Accountability, Sovereignty, Friendship: Inter-cultural Encounters in a Ugandan-Swedish Municipal Partnership

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Abstract

The interest for international development partnerships has increased within the discipline of cultural anthropology hand in hand with growing globalisation. Through the study of how actors that have engaged in a Ugandan-Swedish Municipal Partnership experience, express and utilise cultural difference, this thesis aims to make a contribution to this research by examine activities that took place in a specific context of cultural intersection. In addition, it aspires to link these experiences in the everyday life to general socio-political discourses. The material that the thesis builds upon was gathered during a total of four months of fieldwork in Manafwa district, Uganda, and the municipality of Åmål, Sweden. The main informants that were consulted during the fieldwork were civil servants, politicians and actors that in other ways had engaged in the partnership or in the several side-projects that were linked to it. In the analysis of their narratives, as well as of observations collected in the two field sites and of official documents that concerns the partnership, inspiration was drawn from previous research in the discipline of applied development anthropology as well as the institutionalised anthropology of development. Theories of intercultural interaction and the work of hegemonies have been used in order to examine development through the study object of cultural difference.

The thesis has its starting point in two issues that were high on the agenda during my stay in Manafwa district; the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act and corruption within the partnership. Through the study of the way that the engaged actors' experiences are used in order to create coherence in relation to these issues, the aim is to reach an understanding of how their world views are simultaneously shaped by and reshaping intercultural encounters. The ways in which claims of universal truths are used in order to install feelings of belonging and to motivate certain actions will be presented. Furthermore, the thesis will show how hegemonies in many ways are used in order to maintain hierarchies within development partnerships that in their official outlines claim that they intend to be equal.

Key words: anthropology of development, cultural difference, social space, municipal partnership, anti-homosexuality legislation, corruption.
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List of acronyms

ICLD  Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy
LGBT  Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (persons)
MPNS  Municipal Partnership North South
NGO   Non-governmental Organisation
Sala IDA Sala (Svenska kommunförbundet) International Development Agency
Sida  Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
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1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose and research questions

This thesis is about a Swedish-Ugandan development partnership where individuals meet and interact within a mutually created space where development is supposed to take place. With its starting point in the anthropology of development and inter-cultural encounters, my intention is to examine how culture is expressed, experienced and utilised in a Ugandan-Swedish Municipal partnership. By choosing cultural difference as my research object, I wish to examine the effects of inter-cultural encounters, both as they are expressed through the lived experiences of the individuals that engage in the projects and through my observations of the encounters in the development setting. My findings will be exemplified through two frequently discussed topics that are linked to Uganda's foreign relations, namely the country's legislation against homosexuality and the presence of corruption within its borders. My entry point to the study of this subject is a Municipal Partnership North South (MPNS) between Manafwa district, Uganda, and the municipality of Åmål, Sweden. This partnership was chosen since its internal relations appeared to be complex and in need of further investigation in order to understand how the inter-cultural encounters affect the partnership and the people that engage in it. Throughout my studies in cultural anthropology I have been interested in development as discourse and practice, and as a concept around which actors of different backgrounds and motivations meet and interact. The way in which cultural difference has been claimed to impact international development cooperation seemed somewhat simplified to me, and thus the wish to examine the underlying causes to this discourse emerged. This aspiration has, as will be shown in this thesis, lead me from development projects initiated by international organisations to initiatives taken by individuals that wish to promote development. It has opened a way for reaching an understanding for how experiences of development are utilised, both in order to successfully interact with persons with differing frames of reference and to negotiate one's position within this relation. But most importantly the study of this Municipal partnership shows how cultural difference is used in order to make one's world view coherent.

The head title of this thesis, Accountability, Sovereignty and Friendship, is formed by three key concepts that were frequently emphasized by the informants that partook in this study. The first concept, accountability, is claimed to be needed in order for any Ugandan-Swedish cooperation to function. The second, sovereignty, needs to be respected so that the relation between the different
actors continues to be regarded as equal. The third, friendship, is what is said to be the main benefit of the different forms of partnerships that have been launched by actors from Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål. As will be shown throughout the thesis, these three concepts will at the same time serve as tools for reshaping of the rules of interaction and as catalysts for changes in individuals' world views.

The main research questions are:

How is cultural difference experienced, expressed and utilised within the socially created space of the municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål?

How can the involved actors' reactions on cultural difference be understood in relation to prevailing social and political discourses as well as daily practice?

1.2 The Municipal partnership and its side-projects as research field

*Municipal Partnership North South,* a development cooperation program facilitated by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), aims to contribute to the installation of stable systems for development of social welfare and local democracy. This is done through capacity building, where twinned municipalities through the exchange of experiences find ways to strengthen the capacities of already existing institutions in low and middle-income countries (ICLD, 2015). The partnership between Manafwa district, Uganda and the municipality of Åmål, Sweden was established in 2006 as a succession of a previous twinning of the Red Cross-branches of Manafwa and Åmål. The partnership has included several projects, with most of them focusing on environmental issues and local democratization. Furthermore, a number of exchange visits to Uganda and Sweden respectively have been carried out by representatives from both countries.

In this thesis, I will discuss activities within the official Sida-funded *Municipal Partnership North South,* as well as activities linked to the several side-projects that have arisen from the Ugandan-Swedish contacts over time. These include, among others, the restoration of a water pump station that was originally built in the time of British colonisation, the establishment of a friendship association that allocates funding to local groups and the launching of a centre for entrepreneurs in the trading centre of Bubulo. This inclusion of projects outside the frames of the Municipal Partnership was made on the basis that the involved actors, both in Manafwa and in Åmål, seemed
to regard them as closely associated. The Municipal Partnership and the other Ugandan-Swedish projects have no official connections, but since there are links between them in the minds of the people who engage in them I have chosen to regard them as different parts of one research field.

Due to expanding globalisation it is getting increasingly harder to be able to understand certain social phenomena by studying them within one single spatial setting. This means that to track the links between different sites globally where processes that affect these phenomena are present is as relevant as to study the phenomena within the frames of a certain society (Hannerz, 2003:403). Since the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål involves people in physical settings that are geographically remote, the study of its impacts will be a translocal one. In order to be able to study a field that consists of several physical settings, the concept of space needs to be taken into account. As the concept is a socially constructed spatial definition that is set up by the involved actors it includes the establishment of collectively agreed cultural frameworks that can be used to distinguish different groups from each other. Mutually agreed definitions of space will both have impact on the world views of the informants and on the researcher in the different settings (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992:375).

Institutions that operate within the sphere of international development cooperation often tend to see themselves as existing in a "perpetual present" (Lewis, 2009:53) where activities within past projects seldom are taken into consideration when outlining new ones. This lack of historical attachment can affect development and push it in directions that the partners did not wish for. The internal discourse might change over time within a certain development context accordingly to shifting trends in general discourse, but policies and methods for execution of the projects remain without alternation when new ones are outlined. In this study I will therefore attempt to apply a "historical" (even though the term in this context is used to describe events during the last decades) perspective to the contemporary field by including analysis of activities that have taken place during its whole life span. The progress of the municipal partnership and its side-projects constitutes together a complex set of relations which helps me understand how cultural difference has been experienced, expressed and utilised in this specific context over time.
1.3 A brief presentation of Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål

Manafwa district is located in eastern Uganda, close to the Kenyan border. It has existed in its current composition since the year of 2005. At the latest census of 2008 the district had approximately 340 000 inhabitants of which 98 percent live in rural settings (according to the definition of "rural" given by executors of the census). The District is managed by a political and a technical arm, which together are responsible for its leadership through committees and departments. Manafwa district consists of two trading centres, where Bubulo is one (Manafwa District, 2015). Even though the municipal partnership that this thesis deals with officially is between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål, it is the Town council of Bubulo that is the actual partner on the Ugandan side. The reason to why the outlines of the official and the concrete partnership differ is administrative matters; the civil servants of Bubulo do not have the authority to make decisions or sign agreements without permission from the district management (Erik, 2015-02-26). The municipality of Åmål, which has municipal status since the early 1970s, is located in the western parts of Sweden on the shore of Lake Vänern. The municipality had 12 295 inhabitants in year 2010 (Statistiska centralbyrán, 2013), and is managed through several committees at political level whose resolutions are executed by civil servants through the work of five administrative units (Åmål kommun, 2015).

1.4 Previous research

In this section, previous research on topics related to the study of development and intercultural encounters will be presented. Relevant publications will be reviewed in order to provide a basic understanding of the context in which the research questions of this thesis will be analysed.

1.4.1 Municipal partnerships

...This thesis deals with a municipal partnership between two localities in two different countries. In order to be able to carry out an analysis of how cultural difference is experienced and expressed, and of the structures that lay behind these experiences, it is crucial to contextualize the situation in which the partnership takes place. Ever since processes of decentralisation took off
within African states in the 1980s, the academic interest in the impact of this process on the communities where they take place has grown. It has been claimed that understanding why certain actions are taken within a community can be reached by studying practices that are justified locally through claims of them being a part of democratic decentralisation processes (Hagberg, 2009:4).

The way in which an official twinning program between two administrative localities that have the pronounced aim to promote local democracy has led to inter-cultural encounters that probably would not have been taken place otherwise, will be discussed below. By regarding the local as the social space in which activities and interactions can be studied, while also seeing it as a bearer of social symbolism within a certain context, the involved actor's perceptions of the activities that take place become graspable. The local is not an objective reality, but instead a construction that is mutually set up by the actors that need to interact within it (Ibid.14). This means that a locality is not only a physical or administrative space in which people can meet, but also a shared cultural conception which in itself enables the communication. This conception of the local draws lines between insiders and outsiders and thereby contributes to the establishment of the socio-dynamics of any relation tied to a certain locality (Ibid.26).

"Twinning Cooperation between Municipalities in Sweden and Countries of the South" (Andréasson & Kôningson, 2003:1) is the term used to describe a specific setting within which development is operated. Its main goal is to improve the living conditions of the populations of so called developing countries by the mutual sharing of experiences between the participating parties. This is mainly done through visits made by the involved actors to their counterpart's communities in order to learn about how local challenges within different development fields are dealt with. The goals of the twinning are rarely explicit but instead formulated as an aim for improvement within many areas throughout the process. Twinning partnerships are different from other development projects since they are "[...] process oriented and long-term" (Ibid.3). During this process the participants gain an understanding of the social context in which development is supposed to take place and this knowledge facilitates further communication between the parties. These characteristics distinguish twinning from development projects, since the latter often have strictly defined budgets, procedures and goals and do not acknowledge the independent value of the relations that are built through twinning to the same extent, while sometimes seeing them as a utilitarian tool that can be used in order to reach the goals of the project (Ibid.).

Previous research on twinning in general and municipal development partnerships in particular have mainly focused on results deriving from them, such as improvements in good governance and local capacity building, and less on their interactional dimensions. Studies have
dealt with possibilities and threats that the municipal partnerships meet, and they propose that prevailing power structures and inequality within the partnership appears to be the most severe hazard (Bontenbal, 2009). Furthermore, the evolution of the partnerships over time through continuous updates of the links between the parties and transnational solidarity among individuals (van Lindert, 2009), and the importance of a local demand for the initiatives as well as well-functioning social relations within the twinning partnership (Olowu, 2002), are crucial in order for them to have a positive outcome. A majority of the studies mentioned above have been carried out within partnerships that do not have an African-European setting, whereas some of the available results might lack in relevance for this thesis. The absence of studies of interaction and intercultural encounters within municipal partnerships underlines the importance of further and additional research, where this thesis aims to be a contribution.

Hazel Johnson and Gordon Wilson (2009) notice how research on capacity building within municipal partnerships tend to focus on what they call the Southern part, without paying much attention to the Northern one. They argue that since these partnerships are based on the idea of mutual learning and equal gain, the effect that the partnerships has on all involved actors must be taken into account as well as the diverse stated reasons for engaging in the twinning. In this thesis I will attempt to include the experiences of many different stakeholders, including those who by themselves and others within the partnership are considered to belong to the Northern or Western party, in order to get a multifaceted representation of the processes linked to municipal partnerships.

1.4.2 Ugandan anti-homosexuality legislation

One issue that to a great extent came to affect the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål was the introduction of a new Ugandan anti-homosexuality legislation. The 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act, which was signed by President Yoweri Museveni in February 2014, broadened the criminal definition of homosexuality in several ways. One effect of this was that not only homosexual practices, as they were defined by the Act, were seen as criminal, but also so called promotion of homosexuality. This meant that individuals who supported the rights of LGBT-persons risked facing prosecution. Penalties for offenders, especially for those who are classified as liable for repeated offences, were increased and the support of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons was criminalised. In August the same year the legislation was claimed to be invalid by the Constitutional Court of Uganda, and its status is at
the time that this thesis was finished still unclear.¹

Homosexuality has been criminalized in Uganda since the time of British colonialism, and the legislation was transferred into Ugandan law at independence. Though the criminal status of homosexuality has been in place for a long time, and the 2014 Anti-Homosexuality Act is presented as populist in both national and international discussions, resistance against the legislation has been constantly present. An example in which critical voices have been raised against different suggested forms of penalty for homosexuality is to be found in reports written by Ugandan legislators following the Anti-Homosexuality Bill 2009. In these reports it is stated that more severe forms of punishments such as death penalties or life imprisonment would be problematic both from a legislative and a human rights perspective. Furthermore, the Ugandan LGBT movement and its allies managed to bring forward an annulment of the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act despite its claimed popularity among the citizens. Nevertheless, homophobic tendencies continue to be widespread at all societal levels in Uganda (Nyanzi & Karamagi, 2015).

Scholars involved in the study of homophobia within certain communities have suggested that the ideas mainly derive from a combination of the presence of religious, social and political conservatism in the particular citizen’s background, and the wish of persons in power to gain even more power through the backing of populist ideas. In the case of the Ugandan anti-homosexuality legislation, elements of the national homophobic debate attracted the attention of politicians, who modified them to better fit populist rhetoric. One example of this is how President Museveni in debates held in 2012, prior to the introduction of the Anti-homosexuality Bill that preceded the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act, used discourses that treats "Ugandanness" and homosexuality as incompatible in order to profit politically. As expected this caused some disturbances between the president and the international community of human rights advocates, including foreign aid donors, but this negative impact was seen as subordinated to the benefits that would come from the positioning. In order to motivate this alienation from international donors, the president promoted the discourse of social imperialism and neo-colonialism, which claims that the opposition against the anti-homosexuality legislation is based upon a wish to challenge Uganda's sovereignty and to impose foreign moral values on the Ugandan population. Modifications of homophobic discourses have also been used in order to profit within national politics. President Museveni, who himself previously had drawn upon the claim that the anti-homosexuality legislation was a part of the fight for continued sovereignty, used a statement made by the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament² in order to reduce her political influence. As he saw her as a threat he changed his rhetoric to a softer one

¹ The Act can be read in full at: [http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/530c4bc64.pdf](http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/530c4bc64.pdf)
² This particular statement will be discussed in chapter 5.
where he blamed her for the passing of the Anti-homosexuality Bill and for getting too involved in populist campaigns (Nyanzi & Karamagi, 2015).

1.4.3 Discourses of corruption

A second issue that have had impact on the activities of the Municipal partnership is corruption. Petty corruption within development is, as Stephen P. Riley puts it, "[...] a difficult, complex, morally ambiguous and intractable issue [...] Greed, obligation to family, other cultural factors, lax administrative procedures in a post-colonial setting and opportunity, all contribute to petty corruption." (Riley, 1999, p 190). As will be shown in this thesis, the procedure of handling of experiences of corruption within development is both complex in terms of considerations of social consequences, and requires interaction between the involved actors in order to create coherence.

Studies of narratives of corruption in development have suggested that hegemonic discourses affect the way that people relate to corrupt practices. In order to be able to understand the dynamics of social handling of corruption, one has not only to map out the structures within the relationship between, for example, a state and its citizens but also to find out what this relationship means to the involved actors. States, as they are currently composed, have rather homogeneous structures in relation to the heterogeneous historical and cultural past world-wide. Nevertheless, the way to interact within the context of the states is culturally specific, and this can be seen through variations in the discourse on corruption (Gupta, 2005). As reactions upon petty corruption came to be a central theme during my fieldwork, and contrasting understandings of these activities seems to exist within the partnership, I find it important to link my discussion of inter-cultural encounters to discourses of corruption upheld by the Ugandan and the Swedish informants.

Social processes and structures that affect the handling of corruption within development are often disregarded by policy makers and development executors, who instead propose tougher legislation and other punishments as the solution to the problem. International donors, national politicians and local actors alike express the need of reforming communities that have been affected by corruption through changing the behaviour of its citizens, while the underlying functions that petty corruption fills in a certain context are rarely discussed. Anti-corruption discourses can be used as a political instrument by people who wish to gain more power by ascribing the negatively associated term corruptive to their opponents. It can also be used by a dissatisfied general public in order to explain how certain activities in the society have emerged by putting the blame on corrupt leaders (Blundo & Olivier de Sardan, 2006:7ff).
1.4.4 Discourses of development

The term development is used in many different ways by actors in separate sectors. It can include anything from societal economic growth to individual self-fulfilment, and is within normative discussions generally viewed as positive. The use of the term in this thesis is inspired by Jean-Pierre Oliver de Sardan’s definition of the concept, in which he states that development is "[...] a sum of the social processes induced by voluntarist acts aimed at transforming a social milieu, instigated by institutions or actors who do not belong to the milieu in question, but who seek to mobilize the milieu, and who rely on the milieu in their attempt at grafting resources and/or techniques and/or knowledge" (Olivier de Sardan, 2005:24-5). This non-normative definition, which emphasizes the social and interactive aspects within development, is to my view well suited for the analysis of cross-cultural encounters within the development partnership that this thesis discusses.

A number of studies have been carried out on the topic of how hegemonic discourses of development affects the execution of international aid-processes (cf. Eriksson Baaz, 2005, Ellingson, 2001, Schough, 2008). Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan discusses how conceptions of the other within a development project impact its dynamics and by that its activities and results. Development, as a form of social change, has to be seen as a part of its surrounding context. The accumulated comprehensions of all involved actors collectively determine the contemporary frameworks of the social change, while at the same time fuel the change itself. In order to understand the ways in which the involved actors negotiate their given or acquired roles within the development situation, one must examine which cultural differences that are claimed to be present, as well as how stereotypes are used when explaining activities within development (Olivier de Sardan, 2005: 3ff, 81ff).

There are several reasons to include the analysis of discourses in the study of inter-cultural encounters in development. Firstly, there is often a gap between what the involved actors claim that they are doing and what is actually being done in development projects. This gap constitutes a space where actors, by using the right rhetoric, can make it appear like presented motivations for the actions that are taken are genuine, even if the real incentives are different. Secondly, power and money are tied to development and this will attract individuals that wish to gain influence or line their own pockets (Olivier de Sardan, 2005:4ff). These attempts can be made by using populist and stereotyping rhetoric that earlier have proven to be successful. This statement is not used to
insinuate that the actors in development are either oblivious to the structures that are present within development or that they are malicious, like some deconstructivist anthropologists would claim (cf. Escobar, 1994), but instead that individual actions motivated through claims of cultural peculiarity play an important role in the negotiation of positions within development. The analysis of discourse in development should nevertheless be handled with care, since it has been noted that researchers have tended to only include discursive figures that support their hypothesis in their analysis (Olivier de Sardan, 2005:4ff). In order to not become a subject to this critique myself, I am aiming to give a multifaceted review which includes several different perspectives, and in addition regard the analysis of discourses as one entry point among others to examine interaction in development.

1.4.5 Inter-cultural encounters in development

....When discussing inter-cultural encounters in development, it is inevitable to have to determine the meaning of the term culture in that specific context. The use of the term in this thesis conforms to Clifford Geertz's (1973) definition, which expresses that culture is both the pattern from which human beings navigate within social contexts, and the impact that the experience of being in such social contexts has on the pattern itself. Culture according to Geertz is "[...] a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz, 1973:89). Culture is to be seen as a symbolic web of collective experiences and actions within which individuals exists. By using this definition I am dismissing the assumption that culture is essentialistic and static, that it has a will and an agency of its own, or that it is solely the social capital you need in order to know how to behave in a way that is socially accepted within a certain social situation. Geertz summarizes this position by stating that "[...] culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions, or processes can be casually attributed; it is context, something with which they can be intelligibly - that is, thickly- described." (Ibid.14).

An inter-cultural encounter within development is, according to Riall Nolan, "[...] a process-of negotiation and sometimes conflict- over whose goals and values will prevail in change, whose rules will apply. Groups use their culture as a resource - and sometimes, as a weapon - to help shape responses to such changes and opportunities. Stakeholders in a development encounter manipulate cultural categories in complex ways as they negotiate. If reality within one culture is in a sense constructed, then the reality of a development project is also a construction, arising from stakeholder’s interaction" (Nolan, 2002:21). By acknowledging the impact that cultural difference
has on development, and by studying the social friction that often arises within it, one might uncover dynamics of development that otherwise would be at risk of being overlooked.

One of the aims of this thesis is to make a contribution to the research on the processes of inter-cultural encounters in the context of international development. Previously, research has been conducted on how aid professionals conceive their own role and that of others, along with influences within the settings of international development (cf. Mosse, 2011). The ways in which development workers position themselves, both practically and emotionally, as cosmopolites and how the expatriate lifestyle affects their relations to the society in which they operate, have been thoroughly studied (Rajak & Stirrats, 2011:161ff). Furthermore the conditions of the creation of development policies, which often are handled at a major physical distance from the actual sites of implementation, as well as the prevailing aversion that many development professionals seem to have towards spending time in the field, have been studied. International policy makers rely on their accumulated knowledge and experience of managing development and are therefore reluctant of consulting actors within the societies where development projects are to take place. Findings of these studies have suggested that a higher level of importance is often ascribed to theoretical expertise than practical, which results in an alienating process in the professional and everyday relations between foreign and domestic actors (Eyben, 2011).

Even though more emphasis has been ascribed to the impact of so called indigenous knowledge in development during the last decades (cf. Sillitoe, 1998), local expertise is often esteemed to be less useful than the institutionalized knowledge that has its roots in the so called Western world. Locally supported solutions to development issues have been dismissed by foreign development workers who claim that they are mirroring local mind-sets and therefore are too technically weak, and that knowledge from the outside needs to be introduced in order to reach change. This way of regarding culturally specific ways of solving problems as something static, and to state that communities that are not sorted into the category of the Western world are in need of outside actors as catalysts in order to make development successful, is creating a dichotomy between a claimed “traditional” and a “rational” group. The first category of characteristics is then attributed to the beneficiaries of development and the latter to the donors and implementers. Thus, the occurrence of ranking of knowledge systems is consolidating a misleading and simplistic picture of both parties in the partnership (Crewe & Harrison, 1998:43ff).

Although research has been conducted on how inter-cultural encounters are perceived by those who engage professionally in large scale development projects, studies of minor development initiatives on municipal level are fairly limited. The main actors within development that constitute
the research field of this thesis are not full-time employed development workers, but instead people who see their engagement as either a side-line duty or a personal commitment carried out outside working hours. I am hoping that this thesis and the ethnography that it builds upon will be a useful contribution to the understanding of the lived experiences within small-scale development processes.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In the next chapter the theoretical framework will be presented. The analytic focus will start out from a discussion of the academic and the applied work in development that is carried out under an anthropological flag. An introduction will then be given to the interactive aspects in inter-cultural encounters, with the concept of Social interface (Long, 1989) as point of departure. Following this, three tools that will be utilised the analysis of this thesis will be presented. The first pair, Friction (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005) and Meta code and Cultural code (Rottenburg, 2009), will primarily be used in order to examine how cultural difference is conceptualised and operated in everyday life. The third, that is inspired by the Discursive psychology-approach of Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008), will be applied in order to link individual experiences of cultural difference to general discourses.

Following this, I will present the methods that have been used in the thesis including the practical procedures of data collection and challenges and opportunities during the fieldwork will be discussed. One focus in this section will be the impact that unforeseen developments within the field have had on the outline of the study.

In chapter four, the partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål will be explored through the narratives of the individuals that have been engaged in it as well as through my own observations from the field. I will also turn to official documents, community board protocols and unofficial correspondence in order to present a multi-faceted picture of the Municipal partner and its side-projects. The chapter will give separate descriptions of the specific activities that I have chosen to cluster under three different headlines: Red Cross-related projects, the Municipal Partnership and the Friendship Association.

Chapter five will deal with how cultural difference has been experienced, expressed and utilised within the partnership through the example of the 2014 Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act.
Based upon statements made by informants as well as documents and correspondence concerning the legislation's impact on the partnership, I intend to describe the prevailing conceptions within this inter-cultural space. In chapter six this procedure will be repeated with starting point in the example of the occurrence of corruption within the partnership.

In the seventh chapter the thesis' ethnographic chapters will be analysed. The analysis will be backed by the concepts of social interface, friction and meta and cultural codes. Furthermore, examples collected from political statements and from newspapers in Uganda respective Sweden will be used to show how personal experiences of the Anti-homosexuality Act and from corruption can be linked to general discourses in the two countries.

In the final chapter, the main findings of the thesis will be recalled followed by a more general forward looking discussion.
2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework upon which the analysis of the thesis is based will be presented. The choice of theories has been made on the basis of their potential to shed light on the causes of disturbances ascribed to cultural difference in development. By applying them to the analysis of the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål, I will be able to suggest answers to questions of how the effect of inter-cultural encounters impacts people's world views. First, a general overview of two anthropological orientations to the study of development will be reviewed. Secondly, an introduction to how interaction within inter-cultural encounters can be approached, with the starting point in Long's (1989) concept social interface, is given. Following this, three analytical tools that each aims at facilitating the understanding of the handling of experiences of cultural difference either in everyday situations or in more general societal debates will be presented. These tools are Friction (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005), meta and cultural code (Rottenburg, 2009) and discursive psychology (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008). The aim of the chapter is to provide sufficient insight in anthropological ways of analysing cultural difference in development, in order to further on in the thesis be able to show how specific activities within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects are interlinked at a structural level.

2.1 Anthropology and development

Anthropology has had a problematic relation to development and international aid for the greater part of the last century. Uneasiness concerning the engagement of predecessors within the discipline in colonial and warfare activities (cf. Price, 2011) left some scholars reluctant to engage in activities that could be categorized as applied for a long time. Widespread interest in the topic did not rise again until the second half of the twentieth century, when postmodern discussions of anthropology's role in societal processes topped the agenda. A general division between an academic Anthropology of development and an applied Development anthropology was central to these discussions, and disagreements flourished between the supporters of the different approaches. Even though this debate cannot be said to be as polarised today as in the postmodern 1980s' and 90's, the distinction still holds some relevance for the contemporary understanding of anthropology and development. The supporters of the academic approach dismissed the applied anthropologists'
aspiration of hands-on contributions to development, and claimed that such interferences only would provide oppressors with useful information and to cement global hierarchies. The applied anthropologists, on the other hand, experienced that they had to compete with representatives of other social sciences that operated within development in order to get a chance to show what anthropology could contribute with (Grillo, 1997: p1ff). In the defence of anthropology's engagement in development it is first and foremost the ethnographic methods of material collection that has been emphasised. But it has also been suggested that anthropology is particularly suitable for the study of development, because of its focus on "[...] ideas about the social and cultural components of change and transformation which in turn stem from anthropology's raison d'être as the science of culture." (Grillo, 1997:6 [italics in original]).

Furthermore, anthropology has been claimed to be useful in development because of the discipline's holistic approach. When carried out in the right way anthropology takes all available perspectives into account, and this practice helps avoiding the production of simplistic representations and conservation of hierarchies. In addition to this, one strength of the discipline is its reflexivity and ambition to learn from previous mistakes. The bottom-up approach that both academic and applied anthropologists in development engage in do not guarantee that mistakes are not being made, but it improves the chances of being able to provide a fair picture of development (Grillo, 1997:6ff). When studying the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the Municipality of Åmål, I will suggest that inspiration should be drawn from both the applied and the academic branch of development-related anthropology, but that an effort should be made to avoid the division of knowledge into two incompatible categories. Since the activities within the partnership are based upon structures expressed through policy as well as on hands-on every day practice, both the anthropology of development and development anthropology can contribute by offering different perspectives on how to interpret experiences of cultural difference.

A motivation for the anthropological study of development and international aid is that these concepts to a high extent affect the lives of people in low and middle income countries. But this impact is not constituted only by practical and financial assistance, but also by cultural exchange and new impressions. Development, when regarded as a mutual exchange of experiences in which also the donors are involved, can be seen as an on-going process rather than as the limited project that development implementers tend to refer to (Hagberg & Widmark, 2009: 15ff). As will be shown in the upcoming chapters of this thesis, the Ugandan and the Swedish partners alike express that the relations that they build in the mutually created space that the partnership constitutes, affect their lives to a great extent. By focusing on questions of which the indirect and long-term impact
that development will have on people's lives, an understanding that reaches beyond every day practices can be reached.

One of the indirect effects of development processes is that actors from different parts of the world meet and interact. Since differing experiences, motivations and expectations for partaking in the process will be present in this context, it is likely that disturbances will arise when people do not behave in the way their counterparts had predicted (Olivier de Sardan, 2005:68ff). As these collisions of perceptions are unavoidable the study of how the actors are mutually handling the disagreements, rather than why they came to be, is relevant in order to achieve understanding of the impact that inter-cultural encounters have on the actors that partake in development. Norman Long uses the concept social interface when conceptualising development processes as "[...] a critical point of intersection or linkage between different social systems, fields or levels of social order where structural discontinuities, based upon differences of normative value and social interest, are most likely to be found" (Long, 1989a:1f). The concept considers both the involved actor's experienced realities and their manoeuvres within situations of inter-cultural encounters, and is because of its focus on the interaction between actors within respectively outside a certain community well suited for the analysis of activities within development cooperation (Ibid.:5). Since situations of social interface generally follow upon interventions carried out in settings that international development implementers do not consider themselves to be a part of, an intersection of cultures takes place. In these situations the study of interface "[...] sensitizes the researcher to the importance of exploring how discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation" (Long, 1989b:221). The concept of social interface has been useful for my general understanding of the link between development and experiences of cultural difference, and more specifically it has helped me to more conveniently interpret the narratives presented by the actors' that have partaken in the Municipal partnership. As social interface, and its effects, constantly takes place within the mutually created space of the partnership it must be regarded as one of the building blocks for the inter-cultural encounter.

The frames of the negotiations that are carried out during a social interface situation are rarely defined while the encounter is taking place in its physical setting, but are instead directed by limitations that are set up by policy makers prior to the meeting (van der Ploeg, 1989:145). One of the unspoken rules that regulate negotiations carried out within development contexts concerns the ranking of knowledge systems. The knowledge system generally ascribed to the conventional donor countries in Europe and North America is often considered to be superior to systems occupied by
actors in the area where the development is to be implemented, which results in marginalization of local knowledge. The conditions and disputability of this discrimination are not discussed during the actual interface situation, since the collectively agreed rules that were put in place in the initial phase of development do not allow this (Ibid.:156 f). Any breach against claims concerning the objectively true, so called Western, knowledge system that might appear in the interface situation is dismissed as a sign of ignorance, hence the hegemony of this knowledge system will remain unchallenged (Ibid.:161). I will in this thesis suggest that this Western hegemony to a great extent affects the relation between the Ugandan and the Swedish actors within the Municipal partnership, and that it is upheld by both parties through the interaction that is carried out within their mutually created space.

A key concept that is used in discussions linked to social interface is social configurations. Social configurations are constituted by the accumulated experiences of an actor and does not only affect the way one positions oneself within the development situation, but also the possibilities for negotiations of the activities within this situation (Arce, 1989:18f). Accumulated experience that is shared between the inhabitants of a certain community will come to constitute a "collective stock of knowledge that can be used to create and maintain a certain discourse" (Ibid.21). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, there will be several different understandings of the motivations for partaking in a development process. The reason for this is that "[...] different actors accord different social meanings to the activities and visualize different trajectories for the project. These different social constructions are formed through a process of internalization by which the actors attempt to locate their experiences of the project in relation to their own life-worlds and aspirations" (Long & Villarreal, 1989:103). The term life-world is used within the development debate in order to describe how discourses within a culture are used by self-declared members of that certain culture in order to position themselves within a bigger context. In situations of social interface it is not only different hegemonic discourses that collide, but also the different individually adjusted adaptations of discourses that life-worlds constitute. These customised discourses compose seldom questioned models from which their carriers orient themselves in terms of how to act in certain situations, but that is also reshaped by their actions (Ibid.:110 ff.). Individual life-worlds can therefore be said to eventually affect general discourses within a development context, because of the impact that the actions of the carriers of life-worlds have on the discourse-modelling interactions within the context. This thesis will show how both individual social configurations and collectively shared life-worlds affect the activities of the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål, and how experiences of cultural difference within it can be understood.
through these customised local discourses.

One way in which general discourses that are based upon the shared life-world of a group of development actors is manifested is through the creation of stereotypes. A common stereotype, which is often upheld by Westerners who engage in development, is that poor people in so called developing countries have a shared wish to develop as a community. It is claimed that there is a consensus among the people who live in a certain area concerning how development should be handled and which goals that should be aimed at (Olivier de Sardan, 2005: 73ff). In the case of the concept of Municipal partnerships North-South, this stereotype might be problematic as the pronounced aim of the programme is capacity building and community development, since it postulates that a majority of the inhabitants of the involved communities actually have a deep-going feeling of communal unity. The ways in which poor communities, especially those that are located in African countries, are presented as directed by community spirit and collectiveness is primarily be referred to Western exotification of societies that they once colonised (Ibid.). Nevertheless, it is important to entirely disregard the eventual features that the stereotypes build upon. There are most certainly individuals in Manafwa district that agree with the idea of the community as a concept around which people can unite. Nevertheless, the occurrence of these views should not be allowed to shape the general picture, since ideas of collectiveness are heterogeneous and more complex than statements that are taken out of their context convey. Thus, cultural stereotyping should be regarded as relevant to study because of the ways in which the involved actors use it, and not because of the eventual truths that the stereotypes build upon.

2.2 Friction

After this general overview of how cultural difference in development can be approached from an anthropological perspective, the tools that will be used in the analysis of the informants' narratives will be presented. The first one is the study of friction. Friction emerges in situations where different life-worlds intersect. Development implementers have to deal with the fact that their activities are constantly affected by inter-cultural encounters within the development context, and that these relations at the same time shape the frames of interaction within it. In this way "[...] emergent cultural forms [...] are persistent but unpredictable effects of global encounters across difference" (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005:3). It is suggested that every encounter between actors of a globalised world provokes reactions that either speed up or slow down social processes. These
reactions can be illustrated by the metaphor of how a wheel spins freely while in the air, but when put in contact with the ground will move forward. Social change can be viewed in the same way; little will happen before there are encounters between individuals of contrasting world views that can serve as catalysts for development, since world views that stand undisputed will remain unchanged (Ibid.: 5f). Following Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing’s line of thought, mutually created spaces such as the Municipal partnership discussed in this thesis can be described as "[...] continually co-produced in the interactions I call "friction": the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference." (Ibid.4). As the narratives that the thesis builds upon will show, flexibility in the handling of friction within the partnership has proven to be crucial in order for the involved actors to maintain a sense of coherence.

Hegemony is, according to Lowenhaupt Tsing "[...] made as well as unmade with friction" (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005:6). I will suggest that the Western hegemony that dictates the rules of interaction within the mutually created space of the Municipal partnership and its side-projects could not have been installed and upheld without the support from both the Swedish and the Ugandan party. Furthermore, alternative discourses that are used by the actors when communicating within their own groups would not have emerged if it was not for the friction that took place during the social interface. These discourses are distinguished by claims of universal truths, which are used by actors to position themselves within the space where development take place and to make sense of their actions (Ibid.9ff). As it will be shown in the next section, these claimed universal truths can play a crucial role in the dynamics of the partnership.

### 2.3 Meta code and cultural code

The second tool that will be used in the analysis of experienced cultural difference within the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål builds upon the concepts of meta and cultural code. These codes, that constitutes one of the building blocks of intercultural interaction within development, are based on discourses that divide actors into separated categories. One discourse that does this is the general acceptance of the postcolonial distinction between "developed" and "developing" countries (Rottenburg, 2009: xii). Even though discourses have changed due to shifting political trends and prevailing conceptions regarding the opinions that can be expressed in public without causing disturbance, the so called Western world view and opinions on what it means to be "developed" is still present, now hidden behind code language.
In development situations, as in all situations that feature social interface, a mutually agreed
set of codes of conduct needs to be in place in order for different actors to be able to work together.
This set of codes, which Richard Rottenburg entitles *meta code*, contains unspoken agreements on
the rules of interaction that are based on hegemonic discourses concerning divisions of roles within
a development partnership. This meta code is supplemented by a *cultural code*, which the different
groups of involved actors use within their respective factions when attempting to manage and
explain experiences from inter-cultural encounters and the behaviour of their counterparts. The
cultural code explains the actions of individuals within other groups as consequences of their
cultural peculiarities and is utilised by all parties regardless of where they are positioned in the
internal hierarchy of the development process. The cultural code must never be allowed to reach the
official inter-cultural dialogues, where the meta code prevails, since colliding self-images and world
views then would have to be discussed openly which likely would cause disturbances. The
alternation between meta code and cultural code is therefore a prominent feature of development
and this flexibility offers, if used properly, ways of practising power (Rottenburg, 2009: xxix ff).
During my fieldwork it became clear to me that the alternating between meta and cultural codes
depending on whether the addressed was a member of the own group or not was a crucial function
that had to be in order to maintain senses of coherence and to avoid disturbances between the
parties.

One concept within development that is handled through meta code is objectivity. There is a
general consensus worldwide concerning the existence of an objectively superior variation of
development which everyone should follow. Rottenburg suggests that the advocacy for this
standardisation of development solutions could be a way to cover up the hegemonic position of
what he calls the *Western world view* and the fact that concepts that originate from Europe or North
America repeatedly and undisputedly are ranked as more accurate than others (Rottenburg,
2009:173 f). During inter-cultural interaction, where the meta code is used in order to make
communication run smoothly, an *official script* is followed. This implies that everything that is
proposed and expressed during the communication builds upon an "objective truth" that all actors
that engage in the development situation must accept. That this claimed "truth" almost always
conforms to world views similar to that commonly associated with the so called Western world is
not discussed. During discussions that exclusively engage actors of one specific group, where the
cultural code is used to explain activities within the development process, the intentions and
conceptions of the other groups are questioned even though their acceptance of the objectively
superior solution for development earlier was taken for granted. This *unofficial script*, suggests that counterparts are merely mimicking the official script in order to not disturb the functions of the meta code and are intrinsically guided by the characteristics of their culture (Ibid: 198).

While Rottenburg conducts his discussion from the starting point of his own accumulated experiences of financiers and the executers of development projects, other scholars have shown that similar code-switching procedures are carried out in the interaction between other categories of development actors (cf. Eyben, 2011, Lewis & Mosse, 2006). With this in mind, I have found ways to apply the discussion of meta and cultural codes, and their accompanying scripts, to the Municipal partnership and its involved actors who all have in common that they do not have full time engagement in development. In order to understand how different explanations of the progress of certain activities can exist parallel within the partnership, an identification of meta respective cultural codes in the material will be needed.

### 2.4 Discursive psychology

The third tool used in the analysis is chosen because of its potential to shed light on the links between everyday practice and discourse in development. Early during my fieldwork I realised that many statements that were made by the informants were similar to declarations made in political contexts or in media. This applied both to the Ugandan and the Swedish informants, and resulted in that many narratives were almost identical concerning rhetoric and content. Thus, I saw the need to include an analytical perspective that is fit to manage the general impact of discourses within as well as between societies. Discourse analysis is a term used for various analytical models, which can differ both in ways of how they are methodologically used and regarding the kind of questions that they are suited to answer. One feature that the orientations have in common is their claim that discourse is something that affects individuals’ understandings of the world, while it can be altered by the people who are bringing it into practice through social interaction. The fundamental premise of discourse analysis is the dismissal of the thought that human conceptions and actions appear within neutral settings, and that these phenomena instead are to be seen as components within chain reactions. Discourse analysis puts forward the question of why certain clusters of information are repeated with little linguistic variation within a context, and how this repetition sets up the frames for the unspoken rules of communication between individuals in that context (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008:1ff).
I have been inspired by a branch of discourse analysis called discursive psychology. Since this Foucaultian-inspired adaptation focuses on matters of the creation of truth and different knowledge systems, it is particularly suitable for examining questions of how individual experiences within development relates to general discourses. One considerable inspiration that this orientation inherits from Foucault's work on the concept of truth is the claim that no one can be able to define an objective truth, since all human beings are constantly affected by several discourses. This implies that the person who is trying to draw this definition is inevitably a medium for discourse and therefore unable to present a neutral truth. Discursive psychology however differs from the work of Foucault in one prominent way; where his analysis tends to focus on one single knowledge system within a studied context, discursive psychology is instead concerned with the question of what happens when different world views meet (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008:13). While other branches of discourse analysis focus on how discourse limits the freedom of actors, discursive psychology calls attention to how discourse is used during everyday interaction in order to transform certain aspects of the actors' lives (Ibid.:21).

The term discursive psychology is used by several scholars, whose understandings of its content do not always entirely conform. In this thesis I have chosen to focus on the work of Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter, since their adaptation of discursive psychology successfully has been put to test with material collected through ethnographic methods. Furthermore, their study of racism in New Zealand handles matters of experienced disagreement between two self-defined groups. Wetherell and Potter use the discursive psychology approach in order to show how discourse through adaptation of language is used by actors in order to facilitate manoeuvres within a given context (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008:97). Discourses offer actors ways of putting together coherent world views, and in order to maintain and make these world views stable the rules of the discourse have to be obeyed. The observance of these rules is shown through the consequent utilisation of” [...] a limited number of terms that are used in a particular stylistic and grammatical way" (Ibid.107). Clusters of phrases will be repeatedly used in order to express opinions in a way that conforms to the prevailing discourse, and by studying the application of these rhetoric figures the researcher can find out how the division into different self-defined groups are made. This knowledge can in turn be used when studying the emergence of ideology, which by Wetherell and Potter is defined as the practice of using discourse in the process of legitimising and cementing social phenomena (Ibid.:108ff).

As a social constructivist approach, discursive psychology suggests that language creates the world that is regarded as real and true by the members of a group or community, and that it also sets
up the frames for social interaction. This means that language should be seen as a tool that the individual, more often unconsciously than consciously, uses to modify her or his position within a social context (Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008:97). Discursive psychology thus claims that:

"[...] the social construction of attitudes, social groups and identities. Social constructionism rejects the cognitivist attempt to explain attitudes and behaviour in terms of underlying mental states or processes. Instead of understanding psychological processes- including processes of social categorisation- as private, mental processes produced by information processing, social constructionists understand them as social activities. Furthermore, they do not view attitudes as stable, mental dispositions (that the individual "owns") but as products of social interaction".

(Winther-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008:102)

World views and knowledge systems build upon individual and collective experiences. This makes them strictly contextual, which implies that an objective truth cannot exist since material aspects of the world only can be ascribed with meaning through discourse. Discourse, according to the discursive psychology-approach of Wetherell and Potter, is not solely overall structures that should be studied at an abstract level but neither is it exclusively the active usage of language by individuals in order to change their own positions. A middle-way adaptation, that takes both micro and macro perspectives into account, is therefore to prefer when attempting to conduct a balanced study of discourse (Ibid. p 103ff). By applying an analysis that is inspired by discursive psychology to the material that I have gathered during my fieldwork, I intend to show how discourse in an unmistakeable way affects the everyday practice of the actors within the Municipal partnership.

2.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter started with a discussion on different anthropological approaches to development. It has been suggested that regardless if the scholars that operate within the discipline chose to have a more academic or applied focus, the shared ambition to holistically include all available perspectives in their studies makes their involvement relevant for the understanding of development. I have suggested that both applied and academically rooted approaches are needed in order to be able to present how cultural difference within the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål is experienced, expressed and utilised.

The theoretical discussion then turned to an overview of how inter-cultural encounters could be regarded as an aspect of development, following the concept of social interface. In this
In the analysis of the emergence of disturbances within the partnership, these local discourses must be taken into consideration in order to identify and understand the motivations that lie behind the undertaken actions.

Following this, the three analytical tools that will be used to examine how the involved actors experienced, expressed and utilised cultural difference within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects were reviewed. While the concepts of friction and meta and cultural codes mainly will be used in order to analyse the handling of everyday interactional situations, inspiration will be taken from discursive psychology in order to link activities within this particular context to general discourses of cultural difference. The composition of this set of tools was made with the ambition to link every day practice to general discourse in mind, as my experiences from the field had convinced me of that the statements that were made by the informants were not homogeneously outlined without reason.
3 Methodology

In this chapter I will present the procedures that were undertaken during the fieldwork that this thesis is based on. Furthermore, different opportunities and challenges that have affected the outcome of the fieldwork will be accounted for. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the context in which the material that has been the main source of information about the Municipal partnership and its side-projects was acquired.

3.1 Entering the field

The fieldwork was conducted during ten weeks from January to April of 2014 in Manafwa district, Uganda. Additionally, I spent one week of the following summer in the Swedish municipality of Åmål. Prior to my stay in Uganda I carried out telephone interviews with several Swedish actors that in one way or another were linked to the many Swedish-sponsored activities in Manafwa district. Following the two field trips, I have continuously been in touch with the informants via e-mail in order to update myself on the activities of the Municipal partnership and its side-projects.

I first got to know about the Ugandan-Swedish Municipal partnership from a friend, who has been engaged in one of the side-projects that derive from contacts made through the official partnership. She facilitated the establishment of useful contacts in the field sites in Uganda as well as in Sweden, and when I was informed that there was an interest from engaged actors to partake in the study I decided that Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål would be the physical settings of the study. The first contact with Bubulo, the trading centre which came to be my home and the starting point for my activities in the district during my fieldwork, was established through an acquaintance of my friend who was engaged in a Swedish NGO that is operating in the area. Upon arrival I was put in contact with Rose, who came to be my landlady and facilitator during the stay. Rose was the single most important enabler for the entry into the field, since her position in the society and her never-ending concern for my wellbeing and academic success made it possible for me to initiate the work immediately upon arrival. Her vast social network included many actors that had been engaged in the partnership and projects, and she made sure to arrange any meeting that I wished to conduct. The fact that I relied mainly on one single person in order to introduce me to
informants and to get to know the local surroundings have of course affected the study since her reading of my intentions determined who she put me in touch with. I did nevertheless manage to get my own overview of the involved actors and their relations during the course of the fieldwork and by that managed to avoid ending up with an overly biased material.

The idea of the Municipal partnership and its side-projects that I had upon arrival in Uganda was based upon the information that I was presented with during the preparatory interviews that were conducted in Sweden. To not let these conceptions bias the way that the work in the field was undertaken, the study was initiated by mapping the partnership in order to locate potential individuals of relevance to interview. After making contact with a number of key actors at the Town Council of Bubulo, a snowball sampling procedure was carried out in order to be able to gain access to new contacts in an efficient way. Since time for fieldwork was limited, I had to speed up the process of getting in touch with possible informants. The method of snowball sampling facilitates the identification of informants that might be suitable for a certain study, but who might be hard to locate if they are not official members of a group or a project (Bernard, 2011:147f). After the initial interviews with the key actors at the Town Council, where I explained the purpose of the study, I asked them to assist me by giving me the names of persons that they themselves considered to be important for me to meet. I then picked out the names of individuals that had been nominated more than once and arranged meetings with them, and at the end of every interview I asked the informants for further recommendations of actors to meet. In this way both the group of people in Bubulo that knew about me and the intentions with my stay and my own understanding of the composition of the partnership and the side-projects grew.

The process of entering the field in the Swedish fieldwork setting was easier than in the Ugandan, since I now held basic knowledge of the Partnership and its side-projects. The most difficult thing to overcome was the strictly limited amount of time that was available to carry out my interviews; I could only stay in the municipality of Åmål for one week. Initially I saw the uneven disposition of time between the two physical field sites as problematic, since I assumed that this would lead to that I would not be present long enough to establish rapport with the Swedish informants and therefore risk overlooking important aspects of their experiences. Even though a more extensive fieldwork in the Swedish setting would have been desired, supplementing sources that were made available, such as protocols and correspondence, evened out the most prominent imbalances.
3.2 Participant observation

Participant observation filled an important function in my ambition of looking beyond the official discourses of development. The method allows the researcher to obtain knowledge about both the codes of behaviour and interaction within a certain social setting and of how to interpret activities within these situations. By actively taking part in the activities of the people who operate within the field the researcher can, through her or his own experiences as well as the surrounding people's reactions upon her or his actions, reach a level of understanding that would not have been obtainable through less interactive methods (Bernard, 2011:257ff). The method also makes it possible to conduct interviews that target certain topics of interest while partaking in the everyday duties of an informant, by letting fragments of information that is communicated during every day talk together build a more complete picture of the experiences of the informant. In situations where structured interviews are hard to carry out due to distractions or social barriers, this way of following the informant around can be a good way to get access to relevant material (Wagley, 1960:145).

During my stay in Bubulo I rented a room in Rose's house, which was located in the central parts of the trading centre. We shared the house with several other family members and the house was the location of frequent meetings and visits paid by friends and acquaintances. The decision to stay at Rose's house rather than at the local guest house, as was originally planned, turned out to be a fortunate choice since its function as meeting place entailed many new encounters and that I easily could engage in everyday interaction with a wide range of individuals. This interaction could be to sit on the sofa in the central room of the house, working on my field notes and answering occasional questions about what I was doing while visitors were having tea, or to chat with the other residents of the house while washing clothes in the courtyard. In addition to these everyday encounters I attended official meetings at the Town Council in order to get an idea of the structure and dynamics of the work of the civil servants. At these meetings, I took on a more reclusive and observing role where I was seated at the back of the meeting hall taking notes of the interactions that took place.

The part of the fieldwork that was carried out in the municipality of Åmål was on the other hand not characterized by observations, mainly because of the fact that no official meetings were held during the short period of time that I was there. Another circumstance that made observations hard in this setting was that I did not stay together with someone that had been engaged in the Municipal partnership. In addition, protocols from municipality board meetings where the Municipal partnership has been handled were reviewed. These protocols do not only reveal
information about activities and costs of the partnership, but also about attitudes towards it that have been expressed by members of the board. This material has provided me with valuable insights on how the official agenda set by the partners in Åmål has been presented.

3.3 Interviews

During my ten weeks in Manafwa district I conducted approximately 40 interviews with actors who in one way or another have been engaged in the Municipal partnership or in the side projects that have arisen from it. The Ugandan informants included, among others, politicians, civil servants, school teachers, youth volunteers and representatives for different local groups that work with community development. I established contact with a number of key informants that I interviewed at a minimum of three occasions in order to be able to establish rapport and receive relevant information from them. The circumstances of the part of the fieldwork that was carried out in Sweden entailed that I only met with the informants once, but these interviews were in a majority of the cases preceded by telephone interviews and email communication in order for us get acquainted with each other. A total of twelve interviews were carried out during my fieldwork in Åmål.

Many of the initial interviews in Manafwa district were of an informal and semi-structured character. Rather than making the situation too formal, I preferred to sit down to have a soda together, or to take a walk in order to oversee wells in the area together with the informants. These first interviews were not recorded since I wanted to invite to a relaxed atmosphere were we could get the chance to establish an initial relation. An exception to this was when meeting with politicians and higher civil servants in the Town Council, since they made clear from the beginning that they were expecting more formal interviews and occasionally even asked me to bring a questionnaire prior to the meeting. I did not find the recording of these particular interviews problematic since I understood it as the officials were anxious about getting the information correct and therefore regarded the recording as assurance of not getting misquoted. These initial meetings with people of high status within the society offered me good practice in impression management (cf. Berreman, 1972).

After meeting the informants several times, or as in the case with the Swedish informants where I had the opportunity to establish rapport previous to our meeting, our discussions successively were directed towards topics related to their experiences of involvement in the
Municipal partnership or its side-projects. Even though an agenda with themes that I wanted to touch upon was set prior to the meeting, the informants were encouraged to bring up topics that they themselves found relevant to talk about. Initially most of the interview questions, that were fairly grand and open in their design, revolved around the individual’s engagement in the partnership and how they personally experienced it. For an inexperienced fieldworker as myself it was a facilitating factor that people seemed to like to discuss these topics and did so without too much support from me, which left me time to figure out what my next step should be. As I got to know both the individuals and the context a bit better, the discussions were directed towards questions that had emerged at earlier meetings. This could for example concern what they considered to be successful or challenging with the partnership's different projects and how they felt that the communication between different actors within it worked out.

The most prominent problems that arose during the fieldwork's Ugandan phase had to do with the closeness between me and the informants. When living closely together and sharing everyday efforts it can sometimes be hard to distinguish between the different roles, such as that of the friend or neighbour and that of the researcher. In the Swedish context the social closeness lead to a prevailing assumption that I, since me and the informants have been brought up with a shared cultural background, should share their values, conceptions and world views. More than once I found myself conducting interviews with Swedish actors that, after stating their opinions about the state of the partnership or any of the side-projects, concluded by saying that this merely was a conversation between two fellow Swedes and nothing that was useful for my thesis. Following the American Anthropological Associations Code of Ethics, I did my very best to remind the informants of the aim of our meetings and about the fact that I intended to include their statements in my study if they did not explicitly say that I was not allowed to do so. The researcher is at all times liable to receive the informed consent of the informant continuously though the study in order to not risk that the informant feel deceived (American Anthropological Association, 2009:361), and to determine that this is carried out properly was one of my biggest challenges during my fieldwork. In order to offer further protection from negative consequences that could follow upon their engagement in this study their names, and when needed position within the partnership, have been changed.
3.4 Challenges and opportunities: reflexive methods

In this section I will present some conditions that either facilitated or complicated my attempts to learn more about the effects of inter-cultural encounters within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects. I was able to predict some of these conditions prior to the study, since I previously had spent time in contexts that are similar to the two field sites, but I could not have foreseen some of the other activities and complicating circumstances. Some obstacles could have been avoided while others were impossible to predict due to political shifts during my stay.

3.4.1 Positioning within the field

One major challenge during the fieldwork in Manafwa district concerned the informant's determination of my status and level of involvement in the partnership and its side-projects. I repeatedly stated that I was a student from a part of Sweden that is far away from the municipality of Åmål, that I was not sent to Manafwa district by the Swedish development partners and that assistance in matters such as applications for funding or advocating for new projects would not be possible. Though a majority of the informants seemed to accept these facts, requests continued to follow upon interview situations as well as everyday communication all through the fieldwork. It was clear that I, despite my objections, was regarded as linked to the partnership by many. Similarly, actors on the Swedish side asked me to provide updated information on how different projects were evolving even after stating that I could not get involved in any such activities as long as the thesis work was proceeding. I eventually had to settle with the thought that the general picture of my (officially non-existing) connection to the partnership could not easily be changed, but instead accept that a frequent reminding of the reasons for recording their stories would be needed (cf. American Anthropological Association, 2009).

As I found myself regarded as a representative of the Municipal partnership, reflections upon my own experiences within this particular development context and on how this enforced belonging could be used in order to better understand what kind of experiences the Swedish partners have learned when their own and their Ugandan counterparts' cultural contexts intersect arose. Since I was often treated as officially linked to the partnership and through that shared the social position of the partners in Åmål, the possibility of making use of my experiences and to some extent become my own informant through methods of auto-ethnography emerged. The term auto-
ethnography is used to describe the processes where the researcher is a part of the studied field and therefore can make use of her or his own experiences. As long as a thorough reflexive discussion about the biases of the researcher is being held, there are no indications that the product where auto-ethnography has been used as a supplementing method would be less valid than more traditional ones. It is important to make a distinction between auto-ethnography and auto-biography, since the material collected through the former should undergo the same scientific processes as any other ethnographic data while the latter is not accompanied by this demand. The auto-ethnographic material should not be claimed to hold any universally applicable truths, but as a complement to other material it could add new dimensions to the study (cf. Khosravi, 2010). Although no defined auto-ethnographic material will be presented in this thesis, I find it important to clarify that I have been making use of my personal experiences of being categorised as a part of the Municipal partnership in my attempt to understand processes of intercultural encounter.

An unexpected turn that affected my fieldwork in Manafwa district was when the government of Uganda in February 2014 passed a new anti-homosexuality act. As a response to this, Swedish bilateral aid was redirected away from activities of the Ugandan government towards the civil society and international organizations that work within the country; an action that was reported in Ugandan media. Suddenly I found myself being regarded as a representative for the Swedish government and questioned from many different angles about why "we" took these actions. Even though my study in its original design did not directly concern either homosexuality or foreign aid through budget support, my work was highly affected by the new ways in which people came to regard our relations. This was a useful experience since it provided me with an understanding for how large-scale political actions can affect the communication between different stakeholders within a minor Municipal partnership.

3 The decision to suspend all payments to the Ugandan state was, according to Sida, made on the basis on that Sweden cannot support systems that will lead to violations of human rights. Furthermore Sida states that the Swedish trust in the Ugandan state was already reduced due to the corruption scandal of 2012, when it came to light that large amounts of aid money had been misappropriated by the Ugandan state administration. The far-reaching research collaboration between Uganda and Sweden is not affected by the suspension (Sida, 2015).

4 The Ugandan newspapers that mainly have been reviewed during the production of this thesis is the Daily Monitor (http://www.monitor.co.ug/), Red Pepper (http://www.redpepper.co.ug/) and the New Vision (http://www.newvision.co.ug/). The newspapers were chosen due to their widespread circulation, their availability online and the fact that they are published in English.
3.4.2 Where cultures intersect

During the fieldwork in Manafwa district I experienced some practical manifestations of the differences between my own and the informants' cultural frameworks. As an example, I found it hard to arrange meetings that actually would take place without at least a few reminding phone calls. The Ugandan general concept of time management differs considerably from the mainstream way of handling time in Sweden. When I for the third day in a row found myself waiting for several hours just in order to get a call that is cancelling the planned meeting, the insight that this would be a professional challenge emerged. I had to come up with a strategy for how to get meetings to actually happen so that the material would not end up being insufficient. After a few weeks of experimenting with different methods such as extremely frequent telephoning and insisting on following people around to talk to them while they were carrying out their everyday activities, I felt that the situation was under control. It was during this period that I realized that people's disinterest in timekeeping also could be positive for me; even if I happened to show up at a moment when the person that I wanted to interview was occupied with something, they usually interrupted their activities in order to talk to me.

3.4.3 Language

When planning for my fieldwork in Manafwa district I had expected that the help of an interpreter would be needed in order to be able to interview non-Anglophone informants. This category ended up only including a few persons, which meant that I managed to avoid some of common fieldwork challenges. What I had not managed to predict was that communicating with people in English sometimes would be a challenge even though all actors that were involved in the discussion spoke the language perfectly fluently. I had travelled in the country before and was familiar with Ugandan English, but I found myself constrained by a language barrier when I was concerned with getting the details right during interviews in a way that I had not experienced during the occasional small-talk that I previously had engaged in. I struggled with pace of talk, grammar and pronunciation, and as I soon found out that my Swedish English in many ways was incomprehensible in this context, the informants did the same in order to understand what I was trying to say. About halfway through the fieldwork I started to get a grip of how to modify my English in order to make it intelligible, and I also learned to understand the basic patterns of the local variation of the language.
Unfortunately, I did not learn much more than some courtesies in the locally spoken language Lumasaba, which would have been desirable if I were to stay in the field for an extended period of time. Learning the premier language of the people that you are trying to get to know is not only a way to show respect and willingness to integrate with the society, it also reduces the risk of misunderstandings that prevail when two individuals are communicating in a language that neither of them consider the language to be their mother tongue. The researcher's inability to use the same language as her or his informants should however not be seen as a crucial failure of communication, since even in the event of researcher and informant sharing the same language, the researcher would from the very beginning attempt to interpret accounts and actions of the informant in order to be able to analyse and present them in a manner that the proposed target group of the study could incorporate (cf. Wagley, 1960). A lack of reflexivity concerning how the researcher affect the nature of the results of the study through her or his interpretations of statements or activities should thus be seen as more worrying than minor disturbances that take place during the very moment of communication. The few words in Lumasaba that I however learned were very helpful since people, especially elderly persons, seemed to appreciate my efforts to great them and responded to them by showing more forgiveness towards the cultural side-steps that I sometimes made during our meetings.

3.4.4 The two way bias

Throughout the years that I have spent as an anthropology student I have been persistently trained to identify and react upon biases that might affect the outcome of my research. I had therefore prepared myself for some potential situations, where my preconceived comprehensions of the incentives of the people that I was going to meet during my fieldwork, could have impacted my work. What I had spent little thought on before arriving in Manafwa district was the fact that the people that I met there also had their minds made up concerning my activities in the area, my aims and my views on their society. There was a two way bias. I had not imagined how exposed the fact that I was a young woman with light complexion that travelled alone could make me in my everyday activities. Even though the majority of the people that I met treated me excellently well and welcomed me with open arms, the fact that I unavoidably stood out in every situation was ever present and therefore affecting my work. During my previous travels in East Africa I had experienced the attention that was directed towards me as a mzungu when I was moving around in

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5 *Mzungu* is Bantu-originating term for a European, or more generally a white person. (Uusihakala, 1999)
public places, but I had never before been able to form individual relations that were deep enough to uncover their actual conceptions of me as a person.

3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter the context in which the material that this thesis mainly builds upon have been presented. The methods, including interviewing and participant observation that were used during the fieldwork of ten weeks in Manafwa district and one week in the municipality of Åmål have been reviewed. As the field is of a translocal character, the space that has been mutually created by the Ugandan and the Swedish actors and in which development is expected to take place should be regarded as the actual location of the fieldwork rather than the two physical settings. My view is that anthropology has a history of presenting claims of studying the local, and by ignoring the many links that even seemingly isolated communities has to the surrounding world a simplistic picture of people's lives is produced. This translocal study is my contribution to an anthropology that focuses on socially created spaces rather than on borders set up by politicians and rulers.

The conditions that prevailed during the time of the fieldwork implied both challenges and opportunities. To study a development partnership where the researcher is associated with one of the partners by a majority of the informants is demanding in terms of keeping the focus of interviews and other interaction, and to uphold informed consent when personal relations are developing is a substantial challenge. Meanwhile other unforeseen turns that emerged during the fieldwork offered major opportunities to learn more about the field. The activities that followed the introduction of the Anti-homosexuality Act and the Swedish reactions that followed upon it showed me the importance of flexibility when doing ethnography, and the possibilities that are made available as long as one stay open minded for new approaches. By using my own experiences of being regarded as a representative of the Swedish partners in an auto-ethnographic way, I have been able to gain a deeper understanding of some of the dynamics within the partnership than I would have been able to do if I studied a space in which I was an undisputed outsider.

4 The Municipal partnership and its side-projects
In this chapter the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål as well as other Swedish-funded projects in Manafwa district will be presented. Many of the actors that engaged in the Municipal partnership share a commitment that stretches over many years as they have taken part in both the Municipal partnership and its side-projects. Several of the key informants, both Ugandan and Swedish, have been active within Red Cross-related projects prior to the Municipal partnership, and some of them have in recent years used their achieved connections to form the Friendship association. In the following sections I will let these central actors tell the story of the many different activities that have constituted the partnership, based upon their personal experiences. The officially presented course of events that surrounded the establishment, development and ultimately stagnation of the partnership will also be reviewed.

As already described in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål was supported by the Municipal partnership programme of the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD), and funded by Sida (ICLD, 2015). The programme is based upon the Swedish Policy for Global Development which

"[...] includes both an effective foreign aid of high quality and a coherent policy which covers all policy areas. The policy shall aim to both aid the poor countries in their specific challenges, promote synergies between policy areas and handle development-obstructing politics in Sweden as well as within the EU, and to tackle global challenges which obstruct fair and sustainable development." 6

(Regeringskansliet, 2008:1).

Through the organisation's official documents, ICLD stresses that Sweden, as a significant actor within a globalised world, is responsible to strive for a sustainable future for human beings worldwide (cf. Regeringskansliet, 2010). The mission of the partnerships of ICLD is based upon the collaboration and independence of the involved actors regarding the execution of activities, with the purpose of making the partnership autonomous and successful. The actors are expected to come up with initiatives in order to improve the activities of the partnership and to adjust them to local conditions in order to create a sense of ownership. Furthermore, the received funding should aim at work as a catalytic trigger for larger development processes within the community. The goal of this actor-collaborational approach is that the relationship will eventually be able to continue on its own without any external funding, and that the Swedish contribution will result in more sustainable and fair development globally (Regeringskansliet, 2007).

6 "[...] inbegriper både ett effektivt bistånd av hög kvalitet och en samstämmighetspolitik som omfattar samtliga politikområden. Politiken ska inriktas både på att bistå de fattiga länderna i deras specifika utmaningar, främja synergeri mellan politikområden och hantera utvecklingshämmande politik i Sverige och inom EU, liksom att tackla globala utmaningar som utgör hinder för rättvis och hållbar utveckling". (Regeringskansliet, 2008, p 1).
The twinning of Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål was initiated in 2006. It was introduced as a project that succeeded a previous twinning of local Red Cross branches in Mbale district (which is now reorganized into smaller administrative units where Manafwa district is one) and several municipalities of western Sweden. The project was approved by the municipal executive board of Åmål in March 2006, and a delegation consisting of four representatives of the municipality was put together to travel to Manafwa district. After this visit, the representatives were summoned to deliver their recommendations concerning the founding of the partnership to the board. It was decided that applications for funding would be sent to Sala IDA, the predecessor of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions affiliated company SKL International.7

During a following visit by officials of Manafwa district in June 2006 the objectives of the partnership were discussed. The short-term fields of interest that were determined included management of the municipal and district administrations, education, environmental issues and partnerships between NGOs (Manafwa district & Åmål kommun, 2006). The desirable long-term focuses of the partnership were identified as follow-ups and evaluations of the aforementioned short term activities, health and social welfare, culture and sports and the promotion of local business opportunities. The focus on municipal and district management and administration was, according to the views expressed by the representatives of the municipality of Åmål, a condition that had to be met in order to be able to work with the other areas of the partnership. The first application for funding from SALA IDA was sent in late 2006, and was followed by other project applications within the frames of the partnership all through to the year 2012.

The results of the partnership, including its effects for the inhabitants of the municipality of Åmål, have been discussed by the municipal executive board. Despite the fact that criticism, mainly of political nature, existed towards a prolongation of the partnership the board decided in January 2014 to continue with the partnership and that new funding applications should be sent to ICLD in March. But as the Ugandan anti-homosexuality Act was passed in the spring of 2014 this decision was discharged with the motivation that the law did not conform to the municipality of Åmål’s views on human rights. (Manafwa district & Åmål kommun 2006, Åmål kommun, 2014d). All together the partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål was funded through approximately 3.5 million SEK (~1.4 billion UGX) from the year of 2007 to 2014. The municipality of Åmål has funded the partnership with 10 000 SEK (~3.6 million UGX) from its own budget during the same period of time (Fredrik, 2015-05-11, 2015-06-10). The partnership has not been allocated funding from Manafwa district through official channels apart from the working time that the civil servants spent on it.

7 Information about SKL Internationals work is available at http://sklinternational.se/
The activities of the partnership and its side-projects, as described by those who have been involved in them, will be presented below. In order to clarify how the different branches of Ugandan-Swedish relations relate to each other, the narratives will be sorted under three clusters; Red Cross-related projects, the Municipal partnership and the Friendship association. My intention is not to account for all individual variations that I have come across regarding the emergence and activities of the different projects, but instead to present a picture which reflects how engaged actors experienced them.

4.1 Red Cross-related projects

The local Red Cross branch of Bubulo served as a focal point for the early Ugandan-Swedish activities in Manafwa district. It started in 1998, and after a Ugandan delegation went to Sweden in the following year it was decided that the Municipality of Åmål should sponsor exposed groups in Bubulo, including women and children. These activities were generally experienced as positive by the inhabitants of the trading centre, but in 2010 the International Red Cross committee decided that twinning between branches in this fashion should not be allowed.

Daniel, a former board member of the Bubulo Red Cross branch, told me about the projects that had been launched through the twinning of the Ugandan and the Swedish sections. He narrated how the Swedes wanted to promote local entrepreneurship and therefore sponsored the opening of a centre in Bubulo where local entrepreneurs could run small businesses. These businesses were, among others, mobile phone charging by solar power, secretary services and the running of a small library. Following this, in 2008, a water project which aimed at providing the inhabitants of Bubulo with safe drinking water was initiated. 96 solar panels that produced power that both could pump water from the well and run a purification system, were installed by students from a Swedish university. A contract was signed that stated that Manafwa district would fund piping for transport of the water, but this ambition have yet not been implemented. The Red Cross branch in Bubulo also managed a volunteer exchange programme, funded through the European Union that offered youth from Manafwa district to go to Sweden and welcoming Swedish youth that wanted to come the other way. During their stay the Swedish volunteers mainly worked in schools while the Ugandans were placed either in schools or at homes for the elderly.

Without further discussion of which projects that can be said to be Red Cross-related, Daniel defined collaborations between students at Swedish universities and Manafwa district and EU-
funded exchange programmes as Red Cross-projects, while leaving out projects that were officially tied to the Municipal partnership and the Friendship association. This is the most common division that I came across during my fieldwork in Uganda, and was confirmed by several prominent actors within the community. Daniels' experience was that the Ugandan-Swedish activities were appreciated by both parties, but that the inhabitants of Manafwa district were the ones that mainly benefited from them. The general opinion that was expressed by the interviewed informants was that it was the people of Bubulo who wished for certain activities in order to improve the living standards in the area. The ideas came from them, while funding had to be brought in from the outside. That the Red Cross-related projects were structured around a clear division between givers and receivers of aid is stated in Daniel's answer to my question of how these activities were related to the following Municipal partnership:

"[...] the Åmål branch was the caretaker of Manafwa, and this was how the Municipal partnership started; as a twinning between an advanced country and an underdeveloped one (Daniel, 2014-02-17)".

Brian, a senior engineer that had been engaged in the water project discussed above, shared the view that the project could not have been carried out without the Swedish participation. He shared his experiences of working together with the Swedes one early Sunday morning when he had offered to walk me around and show me the water facilities in the area. While the majority of the inhabitants of the village prepared themselves for church we walked down the steep path to the pump station by the river, where I could catch a glimpse of long rows of solar panels and a big sign with the name of the Swedish project behind a locked fence, Brian told me of how the group from a Swedish university upon his request had brought the solar technology and restored the pump station and how a second group came a few years later and installed a system for purification through sand filters and UV-light:

"The project could not have been accomplished without the efforts of the students, they were very enthusiastic about it. Solar power is still rare in Uganda because it is hard to find someone that will sell you the parts. And if something breaks no one can fix it. They worked hard and had good ideas, but I was the designer and promoter of the projects. You have to know the community in order for things to work." (Brian, 2014-02-16).

Since the visit of a second group of students that worked on the water project, Brian has not been in contact with any of the involved Swedes. He questioned that other Swedish projects have been launched while this one, which he emphasised would significantly improve the standard of living of the people in the area, had come to a halt. When I asked him for what he though was the
reason that the Swedes did not communicate with him about a prolongation of the project, his answer was short and clear:

"Karl is angry with the District, and until that is solved no more money will come from there." (Brian 2014-02-11).

The view that the Red Cross-related projects had been affected by disturbances in the Ugandan-Swedish relations was common in Bubulo. The general opinion that was expressed focused on different notions of how some of the Ugandan actors had made mistakes, and how the Swedish partners reacted negatively upon this. Irene, a former member of the board of the entrepreneur centre in Bubulo, gave me her perspective of the activities that had taken place within the projects. She was one of the seven persons that were chosen by a group of Swedish students to become one of the seven entrepreneurs at the centre. She felt that the project started out fine and that the provided services were appreciated by the inhabitants of the trading centre, but as with many of the other projects corruptive behaviour among engaged actors soon affected its activities. Eventually, the business of the centre came to a collapse:

"Before, we had nice table cloths and flowers on the tables. The burglar alarm was working, there was an internet modem and there were chairs for many people. But after some years some persons within the board went astray and started to take money from the centre to fund their private activities, so all of that is gone now. Youth that was volunteering in the centre started to steal books and other things. There was a power struggle between politicians and non-politicians, between people who had big visions for the project and the society and those who only wanted to make profit. There was no sense of ownership, and that's why people did the wrong things. [...] People haven't got the right visions, I am ashamed of what the project has become. The Swedes that used to come here stopped visiting and sending e-mails" (Irene, 2014-03-13).

Here, Irene makes a connection between the actions of individuals in Bubulo and the loss of engagement in the project by the Swedish partners. This notion, as will be shown further on in this thesis, is one of the common explanations to why certain Ugandan-Swedish projects have come to an end.

The general view concerning which projects to regard as tied to the Red Cross-twinning differs slightly between the Ugandan actors and their Swedish counterparts. Emma, one of the university students that were involved in the renovation of a colonial water pump station, shared her view of the projects with me during a telephone interview. A distinction in her story that separates it from other narratives that concerns the early Ugandan-Swedish activities in Manafwa district that had been shared with me was that she did not mention any connection to the Red Cross. She described the opening of the entrepreneur centre, the installation of solar power and the restoration of the
water pump station as an autonomous series of projects under the same umbrella, and she encouraged me to not mix these neither with previous or following projects. I asked her to elaborate on the purpose and activities of the water-related projects that she took part in, and she presented her view on the activities within the project:

"Solar panels were installed in order to be able to pump water for the benefit of the people who lived nearby, but we also wanted coffee farmers to be able to wash their beans themselves in order for them to cut out middlemen in the production and by this earn more money. This did not go too well, and at the time when we started up the next part of the project I was really tired of the way that the people at the Town Council were acting. If something broke they just said, "Call the Mzungus [sic], they'll fix it!" We installed new systems for purification of the water, and started up a side-project that aimed at educating youth in water management, but this last effort was a disappointment. Finally, a contract was signed where the project was handed over to Manafwa district, and since then I haven't heard much about the project" (Emma 2013-12-17)

The notion that is expressed by Emma of that it was the Swedish actors that had to add the driving force to the projects was shared by several of the interviewed informants on the Swedish side. The differing understandings of which party that was the main initiator of the projects was, as it will be shown in the next section, transmitted to the Municipal partnership where it affected its operations.

4.2 The Municipal partnership

While the main purpose of the partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål is capacity building within the partaking communities, individually adapted motivations could be found among the informants. While some agreed with the official goals of the programme, others expressed that their own experiences of having a relation to a geographically distant society was the main motivator. The exchange trips that are carried out within the frames of the partnership offers personal insights in how matters as separate as elderly homes, sewage and solid waste treatment facilities, elections, schools and churches are managed. But what they also offer are opportunities to challenge the way that one regards one's own life and the context where it is lived.

David is a senior civil servant at the Town council of Bubulo who has been deeply involved in the Municipal partnership as a representative for the Town council. He was one of my most frequently engaged informants, and we discussed the partnership during many hours
in the bright red couch in his office and the numerous field trips that we made together. His account of the partnership and its activities corresponds well with the aims and purposes found in the official documents that were signed at the initiation of the partnership; small, well-aimed efforts should lead to bigger changes in the involved communities. Though David mainly emphasised the ways in which Manafwa district could profit from the partnership he, as many of the other Ugandan informants, mentioned that the partners in the municipality of Åmål could benefit from the activities that were undertaken. While these statements were generally vague, the ways in which the community of Åmål could gain from the partnership are more elaborately defined from the Swedish point of view.

Fredrik, a local politician at the municipality of Åmål, talked enthusiastically about the potential that he considered the democracy-promoting aspects of the collaboration have brought along for both involved parties. He emphasized that the more direct forms of democracy that can be found in Uganda, such as straightforward voting in the market place, could teach the Swedes something about democracy. Besides this benefit he found it hard to pinpoint the usefulness of the partnership for the Swedish party:

"When talking about the Swedish party [...] it’s much harder to come up with something concrete. Of course you grow as a person when partaking in projects like these. The profits are of a more soft character and cannot really be measured through figures. But I'm convinced that Åmål has gained just as much as Bubulo from this partnership, but that it just results in different things. I have noticed that it sometimes is hard to defend the partnership here in Åmål, but I am going to continue to do so because I believe in it! (Fredrik, 2014-08-20).

The view that it mainly is the Ugandan party that benefits from the partnership is shared by Erik, a civil servant working for the municipality of Åmål. He also stressed the necessity of well-functioning communication in order for the efforts to be useful for anyone at all:

"The projects within the partnership were mainly of advantage to the Ugandans, since we provided them with funding in order to start up projects and gain knowledge. Then the intention was that they should carry on with the projects themselves, to develop their community. The projects were planned jointly with the Ugandans, but the ideas of how the projects should develop differed within the group. Problems with communication existed both among the Ugandans and the Swedes, and between these groups. Future projects must have a more distinct division of roles and the aims of the partnership must be more clearly communicated (Erik, 2014-08-21)."

Before it was reported that the Municipal partnership would be terminated, many interviews touched upon the topic of current challenges and future projects within the partnership. At the Town Council in Bubulo I was informed that the previous activities that had dealt with matters such as
waste management, social welfare and local entrepreneurship. At the time a new project that dealt with rural development through female goat farmers was waiting to be launched. According to several civil servants that had been engaged in these projects, the major challenge so far had been to make the intended beneficiaries in the area to adapt to newly introduced practices, such as the use of home-made manure instead of industrially produced products. Another challenge was said to be to get the community engaged and to make the inhabitants feel ownership of the projects. Joan, a junior civil servant at the Town Council, blamed the capacity building focus of the partnership for the general lack of engagement in the community:

"The Swedes just talk about capacity building, but it would be better if we actually could do something when we get back home. They are always working within their time frames and they think that we are not preforming well enough. It would be better if we in the future could get actual, practical help instead of capacity building, it is a waste of money to just fly people back and forth to Sweden when nothing substantial comes out of it. We need good examples, not just ideas that are of no practical use!" (Joan, 2014-03-14).

Frustration similar to that expressed in Joan's statement was presented to me at many times during the fieldwork in Manafwa district. The impression that I got was that it was not openly communicated to the Swedish partners, but instead kept within the own group. This limitation in communication might have, as will be exemplified later in this thesis, led to disturbances within the Municipal partnership. Differing views on what matters that should be communicated between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål also came to have a prominent impact on the Friendship association that existed parallel with the partnership.

4.3 The Friendship association

As the International Red Cross committee decided that all global twinning projects between branches should be ended, the idea of a Friendship association emerged among the actors that had been involved in the former partnership. A number of persons were engaged, some of who had already been in touch through the Municipal partnership and others who were new in the context. The Friendship association's main aim was to continue to carry on community-improving projects in the same fashion as had previously been made through the Red Cross, and the main beneficiaries were intended to be exposed groups within the area. The Friendship association was formed parallel to the already existing Municipal partnership, but where the latter had its focus on capacity building...
activities the former focused on actual small-scale contributions that were funded through Swedish donations. Examples of such activities were, among others, sponsoring of school fees, funding of goats for women cooperatives and purchases of sewing machines to groups that assisted child mothers and widows. The activities of the Friendship association was handled through two management boards in Sweden and Uganda respectively that in turn were constituted by two local branches in each country. The Ugandan board has the task of identifying suitable beneficiaries and sending these suggestions to the Swedish board for approval. Funding is then allocated from the local Swedish branches to their Ugandan counterparts. Aside from the sponsoring activities Karl, who has been a member of the Swedish board, suggests that there are other benefits to the Friendship association:

"Despite the fact that we transfer some money the association is more of a social thing. I think that this is very important, that two different cultures meet and learn from each other." (Karl, 2014-08-20).

I visited the Friendship association's headquarters, situated in the trading centre of Bulambuli, which is located about two hours’ drive from Bubulo, a rainy Tuesday in late March. Two representatives for the association's board, Frank and Ritah, waited for me at the local Red Cross office where they provided me with Wellington boots and a rain coat. They were eager to take me out to visit the benefiting groups in the area to see the effects of the association's sponsoring and soon we were on our way through slippery mud roads. While seated in the back seat of the car, Frank started to talk about the association and the supported groups:

"It all started when our Red Cross branch was twinned with a Swedish one. This partnership was fruitful so the Swedes wanted to develop it even after the Red Cross ended their relation. The Friendship association was formed, with one committee in Sweden and one in Uganda, and they continued the work for social welfare. [...] Right now we're mainly working with women groups in the Bulambuli branch. They get goats, seeds and poultry. There are eleven local groups tied to the association today, but not all of these have received funding yet. We also have a project where we sponsor the school fees for poor children. I have heard that the other branch in Bubulo also has given out goats and that businesses and schools have been supported" (Frank, 2014-03-25).

During the following hour we visited five groups that had been summoned by Frank and Ritah. The rain was pouring down while they sang for us and displayed their goats. Considering the efforts that were made to show me the benefits of the Swedish funding and to emphasise how much it meant to the women, I got the impression that the Friendship association was experienced as really making a difference for the community. While it had potential to improve the conditions for individuals it was at the same time seen as something that could change general economic
I came across the view that the Friendship association was useful on both an individual and a collective level several times during my fieldwork in Manafwa district. One person that talked elaborately of how personal concerns and the public good consolidate was Edith. She is a middle aged woman who is involved in a social welfare group that has been one of the beneficiaries of the friendship association. We spent many hours together sitting in her room eating freshly roasted peanuts and drinking sweet tea while she told me about what the Association had meant for her and her community:

"When we started the group in 2008 we were fifty-six members, and today we are ninety-six. I had a vision that our group would help widows and orphans, to help them get a better life. This would help me too, since I then would have found a way to please God. I told orphans to come to us so that we could get them stationery so that they could go to school. Every member of the group has to pay 500 UGX that we use to give micro loans to the widows so that they can pay the school fees for their children. We also make handicraft items that we sell in order to get some more money to the group. We also received money to buy sewing machines that we use to train child mothers so that they can support themselves. We help widows with sowing and harvest, since many hands can do more than just two. Everything was going fine, but because of some misunderstandings the Swedish partners decided to not support us anymore. I wish that our friends would come back to us." (Edith, 2014-02-12).

Edith told me that she had big plans for the future of the group, and if the sponsoring from Sweden would be resumed she would follow her vision and open a large vocational school that could provide the community with skilled workers. She suggested that her group had inspired other fellowships in the area to successfully assist orphans, widows and child mothers. Through the collection of member fees, which now have been increased to 1000 UGX (2.5 SEK) per person and year, the accumulated resources of the group now have reached 1 million UGX. Despite this, Edith stresses that the group is in great need of Swedish support and that they are struggling to provide the community with services. The last proposal that she sent to Sweden was declined, and she decided to henceforward keep a low profile since she feel that the members of the Swedish board are not interested in her activities anymore. She felt that her group had been set aside.

4.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has described the Ugandan-Swedish activities in Manafwa district, both as they
are presented in official documents of the funding and executing organisations and through the experiences of the actors that have been taking part in them. The actors' narratives have been used in order to let the people that have been personally involved in the projects define the benefits of them to their communities. Furthermore, they have described the possibilities and challenges that they have come across in connection to inter-cultural encounters. ICLD's main aims of the Municipal partnership programme are based on the goals of the Swedish government’s policy for global development; to promote development and contribute to the improvement of people’s living conditions world-wide. The partaking actors, on the other hand, have found it harder to clearly define the benefits of the partnership. Some of the projects have resulted in tangible changes in Manafwa district, such as improved access to safe drinking water and employment for local entrepreneurs. But a majority of these projects did neither have the long term results that ICLD had stated were desirable nor those that were wished for in the documents that were signed by the Ugandan and the Swedish actors when the partnership was initiated in 2006. Most of the projects were either not functioning in the way that they were designed to do, or they had come to a total collapse. These disturbances in the Ugandan-Swedish relations were seen as concerning by both parties.

Even though the Municipal partnership was the only cluster of projects that was an outspoken partnership, the two other groups of side-projects that have been described in this thesis also speak of a wish for more than traditional donor-receiver relations. The Red Cross branch of Bubulo was twinned to that of the municipality of Åmål, and the Friendship association aims at establishing contact for cultural exchange between individuals in the two locations. Despite this, the general impression is that there are few signs of equality in these partnerships. The main purpose of the Swedish side is described as providing the projects with funding and technical solutions, instead of being a true partner that works together with the Ugandan actors in their ambition to improve their community. An even more direct example of the inequality of the partnerships is that the informants find it hard to tell how Sweden has benefited from them. No contributions, through practical efforts or ideas for change, have been directed towards the municipality of Åmål. Thus, the Municipal partnership, the Red Cross-twinning and the Friendship association all appear to be occupied with other activities than those that were originally intended.

5 Social imperialism and the 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act
The Ugandan 2014 Anti Homosexuality Act, which was signed during my stay in Manafwa district, appeared to have a widespread support among the Ugandan actors that engaged in the Municipal partnership and its side projects. Support in favour of the legislation was expressed by a majority of the informants, even though their preferred level of implementation of it varied. Furthermore, a number of informants stressed that sanctions and negative comments on the new act from foreigners were problematic. Later on, during my fieldwork in the municipality of Åmål, it became clear that almost all of the Swedish informants found, to a varying degree, the legislation as an obstacle for continued cooperation. The aim of this chapter is to present the two most frequently represented ways of viewing the anti-homosexuality legislation among the actors of the Municipal partnership. During the span of the fieldwork it became clear that some individuals shift viewpoints as conditions change, without experiencing that they are contradicting themselves. The viewpoints are flexible and are adjusted in order for the actor to be able to bring about coherence in challenging situations, but also in order to transform these situations.

The first time that I heard about the official Swedish reactions to the new Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act was one morning when I went to the well to fetch water for doing my laundry. It was still too early for the newspapers to arrive in Bubulo with the daily travellers from Mbale, and I had run out of gigabytes for my portable internet provision, so I had not been able to do my daily news check. While waiting for my 20-litre jerry can to fill up, I was approached by an elderly, limping man that I recognised from the neighbourhood:

"Mzungu! Why does your government want to decide how Africans should live? You have a lot of strange customs, you don't let men have more than one wife, but have we ever said anything about that, eh? Now you tell us that two men could live together. You just wish to turn back time to colonial times."

Right then I did not understand what this was about, but later that day I was informed that Sida had decided to hold back all aid payments directed towards the Ugandan state as a protest against the new legislation. A few weeks later I received a copy of an official letter, sent by the municipality board of Åmål and addressed to Bubulo Town Council that stated the termination of the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål. The letter stressed that the partnership had been rewarding for both parties during several years, but that future cooperation had to be refrained from due to the new anti-homosexuality legislation. The stated motivation for the decision was that the municipality did not find the legislation compatible with their view of democracy. The letter was closed with a wish for that the friendship between the parties would continue, and that cooperation would once again be possible in the future.
This action resulted in that the Anti-homosexuality Act and the international reactions upon it became a frequent matter of discussion during the remainder of the fieldwork period. Interviews carried out in Manafwa district and in the municipality of Åmål resulted in the uncovering of two main ways of regarding the Anti-homosexuality act and the impact that it might have on the Municipal partnership and its side projects. In this thesis I have chosen to discuss these two discourses under the headlines Sovereignty and the Human Rights Perspective and Agree to Disagree in order to facilitate the analysis of how the actors' experiences can be used to identify the operations of differing viewpoints. Furthermore, this division will make the determination of links to general prevailing discourses more effective.

5.1 Sovereignty and the human rights perspective

During the first interviews that followed after the Swedish reactions on the Anti-homosexuality Act, it became clear that this incident and its possible causes occupied the minds of the informants. Among the civil servants at the Town council in Bubulo, a straight-forward dismissal of homosexuality as an imported concept was repeatedly delivered and with little variation regarding the rhetoric. The termination of the Municipal partnership that followed Sida's decision to end the budget support to the Ugandan state was commonly seen as a challenge of Ugandan sovereignty and a possible manifestation of neo-colonial aspirations. Furthermore, the promoters of this discourse stressed that an absolute majority of the Ugandan citizens supported the legislation and that the Anti-homosexuality act therefore was a sign of the government's intentions to listen to the will of the people. David elaborately reflected upon the introduction of the legislation when we met a few days after the information about the Swedish government's redirection of aid had reached us. He made an effort to make me understand why the Act was needed, and to give his view on how international cooperation should be carried out without causing disturbance to the relation:

"The president was brave to sign the act. This trend of social pluralism has gone too far, it has become a form of neo-colonialism. In the globalised world it's impossible to not interact with people of other lifestyles and traditions but we should preserve our distinctive characteristics so that we don't

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As the 2014 Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act was introduced in February 2014, the Swedish government, through Sida, decided to stop the majority of the budget support to the Ugandan state. This decision remained even after the legislation had become nullified, as Sida assessed that the situation still was too uncertain. The Swedish foreign aid allocations to Uganda is now mainly distributed through civil society-organisations in the country. More information about the Swedish-Ugandan aid relations can be found at: http://www.sida.se/English/where-we-work/Africa/Uganda/Our-work-in-Uganda/.
become one big global village. We can adapt positive influences from the West to our society but leave the negative outside. Family planning for example is a good thing to incorporate, since we can't develop if we have too many children to support. That is a good thing that we have learned. But a man can't become pregnant, so the imposing of homosexuality upon our society is just destructive and a manifestation of social imperialism" (David, 2014-03-11).

Similar views were expressed by many of the officials that were interviewed during the remainder of the fieldwork. The Swedish reactions were regarded as a challenging of Ugandan sovereignty, and that they through the measures that had been taken tried to impact the national politics. Another common feature in these statements was the emphasis on that a majority of the Ugandan population was in favour of the legislation. When I asked Robert, a senior civil servant at the Town council of Bubulo, to summarise the general opinions on the redirected aid and the terminated partnership in the Town council, he proposed that the Swedish partners were overreacting:

"Europe must understand that Uganda is a sovereign state, there must be a common understanding that we have the right to live our lives as we please. Homosexuality is wrong and that's the general opinion. People are in favour of the law and have been pushing for it. Some people think that homosexuals should be rehabilitated instead of sent to jail, but they're still in favour of the law. Time will come when the Swedish will understand this. It would have been different if we were killing the gays, then I would understand if Sweden intervened, but that's not the case, is it? Look at China, Uganda's biggest trading partner! We don't like all of their laws but we acknowledge their sovereignty. The Swedish partners should really rethink their decision." (Robert, 2014-03-31).

In addition to the opinion that the Swedish actors should refrain from interference with the outline of Ugandan legislations, the officials at the Town council occasionally stressed that Sweden could learn from Uganda. Homosexuality was frequently labelled as objectively and universally wrong, and the possibility that Sweden could regard Uganda as a role model for moral development rather than pushing the reversed process was presented. While some Swedish customs were regarded as good and desirable, such as family planning and social welfare, others were rejected with the motivation that they are non-Ugandan:

"Sofia, I am going to speak frankly to you now. Honestly, homosexuality is not a good practice and shouldn't be accepted here in Uganda. [...] We have a shared responsibility for preserving moral in our community, and in the world, since this is universal human nature. Sweden is a Christian country and most things there are good, but in some aspects you should really follow Uganda. The Ugandan people are stubborn and have used their small powers to install this law, and in order for the partnership to be equal the Swedish partners must accept this. Just as you Sofia can't change the colour of your skin, being gay can't be turned into a good thing" (David, 2014-04-01).
In this statement David brings up equality within the partnership. Even though this subject was not discussed by the other informants in such a straightforward manner, the link between this statement and the general stressing of the need to keep foreign interference from Ugandan politics become visible. David is not suggesting an approach of mutual respect for differing customs, which is a standpoint that will be presented in the next section, but instead he proposes that the Swedish should learn from the Ugandans and adapt to what he considers to be universal human nature.

Many of the interviews that were carried out in Manafwa district turned out to mainly focus on the moral need of stricter Anti-homosexuality legislation, since the informants were keen to discuss its necessity both in Uganda and globally. The way in which the legislation was going to be implemented and whether the level of punishment that the Act suggested was appropriate was rarely brought up and seemed to be regarded as less important. Nevertheless, at times I came across informants who primarily wanted to discuss the implementation of the legislation. The individuals who wanted to discuss this matter were often supporting a more radical standpoint. One informant told me that if he found a man in bed with his son, he would want to kill that man immediately. He also suggested that a suitable punishment for "promoters" of homosexuality would be to throw them to the crocodiles, as he had been told was done to criminals during the regime of Idi Amin Dada. Another exception from the mainstream discussions of the moral standpoint that the legislation represents was given by Lydia, a secondary school teacher whom I interviewed in her classroom during lunch breaks. She stressed that the general public not only did ask for the Anti-homosexuality act, but also that they are concerned in their everyday lives with how foreign influences might affect them and their families:

"Many parents believe that you wazungu promote homosexuality. If a child is going to get a foreign sponsor they want to know what he thinks about homosexuality. If they have reason to believe that the sponsor is a promoter or a homosexual himself they will decline the offer" (Lydia, 2014-02-25).

Even though differing focuses, as those presented above, did occur in discussions about the Anti-Homosexuality Act, the most frequently stated benefit of the legislation was its function as a symbol for the resistance against neo-colonial tendencies and the restoration of morality within the society. A distinctive feature of the stories told in this section is that they exclusively have been told by actors in Manafwa district. The absence of Swedish accounts is due to that no one of the informants in the municipality of Ämål expressed views that stressed a need of their Ugandan counterparts' to conform to the demands of protection of the rights of

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9 Idi Amin Dada was the president or, by other definitions, dictator of Uganda between year 1971 and 1979.
10 Wazungu is the plural form of mzungu
homosexuals. Nevertheless, an uncompromising approach to how the legislation should be regarded is found in the official letter that terminated the partnership which was discussed earlier in this chapter. The message that was presented there is clear: as long as the Ugandan actors chose to accept a legislation that does not conform to the municipality's view on democracy, no further cooperation can be carried out.

5.2 Agree to Disagree

In addition to the rather uncompromising standpoint regarding how differing views on the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act should be handled that was presented in the previous section, some informants advocated for a more mediating approach. Several actors, primarily those who engaged in the side projects rather than the Municipal partnership, expressed that views on morality and suitable customs should be subordinated to the opportunities for development that the inter-cultural cooperation might bring around. An attitude that it was better to agree-to-disagree than to risk to disturb the relations was generally present. The support of the legislation was generally strong also in this group, but the focus on implementation was even weaker than among the informants whose views were presented in the previous section. It was suggested that instead as being viewed as a tool that could be used to punish those who are considered to be criminal offenders, it should be regarded as a moral compass that guides the Ugandan citizens through their choices in life. Furthermore, the feeling that foreigners actively were attempting to impose immoral behaviour on Uganda was not as prominent here as in the previous group. Edith expressed how she felt that the focus of the Ugandan-Swedish relations had gone astray, and that the partaking actors instead should focus on what really matters:

"I have known Swedish people for a long time and they have never tried to impose anything on me. Friendship and development can't be wrong, not even the president thinks so. What you read in the newspapers is only politics, not the voice of the people who really want development. We should have our mind set on development. We are not politicians, listen to us instead!" (Edith, 2014-03-21)

Even though the agree-to-disagree discourse mostly was backed by actors that personally took part in the activities of the side-projects of the Municipal partnership one senior civil servant at Manafwa district, Isaac, stood out from the crowd and joined the forgiving approach to differing views within the partnership. He stressed that even friendship is possible even between people who have different values, and that structural and individual change over time might decrease the
difference in how the Swedes and the Ugandans generally view homosexuality:

"Africa is religious, and that is not is going to change for long. Homosexuality is a delicate matter here and this is why you will hear people talking negatively about gays even if they don't support Museveni. Uganda needs time to develop, and the whole country shouldn't be punished just because our conceptions differ. I used to be very conservative and hate gays and want to hit them, but I have changed. They are born that way and I have to accept that. In the same way Uganda can change."

(Isaac, 2014-03-23).

At first this frank statement made by a prominent member of the community surprised me since the new legislation states that anything that can be seen as promotion of homosexuality is to be regarded as a criminal offence. To make this statement, that differs from the Ugandan government's official policy that homosexuality is an acquired custom, appeared to me as a risky\textsuperscript{11}. These thoughts led me to investigate what categories of persons that were targeted as promoters of homosexuality in Ugandan media\textsuperscript{12}, and it became clear that it was almost exclusively self-proclaimed LGBT-activists that were mentioned. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that sharing a forgiving view on homosexuality during an anonymised interview was not posing a threat to Isaac's safety and that he therefore felt safe to discuss the subject.

Most of the Swedish actors that I spoke to had an ambivalent feeling about the decision to terminate the partnership. The generally expressed view was that the legislation should be condemned, but some actors regarded the maintenance of the municipal partnership as more important than presenting political statements. Some of the civil servants had personally been involved in a controversy where a Ugandan youth volunteer that spent six month in the municipality of Ämål, and absconded from the group as they travelled back to Uganda. He applied for asylum in Sweden on the basis that he would be persecuted in his home country because of his sexual orientation, and this action made the Swedish civil servants aware of the difficulties that LGBT-persons face in Uganda. This example was brought up when I asked Erik about his views of the termination of the partnership:

"The longer that I have engaged in the partnership, the more complex things seem to me. I mean culturally... The Ugandan guy that chose to stay in Sweden, his family feared that they would get in trouble because he was gay. These are cultural differences that we have a hard time adjusting to since they are so far from what we are used to. So I can understand that the politicians here want to make a statement, to say that we don't accept this. But then again...the partnership is for the communities,

\textsuperscript{11} President Museveni agreed to support the legislation after a claim that scientists had found out that homosexuality is an acquired practice that can be cured. This statement has met sharp international critique since it is proven to be unscientific.

\textsuperscript{12} See footnote no. 4
why should it have to end like this” (Erik, 2014-08-21).

Several other informants in the municipality of Åmål shared Erik’s view that there were motivations linked to local politics behind the decision to terminate the partnership, and that the inhabitants of Manafwa district had to pay the price for this:

"The municipal board has not been so interested in the partnership lately, not until the news about the anti-gay law came. They wanted to do the right thing since gay rights is a hot political topic in Sweden, and therefore they followed Sida's example and withdrew. They wanted to state that they don't agree with the Ugandan government's way of viewing human rights. But why can't they proceed with projects that are not connected to the government and that make a difference to the people of the local community? Structures change slowly, as we also have seen in Sweden just some decades ago, and it will take a long time before things are changing in Manafwa. Meanwhile, if we want to continue the partnership we will have to accept the situation as it is." (Fredrik, 2014-08-20).

Fredrik proposes that instead of putting an end to the partnership, the focus should be on supporting what they see as the positive developments in Manafwa district. Structures will change over time if support is given, and there is no way to rush that process. Until then, a mediating approach to differing opinions should be practised.

5.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the two most frequently expressed discourses regarding how differing views on the 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act should be handled have been presented. The first discourse is characterised by two themes; sovereignty and human rights. The Ugandan actors that support this discourse reacts upon the Swedish interventions that followed upon the introduction of the legislation by claiming that neo-colonial aspirations were behind the protests. On the Swedish side the emphasis on human rights and the strive to not support oppressing structures lead to the termination of the partnership. Generally, this uncompromising approach was upheld by actors that were not the first hand beneficiaries of the projects but that instead was linked to them at policy level. The second discourse is a more mediating one, where an agree-to-disagree posture is applied in order to not risk chances of development. The Swedish actors that support this view regard the negative impact that a termination of the partnership would have for the inhabitants of Manafwa district as more severe than the eventual negative effect that a continued cooperation could bring. The
Ugandan actors that agree-to-disagree motivates their standpoint by saying that development always should come in the first place, and that people in their community do not care what Swedes think about homosexuals. A majority of these actors are still in favour of the legislation, but consider its main function to be a moral compass rather than a tool for punishment.

Initially, I was concerned that the Ugandan actors that supported the uncompromising discourse mainly did so since anything that might be seen as promotion of homosexuality is a criminal offence. But after finding out that it was likely to take more than a mediating standpoint to questions linked to homosexuality to get arrested, I had to come to terms with that the views were consolidated parts of these persons' lives. Nevertheless, the discourse leaves space for individual adaptations of the standpoint that makes it possible to fit it into the context where one is living. An example of this is how one informant in this chapter says that he would kill any man that was found in his son's bed. Since he does not say that he also would kill his son for engaging in homosexual activities, he manages to keep up a distance and preserve the picture of homosexuality as something imported and "un-Ugandan".
6 Accountability, transparency and corruption

In this chapter experiences of accountability, transparency and corruption within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects will be explored. Two distinct viewpoints came to dominate the discussions on the topic of corruption during interviews. The first one states that corruptive behaviour is a cultural peculiarity. The second one claims that it is a symptom of widespread poverty within a community. These two discourses, building on the narratives of the informants, will be reviewed and analysed below before they are linked to discursive explanations of corruption and accountability in the respective communities.

A majority of the people that I encountered during my time in the two field sites shared the opinion that corruptive behaviour was occurring at all levels of the Ugandan society. Corruption was in this context generally defined as different ways of mishandling money in order to profit, or as ways to manipulate social positions in order to gain power. The official relation between the Ugandan and the Swedish state has previously been disturbed by a scandal where Swedish aid funding was misappropriated. This resulted in a change towards a more conditioned aid, where Sweden avoids all unnecessary transfers of aid money to the Ugandan government\(^{13}\), which inevitably affected the ways that the involved actors regarded matters of corruption within the Municipal partnership and its side projects. The aim of this chapter is to give a supplementing example of how inter-cultural interaction linked to the matter of corruption is experienced, explained and utilised within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects.

Prior to my fieldwork in Manafwa district I received a copy of an e-mail from a civil servant at the municipality of Åmål that he had sent to a college one year earlier. The correspondence described how a woman had come to see the sender at his hotel in Mbale in order to apologise for that she had felt obliged to lie to him during their previous meetings. She said that she had received instructions from a board member of what she should tell him, and if she did not obey the money that she had been promised to her project would not be given to her. Time had passed, and she had still not received the funding. She also told the civil servant that a member had been unrighteously dismissed from the Red Cross board since one of the other members considered him to be too

\(^{13}\) In October 2012 a major corruption scandal, where approximately 45 million SEK (~ 17.3 billion UGX) was reclaimed by the Swedish government, led to the cancellation of all transfers of aid money to Uganda. The payments were resumed when the money was repaid, but Sweden now avoids to give budget support to the state and instead directs its efforts towards the civil society. More information about the scandal and the suspended aid can be found at [http://www.sida.se/English/where-we-work/Africa/Uganda/Our-work-in-Uganda/](http://www.sida.se/English/where-we-work/Africa/Uganda/Our-work-in-Uganda/)
honest and therefore a threat to the continuation of his corruptive behaviour.

The correspondence is concluded by remarks that contain both elements of disappointment over the fact that the official co-operation is not working out as planned, and personal feelings of betrayal towards actors that he had established relations with. Corruption, as will be shown in the sections below, has caused disturbances to the Ugandan-Swedish partnership and the side-projects from the very beginning, and some informants suggest that corruption has caused severe disturbances to the Municipal partnership.

6.1 Corruption and culture

A number of the engaged actors that were interviewed during the fieldwork in the municipality of Åmål shared the view that corruption within the Ugandan-Swedish relations had come about because of cultural difference between the two groups. Corruption was mentioned as a general problem in Uganda, where Manafwa district was no exception, and the experiences that these informants had of what they saw as culturally rooted behaviours was regarded as a severe problem. Karl told me of a specific series of incidents, related to the Friendship association that involved politicians in Manafwa district. He did elaborately talk about the actions of one particular Ugandan actor that he before the disturbances had had a close relation to:

"[...] He was much involved in the corruption and became somewhat of a scapegoat in this. I have warned everyone in Bubulo about him and I think that he is excluded from most contexts, even the politics. He knew everything about available resources, and used that knowledge for his own profit. He shouldn't have misappropriated money from Sweden, he should have known that I would get him [...] I haven't caught anyone else stealing money, but who knows? One of the highest district politicians is involved in corrupt behaviour but no one dares to bring him down. He is the President's corrupt lieutenant. This can carry on because the control systems are non-existent in the country and this behaviour has therefore become incorporated in the culture." (Karl, 2014-08-20).

In this first example of how cultural characteristics are said to be causing corruptive behaviour within one of the Municipal partnerships side-projects, it might initially seem like Karl is explaining the occurrence of corruption on one individual's actions. But then he turns to the explanation that he was able to do so since it was enabled by the culture of the Ugandan society. This change of focus from independent decisions to general societal structures was also present when Erik discussed the same politician:
"Tribal hierarchies in the area have caused some trouble to the partnership. People overlooked his corrupt behaviour because of these ideas about his chieftaincy. Everyone lowers their voices when his name is mentioned…" (Erik, 2014-01-07).

This explanatory model, that interprets the occurrence of corruption in the Ugandan-Swedish relations as enabled by a lack of hindering mechanisms in the society, was also proposed by several actors in Manafwa district. During the fieldwork I was presented with stories of how information was kept away from those who had the right to take part in it, how rules and fake protocols were set up without approval from designated board members and how money and other benefits were relocated to the families of certain actors. When these practices became known to the Swedish partners, serious disturbances arose. Edith explained to me that this behaviour, as unwanted as it ever was by herself and other honest members of the Friendship association, was a characteristic of Ugandan culture:

"The Swedes did not understand that this is what people with power do here in if they get the chance, they eat money."(Edith, 2014-02-12)

Godfrey, who had been engaged in the Ugandan-Swedish activities for many years and at one occasion been accused of pocketing money from the Friendship association, expressed views that were similar to Edith's, and further emphasised the impact that he considered that cultural difference had had on the cooperation within the Friendship association:

"We Africans are bad at organising things. This is very different from how things are in Europe, the culture is different, and it sometimes has the result that toes are stepped on. They [the members of the Ugandan branch of the board] are not used to strictness, so they think that they can do what they want. Money ended up in the wrong pockets because people are allowed to be irresponsible."(Godfrey, 2014-02-20).

The Red Cross-related projects were also affected by corruption, and cultural difference was by some informants presented as the cause of it. Paul, who had been a member of the original board of the Red Cross-related entrepreneur centre in Bubulo, described his rather dejected approach to the corruption in the community when telling me about the circumstances that lead to the end of his engagement:

"Everything worked just fine for the first six months, but after that the Red Cross took the upper hand of the project. They incorporated the entrepreneur centre into their business. This created friction and disagreements, and the Swedes decided to elect a new management group. The board was put together, but then nothing happened. People were complaining: "Why should I show up to this meeting if no one else does?" Poor time management and structuring is a disease in Africa, and people hungry for power use this in order to get something for themselves. Other original board
members were excluded in a subtle way. The lines of communication to Sweden were cut. This is what it always has been like, it is like we Ugandans can't keep to the rules" (John, 2014-03-23).

A majority of the Swedish actors saw corruption as a severe obstacle to continued cooperation. Erik summarised this general view, and added that in order for the Municipal partnership to be able to continue it would be crucial to make sure that roles within the partnership are divided with respect to the cultural context where the partnership is operating:

"One must demand responsibility and commitment. Evaluations must be made, and structure needs to be in place in order for the short exchange visits to work out well. We need to have knowledge about local conditions and culture, and to not accept corrupt behaviours such as favouritism within families as it has been a problem at the Ugandan side. They shaped up after we sent a sharply formulated letter, but we still have to be observant of how things are proceeding. We need to know what is going on over there even when we are not physically there" (Erik, 2014-08-21).

Erik's suggestion of a solution characterised by increased transparency within the partnership, and supervision carried out by the Swedish partners in order for "local conditions and culture" to not negatively affect the partnership, was in a similar fashion suggested by Isaac during one of our meetings in Bubulo. He proposed that practices of transparency might differ between Ugandans and Swedes, and that what he saw as the Swedish model therefore should be followed:

"Swedes are sincere and open, they don't keep secrets. This is something that we should learn from, it would reduce corruption in our society. This is good moral; even though you're not very religious, you're sincere and I prefer this before the other way around." (Isaac, 2014-03-23).

Another example where cultural difference was pointed out as the cause of lack of transparency was presented by Maria, a junior civil servant at the municipality of Åmål, who has been involved in relations with Manafwa district through several projects. She claimed that corruptive behaviour came hand in hand with inability to maintain a functioning level of communication, and that both these phenomena might derive from cultural peculiarities:

"We had been told about the recent problems with corruption within the projects and I myself have felt that people sometimes want to get as much as possible for themselves, to grab what they can get. This made me feel less motivated to remind and nag about deadlines for when the latest project application had to be sent from Uganda to us, and this resulted in that it came to us too late. Both time keeping and accuracy with handling common resources seem to be a problem over there, it's like it's a cultural thing that people share." (Maria, 2014-08-20).

The explanatory model that has been presented in this section focuses on a structure-oriented explanation to corruptive behaviour that, even though individual actions are not completely ignored, does not pay much attention to personal motivations for engaging in such activities. The Ugandan
and the Swedish informants alike certainly talk of personal profit and longing for power as motivators, but their narratives mainly focus on the lack of regulating structures within their communities and the acceptance of corruptive behaviour within Ugandan culture which together enables corruption. This distinctiveness of the focus that concerns culture as a cause will become clearer after the review of the narratives in the following section.

6.2 Corruption and poverty

In the previous section Edith gave her view on how cultural difference between the Ugandan and the Swedish actors caused disturbances within the Friendship association. But in addition to this, she was the one who introduced me to the view that corruption is a symptom of widespread poverty. As proposed in the introduction of this chapter, these two statements do not have to be regarded as contradictory, but instead as signs of how complex and flexible a person's world view can be. Edith presents both cultural and individual motivators as possible explanations, and claims that poverty spoils public morals:

"Many people here do immoral things so that they can get some little money. I have tried to explain this to Karl but he doesn't understand. Many people here are bad because they think that eating money is the only way to get along but I know better. I know that Manafwa can change, but people here are still poor and ignorant and the Swedish friends have to understand this." (Edith, 2014-02-19)

Other informants who are likely to have experiences that differ from Edith’s, presented a more clear-cut understanding of poverty as the cause of corruption. When discussing the collapse of the activities at the Red Cross-related entrepreneur centre and its library with Irene, she pointed out poverty as the main reason for why corruptive behaviour arose in that specific context:

"Volunteering is so common here in Uganda, it is almost impossible to get an employment if you don't first work for free to improve your skills. It was unpaid volunteers that started to take books from the library to sell them. They felt that it was unfair that they should work for free and therefore they took the books to provide for themselves. They used it to pay for food and for their studies. Unfortunately that's common in our society where people are too poor to have a long-term perspective. (Irene, 2014-03-13).

The idea that volunteering is problematic since people need to find ways to support themselves, was shared by George, a member of the board of the Red Cross branch in Bubulo:

"If people are not paid you can never trust them. I told them, the Swedish, that true volunteering
should come from the heart and from the will to help the community but people here are too poor to reason that way. That is why we have to employ staff in order to get things to work. I feel like the officials have been talking above our heads and that they didn't let us, we who have the knowledge, make the decisions." (George, 2014-03-12).

In these two accounts poverty and insufficient possibilities of providing for oneself collide with a general expectation within the community that people should work for free in order to later on achieve a paid employment. It is also suggested that the Swedish actors that engage in the projects might not take this circumstance into account when drawing up the frames for the activities. According to this explanatory model corruptive behaviour can be explained solely by the lack of other alternatives for the members of the community to provide for themselves, as poverty is such a prominent factor in the lives of many people in Manafwa district.

6.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, two viewpoints on why corruption has been present within the Municipal partnership and its side projects have been presented. The first discourse states that corruption is a part of Ugandan culture. Although feelings of anger and betrayal are directed towards corrupt individuals, it is the prevailing societal structures that are regarded as the actual cause. The lack of hindering mechanisms within the culture is said to lead people astray. The model is supported by both Swedish and Ugandan actors, and the suggested solution to the experienced problem is to introduce procedures of transparency and more rigorous supervision of the projects by the Swedish partners. The second model states that corruption is a symptom of wide-spread but individual poverty, rather than a structural problem. Poor individuals do whatever is needed to provide for themselves and their families, and therefore take part in corruptive behaviour. This viewpoint is mainly offered by persons who experience corruption in their everyday life, while the first one is upheld by individuals that have a distance to corruption and who do not regard it as a prominent feature of their lives.

In the narratives presented in this chapter, one example has been given on how a flexible approach to the viewpoints can be used in order to bring about coherence and to avoid disturbances. Edith is alternating between explaining corruption as a structural and an individual problem, and manages through that to criticise certain persons that have been involved in the Ugandan-Swedish activities while avoiding marking out the inhabitants of Manafwa district as generally unreliable. By
doing this she shows how desirable cultural peculiarities, such as a collective wish to change the community to the better, can be embraced while a distance is put up to features which she do not wish to be associated to.
7 Inter-cultural encounters

In this chapter the inter-cultural encounters within the Municipal partnership will be analysed, based upon the discussion of cultural difference in development and the tools that were presented in the theoretical framework. The way that cultural difference is experienced, expressed and utilised through everyday practice will then be linked to general discourses in Uganda and in Sweden.

7.1 Cultural difference in development

When Ugandan and Swedish culture intersect, different normative conceptions collide. In the case of the 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality act, these normative approaches can be summarised under two focuses; the protection of sovereignty and resistance to social imperialism, and the advocacy for human rights. When this collision takes place, both Ugandan and Swedish actors regard any disagreements that might arise as the product of cultural difference. Regardless of if the actors support an uncompromising discourse, which states that the values of one's standpoint must be protected at all costs, or a more mediating one, where the actors agree-to-disagree on how to regard the Anti-homosexuality legislation in favour of development, conceptions of universal truths pervade their life-worlds. Similarly, culture is by one group of informants said to be the cause of corruption within the partnership. As this claim is followed by undisputed assumptions that corruption is something that is inherently present in Uganda, but not in Sweden, statements of universal truths can once again be said to be at work. The second explanatory model that has been presented in the review of experiences of corruption, which is based on the view that corruptive behaviour is a symptom of widespread poverty, also goes along with the thought that corruption is universally bad and that it needs to be fought against. Although this model has a less deterministic approach to future occurrences of corruption within the partnership, its upholders agree that processes of transparency that are monitored by the Swedish actors are the correct measures to take.

The impact of claimed universal truths is important to include in discussions on communication in situations of inter-cultural encounters, since these truths are involved in the process of setting the frames of interaction. One way in which the claimed truths affect the frames of interaction in development is when they enable a ranking of knowledge systems. When the introduction of the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act caused disturbances to the partnership, the frames
of interaction were not openly discussed. Instead, Ugandan and Swedish actors alike limited their critiques of their counterpart's actions to be pronounced within the own group, and followed the previously set up rules of interaction when addressing their foreign partners. Such rules are based on international development discourse where Western knowledge systems are ranked higher than those of the communities where development is initiated (van der Ploeg, 1989:145). In the case of the Anti-homosexuality act this ranking is manifested through a lack of discussion throughout the statements made by the informants of why the view of homosexuality in general and the legislation in particular differs between the Ugandan and the Swedish actors. The frequently represented forgiving attitude among the Ugandan actors towards their counterpart's differing opinions indicates that the Western knowledge system is allowed to dictate the rules of inter-cultural interaction. Furthermore, while condemning it in private discussions, the Ugandan actors do not officially question the Swedish decision to terminate the Municipal partnership which is yet another indicator of the fact that the rules of interaction are previously set up with a Western knowledge system as norm. I will suggest that these practices are based upon an attempt to bring around coherence in situations where individual comprehensions collide and decisions have to be made in order to maintain stable inter-cultural relations.

When the Ugandan and the Swedish actors explain corruptive behaviour within the Municipal partnership and its side projects, the predefined frames that eliminate the possibility to come up with alternatives are again made visible. Only two discourses are sanctioned; the one that claims that corruption derives from cultural peculiarities, and the one that says that it is a symptom of poverty. The presented stories have little variation in their disposition and choice of words, which indicates that a silent agreement has been made in order to avoid disruptions in the partnership. This agreement contains a ranking of knowledge systems, where the system that is associated with the Swedish actors is elevated over that upheld by their Ugandan counterparts. That the Western knowledge system is regarded as a compilation of objective truths is indicated through the fact that no one of the partaking informants ever motivated why corruption is wrong. Furthermore, it is generally expressed that the Swedish actors possess qualities that help them refrain from corruptive behaviour. Actors from both groups stress that increased routines for monitoring and transparency, directed by the Swedish actors, is the solution to end corruption within the partnership and its side projects. The possibility that corruption could exist in Sweden as well is never discussed, to the extent that it is not mentioned with one word during the research period. This makes it reasonable to suggest that according to the Swedish knowledge system, corruption is categorised as something non-Swedish, regardless of its causes. The Swedish informants take an uncompromising approach
to corruption as something objectively bad and claim that promotion of transparency processes and increased Swedish supervision is an objectively reasonable solution to the problem.

The social configuration (Arce, 1989:18 f), or the accumulated experiences of an individual, is both central to the involved actors' understanding of occurrences that take place in situations of interaction and for their ability to impact these activities. Variations in experiences can be noticed among actors within the same group as well as in between them, and the social configurations become valuable to the understanding of the Swedish-Ugandan disagreements when they become collectively shared. In the narratives where the informants' views on the Anti-homosexuality legislation are discussed, examples of concern of how inter-cultural relations could increase the promotion of homosexuality in Uganda is expressed. By connecting globalisation with an increased presence of homosexuality, one general shared understanding among the Ugandan actors is that homosexuality is something imposed from abroad. A majority of the expressed social configurations of the Swedish actors are characterised by the notion that Uganda has to follow the same course of development that Sweden already has been undertaking in order to become a tolerant society. These two sets of collectively shared social configurations contribute to the fact that certain discourses on how to relate to the concept of homosexuality can be maintained within their respective communities, where they inevitably will have impact on the inter-cultural encounters.

Differing social configurations within one community can help explain the emergence of the two viewpoints that are used when discussing corruption within the partnership and its side projects. The claim that corruption emerges from cultural peculiarities is more frequently presented by individuals who do not stay permanently within the physical setting where corruption takes place, and by those who wish to spread an image of themselves as not partaking in such activities. One examples of this is how Karl explains the emergence of corruption by saying that it has become incorporated in the local culture. Another example is how Godfrey, who has been accused of pocketing money from the Friendship association, wishes to put up a distance to these behaviours by saying that Africans do things in a different way than Europeans. By claiming that corruption is a cultural, and therefore collective, problem one can find ways to reach coherence and protect oneself from personal allegations. Those who on the other hand have close experience with corruption, but no pronounced allegations to answer for themselves, are more prone to explain corruption as a side-effect of widespread poverty that drives individuals to desperate actions. An example that shows this is when George, to some extent, takes the volunteers that had been stealing from the Red Cross-related projects into defence by claiming that they had no choice due to poverty.

When social configurations are collectively shared, life-worlds are constructed. These life-
worlds will inevitably affect how the involved actors regard the partnership and their assigned roles within it (Long & Villarreal, 1989: 110ff). Life-worlds are used by actors to position themselves within situations of inter-cultural encounters, so that particular situations correspond to their experienced lives in a coherent way. Since life-worlds are utilised by the actors when they are positioning themselves within discussions concerning the Anti-homosexuality act in order to reach coherence, they also contribute to the creation and enforcement of hierarchies within the partnership. A direct way to create consensus between different aspects of one's life is, in this case, to embrace an uncompromising discourse, as David shows through his reflections on the Anti-homosexuality Act. He forcefully speaks out against what he calls a destructive imposing of homosexuality on the Ugandan society, and makes clear that the country's sovereignty is not negotiable. He then supports his arguments by saying that the Ugandan people unanimously back the legislation. Since this view turned out to be shared by many of the Ugandan actors, it is clear that this is a manifestation of how social configurations are being collectivised into life-worlds.

A life-world in which all Ugandans stand behind the Anti-homosexuality act brings around coherence to those who wish to see themselves as part of a strong and united community that fights back neo-colonial oppression. By extension, the uncompromising vindication of homosexuality as a universal wrong is manifested in David's claim that Sweden should learn from Uganda. Alternatively, coherence can also be reached through the second, more mediating, agree-to-disagree standpoint. Despite the fact that this discourse demands a bigger effort in order to get individual experiences to match up with actual activities, several informants choose it. Feelings of autonomy and control can be preserved for both the Ugandan and the Swedish actors through a process of pick-and-choose, where aspects to object to and to overlook are selected. In this case, the process involves the promotion of certain values or habits of the counterpart's culture, which is shown in the Ugandan emphasis on the value of the inter-cultural relation and the Swedish acknowledgement of positive trends in Manafwa district.

The impact of life-worlds on the discussions on corruption within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects can be seen in the emergence of two viewpoints regarding why corruptive behaviour remains present. The first explanatory model argues that corruptive behaviour is present at all levels of society through enabling cultural structures. The second one claims that corruption is an individual expression of poverty. This shows how differing individual experiences can evolve into contextually adapted micro-discourses within the social interface, as well as the dawn of contrasting life worlds from which the actors position themselves towards the other group in order to create a coherent picture. When these life-worlds are incorporated well enough and used in the
inter-cultural communication, they become the building blocks of overall discourses of corruption.

7.2 Friction

The Ugandan-Swedish interaction that is carried out on the topic of Anti-homosexuality legislation initiate processes that will impact future cooperation, regardless of how friction-free and uncomplicated the relation may seem in official documents. In a context where conflicting opinions and values exist, the provocation of chain reactions due to friction at the places of cultural intersection is inevitable. These chain reactions are what Lowenhaupt Tsing (2005) describes as social change trough friction, and can be used to define development. When claims of how cultural difference causes disagreements regarding how the legislation should be approached are pronounced, it is the experiences of colliding life-worlds that are verbalised. Social change, or in other words "development" according to a non-normative definition, will not come about without the friction that conflicting life-worlds brings. The claimed culturally specific comprehensions should therefore be regarded as a co-production of the Ugandan and the Swedish actors. Since the social configurations of each individual and their collectively upheld life-worlds of the two parties are constantly changing, the processes that are initiated through friction result in new motivations for certain ways of regarding the legislation. The complex, collective creation of these motivations, as presented in the Agree-to-disagree discourse, shows how flexibility and re-negotiations are used in the inter-cultural communication.

The official standpoint of the municipality of Åmål, as shown in chapter five, includes the view that oppression of LGBT-persons is universally wrong and that it hinders development. Isaac, the civil servant of Manafwa district, also joins this discourse when stating that he has changed into a better person when he stopped hating homosexuals. Statements of universality, like that of the objectively wrong in oppression, are not objective truths though they often are presented as such (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005:7ff). Instead, they are cognitive tools often used by actors in order to gain influence. The Ugandan and the Swedish side alike use claims of universality when motivating their actions and opinions on the legislation, as well as when pointing out their counterparts as controlled by their own culture. Claims of universality open up for the Ugandan actors to step outside the basic hierarchic disposition and instead reclaim feelings of empowerment by incorporating these figures into their own arguments. In a similar way, the two prevailing explanations to corruption within the Municipal partnership and its side projects are created collectively by the Ugandan and the Swedish
actors during the inter-cultural encounter. If this situation of colliding life-worlds, with their accompanying differing explanations to the cause of corruption, would not have taken place the process which resulted in increased demands on transparency and supervision would not have emerged. If friction would not have occurred, no discussion on the existence of corruption in the respective cultures would have been carried out.

7.3 Meta code and cultural code

Despite the fact that the official directions of the Municipal partnership state that both parties should have the same chances of influencing its activities, the power imbalance that Western hegemony, which includes the elevation of Western knowledge systems over others, cannot be ignored. The ways in which the informants in Manafwa district are trying to discourage this imbalance are often ingenious and sometimes successful, but ultimately the Swedish viewpoint will determine which direction the partnership will take. One aspect that enables the preservation of Western hegemony is that several Ugandan actors officially support the upholding of this world view, as Isaac does when stating that Sweden as a country has reached a certain level of development that Uganda yet has to strive for. It has been suggested that similar situations arise due to a distinction between developed and underdeveloped countries that are being made by the actors that partake in development. The individuals of the group that are attributed with the latter epithet will inevitably find themselves in a weaker position due to prevailing discourses linked to development (Rottenburg, 2009, p xii ff).

Rules concerning what topics that can be discussed within the Municipal partnership and its side projects in relation to the Ugandan anti-gay legislation are regulated through the meta code. The code is to be regarded as a non-verbalised code of conduct that all involved actors are supposed to conform to, and it secures that the division of roles within the partnership that is predefined by the Western hegemony remains unchallenged. If this code of conduct were not strictly followed by all individuals that engage in the activities of the partnership, cooperation would be hard and the disagreements many (Rottenburg, 2009: xxix ff). That no one of the senior civil servants that represented Manafwa district and Bubulo delivered any official complaints concerning the termination of the partnership, though they forcefully claimed that their Swedish counterparts did wrong when interfering with Uganda's sovereignty and community morals, is an indication that the Ugandan actors also acknowledge the agreement to follow the rules of the meta code. The
interaction that is linked to the matter of corruption within the partnership is also heavily influenced by Western hegemony and its accompanying claims of universal truths. Within the frames of this meta code it is stated that corruption does exist in Uganda but not in Sweden, and that these unwanted activities should be fought through the introduction of transparency and processes of accountability. The first claim is made visible through the fact that corruption is straightforwardly presented as an aspect of Ugandan culture, while not mentioned in relation to Sweden. The second claim is exemplified by statements on what actions that are considered necessary to take in order for the partnership to be able to continue.

The cultural code (Rottenburg, 2009: xxix ff), that is supplementing the meta code, is used by the Ugandan and the Swedish parties to explain their counterparts’ actions as culturally specific. This explanation is not used in the interaction between the groups or in any official documents, but is exclusively kept within the own group. When discussing the activities that surround the Anti-homosexuality Act, David proposes that the foreigners are trying to hide their imperialist agenda behind claims of support for human rights. This view is not communicated to the Swedish counterpart, and is therefore to be regarded as an expression of cultural code. The praxis of using this supplementing code is maintained in order for the actors to be able to position themselves while determining their roles within the inter-cultural encounter. This does not always entail that the counterpart’s ascribed cultural peculiarities are devalued while the own group's is elevated, as seen when David praises Swedish family planning and shared workload in the household. In any case, the most common way of creating coherence through the use of cultural code in this case is to, within the own group, agree upon that the members of the other group are oriented by their culture. In the case of the corruptive behaviour within the partnership, the use of the cultural code is exemplified through discussions of the two viewpoints. In the first model, where it is stated that corruption is incorporated in Ugandan culture, the cultural code shines through when Swedish actors initially express their discontent regarding how individuals are behaving, but then explain away their behaviour as culturally invoked. The Swedish narratives on corruption in chapter six contain several examples of how corruption within the partnership is mainly seen as caused by local structures that influence actors to engage in it. When using the cultural code in order to communicate within their group, the informants turn the concept of culture into a tool that helps them explain how the experienced betrayal could have come to be. The cultural code used by the Ugandan actors, on the other hand, states that Swedish culture entails that its upholders are quick to take offence and that they punish a whole community for the actions of one individual.

Meta and cultural code can never be mixed as this would bring incoherence and disturbance
to the cooperation, but used in a deliberate way the switching of codes can help to create coherence while maintaining stable inter-cultural relations. The fact that actors from both groups are able to skilfully shift between meta and cultural code when discussing the impact of the Anti-homosexuality Act on the partnership is clearly shown when comparing official statements, such as the terminating letter from the municipality of Åmål and Manafwa district's lack of reaction to it. The use of this skill helps to avoid a total collapse of the partnership while coherence and control of one's own situation can be maintained within one's own group. In order to make the alternating more efficient, the informants shift between an official and an unofficial script while interacting.

One version of the first category of scripts, which was presented during the Swedish part of the fieldwork, submits that there is an objective truth that is carried through the knowledge system of the Swedish party, and that implies that the municipality of Åmål's decision to cancel the partnership is motivated by the aim to advocate for human rights. The other side of the official script that was presented during the Ugandan part of the fieldwork contains a claimed objective truth of Swedish social imperialism. That the first version of the official script in situations of inter-cultural encounters within the partnership is the most powerful one is once again shown through the lack of response from the actors of Manafwa district upon the termination of the partnership. To claim that the knowledge system which explains the breach in co-operation as a sign of Swedish social imperialism is the true one would entail serious disturbances to further communication, since the code of conduct that had been agreed upon through the meta code would have been infringed. Furthermore, two different versions of an unofficial script, in which the different groups outside the inter-cultural encounter claim that their counterpart is only mimicking and reproducing statements that fit well into the interactive situation, but in fact have a culturally specific motivation behind them, appears in the informants stories (Rottenburg, 2009, p 198). As seen in statements presented by Lydia and David, one unofficial script within the Ugandan group of actors would be that Swedes are immoral and at times even might want to seduce members of the community into homosexuality. A Swedish unofficial script would be, following Fredrik's statement that structures are changing slowly in Manafwa district, that Ugandan reluctance to accept homosexuality is sign a of underdevelopment.

The official script shared by the Ugandan and the Swedish actors in discussions of corruption states that there is an agreement that the parties will work together to, through the introduction of processes of transparency, eliminate corruption regardless of its causes. The unofficial scripts that are linked to the cultural code however present alternative understandings of the situation. As shown in Erik's statement concerning the measures to be taken with regards to the partnership, there
is a withheld opinion that successful elimination of corruption within the partnership can only be achieved if a higher level of supervision performed by Swedish representatives is imposed. This is accompanied by the assumption that the Ugandan actors are not as eager to follow the plan set out in the official script as they officially claim. In the same manner, the most common representation of the Ugandan unofficial script states that the Swedish counterparts are quick to take offence and easily affected by disturbances in their personal relations, and that the blame that is put on general Ugandan structures is merely a way to cover this up. Edith summarises this by stating that the Swedish partners lack understanding of the context, and that they are unwilling to assimilate the information that is presented to them.

The parallel application of meta code and cultural code, as well as of an official and an unofficial script, is beneficial for all involved actors since this practice combines ways of coherence-making and maintenance of control with possibilities of continued co-operation. By alternating between different viewpoints on the basis on the context where they are expressed, motivations are being customised in a way that both parties can profit from. This applies to all levels within the Municipal partnership and it side projects, as well as to general political processes, as will be exemplified in the next section.

7.4 Discursive psychology

In this section, examples will be given on how links between the experiences that have been presented through the informants’ narratives and general discourses in Uganda and Sweden can be identified. First, two examples of discourses linked to the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act will be discussed. The examples are collected from political statements made in respective country, and have been chosen since they are representative for the mainstream debates on the topic. Secondly, two extracts from editorials in a Ugandan and a Swedish newspaper will be analysed. They both discuss ways of relating to corruption in Uganda, and are both representing mainstream debates on corruption and development. The aim of this supplementing discussion is to show how understanding of discourses tied to the Anti-homosexuality legislation and to corruption can bridge the gap between individual practices and ideological processes.
7.4.1 Discourses of a threatened sovereignty and human rights

Discursive explanations to foreign objections to the anti-homosexuality legislation as a way of practising social imperialism have been shared by many prominent representatives of the Ugandan state. A statement that received particular international attention was made by the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament as she replied to criticism posted by a Canadian delegate at an international meeting:

"When we came for this Assembly, to which we were invited, we expected respect for our sovereignty, our values and our country. I, therefore on behalf of the Ugandan delegation, and indeed the people of Uganda, protest in the strongest terms the arrogance exhibited by the Foreign Minister of Canada, who spent most of his time attacking Uganda and promoting homosexuality… Let me clarify that as a Speaker of Parliament, it is my responsibility to protect the rights of Members of Parliament, hence I cannot deny them the right to move Private Members Bills … Mr President, if homosexuality is a value for the people of Canada, they should not seek to force Uganda to embrace it. We are not a colony or protectorate of Canada. The subject under discussion is ‘Citizenship, Identity and Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in a Globalised World’. Please stick to it. Please respect our sovereign rights, our cultural values and societal norms". (Kadaga, 2012, in Nyanzi & Karamagi, 2015).

In this statement several rhetoric figures that are frequently occurring in the Ugandan public debate on Anti-homosexuality legislation are used. In this section focus will lie on two of these, namely the one that claims that the people of Uganda unanimously stand behind the legislation, and the one that forcefully emphasises Uganda's sovereign right to protect its values and norms.

The statement made by the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament contains a claim of an universal, objective truth that all Ugandans are backing, namely that homosexuality is wrong and that the legislation therefore is needed. Furthermore, the statement argues that foreign countries pose a threat to Ugandan culture, and that this threat has to be fought back in order for Ugandans to not become victims of neo-colonialism. In order to get a full and fair picture of the rise and development of this particular standpoint, a thorough study of Uganda's socio-political history would be needed, but due to the limitations of this thesis such a review is not feasible. Thus this analysis has to settle for the actuality that a concept of truth that acknowledges a total Ugandan support for the legislation and that the reality of a neo-colonial threat is indisputable. According to discursive psychology, as it is used by Wetherell and Potter (1992), this proclamation of objective truths is inevitably a product of the accumulated experiences of its architects and becomes a collective discourse when shared with others. Since it is impossible for the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament to step outside and distance
herself from the discourses that continuously affect her while she, through her actions, reshapes the statement is to be regarded as an attempt to create coherence within a situation of inter-cultural encounters where differing world views collide.

Since discursive psychology mainly focuses on how discourses are used by individuals or groups in order to achieve certain results, rather than on how discourses affect the actors that are surrounded by it, it is relevant to note how the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament follows the rules of the discourse in order not to challenge rhetoric figures that at the moment when the statement was made had become widely spread and used. By turning to a limited set of phrases linked to homosexuality and to sovereignty, she helps preserve a collective coherence regarding these matters and strengthens the bonds within a group of like-minded. When presenting the statement in public, as done at the international meeting in this example, the previously limited discourse is used as a political tool and then, according to Wetherell’s and Potters definition, becomes ideology (Winter-Jörgensen & Phillips, 2008, p 108 ff).

The rhetoric figures linked to the general popularity of the 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act and to an experienced threat against Ugandan sovereignty in the political statement that constitutes this first example are also found, presented in similar terms, in the stories of the informants who have been engaging in this study. Robert, Lydia and Isaac all expressed the view that the legislation is backed by a majority, or at least by many, of the Ugandan citizens. Furthermore David forcefully states that the international interventions that have followed the legislation are symptoms of social imperialism. This occurrence of a constantly repeated rhetoric on local as well as high political level attests that discourse is not exclusively present at either structural or individual level, but that it instead is a complex exchange of experiences and ambitions that travels between all different levels of society as people are trying to find coherence in their world views and to motivate their personal striving toward change.

The second example of coherence-making in a political statement is taken from an official document presented by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, where the Swedish Government's approach to human rights within the country's foreign policy is accounted for:

"Sweden shall be a clear voice globally for Human Rights. The Government is increasing its ambitions in this area, and will take action bilaterally, through the European Union (the EU), and multilaterally in order for the Human Rights to become implemented and fully observed in all countries of the world. Sweden shall react against oppression and abuse, prevent discrimination and
contribute to the strengthening of other countries' capacities to respect the Human Rights.\textsuperscript{14} (Utrikesdepartementet, 2008).

The extract above contains a clear positioning of Sweden as an important global actor, and states that the country has to make sure that human rights are protected within other states globally. In this section, the operations of this self-proclaimed task will be examined with the starting point in the claim that Sweden has to counteract oppression outside the country's border and that it has the capacity to help other countries improve concerning their respect of human rights. Unlike the first example, this second one has no pronounced architect but is instead produced by anonymous civil servants at the Ministry for Foreign affairs on behalf of the Swedish Government. However, the text aims at presenting a political standpoint just like the first example, and the terms that constitute it corresponds well to those brought forward by both the Swedish informants in this study and in the mainstreamed contemporary political debate where the conditioning of foreign relations has become standardised (cf. Regeringskansliet, 2015).

In the official document that the quote in this example is collected from there is no actual motivation for why the implementation of human rights is important. This indicates that the knowledge system within which the statement was produced holds the claimed truth of the observance of human rights as something objectively good. The architects' accumulated experiences that constitute their world view enables such a claim, since the ever present surrounding discourses never cease to affect them. When this world view collides with another, as it does in situations of foreign relations between states that do not acknowledge a knowledge system that holds human rights as something indisputably good, the need to create coherence by turning to collectively shared rules of how to express oneself in this context arises. This can be seen in the quotation above, where the rules of discourse are carefully followed by using the exact phrases that the discourse allows. The same rhetoric is found in the official letter addressed to Manafwa district from the municipality of Åmål that terminated the partnership, where it is stated that a legislation that restricts the freedom of a certain group in the society is seen as undemocratic and cannot be accepted under any circumstances. By refraining from challenging the discourse, the actors do not have to find other ways of dealing with the divergences that are exposed when world views collide.

As with the previous example, a thorough study of underlying processes would be needed in order to be able to present a fair explanation to the emergency of the world view in which this

\textsuperscript{14} "Sverige ska vara en tydlig röst i världen för de mänskliga rättigheterna. Regeringen höjer ambitionen på detta område, och kommer att agera bilateralt, genom Europeiska unionen (EU) och multilateralt för att de mänskliga rättigheterna ska implementeras och efterlevas fullt ut i alla världens länder. Sverige ska reagera mot förtryck och övergrepp, förhindra diskriminering och bidra till att stärka andra länders kapacitet att respektera de mänskliga rättigheterna." (Utrikesdepartementet, 2008)
discourse prevails. Nevertheless, it is at this stage possible to trace the movement of individual experiences to collectively shared discourses that eventually become political ideology. The way that the discourse stating that Swedish actors should discourage breaches against human rights, as seen in the case of the Anti-homosexuality Act, and that they possess the ability to lead others onto what they define as "the right path", is reproduced at all levels within the socially constructed space that development constitutes.

### 7.4.2 Discourses of corruption and conditioned aid

In this section the two viewpoints of why corruptive behaviour exists within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects will be linked to general discourses concerning corruption in Africa through two examples. The first example was chosen after browsing editorials, published between 2012 and 2014, on the topic of corruption in Ugandan newspapers. The example that was chosen to represent a frequently reproduced discourse was found in The Daily Monitor, which is one of Uganda's leading independent daily newspapers. The sharp and straightforward formulations and usage of typical terms to describe corruption that is presented in the editorial is representative for statements on corruption that appear in Ugandan media, regardless of their political orientation:

"However, even with numerous legal frameworks and institutions for fighting corruption in place, detection and prevention of corruption, as well as enforcement of anti-corruption laws, has been weak. The reason for this failure is largely an apathetic public that is often given to corruption tendencies. A large section of the public has condoned corruption and bribery in one way or the other. This is clear in the EPRC report which lists police, district administrations, public officials, schools and town councils as the most complained about government departments. If we want a corruption-free Uganda, we – parents, guardians and teachers – must install values of honesty, transparency and discipline in our children so that they grow up knowing that corruption is an unacceptable behaviour. " (The Daily Monitor, 2014).

The author behind the editorial quoted above suggests that anti-corruption legislations and other legal measures will not hinder corruptive behaviour in Uganda as long as the collective "we", the citizens of the country, take initiatives to bring up a new generation of corruption-free individuals. The description of how the general public has accepted corruption in their everyday life and that they have become passive towards corruptive behaviour, and that this is "unacceptable behaviour", indicates that there is an underlying claim that there is an acknowledgement of the objective truth that corruption is harmful to a society and has to be fought back. The discursive psychology of Wetherell and Potter (1992) would explain this confident way of presenting one's
world view as universal truth by saying that the author is formulating her or himself from within a certain discourse that is impossible to step outside of. Thus the claim of objective truth will remain undisputed as long as it is presented within the context where this particular discourse is hegemonic. The same reasoning can be applied to the editorial’s claim that there is an individual responsibility among all Ugandan citizens to react against corruption, since change only can be reached through a collective effort to reinstall morals in society. As long as this view is shared within the frames of the discourse it will not be challenged, and only when it is confronted with contrasting discourses questions of the indisputability of these claims might rise.

The last sentence of the quotation strongly gives the impression that there is a will to unite actors, to become a "we" in order to fight corruption. As discussed in previous chapters, discursive psychology focuses on how actors are utilizing discourses in order to reach coherence rather than on how they are limited by them. In this case this is done by describing practitioners and enablers of corruptive behaviour in negative terms such as "apathetic" and "unacceptable". By using these terms that within the context are generally understood as negative, the author sets out to try to get the individuals that do not wish to be associated with these epithets to unite under the anti-corruption parole where everyone has to do their share. Since the same terms have been reproduced by many Ugandan newspapers, the discourses that state that corruption is destructive and that it should be fought through individual actions, strengthen group ties and attract new upholders.

The views on Ugandan corruption that occurs in the editorial of the Daily Monitor are also, as it has been shown previously in this chapter, represented among the actors that have partaken in the Ugandan-Swedish activities in Manafwa district. There is no challenging of the stated objective truth that says that corruption is wrong and has to be fought in the material, and Ugandan and Swedish actors alike expresses themselves confidently when discussing the obviousness of the negative impacts of corruption. The view that the fight against corruption depends on individual actions is also found among both groups of actors; for instance in Erik's and Lydia's statements of how corrupt big men "worsen the statistics" within a community and that the rest of its inhabitants play along. What the discursive expressions that are presented in Ugandan newspapers have in common with those upheld by the informants in this study is that they are not products of either individual actors or general structures exclusively, but do instead emerge and become reproduced at the interface of these two levels. Thus, the upholders of the discourse are continuously both shaping and being shaped by it.

The second example is also collected from an editorial, which appeared in the Swedish independently moderate newspaper Smålandsposten in 2011. It was chosen since it summarises
common opinions and uses the particular rhetoric that is commonly found in Swedish mainstream discussions on the topic of corruption and Uganda. The text, which holds the head title "New paths for the foreign aid"\(^{15}\) discusses the Anti-corruption measures that were initiated by Sida at the time of the publication of the editorial. Even though this example can be regarded as representative for a general Swedish discourse of corruption in Uganda, it should be noted that a conflicting discourse that is centred around claims of how conditioned foreign aid is an expression of neo-colonialism exists parallel to it. The latter discourse is however most commonly upheld by scholars and engaged activists, and not by the group of informants who contributed to this thesis\(^{16}\).

"Today it is more common to speak of partner countries, than of receiving countries. This gives an indication that the foreign aid is not merely about someone giving and someone receiving. Through this the foreign aid will not be criticised for being neo-colonial. But when the receiver does not live up to the demands that have been presented, or even seems to not have interest in listening it is no longer possible to talk about partnership. Meanwhile the needs of the poor population remain. The Minister for International Development Cooperation is getting increasingly hesitant for that money to be given to governments in countries that do not live up to demands of democracy and Human Rights. And why should a regime that is distinguished by corruption, electoral fraud and oppression receive international support that strengthens its power position?"\(^{17}\) (Smålandsposten, 2011)

The main message that is being presented in the editorial above is that corrupt governments should not be supported through foreign aid and that Sweden therefore has the right to attach conditions, such as that measures should be taken against corruption, to development partnerships. The knowledge system that the discursive psychology-approach would focus on in this context is one that upholds the claim that there is an objective truth that argues that corruption within governments is indisputably bad, and that Sweden has the right to put pressure on other states since that is the objectively right thing to do. The author of the editorial does not bring forward any alternative ways of approaching the division of roles within development partnerships, since that would be an action performed outside the discourse in which the editorial was written. The constant effect that hegemonic discourses have on individuals limits their frames of references to only include concepts that conforms to the discourse, until it is confronted with differing ones and processes of change are initiated.

\(^{15}\) "Nya vägar för biståndet"
\(^{16}\) For a wide range of critical discussions of conditioned aid, see [http://www.bistandsdebatten.se/](http://www.bistandsdebatten.se/)
Even though the prevailing discourse in the example above is restraining the ways in which its upholders might reason about corruption and Sweden's role in it, it can still actively be used as a tool for reaching personal and collective goals. When the discourse, as in the case with the one that claims Sweden's right to condition aid is politically consolidated it becomes what Wetherell and Potter (1992) calls ideology and can then be used by states or individuals in order to increase their powers. In order to be able to do so, coherence has to be maintained at all times since any disturbances might result in the loss of possibility to motivate one's actions to oneself and others. By using a limited set of terms and concepts such as corruption, Human rights and oppression in the example above it becomes easier to follow the rules of the discourse and maintain a feeling of unity among those who share a world view through the collective upholding of the discourse. This practice is also found among the statements made by the informants that have contributed to this thesis; Karl makes it clear that he has the right to identify and exclude actors that engage in corruptive behaviour, and Isaac acknowledges that his community should conform to the demands of the Swedish partners since they are objectively right. The discourses that the example in this section represents are thus to be found in locations that are remote from each other, and in contexts of personal relations as well as in public debates. This shows how it is reproduced and spread at all levels in society and that it is kept alive through its upholders that constantly affect it while being affected by it.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the experiences, expressions and utilisation of cultural difference within the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål have been analysed through the application of the concepts found in the theoretical framework. The most prominent findings of this analysis has to do with the mutual maintenance of the hegemonic status of the Western knowledge system and the co-production of hierarchies that the Ugandan and the Swedish actors carry out together. As long as the universal truths that are claimed by the Swedish partners are allowed to outline the meta code of the space that the municipal partnership constitutes, the negotiating position of the Ugandan actors will be weak. Nevertheless, the partners in Manafwa district continue to support this system in the inter-cultural interaction. There were no official protests from Manafwa district when the partnership was terminated with the motivation that human rights had to be supported, or objections to the proposed introduction of increased supervision
performed by Swedish actors in order to hinder corruptive behaviour.

Outside the frames of the mutually created space that the partnership constitutes, on the other hand, the Western hegemonic status was questioned. When communicating through the cultural code, alternative explanations to the activities and disturbances within the partnership are presented in order to regain senses of control. When the informants in Manafwa district talk about social imperialism and the defence of Ugandan sovereignty, there is no sign of powerlessness. Even though the Municipal partnership can be said to be unequal with reference to the prevailing hierarchies, there are still ways to build coherent life-worlds from an underdog-position, and an effective way of doing so is to embrace discourses that already have been consolidated in society.
8 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to see how cultural difference is experienced, expressed and utilised within the socially created space of the Municipal partnership between Manafwa district and the municipality of Åmål. Furthermore, the ways in which individual reactions on cultural difference can be understood and conceptualized in relation to prevailing social and political discourses have been studied. In the material that was collected during the periods of fieldwork in Manafwa district, Uganda and the municipality of Åmål, Sweden, two topics that were frequently discussed in relation to cultural difference in the Municipal partnership; the 2014 Anti-homosexuality Act and the presence of corruption within the partnership. In order to see how cultural difference was experienced, expressed and utilised I use the concepts of social interface (Long, 1989a), friction (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005) as well as meta and cultural code (Rottenburg, 2009). In the analysis of how the informants' experiences can be connected to prevailing discourses that are linked to the two topics, inspiration has been drawn from discursive psychology and development discourse (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

In the discussion on the 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Act, two main discourses were found. The first discourse was characterised by uncompromising ways of regarding the legislation; either by claiming that it is violating human rights, as seen in the official standpoint of the municipality of Åmål, or that foreign reactions upon it is a sign of social imperialism, as stated by many of the officials at the Town council in Manafwa district. By taking on this uncompromising discourse, the actors strive to create coherence and feelings of unity that can motivate their declared protection of Ugandan sovereignty. The second discourse is of a more mediating nature, which is characterised by an agreement to disagree. Both the Swedish actors, who claim that the legislation is violating human rights, and the Ugandan actors, who claim that foreign reactions are threats to Ugandan sovereignty, believe that both parties can keep their standpoints to themselves and instead focus on the positive aspects of the partnership that leads to development. Due to the fact that Western knowledge system are hegemonic within the partnership, this discourse results in that the standpoint that is upheld by the Swedish actors is allowed to dictate the frames of interaction. The reasons why the Ugandan actors would allow this power imbalance are, according to the arguments of Long (1989a), that the benefits of a continued partnership are experienced as larger than the costs of maintaining the Western hegemony, and that it is possible to create coherence within one's life-world if a mediating manner is chosen.
The concept of friction (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005) explains how different discourses linked to the Anti-homosexuality legislation are crucial to the co-production of the claims of universality that are found within interaction on the topic. A universal truth can only exist in contrast to an universal untruth, and therefore friction is needed in the production of these tools regardless of in which discourse they are used. The Western knowledge is the one that dictates the rules of the meta code (Rottenburg, 2009), since it is hegemonic within the partnership. The prevailing discursive division of countries into "developed" and "underdeveloped" that is upheld by all involved actors collectively, where the former category is elevated over the latter, is supporting this hegemony. The meta code that is present in discussions of the Anti-homosexuality Act claims that Sweden has the right to determine the conditions for the partnership. The official script that is upholding the meta code motivates its elevated position by saying that it is defending Human rights, which is an objectively right action. The cultural code, expressed through the unofficial script, upheld by the Swedish actors explains their experiences of cultural difference by saying that their Ugandan counterparts are directed by cultural norms and values that are "underdeveloped" and hard to understand. The Ugandan cultural code, expressed through the unofficial script, claims that the Swedish counterparts are culturally immoral and that they wish to spread these values through social imperialism. The culture codes creates coherency for both groups, and by alternating between them and the meta code, their respective understandings can be retained while the partnership is protected from collapse.

In my attempt to link the informants' experiences of cultural difference in relation to the Anti-homosexuality Act to general discourses, two examples of political statements were presented. The first example was that of the Ugandan Speaker of Parliament, who claimed that all Ugandans support the legislation, and that the country has the right to defend itself against foreign imperialistic threats. These two claims that were presented as objective and undisputed truths build upon the experiences of the Speaker that when shared with others that possess similar experiences becomes a life-world. When this life-world is politically consolidated, it becomes ideology that can be used as a tool to gain power. The Speaker is striving to create coherence within her life-world by using the same rhetoric as the actors of the partnership do. This shows how the discourse is present and utilised at all levels of society. In the second example, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs claims that Sweden shall, and has the capacity to, react upon offences against human rights. This statement is built upon the same rhetoric as the official announcement made by the municipality of Åmål when the partnership was terminated. Thus it is an example of how the meta code linked to the Anti-homosexuality Act through discourse shares characteristics with statements made on high
political level.

The second topic that was identified in the material was the presence of corruption within the Municipal partnership and its side-projects. Two viewpoints regarding the reason to why corruption had emerged were found; that it was an expression of Ugandan culture, and that it was a symptom of poverty. The first model that mainly was upheld by actors that do not experience corruption in their everyday life or had personally been accused of corruptive behaviour claims that corruption is more or less inherent to Ugandan culture and thus has become incorporated in societal structures. Because of this, corruption can only be prevented through stricter control and supervision. The second model, which was mainly upheld by actors that experience corruption in their everyday life, claims that corruption is caused by poverty and individuals' inability to provide for themselves. Corruption can therefore only be prevented through anti-poverty measures.

Here, as in the previous case of the Anti-homosexuality Act, the space in which the interaction takes place is outlined on the basis of the Western knowledge system (Long, 1989a). The Swedish party motivates its actions towards corruption within the partnership by claiming that the destructiveness of corruption is an objective truth, and the Ugandan actors officially acknowledge this in order to not challenge the hegemony. Another stated objective truth is that corruption is a non-Swedish custom. This claim is undisputed to the extent that it is not even discussed verbally; the lack of interaction upon the subject is a clear indication that such a concept as Swedish corruption does not exist within the life-world of the upholders of the hegemony. The topic of corruption within the partnership also sheds light on the processes of co-production of ideas that take place between the parties through friction (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005). If the view on the causes of corruption and the solution to it would have been coherent, no claims of universal truths would have to been made in order for one group to position itself with respect to the other. The meta code that is used in situations of interaction, and the official script though which it is communicated, claims that corruption is present in Uganda but not in Sweden. It can be caused either by societal structures that are based in culture or in individual poverty, and as an objectively destructive phenomenon it should be fought through processes of transparency. The Swedish cultural code that is shared through its unofficial script is that even though individuals can be personally blamed for their corruptive behaviour, cultural peculiarities are the general cause. The Ugandan cultural code that is shared through its unofficial script is that cultural peculiarities in the Swedish culture results in that their counterparts are regarded as quick to take offence.

In the attempt to link the informants’ experiences of cultural difference in relation to corruption within the partnership to general discourses, I have chosen two examples from editorials.
published in newspapers. The first example that was published in the Daily Mail states that corruption is objectively destructive and addresses corrupt individuals with negative words. The motivation to this is to install a feeling of unity and coherence among those who wish to position themselves as non-corruptive. That this discourse prevails also among the actors within the partnership is indicated by the way that the claimed objective truths presented above are undisputed by the informants. The second example, an editorial that was published in Smålandsposten, states that it is objectively right to not support corrupt regimes and that Sweden has the right to attach conditions to foreign aid. The use of this discourse aims at offering individuals, or states, ways of motivating their actions and to create coherence. The rhetoric used in the editorial and the Swedish informants' statements correlate, which indicates that the discourse is used when motivating actions at all levels of society.

In this thesis it has been shown how the partnership actors have created bonds that have lasted for many years. This has been done through alternation between different scripts, co-production of viewpoints and utilization of prevailing discourses. Friendships have been cultivated and world views challenged, but eventually it was a claim of cultural difference that led to the termination of the partnership. This closing is a final sign of that development partnerships, as they are presented in official documents and policies, are not the equal relations that they are claimed to be. For obvious reasons, there are no pronounced restrictions that say that the actors of Manafwa district cannot present their views on how the partnership should be managed, or even terminated if they regard their sovereignty as threatened. But still this does not happen. Even though development rhetoric change over time, structures are changing slowly and have in this context not yet been able to catch up with the actual conditions that the actors that involve in development experiences.

This thesis has dealt with the effects of discourse within the mutually created space that the Municipal partnership constitutes, but not with the causes behind the outline of these structures. A diachronic study of development where the origins of the normative conceptions that to a great extent affect the activities of the partnership would thus be a relevant research subject to indulge in. Meanwhile, as the future is uncertain for the Municipal partnership, the actors that engage in it can only wait for a possible re-launch. The narratives that have been presented in the thesis have shown that the ways in which the experiences made within the frames of the partnership are expressed and utilised have been heterogeneous, and that motivations for partaking in it have differed. Despite this fact, there is one thing that all informants have in common; a wish for the Ugandan-Swedish relations to carry on in some way or another. The disturbances and disappointments have been many but, as Edith puts it, there are other values of the Municipal partnership than concrete investments:
"Our community needs development. Education for the children and doctors to care for the sick. But we also need friendship, friends that we can trust and that care of us. That is worth more than any money in the world."
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