composite account of the phenomenon. Furthermore, he went on "reducing field texts to reveal some common features of shared understandings across experiences" (Butler-Kisber, p. 52). The researcher also used Meriam's (2002) suggestion that a "researcher can expand his/her understanding through nonverbal as well as verbal communication, process information (data) immediately, clarify and summarize materials, check with respondents for accuracy of interpretation, and explore unusual or unanticipated responses" (p. 5).

3.7 Ethical Consideration

In course of carrying out this study, the researcher ensured informants' prior consent as Silverman (2010) suggests that respondents "must be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research [and] what their participation...entails" (p. 155) and

adds that this “underpins the meaning of informed consent” (p. 155, as cited in Creswell, 2007, p. 141). Furthermore, Barrett and Stauffer (2009) explain that “respect in the inquiry process is a transactional–negotiated quality among all parties that affect everyone and functions in multiple levels” (p. 21). The researcher did not only respect the respondents but also ensured confidentiality as Silverman (2010) explains that “confidentiality of information supplied...[and] anonymity of respondents must be respected” (p. 155) and that those respondents “must participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion” (p. 155). This was done as well as taking into account the safety of the respondents as Silverman suggests that “harm of research participants must be avoided” (p. 156).

The researcher took into consideration what Silverman (2010) describes as “independence and impartiality...[where the researcher] must be clear, and any conflict of interest or partiality must be explicit” (p. 156). Blaikie (2010) explains that “an important choice that all social researchers have to make is what stance to take towards the research process and participants; what relationship will be between the researcher and the researched...the researcher can adopt outside expert, inside learner or reflective partner” (p. 50). In the context of these suggestions, the researcher took the inside learner stance in order to document and preserve an “accurate description” (Eisner & Peshkin 1990, p. 47) of how the participants view “things in the context of interactions” (Eisner & Peshkin, 1990, p. 47) with others. The researcher also took into account what Clandinin et al. (2006) suggest, that a qualitative researcher comes to the story platform standing at “the crossing point of too many social and cultural forces...[his/her] identity has to be perceived as multiple” (p. 26). These multiple identities bring to the inquiry “various storylines shaping and reshaping the composition of [one’s] lives...[and they] do not exist in isolation from one another or from the broader social and cultural milieu” (p. 26) in which one

lives. The researcher was “a fully immersed participant-observer, who surrenders herself to the native experience and account of their subculture, [and not as] as an unobtrusive fly on the wall, who gleans privileged knowledge and insight into the participants culture” (p. 47) but “forsakes generalizations in favor of the image of contextually and inductively built qualitative description and theory” (p. 48) and “uses the discourse of the discovery and exploration of the culture of others” (p. 48).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION, AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Overview

The data is presented, analyzed and discussed under the following headings: (a) the practice of *Bigwala* heritage (b) threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* heritage (c) ways of ensuring sustainability of *bigwala* heritage.

4.1 The Practice of *Bigwala* Musical Heritage

The practice of *bigwala* music heritage will be discussed under the following heading: (1) construction of the *bigwala* instruments, (2) how *bigwala* music is played, (3) dancing to *bigwala* music, and (4) the social role of *bigwala* in Busoga society.

4.1.1 Construction of the *Bigwala* Instruments. The *bigwala* instruments are made by combining two types of gourds. The researcher observed two types of gourds. The long one called *olwendo* (singular) or *enhendo* (plural) that also get twisted as in (Fig. 4.1) below, and



Fig. 4.1: *Enhendo* (gourds) used for making *bigwala* (Photo by researcher)

short one called *entafuka*. *Entafuka* are edible but *enhendo* are not edible. Gourds are dried indoors before they are used to make *bigwala*. The gourds are cut into pieces using small handsaw (Fig. 4.2) and many Basoga youths learnt to make *bigwala*. They observed one another and learnt how to cut the gourds from the master players. Master players drew lines for youths to cut through (Fig. 4.3). I observed that making *bigwala* is a collaborative activity and members of the community work in teams as the youths did.



Fig. 4.2: Cutting gourds to make bigwala (Photo by Muwenda Robert)



Fig. 4.3: Youths discuss how to cut marked gourds (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

When gourds are cut into pieces, they are fitted onto each other using wax or resin or rubber bands to make them airtight, and to fix them firmly onto one another. A mouthpiece is bored on the thin end of the long gourd using *akambe* (knife). The short and long pieces are not joined using resin or any other sticky wax. Since they are not joined, they remain two separate pieces. It is the work of *omugwala* (player of *ekigwala*) to fit the two pieces together firmly before playing. I observed that all *bigwala* are in two pieces which the players join before starting to play. When the pieces do not get fixed firmly enough to be airtight, the player adds water to increase friction between the two pieces.

Craftsmen make a set of *bigwala* starting with *enhana*, the deepest in pitch, then *empala*, and the others in order. One master musician explained that this is done so that in case the gourds are cut and they are too short to fit a lower sound, then they are used to make the next one. This enables them to save their gourds which would be spoiled arising from mistakes which happen in the course of cutting to tune the *bigwala*. *Bigwala* are tuned to a pentatonic scale—that has five notes—to which, all other Basoga musical instruments like *embaire*, *endere*, *enkwanzi*, and *ekimasa* are tuned.

Bigwala instruments (Fig. 4.4) also include drums that include: *omugaabe* (long drum with monitor lizard skin played with both hands), *endyanga* (Short drum covered with monitor lizard or sheep or goat skin that has open bottom played with both hands), *engom'enene* (big conical laced drum), *enduumi* (high pitched conical laced drum played with one hand and a stick) and *ngiringidi* or *mbidimbidi* (small conical laced drum played with two sticks).



Fig. 4.4: Bigwala instruments set (Photo by Researcher)

The master musicians explained that there are people who specialized in making drums. The researcher visited one Kaziba family at Kalalu village, in Bugweri County that has specialized in making drums including those used by *bigwala* musicians. Drum makers do not make only *bigwala* drums. They make Busoga drums that are distinguished from other drums of Uganda by their conical shape and the way they are laced. According to them the process of making drums involves fifty five tasks and this makes the job tedious. However, there are youths and elders who are involved in making drums in this village. They sell drums to crafts shop owners in different parts of the country, schools, musicians, and various other cultural institutions. When *bigwala* players need to buy drums, they contact drum makers at Kalalu where the researcher visited as shown in (Fig. 4.5) below. The *bigwala* and the drums constitute the complete set of instruments.



Fig. 4.5: The researcher at the *bigwala* drum makers' workshop (Photo by Wagulimba Felix)

Bigwala players pour some water inside *ekigwala* before playing. When I asked the players why they were doing so before playing, their answer was the same throughout that, water makes *ekigwala* to sound easily. The master musicians repeatedly stated that the five instruments in the *bigwala* set are named as follows: *enyana* (either calf or one that yells) followed by *empala* (leopard), *endasasi* (one which strikes repeatedly), *endesi* (starter) and *endumirizi* (sounds loudest). *Enhana* is the lowest pitch which is followed in size and pitch by *empala*, then *endhasasi*, *endesi* and the smallest and highest in pitch is *endumirizi*.

Bigwala instruments names embed Basoga connection of concepts of pitch to real beings such as animals, and roles of different instruments. One master musician said the name *enhana* is derived from a Lusoga word *okwana* (To yell). The *kigwala* called *enhana* is said to be the one that yells loudest of all. The researcher observed that the *kigwala* which yells most was the *enhana*. This means that each instrument in the *bigwala* set has a specific role. The role of the

enhana is to yell loudest. Another one is called *endeesi* (the one that brings). *Endeesi* is used to characterize the *kigwala* that is the starter of the songs, and then others join.

4.1.2 How *Bigwala* Music is Played. The researcher learnt that the *kigwala*⁶ player puts his mouth on to the mouthpiece and blows air into it. The player accumulates air that keeps swelling his or her cheeks as he or she blows the *kigwala*. The master players explain that it okay to breathe through the nose, but that it is better to breathe through the mouth as you blow. In doing so, one takes a deep breath and wets the mouthpiece with saliva. Wetting the mouth piece is helpful because the saliva also gets into the instrument and keeps it wet and easier to play. The master players also explained that it is very important to pour some water into the *bigwala* before starting to play in order to make the instruments easier to blow. When blowing, the player uses one hand to support the *kigwala* in playing position; and keep it firmly fixed onto the mouth. The other hand holds the two pieces of the instrument together.⁷

One *bigwala* musician explained that it is important for a player to be a good listener:

You must listen carefully to the other players in order to come in at the correct point in the song. If you do not come in at the point when your note should be heard, you confuse the others and the song gets mixed up. Every *kigwala* is equally important because that is how a song is complete. If one *kigwala* misses, the song will be incomplete. (Interview with JLG, March 12, 2018).

This is rooted in the oral and aural nature of music transmission among the Basoga communities, and indeed many other African societies. In that way *Bigwala* music eventually enables the player to develop listening skills, which is a fundamental requisite of community musicians in

⁶ Singular for *bigwala*

⁷ Every *kigwala* is made of two pieces which are detachable and only fixed loosely together when playing

Busoga. Basoga musicians learn and play their instruments by listening to others play then they imitate. One *bigwala* youth mentioned that when he heard a song, it would stick in his mind so that when it was time to learn, he only retrieved it from his memory. The youth pointed out that many of his peers were very good at memorizing songs. This made the process of learning *bigwala* easy for them, and also enabled them to learn different songs easily. Also, *Bigwala* music requires all players to be present at the same time otherwise when one of them is absent; the ones who are present cannot play a song. In this way every *kigwala* is equally important. This collectivist nature of *bigwala* heritage practice does not only inspire a spirit of *community-ism* but also encourages respect for, and among members of the society. These two aspects contribute to realization of collective goals among the people including ensuring sustainability of a valued heritage.

The researcher observed that *bigwala* players move in a procession (Fig. 4.6) as they sway their *bigwala* up and down in joy. Although they did not seem to follow any kind of order among the players, whenever they played, those with the same sound clustered together. They also moved in a circular formation around the drum players, who were always kneeling or sitting while playing. At times the circle got a bit messy when the singers and dancers joined it. Nonetheless it was always the practice for the ones that blew to move in a circular formation.



Fig. 4.6: Bigwala performers moving in a procession (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

One player explained:

We move in a circular procession close to one another. This enables us to hear one another's sound with ease. Even when dancers join the procession, they are not supposed to mix up with us otherwise we will not hear one another which would make us to get mixed up. (Interview with JMK, July 19, 2018)

The researcher observed contradicting actions when the players, singers and dancers performed together. The singers and dancers kept on mixing with the players, and the songs were not mixed up. Once the players combined and the song was established even when other participants joined in the performance, the songs did not get mixed up. Even when singers and dancers joined trumpeters played with ease regardless of where each player was. The player appeared to not depend on visual skills, but aural ones as already explained.

A master player said that every player must have the whole song running in their mind so that they can determine which point in the song, their particular sound fits. This makes *bigwala*

playing a holistic experience since a player does not perceive the music in terms of the single note they play but rather as whole song.

The researcher learnt that either *empala* or *enhana* or *endeesi* were starting songs. It appeared as if the player who proposed the song to be played was the first to play then others joined. For example, he observed severally that the song “*waiswa mugude*” was started by *enhana*. Therefore, if the names *endeesi* is strictly reflective of its role in the set, then it is possible that the practice of *bigwala* has changed with time. The researcher also found out that some songs have been composed on other instruments and later adopted for playing by *bigwala* musicians.

4.1.3 Dancing to *Bigwala* Music. The researcher observed that before *bigwala* dancers start the musicians have to play their parts properly, singers begin then finally dancers come. At times the dancers play before they start to dance like the two dancers below (Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7: Two *bigwala* dancers wearing vests and dancing skins (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

The singers start to move in circular formation around the five drum players together with the trumpeters. The dancers come in wriggling their waists and wave hands following the rhythm of instruments. Dancers also make comic gesturations and smile all the time when dancing.

4.1.4 Role of *Bigwala* in Busoga Society. One master player explained that *bigwala* was royal music since he was a child. He quoted his late father that “Bigwala were played in Bugabula before they were moved to Bugweri and Busiki.⁸ They were used to lead the king’s coronation procession. We also played the royal funeral of Wambuzi in 2008.” One of the master musicians showed a photograph (Fig. 4.8) below that was taken by when they had just returned from playing at a funeral in 2008.



Fig. 4.8: Elderly *bigwala* players in 2008⁹ (Photo by Walusimbi Haruna)

⁸ Bugabula, Bugweri and Busiki are chiefdoms of Busoga kingdom

⁹ Only Lugolole James (second from left) was still alive by the time of writing this dissertation in August, 2018

When the researcher asked the Minister in charge of culture in Busoga kingdom what the role of *bigwala* is in the kingdom he said, “Culturally it symbolizes that the king is in the office. *Bigwala* welcome him and send him off from an event. They are used to enthrone him or send him off when he dies” (Interview with RMA, July 21, 2018). The Minister suggested the cultural roles of *bigwala* in the kingdom. He pointed out the main events when *bigwala* is played in the kingdom and what they symbolize. He explains that when *bigwala* are played, then it means that there is a reigning king. As Ssekandi (2017) explains:

This music is important because it represents the identity of the Basoga people when there is a royal event. When they are enthroning the king of Busoga, it is the [*b*] *igwala* music that is played....When a Busoga king dies, before he is buried, the [*b*] *igwala* people have to be there to play while every mourner is asked to stay far away from the body (Xinhua report on February 20, 2017).

The researcher also learnt that *bigwala* music is also played at different social occasions in the community. During a conversation which the researcher listened to a master musician said to a friend that “You remember when we played during Otuli’s funeral at Nabitende. That time I was not proficient. It was Akamada who encouraged me to join. All other players including Sulayi, Dungu and Nyale were already masters.” Later the researcher found out that Otuli was a former *bigwala* player and they went to mourn him by playing his favorite instrument. The master musicians also talked about playing at weddings, house warming parties and other funerals. One elder also mentioned that *bigwala* was the original music which was played at almost all social functions in the community.

4.2 Threats to the Sustainability of *Bigwala* Musical Heritage

Data from the study revealed that the main threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* music and dance include: foreign cultural influence, weakened cultural institutions and effects of the global monetary economy on cultural production. Each of these is discussed below.

4.2.1 Foreign Cultural Influence. Members of the communities repeatedly pointed out that the influence of foreign cultures was affecting the practice of *bigwala* music and dance. The main influences which I noted include: western school education, Christianity and contemporary pop music. In relation to western school education, one of the *bigwala* master musicians complained: “I had started to teach youths how to play *bigwala* here using papaya (Fig. 4.8) stalks as our instruments. When schools started, the children disappeared. They were told not to come back because what I was teaching them was useless” (Interview AKK Master Musician).

This is rooted in a view that made indigenous education to be of no value in society (Ssekamwa, 2000). The early missionary educators convinced the people that it was only what they taught children that constituted education. Missionaries assured the young and their parents that education strictly meant, as Ssekamwa (2000) suggests “What the missionaries were talking about in what came to be called schools and not what the elders helplessly continued to talk about around the fireplace and in the homestead” (p. 23). The missionaries demonized indigenous education, and this continues to be the case in Ugandan society, which is a real threat to the practice of *bigwala* as long as it is rooted in indigenous music education practice.

4.2.2 Weakened Cultural Institution. The kingdom of Busoga has interest in *bigwala* heritage. However, it does not yet have a capacity to finance the continuous practice of the

heritage in a broad context; a context where hundreds of performers are regularly engaged. One of the members who participated in the *bigwala* revival explained that:

The kingdom is passionate about *bigwala*, but they do not seem to have money to support it. We wanted to hold a *bigwala* festival, but when we approached the kingdom for support, they failed. I doubt that they can support the heritage continuously (interview with HRW, April 19, 2018).

Inability of the kingdom to finance the heritage is a real threat. The youths have high expectations that the kingdom can finance their involvement in the practice of the *bigwala* heritage. That is possibly why they are highly interested in performing for the king. Another indicator of the kingdom's inability to finance the heritage was when the youth performed at the coronation anniversaries. The players were provided transport to the event and some of them expected performance allowances. One of the leaders pointed out that "the service of the kingdom is for free, not where people could demand payments. Any payments were just a token because the work involved was connected to their blood—the Busoga blood" (Interview with WSH, July 20, 2018).

In view of this, either the players need to adjust their expectations, or the kingdom should consider a comprehensive plan to support *bigwala* practice. This is in view of the fact that in Africa change is taking place at a fast rate, and that is affecting ways of being in the communities. Nketia (2001) explains that, "in post-colonial Africa, this process of change has continued to be aggravated by rural-urban migrations, the impact of the media, and global pressures" (p. 225). He adds that, although "many traditional cultural forms still exist in many

communities, especially in the rural areas, there are others in which such traditions have been eroded, weakened, or replaced by new or completely foreign usages” (p. 225). The effect of change, as suggested by Nketia is, thus, an important one that calls for attention in this respect.

4.2.3 Effects of a Global Monetary Economy. Loss of interest in farming *bigwala* gourds can lead to complete end to *bigwala* heritage. This will cause absence of the primary materials used to make the instruments. Absence of gourds that are used to make *bigwala* can lead to a complete end of this heritage. When farmers cease to grow them, it can lead to extinction of *bigwala*. The *bigwala* safeguarding project faced a challenge of getting gourds since people had stopped to grow them. They had seen no value in growing them as one elder said: “We had stopped to grow them because we saw no value in them but now the *bigwala* are back, we shall grow them in plenty since there is market for them” (Interview with a community elder). Farming of gourds like any other crop depends on availability of a market. When kingdoms were abolished in Uganda in 1967, the performance of *bigwala* diminished and nobody cared to grow gourds.

When the *bigwala* safeguarding project started in 2015, gourds were not available in the communities as explained by one of the community elders:

We got these gourds from very far and it was not easy. We went to Mbale, Bukedea, Teso in Kokoi, Pallisa, Bulamogi, Kidera, Buyende, Bunha and many other places that we suspected to have gourds. We took a sample of *ekigwala*¹⁰ which we showed people and requested them to direct us to wherever they had ever seen such gourds. Our biggest

¹⁰ singular for *bigwala*

problem was lack of transport. We used to hire a motorcycle for a day and yet we were not sure of the last destination or even whether we would get the gourds. On many occasions we returned and got surcharged yet we returned without gourds.

The process of getting gourds was a tiresome and costly one. As the elder explained, they went to many places and had challenges of bad roads and expensive transport, not knowing local languages of other ethnic societies where they went to search for gourds, and sometimes harsh weather. The project supported this activity with financial resources which made it possible to search all those distant places until a mother gourd was found. It is apparent that if the project had not taken place, members of the community would not have sufficient financial resources to search for the seeds. If gourds had not been found *Bigwala* musical heritage would have disappeared all together.

One of the community members explained how they later managed to communicate with people of other ethnic societies where they went to search for gourds:

We took a photograph of *ekigwala* and wherever we went we requested one person who could understand Lusoga to say our request in their local language. We could play that recording on the phone for the other members of his community. We used to take people's numbers and call them regularly to find out if they had got any gourds.

This is how the *parent gourd* was found. Seeds from that gourd were distributed among the most enthusiastic members of the community. After the first harvest more gourds seeds were available for distribution to all interested members of the community. Gourds are currently available in abundance.

4.3 Measures on the Sustainability of *Bigwala* Musical Heritage

Data revealed that measures to ensure the sustainability of *bigwala* heritage included: teaching the heritage to youths, returning heritage to kingdom patronage, and making the heritage economically viable.

4.3.1 Teaching the Heritage to Youths. Creating a new generation of *bigwala* players was the fundamental interest of the communities in order to ensure that the practice of this heritage continues. They believed that the main way to ensure that *bigwala* continues into the future was to create new youthful players. Therefore, youths in communities and in schools were encouraged to learn how to make, play and dance to *bigwala*. They were taught by the master musicians together with talented music teachers. The music teachers brought additional skills and contributed to the learning processes by being part of the teaching teams. One music teacher who worked with the *bigwala* master musicians to teach youths explained:

I play and teach playing of musical instruments such as *embaire* [xylophone], *enkwanzi* [pan pipes], *endongo* [lamellaphone], and *engoma* [drum] among others. Another teacher has variously been involved with me in music activities. He plays all the instruments that I play and he is a dance technique expert. We had traditional music training of various forms; listening to and observing experts play, learning from instruction by better players in the villages, and seeking peer instruction. Two additional facilitators were experts of *bigwala* making and playing who learned from the master musicians. They learned how to make and play the instruments traditionally from the surviving *bigwala* expert. Four of us taught *bigwala* to school children at Buwenge Muslim Primary School. (Interview with IMJ, March 21, 2018)

Teaching teams moved to different communities and schools to inspire and pass on the skills to youths. In addition to the teams, school teachers and master musicians worked together in order to pass on the *bigwala* skills effectively. The master musicians taught the youths how to make the *bigwala*, how to play and dance. Later the youths that learned how to perform were involved in performances where they got paid. One of the *bigwala* youths at Butyabule told me that “At first we were not sure that we could manage. Later we got deeply involved and started to get some money from performances. We are very happy. Mzee taught us well.” More youths got inspired to learn *bigwala* when they saw friends getting money. It was also easier for them to learn from fellow youths who had already been taught by the master musicians. There were also trained music teachers who joined the master musicians to teach the youths. The teachers offered their skills and in this manner learning of the tradition happened effectively.

Teaching the youths how to perform this heritage ensured its sustainability since they will perform it and pass on their skills to the next generations. In addition to that, creating opportunities for them to perform, and get paid increased their interest. The youths recognized *bigwala* as a source of additional income in various ways: growing the gourds, playing the music, making the instruments and selling them and teaching the music and dance to those who wanted to learn were opportunities to earn some money.

In addition to that *bigwala* heritage was taught to youths in the communities (Fig. 4.9) by the master musicians, music teachers and fellow youths who used their local language that fitted their cultural setting.



Fig. 4.9: Mawanga village *bigwala* community (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

The master musicians and the youths developed passion for the heritage. One youth who participated in teaching together with the master musicians said “although we were people who are unable to read or write words, we were highly skilled and knowledgeable in facilitating the learning of *bigwala*. We mastered *bigwala* tuning to any instruments. This has inspired the youths in different places to join us.” The fact that teaching was done by people who were closely associated to the communities contributed to the effectiveness of the processes and encouraged many youths to participate and learn.

Youth learned to grow gourds that are used to make *bigwala* (Fig. 4. 10 and Fig. 4. 11). This strengthened the viability of *bigwala* in two ways:



Fig. 4.10: Researcher being shown bigwala gourds plant (Photo by Wagulimba Felix)

The main materials that used to make *bigwala* became available in the communities abundantly. This is the only way *bigwala* instruments can continue to exist in the original manner. As long as member of the communities continue to grow gourds, as they indeed pledge, *bigwala* can possibly continue to exist. The other aspect to *bigwala* gourds farming is the economic benefits that farmers gained. All members of the communities worked hard to grow gourds in order to sell them and earn money. One of the farmers explained that “I do not have to grow a big garden. The gourds creep onto trees and that makes them good. Once they creep, I only wait to harvest. The only challenge is severe drought. So we plant when rain comes and they take only four months” (Interview TNJ, July 14, 2018). Farmers manifested determination to continue growing gourds and supply the makers with those materials.



Fig. 4.11: Farmer of bigwala gourds in his garden (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

Bigwala heritage was also introduced in schools (Fig. 4.12). Involvement of school children has also strengthened its sustainability. The master musicians and skilled *bigwala* youths were invited in schools to teach children. They taught members of the school choirs in the schools. Since schools participate in annual Music, Dance and Drama festivals, there is an opportunity for *bigwala* to be included in the festival instruments and dances by the schools. After learning *bigwala* music and dance in 2017, Buwenge Muslim Primary School started practice for school festivals. They felt it was necessary because they had gotten a new-yet-old item to strengthen their competitiveness during the festival and, which could enable them to compete more favorably.



Fig. 4.12: Buwenge School pupils learn to make bigwala (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

Also school performances are a powerful way to disseminate *bigwala* heritage since children interact with their home communities as well as their school communities. Members of the communities attend the festivals, and learners share what they learn at school with their communities particularly peers in the villages. This increased the sustainability of *bigwala* since it started to exist in communities in real terms.

Bigwala was taught to nine communities in different parts of Busoga. This is another way of ensuring sustainability because different parts of Busoga have experienced this heritage. One youth who learnt said:

I am happy as a youth to learn because when the old pass away, we can continue this tradition since we are getting the knowledge and skills. The elders are working hard to teach us the youths. We have learned it now. A good foundation is being laid and *bigwala* music is going to become very popular. (Interview with SRD, June 11, 2018)

Youths in the communities felt they were learning *bigwala* which they were going to pass on to the next generation. They viewed as teacher so the next generation of *bigwala* which strengthens the sustainability of this heritage. The system of learning in the communities is effective because children observe their parents and friends and learn from them through participation. This is dependable because the communities will always exist, and as long as they are interested in the heritage, it will be performed.

When the researcher inquired whether they really liked the music, one of the youths who learnt to play and had participated in the coronation anniversaries (Fig. 4.13) said it was unique. *Bigwala* music gave them opportunity to bring a new-yet-old musical expression which made



Fig. 4.13: Bigwala players at coronation anniversary (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

youths to like it. He said, “Youths like *bigwala* because it is different from other traditions. When it starts, you love it, and even babies like it. It is unique and special, not common to the ears of the people. I have not met anybody who does not like this music.” (Interview with WSH, July 20, 2018) *Bigwala* can continue to exist since the youths have embraced it. They like it because the sound is not common. It is also expressive of what Agawu (2003) explains that African music:

is communal and inviting, drawing in a range of consumers young and old, skilled and unskilled. It allows for spontaneous and authentic expression of emotion. It is integrated with social life rather than set apart, natural rather than artificial, and deeply human in its material significance. (p. xi)

When music is performed, it attracts people of all gender and they communicate their feeling at that moment. The communality of the performances gives this heritage power over youths and provides the opportunity for them to socialize. The researcher also observed from a recording of the performance at the coronation that the drums provide a groove which youths enjoyed.

4.3.2 Returning Heritage to the Kingdom Patronage. The *bigwala* heritage was connected with the kingdom practices as it used to be in the past as the Minister for Culture, Persons with Disability, Antiquities, Social and Internal Affairs in Busoga Kingdom explains, “*Bigwala* used to be popular during those days when *Obwa Kyabazinga bwa* (the kingdom of) Busoga was in high gear but with time they ceased to be played” (Interview with RMA, July 21, 2018). According to him, the state of Busoga kingdom has an influence of the popularity of this tradition. Currently Busoga kingdom has a *Kyabazinga* who has recognized *bigwala* as part of his royal music. The kingdom is committed to work hard and ensure that the practice of *bigwala* continues as the minister for culture explains:

As the Minister of Culture in the Kingdom, I do not want this to go away. It is our responsibility to see that it is there. *Bigwala* being one of the most important music traditions we are going to work hand in hand and ensure it continues to feature in kingdom events. These people are not going to play it just for one day and as a kingdom we shall make sure we give some support to the players. (Interview with RMA, July 21, 2018)

This means *bigwala* is acknowledged by the kingdom to play a very important cultural role and that reason its continuous existence will be ensured. The minister of culture launched a uniform for *bigwala* players to confirm the commitment of the kingdom towards this heritage (Fig. 4.14). The kingdom has a duty to ensure that it continues to exist. While this may not be a very dependable option for the heritage, it signifies the value of the expression to the people.



Fig. 4.14: Busoga culture minister (in suit) launches bigwala uniform (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

It may not be dependable since kingdoms exist in a political context. When they are abolished as it happened in 1967, the musical heritage could be affected again.

However, the minister's pledge to ensure the continuous existence of *bigwala* heritage is important. It is an assurance to the youths of Butyabule whose interest is to play this music for their king that they will continue to do so. When they said, during a group discussion, that “*twenda kufuwira Kyabazinga bigwala*” (we want to play *bigwala* for the *Kyabazinga*). When the kingdom welcomes them to perform for the *Kyabazinga*, then this practice will continue to be performed. While the kingdom thrives, the practice of *bigwala* will increase. The minister for culture in the kingdom explained to me that:

During the last coronation we made sure that *bigwala* returns to its original image. That coronation anniversary was a cultural environment and whatever was there was cultural. It required all people to be happy and celebrate. The *bigwala* brought back the real cultural image. It brought us back to the past joy and during those coronation anniversaries in our time *bigwala* made a big impact. It was great as if they had been there for long yet it was just being revived. We hope the next anniversary *bigwala* will make it even more exciting as more youths come to know about them. We have the people who are in love with it. (Interview with LMK, June 30, 2018)

The minister was referring to the coronation anniversaries at Burigi on September 13th, 2016 (Fig. 4.15), and at Kamuli on September 13th, 2017 (Fig. 4.16), which were recorded and which I accessed.



Fig. 4.15: Bigwala players at Bugiri coronation on 13th September, 2016 (Photo by Muwenda Robert)



Fig. 4.16: Bigwala players at Kamuli coronation anniversary 13th September, 2017 (Photo by Muwenda Robert)

The recordings show that *bigwala* youths played with joy and the crowds joined them as if they had been organized in advance. As Ssekandi (2017) reports, the villagers joined in the dance as the troupe clad in its orange uniform swayed their waists and raising their hands in rhythm to the music. Old women were ululating as the troupe, mainly composed of youths who gave it all as the dance climaxed. Massive crowds can be seen in the recordings enjoying *bigwala* music. People of all gender followed the *bigwala* processions in large numbers, ululating, waving, dancing and making joy-filled noises to the music. This was a celebration of the musical heritage by the wider Busoga community. The communality of the experience increased agency of the youths whose identity had changed to *bigwala* musicians of the *Kyabazinga*. The experience created fertile ground for serious social engagements as Ssekandi (2017) explains that whenever we played *bigwala* at a wedding or funeral, there was a lot of excitement, many villagers came to enjoy the music. Some of us even got our life partners (wives) out of playing this music, James Lugolole, a master player told Xinhua. The experience

also inspired the youths to continue playing *bigwala* music as it increased their agency. In addition to that this heritage was revived mainly in communities where the original players lived. Those community elders contributed greatly towards inspiring youths to get interested as one elder explains:

Youths got a chance to experience their culture which had disappeared since it is back. When we revived the music and involved the master musicians, it all worked out. Many people who knew about this music were in Bukholi and Bugweri where it was mostly played in the past. That is why you see the joy and love for it. (Interview with HWA, July 23, 2018)

This elder and the minister gave information that was in agreement that Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms were the main stay of *bigwala* heritage. In addition to that as Blake (2016) suggests *bigwala* became a “transform[ed] tradition, [by] remaking [this] musical practice associated with the past for present-day purposes” (p. 98). The master musicians knew and named the greatest players of *bigwala* who passed away, such as Endhemera, Kisanye, Akamada Kakaire and Lugolole. Since many elders in Bugweri and Bukholi chiefdoms knew about *bigwala*, it made the process of encouraging youths to learn easy. Some of the youths were made to realize that the named *bigwala* players who passed away were their deceased relatives. This laid a foundation for many youths to relate with *bigwala* music since they felt a connection with the heritage.

4.3.3 Making the Heritage Economically Viable. Attachment of economic benefit to the activities of *bigwala* is another way the heritage will be viable. The farmers earned money from growing the gourds. This has led to production of enormous amounts of gourds in the communities. Also, the performers received some money from the UNESCO project. They also received money from foreign guests that came to see their work. One of the *bigwala* master musicians said:

I will never forget Jonathan Kramer. He is an American that came to see us play *bigwala*. That day my wife had a toothache and I did not have money to take her for treatment. He gave us all the money for the treatment and she got well, (Interview with JMK, July 19, 2018)

The researcher interviewed one farmer why he had a garden of *bigwala* gourds which he keenly cared for. The farmer said, “I expect money since a market has come and they are returning to Busoga kingdom, I will sell them and get school fees of my children” (Interview with MGO, May 20, 2018). The aspect of buying gourds from farmers was important. It caused farmer to pick interest in growing them. Before the revival project took place *bigwala* gourds were not available in the communities. Their absence was a major challenge for the *bigwala* project. When seeds were finally found and brought from Teso, about one hundred fifty kilometers to the east of Busoga, different communities were given seeds and taught how to grow *bigwala*. This led to multiplication of *bigwala* gourds and now they are available in the communities in plenty.

In addition, *bigwala* musicians started to perform in for the king. This increased their interest in the music and more youths started to perform it. The kingdom started to give some money to the performers which also encouraged them to cherish them music. They were not only associated with the king but were getting some money for their families. The youths also started to play in the communities and eight *bigwala* groups were formed in Bugweri and Bukhooli chiefdoms. These increased the market for the *bigwala* gourds which in turn made more farmers to grow gourds. The musicians started to buy the gourds. As the music continues to be performed for the king and in the communities, *bigwala* gourd farming will also continue. This will contribute to the sustainability of the *bigwala* heritage tremendously.

The *bigwala* playing at royal events increased agency of the players. It elevated the perception they had of their status in the kingdom. One of the master musicians explained that during mourning of a dead king the *bigwala* players perform ritualistic functions in the palace before burial. For example, when King Henry Wako Muloki passed away on September 1st, 2008, the five *bigwala* players (alive at that time) were picked up to perform their function at Nakabango palace, near Jinja town for two days and at Kaliro village, the deceased's ancestral home where he was laid to rest. The master musician expressed pride in the fact that culture officials of Busoga kingdom sent them a bus to take them to Nakabango for the funeral. He said,

We spent two days there playing *bigwala*, and then we were taken to Kaliro where we also played for two days until the burial. After burial we were given transport to return to our homes. We played because that is how the king is supposed to be buried. That is how it has been done over the years; it is our culture. (Interview with JLG, March 12, 2018)

Bigwala was practiced in a setting that is similar to the one that Grau (2001) describes as “a communal ritual context...a collective artistic experience in which feeling and intellect were combined and which gave the participants a feeling of empathy” (p. 80).

Furthermore, during the burial *bigwala* musicians were accorded special status. They were the only none royal, and non-members of the family that witnessed the burial of the king.

The master musician explained to me:

Around the grave there was a fence to keep people at a distance. We played all the time and were only ordered pause for the twenty-one-gun salute. When the gun salute was done, we resumed. They did not allow anyone to get near the grave except us, the *bigwala* players. We played *bigwala* there until the whole process of burying the king was completed. We witnessed everything that happens when the body of a king is being buried. All other people were watching from far. (Interview with JLG March 12, 2018)

The *bigwala* players felt a sense of agency when they were accorded special status at the funeral and subsequently the burial of the king. This elevated status in itself inspired many youths to

learn and to participate in the *bigwala* activities. They recognized the meaning of their new identities when they were invited to perform at the coronation anniversaries. *Bigwala* youths played their instruments in close proximity to the king.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

The discussions of findings are presented according to the study objectives under the following headings: (1) the practice of *Bigwala* trumpets musical heritage, (2) threats to the sustainability of *Bigwala* trumpets musical heritage, and (3) how the sustainability of *Bigwala* trumpets musical heritage was ensured. These will be followed by the conclusions and recommendations.

5.1.1 The Practice of *Bigwala* Trumpets Musical Heritage. The data revealed that *bigwala* trumpets are played in hocket and the music – song making practice is social, as Carver (2012) suggests, to the “single note reed pipe music” (p. 21) that is built on “a compositional technique that demonstrates the unique African focus on musical cooperation and the participation of several and often many players” (p. 21). Each player provides “just a single repeated note to the piece” (p. 21) and the music is based on a “coordinated participation, and the success of the whole depends on extraordinary musical cooperation” (p. 21). Again, like the reed pipes, *bigwala* ensembles “can be small or very large, with up to...[seventy] players” (p. 21). For example, the group that played during the coronation anniversary at Bugiri on September 13th, 2016, was comprised of about sixty players. In addition, *bigwala* music fosters among players a sense of valuing fellow players and participating in a manner that leads to realization of the collective good as Carver explains that “the way the music is structured illustrates the importance of relationships and participation. A high level of coordination and cooperation is required from

the performers in order to create the music.” (p. 24) The cooperation and coordination arise since “each member of the ensemble plays just one note...[and] each player must play his or her note on exactly the right pulse in order for the music to sound like it is supposed to sound” (p. 24).

Bigwala players move in circular formation like other aero phone players, as Carver (2012) suggests, that “if they thought of playing just one note...the Khoi pipes of the Northern Cape...since they dance round in a circle, the ear of the listener is deluded, and hears melodic...sequences of sounds that are apparently varied” (p. 21). The circular formation creates a context for unity of the members, and enables them to hear the music better like the Khoi pipers who move in circular formation. Also as Carver explains the “cyclic music by its nature repeats and therefore has certain features that increase the potential for participation” (p. 20) *Bigwala* music and dance practice creates opportunities for members of the communities to participate freely and happily.

The players of drums and women ululate, sing and clap hands, and dance all engage in the experience joyfully. Women ululate the performance reaches a climax when many participants are happy. During a *bigwala* performance men wear trousers and shirts, and women wear *gomesi*¹¹ or skirts and blouses as they wish and act as they wish. They do not have rules about dressing. When the performance begins members can decide to watch on the periphery or join in singing, clapping, dancing or engage in the music and dance making in any other way—they can join and leave the performance as they wish.

5.1.2 Threats to the Sustainability of *Bigwala* Trumpets Musical Heritage. The threats to the sustainability of *bigwala* music heritage that emerge from the data include: monetized cultural

¹¹ a dress worn by women that has raised shoulder parts which is wrapped round the body and tied with a sash

market economy, a weakened economic state of kingdom, and aural/oral nature of transmission of the heritage.

The first threat to sustainability of *bigwala* heritage is the monetized global cultural market economy. The contemporary economy for cultural production has caused actors in the cultural sector to give up due to competition. The artists who have emerged use financial resources to brand themselves for the market, which renders the indigenous musicians incapable of competing. This is due to the fact that they have insufficient exposure to financial resources. In addition, their concept of performance is rooted in the music for music's sake. They believe in performing music to fulfill their vocation in society. They believe that music should be performed as a talent and not an economic resource. They are rooted in a non-monetary concept of heritage performer-being, which has been overtaken by the contemporary monetary economy. In this way, a practice of *bigwala* without adjustment to the contemporary music market context is not sustainable. In the contemporary monetized economy, after a performance, a musician needs financial resources to sustain them and their families. Unless there is a change in the practice so that opportunities for the performers to be paid for their work are created, the sustainability of *bigwala* is not assured. As it happened in the case of the *didjeridu* music, *bigwala* heritage might have to undergo changes. Magowan (2005) explains that “dramatic changes in the social use of the *didjeridu*, and its rapid dissemination beyond the bounds of traditional contexts” (p. 81) took place. There was a “commodification stand in stark contrast to the origins of the *didjeridu* as a bamboo instrument whose use was mainly restricted to ritual performance in the tropical regions of Western Australia” (p. 81).

Another threat is the weakened economic state of Busoga Kingdom. The kingdom of Busoga was reinstated on 11th February 1996¹² after about thirty years of nonexistence. The survival of this kingdom like all other cultural institutions is in effect at the mercy of the central government since their political power was abolished (Johannessen, 2005). This makes the kingdom vulnerable to abolition by the central government. In addition to that regulations and legislations that govern their existence are not necessarily favorable. For example, Busoga kingdom does not have a broad-based revenue source. This makes the kingdom unable to finance its operations including support *bigwala* players. Therefore, while the institution may have the interest to operate as a well-established cultural institution that has cultural practices that identify it, the circumstances which surround it limit its effectiveness.

Bigwala heritage is transmitted aurally and orally. There are no written resources that have been written for use as references. This situation is a threat to the future transmission of the heritage and all other practices that are similar to it. This means the passing away of any musician is a loss of all the knowledge that is vested in that musician. As they go on passing away, with more competition from other music expressions, reduction of players threatens the performance of the heritage. However, there is another perspective that *orality* and *aurality* can be a strength of a heritage. The English Folk Dance Society used the orality and aurality of their heritage as a major incentive to as Buckland (2001) cites one long time English Folk dancer that “it’s something that, you know, has been handed down...by word of mouth and [it’s] practical help in learning the steps...it’s not something you can just go and pick a book up, read about, go and do it...it’s got to be handed down from man to man” (p. 10). Heritage practices are viewed to by communities as expressions of their longtime social investments and that should be passed

¹² <http://www.theugandan.info/index.php/culture/410-the-history-of-busoga-kingdom>

on orally and aurally. In that way the heritage embeds as Buckland suggests “a sense of continuity...and identity” (p. 12). As Marks (2008) suggests “the transmission of musical culture is inseparable from the formation of any human society’s cultural memory” (p. 89). This is why the “performative and the continuing relevance of the mythic past in contemporary life” (Buckland, 2001, p. 13) has power to invite social participation in sustaining a heritage that is oral and aural in nature.

5.1.3 Measures on the Sustainability of *Bigwala* Musical Heritage. After the UNESCO funded *bigwala* revival of 2015 to 2017 was successfully concluded, the music and dance practice was returned to the kingdom patronage. *Bigwala* music is a type of court music and as Carver (2012) suggests, “We can find instances of court music traditions in which specialist musicians [perform] for chiefs or kings...for example the royal Buganda court music from Uganda” (p. 17). Carver explains “The Ganda king, or *Kabaka*, had in his court a flute ensemble, xylophone players, drummers and a royal harpist who provided music for him throughout the day” (p. 17). Youths who learned *bigwala* started to perform this heritage during kingdom functions. These include three times at coronation anniversaries in 2016, 2017, and 2018, and twice at Kyabazinga day in 2017, and 2018. The performance at Bugiri district headquarters on 13th September, 2016 involved a big number of players and the soundscape embedded *bigwala*. There was a huge intensity of sound when the king arrived to *bigwala* and other loud sounds that carried spiritual connotation. It was similar to the *ntahera* trumpets of the Asantehene that Kaminski (2008) describes that “the trumpeters’ combined tones unleash sound barrages of spiritual energy cast outward into the atmosphere to shield the area...through sheer vibrational force” (p. 120). The minister for culture in Busoga kingdom confirmed that the kingdom was

going to support *bigwala* and ensure that it continues to exist. This commitment is a positive gesture of the kingdom towards the ownership and therefore sustainability of *bigwala*. It means that as long as the kingdom exists, *bigwala* will be supported and promoted. This is connected to the interest of the youths when they were asked why they got involved in *bigwala*; they wanted to play this music for the king. Therefore, as long as the king is available, the youths will continue to perform the music.

In addition to that *bigwala* is performed in the communities as a social practice. The renewal of interest in this heritage that came with the *NACOFU* revival project of 2015 to 2017 strengthened its viability. This is project led to new context that occasioned what Zebec (2006) characterized as “occasions during which the awareness of community is strengthened, and common experience with a particular sense and symbolic meaning is actualized” (p. 100). Performance of the *bigwala* at the coronation anniversaries was an instance of “impressive feeling of the spiritual and physical homogeneousness and unity of the whole community” (Zebec, 2006, p. 100). What is possible in such a collectivist social context is re-interpretation and change in the practice of a heritage, but not disappearance all together. The heritage is sure to continue as an evolving medium of interaction among members of the homogenous society that practice it. A similar situation happened to Morris dance as Nahachewsky (2001) suggests “Morris dance has gone through many different phases over the year [, and] each node reflects a different phase of the tradition” (p. 23). It is the evolving nature of such heritage that presents phases in the practice of it.

Bigwala heritage was viewed by many Basoga elders and youths that I interviewed as a major part of their identity. *Bigwala* music and dance is one of the means through which Basoga people can identify themselves and which awakens their cultural values. In its practice there is a

“powerful and ingrained association of folk music with ethnicity, cultural identity, and social values” (Hill, 2007, p. 53). People imagine *bigwala* to be, as Nahawensky (2001) suggests, “connected to the original and pure [Basoga peoples’] spirit” (p. 17); the spirit of their society. They connect the heritage to their origin as Nahawensky suggests “they often assume that such a...[heritage] appeared right from the birth of that people itself” (p. 17). To them *bigwala* identifies a Musoga,¹³ that is why the Basoga are proud of it as a unique expression of their identity. They are proud that this unique musical heritage is found in Basoga only and they hold their heads high at the mention of the word *bigwala*. The Basoga collectively celebrate *bigwala*. They view *bigwala* to be so special to life. This music increases their collective esteem or ushers in joy into their hearts.

The minister for culture also mentioned that this music added joy to the coronation anniversaries. People joined the *bigwala* musicians and engaged in joyous participation by dancing and ululating. In this context, *bigwala* became as Nahashewsky (2001) suggests “an integral part of the life of a community” (p. 18), and there was “kind of improvisation within the specified framework, not a definitive form” (p. 18). This was manifestation of ownership by each individuals and the community as a collective, since everyone made up their engagements to suite the performance. Ownership is a powerful aspect towards reviving and sustaining the performance of a tradition. This is also reported about the Icelandic *rimur* tradition as Olafsdottir (2008) suggests “what stands out when looking into Iounn’s conduct of the *rimur* tradition is the strong sense of ownership expressed from the very beginning” (p. 112). Similarly, as soon as the *bigwala* were played, people immediately reinterpreted the heritage and constructed their own understanding in ways that made the practice make meaning to them. Each individual was

¹³ singular for Basoga

“adding new aspects to the performance tradition” (Olafsdottir, 2008, p. 113). All this created an arena that added up into a well-grounded context for ensuring sustainability of *bigwala*. It became almost certain that as long as the people massively enjoy *bigwala* music, its continual existence is sure. This is also based on the fact that this heritage is not only performed at royal events. It is also performed during community ceremonies such as marriage, funerals, and more recently political rallies. This makes the music a viable option in the communities which will ensure its sustainability.

Bigwala music is also viewed to serve various functions in community. As Thram (2002) suggests “the secular realm of staged performance...provides entertainment while simultaneously communicating pride...and education” (p. 131). One of the women suggested that *bigwala* performances offer them kind of therapy. Performers of *Dandanda* in Zimbabwe whom Thram (2002) interviewed said, “Singing, dancing and playing *dandanda* makes them feel very healthy and very strong” (p. 133). The health benefit was not in term of healing from diseases but rather as Thram (2002) suggests acquisition of “authority, power, strength, force...to be strong, healthy, well, and powerful” (p. 133). Similarly, the Basoga communities repeatedly explained that as they continued to practice *bigwala*, their health improved. They also talked about emotional health getting better, and that their families started to be more settled since it pacifies their minds. They envision peace in their communities, and in future generations. In addition to that *bigwala* is a means of educating the young generation about diverse issues of their society’s history thus directly contributing to the continuity and survival of the Basoga community. This can contribute to its viability in a similar way that Morris dance survived, as Nahachewsky (2001) explains, “It survived because it served other functions: recreation, local pride, personal status, and perhaps as a means of earning a shilling or a pint of ale” (p. 22).

Youths learned how to grow gourds (Fig. 4. 15; Fig. 4. 16) that are used to make *bigwala*. This has led to abundance of gourds in the communities. Youths learnt to make, and play the *bigwala*, and to dance to the music. The processes which the master players used to teach youths how to make and play the *bigwala* and the drums and dance empowered them. The youths are in turn able to teach their peers how to make, play *bigwala* and dance to the music—to pass on the skills to others. This way ownership of the heritage was ensured. Also, youths were taught the repertoire of *bigwala* songs which the master musicians remembered. This was another way of ensuring the sustainability of *bigwala*. In addition to that, NACOFU and music teachers took photographs and, made audio and video recordings of the *bigwala* processes. In addition to that recordings included the repertoire, interviews of the master players since 2011 were made and are available for researcher and teachers.

The recordings were also used to disseminate information about *bigwala* on radio and TV stations. This enhanced the circulation of information in the communities about the fact that *bigwala* had been revitalized. During the radio and TV programs the music and interviews that were aired increased the level of awareness about *bigwala* among the communities. In addition to that youths who listened or watched the programs had opportunity to experience the heritage. Those who had prior experience got opportunities to increase their *bigwala* knowledge and skills through those media programs. The researcher learned from the radio and TV program hosts that very many people participated in their shows—by way of calling during the shows, which confirms the fact that awareness about *bigwala* reached far.

Music teachers expressed interest in training children how to perform *bigwala* music and dance. Some of them requested for recording of the music, and others invited the master musicians to train their children. The introduction of this heritage to schooling children and its

inclusion in school repertoires is a big milestone in ensuring sustainability of the heritage. For example, Buwenge Muslim Primary School included *bigwala* in their school choir repertoire in 2017. The children were taught how to make, play *bigwala* and dance to the music. In addition to that, they were given seeds of the gourds that are used to make *bigwala*. This strengthened the sustainability of *bigwala* in the school and surrounding areas since children took seeds to their homes.

At the time of writing this dissertation, *bigwala* music and dance was taught in the communities, and in schools. Also, a festival in which the newly trained nine *bigwala* groups participated was organized at Mufumi Primary School. During the festival members of the communities performed with passion and sense of fulfillment. Some youths danced atop a rock in a manner that was suggestive of the fact that they had accomplished a much-cherished undertaking. The fact that the kingdom had received the heritage with enthusiasm and youths were willing to work by themselves in their communities, without asking for payment, offers the impression that performance of *bigwala* is currently sustainable.

5.2 Conclusions

Bigwala heritage involves the craftsmanship of making the instruments from the gourds, playing the instruments and dancing to the music. The heritage has a broad range of knowledge and skills required. Regarding its performance, there is a fluid line between the instrumentalists and dancers as well as their audience; as roles keep on changing from one role to another. One may start as a spectator, but sooner or later becomes a singer and dancer. The social nature of the music making itself, where sounds of a song are socially shared among different players, is

reflective of the deeper philosophy of social being among the Basoga people. This is the essence of this heritage as a major expression shared being, and of the Basoga identity.

Bigwala heritage is still largely aural and oral like the *ntahera* trumpets of the Asante people from Ghana (Kaminski, 2012). This state subjects the heritage to interpretation and reinterpretation by individuals and groups of individuals with the passage of time. In the worst-case possibility is the complete neglect which could lead to its disappearance as it nearly happened, thanks to the revitalization project that was led by NACOFU. While the project caused many youths to learn to grow the gourds, make and play the instruments, and dance to the music. And while there are videos and audio materials and the practice is in high gear, these are not yet longer lasting means of ensuring future transmission of *bigwala* many years to come. Transcription of the archived materials and songs, and writing of a teaching guide book with the repertoire of songs, are critical steps towards longer lasting sustainability. This is an important addition to the measures that have been used to revitalize the heritage up to the point it has reached.

That *bigwala* was being taught in communities, and particularly in schools is an indicator that more measures will be possible to ensure that its practice continues. In addition, participation of more teachers and learners in the making of *bigwala* music heritage will attract more attention from the communities in school neighborhoods and increase involvement in the practice of the *bigwala* heritage. Extension of involvement is bound to make the heritage viable economically with increasing demand. The interest and participation of the kingdom is an additional incentive to the youths and musicians to continue making the music. This will increase community interest in the heritage and attract cultural tourists who will contribute incomes for the *bigwala* communities, and subsequently increase the viability of this music and dance.

5.3 Recommendations

Basing on the conclusions of this study, I hereby recommend that members of the *bigwala* communities should look up opportunities that can increase opportunities for them to engage in the various activities of the heritage. Those activities include: performance opportunities both for the kingdom events and in the communities; training new learners, in school, and out of school. These will create more opportunities for the *bigwala* craftsmen to get some income as well as farmers of the gourds. This will increase the visibility of *bigwala* in the communities and continually increase its viability.

In relation to that, music teachers should be encouraged by the communities to teach school choirs how to perform *bigwala* and include this music in their repertoire. Busoga region has a reputation for excellent performance during the school festivals and addition of *bigwala* in their music will not only improve performance of their choirs but also increase the visibility and viability *bigwala* heritage.

The researcher further recommends that the culture officials in the kingdom of Busoga should continuously involve *bigwala* performers in the royal events. They should also give them recognition during the events and in the communities where they live. For example issuing them with certificates of recognition from the kingdom will increase their agency and encourage them to continue practicing this heritage.

The researcher recommends that leaders and other members in Busoga communities should involve *bigwala* in their activities. Basing on the fact that this heritage can be performed

during marriage, funeral, twin ceremonies and other social events, this will increase the visibility of *bigwala* in the communities and contribute to its sustainability.

5.6 Recommendations for further research

The researcher recommends additional research that would establish and transcribe the existing repertoire of *bigwala* songs. This would contribute greatly to the sustainability of the heritage. I recognize issues of original practice being oral and aural but, as Kreps (2005) suggests, “The 2003 Convention...must be used to encourage efforts that challenge old paradigms and give way to new modes of thinking and talking about heritage that lead to new forms of practice (p. 7). Since transcription of music makes it available beyond the individuals who hold the music in their hearts, it is a viable mode of transmitting the practice across generations. This represents, as Kreps (2005) suggests,

a shift in thinking from a concern for safeguarding tangible cultural heritage to a concern for the protection [and transmission] of the knowledge, skills, and values behind [a] heritage as well as for the people and social processes that sustain it. (p. 7)

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APPENDIX I: Interview guide for *bigwala* youths

1. Can you please explain to me what happens during a *bigwala* performance?

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.....

2. Can you please explain to me how popularly performed in the communities *bigwala* music was before the revival project?

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.....

3. Can you please explain to me what you think if done, or, not done could cause extinction of *bigwala*?

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.....

4. Can you please explain to me what you as the youths have done to ensure that *bigwala* do not get extinct?

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.....

5. Can you please explain to me which measures you recommend to *bigwala* to be practiced in the communities for many years to come?

.....
.....

APPENDIX II: Interview guide for Busoga Kingdom officials and chiefs

1. Can you please explain to me what makes up *bigwala* music?

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2. Can you explain to me why *bigwala* music was no longer popular in the communities?

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.....

3. Can you please explain to me what you think about the performance of *bigwala* in future?

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.....

4. Can you please explain to me what the kingdom has done to ensure that *bigwala* do not get extinct?

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.....

5. Can you please explain to me which measures you recommend to *bigwala* to be practiced in the communities for many years to come?

.....
.....

Appendix III: Interview guide for master musicians

1. Can you please explain to me what *bigwala* is?

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2. Can you please explain to me what a typical performance of *bigwala* involves?

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3. Can you explain to me why it became necessary for you to engage in a project to safeguard *bigwala*?

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.....

4. Can you please explain to me what was no longer available or about to disappear that your project put in place?

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.....

5. Can you explain to me what you as the master musicians have done to ensure that *bigwala* continues to be performed?

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6. Can you please explain to me which measures you recommend for *bigwala* to be practiced in the communities for many years to come?

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.....

APPENDIX IV: Focus group discussion guide

1. Please explain to me how you perform *bigwala* music and dance in your community?

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2. Please explain to me what happened during a *bigwala* performance in your community?

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.....

3. Can you please explain to me what you think if done, or, not done could cause extinction of *bigwala*?

.....
.....

4. Can you please explain to me which measures you recommend to *bigwala* to be practiced in the communities for many years to come?

.....
.....