Re-Imagining Civic Influence in Contemporary Uganda

A Study of Pentecostalism’s Role in the Empowerment of Kampala Youth
Abstract

This thesis explores what role Pentecostalism has as an emerging actor in Uganda in terms of empowering the largely marginalised youth population. Therefore, the purpose of the thesis is to examine how Pentecostalism may contribute to youth’s participation and influence in society and, as such, the realisation of their civil rights as the sovereigns of the country. Based on two months of field research, the thesis is constituted mainly by empirical material from interviews with Pentecostal youth\(^1\) in Kampala, as well as contextualising secondary material. This material is then analysed through a theoretical framework based, mainly, on agency theory as it explores the social circumstances in which the agency of the youth is both disabled and enabled, as well as marginalisation and identity-making theory. First, it is argued that the generational gap, characterised by patronage, as well as government’s deployment of physical and psychical violence against youth has worked against the youth and deprived them of their agency. Second, it is argued that Pentecostal churches empower youth to critically reflect over their marginalised position in society, out of which as sense of agency may grow at an individual level. Finally, it is argued that as the churches establishes constructive behaviours among the church youth, this has positively contributed to their social standing in society and the realisation of their civic influence. In turn, potentially contributing also to the wider youth population’s influence, as well as the democratic development and security in Uganda.

**Key words:** Youth, marginalisation, Pentecostalism, agency, identity-making, community of solidarity, empowerment, constructive behaviour, civil rights, participation, Kampala, Uganda.

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\(^1\) All are over the age of eighteen and thus have a right to vote.
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Table of contents:

Abstract.......................................................................................................................... II

Acknowledgements ...................................................................................................... III

1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 1

1.1 Background .............................................................................................................. 1

1.2 Problem formulation .............................................................................................. 3

1.3 Purpose and question formulation ......................................................................... 3

1.4 Material and method ............................................................................................ 4

1.5 Theory .................................................................................................................... 8

1.6 Previous research ................................................................................................. 14

1.7 Disposition ............................................................................................................ 15

2 Marginalisation of youth ............................................................................................ 17

2.1 Contextualising the disregard of youth ................................................................. 17

2.2 The meaning and causes of marginalisation ......................................................... 19

2.3 Violence ................................................................................................................ 21

2.4 Summary .............................................................................................................. 24

3 The formation of the agent-identity .......................................................................... 26

3.1 Role of Pentecostalism in civil society ................................................................. 26

3.2 Overcoming the challenge of organising youth .................................................... 27

3.3 Identity-making .................................................................................................... 29

3.4 Summary .............................................................................................................. 33

4 Transgressing the border of marginalisation ............................................................. 34

4.1 Approaching the oppressing structures of society .............................................. 34

4.2 Constructive behaviour ......................................................................................... 37

4.3 Civil influence as the sovereigns of Uganda ....................................................... 41

4.4 Summary .............................................................................................................. 44

5 Concluding discussion ............................................................................................... 45
5.1 Further research ................................................................. 47

Bibliography ............................................................................. 49
  Printed sources ........................................................................ 49
  Articles & reports .................................................................. 50
  Internet sources ..................................................................... 51
  Interviews .............................................................................. 52

Appendix: Interview Guide ......................................................... 54
1 Introduction

“We would like to see in the future leaders that are God and family oriented, and looking for making a positive impact, instead of making the bad state we are in [even] worse.”

Susan, 3rd January 2019, Kampala, Uganda.

1.1 Background

As I arrived in Uganda, a series of protests and riots took place around the country in which the youth expressed their anger towards the ruling government party National Resistance Movement (NRM) and president Yoweri Museveni. These were triggered after that the public gained knowledge of that oppositional and independent parliamentarians Robert Kyagulanyi, known under his artist name Bobi Wine, and Francis Zaake had been arbitrarily detained and tortured by the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF). The former was released by the UPDF, only to be rearrested by the Uganda Police Force (UPF) upon release, while the latter remained hospitalised due to the serious physical harm done to him (Human Rights Watch 2018a). Both were accused for inciting to agitation in connection to an election held in the Arua-district in northwest Uganda to fill the late Ibrahim Abiriga’s (NRM) seat in parliament, during which the president’s convoy allegedly was attacked. As a result, a national wide youth movement, chanting “People power”, spread across the country through protests and riots. The youth were met by the suppressing force of the state security, including teargas, beatings and live gun fire resulting in a several cases of death and even more injured (Daily Monitor 2018).

Protests and riots of this kind have become a more common phenomenon posing a clear threat to the country’s fragile peace (Embassy of Sweden in Kampala). These riots must be seen against the background of the many and difficult, challenges that Ugandan youth are commonly facing, including poverty, low employment rates, lack of access to education and social services, as well as a destructive surrounding in overall. The anger also seems to be enhanced by the few opportunities that the they have in terms of mitigating their challenges as a structurally marginalised group of society, which might seem strange considering that Uganda has a very young population. Indeed, 50 percent are below fifteen years of age, and 78 percent under thirty years and, thus, constitutes the clear majority (ibid.). As Mamadou Diouf (2003) explain, while the global north has seen declining birth rates and a levelling out of young populations, the opposite may be said about many of the African countries (Diouf 2003:2). The

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2 UPDF is the armed forces of Uganda.
young population is mainly the outcome of the vast population growth that Uganda has seen since the latter half of the 20th century, today with a population on 42.86 million and an annual growth at 3.3 percent (United Nations 2017. See also World Bank 2019). The young population of Uganda have clear implications for the democratic development of the country, especially since more than half of the population do not have the right to vote. However, due to the authoritarian rule of the NRM government and democratic deficit, even those that are above eighteen years of age, that have a right to vote, are widely deprived of their civil rights.

During president Museveni’s rule since 1986, progress has been made to develop democracy in Uganda and he was initially celebrated by the international community, having brought peace and carried out several institutional reforms key for nation building (Tripp 2010:2). However, it is clear that the country has a long way to go and that the young population’s rights, as established under the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, are far from fulfilled, leaving them marginalised with little to say in the development of society (Netherlands institute for multiparty democracy). Indeed, the constitution stipulates the sovereignty of the people of Uganda, stating in article 1 §1 that "All power belongs to the people who shall exercise their sovereignty [...]" and further in §2 that "[...] all authority in the State emanates from the people of Uganda; and the people shall be governed through their will and consent" (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995). Thus, it becomes clear that all Ugandans, including the youth, have the right to equal and popular control of the governing of Uganda as sovereign citizens. However, this does not appear to be the case given the prevailing democratic deficit and government´s failure to realise its constitutional obligations.

In order to understand the marginalised position of youth in Uganda and possible emancipatory factors it is, however, important to go beyond a juridical and political understanding of these violations. Therefore, a philosophical approach becomes necessary to access the social and cultural realms that lay the foundational social structures of Uganda. As will become apparent, the government and Ugandan state apparatus, mainly constituted by the elder, frequently project an image of youth as uncivil citizens that breaks the laws and norms of society. Consequently, youth are socially deemed as unfit to bear power in society, of course furthering the marginalisation and tensions among youth. As a result, Ugandan politics have emanated from the generation of elder, rather than the young population that are treated as beneficiaries instead of national sovereigns (International Alert 2014).

In parallel with the growing frustration among the Ugandan youth, a vast Pentecostal movement have emerged in Uganda, increasing from a member base at 4.7 percent of the population in 2002 to 11.1 in 2014 (UBOS 2016). This development is interesting for two
reasons: the churches’ potential influence as religion has a prominent role in Ugandan politics, thus constituting a sort of political theology, and the fact that Ugandan Pentecostalism has come to be constituted mainly by youth. Indeed, many youths have migrated from the traditional Anglican and catholic churches to instead gather themselves in Pentecostal churches around in Uganda (ibid.). The influence of Pentecostalism over the Ugandan youth and society is also a subject that lately has been acknowledged by scholars. Among them, Henni Alava (2018) writes about churches’ role in post-conflict Acholi land in northern Uganda and how local youth are portrayed as lost by society due to their role in, or negative impact from, the insurgency by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) (Alava 2018:159 ff.). In this context she shows that Pentecostal churches has impacted youth positively by helping them establish agency, arguing that this has political implications for the society (ibid.). While the concept of being lost was not emphasised explicitly by my interviewees, the Pentecostal youth in Kampala expressed a similar sense of feeling socially marginalised by the surrounding society. However, Alva does not develop any deeper account on how Pentecostalism may influence youth agency and it seems unclear what political implications these churches create. Further, it is also interesting to discuss what outcomes this marginalisation has for youth’s civic rights. The thesis therefore aims at exploring further on the relationship between Pentecostalism, youth’s participation in society and access to civil rights in the context of growing tensions and Uganda’s democratic deficit.

1.2 Problem formulation
As described above, the young population of Uganda faces difficult challenges and living conditions, while at the same time having little influence in society and possibilities to mitigate these. Consequently, the tension among youth is growing. Meanwhile, as presented above, the growing Pentecostal movement in Uganda presents itself as a feasible way forward by organising and empowering youth. It is in the light of these aspects that the thesis makes its onset on investigating what role Pentecostalism has in terms of empowering youth.

1.3 Purpose and question formulation
The purpose of the thesis is to examine how Pentecostalism may contribute to youth’s participation and influence in society and, as such, the realisation of their civil rights. This is relevant for multiple purposes, among them helping youth overcome their challenging circumstances and contributing to an inclusive societal development in which the wider youth
population’s participation is crucial for its sustainability as well as Uganda’s democratisation. It is also important for helping youth overcome destructive behaviours that, together with the violence of the state, challenges the peaceful stability of Uganda. Exploring ways of relieving youth from their challenging circumstances and strengthening their civic influence are as important as mediating conflicts and building democratic institutions when looking at developmental issues considering the structural marginalisation of youth. Integrating a religious and human rights perspective here becomes a feasible approach to the field due to the political theology characterising societal questions in Uganda. From an academical perspective, it is also clear that the study fills a gap in previous research, which is further explained below.

To achieve the pronounced purpose of the thesis, the main question formulation is as follows. How might Pentecostalism contribute to Kampala youth’s participation and influence in the Ugandan society and, ultimately, their civil rights as the sovereigns of Uganda? To answer this question, I also pose the following questions that are answered in their current order, respectively, in the chapters that follow. How can we understand the marginalisation of the Ugandan youth, and, the surrounding conditions that regulate agency? How does Pentecostalism affect Kampala youth’s conception of themselves as a marginalised group of society? As a group with little influence in society, how does Pentecostalism contribute to Kampala youth’s ability to emancipate from the social margins and become socially recognised actors of society?

1.4 Material and method
To achieve the aims of the research, a qualitative methodology is adopted to enable an understanding of youth marginalisation that goes beyond the surface to explain the underlying social causes and possibilities surrounding agency. This approach is also necessary since the studied context is unknown to me as a foreign researcher, having no experience of Pentecostalism, of living in poverty, or in the social margins of society, or, for that matter, of living in Uganda on a permanent basis. Hence, it appeared appropriate to let the Pentecostal youth explain their experiences themselves. The study therefore consists mainly of empirical material collected in Kampala, secondary material from relevant previous research, and theoretical material3. With a personal background in the field of anthropology, the methodology is to a large extent inspired by ethnographic method, in accordance with Charlotte Aull Davies

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3 See presentation and methodological discussion of theoretical material in “1.5 Theory”.
(2008), as well as academic considerations arising from the study’s uniqueness. Although, it is not appropriate to call the study anything else than inspired by ethnographic method since it extends its disciplinary boundaries into the multi-disciplinary domain of human rights. Below, I present the material through an integrated methodological discussion.

1.4.1 Empirical material

The empirical material is based on ten interviews carried out between November 2018 and January 2019 with fifteen youth\(^4\) from six different churches in the Kampala area. The material gives a first-hand view into the experiences of the Pentecostal youth and their conceptions about challenges, possibilities, Pentecostalism and their role in society. One exception has been made, however, which regards my interviewee Raymond, a middle-aged man from eastern Uganda that work for an organisation promoting democratic development in Uganda. Initially, the meeting and contact with Raymond was to discuss and cross-check my research with someone with a personal background from Uganda as well as much more professional experience in the fields of youth and development of democratic governance in the country. However, the meeting I had with him proved to be useful material for contextualising the research on civil rights and democracy among youth Pentecostals in Kampala. Yet, the focus remains on the accounts provided by the Pentecostal youth.

The interviews were prepared during the two months prior to the interviews took place as I followed the political and human rights development during an internship at the Swedish Embassy in Kampala and collected written material to identify an academical and theoretical approach. This was important since, as Davies argues, the researcher must have a basic understanding of the context he or she studies and be able to specify topics of the interviews and a theoretical approach that allows the collected empirical material to be synthetized with theory in analysis (ibid.46, 119). As such, I developed an interview guide\(^5\) by formulating questions relevant to my observations, reading and theoretical approach, of which was then categorised as set of topics discussed during the interviews, enabling, as will be discussed below, a semi-structured format. In addition, I also met with four organisations working with youth issues in Uganda to better understand the efforts to promote the wider youth population’s participation in decision-making and how Pentecostalism fits into these.

\(^4\) Some interviews involved several youth.

\(^5\) For the reader’s information, the purpose of the interviews was also to inform a report that I was writing for the Swedish Embassy in Kampala at the time. Hence, questions regarding church finances fall out of relevance for the thesis (see Appendix: Interview guide).
Davies also emphasise the importance of selecting interviewees appropriate to which information the study aim at reaching (ibid.89). In my approach of Pentecostal youth, the churches were contacted by email, of which some replied. Therefore, the first round of interviews took place with mainly youth pastors. Having established a contact with several churches, I could then make use of these to set up additional meetings with other youth in their churches. Accessing the youth was quite simple considering the vast amount of Pentecostal youth in Kampala. The challenge laid more in capturing the diversity of the churches, which was made possible by meeting youth from several churches at separate occasions.

Moreover, by choosing Pentecostal youth to explain themselves how they experience their influence in society, several limitations and scientific considerations have been made in the selection of interviewees. First, I have limited myself geographically to Kampala in order to focus on the urban youth Pentecostals of Uganda. I find this interesting since the urban environment move the youth away from more traditional ways of life in rural Uganda, while also placing them around the centre of Ugandan politics, as the administrative capital, and in an environment with a high concentration of youth, which might influence public opinion. Since Uganda´s democratic deficit is a large contributor to youth´s lacking influence in general, the research is also limited to people between eighteen years of age, the constitutionally established age limit for voting, and thirty, the upper age limit for who is considered a youth in Uganda (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995). A last limitation is that the thesis’ focus on how church may contribute to the empowerment of youth, leaving out negative implications of Pentecostalism’s ability to empower youth that also deserves further investigation.

In terms of considerations, the research has ensured a somewhat even gender balance among the interviewees in order to highlight possible differences in the experiences of male and female youth. When meeting with different churches initially, I noticed that I only met men. As such, I established that my research risked becoming dominated by a male narrative which would have created a deceptive gendered perspective, had I not strived for a balance, considering the comprehensive gender inequality pervading in Uganda. When deciding on which churches to meet with, I also made sure to meet with several churches of different sizes and from different neighbourhoods. I found this to be a relevant consideration for my research since Pentecostal churches in Uganda by no means should be considered coherent. By meeting with different churches, I therefore aim at highlighting the diversity of Pentecostalism in Uganda. The thesis will not, however, account for this diversity explicitly. Rather, the diversity

6 What constitutes a youth is a complex matter in Uganda and will be problematised further on.
will influence the analysis naturally by lifting the different experiences as expressed by the Pentecostal youth. And finally, the reader might ask why the analysis does not incorporate an international human rights perspective, given the cosmopolitical trend of the discipline, the answer being that while international human rights law has obviously failed to help the Ugandan youth, maybe they can help themselves. Thus, the focus lays on the empowerment of the youth to rise up against suppressing forces as civil society actors.

From a research ethic perspective, in line with Davies’s recommendations, I was careful to adequately explain to the interviewees the purpose of the study, how the material will be used, and how it is documented before the interviews took place (Davies 2008:55 ff.). They also gave their consent for me to use the material as explained and were informed of their confidentiality as participants (ibid.). Hence, the interviewees names have been replaced by pseudonyms, and any specific details that can be traced to identify the interviewees erased, which is of significant importance considering the sensitive topics treated. The theme of the interviews were kept rather wide in order not to direct the material in a subjective direction. This was enabled by the semi-structured nature by, as Davies explain, leaving sufficient room for the interviewees to respond freely to the questions without being guided by my personal preconceptions, while at the same time allowing me to prevent the interviews from going off topic (ibid.106). To bridge the gap between the Pentecostal youth’s experiences and my academic approach to the context, the interviews was kept at a rather mundane level, instead of adopting a human rights vocabulary explicitly, away from complex concepts of social sciences.

To document the material, I have recorded the conversations during the interviews with a digital recorder, which allowed me to be more present and able to ask follow-up questions, compared to if I would rely on taking notes. Thereafter, I have transcribed the recordings in separate files, or reproduced the contents of the material in audio file references, to translate it into textual format. While the transcriptions give exact accounts of the interviews, the audio file references do not. To avoid imposing personal interpretation of these, they have been reproduced carefully to avoid changing particular phrasings and choices of words, often containing direct quotes. These files were created to make the writing easier, but also to make the material accessible for the interviewees and readers to review in its raw format. In line with Davies, the material was then organised under categories to process the vast amount of material and make patterns of analysis visible (ibid.234 ff.). Having found analytical patterns in the empirical material, these were then viewed upon in the light of the theoretical framework in

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7 See Appendix 1 – Interview guide.
order to find a meaningful outline. As such, this method has also helped build a logical disposition of the thesis.

1.4.2 Secondary material
Of course, interviews conducted with specific individuals involved within specific Pentecostal churches in Kampala will not be sufficient in itself when researching on the larger phenomenon of Pentecostalism in Uganda and the churches’ implications on youth agency. Complementary to the empirical material, secondary material is therefore applied to relate the experiences of the interviewees to the larger developments of society and the structural marginalisation of the Ugandan youth. This material has a broad scope and is largely constituted by various academic studies on various topics from Uganda, including civic influence, democracy and democratic governance, Ugandan Pentecostalism, national diversity and oppression. Moreover, it integrates news articles from different events, as well as reports, internet sources etc. I believe this to be necessary in order to form a comprehensive and representative understanding the social standing of the youth in Uganda. To this end, the secondary material has been important not only while preparing the study as guiding material, but also as an integrated part of the analysis.

1.5 Theory
The theoretical concepts aim at guiding the analysis of how Pentecostalism may influence Ugandan youth’s ability to act in order to challenge their marginalised position in society. Agency theory is therefore at the core of the thesis. Therefore, the aim is not to answer what agency is, but rather how youth agency is enabled and disabled in the Ugandan context. The material shows, however, that to fully understand the challenges and possibilities of the Pentecostal youth, it is important to take into account several key aspects for an elaborative analysis of the social environment that surround agency. Among these are concepts such as vulnerability, oppression, violence, and, identity. A multi-dimensional understanding of agency is therefore adopted. From a methodological point of view, theory has been an important part throughout the entire process of the thesis to make possible and guide its analysis, including having a clear theoretical approach prior to the interviews, and while coding the interviews. The theory has also been important to strike a balance between describing and generalising the material, which has been important since, as Davies argues, a mere description of the material will lack a deeper level of analysis, while generalising risks taking away the quality of the material (Davies 2008:232). As guided by a theoretical approach when conducting the
interviews, a clear connection between theory and the empirical material was created, avoiding description. To avoid generalising of the material, I also left sufficient room for the interviewees to express their views, informing me with their information rather than confirming my preconceptions. Which circumstances set the framework in which youth agency are both limited and made possible? Below, I will present the main theoretical framework that guide the analysis of the thesis starting with agency, followed by interrelated theoretical concepts.

1.5.1 Agency
While analysing how youth agency may be enabled and disabled, the thesis relies mainly on Hille Haker’s (2016) theory about vulnerable agency. The relevance of the theory is based on the fact that vulnerability is the foundational state from which the Ugandan youth´s agency is both enabled and disabled. Before turning to the presentation of vulnerability I must, however, explain my foundational understanding of the social conditions concerning agency. Here, I adopt a post-structural understanding of agency through the writings of René León Rosales (2010), in turn basing his understanding on Michel Foucault, who argues that agency is the outcome of, on the one hand, social structures, on the other, the reproduction and individual negotiation of these structures (Rosales 2010:19). Through a post-structural understanding of agency, people are always seen as members of their social surroundings and, thus, subjected to structures that influence their agency (Rosales 2010:26 f., see also Foucault 1976/2004:105). Meanwhile, they are also the practitioners of power that determine structures, meaning that they may also exercise resistance and challenge the dynamics of dominance of power-relations (Rosales 2010:27 f., see also Foucault 1977/2001:180, and Foucault 1976/2004:105). I therefore argue that the marginalised position of the Ugandan youth in society should not be viewed as static or fixed, but rather a position that is changeable and open for scrutiny by being both subjects and practitioners of structural power. This twofold understanding of agency guides the analysis by first assessing how structures affect youth agency, chapter two, and, second, how youth can resist and challenge these structures in chapter three and four. But considering their exposed position in society, how is youth agency enabled in a position of marginalisation in relation to oppressing structures?

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8 While discussing structures, I will also refer to norms, i.e. what is considered desirable according to the structures, and power as the means of reinforcing certain structures and norms.
9 I will also use the terms power-relations and relations of dominance by which, the first, I refer to that people relate to one another through different relationships conditioned by power and, the latter, the dynamics of dominance as the result of a certain power-relation.
Now, turning to agency in the state of vulnerability, Haker presents three levels of vulnerable agency of which I am primarily interested in the two latter: moral and structural vulnerability, leaving out the ontological level\(^\text{10}\). Moral vulnerability, Haker argues, emerges when one’s view of justice does not resonate with the surrounding’s, hegemonically established, view of justice, meaning that our experiences of injustice, and our expression of these, are not socially recognised (Haker 2016:9 ff). The morally vulnerable individual’s perception of justice, based on certain moral values, are not socially recognised, creating a position of moral vulnerability – despite our sense of being treated unjust (ibid.). Vulnerable agency, in the moral sense, thus, emerge from the general public’s misrecognition and neglect of expressions of injustice, depriving the vulnerable individual of its ability to give voice to, and receive assistance in mitigating, their experience of being treated unjust (ibid.). In similar fashion, the Ugandan youth should be seen as a morally vulnerable group considering the neglect of their challenges and disregard of their attempts to express these, depriving them of their agency. But how then, based on a post-structural understanding, can the youth regain a sense of agency? How can they establish a sense of agency at an individual level? How can they become socially recognised as agents by their surrounding?

The answers to the questions above can be found in Haker’s understanding of structural vulnerability through which redemption presents itself by re-enabling agency through the shared, structural, vulnerability that the Ugandan youth experience. By structural vulnerability, Haker points towards that people can share a similar moral vulnerability by belonging to a certain group of society, making the vulnerability categorical and structural in its character (ibid.13 f.). By interacting with communities of solidarity, i.e. people whom share the same experiences of structural injustice, one can regain a sense of agency, albeit in a state of vulnerability (ibid.14, 27). This return of agency is made in two turns. First, through an individual re-constitution of the self-constitution, shifting one’s view of the self from a non-agent to agent. Second, by acting collectively as a structurally vulnerable group to challenge the hegemonic norms of justice, and ultimately transform the structures that position one as a vulnerable agent (ibid.). As such, church may help youth regain a sense of agency by organising them as a structurally vulnerable group in which their experiences of injustice, and the right to mitigate these, can be legitimised collectively, as discussed in chapter three. As an organised group, youth may then act with collective force to challenge the structures that marginalises

\(^{10}\) Ontological vulnerability refers to that all people are potential subjects to vulnerability (Haker 2016:6). As should be understood by now, the Ugandan youth are positioned in a vulnerable state due to their marginalised being in society. As such, the concept of ontological vulnerability does not contribute to the thesis’s analysis.
them. But will their actions as vulnerable agents, acting with collective force, justify their influence among those who exercise power aimed at marginalising youth? Will Museveni’s regime and people in power not try to suppress such attempts? Is it all that obvious that resistance through collective means will lead to agency, and ultimately their access to rights and civil influence? What about the normative level of social justification? And, can we take for granted that people will resist structures to dissolve them if they have the power to do so?

One might argue that even though the Ugandan youth may accumulate more power by acting collectively, they will not necessarily be able to justify their influence at a social level. For as we shall see in chapter two, the marginalisation of youth build upon certain social interpretations out of which stereotypes are produced. This means that the social recognition of youth as legitimate agents in society cannot be achieved solely through the virtual power accumulated through the collective but must also build on social justification. I argue that the Pentecostal youth are aware of this. I therefore borrow Anna Baral’s (2018) concept of reflexive agency\textsuperscript{11}, referring to the idea that people do not simply resist societal structures based on their moral convictions, but also accept them (Baral 2018:39 ff.). Indeed, Baral argues that her marginalised interviewees, in Kampala, all understood society’s expectations on them and that their agency rather is situated in “[their] continuous negotiation between resistance and submission” to the norms and structures of society in order to understand and change their circumstances (ibid.). The collective agency that the Pentecostal youth practice, as a result of organising themselves as a structurally vulnerable group, must be understood in relation to reflexive agency. This is necessary since, as the material point towards, youth are taught in church to approach their challenges with, what I shall call, a constructive behaviour that challenge stereotypes while trying to resolve their issues. For now, however, what is important to understand is that the agency of the Pentecostal youth is characterised by collectivity as well as submission and resistance to norms, challenging their marginalised position also at a moral level and, ultimately, with the potential to justify their participation in society. This argumentation is further developed in chapter four.

\subsection*{1.5.2 Marginalisation}

As stated in my opening paragraph under theory, another central concept of the thesis is marginalisation. It is all too clear that the Ugandan youth are marginalised from societal influence, but what does this marginalisation entail and, most importantly, how does this affect

\textsuperscript{11} In turn deriving from the writings of Professor Saba Mahmood.
youth agency? Marginalisation relate clearly to post-structuralism´s first assumption of agency, namely that of how structures, through the exercise of power, attempts at creating order and, consequently, limit agency by rendering the Ugandan youth as morally and structurally vulnerable subjects. Thus, moral and structural vulnerability may be seen as a cause of marginalisation. Here, I borrow Iris Marion Young´s (1990) theory about the five faces of oppression, of which I am primarily interested in marginalisation, powerlessness, and violence, leaving out exploitation12 and cultural imperialism13. In her understanding, she argues that oppression is a structural phenomenon of which the first face, marginalisation, refers to that certain groups of society are not given equal opportunity to participate in society due to their social belonging (Young 1990:41, 53 ff.). As socially marginalised subjects of “arbitrary and invasive authority”, people are also further exposed to material issues. Turning to the second face, powerlessness is described as the state that people are situated in as subjects of oppression in the sense of not being able to exercise influence, either as individuals or through representation (ibid.). Finally, by violence Young refer to not only physical violence, but also psychical violence such as “degrading, humiliating, or stigmatising” actions (ibid.61).

Rather than oppression, however, marginalisation is used as the central concept to describe the vulnerable position of the wider youth population in society as a result of a lacking institutional mechanisms ensuring democracy, and the social diminishing of youth. Powerlessness is then treated as an inherent, yet situational and changeable, aspect of marginalisation since youth are both deprived of their agency while also remaining unrepresented by those in power. Finally, violence is treated as a means of reinforcing marginalisation, deterring youth from resistance both physically and psychically, but also as an outcome of marginalisation. By this, I refer to the violence conducted by youth themselves, such as the riots described in the opening paragraphs of the thesis. How come youth adopt violent acts? How can we understand the riots in relation to youth´s experiences of marginalisation and poverty? Here, I lend Bettina Schmidt´s and Ingo Schröder´s (2001) theory about the origins of violence. Indeed, they argue that violence as a response to oppression is not

12 By exploitation, Young refer to that people are used for other people´s financial profit (Young 1990:49). While the Ugandan youth suffer from economic hardship, similar to someone suffering from financial exploitation, it is not something unique for the youth but for all Ugandans due to poverty. One might argue that this poverty is in turn caused by the exploitative nature of colonialism. However, as the thesis focuses on contemporary social power-dynamics in Uganda, poverty and the country’s exploitative colonial past is treated as an analytical outlook for the thesis, rather than theoretical concepts.

13 In Young´s understanding, cultural imperialism refers to dominant group’s attempt at imposing universal norms (ibid.59). Again, as the thesis focus on social power-dynamics in contemporary Uganda, the influence of the colonial past is treated as an outlook for the analysis and since it focuses of the empowerment of youth by local cultural actors rather than taking an international human rights approach, neither is foreign actors influence considered theoretically relevant.
a random act, but rather a conscious social expression that occur through a process of escalation leading to that violence is perceived as the most viable option to overcome a threat of scarce resources, even though it is not (Schmidt and Schröder 2001:8 ff.). A such, the history of marginalisation of youth in Uganda and their frustration must be understood as a motive for violence. After a lifetime of marginalisation, it is not very surprising that violence is perceived as a necessary means or, perhaps even, a last resort to express and change their circumstances. Indeed, the violence by the youth also relate back to the reflexive agency promoted by church to discourage from destructive behaviours.

1.5.3 Identity-making

Another theoretical perspective important in the context of understanding Pentecostalism´s enabling of youth agency in Uganda is identity-making. As mentioned above, agency is enabled in the vulnerable state through a re-evaluation of the self in which the vulnerable navigate itself between, on the one hand, marginalising structures, on the other, a sense of agency and entitlement to justice. I therefore view the coming of agency in a state of vulnerability as a process of identity-making that transforms the being from a non-agent to an agent. But how then, from a post-structural perspective, can we understand the identity-making of the Pentecostal youth in their transformation from vulnerability to agency? Guided by Louis Althusser and Foucault, Rosales describe identity-making as a process of double-constitution (Rosales 2010:22 f., also see Althusser 1977:155, 168 f., Foucault 1975/2003:33, Foucault 1976/2008:177). By this, he means that people are fed certain normative ideals of how to constitute the self by social structures, in an attempt to position them as subjects, while at the same time possessing the ability to determine our self if we accept these subject positions. As such, identity-making becomes a mutual process where the subject can only exist through norms of society, and the norms of society only through its subjects (ibid.). Through this understanding of identity-making, I will analyse how the Pentecostal youth constitute themselves as agents through a process of re-evaluation, involving both socially established norms in society and view of the self in accordance with the community of structurally vulnerable youth in church.

1.5.4 Summary of the theoretical framework

This theoretical framework begs several important questions to the material. How can we understand the marginalisation of the Ugandan youth and its impact on their agency? The marginalisation of the youth will be understood as a moral and structural vulnerability, in which
state they are deprived of their agency while also become subjects to arbitrary violence. But how then is agency enabled in the marginalised state of vulnerability? By organising themselves in church, the Pentecostal youth is understood as a structurally vulnerable group from which communalism agency is enabled, first, by re-evaluating the view of the self in a process of identity-making. But how may these youths then move on to become socially recognised as actors that need to engage themselves on society? By acting collectively, the Pentecostal youth’s ability to engage themselves in society with influence is understood as a reflexive type of agency which enables them to challenge harmful norms without being viewed as unfit to engage the development of society.

1.6 Previous research

Even though churches’ impact on the social standings of oppressed groups in Uganda, analysing thoroughly its human rights implications, seem to be missing in the academia, previous research has been conducted in related topics. One of these are the Pentecostal approach to social issues and relationship to politics in Uganda. In their anthology, Paddy Musana, Angus Crichton and Caroline Howell (2017) discuss the prominent role of religion in Ugandan formal politics and, more specifically, Pentecostalism’s changing, but historically ambivalent, relationship to politics. They also show that the churches are becoming increasingly involved as civil society actors, intervening in social issues surrounding the youth. The book is interesting in the sense of how youth are influenced by the values of church and what role church takes in society. More than her study of Acholi youth Alava, together with Jimmy Spire Ssentongo (2017), has also studied Pentecostalism’s diverse understanding of politics and church’s role in intervening in politics in Uganda. They show that some Pentecostal leaders have argued that change can only be achieved by praying to God, whilst others have argued that social action is needed (Alava and Ssentongo 2017:677). Her findings on that some Pentecostal churches understand change as solely a divine action is interesting in terms of agency since this understanding should reasonably discourage social action among youth in their quest to achieve change. While this is important to keep in mind as a potential spoiler for Pentecostal youth’s involvement in society, the frustrated actions of the wider youth population point toward that they indeed engage through social actions. Although, by no means do I intend to generalise the Ugandan youth as rioters or, for that matter, at unease. Yet, understanding the relationship between Pentecostalism and politics is important to keep in mind as a potential influence on youth’s engagement in, and approach to, societal issues.
Other researchers have studied the shrinking space for civil society in Uganda and marginalisation of the country’s young population. Daniel Hammett and Lucy Jackson (2017) write about the constraints imposed on civil society by the legislation of the, parliamentary strong, NRM-government and how civil society actors can function and fulfil their mandates under these circumstances by adopting certain measures that is deemed acceptable (Hammett and Jackson 2017:1 ff.). The study is interesting in the sense that it brings to the fore how civil society, including youth, can act in order to pursue their work to influence societal development without being prevented by the government. Therefore, the study is useful to compare with how Pentecostal churches in Kampala function. Directly from Kampala, Baral (2018) have studied male masculinity among male workers at Kisekka market, lifting the issue of both marginalisation and agency, as written in the theory section, among youth. The study has direct relevance for the thesis since it highlights how youth are marginalised and the different perspectives and stereotypes produced around them.

1.7 Disposition
The layout for the rest of the thesis is as follows. In the chapter following the introduction, the structural marginalisation of wider youth population of Uganda is treated, as well as the circumstances in which youth are deprived of their influence. By first giving an overview of the context and social circumstances that have led to the current situation, the chapter continues with analysing the implications of their marginalisation. As such, the chapter focuses on three different, yet interrelated, levels of marginalisation to assess the means through which structural marginalisation disable youth influence as morally and structurally vulnerable agents.

Whereas chapter two present how youth agency is disabled, chapter three takes its onset from these challenges to investigate how Pentecostal youth in particular may be engaged by church and regain a sense of agency. First, the chapter explores what role the churches have in terms of integrating youth issues into their operation. Second, the significance of the organisation of youth in church as a vulnerable group in society is presented, relating to the wider challenges for organising youth resistance in civil society. Lastly, it is explored how the organisation of youth in church as a community of solidarity might contribute to their critical view and re-thinking their role in society in a process of identity-making, out of which a sense of agency may emerge.

From the outlook of having organised youth as a community of solidarity in church, chapter four then discuss Pentecostalism’s potential to empower youth in Uganda and help them
realise their civil rights as socially recognised agents of society that deserves influence. First, the chapter problematises which means the Pentecostal youth may adopt in order to challenge the norms and power-dynamics of society to gain social influence. The second half of the chapter then focus on how church may contribute to youth’s adoption of alternative approaches to their challenges through a reflexive type of agency and, as such, youth’s ability to regain their civil rights as vulnerable subjects. Lastly, it is also discussed how the active participation of Pentecostal youth as citizens may contribute to the democratisation and stability of Uganda.

In the final chapter, I reconnect to the purpose and main question formulation of the thesis and summarise the key findings in my analytical chapters in order to make a final assessment of the results of the thesis.
2 Marginalisation of youth

“You find all of these gruntled, unhappy, poor youth that does not know how to get out of the hole they are in and the people who, maybe, have the position to help them do not identify with their issues. They do not understand the issues, so they do not actually look into ways to help them. And so, the population gets even more unhappy.” Those were the words of Leah, one of the Pentecostal youths informing this thesis, highlighting both the difficult situation of the Ugandan youth as vulnerable group and their marginalised position in society. As presented in the previous chapter, the Ugandan youth are facing a vast amount of challenges, among them, argues Leah, poverty, unemployment, diseases, lack of education, social services etc. But the one challenge common to the Ugandan youth is, according to her, the fact that no one is looking into solving these issues. Guided by a post-structural perspective, this chapter brings to light the structural marginalisation of youth to provide an answer to how youth agency is disabled in the Ugandan context. How can we understand the marginalisation of the Ugandan youth, and, the surrounding conditions that regulate agency?

2.1 Contextualising the disregard of youth

Indeed, all youth interviewed emphasised a sense social marginalisation, which raises not only the question of how and why the youth are marginalised, but also what implications it has for youth’s influence in society. Providing answers to these questions and mitigating their inherent issues are of uttermost importance not only for the sake of the Ugandan youth’s decent livelihood, but also for the development, democratisation and peace in Uganda that depends on civil engagement. Indeed, investing in the wider youth demography would create a major labour force that could contribute to the economic growth, meanwhile the marginalisation of youth risks escalating into violent, or even armed, conflict (International Alert 2014:8). Further, Tarsis Kabwegyere (2000) warns that the lack of civic influence of the young population will fail to groom the young population for their future responsibilities. He argues that “Since a democracy cannot be run without democrats, it is imperative to produce them through education, political socialisation and practical example” (Kabwegyere 2000:150). As stated above, the youth constitute a large majority of Uganda’s population and, as such, their participation in societal question is indeed crucial. Yet, as the country has seen a clear demographic age shift, the power of Museveni and the old generation of bureaucrats in the NRM-regime remains.
Museveni came to power in 1986 after overthrowing Milton Obote’s second regime through an insurgency by the National Resistance Army (NRA)\(^\text{14}\), the armed group of the NRM. Since then, he has been re-elected as president five times in what has been declared deficient elections by independent observers (Encyclopædia Britannica 2018). Shedding light on the generation gap that has emerged in Uganda one of the Pentecostal youths, George, argued that “[…] having a leader that have been in power for so long [means that] the system has been powerful [for] longer than 80 percent of [the] Ugandans [have lived].” Thus, most Ugandans have only seen one president. In similar spirit, John, pointed out that the higher offices of the government consist solely of the elder, commonly by army men who fought along Museveni in the bush, and that the president seem hold in high regard the fact that he fought for his coming to power. In John’s opinion, the government does not seem to consider the youth in general, especially since they did not elect him, and that he justifies his rule by arguing that he is the hero of the people – a true bush fighter. The point here is, then, that as the landscape of citizenry has changed, making the youth the largest group of society, the division of power does not seem to have developed so to reflect this demographic shift.

As a means of maintaining power, Kizza Besigye, party leader of oppositional Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), argues that the government have established a patron-client relationship to its citizens, ruling through institutions similar to those by the British colonial power. In his regard, the government has established themselves as the masters, served by its citizens, rather than taking on the role of civil servants that serves the sovereign citizens (Chatham House 2016). Indeed, the patronage of the NRM-regime is widely recognised by scholars. Richard Vokes and Sam Wilkins (2018) argues that the patronage is exercised through the government’s economic and social supremacy (Vokes and Wilkins 2018:9). This financially dominant position has enabled them to establish a clientelist approach in terms of buying votes and coercing people into supporting Museveni by threatening with suspended social services (ibid.). However, neglecting youth’s influence in societal decision-making dates back to the pre-colonial traditions as the mandate to make decisions has commonly been one of the elderlies in Uganda among different ethnic groups (International Alert 2014:13). Thus, in a context of democratic deficit, the allocation of power not only remains in the hands of the few, despite the vast youth bulk, but the political leadership is also characterised by its patronage. As such, the role of the youth as beneficiaries is cemented, rather than treating them as stakeholders, depriving them of their sovereignty as citizens. Looking ahead, neither does it seem like

\(^{14}\) The NRA was later turned into the UPDF (UPDF 2019).
Museveni or his government plan on stepping down any time soon. This became apparent not least with the constitutional amendment to upheaval the upper presidential age limit in 2018 (Al Jazeera 2018). Meanwhile, the wider youth population remain marginalised at large.

On top of the generational gap and patronage experienced by youth, several of the female Pentecostals emphasised that they experience further marginalisation due to their sex. Anne explained that the participation of women in society in overall is low, mainly due to cultural beliefs subordinating women. Further, Susan, a daughter of a pastor in her early twenties, argued that these cultural aspects make women feel that there is nothing they can do about the discrimination subjected to them, explaining that it has become normalised. Therefore, both conclude that being a youth in Uganda is bad but being a female youth is even worse.

2.2 The meaning and causes of marginalisation

As becomes clear above, the Ugandan youth have at large been excluded from social influence in society both historically and at present. As presented in the theoretical section, Young’s structural understanding of marginalisation refers to someone that, due to their social belonging, are not able to participate socially in society to the same extent as others due to their group identity. Further, she argues, the marginalised are forced to align themselves with the arbitrary directives of the leaders of society (Young 1990:54). Despite that the youth constitute eighty percent of the Ugandan population, they may still be regarded as marginalised considering the structural liminality imposed on them by the uneven division of power along generational lines in Uganda. Thus, they are prevented from raising their concerns on societal level. Even more so if you are a female youth. Leah explained that even though there are mechanisms to ensure youth’s civic influence, this is not the case in practice. As such, she feels that, in the end of the day, nothing is done to help mitigate the issues of the youth, making her question whether they are really heard. Indeed, the government has established various programmes and platforms to prepare youth for their future responsibilities, yet, these have failed due to lack of funds, alleged spoiling by leaders and an, in overall, absent political interest for realising youth’s interests (International Alert 2014:6 ff.). Ronald expressed his frustration over that while youth constitute the clear majority of the Ugandan population, they are still depending on the minority, which puts them in in a difficult position.

As should be apparent by now, many Ugandans, the majority of them youth, are materially vulnerable due to the poverty and vast socio-economic gaps that prevail in the country, despite them being marginalised. However, the fact that the youth’s efforts to give
voice to their concerns are silenced also means that solutions to these are prevented from being
developed, given the disregard of their grievances. Indeed, as is presented in the previous
chapter, Young argues that as a consequence of marginalisation, people are further exposed to
material vulnerability. This has major implications since the participation and insight by youth
in terms of societal issues is crucial for the possibility to develop social programs to help relieve
youth from their challenging circumstances since they are the ones experiencing these issues.
Of course, furthering their vulnerability. Having worked in church along with other youth to
help people in his community overcome their challenges, George highlighted the relationship
between marginalisation and lack of economic resources, arguing that the vulnerability of youth
makes them unable to help themselves. At least without a helping hand.

The marginalised position of the youth and their hampered ability to influence their
circumstances brings to the fore the concept of power, though in its negative sense as an
inherent consequence of marginality. In Young’s understanding, the meaning of powerlessness
is two-fold. In its first sense, it refers to the powerlessness arising due to lack of representation.
In the Ugandan case, it becomes clear that the generational gap and elderly leadership has
contributed to a misrecognition of the wider youth population, whose interest does not
correspond with the those of government, leaving them largely unrepresented. Further, the
absent representation of youth’s interests in the Ugandan society is interesting in relationship
to the second sense in which Young describe powerlessness, namely that of people’s inability
to act with influence themselves. This is where the significance of the concept of agency
emerges since youth’s ability to represent their own interests becomes increasingly important
when the political leadership disregard these. Indeed, the Pentecostal youth expressed their
concerns regarding their limited ability to mitigate their challenges and influence the
development of society. Consequently, Anne argued that youth have become limited in terms
of their mindsets. “Sometimes when they have an opportunity they still feel, you know, ‘maybe
we cannot do this. That is for, maybe grown up people, we cannot do as much as they can do’”. By
saying so, she highlights that youth appear to have lost the confidence in their ability to act
upon things in society; that the youth do not believe in their ability to engage societal issues on
pair with others due to their social status as youth.

This social misrecognition of youth and their interests relates clearly to Haker’s idea of
vulnerable agency, as presented in chapter one, in the sense that the experienced powerlessness
of the youth can be understood as a moral vulnerability. By vulnerability in the moral sense,
Haker refers to people’s experiences of not being recognised as subjects of injustice since their
view of justice does not correspond with the surrounding’s established view of justice.
Therefore, the morally vulnerable person becomes aware of this misrecognition through a reflective comparison between, on the one hand, the individual view of being subjected to injustices and, on the other, the social surrounding’s failure to act upon these (Haker 2016:9 ff.). Therefore, the experience of moral injustice results in a feeling of not being recognised as a subject of injustice or, for that matter, being entitled to act upon the feeling of marginalisation – depriving the morally vulnerable of its agency (ibid.). These sentiments were common among the interviewees. Monica, a youth in her late twenties, argued that she feels that it does not matter how much she, as a youth, want something as long as people around her does not agree, making her feel that her voice is insignificant. Further, Leah explained: “I think that we all have these grand hopes and dreams in our minds that we will be the instrument of change, but in the end of the day when we actually start to be on the ground and do something you realise that your hands are tied […]”. In this second sense, powerlessness may therefore be seen as a moral vulnerability among the youth as an outcome of their marginality in society, depriving them of their agency even in the sense of how they conceptualise themselves and their role in society.

By understanding the marginalisation of the youth as the cause of moral vulnerability, the process in which agency is deprived appears to be rooted in the moral values of society. However, in accordance with a post-structural view of the social conditions surrounding agency, the moral vulnerability of the youth should by no means be seen as absolute or static, which become apparent in chapter three. Indeed, Haker argues that as a subject of moral injustice, one can never be completely be deprived of its agency since the vulnerable will always have some experiences of being recognised for its moral convictions (Haker 2016:27). In this sense, the moral vulnerability of the youth in Uganda is just an imbalance between their view of themselves and the experience of how the social surrounding engage their sense of injustice. The idea of moral vulnerability does not, however, explain by which means youth are marginalised. How is marginalisation transferred into action? Below, the practice of marginalisation is investigated.

2.3 Violence

As written in chapter one, Young argues that an inherent part of marginalisation is being subjected to invasive and arbitrary authority, referring not only to the social alienation that marginalisation entails, but also the means through which marginalisation is practised. As becomes clear in the Ugandan case, a part of this arbitrary authority of the state has been violence against youth. Young’s understanding of violence is two-fold, referring in the first
instance to physical violence. Indeed, whereas protests of youth and in overall have increased significantly in Uganda during the 21st century, violence against protesting youth has become a reoccurring phenomenon in which vast resources are invested in security forces to suppress protesters, even when they are peaceful (Goodfellow 2014:1 ff. See also Human Rights Watch 2018b). It therefore becomes apparent that the violence against protesting youth, whether peaceful or hostile, is partly aimed at silencing their attempts at expressing their grievances. Thus, the violence against youth may be seen as a means of reinforcing their marginalised position in society.

Another aspect of violence, as inherent by its structural nature, is according to Young the knowledge of the oppressed that they may be subjected to violence as a result of their social belonging, depriving them of their freedom to defend their human dignity (Young 1990:62). Therefore, even the threat of violence may work as a means to scare the youth and force them to refrain from acting on their challenges. Indeed, as Vokes and Wilkins show, due to the collective memory of state violence against citizens, the government does not necessarily have to practice physical violence to intimidate them. Having established a discourse on security, with an underlying threat of state violence, the government coerces its citizens through patronage and a “political climate of fear” (Vokes and Wilkins 2018:11 f.). My interviewee Leah explained: “[…] when you try to say something the backlash is bad. So, you realise that maybe it is just better to keep my head down and make sure that my little surrounding is okay. That is enough. Because, when I tried to fight and take on the whole, you know, leadership, this will not work in my favour. I do not know if I can actually try and do anything. Become content with the discontent”. As such, it becomes obvious how the practice and threat of physical violence against the Ugandan youth have become a means of silencing their attempts at taking social action to challenge their circumstances, in turn furthering their marginalisation.

In the second sense, Young’s understanding of violence refers to psychical violence aimed at degrading and emotionally violating people. Indeed, as Alava argues, youth “are collectively blamed for what are perceived as the ills of society” (Alava 2018:162). With globalisation, youth’s influence from both global and local discourses has led to cultural clashes, resulting in a generally negative view of youth in society (Diouf 2003:2 f.). As a consequence, multiple stereotypes are produced around the youth population, which allude to several different factors that commonly characterise their everyday lives (International Alert 2014:31). Indeed, many of the Pentecostal youth pointed out social changes among the young population in general, as well as challenges that forces youth to adopt unlawful means. Jacob, a migrant youth working in one of Kampala’s poorest neighbourhoods, explained that while
youth commonly engage themselves in illegal businesses, this is forced upon them as a result of the generally few and poor income opportunities in Uganda. Of course, frowned upon by surrounding society and in particular the elder. On another note, George warned for the moral degeneration spreading among the youth populations throughout Africa in general, pointing out how traditional morals appears to vanish at an increasing pace. Among these, he mentioned the changed sexual behaviours of youth, arguing that traditionally, people are supposed to save themselves before marriage, but that today’s youth make their sexual debut at a very young age. Moreover, the interviewees mentioned other morally flawed habits such as consumption of alcohol and drugs, as well as homosexuality, which is a generally a sensitive topic in Uganda.

All of these aspects play into the stereotyping of the youth and may be summed up under one concept commonly used to depict the youth in negative terms – bayaaaye. In her account of Kisekka market in downtown Kampala, Baral argues that the workers there are commonly recognised as bayaaaye (Baral 2018:22 ff.). In its most simple form, she writes, bayaaaye refer to bad people, or hooligans. However, in its much more complex meaning, she argues, it refers to people who lack “politeness, etiquette, education, culture, patriotism and decency.” With this wide definition it is adopted in many different regards to describe a muyaaye15; “economically as unproductive urban poor, politically as rioters, relationally as people that take no responsibility for themselves and their families, and/or culturally as uneducated and careless” (ibid.). In simple terms, then, bayaaaye refer to people that challenges the norms of society and who cannot live up to the surroundings’ expectations (ibid.). If the condition to be considered bayaaaye is to not live up to societies expectations, it should reasonably mean that it applies to most youth in Kampala, given their challenging circumstances that makes it difficult to live completely lawfully and to follow the norms of society. Interestingly, then, the concept of bayaaaye has close connotations to how many of the interviewees defined the concept of youth in a more informal sense, namely as dependants – people that are unable to sustain themselves and live up to social expectations. In this sense, the yardstick according to which the satisfactory of the youth are measured might be considered unfair considering the harsh conditions imposed on them by poverty and the social surrounding. Therefore, the frequent depiction of youth as bayaaaye subject them to social stigma as a sort of psychical violence that reinforces their marginalisation and moral vulnerability, in turn depriving them of their agency.

15 Muyaaye is the singular form of bayaaaye, referring to someone who breaks norms and does not live according to the norms of society (Baral 2018:27).
It appears to be the case, however, that violence is not only a means of reinforcing the marginalisation of youth, but also an outcome of it. Indeed, the rioting and violent behaviour of the youth may be seen as an outcome of their experiences of oppression and overall difficult circumstances. As understood through Schmidt and Schröder, violence is never a random act and may occur when it is perceived as the only viable means for challenging oppression. As such, violence may be seen as a last resort for the Ugandan youth to overcome their challenging circumstances and express their grievances, having gained seemingly little traction through other, peaceful, means. John explained that youth riots have become an alarming feature of Uganda as a result of that government fails to mitigate the challenges of the youth. Similarly, Leah argued that the actual cause of unrest in the country is the fact that the youth are not listened to, called the situation a recipe for disaster, a time-bomb. Therefore, she explained that once the Ugandan youth stand up to the government, “we are afraid of what could possibly happen next”. Indeed, just as the violence against protesters has increased, so has the violence of the protesting youth (Goodfellow 2014:10). Over the last couple of years, Uganda have seen events such as the 2009 Buganda riots, clashes in connection to the 2011 Walk to Work campaign, as well as a general presence of electoral and political violence (Baral 2018:171). Moreover, youth have also been provoked into protesting and rioting on the demand of politicians, serving their own selfish ends (Vokes and Wilkins 2018:13). Above, it becomes clear how a culture of violence has emerged in Uganda, pointing to the importance of engaging youth in society through non-violent means. Further, promoting an active citizenship through peaceful means is also key for preventing youth from resorting to violence as a way of governance as the future leaders of the country (International Alert 2014:31).

Finally, it is worth pointing out that as the wider youth population are subjected to gross stereotypes, the violence conducted by youth may reproduce these stereotypes as they build and depend on the destructive behaviours of youth. In turn feeding into those forces that justifies the marginalisation of the Ugandan youth. This is further discussed in the coming chapters showing how the Pentecostal churches contribute to, what shall be called, constructive behaviours among the Pentecostal youth.

2.4 Summary
The chapter has given an account for different aspects and outcomes of the marginalisation of the Ugandan youth and those social circumstances that deprives them of their agency. As such, it has provided an answer to the question of how we can understand the marginalisation of the
Ugandan youth and the surrounding conditions that regulate agency. It has been argued that as a result of the vast population growth and prevailing concentrated power of Museveni’s regime, a clear generational gap has emerged, creating tensions in society. Consequently, the majority of the citizens has been positioned in the social margins of society, depriving them of their agency and possibilities to mitigate the generally difficult challenges they face. In the absence of solutions to these challenges by the government, youth appear to gather themselves in the streets of Kampala to protest but has also resorted to violent means as a last resort to desperately change their difficult circumstances. To silence youth’s attempts to organise resistance to the government, the youth are subjected to state violence that jeopardises the security and dignity of the youth, as well as their ability to engage themselves in societal matters. However, in accordance with a post-structural understanding of agency, youth’s marginalisation may not be viewed as static or fixed, but rather as something changeable. So, given that agency is not completely determined by the structures of society, how may Pentecostalism contribute to a sense of agency among the Kampala youth?
3 The formation of the agent-identity

Above, it becomes apparent how deeply engrained cultural and social aspects play into the marginalisation of Ugandan youth, preventing them from taking part of the development of society, while furthering their grievances and endangering the country’s stability. However, in accordance with the post-structural perspective of how social circumstances affect agency, youth’s potential to gain influence in society may not be viewed as entirely determined by the structures oppressing them. As Rosales argues, people are always part of reproducing and challenging the structures of society. Indeed, as shown in the previous chapter, by adopting violent and destructive means youth reproduce the stereotypes used by society to justify the marginalisation of them. However, the fact that the Pentecostal youth expressed their sense of being subjected to injustice and that many youths, in general, protest or riot to express their dissatisfaction point towards that they strive for greater social influence. As should also be clear by now, the Ugandan youth does not necessarily view civil or democratic influence as viable means for social change, commonly adopting destructive behaviours instead. This is where the role of Pentecostalism comes to light. As such, this chapter will explore how youth’s Pentecostal affiliation affect their view of youth’s role in society. How does Pentecostalism affect Kampala youth’s conception of themselves as a marginalised group of society?

3.1 Role of Pentecostalism in civil society

Representatives from all churches interviewed explained that their work included activities similar to those of civil society organisations, acting on those issues they identify in society, which in the Ugandan case to a large extent concern the youth. Musana (2017) argues that this is based on the biblical understanding of Christians as the “light and salt”, in accordance with Matt 5:13-16, obligating Pentecostals to intervene in social distortions (Musana 2017:111). Although the churches did not express any explicit opposition towards the government, Ugandan Pentecostals seem to take on a complementary role to that of the government and state in terms of mitigating shortcomings of society, especially those of the youth.16 Ronald, a youth pastor in his church, argued that the problem is not that the government is not investing in the youth, but rather how they go about in doing so. “You know the bible talks about good governance. It talks about transparent leadership. And Isaiah 20:22 talks about this man… Shebna [who] was supposed to be like an administrator. But apparently, he was a poor one in

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16 The connection between spiritual and social empowerment is further accounted for in chapter four.
terms of managing resources. God was angry with him. Now why? Because Isaiah was not getting what he was supposed to be”. Thus, he argued that church has a part to play since government cannot do everything for the youth; while government provides national and political leadership, church provides spiritual leadership and scriptural guidance. “So, the point is, there should be a complementary role between the government and the church.” Thus, it becomes clear that the Pentecostal churches in Uganda has an active role in civil society issues.

3.2 Overcoming the challenge of organising youth

As presented in the introducing chapter, Haker argues that structural vulnerability implies that vulnerable people can regain a sense of agency by interacting with other, structurally, vulnerable. In the first sense, this is enabled by organising the youth as a marginalised group. However, as the history of marginalisation implies, organising the youth and civil society cannot be taken for granted, especially if the aim is to challenge the power-dynamics of society. Indeed, Hammett and Jackson show how the concept of civility and uncivility have been deployed historically in Uganda by people in power to regulate civil society and their applicable means, resulting in the shrinking space for civil society and citizens ability to mobilise (Hammett and Jackson 2017:2 ff.). These concepts have been used to “restrict and prevent critical dissent” in order to maintain the status quo and power of the government (ibid.). While political opposition of citizens have been deemed as uncivil, the government have encouraged civil society to engage in issues around social services. Hammett and Jackson conclude that this clearly point towards that the concept of civility entails civil society’s role in complementing the government, rather than “functioning as a [independent and] critical watchdog” of society (ibid.). Further, this has been reinforced by legislative provisions such as the 2013 Public Order Management Act and the 2015 Non-Governmental Organisation Act, strengthening government’s ability to monitor and control civil society. Consequently, the deployment of civility and uncivility as a means of governance hinders Uganda’s young population to mobilise support and critical voices to challenge the power-dynamics of society.

Another factor posing a clear obstacle for organising youth is the absence of national unity. Hence, the Ugandan youth should not be viewed as a homogeneous group, whose diversity means that the mobilisation of youth cannot be taken for granted. Indeed, Uganda is characterised by a lacking national integration with vast divides along ethnic, religious and regional lines, creating a context of conflict (Kasfir 2018:228 f.). In terms of regional divides, my interviewee Anne explained that whereas urban youth have better opportunities in terms of
access to information and contacts, rural youth lack opportunities. She highlighted the fact that rural youth lack exposure and they do not receive as good of an education as urban youth, affecting their mindsets and creating a sense of alienation. Further Caroline Barratt, Martin Mbonye and Janet Seeley (2012) argues that urban and rural Uganda are characterised by different social, economic and moral circumstances, with fewer income opportunities in rural Uganda, compared to urban (Barratt, Mbonye and Seeley 2012:202 ff.). Further, ethnic divides are commonly exploited by people in power in order to mobilise support for their own political ends, engaging youth in sectarian clashes to achieve national unity, while in reality preventing their critical voices by reinforcing these divides (Barratt, Mbonye, Seeley 2012:6, 20). Overcoming ethnic divides also continues to be challenged as a national language, common to the population, continues to be absent, despite English and Kiswahili as official languages (Nsibambi 2014:3). As such, the difficulties that surrounds the Ugandan youth and the difficulties around organising a strong and critical civil society reinforces the vulnerability of youth as a group of society as well as their ability to collectively challenge their marginalisation.

During these circumstances, many Ugandan youth appears to have gathered themselves in Pentecostal churches, as presented in chapter one. Ronald explained that Pentecostal churches provide a modern approach to Christianity, integrating modern music, instruments, technology etc., which speaks to the, generally, vigilant youth. On another note, Leah expressed her Pentecostal faith as creating a sense of freedom from the restrictions of society placed on the youth. “I felt that God became a set of rules and certain regulations and the relationship was not there. […] I longed for something more, a deeper relationship with God […]. So, when I was exposed to Pentecostalism a relationship between man and God was emphasised more than following the rules and regulations. So, I began to understand God more than this guy sitting in the sky saying ‘That is bad. That is good’ […].” Further, she also explained that her Pentecostal faith gives her a sense of hope. “With Pentecostalism it is kind of explained that just because you are screwing up as much as everyone else, that does not mean that you are going the hell and die in the spit of fire there. There is hope, redemption, God loves you.” Another factor emphasised among the youth for their coming into a Pentecostal faith is the churches’ emphasised focus on youth. Not very surprising given that Pentecostal churches in Uganda seem to adhere to a calling of duty in terms of mitigating societal issues which, as written above, to a large extent concern youth. Paul explained that Pentecostal churches are very deliberate with the youth, making sure to engage, support and listen to them.

Indeed, the Pentecostal youth emphasised these two aspects as the major factors to why they came into Pentecostalism. By a modernised approach, often mixing popular culture with
spiritual guidance, Pentecostal churches offer youth a relaxed and attractive way to practice Christianity. Most importantly, however, is the latter creating a sense of belonging that makes many Christian youth identify with Pentecostalism. In the case of the Acholi youth, Alava argues that the Pentecostals were reluctant to engage themselves in formal politics, instead preferring to transform themselves into active members of society through church (Alava 2018:160 ff.). Indeed, Monica argued that there are a lot of Pentecostal churches around in Uganda working in specific communities that becomes access points through which people can organise themselves to contribute to their communities. As such, Pentecostal churches appears to have become an alternative arena for youth to organise themselves, consciously chosen to approach their challenges through religion, rather than through the formal politics they for long have been excluded from. But how, then, may the Pentecostal youth regain a sense of agency as an organised and structurally vulnerable group?

3.3 Identity-making

Alava argues that while the rest of society neglect the issues of the youth in Acholi land, the churches has made great efforts to mitigate their challenges, presenting an opportunity for the Pentecostal youth to reflect on their experiences of poverty and marginalised position in society (Alava 2018:159 ff.). Through this reflection, the youth became aware of their position in society, out of which a sense of agency was enabled (ibid.). Thus, the Pentecostal churches’ focus on youth issues appears to be a pre-condition for enabling youth agency. Indeed, all the Pentecostal churches interviewed made it clear that they put vast emphasis on the challenges of the youth in order to empower them. Having organised the youth as a vulnerable group, the Pentecostal churches appears to incorporate the situation of the youth in their operation, whereas the issues of the wider youth population are largely misrecognised by the surrounding society. Having been involved in several churches through his upbringing, Joshua explained that Pentecostal churches commonly have specific programmes and ministries targeting youth, creating a sense of freedom for them to express themselves and their faith in a social belonging. Corresponding well with their civil-society-like function among Pentecostal churches in Uganda, as described above, Monica emphasised the importance of Pentecostalism to act upon those challenges they identify in society. “In Pentecostalism, yes, we come […] a bit aggressive on certain things, but there is a reason to it. I know the consequences of what

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17 The interviewees explained the concept of ministries as organs of church dealing with particular issues, such as youth, women, children, elder etc. collectively serving God’s purpose.
[youth] are doing, and I have got to take that responsibility to save that life. That is what Pentecostalism is about. We stand in the gap and try to save people from that disaster”.

The way in which the Kampala churches target youth were described to take form in various activities, explaining that instead of looking the other way than the challenges of the youth, it is important to acknowledge these and try to mitigate them. George argued that even though his church does not condone habits such as premarital sex and consumption of alcohol and drugs, it is important that church acknowledge that the youth have these habits and try to help the youth practice these in a controlled manner. “Even if you wanted to drink, you can drink responsibly”, he argued. As such, the churches explained that they have a continuing dialogue with the youth about their issues in their respective ministries, where the youth may share their experiences with one another in a safe and welcoming environment, making it easier for them to open up. Paul argued that doing so was of great importance since youth do not feel listened to, leading to them making bad decisions that they would not have made, had they had mentors and spiritual guidance. Many of the churches also emphasised the importance of teaching youth leadership to help them help themselves and prepare for the future responsibilities that they are currently excluded from. Susan explained that “[she] would like to see in the future leaders that are God and family oriented, looking to make a positive impact, instead of making the bad state that [they] are in [even] worse”. Other means through which the churches engage youth issues were, for example, teaching the youth about their civil rights and responsibilities, emphasising that it is important that they engage themselves in societal issues, as is further discussed in chapter four, teach the youth various work skills and pose them to success stories of people that have overcome their challenges to encourage youth to strive for a better life. As becomes clear, meanwhile the challenges of the Ugandan youth are largely disregarded by the leaders of society, the churches appear to distinguish themselves by playing an essential role in mobilising youth and establishing mechanisms targeting their challenges.

What is interesting here is not only the alternative organisation of youth, but also that Pentecostalism and the collectivity in church appears to offer youth an alternative perspective on their roles and rights in society, potentially affecting the way they approach their issues. As Diouf writes, more than a sense of belonging, religious communities often provide the opportunity for its members to “construct new imaginations of the community and the individual” (Diouf 2003:7). Indeed, as presented above, Haker argues that the organisation of members of a structurally vulnerable group may help them regain a sense of agency as it establishes a community of solidarity in which the vulnerable may engage one another with shared sentiments of oppression. As a result, the general disregard of youth may fall under
scrutiny as the community of solidarity offers youth a much more balanced view of their experiences of injustice, enabling what Haker calls a re-constitution of the self-constitution. Indeed, all churches interviewed emphasised the importance of working with changing the mindsets of the youth by bringing Christianity into their lives. Patricia, working as a youth pastor at her church, gave an example of how faith may work as a means of influencing their member’s views of their roles in society. “I would like to read a quote. It is a scripture in psalm 139:40 [...] that we recently taught our children. ‘I am fearful and wonderfully made’ [...] God had a plan for you, God has a purpose for your life’. A youth that knows this, is one that will speak up knowing that they are useful, important and valued”.

The idea of re-constituting the self-constitution brings to the fore notions about identity-making, given that communities of solidarity not only changes perceptions, but also how morally and structurally vulnerable members of society identify themselves with their social surrounding. As shown in chapter one, Rosales writes that the process through which identities are constructed, in a post structural sense, is characterised by a double constitution. On the one hand, then, he refers to the subject positions imposed onto members of society through its structures, attempting to control people by communicating certain normative ideals. In the Ugandan case, it becomes obvious how oppressing norms and practises has been deployed to oppress and marginalise the wider youth population in different ways in order to prevent their social influence. As has previously been argued, this has not only negatively affected how youth engage themselves in society, but also their perceptions of themselves and their ability to influence the development of society, depriving them on their sense of agency. Thus, it becomes clear how oppressing norms forces youth to identify themselves as passive agents of society.

On the other hand, argues Rosales, as both subjects to and practitioners of power, people have the capacity to critically reflect over and determine whether they accept the passive role subject onto them by society. Through his understanding, the way that the Pentecostal youth identify themselves and their role in society is therefore an outcome of both the marginalising structures of society as well as the youth´s critical reflection of these, making the process double constitutive in its character. Interestingly, by largely emphasising the challenges of the Ugandan youth, the churches therefore appear to provide youth with an alternative view of their role in society by breaking with those established norms attempting to deprive them of their agency. Thus, the Pentecostal churches have created, what Rijk van Djik (1998) would call, temporary spaces of critical reflection in which new social norms may be established (van Djik 1998:158).

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18 Rosales defines subject positions as the attempts of structure´s to position the subject, i.e. structure´s attempt to control individuals by the way they identify themselves in society (Rosales 2010:23).
Indeed, the interviewees expressed a sense of having been empowered through their Pentecostal affiliation. Among them, George explained that church has opened his eyes for the importance of his and all youth’s participation in society and, most importantly, that they can do so successfully. In short, then, it becomes clear how the community of solidarity and commonly vast emphasis on youth’s challenges in the Pentecostal churches has positively impacted how they view their role in society, contributing to their sense of agency.

In order to fully understand this change of attitude among young Pentecostals it is, however, important to understand the theological concept of becoming born-again, heavily emphasised among Ugandan Pentecostals. Indeed, the concept has close connotations to Haker’s idea of re-constituting the self-constitution. In Pentecostalism, and wider evangelical faith, becoming born-again refers to the spiritual rebirth that follows salvation and baptism through the Holy Spirit (Alava 2018:165). As argued through the writings of Birgit Meyer, Diouf claims that the discourse of becoming born-again has strong resemblances to the ideas of the renascence in that it “calls for a complete and deliberate rupture with the past and lays out a different future” (Diouf 2003:7. See also Meyer 1998:186). In the lives of my young interviewees, this seemed to be true since the experience of spiritual rebirth was closely associated with social transformation and the becoming of a new person. Lucas explained: “When somebody get saved and joins Christianity, he becomes a new preacher. And all the past is now gone. He has a new thing. He is totally new, reformed, we want [the youth] transformed from their old life, to a totally different life. People who are obedient, not only to God, but also in the community”. Therefore, becoming born-again entails the embracing of a Christian identity but is also strongly associated with opportunities and possible changes in the physical world. As John argued: “We believe and know that through the God we serve, we shall always come through […]”. More than the distinguished focus on youth’s issues in society in Pentecostalism, creating a space in which youth may question their marginality, the break with hegemonic norms seem to be reinforced on a spiritual level by the doctrine of born-again.

Above, it becomes clear that Pentecostalism have contributed to youth’s ability to re-imagine their role in society through various means. By engaging youth as a structurally vulnerable group in church, the collective experiences of injustice may gain traction and justify a sense of the right among the youth to overcome their challenges. At the same time, the theological doctrine on born-again appears to have reinforced the sense of hope and new opportunities on a spiritual level. Thus, Pentecostalism seem to integrate both the social and spiritual level in their empowerment of youth by helping them re-imagine their being and role in society in a process of re-constituting the self-constitution, as Haker put it. By creating this
space for reflection, youth’s perceptions about themselves as marginalised may fall under scrutiny and a sense of agency emerge. Yet, by no means should youth’s affiliation with Pentecostalism be viewed as a guarantee for, or for that matter the only route to, the creation of agency. What becomes clear is, however, that the Ugandan Pentecostal churches’ emphasis on mitigating the challenges of the youth as a marginalised group distinguishes them in a context where youth are disregarded at large. Therefore, Pentecostalism may be said to contribute to establishing a sense of agency among the Kampala youth.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, it has been presented what role Pentecostalism have in terms of engaging the youth as a marginalised group, and in particular how they work with the mindsets of the youth in order to enable their sense of agency. In the beginning of this chapter, the question regarding how Pentecostalism affect Kampala youth’s conceptions of themselves as a marginalised group of society was posed. As should be clear by now, the organisation of youth as a vulnerable group in church provides for them an opportunity to critically reflect on their role in society, challenging the structures of society that oppresses them. Engaging the Pentecostal youth in this critical reflection is done in several steps and at both a spiritual and social level. First, by organising youth in church, Pentecostalism have helped youth overcoming the challenge of organising themselves as an essential, yet diverse, part of the population critical of the government and their lack of civic influence, establishing a community of solidarity. Second, as a community of solidarity, the Pentecostal youth then engage themselves in a process of re-evaluating how they view their role in the community. This has been enabled by the churches’ particular focus on youth’s issues, empowering them on a social level by providing youth with an alternative perspective on youth rights and role in society. Further, the theological doctrine on becoming born-again also appears to have opened for youth to re-imagine their role in society. Thus, it becomes clear that the Pentecostal churches in Kampala have made a positive impact by creating a space that breaks from the oppressing structures and norms of society attempting at depriving the youth of their agency. By this break, the Pentecostal youth’s resilience towards oppressing structures appears to have increased, enabling for them to re-imagine their role in society and regain a sense of agency at the individual level. But having created agency as individuals, how may Pentecostal youth act in order to affect their structurally vulnerable position and gain influence in society? This is discussed further in the next chapter.
4 Transgressing the border of marginalisation

By regaining a sense of agency as a community of solidarity, as presented above, the Pentecostal youth may then move forward to the last sense through which a vulnerable agency may be retained, in accordance with Haker´s theory – collective action force. As has been presented throughout this thesis, the marginalised position of the Ugandan youth has to a large extent been reinforced by the suppressing politics of the multiple decade long regime of Museveni. Yet, as will become clear in this chapter, the agency practiced by Pentecostal youth cannot be rendered purely as political resistance, in the sense of youth aspiring to replace those that are currently in power, to challenge the power-dynamics of society. How the youth in church engage politics must, thus, be problematised. Therefore, this chapter will investigate further on what impact church has on how Pentecostal youth go about in their pursuit of changing their difficult circumstances and emancipating from their marginalised position in society. As a group with little influence in society, how does Pentecostalism contribute to Kampala youth´s ability to emancipate from the social margins and become socially recognised actors of society?

4.1 Approaching the oppressing structures of society

Having regained a sense of agency at an individual level by engaging each other in church as a community of solidarity, the youth may then, in accordance with Haker´s theory, act collectively as a structurally vulnerable group to overcome their shared sense of injustice. Together, they may have accumulated enough force to challenge the hegemonic norms of (in)justice, given that youth constitute the largest group of society, and ultimately transform the structures that expels them to the margins of society while depriving them of their agency. Indeed, many of the Pentecostals expressed a belief that as the largest demographic age group of society, it is obvious that they have some sort of power – at least the potential to exercise power in order to impact society. For example, George argued: “Of course, youth have influence. Big time. Because, like in Uganda in particular, we are more than 80 percent […]”. As has been the case historically, however, previous attempts by youth movements to rise and stand up to the NRM-regime to emancipate from marginalisation has at large ended in failure. Raymond explained that while larger youth movements in Uganda, such as People Power and
Jobless Brotherhood\textsuperscript{19}, has provided platforms through which youth have been able to organise themselves and protest, these have lacked political substance and remained socially destructive as they have aimed at destabilising the government. Thus, he argued, they have not been able to contribute to change and a peaceful transfer of power.

As presented in the previous chapter, the Pentecostal churches has therefore put great efforts into gathering the unorganised youth in church to empower them. Thus, the churches emphasised the fact that by empowering youth, with time they will be able to stand up for themselves to challenge the power-dynamics of society and realise the change they strive for as a group. Having explained the importance of raising youth into becoming active participants of society in church, Patricia argued that “[…] if you have enough of those kinds of people in one place, I think it is safe to say that that place will change […]. And that is how you can change society”. However, the churches explained that the means through which they engage youth in society deviates from how the Ugandan youth have historically practised social resistance to the norms of society, commonly through politics, organisations or activism.

In the case of the Acholi youth, Alava argues that they did not necessarily consider formal politics\textsuperscript{20} a viable means for changing their circumstances as it was seen as morally flawed, instead turning to alternative actions (Alava 2018:160 ff.). These sentiments were to some degree mirrored by the Pentecostal youth in Kampala. Patricia argued that it is difficult to mix Pentecostalism with politics since the latter has a lot of grey areas, meanwhile Christianity is pure. Personally, she said that she does not want to “dance with the pigs”, referring to the lacking moral compasses that she associates with politicians. Indeed, Ugandan Pentecostals have traditionally been careful not to get politically involved, seeing it as a dirty game with negative impacts on the relationships in society (Musana 2017:108). Yet, as shown in chapter three, the churches appear to increasingly take on a role as civil society actors, indicating that the Ugandan Pentecostals differentiate intervention in social issues through politics from acting on behalf of the population as part of the civil society. This is not very strange considering that the politics of the government is hardly socially recognised as representing the youth. More than the bad morals associated with politics, the Pentecostal youth emphasised the fact that to venture into politics vast economic resources is required, which they do not possess as an

\textsuperscript{19} The Jobless Brotherhood is a movement, originally funded by a group of students, that gathers unemployed youth to protest against the failure of government to tackle economic issues and put youth to work. The group became known for placing yellow piglets at various places around Uganda, the parliament in Kampala among them, seemingly to symbolise the greed of NRM-government associated with the colour of yellow, leading to social turmoil (Daily Monitor 2019).

\textsuperscript{20} Participation in formal politics refers to political participation in legally established political institutions, in the state of Uganda, as well as political parties and other legal political organisations (Encyclopædia Britannica 2017).
economically and overall materially vulnerable group of society. However, while some degree of scepticism towards politics operated among the interviewees, they did not necessarily disregard formal politics as a viable means for change. This was partly explained as an outcome of their experience of empowerment, having engaged themselves in churches that have changed youth’s attitudes towards their role in society. As will become apparent further on in this chapter, some of the youth expressed a desire to venture into political careers, but it was always discussed as something potential belonging in the future.

The use of a future tense is partly explained by the fact that as the Ugandan youth has historically lacked influence, the idea of political involvement remains abstract. But, for the Pentecostal youth, it also owes to their conscious considerations of how to approach the challenges they face in society. While political opposition goes well in line with Haker’s understanding of vulnerable agency, it presupposes an aspiration to resist oppressing forces of society, which is not necessarily true for the Pentecostals. Thus, it is relevant to question whether the Pentecostal’s find it desirable to use their virtual power, enabled by the vast youth population’s potential to act with collective action force in order to change, or even impose, social change. Will this not just impose changes and a re-designing of the power-dynamics of society that the political order of Uganda has tried to prevent for decades? As discussed in chapter one, it seems highly implausible that any type of resistance towards the government and the social structures of society, governed by the powerful few, would be allowed to exist without any repercussions defending the dominance of today’s leaders.

As shown in chapter two, suppressing social uprisings has become an integrated mechanism in Museveni’s governance strategy, which has been proved repeatedly throughout history. Violent and destructive acts may also reproduce stereotypes used to justify the continued disregard of youth. In order to take the sense of agency regained at an individual level to the next and become socially recognised as agents by the wider society, Pentecostals therefore seem to abstain from adhering to the common practice of political resistance and protesting. At least for now. In order to overcome this dilemma, the Pentecostal youth have adopted what shall be called a reflexive type of agency that allows them to both submit themselves to and challenge the oppressing forces of society. Here, it is again important for the reader to remember that the purpose of adopting the concept of reflexive agency is not to explain what agency is, but rather how a reflexive approach may enable agency among youth. Below, it is further expanded on how Pentecostalism influence the agency of the youth and its impact on their influence in society.
4.2 Constructive behaviour

While the organising of youth in church provides for them an opportunity to regain a sense of agency and act with collective action force as a community of solidarity, the practice of agency of Pentecostal youth requires great caution when challenging the established norms of society. As presented in chapter one Baral argues that in the lives of the Kisekka workers, agency lays not in directly resisting the norms of society, but rather somewhere in-between submission and resistance to these, practicing what she calls reflexive agency. Baral argues that as the worker´s switch between contrasting moral landscapes, both accepting and defying the structures of society, so do they move back and forth between being considered bayaaaye, on the one hand, and morally acceptable, on the other (Baral 2018:41 ff.). Thus, submission to the norm was important in order to prevent being subjected to negative stereotypes commonly associated with the workers, meanwhile resistance was important in order to fight their experienced injustice.

The same might be said to describe the agency practiced by the Pentecostal youth in Kampala, as enabled through church. As previously argued, the Pentecostal churches have taken on a complementary role to the government in terms of acting on the issues of the youth. This means that as they cover an area that the government does not, empowering youth, they challenge the structures of society since, as previously argued, no work that challenges the authority of the regime may be deemed civil by the government themselves. This means that Pentecostalism´s focus on empowering youth to gain influence in society automatically challenge the current authority of the few and may therefore, ultimately, not be considered an act of submission. Rather, the civility of the Pentecostal youth lays in their reflexive approaches.

A common aspect emphasised by all of the churches interviewed was the fact that as youth engage themselves in destructive activities in society, church must intervene. This, of course, corelates to the mandate of Pentecostalism to try and mitigate social distortions and just as church offer youth alternative perspectives of their roles and rights in society, so do they offer youth alternative approaches to overcome their grievances. Since the objective is then to help youth overcome destructive behaviours, I shall call this work a promotion of constructive behaviours among Pentecostal youth as a sort of reflexive agency that entails both submission and resistance to oppressing forces of society. Indeed, the churches explained that as the youth live in an unsteady environment, it is important to teach them to be careful in how they engage different actors of society. Lucas explained that given the commonly destructive behaviour of youth in Uganda, to a large extent forced upon them as a last resort due to their marginalised
and vulnerable position in society, it is important that church sensitise the youth to prevent further violent escalation that may increase the vulnerability of youth.

In creating a constructive behaviour among the Pentecostal youth, two aspects were emphasised as particularly vital. The first of these were the teaching of Christian biblical morals. The churches argued that it is important to provide youth with a Christian foundation, or what Ronald called a “critical fibre” based on the scriptures and bible, to develop them into God-fearing citizens that may become useful and contribute to society. Patricia argued: “Man cannot be complete without the spiritual aspect being tackled. People have a lot of issues that they would not have if they were strong spiritually. If that is addressed in church, which ideally it should be, and addressed the right way, then you have someone changing. Change that is starting with me as an individual. I am patient. I am kind. I have self-control. That spiritual drive is going to [help] you find out what the problem is.” Thus, the churches emphasised the importance of integrating Christian morals in their efforts to sensitise youth, preventing further grievances while also involving youth so that they may contribute to society.

The second aspect in which the Pentecostal churches promote a constructive behaviour among youth is their emphasis on Christianity as a holistic belief system. The term holistic, then, refers to Pentecostalism’s emphasis on bringing biblical morals and Christianity into every aspect of life to make it an everyday practice, bridging the border between spirituality and our physical world. Indeed, Musana argues that according to the Pentecostal doctrine, life cannot be divided into sacred and profane (Musana 2017:115). Patricia explained that while church is commonly associated with Sundays among Christians, as something belonging at the end of the week, Pentecostals are more proactive in the sense of how they adopt faith on a daily basis. “Church begin on Monday, and that is something that Pentecostalism are really trying to float […]. When you take the lessons from church, how do you apply them in your office? Into every area of your life? When you go home, how are you applying them? I must [know] that me, my body, is the church”. Therefore, the churches emphasised the importance of making Christianity an everyday practice in order to prevent youth from lapsing into destructive behaviours.

In the case of the Acholi youth, Alava argues that in order to regain a sense of agency, an important aspect for the youth was to use their newfound polished Christian image as a means of distinguishing themselves from the acts of lostness by youth not involved in church (Alava 2018:174). While this sort of distinction from the wider youth population is only partly true for the Pentecostals in Kampala, John argued that “[…] the way that youth, who go to church, conduct themselves is quite different from the youth who are outside there, who thinks less about God”. However, the Kampala Pentecostals do not necessarily distinguish themselves
from other youth as a group of constructive participants of society. Instead they emphasised the importance of recognising the issues of the wider youth population and try to mitigate these in church. Thus, while the Acholi youth regained a sense of agency by distinguishing themselves from those who are lost, the agency of the Kampala youth may rather be described as a result of their being in a community of solidarity. Further, John did not do any explicit distinguishing between a rioter and a Pentecostal, explaining that any youth could potentially be a rioter, but once the time comes for church they dress smartly and become humble. As such, while he did not draw a line between constructive and destructive youth, he established that life in church is much different than life outside church in the sense that while the latter is full of temptations and hardship, the former gives youth hope.

John’s argument that anyone could potentially be a rioter also points towards that the teaching of Christian morals in church by no means can be seen as a guarantee for constructive behaviour. Thus, the churches emphasised the importance of working with a long-term perspective in order to make the empowerment of youth into constructive individuals sustainable – as an everyday routine. Talking from personal experiences about the great efforts he put into developing himself in order to break free from destructive habits and approach his challenges more constructively, George explained that “[…] we believe it is a process, it does not really work on an instant. Some things go slowly by slowly until when you are really out of it”. Therefore, they emphasised the fact that in the long-haul, they may be able to sensitise the wider youth population at a more large-scale and structural level.

Indeed, in his efforts to distance himself from adopting destructive approaches to his challenging circumstances outside church, John emphasised his Pentecostal identity as an important factor. “[…] I keep quiet for a moment to get to the right decision because I feel, as a Christian, if something happens and I react immediately, automatically I will not have the right decision. Before you do any bad thing, you think about God and obviously you say no to it. It helps you stand firm, on your faith, on your legs, and say no to bad things […].” As John’s experience exemplifies, it becomes clear how the churches’ teaching of morals and holistic practice of Christianity have been deployed to help youth approach their challenges constructively, of course implicating on how they are socially perceived by the wider society.

As shown above, youth are commonly depicted as bayaaye or subjected to other gross stereotypes as a result of the destructive and morally deficit traits commonly associated with the wider youth population. The establishing of constructive approaches among Pentecostal youth may through Young’s understanding be understood as preventive measures to avoid being subjected to psychical violence. Through the idea of reflexive agency, however, the
Pentecostal’s adoption of constructive approaches may instead be understood as conscious and alternative means for disproving the destructive traits that produced these stereotypes. Indeed, furthering their discussion on how civil society may cope with the authoritative governance of the Museveni regime, Hammett and Jackson show how the Ugandan civil society have adopted alternative means to blur the line between civility and uncivility (Hammett and Jackson 2017:8). By doing so, this has allowed civil society to “push the boundaries” of civility to “bend but not break the rules” of society in their efforts to accomplish social change (ibid.). Similarly, the adoption of constructive approaches among Pentecostal youth, positioning them somewhere in-between submission and resistance to the norms, have afforded them space to bend the rules for what is deemed civil. By partially accepting the moral and normative claims of what the powerful few deems as socially acceptable by not actively resisting the government, the Pentecostal youth submit themselves to the structures of society. However, by adopting constructive approaches to overcome their challenges, the Pentecostal youth may also successfully disprove the stereotypes used to justify the marginalisation of them, given that these depends on the destructive behaviours of youth. As such, they afford themselves the critical space in which they may operate to challenge the structures of society.

Indeed, Alessandro Gusman (2009) argues that Pentecostalism have come to play an increasingly influential role in Uganda, showing as an example how these churches, which are largely run both for and by youth, has played a vital role in fighting HIV/AIDS (Gusman 2009:67 ff.). In his meaning, this has been made possible, partly, by the growth of Pentecostalism in Uganda, as well as the churches’ emerging role as civil society actors, involving themselves more in social programmes and institutions of society. But most importantly, he argues, this has been made possible by the churches’ partial submission to the government’s means of fighting the disease, working along the strategic lines of the government, emphasising norms more than contraceptives, rather than actively resisting these (ibid.80). While this type submission to the government does not necessarily contribute to an effective fight against the virus, it grants the Pentecostal youth in Uganda the space to influence the process, which might contribute positively to their social standing in society at large. Meanwhile this is just one example, it reveals what significance the strategic partial submission to the structures of society has for the respectability for Pentecostal youth in society and, ultimately, their influence in social issues as vulnerable agents.

This sense of an increased societal impact was somewhat shared among the interviewees. George explained that his church has a continuing dialogue with politicians regarding certain policies. Other churches explained that they cooperate with each other through umbrella
organisations to influence political decision-making and public opinion. Moreover, Paul explained that due to the migration of youth to Pentecostal churches, traditional Anglican and Catholic churches in Uganda have started to copy Pentecostalism’s modernised and socially active way of practicing Christianity to attract youth to their parishes. This points towards Pentecostalism’s great impact among cultural actors in Uganda, which should not be undermined given the important role of religion in societal decision-making in Uganda.

Thus, it becomes clear that rather than overcoming their vulnerability through collective action force, as the largest age-group of society, Pentecostal youth have adopted a reflexive type of agency. Thus, they have been able to justify their right to civic participation as the sovereigns of Uganda by disproving the negative traits associated with youth.

4.3 Civil influence as the sovereigns of Uganda

As argued above, the marginalisation of youth from equal participation in national social matters clearly have a negative impact on the respect for their civil and political rights. In this regard, the Pentecostal churches’ establishing of a constructive youth bulk in Uganda, that enables for them to become socially recognised actors of society, may therefore be said to have contributed to an increased respect for their civil rights. If the youth have the opportunity to influence the social development of Uganda in parity with other citizens, whether through representation or by representing themselves, it means that their rights are to a larger extent recognised and provided for. However, by no means can all Pentecostal youth in Kampala be considered to have emancipated from the domain of marginality, as becomes apparent by the interviewees’ use of a future tense when speaking of political involvement. And even less so, for non-Pentecostal youth that largely remain marginalised.

As Haker’s idea of vulnerable agency implies, the social recognition of the wider youth population’s agency, independent of religious, ethnic or geographic belonging, remains to be established. This is confirmed not least by the continuing marginalisation of Ugandan youth in general and the prevailing democratic deficit. While the Pentecostals have gained increased influence in social issues, this has been made possible on the terms of their religious belonging, rather than their social belonging to the youth demography. But just as they are Pentecostals they are also youth, presenting an opportunity for them to promote the wider youth population’s interests. Indeed, Pentecostalism’s focus on empowering youth create, what Gusman calls, a “Joseph generation” that may challenge the marginalising norms of society and “transform [the] Ugandan society from within” (ibid.69). In other words, having established themselves as
respectable actors of society, the Pentecostal youth may then contribute to the structural transformation necessary for emancipating the wider youth population from marginality.

Indeed, the youth expressed a strong desire to take a larger and more active role in the development of society and despite that no one of my interviewees were politically involved, many of them expressed an interest in becoming so. Patricia explained that while politics is commonly seen as morally flawed by Pentecostals, she did recognise the importance of youth’s engagement in social issues and that she appreciates those who are willing to take the necessary, but dirty, fight for justice in society. Indeed, at present, Pentecostalism appears to go through a paradigm shift where the historically negative view of politics among Pentecostals gradually dissolves. Today, an increasing number of Pentecostals argues that instead of viewing politics as something dirty, they must intervene to clean politics from those who are dirty (Musana 2017:108 f.). This might be understood as a sort of civic re-claim of democratic institutions and the interviewees explained that they strive for a more active citizenship among the Ugandan youth in general. To achieve this, Ronald explained that church must encourage youth to do the “civil thing”. “When it comes to issues of voting, the church needs to encourage these people to go and vote, because we are part of the nation. We are part of the government system […].

Thus, it becomes clear that by both establishing an engaged youth bulk in social issues and enabling for them to take on a more active role in society as citizens through a reflexive agency, Pentecostalism may then contribute to the democratic development of Uganda. This is important since, as Hammett and Jackson argue, civic participation and a strong civil society “are championed as cornerstones of democratisation and development, particularly in partially free or unfree democracies“ (Hammett and Jackson 2017:1). In her study on participatory constitution-making in Uganda, Devra Moehler (2011) found that participation of citizens created a sense of distrust against politicians due to the critical sense enabled through participation, as well as contributed to their democratic expectations and opened their eyes for the democratic deficit that pervade in Uganda (Moehler 2011:2). While this distrust may stir antagonistic emotions among the population, she argues that the establishment of a politically and democratically aware population will positively contribute to the country’s democratic development in the long-term (ibid.181). However, by no means should youth’s interest in civic influence be taken for granted given their experiences of civil marginalisation, state violence and lacking confidence in the institutions of the government and wider state apparatus (International Alert 2014:13 ff.).

Another challenge for the democratic development in Uganda is the lack of unity among the Ugandan population. As presented in chapter three, this has resulted in sectarian clashes,
consequently making the likelihood of a peaceful political dialogue in society smaller. It is also important to keep in mind that as socio-economic disparities and a slow economic growth continues to persist, so will the democratic development continue to be undermined (Kabweyere 2000:154). Despite efforts of the NRM-government to enable economic growth, poverty remains and creates a sense of powerlessness which disfavour democracy. The economic imbalance between the urban and rural, and north and south remains sources of instability that hamper the prospects for democratisation (ibid.). However, religion has proven itself capable of establishing unity as it cuts across the divides of society (Nsibambi 2014:3). Therefore, Pentecostalism’s communitarian characteristics, with an emphasised focus on solidarity and unity, may contribute to the national integration needed for democratic development. Yet, Pentecostalism hardly represent all youth or citizens of Uganda, meaning that they are limited in what they may achieve in the sense of bridging these gaps. However, unity is provided for throughout all of Christianity, as well as in other religions, meaning that while Pentecostalism can only do so much, they may contribute to the greater good.

Moreover, the fact that more than half of the population are below the age of eighteen and, thus, do not have the right to vote poses several challenges for the democratic development in Uganda as well as democratic representation of children and adolescents. In a functioning democracy with a flourishing civil society that may engage youth freely, underage youth would have had opportunities to civic participation through civil society organisations, which appears to be of particular importance in Uganda given the young population. As shown above, despite age, democracy and civil rights cannot be taken for granted in Uganda, given the widespread marginalisation of youth and shrinking space for civil society. To this end, Pentecostalism appears to make a significant contribution by realising the organisation of youth, similar to that of civil society organisations, and empowering them to regain a sense of agency.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the fact that if the Ugandan youth have the opportunity to express themselves through democratic and civil means, rather than through violent and overall destructive means, the political violence in society would likely decrease. Indeed, Anne explained that they gather the youth in church to discuss how to establish peaceful co-existence in society. “Even when there are things going on in the country, like the riots and all that, they normally encourage people at least to be someone who is trying to bring peace among the people and not trying to, you know, lead others to increase the issues around the riots […].” This work might be said to impact the conflict-dynamics of Uganda both short- and long-term. In the former case, the promotion of a constructive behaviour may prevent conflict and clashes in near-time, such as riots and violent protests, between youth and the government,
i.e. the conflict against Museveni’s regime. In the latter, the grooming of Pentecostal youth into constructive participants of society may reduce long-term conflict aspects that may arise if youth are not prepared for future leadership and engagement in society. Indeed, by continuing to govern youth through violent means, the government “risks entrenching a culture of violence among the youth and future leaders, who may resort to violence to get their way and who could in the future use similar methods to remain in office […]” (International Alert 2014:15). By helping youth approach their challenges through constructive and civic means, Pentecostalism may therefore also contribute to the stability of Uganda and the deepening of the fragile peace brought by Museveni. Although, there are many different conflict drivers in Uganda that needs to be considered, more than youth and civil rights, to achieve sustainable peace.

4.4 Summary

Throughout the chapter, it has been presented how Pentecostal churches in Kampala may contribute to the social recognition of youth by helping them break through the border of marginalisation and emerge as active citizens. As such, it has answered how the Pentecostal community contribute to Kampala youth’s ability to emancipate from the social margins and become socially recognised actors of society. First, the chapter show that the Pentecostal youth do not resist the oppressing forces of society in a direct sense. Rather, they have adopted a reflexive type of agency that positions them somewhere in-between submission and resistance to the structures of society, granting them both influence and the ability to challenge the oppressing forces of society. To practice their reflexive agency, the Pentecostal youth have adopted what has been called constructive approaches to challenge their marginalised position in society, based on Pentecostalism’s emphasis of Christian morals and holistic faith practice. Thus, it has been argued that Pentecostalism has contributed to the increased respect for youth’s civil rights in Uganda. However, as the Pentecostal youth’s respectability in society is granted to them on the grounds of their faith, the emancipation of the wider youth population in Uganda remains to be realised. In this regard, Pentecostal youth’s increased civil influence constitutes an opportunity as they may contribute to the structural changes that may realise the civil rights of the Ugandan youth. Further, with the potential to contribute to the respectability of youth in general, it has been argued that Pentecostalism may contribute also to the democratic development of Uganda, and as citizens preferring peaceful means, they may also contribute to the country’s peace and security.
5 Concluding discussion

Throughout the thesis, an account has been given of the general challenges and difficult living conditions of the Ugandan youth, as well as their structurally marginalised position in society leaving them with few opportunities to overcome their circumstances. As the civil rights of youth in the 1995 constitution of Uganda are clearly confined by the marginalisation of youth, so is the societal development and stability in Uganda compromised. This is a consequence of the exclusive national development, leading to socio-economic gaps, and provoking the already frustrated youth further. In this light, Pentecostal churches have been argued as vital for the empowerment of the, otherwise, vulnerable and neglected youth. It is these aspects that constitutes the starting-point from which this study has emerged. As such, the purpose of the thesis has been to examine how Pentecostalism may contribute to youth’s participation and influence in society and, as such, the realisation of their civil rights. This is important for multiple purposes, among them to investigate alternative solutions to the disregard of the wider youth population in society and how Pentecostalism may contribute to youth’s ability to promote democratic consolidation and peace. To achieve the pronounced purpose of the thesis, a main question formulation was posed. How might Pentecostalism contribute to Kampala youth’s participation and influence in the Ugandan society and, ultimately, their civil rights as the sovereigns of Uganda? The answer to this question has been divided among the three analytical chapters of the thesis.

First, it is presented under which circumstances youth agency is deprived. While chapter two does not account for Pentecostalism’s role explicitly, it provides a necessary understanding for the circumstances under which the churches work to empower youth and what challenges the Pentecostal youth must cope with in their pursuit of civic influence. While youth’s absent influence in society has historical and cultural ties, the division of power among different generations in society has not matched the vast growth of Uganda’s, now, young population. With a government unable, or unwilling, to invest in the youth and in possible solutions to their difficult circumstances, youth are left in a state of powerlessness, unable to help themselves to emancipate from these circumstances, that deprives them of their agency. As an inherent part of their marginality, the Ugandan youth are also subjected to suppressing physical and psychical violence that reinforces their neglected role in society, while also worsening their grievances. While the youth have been left idle and frustrated, this has provoked them into adopting violent means as a last resort to demonstrate their frustration and challenge their marginalised position in society, leading to riots and violent clashes with state security forces. Thus, it becomes clear
how youth’s agency is disabled by various social aspects and structures of society. However, it has been argued that the structural marginalisation and vulnerability of the youth has the potential to change, pointing to the importance of Pentecostalism as an actor of society to help relieve youth of their grievances.

As such, chapter three shows that the churches play a vital role in changing the Pentecostal youth’s perceptions about their marginalised position and their role in society. By organising vulnerable youth in church, overcoming the challenges of organisation, the churches have enabled the establishment of a community of solidarity. Through this solidarity, church provides a space away from the hegemonic structures of society that deprives youth of their agency and, thus, enables for youth to critically reflect over, and re-evaluate, their role in society. It has been argued that the Pentecostal youth engage themselves in a process of identity-making where they may come into criticising their marginalised position in society. Therefore, the churches contribute to, as Haker would call it, youth’s re-constitution of their self-constitution out of which a sense of agency may emerge at an individual level.

Having re-evaluated their role in society, the Pentecostal youth may then act upon the regained sense of agency to emancipate from the social margins and become recognised participants of society. As chapter four shows, the Ugandan youth remains marginalised at large, whereas it remains for them to gain social influence. To this end, Pentecostalism may have significant importance. By helping youth adopt what has been called constructive approaches to their challenges, based on Christian morals and holistic view of their faith, the Pentecostal youth have adopted alternative means, rather than imposing social transformation through collective action force. The Pentecostal youth have proven themselves aware of that the failures of previous attempts by youth to resist their marginality, to a large extent, lay in their antagonistic and destructive approaches that have been met with suppressing state violence. Therefore, they have adopted constructive approaches to challenge their marginality that allows them to avoid becoming subjected to violence and elude the restrictions imposed onto civil society’s ability to challenge the dominance of the NRM-regime. By doing so, the Pentecostal youth have positioned themselves somewhere in-between submission and resistance to the structures of society that have positively contributed to their social standing.

Having enabled many Pentecostal youth to regain influence in society, this allows them to challenge the structures that deprives them of their agency at a normative level and, potentially, help the wider youth population gain civic influence. With the ability to both engage and create the opportunity for Pentecostal youth to gain influence in society, the Pentecostal churches in Kampala may therefore help the realisation of youth’s civil and political rights. By
transforming the Pentecostal youth into engaged and aware citizens, Pentecostalism may therefore be said to contribute to the democratic development of Uganda. However, many challenges remain, including vast disparities and socio-economic gaps, of which Pentecostalism may help overcome a few. And by creating citizens that prefer civic and peaceful means, Pentecostalism may also contribute to a peaceful stability. Yet, it is also important to remember that although Pentecostalism has seen a vast growth in Uganda, the churches remain limited in terms of resources and influence. But as an emerging denomination that has attracted a great number of youths, it is clear that they have significantly empowered the youth.

Throughout the thesis, it then becomes clear that while the Ugandan youth continues to be a marginalised in overall, despite them being the largest demographic age group, the Pentecostal churches have a significant impact in terms of empowering youth to engage themselves in society. This is enabled, first, by empowering the Pentecostal youth to re-consider their role in society, out of which a sense of agency may emerge. Second, by influencing youth in church to adopt constructive approaches in their efforts to overcome their difficult circumstances, this enables them to challenge the structures that marginalises them and become recognised as legitimate actors by the wider society. While this does not necessarily apply to all youth in Uganda, still in the social margins, the increased social influence of Pentecostal youth, on the grounds of their religious belonging, enables them to change the norms of society from within. Thus, they may also contribute positively to the social standing of youth in overall. Having contributed to the influence of Christian youth in society, the Pentecostal churches in Kampala may therefore enable the respect for youth´s civil rights as righteous actors of society. By enabling youth to act with greater influence in social matters, they may therefore also contribute to the democratic development and security. At least in the long haul. As such, it appears that the Pentecostal churches in Kampala have rather positive implications, at least as it may enhance the prospects for the civil rights of youth, as well as a culture of unity and peaceful means that may help the democratisation and deepening of peace in Uganda.

5.1 Further research
Throughout the process of writing the thesis, several topics with the potential for further research has been identified. As I started my field work, the general scope of the study was to investigate what implications Pentecostalism has for youth´s agency, rather than how they may contribute in a positive sense, opening for potential negative influences of church. This in turn is, of course, too broad of a topic that needs limitations. One way of approaching this would be
to research on possible political interests of the churches as well as the alleged gifts given to church leaders from politicians in return for votes that might undermine the interests of youth. What negative implications might Pentecostalism have on youth agency? How might gifts from politicians impact the churches’ ability to empower the youth? How might potential political interests of church affect the interests of the youth?

Another interesting aspect that deserves further investigation is the fact that many Ugandans are below eighteen years of age and therefore does not have a right to vote. Surely, this must have negative implications on the prospects for democratic governance, representation and consolidation. What does it mean that more than half of the population lack the right to vote? How does this affect the rights of the youth and the outlooks for Uganda’s development into a functioning democracy? What wider implications might arise from the challenges of governing through popular control when the majority cannot vote? How might Pentecostalism engage underage youth to cope with this challenge?

Further, it would be interesting to research on Pentecostalism’s implications for gender equality and possible outcomes for youth rights and democratic development. This is important as Uganda suffers from a widespread gender inequality that hampers women’s ability to participate in society on pair with men. How and to want extent does Pentecostal churches incorporate a gender perspective into their operation in terms of empowering the youth? What implications might this have for an inclusive development in society in general?

As this study has touched upon to some extent, the Pentecostal churches appears to target the challenges of the youth. As such, the question arises to what extent Pentecostalism target other rights of the youth. This is important to understand given the many and difficult challenges that surrounds the Ugandan youth and possible human rights violations arising from these. Given the challenging circumstances of the youth, which other rights might be violated? How is Pentecostalism targeting these in their work in order to help youth?

Finally, it would also be interested to better understand how other denominations or faith-communities work in terms of empowering youth and promoting their participation in society. This is interesting to investigate further given the important role of religion in the Ugandan society, in particular Christianity and the catholic church, but also given the fact that many of my interviewees expressed clear differences between different denominations, arguing that the youth issues is much more emphasised in Pentecostalism than in more traditional Anglican or Catholic churches. How are youth issues integrated into the operations of other religious communities? What differences are there and what implications does these have for creating a national unity in all of Uganda’s diversity?
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**Interviews**

Anne. 28 years old. Length of interview: 39 minutes, 19 seconds. Date and place for interview: 10th January 2019, Kampala, Uganda.

George. 27 years old. Length of interview: 1 hour, 1 minute, 18 seconds. Date and place for interview: 24th November 2018, Kampala, Uganda.

Group interview (Catherine, Joshua, David & Jacob). Various ages between 18 and 29 years old. Length of interview: 1 hour, 15 minutes, 28 seconds. Date and place for interview: 16th December 2018, Kampala, Uganda.

John. 29 years old. Length of interview: 1 hour, 37 minutes, 53 seconds. Date and place for interview: 20th November 2018, Kampala, Uganda.

Leah. 28 years old. Length of interview: 48 minutes, 18 seconds. Date and place for interview: 11th January 2019, Kampala, Uganda.

Lucas & Charles. 26 and 30 years old. Length of interview: 29 minutes, 17 seconds. Date and place for interview: 14th December 2018, Kampala, Uganda.
Monica & Patricia. 28 and 30 years old. Length of interview: 55 minutes, 21 seconds. Date and place for interview: 8th January 2019, Kampala, Uganda.

Raymond. 42 years old. Length of interview: 4 hours, 28 minutes, 41 seconds. Date and place for interview: 15th December 2018, Kampala, Uganda.

Ronald & Paul. 26 and 30 years old. Length of interview: 1 hour, 1 minute, 19 seconds. Date and place for interview: 24th November 2018, Kampala, Uganda.

Susan. 25 years old. Length of interview: 59 minutes, 37 seconds. Date and place for interview: 3rd January 2019, Kampala, Uganda.

All interviews are archived by the author of this thesis.
Appendix: Interview Guide

Background of the interviewee/church.

Examples on questions:
- Age?
- Are you from Kampala?
- If not, what district are you from and how long have you been in Kampala?
- What is your religious background?
- How long have you been involved in this church?
- Why Pentecostalism rather than traditional Anglicanism or Catholicism?

Meaning of the concept of “youth”.

Examples on questions:
- What does the concept of youth mean I Uganda?
- Do you consider yourself a youth?
- Are there any formal and informal differences when defining youth?

Challenges of the youth in Uganda.

Examples on questions:
- What challenges does youth face in Uganda – in general and/or personal?
- Are there any challenges that arise in particular – main challenges?
- If a female youth, do you experience any particular challenges as a female youth?
- What is government doing to mitigate those issues?
- Do you feel that you are listened to when giving voice to your issues?
- Do you feel that you can do something to mitigate those issues yourself as a youth?
- What role does youth have in questions regarding the development in society?

Role of church in empowering the youth to overcome their challenges.

Examples on questions:
- What is Pentecostalism to you?
- What are Pentecostal churches doing in order to mitigate the issues of the youth?
- Does church empower youth – if so, how?
- Are you as youth speaking about these issues in church?
- What is the outcome of speaking of these issues?

Role of church in mitigating youth issues (if talking to an employee of church).

Examples on questions:
- Is church working towards any external actors to promote youth?
- Does church raise the voices of the youth to external actors?
- What is the role of church in mitigating youth challenges in comparison to government?

Church´s relationship to politics (if talking to an employee of the church).

Examples on questions:
- View on politics?
- How does politics affect church?
- Does church have a dialogue with politicians?
- If yes, what are you talking about?

Funding of church (if talking to an employee of the church).

Examples on questions:
- How is the church funded – through its members, government, external actors etc.?
- Are there any potential challenges around funding?
- How is money collected from members – tithe, offering, other etc.?
- If funding through external actors, be it foreign or domestic, does these come with any conditions?