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WE ARE NOT MAHOGANY
AN EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY IN
UGANDAN MEANING-MAKING

by

Nathaniel Dunigan

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2014

Dissertation Committee

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ABSTRACT

In the study of both economic and human development, the men of the global South [*sic*] are often considered to be responsible for the lack of progress and for the lack of human flourishing. An abundance of literature exists exploring how women and children make meaning in the global South with many clear indicators that the choices made by men in their lives have led to an overall sense of need and a lack of wellness. Attempting to better understand how men of different cultures make sense of their world and navigate their life experiences can only enhance strategies in the process of change.

In this study, the questions of masculinities were narrowed to Uganda. While the dominant Ugandan story from a Western lens is HIV/AIDS, partially due to the enormity of research focused on the virus, the nuances of meaning-making transcend the health sector.

The purpose of this study was to investigate how masculinity is constructed for nine Ugandan male participants of three generations through an exploration of their at-school lived experiences and of their sense of engagement with and responsibility to other generations. The qualitative investigation was guided by a life history design. Narrative analysis was used to report the findings through the lens of adult development theory and within an ethical framework related to poverty.

The participants suggested a strong connection between social and material capital, a learned distrust of government and authority, a financial dependence upon earlier generations, and a financial responsibility for following generations. The everyday disclosure of important facts and simple details appears to be highly protected by the men, creating unique power dynamics, and a deep reliance upon intuition in

making sense of personal and professional realities. The title "We Are Not Mahogany" is from a Luganda saying used to encourage living in the moment, a trait the participants either espoused or observed in others. (Mahogany trees live longer than most trees in the region.)

These new insights can be used to create more informed pedagogy, public health strategies, and as a foundation for further research in the pursuit of change at scale.

To my participants, with respect and gratitude.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

In the study of both economic and human development, the men of the global South [*sic*]¹ are often considered to be responsible for the lack of progress and for the lack of human flourishing (Silberschmidt M., 2001; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Jones, 2006). An abundance of literature exists exploring how women and children make meaning in the global South, with many clear indicators that the choices of men in their lives have led to an overall sense of need and a lack of wellness (Gage & Ali, 2005; Mills, Beyrer, Birungi, & Dybul, 2012). The problematic behaviors identified include issues like physical abuse, engaging in sexual activity with multiple partners, and the utter misuse of family finances, yet only very recently have there been invitations to hear who the men “really are and [who] they want and fear to be” (El-Bushra as cited in Jones, 2006, p. 426).

In the 1970’s, Western feminist theory expanded to include the study of “Women in Development” to make important space for female comprehension and voice. This trend developed through the 1980’s, while in the 1990’s the study evolved into “Gender and Development.” Still, for many years, it retained a primary focus on women in an exploration of the role of gender in meaning-making, life-strategies and choices (Jones, 2006). Overt and concentrated foci on masculinities in the region were few (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

In his scholarship on masculinities and development in 2006, Adam Jones highlighted what he called “prejudices and stereotypes” (p. 446) which, he claimed, had

¹ The global South refers to the countries of developing Asia (including the Middle East), Africa, as well as Central America and South America (Center for the Global South).

emerged as a result of these gaps in the literature. For example, “while a ‘men’s rights’ component features in some literature on men and masculinities in the global North . . . the literature on men and development contains virtually no explicit human-rights dimension” (Jones, 2006, p. xx). To further demonstrate his point, Jones offered a simple “comparison of hits for [internet] search strings” (p. xiii) utilizing various phrasings that separately coupled the words “women” and “men” with words and phrasings related to development, poverty and privilege. In the seven years since his comparison was published, the numbers have evolved, but are still telling. Today, entering the phrase “women in the developing world” (into Google Scholar’s search engine) yields 3,350 hits as compared to only 183 for “men in the developing world.” Similarly, “women and development” produces 13,800 hits while “men and development” yields only 277 links (retrieved March, 2014).

Attempting to better understand how men of different cultures make sense of their world and navigate their life experience can only enhance strategies in the process of change. It is as if the global community has assumed that all the men of the global South reside in one cognitive corner. I argue that scholars have been reluctant to venture into that corner with a sincere desire to learn about their thought processes and ways of knowing.

Men of Uganda

For the purposes of this study, the questions of masculinities and the global South are narrowed to Uganda and, when appropriate, to the East African region. Uganda shares its borders with Kenya to the east, South Sudan to the north, the Democratic

Republic of the Congo to the west, and Rwanda, Tanzania and Lake Victoria to the south. It is a former British colony and a current member of the British Commonwealth.

Recent Political History

From 1971 to 1979, Uganda suffered under the tyranny of President Idi Amin, an administration characterized by ethnic persecution and human rights abuses of the severest kind (Russell, 1999). In the years since, there has been significant economic progress, but there have also been the emergence and devastation of HIV/AIDS, numerous Ebola outbreaks, and a treacherous rebel war that stretched over many years and regions, affecting nearly every Ugandan life (Senyonyi, Ochieng, & Sells, 2012).

Currently, Uganda's President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni refuses to step down from the post he has held for 27 years, while rumors of a military coup dominate the headlines (Musa, 2013). This, combined with the fact that the misappropriation of foreign aid has reached an all-time high in the country, only further contributes to a general ethos of instability and uncertainty (Musa, 2013), an important factor to be sure in the consideration of meaning-making and masculinity. That is to say that as men make sense of their personal lives, it is, of course, within the larger context of their community. Given that Uganda's is a patriarchal society (Silberschmidt M. , 2001), the actions of the arguably most powerful man within the society are likely to influence personal perspectives as well.

In February of 2014, three Ugandan laws relevant to this discussion were signed into law. One makes it illegal for women to wear miniskirts because, according to the Ethics and Integrity Minister Simon Lokodo, they are worn for "the malicious purpose of exciting and stimulating" others (Heuler, 2014, p. 1). A second piece of legislation bans

pornography and defines it as the “representation of the sexual parts of a person for primarily sexual excitement” (Bocast, 2014, p. 1). The third new law calls for life-imprisonment for anyone who engages in sexual activity with a person of their same gender, as well as punishment for anyone who offers advocacy or support for people who do so, and penalties for those who do not report such sexual behavior to police (Karimi & Thompson, 2014).

Education in Uganda

Uganda's education system is based on the British colonial model, and is made up of primary schools, grades 1-7, and secondary schools, grades S1-S4 and advanced levels 1 and 2 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011). In 2011, 79 percent of male children were enrolled in primary school, while 45 percent were enrolled in secondary school (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011).

Since the late 1990's, health curriculum in both public and private schools has had a strong emphasis on HIV-prevention education (Education Abstract, 2011) and has been supplemented by a multi-sectoral approach to awareness including aggressive community counseling and expansive national media campaigns (Ministry of Health, 2014). Unlike many other African leaders, President Museveni was not reluctant to publicly discuss the formerly taboo topic of sexual activity, making HIV very much a part of the social and political discourse and landscape even now (Tumushabe, 2006).

Problem Statement

Although there has been a tremendous amount of research related to HIV, and to how women and children make meaning in the global South, little has been conducted about how men frame their own identities, or about how experiences with the formal

education system and intergenerational relationships influence their notions of gender and personal wellness. This lack of understanding disempowers individuals and groups in efforts to effect personal and at-scale change.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate how masculinity was constructed for nine Ugandan male participants of three different generations through an exploration of their at-school lived experiences and of their sense of engagement with and responsibility to other generations. These new insights could be used to create more informed pedagogy, public health strategies, and further research in the pursuit of change at scale.

Research Questions

How, if at all, did the at-school lived experiences of nine Ugandan men inform their notions of masculinity?

What are the notions of masculinity identified above, and how, if at all, have they evolved over three generations?

How, if at all, do nine Ugandan men express their sense of responsibility to provide nurturing care, in addition to financial support, to their children and families?

Design and Methodology

This study employed a multi-phase design (see Figure 3.1). An initial text message survey was employed to identify participants for two rounds of qualitative interviews. Each round was followed by analysis and coding that led to the final phase, a focus group led by a Ugandan colleague searching for convergence and divergence with those identified themes. The findings are presented via narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Limitations

The questions of generalizability are ever-present across qualitative research, and this study is no exception. The researcher is not of the same culture of the participants so may have missed important nuances in the interview process. Additionally, the use of narrative for the presentation of the findings may have been encumbered by the "task of ordering and tightening" required in the crafting of a good story (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 20).

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter begins with a discussion of the relevant literature, much of which is rooted in public health given the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and multiple other public health challenges in the East African region. This is followed by a definition of masculinities and a discussion of what informs masculinities. The chapter concludes with a consideration of relevant frameworks within the fields of ethics and adult development.

Since the beginning of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, an enormous amount of research has been done in the region in the search for a cure and for methods to halt the spread of the virus. Many studies have indicated that men have been more culpable than women in the spread of the virus in Africa, while it is believed that women are physically more susceptible to contracting it (Mills, Beyrer, Birungi, & Dybul, 2012).

More recent research suggests that those data may be influenced by social factors pertaining to “perceptions of masculinity” (Mills, et al., 2012, p. 1). For example, the notion of disease as an indicator of male weakness suggests that fewer men seek testing and treatment (Gage & Ali, 2005; Esplen, 2006; Wyrod, 2011). Risk is further increased due to substance use, and extreme social phobias of homosexuality—all elements of Ugandan perceptions and constructions of masculinities (Higgins, Hoffman, & Dworkin, 2010; Dworkin, et al., 2011).

It should also be noted that among those receiving antiretroviral therapy, Ugandan men are more likely to die than Ugandan women, and similar findings have emerged in South Africa (Mills, Bakanda, Birungi, Chan, & Hogg, 2011). Unlike the biological factors that explain female vulnerability to contraction, it is believed that male mortality rates are attributed to these larger social constructs that inform dangerous behavior,

perhaps chief among them the tendency to begin treatment at a much later stage than women—due to the stigmas associated with the demasculinization associated with unhealth (May, Boule, Phiri, Messou, & Myer, 2010; Mills, et al., 2011).

While there has been great global progress in the reduction of numbers of new HIV infections, there has actually been an increase in Uganda in the last year (Kron, 2012). Given these earlier perceptions, it is not surprising that research indicates that men are still the “stumbling block in the HIV fight” (Nyakato, 2012, p. 1). That is to say that the data continue to indicate irresponsible male sexual behavior; specifically the engagement in extramarital affairs and the refusal to use protection.

What *is* surprising is that the greatest increase appears to be in members of Uganda’s civil service; educated, counseled adults. At least 16 out of every 100 servants now test positive for the virus (Kagolo, 2012). These data do not seem to align with previous associations of susceptibility with illiteracy and poverty (Gage & Ali, 2005). For example, earlier studies indicated that men who had at least a primary education were less likely to engage in unprotected extramarital sex, and men with post-secondary educations were even less likely to do so (Stephenson, 2010). It followed, therefore, that the (uneducated) men working in the fishing industry ranked highest in numbers of new infections. But this, too, has changed. The number of HIV positive fishers is now two percentage points below the national average, 7.1% as compared to 9.1% (Kagolo, 2012).

It should also be noted that, while the dominant Ugandan narrative from a Western lens is HIV, partially due to the enormity of research focused on the virus, the nuances of meaning-making are many and varied from the perspective of those living in the global South (Esplen, 2006). HIV is just one piece of the lived experiences of men,

women and children—and perhaps only one symptom of the larger ways of knowing—suggesting that research beyond the confines of the medical and public health implications of HIV/AIDS is in order. Again, though, much of the existing literature focuses on the virus, and thus it is a dominant focus of the review below.

Defining “Masculinities”

Across the literature, there is much agreement that the notion of masculinities has greatly evolved in recent years from a discussion of how men differ from women, to the idea that men also differ from one another (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Jones, 2006; Viljoen, 2012). It is also defined in terms of the ways that a man’s gender and social construction inform his perceptions of power, his views of relationships, and his conceptualization of his life’s trajectory (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Jones, 2006; Viljoen, 2012). In short, it is an exploration of how a man’s conscious and subconscious understandings of manhood emerge in his behaviors and life-choices, and of possible reasons why.

What Informs Masculinities?

Home, school, culture and example. Existing literature suggests that men of the global North construct their notions of masculinity based on explicit and implicit instruction at home, and the expectations placed upon them at school and by the culture at large (Brod, 1987; Connell, 1995). These expectations emerge in the praise (or lack thereof) received on the sports field at school, in discussions about procreation and sex at home and in the school locker-room, and in cultural legends and icons related to gender, heroism and leadership. The intersection of education, wellness and power tell a boy

what it means to be “a man.” Further investigation of similarities and differences in how men of the global South use such cues is warranted.

In the further narrowing of the literature below, a framework rooted in popular Ugandan proverbs and phrases (in the subheadings) is used in the narrowing from the broadest of definitions into the material and physical realities of life in Uganda, the notion of human flourishing, and then finally into how all of these inform emotional and psychological constructs.

"A Man Is Not A Man Until He Has A Home" (The Role of Social Capital)

Consistent across the study of masculinities in both the global South and the global North is the importance of social capital. To be "a man," one must be a provider and have a minimum number of material possessions to establish position in society and among peers (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Jones, 2006).

Loss of social capital. In-depth interviews and ethnographic observations of HIV positive men in the nation's capital, Kampala, have indicated that the stigmas associated with the virus result in a tremendous loss of social capital, something the culture assigns on the basis of gender even more so than socioeconomic status (Wyrod, 2011). This study included nine in-depth interviews and was only conducted in Kampala, leaving questions about possible differences between urban and rural settings, and tribal nuances. The implication, though, is that a Ugandan man is likely to feel he has the right to multiple partners and to withholding information from his wife without shame, whereas acknowledging that he is HIV positive would make him less of a man, and lower his position within the social hierarchy, closer to that of a woman. Scholars in men's health

refer to such phenomena as “signifiers of masculinity” (Courtenay as cited in Wyrod, 2011, p. 445). Such signifiers are surely relevant to the layers of this discussion.

Multiple hypotheses exist to further explain recent developments. For example, Margaret Baba Diri (as cited in Kagolo, 2012), a member of the Ugandan Parliament, believes that the higher incomes of civil servants make both prostitution and antiretroviral therapy affordable, leading to an increase in risky behavior and to a decrease in caution. Sociologist Swizen Kyomuhendo (as cited in Nyakato, 2012) believes that men feel they are simply “too busy” (p. 1) to seek testing or to consider the implications of their behavior. She underscores the common belief that there is a knowledge gap here by saying, “We need to understand men, talk to them and work with them” (Nyakato, 2012, p. 2).

It appears that while the above referenced public health campaigns, and formal education, have positively effected behavior change in some men, they have had an opposite effect on others. The data are many, but do not seem to align or to be conclusive, especially with regard to the question of motivations of behavior. The intersection of public health and education as it is manifested within government sponsored curriculum might explain the apparent correlation between social capital and the appearance of health. It is also important to note that 82% of Uganda’s secondary schools are boarding schools (Education Abstract, 2011), a fact that likely influences the students’ perceptions of self and other even outside the classroom.

Importance of self-protection and -preservation. Silberschmidt (2001) conducted research across the East African region, and in her findings she argued that “a man’s identity, self-confidence, and social value are linked to his sexuality” (p. 198). In

a survey of 700 women and 223 men in their reproductive age, supplemented by qualitative interviews and focus groups, participants in her study reported that when men felt disempowered at home, their desire to sexually engage with other women escalated, and that such engagement improved their senses of worth and preservation. One's prowess and purpose, and therefore preservation are connected to sexual engagement in this way. Again notions of power and preservation appear to motivate the sexual behavior of men as they struggle with their conscious and subconscious self- and cultural-constructions of masculinity. While the study is a bit dated, it engaged people of various East African regions with consistent views and convincing implications.

It could easily be argued that these explanations are nothing more than grasps for justifications of selfish behavior. Even if this is the case, however, the fact that multiple men claimed it as a legitimate excuse is telling.

Importance of other men. The literature on the construction of masculinities in general and studies of Ugandan culture both emphasize the importance of other men in the life of boys and men. For example, the care of orphaned, neglected or otherwise needy nieces and nephews is the moral obligation of surviving aunts and uncles (Gage & Ali, 2005; Kizza, et al., 2012; Knizek, et al., 2011; Mills, et al., 2012). That said, the literature does not define “care” beyond monetary support, and focuses almost entirely on the provision of school fees and access to education. In the question of the construction and comprehension of masculinity, the literature does not indicate that cross-generational male engagement informs the process beyond that of provider, leaving open the question of how men develop their social views in these matters.

"Water That Has Been Begged for Does Not Quench the Thirst" (Resistance to Help Seeking)

Related to these conscious and subconscious choices made in the establishment of social capital is a reluctance to seek help. The Ugandan phrase, "Water that has been begged for does not quench the thirst," could be interpreted to speak to this reluctance to seek assistance.

Research has consistently shown that men of the global North do not consult with therapists or psychologists nearly as frequently as do women, even when under similar distress (Andrews, Issakiddis, & Carter, 2001; Gonzalez, Alegira, & Prihoda, 2005). Similarly, research has shown that the men of Uganda are much less likely than women to seek medical care including HIV testing and treatment (Bwambale, et al., 2008; Gage & Ali, 2005; Mills, et al., 2012; Siu, Seeley, & Wight, 2013).

A recent quantitative study of 4,748 American men from varied backgrounds, ages, and socioeconomic statuses found that "masculine norms were linked to self-stigma and, in turn, attitudes toward counseling" (Hammer & Vogel, 2013, p. 65). Through a 10-item scale (Fischer & Farina as cited in Hammer & Vogel, 2013), the study further found this linkage to be "twice as strong for rural men than for other men" (p. 65).

So yet again we see that the literature suggests an alignment between notions of masculinity and image, and a privileging of respect and reputation above self-care, even more so from those in rural or isolated areas (Hammer & Vogel, 2013; Siu, Seeley, & Wight, 2013). This correlation is particularly compelling in the exploration of the social construction of masculinity in Uganda, opening further questions about specific components of the milieu that leads to this reality for so many men.

"We Are Not Mahogany" (The Evil of Poverty)

These considerations of social capital and loss lead to questions about what human flourishing actually looks like, and how it might be achieved. According to Lewis Vaughn (2010), Aristotle's perspective of virtue "interlocks with his broader philosophical concerns," including an intersection between society and happiness, rooted in "virtuous character" and "not in following moral rules that stipulate right actions" (p. 134). The Ugandan saying, "We are not mahogany," speaks to this notion of casting off worries about consequences in favor of fully enjoying the moment. (Mahogany trees live much longer than most other trees. The implication is that we are mortals, and that this short life is to be enjoyed in the here and now.) This perhaps explains, in part, the decisions made with regard to sexual activity and other layers of the choices outlined above.

In his book, *Meeting the Ethical Challenges of Leadership: Casting Light or Shadow*, Craig Johnson (2012) identifies six perspectives of evil that cloud ethical decision-making and ways of knowing. It can be argued that four of these emerge from the evil of poverty. They are: evil as dreadful pleasure, evil as deception, evil as a choice, and evil as ordinary (pp. 121-124). A life of poverty means that one lives day-to-day. There are few bank accounts or lines of credit. One must find inventive ways to provide for the most basic of needs--on a daily basis, often through sharing and partnerships. This phenomenon is captured in the word *Ubuntu*.

Ubuntu (a Zulu word) serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or world view [*sic*] enshrined in the Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, i.e. "a person is a person through other persons" (Shutte, 1993:46). At bottom, this traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes human beings as "being-with-

others" and prescribes what "being-with-others" should be all about. (Louw, 1998, p. 10)

The need-trap created by the evil of poverty, though, challenges Ubuntu as a sharing of light and resources, and offers that perhaps it is instead a sharing of poverty and shadow when it leads to corruption and the "borrowing" of that which has not been offered, morally blinding a person fully living within a moment of need. Whatever ethical framework or language is applied, the idea that we are not mahogany entraps those who embrace it in a permanent cycle that prevents Aristotle's (as cited in Hinman, 2013, p. 46) notion of human "flourishing."

"He Who Tells No Lies Will Not Grow Up" (Adult Development Theory)

The literature has even more to say about the emotional and psychological space beyond socioeconomic factors in an exploration of the meaning-making tools employed by the men of Uganda. In one study, for example, in-depth interviews were conducted with individual men and in focus groups (Larsson, et al., 2010). It revealed that a majority of men "perceived their marriages as unstable and distrustful" (p. 1), privileging conflict-avoidance above testing and communication. This perhaps explains the fact that 65% of new infections are in people who are married (Uganda AIDS Commission as cited in Nyakato, 2012). The lack of communication leads to distrust and a cycle that condones dishonesty in a commitment to and a privileging of self-preservation as explored above.

These commitments are likely subconscious, or what Kegan and Lahey (2009) call "hidden commitments" (p. 236). In their exploration of mental development in adults they identified three "plateaus," (p. 15) or times when a person's development remains stagnant for a period of time. Their description of these three plateaus is found in Figure

2.1. This research has been conducted "with people all over the world, with people of all ages, and from all walks of life" (p. 23).

Table 2.1

Three plateaus in adult mental development (Kegan & Lahey, 2009, p. 17)

<p>The socialized mind</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are shaped by the definitions and expectations of our personal environment. • Our self coheres by its alignment with, and loyalty to, that with which it identifies. • This can express itself primarily in our relationships with people, with "schools of thought" (our ideas and beliefs) or both.
<p>The self-authoring mind</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are able to step back enough from the social environment to generate an internal "seat of judgment" or personal authority that evaluates and makes choices about external expectations. • Our self coheres by its alignment with its own belief system/ideology/personal code; by its ability to self-direct, take stands, set limits, and create and regulate its boundaries on behalf of its own voice.
<p>The self-transforming mind</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We can step back from and reflect on the limits of our own ideology or personal authority; see that any one system or self-organization is in some way partial or incomplete; be friendlier toward contradiction and opposites; seek to hold on to multiple systems rather than projecting all but one onto the other. • Our self coheres through its ability not to confuse internal consistency with wholeness or completeness, and through its alignment with the dialectic rather than either pole.

It is extremely important to note that these plateaus are in no way meant to be indicators of intelligence, but rather of how one "make[s] sense of the world, and operate[s] within it" (Kegan & Lahey, 2009, p. 16). Adults functioning with a socialized mind are the most likely to have hidden commitments such as those which have been identified and described in current scholarship. Indeed, in consideration of the existing literature, parallels are easily drawn with the descriptors of the socialized mind, specifically the expectations of culture (as highlighted in the selected proverbs) and the

alignment with the identities as defined by the evil of poverty. This structure helps to unite existing knowledge and provided a roadmap for this study.

This chapter provided an overview of the research literature in four areas. It began with a discussion of public health findings relevant to social engagement and behavior, examined the field of masculinities, and concluded with a discussion of ethics and the three plateaus in adult development. Adult development theory is used as the conceptual framework for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

As demonstrated, there appears to be a strong cognitive correlation between wellness and masculinity. This might be fueled, at least in part, by the heavy public health components of Ugandan primary and secondary school curricula. Perhaps the focus on prevention does not make space for the sensitivities and responsibilities of those already infected with HIV or for those who are otherwise experiencing poor health. Another possibility is that the culture that emerges from the at-school lived experiences of young men greatly influences their senses of self and worldviews given that 82% of the country's Secondary Schools are boarding schools (Education Abstract, 2011).

Similarly, the concept of a man's moral obligation to care for extended family members seems clear across the literature. What is unclear, however, is if the moral obligation stops at the provision of financial needs, or if there is also an inherent sense of duty to impart care of a more nurturing kind, and if so, how, if at all, it influences perceptions of masculinity.

This section, details the methodologies and data-collection strategies employed in this researcher's exploration of the construction of masculinities in Ugandan meaning making. The chapter begins with an overview of the study's design and the research questions, followed by a description of the phases of data collection and analysis. The chapter ends with a discussion of the imitations and delimitations.

Overview

Design of the Study

This study employed a multi-phase design (see Figure 3.1). An initial text message survey was employed to identify participants for two rounds of qualitative

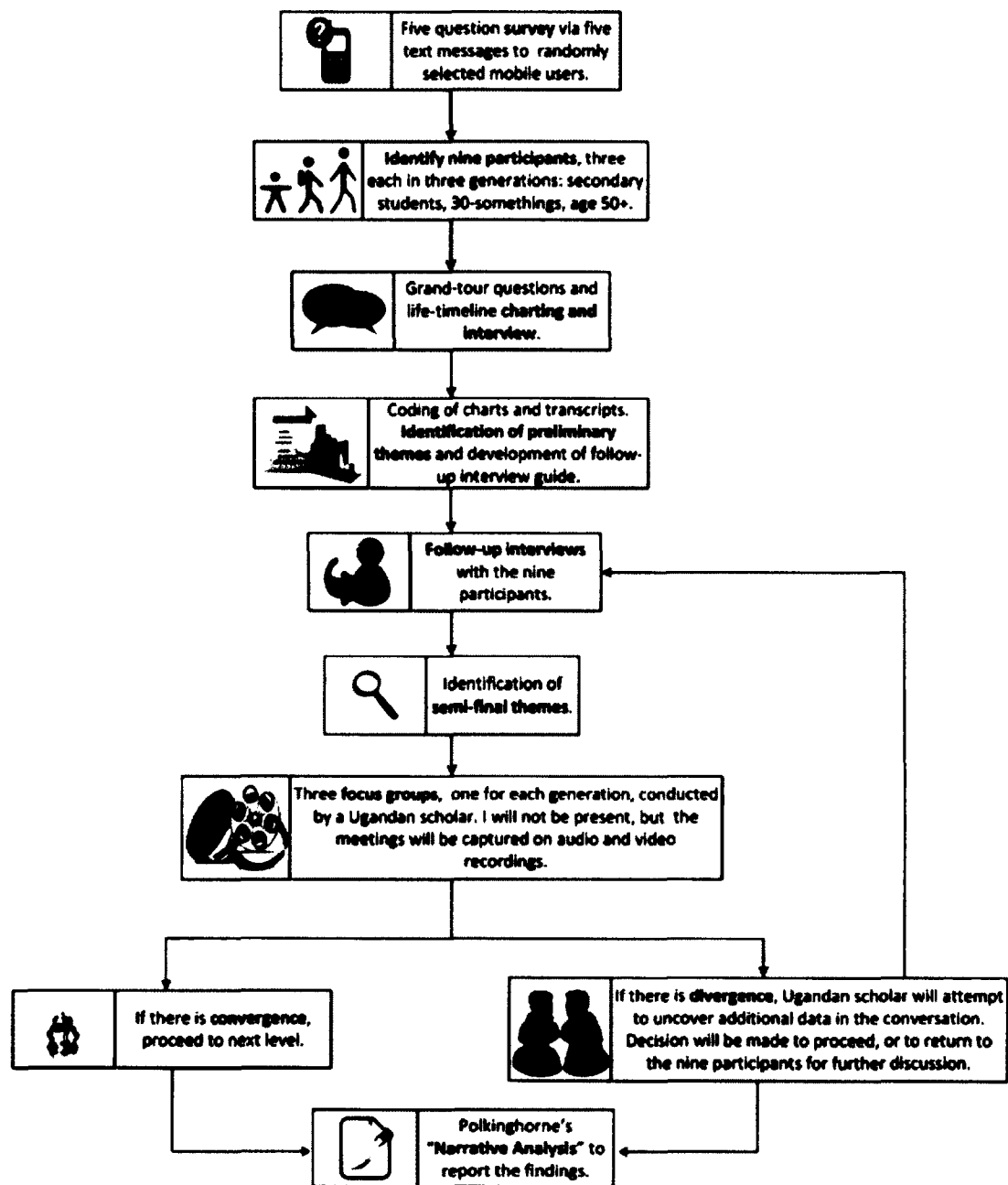


Figure 3.1. The methodology map

interviews. Each round was followed by analysis and coding that led to the final phase, a focus group led by a Ugandan colleague searching for convergence and divergence with

those identified themes. The findings are presented via narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995).

The text message survey employed illuminative sampling (Patton, 2002) in an attempt to identify nine participants in three generational categories: three secondary school students ages 18 and older, three men in their late 20's and 30's, and three men aged 45 and above. The total number of participants was selected based upon my previous experience with this methodology (Dunigan, personal communication, May 2011, May 2012), and upon Creswell and Plano Clark's (2011) recommendation of a sample size of "four to 10" for similar qualitative investigations (p. 174).

The rationale for the age groups was as follows: secondary students are actively involved in the education process, and are emerging into their new roles as adults; men in their late 20's and 30's are more likely to be fathers and/or to be responsible for the young children of their relatives; and men aged 45 and above are nearing the end of the expected lifespan for Ugandan males and have a lifetime of experience upon which to reflect. Also, given that the research questions are rooted in the idea of constructivism and the potential role of education in these constructs, only individuals who had completed the Primary Leaving Exam were considered. (The Primary Leaving Exam is taken after one completes Grade 7, a common baseline education point in contemporary Uganda.)

Given that Uganda is home to more than 40 ethnic groups, each with its own language, culture and traditions, constructivist theory is especially important in the exploration of how men perceive themselves and their roles within their families, tribe, country and world (Marjoke, 2012). This study focused on the largest tribe, the Baganda, which makes up approximately 17% of the population (Marjoke, 2012).

Research Questions

The following research questions were investigated:

How, if at all, did the at-school lived experiences of nine Ugandan men inform their notions of masculinity?

What are the notions of masculinity identified above, and how, if at all, have they evolved over three generations?

How, if at all, do nine Ugandan men express their sense of responsibility to provide nurturing care, in addition to financial support, to their children and families?

Selection of Participants

More people in the emerging world, including Uganda, have mobile phones than they do access to electricity or potable water (Yarrow, 2012). Through a media company, a text-message-survey (see Table 3.1) was initially sent to 300 mobile telephone users. Fifteen people responded to the first question, but no one responded to the second question. I quickly realized my mistake in asking such a blunt question ("How old are you?") without establishing any rapport or buy-in. Three hundred fresh numbers were used, and question number two was eliminated. Nineteen responded to the first question. Ten responded to the second question (which had been the third). Two responded to the third (previously question number four), while no one responded to the last question. Finally, another three hundred text messages were sent. This time, three participants were successfully identified for the study. The final six were selected via convenience sampling.

Table 3.1

The text-message-survey questions

Text #1	Do u want 2 B part of a university study? If u r selected, pay will B Ugx15k for Baganda men interviewed in person. Reply “YES,” and I will send 4 more questions today. It’s free to reply.
Text #2	How old are you? (Again, it’s free to reply.)
Text #3	In which town do you live? (Again, it’s free to reply.)
Text #4	Do you have children? (Again, it’s free to reply.)
Text #5	Did you sit for the Primary Leaving Exam? (Again, it’s free to reply. I will call u if I decide 2 interview u in person. If so, u will B paid. Webale nnyo. [<i>Thank you very much.</i>])

Data Collection and Analysis

Life history design. Once the nine participants (see Table 3.2) were identified, life histories (Glesne, 2006) were built from data generated through interviews. By starting with an exploration of life histories, space was created for the emergence of unknown and unexpectedly significant events that the participants identified as life-changing, and they were invited to say why.

In the exploration of these questions of lived experiences at school, cross- and inter-generational evolutions of thought, and the value, if any, placed upon nurturing, the spectrum that is their lives was employed. A focus only upon their current perceptions and opinions might have missed the nuances of the various phases of their social construction.

Table 3.2

The participants

Age	Occupation	Marital Status	Number of Children	Participant #
18	Secondary School Student	Single	0	8
19	Secondary School Student	Single	0	2
20	Secondary School Student	Single	0	9
27	Lay Clergy	Girlfriend	0	4
28	Business Owner/Mechanic	Committed Relationship with a Woman	2 (one deceased)	6
37	Billiards Competition Organizer	Married	3	3
45	Counselor	Divorced/Remarried	2	7
48	Primary School Teacher	Married	8	1
54	Retired Waiter, Now Driver of a "Boda-Boda" (Motor-Bike Taxi)	Never Married	2	5

Consent and Compensation. Ethical approval was received from the University of San Diego Institutional Review Board (PAS 2013-06-207). Written, informed consent was obtained from all study participants (see Appendices E and F). The names of individuals and locations have been replaced by pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants.

Interview guide. An interview guide (Patton, 2002) was created that allowed for carefully composing sets of questions in advance (see Appendix A), but that also created space to navigate through the questions with the spontaneity and curiosity that are more natural to casual conversation (p. 343).

The interview guide strategy was used for three reasons. First was the need to create consistency in the approaches used with each participant (Patton, 2002, p. 343). The structure of the guide provided the consistency needed to work separately with the participants. Second was an attempt to accommodate the breadth of this knowledge problem. When investigating the making of meaning, the process needs to be extremely flexible. The discoveries came from unexpected places as revealed through a conversation between human beings, as opposed to a regimented process of inquiry with a narrow focus. The third justification for the interview guide approach stemmed from a sense of respect for the nature of the inquiry. The conversations with the participants were really humble requests to hear about the life experiences they deem most significant and dear to them. This approach allowed the study to honor the memories with enough structure for purpose, and yet enough flexibility for the humane.

The intention was to conduct the interviews in a personal home in Entebbe, Uganda. The gesture of welcoming the participants into a personal space was considered

to be culturally significant. The hope was that this would facilitate a sense of safety, encourage conversation and a free-flowing dialogue between friends. In the end, though, all nine of the participants identified lived in Kampala--about an hour from Entebbe by public transportation--meaning that travel to Entebbe would be a burden for them. As a result, a venue in Kampala that is popular with and familiar to local Ugandan clientele, became the meeting place for the interviews..

It was very important that these notions of meaning-making be treated with respect, and that the participants' stories be honored throughout the processes of data collection and analysis. These values are rooted within the methodology as outlined. Also inherent to this design is Patton's (2002) view that "constructivists study the multiple realities constructed by people and the implications of those constructions of their lives and interactions with others" (p. 96).

Phase one: the initial interview. First, the participants were presented with the IRB consent form. All but one of the men read the form and signed it without any questions, and apparently without any concerns. The only person to ask a question was participant number one, age 48, a school teacher. He pointed to the part of the form that assures confidentiality, and asked, "Why do you wish to delete me from my story?" It explained that this was not the intent, but rather to allow him to be able to speak freely, without worry of retribution from anyone of whom he might speak negatively, and also so that he could share experience of which he might not be particularly proud. His question, though, is consistent with the sentiment received from every participant that they were very pleased and proud of the fact that someone wanted to hear "their" story, perhaps that their life had meaning to this stranger and to the world of scholarship.

Each participant was then asked to draw on a piece of paper a line depicting his lifespan (see Appendix A for the interview guide). Next, I asked each to indicate significant moments in his life by making notes and marks at the appropriate spaces on that line. They were then left alone, and given as much time as they needed. (Eight of the nine participants took more than 30 minutes to compose their lifeline. One participant took only ten minutes.) Then there was a conversation about each event. Notes were taken during these conversations, and a recording device was used for fact checking and reflection later in the process.

Phase two: round one of analysis. After the conversations concluded, the nine lifelines and notes were analyzed, looking for a synthesis across their stories and significant life moments. *In vivo coding* was initially employed, identifying precise or very similar vocabulary and language use across the data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Specific focus was placed on references to physical characteristics (such as height, weight, and perceptions of wellness), gender differences and/or similarities, parental involvement and absences, and to sports and physical activity or inactivity. (These are also reflected in my interview guide.) These foci were chosen based on existing literature that points to these factors and perceptions as being important in one's understanding of manhood and masculinity (Knizek, et al., 2011; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

Next, emergent coding (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) was used as space was made for the data to reveal other implications in the construction of masculinities. Reliance purely upon *in vivo* coding might have otherwise limited the power of the data to tell a yet unknown story.

Phase three: the follow-up interview. A second appointment was made with the participants to work through a second interview guide (see Appendix B), empowered with the new insights and data as discovered in phases one and two. While it was not possible to determine in advance all of the questions that emerged from the original interview and analysis, structure for the general direction of inquiry was provided by the second guide. Similar to the first interview, this guide was semi-structured, using the *in vivo* and emergent codes to inform both a process of confirmation, and a quest for additional discovery. Notes were again taken and a recording device was used.

Each of the final meetings ended with this question: "When you reach the end of your life, as you look back, what will you hope to see? What evidence will suggest that you have been successful at being a good man?" (See key phrases in their answers in Table 3.3.)

Phase four: focus groups. In order to remove the researcher from the process (as a white American), a trained Ugandan scholar lead a focus group without the researcher's presence. The discussions were to be recorded, and the scholar was asked to look for convergence and divergence as he explored whether or not the themes identified resonated with the groups (see script in Appendix C). In the case of divergence, he was then to ask the group to interrogate the elements of disagreement in a search for data that could inform next steps.

Table 3.3

Key phrases in responses to final question about evidence of a life lived as a good man

Participant age	Key phrases.
18	"Not troubled a lot. Not depressed, thinking without doing." "Own houses." "Have a good job and partner."
19	"Have four kids, two boys, two girls." "Have my own house." "You can't be on the land of your mother where you were born."
20	"A man of peace. Not hated by many people. Having no or few enemies. And not worried." "Unity in my family and clan." "Working for a better Uganda with no terrorism, no corruption, no tribalism. Clean and one of the greatest in Africa." "To be a grateful man who owns big businesses, travels long distances, a man who is supportive and caring to end the evil of street kids."
27	"I was not a street kid. I have a family that loves me as a son." "I was good in school." "I am a religious person."
28	"Money, job, contacts, who you know, these are the important things."
37	"You must be an easy man, a focused man, and having a good relationship with everyone you see around."
45	"I am a friend to my 18 year old son." "I have built my own house." "I can fend for my own family." "I grow some of my own food." "I am free to do what I want." "I don't drink." "I command respect, people consult me."
48	"Long marriage." "Children who are healthy, educated." "Good example of working for a living, and farming." "Having decent and untorn clothes."
54	"Freedom to do what I want." "Working on my own."

Unfortunately, the quality of the work was weak, and the results were extremely unclear. In the end, a different scholar and a different script (see Appendix D) were employed. This process was much more successful. While this is another layer of the emergent design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), there is also an element of triangulation as the groups were asked for resonance (Patton, 2002).

Phase five: narrative analysis. At this point, Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative analysis strategy was used, a process of arranging the data into one story that brings meaning and unity to the data (p. 12). In the end, a fictional narrative is presented that tells the stories of three characters. Every character is a man, and embodies the three participants from each of the generations represented in the study. These characters represent not only the themes identified, but the lived experiences as they have emerged across the lifespans. The composites were made by capturing life-events that emerged on the participants time-lines in consistent or very similar ways.

The three characters are related. Their stories are told in first person, and express engagement across the generations in ways consistent with the participants' descriptions of such engagement. They are presented out of order in that the character representing the middle generation is first, followed by the eldest, with the youngest character telling his story last. This order was chosen for two reasons. First, the middle-generation character has the most engagement with the two other characters, and introduces both of them in his narrative. Second, the youngest character has more of an unwritten book ahead of him, a compelling notion in this exploration of the construction of masculinity and the implications for the future.

The story synthesizes the findings of phases one to three, using guidelines based on Dollard's "seven criteria for judging a life history" (as cited in Polkinghorne, 1995):

1) Cultural context; 2) Physical embodiment of the protagonist; 3) Other individuals important to the narrative; 4) Choices and actions of the central person; 5) Social and historical context; 6) A story in three parts: beginning, middle (or what Polkinghorne calls a climactic denouement) and an end; and 7) Plausability and understandability.

Narrative analysis' use of "creative nonfiction to reveal cultural and social patterns" is an ideal approach in this search for "connections between the psychological, sociological, cultural, political and dramaturgic dimensions of human experience to reveal larger meanings" (Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 2002, p. 478). I drew not only on the codes and themes that emerged in the individual interviews, but upon the full amount of the data as captured and analyzed in every phase of the study.

Limitations

The Question of Generalizability

In the end, these are three stories as synthesized from only nine stories in the consideration of questions about how the many citizens of an entire culture construct notions of masculinity. While these findings may well be extremely unique, it is important to consider the notion of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1990) that suggests that knowledge from one setting will be useful in another setting if the two settings are similar. Whereas in the event that these finding truly are outliers, I would refer to Donmoyer's (1990) psychological generalization notion which values diversity and outliers, because diversity and outliers have the potential to expand our cognitive schema. In that latter argument, the potential diversity of these data could be treated as an

insightful asset rather than an anomalous liability. That said, there is a possibility that this diversity was obscured in the process of creating three composite characters.

The Task of Tightening and Ordering

According to Polkinghorne (1995, p. 20), “The storied narrative form is not an imposition on data of an alien type but a tightening and ordering of experience by explicating an intrinsically meaningful form.” The limitations then of this study are less about generalizability, and more about the process of “tightening and ordering of experience” (p. 20). In my quest to bring unity and meaning to the data, I may have overreached and over-interpreted within the creative-license and crafting of a good story that ultimately, because it is a composite of nine stories, most certainly is more of a fiction than a typical life history might normally be.

Personal Tensions

I am not a Ugandan male. In addition, the most joyous and most horrific experiences of my life have been in Uganda. My own struggles with making meaning of my experiences at once inform and cloud my ability to neatly synthesize literature from a new field of study.

These limitations in mind, I consistently engaged in reflective analysis, employing a researcher’s journal to record my personal and professional reflections (Patton, 2002). In doing so, I afforded myself the opportunity to revisit the existing knowledge gaps as well as the purpose of the study.

The greatest risk, perhaps, is that my constructivist approach was compromised by my own lived-experiences in Uganda, and by my deep knowledge of the country and culture. That said, Charmaz (2000) would argue that the constructivist approach

"recognizes that the viewer creates the data and ensuing analysis through interaction with the viewed" (p. 523). I see this as both a limitation and a strength of my role as researcher and storyteller. While I clearly represent Other when engaging with my participants, I am also able to sympathize with them thanks to some shared lived-experiences and ways of knowing. I believe the best strategy I offer in the management of these dual realities is to be honest and clear both with myself and my readers as I present my findings.

Delimitations

This study was carefully crafted to accommodate the cultural differences between the participants and the researcher. For example, a survey or a structured interview guide approach would not have made space for deep conversation or for the clarifying questions required to fully unpack the words and expressions used, and could have likely led to unclear or even incorrect findings.

Only men who had completed the primary leaving exam were considered for participation given the research question about at-school experiences. Men who had not attended school would be unable to speak to this reality.

Family members and colleagues of the participants were not interviewed in an attempt to offer the participants a real sense of confidentiality and security. This choice was also rooted in the desire to dwell within the men's ways of knowing self and their perceptions of others without outside influence.

CHAPTER FOUR²

This chapter describes the findings of the study. It is organized into three sections, one for each of the composite characters representing the participants by generation. They are presented out of order in that the character representing the middle generation is first, followed by the eldest, with the youngest character telling his story last. This order was chosen for two reasons. First, the middle-generation character has the most engagement with the two other characters, and introduces both of them in his narrative. Second, the youngest character has more of an unwritten book ahead of him, a compelling notion in this exploration of the construction of masculinity and the implications for the future.

Thursday

My name is Thursday. They call me that because I was born on a Thursday. *I hate my name.*

The year is 2001, and I am 15 years old. I grew up in a classroom. My mother was very young when I was born. Until I was old enough to go to school on my own, everyday she would use a kitenge to tie me onto her back, and carry me to school. There, she would lay out the kitenge on the cement floor in one corner of the crowded room where her mom, my grandmom, was a primary school teacher. I still remember playing in that corner, and the feeling of being wrapped up on her back as she made the long walk home on the red dirt streets of Kampala. Motorcycle taxis, called boda-bodas, zipped past us on all sides, hooting at us with their squeaky little horns, while giant Marabou Storks lumbered around us, picking at the garbage piles that lined the streets. When we

² N.B. Words in italics are direct quotes from participant interviews.

would get home, Mom would either give me sugarcane to chew on or a cup of milk chai to drink, depending on whether it was the hot, dry season, or the cold, rainy season.

When I completed Primary 7 at school, my grandmom also retired from teaching. This meant that there was no money for school fees, so I have had to sit at home since.

I don't know who my father is, and that disturbs me a lot. When I ask about him, I am ignored. This means I don't know which clan I belong to or anything about my lineage. This is a problem. It also means that I don't know which clan I cannot marry into, and I don't know where I will be buried. You see, I am meant to be laid to rest with my father's family, but I don't know where their graves are. Many times my friends have *found me seated and keeping quiet. When they ask me what's wrong, I reply, "I am having my own problems," like that. But these days they are used to me because whenever they find me like that, my grandmom calls me and tells me, "No, don't think of that," and she tries to encourage me.*

There are many people in our small house today. I don't know exactly how many. The house is made up of seven rooms, and as always, every door is closed. We received a visitor two days ago; a woman a bit older than Mom. They told me that she used to work here as a housemaid.

When you first enter our house, you find a room lined with furniture. To the left of the door is a large, stuffed armchair covered in maroon and gold fabric with gold tassels dangling from each arm. Next to it is a sofa with bright blue and green stripes. This one is my favorite because it extends to the corner and is under the window. When I can't fall asleep on the mattress that I normally share with my cousin, I come to this sofa, and it always makes me sleepy. There is another sofa just like it on the opposite wall, but

there are doors on each side of it, one leading to the kitchen, and the other to the bathroom. I hate sitting there, let alone sleeping there.

Along the wall that connects the two sofa-walls are two more maroon and gold chairs, one on each side of the door that leads to the hallway. We have only a few things hanging on our walls. One is a photo of Oprah Winfrey. My sister cut it out of the newspaper. There are also our baptism certificates from church, a photo of Pope John Paul II, and a photo of President Museveni. (They were giving these photos out at school before I had to stop going.)

Off of the hallway are four rooms that we use for bedrooms. Grandmom's room is the last one. I have only been in her room once in my lifetime.

In the kitchen, cooking is done on a charcoal stove on the floor. We do our washing outside, by hand. I wash my clothes and my mom's clothes, except for her underwear. In Uganda, everyone washes their own underwear. I am told that even President Museveni washes his own shorts!

Dinner tonight was my favorite: rice, beans and avocado. I am not sure who prepared it, but they used enough garlic and salt to make it perfect.

We were gathered in the sitting room after dinner when my grandmom suddenly said, "That one is your real mom," she used her lips to point to the former housemaid, our visitor.

. "What? What do you mean?" I ask.

"After she stopped working for us, she went somewhere and got pregnant. After you were born, she brought you here saying she couldn't manage you, so we decided to be Good Samaritans and take you up."

Nothing further is said to me. And I don't know what to say or do.

One of my uncles switches on the radio. It's 11pm. Everyone begins to listen as the announcer reads personal notices, hoping to hear messages from family upcountry. People often go to their local office of the national radio station, and pay a few hundred shillings to send greetings or death announcements to family in other parts of the country.

I find myself staring at the former housemaid. "She's not my mom," I think to myself. "She can't be. Why is my grandmother trying to deceive me?"

I get up and go outside. It's very dark. The electricity has just gone out again. This is the fifth or sixth time today. I have lost count. Street vendors at the corner are lighting candles to illuminate their wares: matchboxes, batteries, candles, tiny bars of soap, salt, and flip-flop shower shoes.

I hear a baby crying next door, and in the distance, the sounds of lorries beginning their late night trek across eastern Uganda to collect imported items at the Kenyan border. Items that originated in Europe and India, then shipped across the Indian Ocean to Mombasa, and then through the entire expanse of Kenya before finally reaching Uganda. Some of the items will remain here, while others will be taken to the Congolese border to the west.

I make my own journey down our dark street, and call out for my friend in the direction of his house. No response. I call out several more times. Finally, he opens his front door, and comes to greet me.

"Yes, Thursday! Ki kati? What's up?"

"Don't call me that. You know I hate my name," I say.

He then calls me "Baambi," a term of endearment in Luganda. He says he's sorry, and then adds, "Ki ki gwe? What's wrong with you? Are you again thinking about your father?"

"Worse," I say. "Can you imagine? They have just informed me that the other woman is my mom."

"Who told you? Which woman do you mean? Be clear," he demands. And I explain. He takes my left arm by wrapping his right hand around my wrist, and he pulls me to the broken stoop in front of his house. We sit. The uneven concrete has captured some of that afternoon's rain, but I don't care.

"I feared telling you such," he says.

"You mean you KNEW?"

He raises and drops his eyebrows in one dramatic movement. This means yes.

"It's not true," I say. "I won't believe it. I refuse."

"There's more," he swallows. He's not looking at me now. "She was impregnated by one of the men in your house while she was a housemaid there. I don't know which man, but that's why they have raised you. One of them is your father, and the one you call Mom is your sister."

I shook his hand free from my wrist and walked away, but I didn't go home.

"None of this is true. People are just lying, the usual sadists trying to cause damage," I tell myself. I wait outside until my house has gone quiet before I reenter. Once inside, I lay down on the blue and green sofa, but tonight I fail to catch sleep. They expect me to believe that behind one of these closed doors is a stranger who is my mother, and an uncle who is my dad.

But I do not.

Two weeks pass, and nothing more is said.

Then, grandmum announces that the whole family will gather at the house. They are going to give me a new name, and decide which clan will be mine.

When the day finally came, I was so excited. When I first arrived, I found all my uncles and aunts taking Nile Special beers. They like to drink them through a straw, and at room temperature, right out of the bottles. The kids were taking sodas in the same way. These beverages always mean that a good time is in store.

At first, all the aunts and uncles said I should be a member of the Nkima (meaning vervet monkey) clan. But my grandmom said no. She wanted me to have her same clan, the Mmamba (meaning lungfish) clan. After much discussion, at last they agreed that their mum, my grandmum, should decide. So now I am of the Mmamba clan, and my name is Mukasa Patrick. On Sunday I am to be baptized with these names at the Catholic church where we attend every Sunday.

While I am happier with this identity, I still often wonder where my real dad is, and what my actual identity is. Anyway, they have tried their level best to help me so that I can grow up, and move through a proper Ugandan life.

Still, I am so short. The kids around me often say, *"You ka-small boy, you come."* Yesterday, they laughed at me when I tried to compete in a running race. *Being short, I didn't manage to beat the other guys because they are too fast!*

After five years of sitting at home, my Kojja Luke, a lay priest and a teacher came to visit. Together with Grandmom, we talked about school and how badly I wished to

study. *I asked them if I should go with him to his parish, VERY deep in the village, where he was working as the school's chaplain. I went.*

But I jumped the classes there. From Form 2, I just went direct to Form 4, and at the end of the year, I didn't score well. I know it's because I was missing Form 3, but he didn't want me to repeat. He told me to look for yet another school where I could continue even with my low grades.

I found one, but I couldn't afford the boarding fees. But one of my uncle's friends, a Reverend Father, had a deaf school and he had a lot of simple rooms which were not being used, so I asked him whether I could stay there and help him in some work. And the Father accepted because he knew me. He was my uncle's parish priest. They are still friends.

So I stayed at the deaf school, and I was feeding on the school meals, but the father would allocate us a lot of work, including escorting the students to the well to fetch water; we could move on the trucks to go and bring firewood; we could move on the trucks to the villages to buy beans. There were several of us living and eating there, and we were the ones who did all of this work. And I could not get enough time to study.

I did not tell my uncle because I feared. They are all priests. Instead I struggled, I strived very much to see that at least I preserve time to study, but I couldn't. Because the moment you don't do the work they have told you to do, they come and they tell him, and that was something very bad. They could quarrel, and he could see us as useless people, so we could try our level best to do what he wanted us to do.

Sometimes you could miss some days of school because you had to go to village to bring the beans for the school. You could miss a lot of things at school. So A-level, my

Senior Six, I did not pass very well. I scored just one principle pass, and the others were subsidiaries. But I did not tell him why I passed poorly, so he told me, "You look for yourself a vocational school."

I came to Kampala. I came back to my grandmom's place and I started looking for a school at Kampala. And I found one. They give me Hotel Management and Institutional Catering, a two-year diploma course.

When I started, I learned that they were in the middle of campaigns for student government. I joined the campaign as a candidate for the Guild President's position, and I won! I won the election! This meant that I did not have to pay tuition or any of the fees. So my uncle remained with buying for me just personal requirements.

For two years, I was the Guild President. I served until when I was finishing my studies. That is when I handed over. God helped me very much, and my uncle and my grandmom struggled for my life. I now help the son to my cousin-brother in the same way. He's called Bennett. (I call him "Big Boy Bennett" because he's not short like me.) He actually sat at home for two years before I came to realize that he did not have fees for school. He's had some rough times lately, but he is a wise kid with good marks and a positive outlook.

Shortly after I earned my diploma, my uncle had a stroke. He lost everything a man does in life to look after his family members. From that time, I started to look after my family, my sisters, taking them to school, helping to buy food and pay rents. I call those my sad days.

But now I have my own son, and I am so happy. His name is Henry. He is one-and-a-half years old, but he behaves like someone of four years. He is really, really,

really a good boy. When I get home from work, he pulls off the socks from my legs, takes them where the dirty clothes are. Knowing that when Daddy comes home he has to take a shower, he brings the things to go and bathe, like a towel.

He knows where the drinks are. He can go and get the cup, go in the fridge. Though he is short, he can pull out the jerry-can for the water. He knows where the books are, the pen. When his mom is sitting down, he can go and bring the book and the pen, sit there, trying to write at that age!

I also have a good woman now. I am so lucky. Most women don't know what they really want. Like 70% of them are not patient. God gave them to us to help us, but they have not done their work at home. Maybe God is annoyed by that. But my woman is good. I wear a ring on my left ring-finger even though we are not yet married. But my heart is married. One day, I shall have enough money to pay for all the traditional ceremonies to make it official. I have plans to open a business where my sisters can work and earn their own money, and then maybe also help me, too.

God has given me creativity in my head. I thank God for that. I also have what I call the blood of leadership. Most people don't have that. Leadership is a gift given or provided by God to some people. That is why you find sometimes, people when they are given opportunities, they just take it for granted. They just grab what they want, but they don't think about their role as real leaders. What I think is when you're a good leader, really a good leader, you can feel it. Many of other people just think of themselves.

These people turned our motto, which is "For God and my country," into "For God and my family" and "For god and my stomach." If our motto is "For God and my country," people elected as leaders, their purpose is to serve the people who trusted them

with votes of power, but most of the time they just think of their families, their stomachs and what have you.

But in me, what I hear in me, really when people give me the opportunity to be their leader, I feel like I am like them, and I don't want to do anything that is not good. That is why I see that leadership is in the blood, and others have the blood that does not contain any leadership. It's a talent, it's a gift. And I have it. It is part of what it means to have a good life, to be a good man. I must also be an easy man, a focused man, having a good relationship with everyone.

I first realized I had the blood of leadership when I was Guild President in vocational school, but I now also use it in the Catholic Men's Group at church, and even in billiards. I am still very short, so many sports just aren't available to me, but I love to shoot pool, and I am quite good at it, and am well known, *a sort of celebrity*. I organize many kinds of tournaments. One I call the *"Candle Night Sniper."* *We switch off the electric lights, and then we put candles (that's the creativity I told you about) on the sides of the pockets of the pool table.* It's very popular.

We had one of those tournaments last night. It went very late. This morning, I am tired, and I will be late for work. As usual, my son Henry has helped me get ready. I went back into my bedroom to get some papers, and now I can't find him to say goodbye. He must be with his mom somewhere. I must go.

I quickly walk out our front door. My car is parked in our small, walled compound. Just outside the gate, I have improvised a cover for the very deep trench that runs along the road. This way, I can maneuver the car in and out of the space. I unlock the gate, then the car, and start it up. I put the car in reverse, and begin to back up when I

realize that I have knocked into something. I pull forward again, and get out to assess the damage.

My God! It's my son! It's Henry!

How did this happen?

Why?

How did he get there?

I will ask myself these questions for years. Forever. *I tried to take him to the hospital, but he didn't survive.*

Table 4.1

Findings demonstrated for age group two

Findings Demonstrated -- Participants Ages 27, 28 and 37	
Research Questions Addressed	<p>While Patrick refers to his early life in the classroom, this does not answer the question of how the at-school lived experiences inform his notions of masculinity. The loving-care he received there seems to be rooted in maternal support instead.</p> <p>Later, while his uncle provides some financial support, Patrick is left to negotiate so many elements of his education without a lot of success. He is afraid to tell his uncle the truth, and the consequences are negative. We learn that there is some financial support from an earlier generation of men (this was true for all of the study's participants), and that it is passed on to the generation that follows, but the interventions stop there. The study was unable to reveal support of a more nurturing kind.</p>

	<p>The notions of masculinity informed by his at-school lived experiences appear to evolve from dependence on others (when he sat at home for five years) to navigating the complicated nature of limited financial support, and then finally to a place of leadership in student government. The process revealed a self-awareness of leadership skills, and an awareness of followership and limited perspectives.</p> <p>The fact that Patrick feels ashamed for being "short," and that he is proud of "Big Boy Bennett" appears to be a construct from at-school bullying and teasing.</p>
Evil of Poverty	<p>The references to import-based trade, power failures, the lack of infrastructure, and the absence of school fees underscore the financial realities for Patrick as he transitioned into manhood. The radio death-announcements and the tragic death of Patrick's son are meant to symbolize the frequent loss of life in a state of poverty. Every participant expressed this reality in very intimate ways.</p> <p>Patrick's characterization of women as impatient and not being of support captures the belief held by the participants (of this age group) that while men must fight to emerge from poverty, they believe that most women function from a place of privilege, demanding more than the men feel they can offer.</p>
Adult Development Theory	<p>We see Patrick struggle to balance the expectations of others with his own understandings of self. This is a common struggle as one hovers between the plateaus of a socialized mind and a self-authoring</p>

Table 4.1. cont.

	<p>mind. On the one hand, his reference to "the blood of leadership" that most people do not have, in his opinion, suggests a very clear self-authoring way of thinking. On the other hand, the confines of religion, and his sense of being "a sort of celebrity" suggest a very socialized mindset. The participants all shared similar struggles in this regard. Mentally and spiritually fighting for independence and increased capacities, yet lacking the tools to fully achieve them.</p>
Other Notes	<p>Patrick's strong sense of independence--even deciding when he would return home and where he would sleep at age 15--is consistent in the men's sense of manhood. The fact that no one came looking for Patrick that night is meant to suggest that this feeling of independence is fostered by the other members of the community. The participants all felt entitled to this independence, and they felt great resentment when it was compromised either by employers, educators, the government, women or family.</p> <p>The repeated references to a lack of clarity (not knowing how many people were in the house or who cooked dinner, all the closed doors, no explanation about his biological mother and father, and his own secrecy with regard to his long work hours at the school for the deaf) are meant to demonstrate the fact that the participants' referenced a lack of full knowledge of most issues and relationships, often saying "They didn't tell me," instead of deciding to ask "Why?" Disclosure of important facts appears to be highly protected, as does the lack of</p>

Table 4.1. cont.

	<p>communication about even simple details, suggesting that power emerges from the hoarding of information, an important consideration in the construction of masculinity and notions of power. For example, this is another layer of Patrick's refusal to accept the news about his biological parents. NB This actually happened to one of the study participants. He did not accept that the "housemaid" was his biological mother for four more years, and to this day he has not accepted that one of his uncles might actually be the father for whom he so desperately longs.</p>
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Table 4.1. cont.

Luke

My name is Luke. I was born in 1959, and *I'm lucky. I was born in a hospital. During those days in 1959, not so many people were lucky to be born in a hospital. I was born at Mango Hospital. It's a missionary hospital.*

I went to primary school, starting in 1966. I remember the year well because on my first day of school, the palace of the king was attacked. From our home, we looked down onto the area known as Mengo, where the palace is, and we could see so much smoke. While there is always some smoke rising from one of Kampala's seven hills--as farmers clear land with fire and as municipal workers burn rubbish--I had never seen smoke like this.

I also remember from day one, I never went to school barefooted. That was not common during those days. Almost the entire class had no shoes. (I remember one time they were looking for jiggers from all the students. I was the first to remove my shoes,

but when I removed them, the class clapped because my feet were so clean.) I don't know how my mother managed, but she did her best for me.

I didn't know my father. I would ask my mom about him, but she never had much to tell me. But I liked school, and had many friends. They all asked me about my father. I would tell them that my uncle was actually my father. He was the only man I really knew.

When I was in Primary 5, Mum decided to take me into downtown Kampala. We went to buy some clothes. I don't remember well whether it was Christmas or what, but we were in a shop, and my father happened to pass by! Mum saw him and called him. He came, we greeted each other, and she told me, "This is your father you've been asking for."

My life changed that day. I remember he paid for the clothes we had bought, and he went. Then I started pestering my mother to take me to my father. So one day, I think after our Primary 5 leaving examinations, the end of the year, she decided to take me there. I remember I slept there one night, then the next day Idi Amin took over power. Even with the political revolution, I was able to carry on, so happy to now know my father.

After Primary 7, I took the Primary Leaving Exams. I did them well and I passed. This led to my admission to secondary school, a very big school for the Brothers of Christian Instruction. So that's where I was admitted and I spent four years.

During my first year, some of the students and staff planned a strike. For us, we never knew that they were planning for a strike, we just learned when the strike was

aborted. They had a plan to burn the whole school. Everything. But one of the students alerted the administration.

Then we were all rounded up by police, the innocent and the planners of the strike. We were rounded up as criminals and we were taken to the police station where we spent the whole night. While I never had another problem like that at the school, I learned to be very cautious, to try to learn what others were planning, and I learned to distrust the police. How could they round us all up and detain us throughout the night!

Thankfully, I also learned to focus on my studies. My friends and I, though, well we just hated science, so that prevented us from learning the subject. Mostly physics and mathematics. We were more interested in the arts where there are stories and the literature, where they had no calculations and what have you. But apart from that, I did all my A-level and I was admitted at another level.

Many other classmates were interested in having affairs with fellow students. For me, it was premature. It was not the time. We had to concentrate on studies. Others were going for girls, while those of us who did not were seen as cursed, out of place, out of fashion. We were not seen as cool kids.

But for me, I think that helped us to succeed. Because for instance, so many students with whom I was in O-level, they are no more. They died. They died of AIDS. This means that, if I had also gone for sex, I would be no more. I mean during our time, it was not safe to be with the girls because of the deadly disease we are having. It took almost half of all my friends.

The choice to abstain was so clear to me. But so many of my friends would say,

"We are not mahogany which will live for over seventy or eighty years. We have to enjoy life now."

Even up to now, we have people whom you tell, "Don't go," but still they go for many sexual partners. What's interesting is back then, during my schooling, it was not like today. Then we had symptoms which could show you that that one is sick. So you could dodge them. But people were blind. They were reckless.

For me, I am a Pioneer member. In the Catholic Church, we have a movement called the Pioneer Movement. The Pioneer Movement is purposely for self-control, abstaining from certain things for a given reason. We don't take alcohol. Not because alcohol is bad, but we don't take it as a prayer. We offer it because most people love alcohol. So for us, the thing which is loved the most is what we offer to God. It's good, we do like it, but we just offer it to God. I sacrifice for the people who abuse it, the drunkards. It eventually drives them to do wrong things. They cheat their partners. They deprive their homes of necessities because their money is channeled to the bottle. So for us, the reparation of the sins which are made by the drunkards, we offer the very good thing back to God. This helped us also to abstain from having early sexual intercourse which could lead to this anomaly.

During my O Level, I was the Head-Boy, the leader of the students in my school. I learned a lot of things of how people behave, and this helped me to take care of my future. Because when you go to A-level, your parents trust that you are mature. They give you money for the school fees and what have you, but I realized that most of my colleagues were using that money to give to girls to go gambling. So all those anomalies, those short-comings, I learned of them and I vowed to safeguard from them in my future.

Later, I went to teachers training college where I trained to become an educator, and I was also a Guild Minister there. I tried to help my colleagues. We tried to help each other. And when I finished, I was posted to a deaf school where I was a lay priest in charge of the bursary for the school, and I helped train the teachers there. I worked there for several years.

I even brought one of my family's boys there to work and study when he failed to find school fees. We used to call him Thursday, but he never liked that name. So one day, they called me to the family home in town where he was staying, and we had a family meeting to assign him another name.

I remember being excited about the meeting. I decided to wear my paisley vest over a white shirt, and my yellow tie with a smiley face on it. It says, "Have a nice millennium!" It seemed fitting for the occasion. When I arrived, I found everyone enjoying their beers. They know that, for me, I don't take beers, so they gave me an orange soda, and we carried on until at last the Mama of the house decided to call him Mukasa Patrick. His life has not been so easy, but he has tried his level best. He tries seriously.

Back at the teachers training college, I did finally decide to get a girlfriend. *She was my colleague. We spent time together, and learned about each other, but then I realized I had no future with her.*

Fortunately, I got another one who is my present wife. But getting married here in our country is a challenge, maybe all over the world, but mostly here. You can be with more than one girlfriend, but then to choose one becomes a problem because then that means the other will wage a war. Because it is natural. You have abandoned her and

you have gone with another one. So I had the problem with the first one trying to discourage me to take the present wife that I am having, but I was focused and I said, "No way!" I had to stick to my decision.

When you marry, there's another problem here: the parents of the wife want their daughter to marry a well-to-do person so that you can support them also. Being a teacher, I had no money. So there were others who were discouraging my wife to move away from me, to divorce. But, I had the art of convincing her that better things are to come.

This is what I call sadists. They are always there to see one's downfall. They deny happiness. They would rather see you going through hard times. They want you to experience bad luck. They see you together with your wife, they don't want you to be together with your wife. They want you separated or divorced. So our people here are very funny. You never know what they like or what they hate, so it's only up to you to decide what is right and stick to it with God's guidance. But people were bent on breaking the marriage. God helped me and she never listened to them.

It wasn't long before we produced our first baby girl. When she had just given birth, I had a trip to Rome. I was a youth leader. When I came back, I passed where I had left her. The child was okay, and the mother and all the rest were okay. I told them, "Let me go to Masaka and report that I have come back," because it was the Masaka Diocese that had sent me. So I went.

The following day, I saw my cousin-brother coming to see me, very late in the night. I said, "What is it?"

He said, "Your child is dead."

I said 'What?!! What has happened?'

He said, "They took the child to the hospital and she stayed there for an hour. She died."

I couldn't believe it, but when I came, it was so.

It was a sad experience. I lost my first born. We buried her. The whole extended family cried and grieved for two days.

Finally, I decided to forget about the whole thing. Life had to continue.

But that was the period when AIDS was at its peak in Masaka. It started from Masaka. And my wife comes from Masaka. So when the child died, people assumed it was because of HIV/AIDS. I couldn't blame them for that because that was assumed all around. But we continued living. They only discovered that they were wrong after some time when they saw that my wife and I, and our other kids, were not sick. I only thank the Lord that he gave me the courage not to fight back. To get that courage to withstand the storm, really it was God's help.

So, as I said, life had to continue.

We have had eight more children, including a set of twin boys. The oldest two have good jobs and are trying their best. The rest are still at home, and I have not yet been able to buy a house. We are renting, but we have some land that we tend. It is so important to me that my kids know how to dig and cultivate at least some of their own food. God has blessed us with a fruitful Uganda. We must utilize it.

And even me, I have more work to do before I die. In Uganda we say, "A man is not a man until he has a home." I have not yet built my own house. I must make sure I

have that house built. Then I will truly be free to do what I want. I will finally be on my own.

That said, I am very respected in my community. You see, our country is divided into districts, and then into councils. Each village or neighborhood has its own local council, and I was elected to the post of chairperson for our council. People come to me for advice because I have lived life well. For example, *I have been rendering counseling services to parents who have children who are unruly. Caning, beating children with a stick, can't solve much, but when you talk to a child and show him or her the future, they can come to understand. I have been engaged in this for the last seven or eight years, since I was first elected. We haven't had fresh elections because there's no money, so ever since that last election, I have been the chairperson.*

I have also been helping people who divorce over little things. I sit with them. Even bigger people who are almost the age of my parents, they come to me. You know it is just a gift from God I think, because you come to me seeking advice and you are almost the age of my father?! Families which were threatened to fall apart are together again because of the counseling services I have been giving, telling them that "You are not alone. You are not the first to experience this." I am proud of that.

I am also proud of *the upbringing of my children. They are healthy. That is the most important thing. I have given them proper medication, and I have been feeding them properly. I have educated them with my meager resources. There are people with money, but they have not educated their children. But for me, with meager resources I have improvised. I have God helping me, God on my side.*

And I have advised my children. I have given them a good example of how to work for a living. I have been engaged in practical farming. I have tried to clothe them. The girls have decent dresses. For the boys, I am avoiding torn trousers. Even if I buy old ones, they are decently dressed.

I have tried.

I have tried.

So, that gives me the confidence that really I have struggled, that I have neglected nothing.

Table 4.2

Findings demonstrated for age group three

Findings Demonstrated -- Participants Ages 45, 48 and 54	
Research Questions Addressed	<p>The participant's story about having shoes when most of his classmates did not, and their applause for his clean feet, was included as an indicator of an early, at-school lived experience that highlights the intersection of social capital and the possession of even meager resources.</p> <p>The threat of a school strike and the subsequent arrests taught Luke that his manhood and survival required him to become suspicious of others and distrustful of the police and authority.</p> <p>The value of education and the struggles with navigating its various elements is something that every participant raised. They also referred to ranking in school (either based on academic rating or on elected positions of leadership) as being makers of self-worth and value. The researcher was unable to uncover any references to in-class</p>

	<p>experiences that related to thinking or meaning-making beyond the above reference to a preference for subjects related to stories and literature as opposed to science or mathematics.</p> <p>Luke talks about his success as a father. All three in this age group did so. They measured that success in terms of their children's clothing, health, housing, education, work ethics, and basic abilities to farm. No mentions were made of counseling, nurturing, or goodness.</p> <p>A final finding here is that the participants often chose to discuss the poor choices they observed in others, and how they learned by proxy. This expands the data from nine stories to many more through the interpretive lenses of men observing men.</p>
Evil of Poverty	<p>The attack on the King's Palace, the military coup, the threat of violent protest, and in-laws who are willing to destroy a marriage for financial gain, are arguably all rooted in the evil of poverty. This, combined with the seemingly ever-present reality of death, certainly must influence one's decisions in the same way that their absence might lead to very different choices.</p> <p>The belief that "a man is not a man until he has a home" means that this very proud, accomplished person has a sense that he has--so far--failed to become a man because he has not yet purchased or built his own house. This clash between culture and poverty was raised by all of the participants as a struggle in the development of one's masculinity.</p> <p>Finally, Luke mentions that local government elections have</p>

Table 4.2. cont.

	<p>not been held for many years due to a lack of government funding.</p> <p>While he has chosen to remain steadfast in his role, this might not always be the case, underscoring how poverty causes even basic systems to breakdown, leading to further uncertainty and pessimism.</p>
<p>Adult Development Theory</p> <p><i>Table 4.2. cont.</i></p>	<p>Like Patrick, Luke's student leadership experience has helped to form his worldview, and his understanding of others, helping him transition to the plateau of self-authorship. It could also be argued that this transition is further demonstrated as he evolves from a practitioner of religion to an actor of faith. In the beginning of the narrative, Luke talked about the church. At the end, he spoke more frequently about God and Divine intervention and assistance, suggesting a perhaps deeper spiritual connection (self-authored) as opposed to passive religious ritual (socialized).</p> <p>Luke's position as a counselor is included to demonstrate the participants' appreciation for the respect they are given, but also their capacity to see into and understand the lives of others. When he says to his constituents, "You are not alone. You are not the first to experience this," he sounds very much like a person with a self-authoring mind.</p>
Other Notes	<p>All of this study's participants also referred to "sadists" or to some version of that word. They expressed a strong sense that multiple people in their lives were determined to cause them harm or failure, motivated by jealousy of perceived happiness or success. Whether this be paranoia or accurate perceptions of threat, the influence upon</p>

Table 4.2. cont.

	<p>decision-making cannot be overstated.</p> <p>The recurring theme of practical farming, or raising at least some food either for consumption or sale, implies an organic value system that seems to have been passed down through at least two generations of men.</p>
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Table 4.2. cont.

Bennett

My name is Bennett, and I am 20 years old. *My mom gave birth to me at the age of 21, and it was quite a lovely life. We lived in a small house. As I continued growing, I went to school. It was fun.*

We used to carry plates in our bags so we could get lunch. The school provided the food, but we had to have our own plates. Everyone had the same style of plates: round plastic disks with a bowl-like indentation and a wide rim. They were very brightly colored in either blue, green, yellow or red. I think nearly every plate was either cracked or chipped, but we didn't get bothered. They still did the job. We didn't use cutlery, we used our fingers. Every day we had beans and posho made from cornmeal and water cooked to a dough-like consistency. We would mold the posho into a spoon-shape, use it to scoop up the beans, and then eat that spoon and make another one.

In my youngest years, I lived at my grandparents' house with my mum. When I was about four, Dad was finally able to rent a house, and *we started living together, but before that he was not around.*

Later on, my dad bought a car! I was really excited. It was fun. The night he brought it home, I raced out of the house, and jumped into the car. I sat tall in the driver's

seat, and I had so much fun switching the headlights on-and-off. This model's lights raised up out of the front of the car when turned on, and then disappeared when off.

"They remind me of eyelids," I told him. "Makes the car seem human." He laughed.

In Primary 2, my dad took me to boarding school. I stayed there up to Primary 6. The boarding session was quite good. I loved it, I got friends, it was lovely.

But then things started to change. My dad enrolled me in a different school, and I just didn't like it there. I don't know why he wanted me to leave my other school to come to this one.

At least we used to have good lunch. We used to eat in their dishes. During the morning time, we would take porridge in some dish, and in the evening, they would wash them and use them for supper.

I worked hard, and I managed to get the first grade, and my dad was happy. He made me a promise: he was going to take me to shop because he knew I had passed well, but he came late. I saw him at the gate, but they did not allow him in. I cried.

This is when my lovely life seemed to come apart. My parents started fighting. *In my life, I had never seen them quarrel, but I went home on a Sunday so that we could have lunch together. I heard these voices coming out of the bedroom. They were quarreling. I decided to leave as quickly as possible, and when I was leaving, my mom came out of the bedroom. I think she was crying. I had to say goodbye as quickly as possible, and I left.*

They separated shortly after that. And it wasn't long before Dad had a new wife. *She was a lady who disliked us. She used to cane us seriously, and one time she had boiled some water on the charcoal stove, and she took my brother's hand and put it in that*

boiling water. I can still hear him screaming. But nothing happened to her. We just continued with our life.

The next day, we had a sports day. That sports day was to be away from school because our school had no soccer pitch. So we were told to go, to move some kilometers out from the school. As we were moving, we had to cross Entebbe Road. As I was crossing, I was holding my friend's hand. This boy took the first step and was knocked down by a car. I myself, I survived. I don't know how, but I survived. But I was shocked and I fainted because the guy was just near me, a zero distance. And now he was dead.

He had been such a good friend. He and I were among the top three academic performers in our school. And we often would pocket the money our parents gave us for transportation, and we would walk home together instead. We would use the saved money to rent movies which we would take turns watching in our own homes. I had never actually been inside his house, and he had never been in mine, but still we spent so much time together.

He is also the one who first told me about pornography. *I got so interested. I went to the cyber cafe' and I searched about it. I was scared and nervous at the first sight so I had to click it off! I don't know how to call it, but it was new to me. I was scared.*

I went back to school and prayed that my lovely life would return to me. I mean I literally prayed. A friend invited me to his church. It was very different than the Catholic masses I had attended with my grandmother. There was lots of singing and dancing, and the pastor seemed to more shout his sermon than speak it. He was telling us that Jesus was meant to be a personal Savior for each and every person. I sat there, and I

don't know, I felt something funny in my body, like in my chest. The pastor kept talking and talking.

I looked around at the other people in the room. We were all seated on white plastic chairs. The church was still under construction. It had a roof and walls, but no glass in the windows, and no doors. But somehow it looked so beautiful to me. So different than when I had first entered.

"Stand up," the pastor said. "Stand up if you have made the decision to make Jesus your personal Lord and Savior."

"Should I?" I asked myself. "Should I try it?" I feel like I sat there for a long time debating myself, but I guess it couldn't have been too long, because I did find myself standing up with so many others. And I now feel much more at peace. I have gone to that church each and every Sunday since. And a bit of loveliness has come back.

I have started Secondary School in Kampala, and am doing well, though I am older than most of my classmates because for two years I sat at home due to a lack of school fees. I don't know if my dad is not working or what? He is gone a lot. He says he is traveling for work, but then when he returns, he says there is no money. At last, my Kojja Mukasa, the step-brother to my dad, has agreed to pay my fees, so at least I am studying again. He calls me "Big Boy Bennett" because he is too short.

In 2009, President Museveni announced that the Kabaka, the king of our tribe, would not be permitted to visit certain parts of his kingdom which is not fair, *so people started demonstrating. They started firing bullets and tear gas in the city. We were at school. Our teachers told us that we were going to end the lessons, and that we were going back home.*

You have to cross through the city to go back home, so the situation was hard. I had to gain my confidence, and I passed through the what? The city. I had to board a taxi right there from the middle of the city. There, the policemen, the army men were shooting, beating people, violating their rights.

As I was passing through, one policeman came near to me and told me, "Young boy, what are you doing in the city?" He said, "You are among the people who are demonstrating."

I told him, "No!"

But the man caught me, caught my hand, pulled me away, took me somewhere, started caning me seriously. I got some wounds on my ankle because the place on the body where he was caning me was the ankles, the elbows, and the back mainly.

Finally, he let me go, and I made my way back home. School resumed some days later.

I turned 20 six months ago and two days later, my elder sister gave birth to a baby boy. We were so happy. A month ago, I was at home for school holidays, together with this baby boy and my little sister when a man came from nowhere. He's not a mad man, yet he came from nowhere, came into our home.

I had given that baby to my little sister to carry for me as I was doing some work at home. So the man came and started fighting for the boy. He fought with the kid that I had given it to. He pulled and he fought. Accidentally, they both let go of the child, and the child landed on the ground.

The baby didn't cry, the baby was alive. I was frightened.

I had nothing to do, I had to tell my sister. I told her, "Sister, this and this has happened."

We had to take the baby to the hospital, and he was examined. He was examined whereby he had a crack on the skull. The doctor told us to go to the police. We went to the police, we made a statement. The man was arrested and put inside.

After some days, about four, on my return to school as I had finished my exams, I called back at home to ask, "How is the baby?" I wanted to know how the baby was. On calling back home, they told me, "The baby has died."

This was two weeks back. And I had to board a boda boda and go back home and see what had happened. This man had been released! We tried to blame the man. The man wanted to fight my sister. The man fought me, he fought my brother, saying, "I had no problem, I had no problem with the case." He said it was the young girl who did it. So he denied it, so I had to leave the guy. But the guy is there, walking freely, and yet it is murder.

I don't understand so much of what is happening in my country. The president has signed a good new law that makes homosexuality very illegal, and yet people are still trying to recruit us to that behavior which is condemned by most people. And I don't think it's good.

But at least my Kojja Mukasa is helping me so that I can study. I was going to give up and just look for a job, but I have friends who counseled me, who told me, "You know life is difficult in Uganda when you don't have papers." So I had to go back to school. I made up my mind. I read books. And now I take the best position in class.

And for me, I am looking forward to making a good life. *I want to be a man of peace, a man who is not hated by many people, a man with no or few enemies, a man who is not worried.*

I will have unity in my family and my clan. I will see a better Uganda, a Uganda with no terrorism, no corruption, no tribalism; a country that is clean and one of the greatest in Africa.

I will be a grateful man who owns big businesses, travels long distances, a man who is supporting and caring, working to end the evil of street kids. To me, those are the ingredients of a good life.

And a good life I shall have.

Table 4.3

Findings demonstrated for age group one

Findings Demonstrated -- Participants Ages 18, 19 and 20	
Research Questions Addressed	<p>Bennett enjoys his friends at school, he is proud of his academic performance, and the food security provided daily appears to be extremely important to him. This is perhaps not surprising given the other elements of insecurity.</p> <p>Again we see the role of the father and the uncle in ensuring that Bennett is able to afford school fees. Bennett is also impressed by his father's car, but mystery surrounds so many details of his life. Bennett does not know why he was removed from one school and enrolled in another, and he does not understand where his dad goes and why there is no money when he returns. These details are included as an indication that nurturing care does not seem evident. Only financial support,</p>

	<p>including the promise to go shopping as a reward for good grades, is provided.</p> <p>The value of education is underscored by these details, including Bennett's friends' counsel that life in Uganda is so much more difficult without the right "papers," and his pride in his high academic ranking thanks to the effort he has put in. Again the researcher was unable to identify any privileging of learning, but rather of the hope of further escape from poverty, and an increase in social capital.</p>
Evil of Poverty	<p>The participants highlighted times when the family secured housing, and when they clashed with the police and army. The milieu of poverty creates a challenging, raw environment in which people must navigate worries about very basic needs as well as deep tragedy and a sense of unfairness.</p> <p>The lack of infrastructure leads to more death and loss. Bennett's friend was killed on the highway because their school did not have a football pitch, and because the roadways are so dangerous.</p>
Adult Development Theory	<p>With young men just transitioning into adulthood, the expectation is that they might not have yet reached any of the plateaus. Given the difficulties they have faced, including significant loss, and given their sense of independence, though, it can be argued that they have in fact reached the plateau of the socialized mind. Evidence of this is the role that others play in influencing significant decisions. The decision to convert from Catholicism, the decision to go back to school,</p>

Table 4.3. cont.

	the belief that homosexuality is "wrong," the experimentation with pornography, and even perhaps the language in Bennett's closing thoughts has emerged from conversations with others.
Other Notes	The caning by a policeman, the accident that took Bennett's friend's life, the apparent murder of the baby nephew, and the extreme abuse by the stepmother were not fabricated. These were shared with the researcher as the participants highlighted their "important and significant" life events. Their tandem capacities to endure and to embrace the hope of the future warrant further investigation.

Table 4.3. cont.

Table 4.3. cont.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings have been presented in narrative form with accompanying tables to link the elements of the story to the study's specific findings. In the following chapter, these data will be further analyzed.

CHAPTER FIVE

This final chapter begins with a summary of the findings and a restatement of the problem and research questions, followed by a discussion of the findings and conclusions, and finally an exploration of the limitations and the implications for further research and for practice in various sectors.

Summary

This study investigated how masculinity is constructed for nine Ugandan male participants of three generations. The study explored their at-school lived experiences and their sense of engagement with and responsibility to other generations. This study was a qualitative investigation guided by a life history design. Narrative analysis was used to report the findings through the lens of adult development theory and within an ethical framework related to poverty.

Problem Statement

Although there has been a tremendous amount of research related to HIV, and to how women and children make meaning in the global South, little has been conducted about how men frame their own identities, or about how experiences with the formal education system and intergenerational relationships influence their notions of gender and personal wellness. This lack of understanding disempowers individuals and groups in efforts to effect personal and at-scale change.

Research Questions

The study's research questions are discussed below. The first two questions are connected, and are discussed as a whole.

How, if at all, did the at-school lived experiences of nine Ugandan men inform their notions of masculinity?

What are the notions of masculinity identified above, and how, if at all, have they evolved over three generations?

How, if at all, do nine Ugandan men express their sense of responsibility to provide nurturing care, in addition to financial support, to their children and families?

Discussion of Findings

At-School Lived Experiences

While efforts were made in the interviews to explore beyond the lived experiences of school-life and into the classrooms themselves, nothing of note emerged. Instead, the boarding school-life, the relationships it fosters (with fellow students) and the relationships it perhaps compromises (with family, for example) proved relevant.

Relationships, ranking, and reach. Initially, the participants were invited simply to plot "significant and important" life events on a timeline. For all of them, school played a prominent role on that line, highlighting the following informed notions of masculinity: the value of the aforementioned relationships, the importance of ranking amongst colleagues either in terms of academics or popularity--or both, and in the work of developing social and material capital via the education-escape from poverty.

Distrustful non-disclosure. The understandable construction of distrust is visible across the data--even beyond the school life--as the participants experienced abuse or loss at home, mistreatment by the police, attacks on their happiness by "sadists," and unfulfilled promises. This distrust appears to frequently lead to a hoarding of information, and a general tendency towards non-communication.

For example, as demonstrated, the men were even initially reluctant to participate in this study for these reasons. The 19 year old participant stated that he was hesitant to meet for the first interview because of the current public discourse that suggests that non-African men are visiting the country for the express purpose of "recruiting" young Ugandan men for same-sex engagement. "But when you talked about this project," he added, "my heart was fine. Then I was okay with whatever you were going to ask."

Once the participants were comfortable with the researcher's intentions and goals, the men became very eager to share their stories. Within the data, there is a strong indication that information is not normally shared, yet when trust was established (and perhaps because of the assurance of confidentiality), the hesitation was replaced by enthusiasm. It is very possible that they were making an effort to please the researcher, yet the depth of the conversations seemed to reveal otherwise, as did the findings of the focus group (in which the non-Ugandan investigator was not present).

There is another layer to this keenness. The idea that their lived experiences have value--to a stranger and to scholarship--appeared to be remarkably gratifying to them. This seems relevant to the guiding question about the reality of nurturing engagement between men. The participants' enthusiasm would suggest that perhaps they have been yearning for deeper connections than they had previously been afforded. This requires further investigation in order to be conclusive, but it begins to answer the third research question about intergenerational connectedness.

Responsibility and the Future

Here, the notion of resilience is compelling. These participants have not chosen simply to surrender. They have continued to pursue opportunities as they arrive, to

improvise when necessary, and to maneuver around tremendous challenges. All of the characters and the participants might easily have abandoned the difficult quest for school fees in exchange for a simple job, or perhaps for a very basic life deep in their home village. Instead, they have chosen to remain in pursuit of a better life, and to share with the generation that follows. There seems to be a desire to thrive, a characteristic previously determined indicative of true resilience for humanity in general, and for Ugandan men specifically (Kizza, et al., 2012).

It was not clear that nurturing care was offered between the generations of men. The notion of nondisclosure was again evident as younger generations were afraid or reluctant to seek clarity or to share needs. The elder participants indicated that they felt good about their own fatherhood because their children went to school, had decent clothes, and had learned practical farming methods and practices. When the investigator searched for other nuances of fatherhood, nothing emerged. Neither were there compelling indicators of an evolution in these notions of masculinity across the three generations.

The Evil of Poverty

The findings repeatedly suggest the role of poverty in social construction. Every participant made multiple references to the frequent absence of school fees, for example, often costing them years of their life. Young men who value education for the reasons outlined above, but who struggled for the all important ranking simply because they either had been forced to skip entire levels of instruction, or because they had no time to study thanks to demanding work schedules.

Poverty also played a role via the weak infrastructure. The men spoke of dangerous roadways, the frequent power outages that made doing homework at night difficult if not impossible, and the challenge of accessing necessary supplies and books.

Many of these realities often led to a perfect storm of tragedy resulting in the death of friends, family, and children. The struggle to make sense of these realities while simultaneously working on self-awareness and self-advancement often seemed daunting if not impossible.

Plateaus of Adult Development

In assessing mental capacity, Kegan and Lahey (2009) look for moments when their study participants express times when they feel "angry, anxious/nervous, success, strong stand/conviction, sad torn, moved/touched, lost something/farewells, change, and important" (p. 22). These participants reflected at-length on all of these emotions.

In the eldest composite character's narrative, Luke's position as a counselor was included to demonstrate the eldest participants' appreciation for the respect they are given, but also their capacity to see into and understand the lives of others. When Luke says to his constituents, "You are not alone. You are not the first to experience this," he sounds very much like a person with a self-authoring mind. This is one of Kegan and Lahey's (2009) central descriptions of the plateau, the ability to "step back" and "evaluate" (p.17).

Conclusions

The notion that "we are not mahogany" emerges in each of the subcategories discussed above, either as a personal priority or as a way of life that the participants feel they must overcome. When life is perceived as being very fragile and fleeting, the

promise of survival does not exist, further fueling the desires and pleasures of the moment. This is its own plateau of development and thinking, a mindset that has an impact on one's identity as a man, and on the perceived legitimacy of a man's decisions.

Limitations of the Study

The Question of Generalizability

In the end, these are three stories as synthesized from only nine stories in the consideration of questions about how the many citizens of an entire culture construct notions of masculinity. While these findings may well be extremely unique, it is important to consider the notion of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1990) that suggests that knowledge from one setting will be useful in another setting if the two settings are similar. Whereas in the event that these findings truly are outliers, Donmoyer's (1990) psychological generalization notion values diversity and outliers, because diversity and outliers have the potential to expand our cognitive schema. In that latter argument, the potential diversity of these data could be treated as an insightful asset rather than an anomalous liability. That said, there is a possibility that this diversity was obscured in the process of creating three composite characters.

The Task of Tightening and Ordering

According to Polkinghorne (1995, p. 20), "The storied narrative form is not an imposition on data of an alien type but a tightening and ordering of experience by explicating an intrinsically meaningful form." The limitations then of this study are less about generalizability, and more about the process of "tightening and ordering of experience" (p. 20). In the quest to bring unity and meaning to the data, there is a risk of overreaching and over-interpreting within the creative-license and crafting of a good

story that ultimately, because it is a composite of nine stories, most certainly is more of a fiction than a typical life history might normally be.

Implications for Further Research

This section describes several implications for further research. Additional qualitative interviews with a large number of male and/or female participants might further deepen the findings. An application of thematic analysis, followed by case studies and a cross-case analysis would likely add further layers of nuance and understanding.

Instrument Development

The development of an instrument would be useful to determine if these findings resonate with men at-scale, in other tribes and other East African nations. Ideally, the instrument could be administered via mobile technologies. A lesson learned in the early stages of this study is that the participants would likely need to be familiar with the principal investigator. Perhaps an existing database of men involved in other cohorts of research, or male clients of an educational or medical institution could be accessed.

Cohort Development

If no suitable telephone lists exist, then the creation of a cohort to engage with mobile-based research methods could prove very useful for this and other non-related investigations. Other cohorts could be populated by women, specific ethnic and age groups, and other demographically-specific subgroups.

Female Perspective

These findings could also be shared with women of the Buganda tribe, in matching age categories to look for resonance (or the lack thereof) in order to add deeper

layers of understanding. Similarly, the women related to the men in this study could be invited to do their own timelines. The related timelines could then be mapped onto each other in a comparison of the separate and related constructions of femininity and masculinity.

Understanding Microlending Dynamics

According to Mpiira, et al. (2013), microlending is currently expanding in the region. Several models of microfinance build communities of shared responsibility and liability in which groups of individuals become responsible for each other's debts (Mpiira, et al., 2013). Research into this surprising intersection between distrust and cooperation could deepen understanding as well as inform practice through a model of how to scaffold projects that create trust where it otherwise does not seem to be.

Implications for Practice

The Work of Reflection

Participants in every age group expressed gratitude for this study's invitation to reflect. That fact, combined with the sense of satisfaction and pride they seemed to experience when they felt that their stories mattered, suggests that tools for reflection and the telling of stories could be incorporated into classroom instruction as well as into aid efforts and religious practices. By creating space for students, clients and parishioners to get to know themselves, while also sharing themselves with educators, aid workers and clergy, there is potential to effect deeper levels of change. In a sense, this might move the current models from a socialized approach to one that is more self-authoring, perhaps eventually leading to places that are actually transformative.

These reflections would likely need to have a creative approach as with this study's timeline and subsequent conversations. Other models might include expression through dance or drama, both are popular media in Uganda. The key appears to be in inviting voice and providing audience.

The Work of Capital

Although it is obvious, people's identity development will continue to be arrested unless issues of poverty are addressed. Too often, aid organizations work in isolation and not within the nested systems/ecosystems (Easterly, 2006). The apparently deep connection between material capital and social capital is not unique to Uganda, but it does seem pronounced in the context of abundant poverty. The work of eliminating or reducing poverty while simultaneously endeavoring to sever the connection between material and social capital would seem to be ideal, but very unlikely. Nevertheless, it is an implication of these findings.

The Work of Trust

These findings suggest that, in project or curriculum design, advanced work must be achieved to earn trust as well as to offer it. Without this baseline, interventions and offerings of care will continue to meet limited success instead of the elusive change-at-scale.

This trust might be established by identifying ways to privilege the sharing of information rather than the hoarding of it. By fostering and rewarding open communication, encouraging the opening of the metaphorical closed-doors, and by highlighting the value of transparency, students and clients might overcome the fear of

sadism. The constant work of trying to surmise the intentions of others consumes cognitive space that could be focused on the deeper work of human flourishing.

Conclusion

This final chapter summarized and discussed the study's findings and conclusions. These new insights can be used to create more informed pedagogy, public health strategies, and as a foundation for further research in the pursuit of change at scale. By recording, telling and honoring the stories of nine Ugandan men of three generations, the intention was to offer another layer of awareness to global meaning-making, service and care.

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APPENDICES

- A. Life History Interview Guide
- B. Follow-Up Interview Guide
- C. Focus Group Script, Version One
- D. Focus Group Script, Final, Version Two
- E. Focus Group Consent Form
- F. Interview Consent Form

APPENDIX A**Life History Interview Guide**

1. On the paper I have provided, please draw a line.
2. Label the left end to represent your birth, and the right end to represent today.
3. Next, please label and mark the times of your life that are significant and important to you.
4. Please tell me about each one.

Appendix B
Follow-Up Interview Guide

1. On the timeline you drew for me last time, I noticed that you included times that you fell sick (or that you did not include times that you fell sick). Can you tell me why?
2. I noticed that you included times that you lost someone close to you (or that you did not include times that you lost someone close to you). Can you tell me why?
3. You'll remember that I asked you to tell me about "important and significant" events in your life. I noticed that you included more negative things than positive things (or that you included more positive things than negative things). Can you tell me why?
4. I noticed that you included x number of experiences that would seem traumatic to me. Can you tell me how this (large or small) number of traumatic events has, if at all, influenced who you are today, and how you think about your life and future?
5. I noticed that your experiences with formal education appear at nearly every stage on your timeline (or are not mentioned often). Can you tell me why?
6. I noticed that you did (or did not) mention your dad/uncle/grandfather's role in your life. Can we talk about that?
7. It was (or was not clear) to me that you feel responsible for the care of others. Can we talk about that?

Appendix C

Focus Group Script, Version One

Welcome. Today, we are going to talk about what three other men in your age group have identified as things in their life and in Baganda culture that influence how they behave as men. I want to know if these things sound familiar to you or if they sound very different than what you personally think. There are no right answers and no wrong answers. It makes no difference to me if you agree or disagree, I just want to hear why.

- Do you have any questions at this point?

I want you to feel comfortable and to be as honest as you can. I assure you that your names will be kept with strictest confidence in a locked cabinet.

- Are there any questions about that?

Okay, let's begin.

In an earlier part of the study, another researcher talked to three men, and they said the following things: [this part is emergent as it depends on a yet-uncompleted study].

Questions will be something like:

- Have you had similar things happen to you or to other men you know?
- Do you agree that these pressures are a big part of the culture?
- Did/does your school have similar practices?
- Does any of this just seem strange or inaccurate to you?
- Is there something missing? Are there other common expectations and obligations associated with being a man?

Appendix D**Focus Group Script, Final, Version Two**

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. The best way to become rich is to get an education.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

2. When I am successful, most other people who know me become jealous, and they try to spoil my success.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

3. When I have a good relationship with my woman, some other people become jealous and work hard to tell lies to try to make us leave each other.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

4. The government is more suspicious of me than if I was a woman.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

5. If I admit that I am sick, then other people will say that I am not a big man.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

6. Renting a house is not as good as buying one or building one.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

7. If I die without building a house, then I will have failed to become a proper man.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

8. If I have the choice to tell the truth or to tell a lie, I will choose the easiest one because it is not so bad to lie if it protects me or someone.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

9. When I have kids, the most important thing I can give them is school fees. The rest they will get from the mom.

How many say YES? _____ How many say NO? _____

Which Luganda proverb helps you most understand how to be a better man in the society?

Appendix E**Focus Group Consent Form**

**University of San Diego
Institutional Review Board**

Research Participant Consent Form

For the research study entitled:
**An Exploration of the Construction of Masculinity
in Ugandan Meaning-Making**

I. Purpose of the research study

Nathaniel Dunigan is a student in the School of Leadership and Education Sciences at the University of San Diego. You are invited to participate in a research study he is conducting. The purpose of this research study is: investigate how masculinity is constructed for nine Ugandan male participants of three different generations through an exploration of their at-school lived experiences and of their sense of engagement with and responsibility to other generations.

II. What you will be asked to do

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to:

- Participate in a one hour focus group discussing what other participants have identified as things in their life and Baganda culture that help them to behave as men.
- You will be audio- and video-taped during the interview.
- Your participation in this study will take a total of 60 minutes.

III. Foreseeable risks or discomforts

Sometimes when people are asked to think about their feelings, they feel sad or anxious. If you would like to talk to someone about your feelings at any time, you can call "Mental Health Uganda" at 0772-462373.

IV. Benefits

While there may be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study, the indirect benefit of participating will be knowing that you helped researchers, and eventually others, better understand how individuals in Uganda deal with loss and trauma so that appropriate assistance can be designed and offered.

V. Confidentiality

Any information provided and/or identifying records will remain confidential and kept in a locked file and/or password-protected computer file in the researcher's office for a minimum of five years. All data collected from you will be coded with a number or pseudonym (fake name). Your real name will not be used. The results of this research project may be made public and information quoted in professional journals and meetings, but information from this study will only be reported as a group, and not individually.

VI. Compensation

If you participate in the study, the researcher will give you Ush 15,000 in the following way: personally. You will receive this compensation even if you decide not to complete the entire session.

VII. Voluntary Nature of this Research

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You do not have to do this, and you can refuse to answer any question or quit at any time. Deciding not to participate or not answering any of the questions will have no effect on any benefits you're entitled to, like your health care, or your employment or grades. You can withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

VIII. Contact Information

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact either:

1) Nathaniel Dunigan

Email: Dunigan@sandiego.edu

Phone: +1 619 384 7860

2) Professor Paula Cordeiro

Email: cordeiro@sandiego.edu

Phone: +1 619 260 4540

I have read and understand this form, and consent to the research it describes to me. I have received a copy of this consent form for my records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Participant (Printed)

Signature of Investigator

Date