



Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences
Department of Public Administration and Political Science
Masters in Political Science



**PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOLS IN UGANDA**

Rashid SSENTEZA

MA.Thesis

ANKARA, 2019

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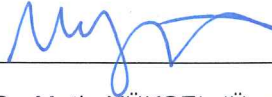
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Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, **Prof. Dr. Ali ÇAĞLAR** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.

**Rashid SSENTEZA**

To my family and all patriotic Ugandans.



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ABSTRACT

SSENTEZA Rashid. *PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGAND*, MASTERS, Ankara, 2019

Promoting patriotism and its education has always been at the fore front for Uganda's governance, from the time when the current ruling party had come into power in the late 1980's, HE Yoweri Kaguta Museveni has always preached the issue of patriotism education. Uganda as a new democratic country is faced with many challenges among which include implementing the new ideas and policies that its leaders come up with. For instance, even though the government white paper clearly stipulates that patriotism has to be taught at either primary or secondary school level, the issue of whether this policy is implemented in schools begs a lot to question. In addition, despite the suggested funds for the issues of patriotism education a lot of it is redirected for other societal needs and thus undermining the importance of patriotism education. This research has analyzed the issue of patriotic education, its implementation or otherwise as a policy in Uganda's education system. Various theories and conceptual frameworks such as moderate patriotism theory and social cultural concept respectively have been brought in to perspective in the study. The research is a literature review research and the dominant methodology has been archival and library research coupled with the researcher's observations of the day to day happenings in the country. The research also gives an insight into the challenges that patriotism education is faced with, the lack of implementation of many government policies with regards to policies and the limited role that governments representatives have played in combating these challenges.

Keywords

Patriotism, education, development

ÖZET

SSENTEZA Rashid *UGANDA'DA İLK VE ORTA DERECELİ OKULLARDA VATANSEVERLİK EĞİTİMİ, YÜKSEK LİSANS Ankara 2019*

Uganda'nın yönetişimi açısından, halihazırda iktidarda olan partinin 1980'lerin sonunda iktidara geldiği zamandan beri vatanseverlik ve vatanseverliğin öğretilmesinin teşviki daima öncelikli olmuştur. Devlet Başkanı HE Yoweri Kaguta Museveni konuşmalarında daima vatanseverlik eğitimi konusunu ele almıştır. Yeni demokrasiye kavuşmuş bir ülke olarak Uganda, liderlerinin ortaya koyduğu yeni görüş ve politikaları uygulamak da dahil olmak üzere pek çok güçlükle karşı karşıya gelmektedir. Örneğin, her ne kadar yönetimin vatanseverliğin ilk ya da orta öğretim seviyesinde öğretilmesi gerektiğine dair öngörülerini açık olsa da bu politikaların okul çantalarına uygulanıp uygulanmayacağı konusu sorgulanmaya açıktır. Ayrıca, vatanseverlik eğitimi için ayrılan kaynakların pek çoğu başka sosyal ihtiyaçlara yönlendirilmekte ve vatanseverlik eğitiminin önemi dikkate alınmamaktadır. Bu çalışma vatanseverlik eğitimi konusunu, uygulamasını, uygulama olmaması durumunda da Uganda'nın eğitim sistemi politikasını analiz etmektedir. İlmli vatanseverlik teorisi ve sosyal kültürel kavram gibi çeşitli teoriler ve kavramsal çerçeveler çalışmaya perspektif katmıştır. Çalışma literatür tarama araştırmasıdır ve ağırlıklı olarak arşiv ve kütüphane araştırmaları ile araştırmacının ülkedeki güncel olaylardaki gözlemleri de kapsamaktadır. Çalışma aynı zamanda, birçok devlet politikasının uygulanmaması nedeniyle, vatanseverlik eğitiminin karşılaştığı zorluklar hakkında da fikir vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Vatanseverlik, eğitim, gelişme

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

MoE	Ministry of Education
MoE&S	Ministry of Education and sports
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NRA	National Resistance Amy
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education
NCDC	National Curriculum Development center
UPC	Uganda's People Congress
Ky	Kabaka Yekka

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INTRODUCTION

Uganda as a democratic country is still faced with many challenges that have hampered its development and has made it lag compared to many African countries. The issue of Patriotism education is considered one of the key assets towards the development of most nations. As a result, Uganda has not only invested but also encouraged all citizens to be patriots. However, as this may be the case, the challenges facing patriotism education have had far reaching consequences for its implementation, not to mention its evaluation. Since the time of independence in 1962, the country has tried to build a unified nation, one where there are less civil wars, where basic needs can be affordable to everyone, but this goal has not yet been reached perhaps because the country has less patriotic people than would have been the case.

This study investigated the issue of patriotism education in Uganda at both primary and secondary school levels. The objective was to examine whether patriotism is taught in schools as stipulated in the educational curriculum of Uganda. The other objective was to find out whether patriotism education can be beneficial to a country's development and what can be done to improve its implementation.

The first chapter covers the background to the study, briefly explaining Uganda's political social, educational and economic history and how patriotism as a topic has developed in the country overtime. The chapter also covers the problem statement, main objectives of the study, and the basic concepts and literature related to the research. Finally, the chapter talks about the methods involved in this study, which specifically is the qualitative research method.

The second chapter analyses the conceptual and theoretical frame work of this study. There are many frameworks within with to study patriotism, but for this research the psychological and social cultural schools were analysed because both are behavioural schools. The theories of patriotism were brought into perspective and as shall be seen, constructive patriotism as opposed to blind patriotism ought to be followed while teaching patriotism. The issue that leaders ought to be questioned and not followed blindly is key in patriotism education.

Chapter three analyses patriotism education in Primary and Secondary schools in Uganda by examining the contents of the curriculum and the sampling a few books taught and recommended for the syllabi. The final chapter touches on the role that the government of Uganda has played in teaching patriotism and the challenges it faces. This chapter also analyses some of the gruesome aspects that have impeded patriotism spirit such as corruption and selfishness amongst many leaders right from the top.



CHAPTER ONE

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The main intention of this study is to interrogate issues of patriotism education in both primary and secondary schools of Uganda. To reach this aim, firstly policies and regulations regarding patriotism education in Uganda are reviewed. Secondly, the curriculum for both primary and secondary schools are investigated. Thirdly an analysis is made regarding whether the policies stipulated, and the designed curriculum encourage the teaching of patriotism as well as meet the goals of patriotism education. Finally, the implications of teaching patriotism at primary and secondary school level are reviewed with regards to the socio-political and economic standing of the nation.

It is not superfluous to say that true education ought to develop its graduates into not only academically comprehensive persons, but also people who are sound and informed in almost all generally recognized areas of knowledge and public practice (Okwakol, 2009; Loima, 2006). This study concentrates on the issue of patriotism which different reports and write-ups on current Ugandan primary and secondary education is presumed to be constrained. Patriotism is defined as citizens “love for, devotion to, and pride in their country” (Cepeda, 2013). The study thus seeks to relate this love and whether it is taught in schools at the mentioned levels.

At times patriotism is used synonymously with nationalism and (or) responsible citizenship (Marbaniang, 2009). Patriotism underlies citizens’ loyalty to their country and their personal resolve and enthusiasm to participate in its social, economic and technological development process. It also underlies citizens’ inclination and readiness to take part in ensuring and maintaining their country’s internal security, as well as in defending it against outside forces that might otherwise expose it and its people to terror. In addition, this may be done even when it means becoming a hero and sacrificing oneself to the point of death. Countries that want to achieve effective citizens’ participation in their development, security and defence must therefore appropriate as well as nature their citizens’ sense of patriotism from the lowest level of education possible.

In 2009 his excellence, the president of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, launched an initiative to embrace patriotism and Pan-Africanism. The aim was to promote African societies and in particular Uganda, to undergo socio-economic transformation. This would be achieved through the realization of democracy, which meant that the people defend their government in a patriotic manner (Mugaga, 2010). The goal was to produce a new breed of an enlightened population committed to and enthusiastic towards national goals. They should also be devoted to their country to the core of their hearts. Albeit, the informal product-based form of training transforms learners into citizens with the desired sense of patriotism, it remains the work of many studies to show if this is the case. Therefore, the education system that fails to develop the desired sense of patriotism in its students brings its value into question.

Patriotism is at times an all-encompassing phenomenon in the sense that it may refer to all sorts of love related to the things that represent a country. It must also not be forgotten that while a citizen ought to devote themselves to the goodness of the country where they come from, the leaders who are at the helm of all the autonomous bodies and oversee all the countries resources should as well show a patriotic spirit. The desire to live in a well-planned city, a safe country, a country with an abundance of employment opportunities, one that every citizen thinks about without any sort of penitence is among other things the driving force behind this study. The argument is that many citizens of a given community ought to show a patriotic spirit right from the people at the grassroot level to those heading different authorial bodies of the state. It is thus paramount for this study to contextualize and perhaps create a brief understanding of the historical setting for this kind of argument.

It may be assumed that Uganda's historical background has a lot to do with what is happening in the country today. Having gone through a period of colonial rule in the early twentieth century, this required most citizens of colonised countries to recognize the Queen of England as its leader and thus protectorate. It can be perhaps assumed that this thinking has not left many minds. Consequently, since Uganda gained independence in 1962, the country has seen little of good leadership.

For the first part of the period after independence, the country has experienced coups, political insurgencies, mass massacres as well as civil wars. The 1986 coup

that brought the NRA (now NRM) present government into power was what one could figuratively call a 'light at the end of the tunnel.' From that period many people saw a future for a new Uganda and hoped that so many improvements would be made in terms of employment opportunities, transportation, and other social amenities that are normally deserving of the citizens.

It ought to be acknowledged that there were great improvements in terms of security. As a matter of fact, the country has seen little or no wars since then, except for the long standing civil strife in the northern part of Uganda which too ended in the late 1990's. But as this may be the case, the country has experienced little improvement in other areas in the space of thirty years. For instance, many cooperative bodies that mainly were a resource for many farmers have become inactive. The agricultural system which the country normally boasts of, develops at a very slow pace and has left many in poverty. In addition, only few citizens who are in the public service sector can access health insurance a reasonable retirement benefit. So, what all these mean for the citizens.

One of the problems and the crux of this research may be the issue of patriotic spirit that seems to be wavering in many Ugandans. whether, one ought to link the above context with this apparent situation is a question that this research seeks to investigate. This apparent unpatriotic spirit can be witnessed in almost every corner of the main city and country at large. An example can be taken from the looming darkness at night in many of the cities due to lack of a functional system of street lighting. Not to say that the authorities have not put any street lights, sometimes they do, but the street poles are stolen by thugs who prefer to make a *sigiri* (charcoal stove) from the metal work. These charcoal stoves are source of income and many do it with the hope of earning a little money.

The petty thieving and vandalism does not stop here. The years 2016 and 2017 perhaps saw the highest crime rate with people being robbed at gun point and sometimes killed afterwards. The *Kijambiya* squad (murderers) did its worst in 2017 and caused country wide terror among the citizens. It would thus be sufficient to surmise that the patriotism spirit, if there was any at one time has been lost. For how a person is expected to devote oneself to a country whose police force coordinate with the robbers and does little to catch them, whose justice system is next to rotten, and where corruption is the governing principle. It is against this background that this study will seek to examine the extent to which

patriotism education has been incorporated into the education system of the country. The study will also touch on how effective it has been carried out in providing a conducive environment for the citizen in which to foster and nature a patriotic spirit.

It is hoped that the findings of this study might enable policy makers in Uganda to implement patriotism strategies after going through all the levels of training. Other countries which could be having the same problem might learn from experience and give more attention to career advancement policies. Education managers in schools interested in patriotism could use the findings of this study to evaluate possible strategies that could adequately address the issue of patriotism education in schools. In relation to the contribution to the existing literature on patriotism, it will also enhance to future researchers and academicians in terms of knowledge addition.

This study might also be significant to employees (teachers of patriotism in schools) as it may warrant an opportunity for success, better pay, a secure job, as well as one that gives satisfaction. In addition, an obligation towards career development might improve steps towards achieving a high performing government structure.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

According to Mwenda (qtn Nabayego et al 2015), the spirit of patriotism shown by many Ugandans who go through primary and secondary schools in Uganda is at its lowest. A few instances can be cited to illustrate this observation. To begin with, an increasing number of senior six certificate holders export their labour abroad for often less respectful jobs, a practice popularly known as “nkubakyeyo”. They do not use the skills, knowledge and progressive attitudes which they acquire from primary or secondary education to creatively trap and use the abundant domestic natural resources. This shows that there is a missing connection between what is taught in school and the resources available to accommodate the skills acquired from school. The link between the available jobs and the willingness for the citizens to do the jobs is also questionable. This then shows a gap between the level of patriotism taught in Uganda education system

and the jobs available regardless of the efforts put in place by the government. Hence the research seeks to examine the level of patriotism in the education system in Uganda in both primary and secondary school education.

In other words, it aims to investigate whether patriotism can be equivalent to one of the factors that can boost the country from a less political, social and economic stage to a well-developed stage. That is, it is hoped that patriotism can work as an economic engine to steer the country towards development. The intrigue about patriotism, stems from the fact it is one of the oldest political and social ideologies which takes on a nationalistic stance. It is hoped that this work will serve as a data base for both social and political thoughts and will serve other upcoming scholars in their academic endeavours as a point of reference or even diversion in discussing the importance or otherwise of patriotism. Additionally, the study will be important to the community studied by showing how different readings of patriotism fosters and can determine the people's regard of themselves as citizens of the country.

1.2 THE MAIN OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of study can be stated as follows:

- i. To review the primary and secondary school's education curriculum of Uganda with regards to patriotism education.
- ii. To evaluate the government's contribution with regards to patriotism inclusion in the education system.
- iii. To examine how it's inclusion or otherwise in the education system has impacted development whether social or economic.

1.3 BASIC CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Many researchers and scholars have defined patriotism education in different ways and this research hasn't limited the meaning of patriotism education from other scholars. The study will try to identify other three important aspects such as what is education, patriotic education and how patriotism may differ from Nationalism.

Education can be defined as a process of acquisition of knowledge, skills, beliefs, values and habits which teaches us to be true human beings. Apurba Sarma's statement puts it plainly that "plants are developed by cultivation and men by education," Apurba (2013). He meant that true education should act as the guiding light in the path of our success. Martin Luther King Jr said that "intelligence plus character- that is the goal of education"

According to Johnson (2002) in his article of "Patriotism and Civic Literacy," he defines patriotism as a "liberal, selfless feeling of love for the country where one was born. He adds that, this sentiment shows fundamental commitment to the network of historical, cultural and geographical references that surround the purpose of every single person...". Therefore, patriotism is that love for and loyalty one has towards his homeland or country. This can be combined with the ideas and principles on which a country was founded including its values. Patriotism is not fully believing in an administration. True patriotism is all about fighting for your country and its dignity and making sure that the citizens and the constitution of the country is protected and uplifted. Patriotism education is now tasked to foster national unity, especially in times of crisis (Westheimer, 2007). It is therefore important to promote all sorts of patriotic education that emphasizes social and political unity.

Patriotism is identified as "devoted love support and defence of one's country; national loyalty".¹ Patriotism is a sentimental attachment to a country that an individual sees as his or her own. This sentiment, which can be taken to be the feeling which one has towards his or her nation can be evaluated in terms of various attributes that someone's country holds such as ethnic, cultural, political or historical attributes. These concepts as shall be explained later in the study resemble these of nationalism

Patriotism is a feeling of love and loyalty towards our respective nations. It is unimaginable for someone not to hold any sentimental feeling for their birth place. The things that are dear to us such as family, friends, our homes all belong to our country and thus we feel this same love for both. We are born in our countries, we live in these countries, and thus if our countries become sorrowful, we too become sorrowful. As a matter of fact, we love our countries although we might not be

¹ www.thephilosophytakeaway.com

aware of this love until the time arises for us to question and interrogate this love. No matter whether a country is poor or rich, they all observe these feelings of love that they hold as a nation. “East or west, home is the best, goes the saying. Its force is unquestionable”². The same feelings of love and togetherness are observed by animals too that go out to feed and do not forget their respective homes. Put plainly, patriotism is the attribution of love and loyalty attached to the country.

At times patriotism can be understood as a superior attachment one holds towards his/her birthplace (assumed birthplace) that nurtures a deep emotional attachment and pride. Looking back through the history of Uganda from the early 1960’s to the present, it is realized that there is a big variation between the past and the present in relation to the citizens’ portrayal of patriotism. In addition, there is a lax in the way its education and dissemination is conducted in schools and communities at large. In the early 1960’s immediately after Uganda had gained its independence from British imperial rule, people used to portray a greater patriotic spirit despite the lack of education and other economic and financial amenities compared to the present. It seems that our patriotic spirits are being determined by the present circumstances which are characterized by economic and social strife.

This section covers literature related to different understandings of patriotism by different scholars. Furthermore, related literature on how patriotism is being taught to citizens either in primary or secondary school education will be discussed. Tajfel (1974) attempts to define patriotism in terms of citizens’ self-categorisation across ethnic boundaries which may foster patriotism although not at a national or state level. He argues that such divisions may create love, confidence and pride among members albeit creating a gap across ethnic groups. In relation to this, patriotism proves to be a positive driving force in terms of development through creating unity and loyalty among citizens at the same time promoting pride as well as care for one’s nation. The conventional classification of patriotism refers to love of one’s country, sharing the country’s culture and norms, and other attributes related to welfare and that of other citizens. Evidently, this demands the willingness to sacrifice one’s own life and personal gains in the larger sense.

² www.csrvision.in

Bar-Tal et al (1997: 2) defines patriotism as “a binding affection between a person and his/her group and its land. It reflects a positive evaluation of and emotion toward the group and its territory, and is expressed in beliefs and feelings connoting love, pride, loyalty, devotion, commitment, and care.” Patriotism highlights the importance of community involvement, in relation to collective harmony and a regard for the well-being of the nation and its people. Additionally, Bar- Tal goes ahead to classify patriotisms into two types; constructive and distractive forms. He advanced the concepts of “blind” and “constructive” patriotism to characterise the discrepancy between negative and positive patriotism respectively.

Staub (1997: 214) underlines constructive patriotism as a need to link “attachment to and consideration for the well-being of one’s own group with an inclusive orientation to human beings, and respect for the rights and welfare of all people”. In this type of patriotism people are loyal only if the whole community at large benefits. However, critics of patriotism find it to be immoral to promote “one’s country’s interests at the expense of all other countries”. It is dominated by the “spirit of readiness to die and kill for one’s country”. Love for a country automatically goes hand in hand with dislike and sometimes hostility towards another country. However much a patriot cares for his or her country, he or she must still consider other outgroups from other countries around the world if the spirit is to be constructively propagated. This calls into question what has become a very popular adage from the leader of the world super power which goes ‘America first’. When citizens interrogate the activities of their nation’s leaders, they are regarded as constructive patriots. President Theodore Roosevelt said in one of his famous quotable quotes from good read that;

patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the president or any other public official, save exactly to the degree in which he himself stands by the country. It is patriotic to support him insofar as he efficiently serves the country. It is unpatriotic not to support him to the exact extent that by inefficiently or otherwise he fails in his duty to stand by the country. In either event, it is unpatriotic not to tell the truth whether about the president or anyone else.

If constructive patriotism is well managed and utilized, it can foster development in a nation since people are held accountable for their country. The citizens ensure that those in power do not abuse it but instead act in accordance with the rules that govern their leadership. Schatz, Staub and Lavine (1999) further indicate that “both political value and gathering information for political purposes are crucial

for constructive patriotism”. People who are loyal to their country and have that pride in the essences of constructive patriotism have the power to bring massive change to the country.

On the other hand, Staub (1999) defines ‘blind’ patriotism or unhealthy patriotism as “an intense alignment by people with their nation or group and uncritical acceptance and support for its policies and practices, with an absence of moral consideration of their consequences or disregard of their impact on the welfare of human beings who are outside the group or are members of its sub-groups (213).” Just like in constructive patriotism, citizens who have blind patriotism are also loyal to and have pride for their country, but in this case, they just follow without questioning their governments decisions regardless of whether it is right or wrong. If a nation does something wrong to another nation, the citizens may not care if they are happy themselves. This automatically links blind patriotism to nationalism.

Scholars Barlow, Taylor, and Lambert (2000) examine how people from different ethnic groups perceive patriotism. According to the research by these scholars, an indication in one of the following such as inclusion, exclusion, and the opportunities splash out bright lights on an ethnic group's well-being in a category like "patriotism" and how they understand it. It is interesting to note that how long one stays in a country can be related to how patriotic they feel towards that country. Different ethnic groups ought to be all incorporated in the nations activities, so they hold feelings of belonging and in the end feel patriotic.

It is paramount to this discussion to distinguish between patriotism and nationalism because at times it is taken to be one and the same. Some scholars have analysed that aligning oneself with the values of a certain country ought to be the core of patriotism. Besides that, it can also lead to destructively, nationalism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Schatz et al., (quoted in Davidov 2010). This can endanger the goals of instigating a patriotic spirit among citizens. It should be noted however that patriotism is different in that, patriotism is a mental and emotional feeling for one's own country whereas nationalism involves one country dominating over another and thus taking itself to be superior in relation to others. Nationalism can be categorised as a form of blind patriotism where by one does not criticise his or her country and may even feel hostile towards foreigners who live in that country (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Federico et al., 2005).

Additionally, drawing contrasting views between different nations about their success can propagate a nationalistic feeling. In Ghangl's (2015) study about the relationship between tax compliance and patriotism, she argues in support of Mummendey et al (2001) noting that "thinking about national achievements as used in terms of comparison between the past and present is compared to laying out the differences between the own country and other countries which does not lead to derogation of visitors like foreigners". However sometimes local community identification as compared to identification with global community may encourage reduction in nationalistic tendencies. This perhaps could be attributed to the fact that at the local level, the processes of unity is stronger than shown at the national level. As a result, if members of a community trust and believe in one another (local patriotism), they are bound to contribute to the social capital of that community which in turn fosters community understanding as well as development. Research shows too that those who attach themselves to their own community may result into blood and sometimes money donations whenever necessary as well as closely monitoring elections (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Skitka, 2005). Consequently, pride in one's nation and identification with one's home country or local community, as ways of ensuring local and national patriotism are absolutely associated with high tax confidence (Gangl and Kirchler 2015). In short, the more people classify themselves with their communities and nations in a positive way, the more the state sees them as generous and devoted to the public good. In addition, they will be inspired to willingly pay their taxes and do good by their community which is a display of patriotic spirit (Kirchler et al., 2008). It would suffice to say thus, that patriotism is not a straight forward psychological process but rather a process that instils trust among authorities, generating good morals, and thereby increasing state output towards national goals.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The previous section covered and discussed the literature related to patriotism in general and in Uganda's education system. This section presents the methodologies applied in undertaking the study. A survey of books and resources

online was undertaken, and this provided a basis for the methodology in this study.

In this study, a descriptive and explanatory research design was adapted and translated into qualitative approach. This method involves observing and explaining the behaviour of people or a research target community but without influencing their behaviour. The reason for adopting this method is that it is appropriate for the study and, allowed for easier access of data without involving a field study. Firstly, observations were made regarding generally the issue of patriotism and later narrowed down to where it can best be imparted. Observations made begun way back when the researcher first noticed the discrepancy between patriotism education and patriotism spirit.

The researcher observed that during his time in primary and secondary school, he was not taught patriotism. The curriculum indicates however, the subject or topic ought to have been taught. Thus, some of the observations made springs from the researcher's previous education background. Since then the researcher has followed matters issues via media and through reading.

The method also calls for describing the nature of the problem without necessarily doing an actual field survey as it bases on studies that have previously been carried out. This comes as a strength for this study and allows for a broader review of different sources in answering the research queries.

Since the research is on patriotism education, the scope was narrowed down to the Ugandan Education curriculum after realizing the grass root of success in patriotism relied basically on the young generation. In short, the study has been limited to patriotism in Uganda's primary and secondary school education system whereas looking at the strategies to improve patriotism inclusion in the system. More so, close attention has been given to studies carried out in schools in the urban centres because they have been more privileged in benefiting from patriotism clubs. Whereas course curriculum and materials are similar countrywide, one may observe that schools in the urban centres stand a better chance at implementation than their counter parts in the rural areas.

In carrying out the research, some of the questions that arose and are to be considered along the way are as follows;

- i. What is the contribution of Ministry of Education (MOE) and National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) in implementing patriotism education in primary and secondary schools in Uganda? Have these governmental bodies done their work or have they simply paid lip service to some of these fundamental issues in the education curriculum?
- ii. What is the state of the primary and secondary schools' education curriculum of Uganda about patriotism? In answering this question, a clear observation has been made about what the curriculum implementers state, and what exactly appears in the course materials for learners. This difference as assumed is what creates the imbalance between the actual teaching of patriotism and the spirit portrayed afterwards.
- iii. Within which subjects is patriotism encompassed, taught and why? Because of the varied nature subjects on the curricula, which includes sciences and humanities, the system tends to uphold sciences more. So, the question to answer here is, what criteria the implementers use to assign patriotism education to a specific subject like social studies, yet at the end of the day it is not given priority. How then will patriotism be taken as a serious topic and as a main objective for the countries development?
- iv. How has patriotism impacted the education system of primary and secondary school levels in Uganda? Does patriotism improve the education system itself aside being a sentiment for national development? Does gaining a positive patriotic spirit influence how learners learn at school and whether they learn? It is hoped that in carrying out this research, the above questions have been probed as shall be seen in subsequent chapters and where possible answers given or recommendations suggested.

The secondary data technique has been used to collect the data needed. The most important sources were the already-existing researches on issues of patriotism. An abundant source of material was gathered from articles and books generally on patriotism and specifically on how the topic has been incorporated into education systems of not only Uganda but elsewhere too. According to this research, data

has been collected or gathered from books written by different writers, historians, teachers and internet sources specifically on patriotism and patriotism education. The data specifically aimed to observe whether there was some form of awareness of patriotism in the education system of primary and secondary schools in Uganda or not. In addition, books that ought to tackle topics of patriotism have been investigated to find out if they have an in-depth topic tackling the matter. Such books ought to be explaining patriotism and its importance to the citizens of Uganda. In conclusion this data was collected from various books and schools in Uganda and from the internet resources as well.

Evaluation and analysis has been done depending on the argument of previous scholars, the respondents' views found in these previous researches and the author's observations and discussions in relation to the objectives laid down for carrying out the study. Before the actual analysis, data has been grouped in line with the objectives and questions of the study. It is likely that patriotism is taught at all institutionalized levels of education in Uganda. However, the case might be that it is not put into emphasis and its value remains at the periphery. Thus, data will be grouped according to whether patriotism is prevalent on the curriculum or not, whether it is taught in a given institution or not and whether it is functional even at that institutions level. The study has been analysed alongside the stated objectives and illustrations have been made in relation to how a society's understanding of this concept would prevent issues such as immorality and waywardness thus benefits the general public.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although this research was on patriotism and patriotism education in primary and secondary schools in Uganda, it was carefully done through literature review mostly in library, work archives and internet sources and was thus limited by the nature of the research. It would be more meaningful to the study, if the researcher had got the opportunity to observe what was in the field or on ground, by interviewing, students, teachers and the rest of the community at large. This limitation was overcome by conducting telephone interviews where it was necessary, viewing internet video clips about current issues in Uganda. In

addition, reading newspapers to keep up with ongoing situations in Uganda was found to be helpful.

1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The study has been based on literature review such as school books of Uganda designed for primary and secondary school education. Furthermore, books that were generally related to patriotism in other countries' education systems and books that relate patriotism to a country's social economic and political growth were reviewed. This research was financed and sponsored by the Turkish Scholarship Committee (Yurtdisi Turkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Baskanligi (YTB) who funded my program at Hacettepe University. The research also puts into consideration the political atmosphere of the case study which is Uganda and has tried to be as objective as possible.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAME OF THE STUDY

2. INTRODUCTION

There is a lot of debate surrounding the idea of what "patriotism" is. What reasons are given to support the variant views of how individuals define patriotism? In answering the above question, I reviewed different texts of different writers from different sources. It is found that there are quite several studies that talk about the various definition of patriotism. These studies are mostly descriptive, pinpointing the features of what "patriotism" means to different people. Comparing with the works that elaborate more on patriotism, there seems to be a gap in research where scholars underline what brings different kinds of people or individuals to define "patriotism" the way they do. These hopefully will be useful when addressing the research question regarding this study.

According to the studies reviewed for this research, it has been discovered that there are two types of schools of thought that support the variance in how patriotism is perceived. These major schools are the psychological and the cultural or social schools of thought. The psychological school draws from Freudian conception of how the minds perception of its surroundings is influenced by what happens in early childhood development. According to Freud, our perception of who we are is not only determined by the knowledge that we acquire as we progress into childhood but also how that knowledge affects us as children. As a result, the effects might either yield a biased or an unbiased perception of concepts around us. While trying “to explain the causes in variation in perception of what patriotism is, the psychological school”³ falls short of explaining how one’s individual background and the beliefs they hold about particular situations can affect their conclusions about patriotism. As a result, psychological school of thought is impeded by flaws because of the lack of a clear foundation on which to base exactly which of an individual’s background has been used to determine an

³ www.inquiriesjournal.com

understanding of a concept. Therefore, using the cultural or social school of thought seems to be more captivating because it will put an emphasis on how people's races, religious affiliations, their age, and their areas of residence influences why they define "patriotism" the way they do. The observations made during and before this study might help to fill this gap by showing that there are so many other factors affecting patriotism. The one most important is that of education and this may be the key to creating awareness of patriotism among different people with differing affiliations and beliefs.

2.1 Psychological School of Thought

When trying to understand what patriotism is in terms of variation and perception, the first school of thought; the psychological school, plays an important role. This school mainly focuses on how people respond and react when they see other things such as individuals. These reactions could spring from the perception and perhaps inferiority complexes they have for themselves. A person who feels inferior will tend to hold him/herself of lower regard in relation to his/her counterpart. However, it also suffices to add that, often an inferiority complex is because of being marginalized by the "other" who feels they are more superior. Such feelings are in fact propagated by others upon those they think are their subjects. Devos and Heng argue by giving an example that "the American White effect stems from an accessibility bias, leading individuals to assume that a White person is more likely to be patriotic than an Asian person" (Devos and Heng 2009, 193).

Their first observation casted the automatic tendency to think, "patriotism to be greater from White faces than from Asian faces". If we take the Ugandan situation into context, an example can be given of some of the ethnicities that regard themselves to be more patriotic than others. The Baganda of the Central region have a strong leadership by the king and this to some extent accords them a higher place in society. As a result, they don't do some jobs such as being a security man. Instead such jobs are left for people mostly from the West Nile because historically they were the first to infiltrate the police and the army and are generally viewed to be strong and resistant in character. One would think that the later ought to feel more patriotic, but this is to the contrary. Instead, it is the

Baganda who feel that they are more Ugandan and thus more patriotic. Another clearer example is the fact that because the incumbent Kaguta Museveni fought a guerilla war that saw the ousting of Obote II from power, he has always taken himself to be more patriotic than others around him. He does not allow to be contradicted whether politically or on economic issues and on matters regarding the welfare of the state. In this case it is quite clear how the past can influence the understanding of patriotism although it becomes a more reductive and shot sighted perception. The scholars referred to earlier in fact believe individuals define "patriotism" differently because of an accessibility bias. Taking into consideration the examples given, it explains why there are so many unqualified biases towards patriotism that can simply be interpreted as prejudice.

Devos and Banaji (2005) also examine and agree in "socio-cognitive fracture, which occurs between the conscious and unconscious assigning of the attribute 'patriotism' among different ethnic groups". Using their six tests, the difference among beliefs concerning the group and the self-operating outside of conscious control are shown. And as exemplified earlier, group identity can impact how one determines what "patriotism" is, and the characteristics they assign to it. "Their primary finding concluded that White Americans are considered more patriotic because of their dominance in society. The argument made by the authors is good because it essentially points out how someone 'White' is more patriotic than someone non-white"⁴. Relating the above to Uganda, the present government which consists of few group of people from the western part of the country tried to show how more patriotic they are compared to the to the rest of the other citizens. All the government top jobs are assigned to them by the president thinking that they are the only ones who can do the work perfectly. This creates a bias from other ethnicities in terms of equal opportunities due to their dominance of one ethnic group. However, the disadvantage is that they don't pay any attention on any other factors besides group identity and socio cognitive fractures. These are considered to exist between the conscious and unconscious assigned of the attribute "patriotism" among different ethnic groups. Also, they do not mention any level of patriotism among different ethnic groups.

Park-Taylor et al. describes how different generations of American citizens define their patriotic spirits in relation to 9/11 and the war in Iraq (2008). The twelve

⁴ www.inquiriesjournal.com

candidates who contributed to this study were interviewed. It was discovered that traumatic events can change a person's view. But studying catastrophic and traumatic events may present flaws as it may not give an insight about other groups of people. Jahromi's (Stepick et al 2002) studied how young people endowed with regards to ethnicity, have amiable immigrant statuses and their school contexts make something good out of their experiences. This yet again highlights the individual psychological experience. Twenty-two interviews with youth between the ages of 15 and 18 were carried out in this study and the collusions suggested that specific experiences help us to form and define what patriotism is. Jahromi's and Park's arguments are a bit similar in their flaws because they both conclude that specific experiences affect how one perceives patriotism.

2.2 Cultural-Social School of Thought

The second school of thought is Cultural-Social. The reasons for differences in the concept of patriotism can also be handled under the social cultural school of thought which seems to be more logical in relation to this study. Social-cultural school of thought puts emphasis on ethnic groups, cultural norms and believes which serve as a basis for understanding patriotism. Tsai et al (2002) touches upon the fact that different ethnic groups have different concerns about statuses as compared to the general American culture. In the end, a variation will be seen in relation to what patriotism is. What is important in this study is the fact that the results showed that similarities and differences in the perception of patriotism may vary according to different ethnic groups.

The authors' stand is attractive, and I guess it's one of the best ways to relate to the idea of patriotism education in Uganda. This calls for examining whether in teaching patriotism a bias is created toward one ethnicity as opposed to other ethnicities. However, this school of thought seems to be a little bit flawed. This study talked about patriotism. The result showed that Asians are less patriotic than whites which conclusion seems to be biased. While race might be an important factor in determining patriotism, there are other factors which must come into play for one to get proper results.

The research showed differences between individuals ethnicity and their view of being patriotic. Weisskirch (2005) states that ethnic minorities will not reflect themselves as "typical Patriots," and those who do take themselves as "typical patriots" will have less of an attachment to an ethnic group. So, one's ethnic identity associates with how much they consider themselves to be "patriotic." In the case of Uganda, those who fought in the war of liberation like the Banyankole and Baganda have the view that they are more patriotic. Minorities like the Bakonjo of western Uganda hardly take a seat in parliament because it is thought they would not serve their constituencies as required of them. His outcomes favored his argument at a large extent. Weisskirch clearly indicates how people define patriotism basing on or using ethnic group. On the other hand, his argument rises a crisis for not acknowledging other factors, such as age and sex, religion, or the region where people live. He does not clearly site patriotism in different ethnic groups.

According to Rodriguez et al. (2010) he asserts that our ethnic backgrounds and beliefs can greatly influence the definition of patriotism. These scholars have discovered that being patriotic was tantamount to sacrificing a connection to family and community. In addition, they explain that individual identity had a link between feeling patriotic to its own existence. The practice of using social dominance as a means of explaining why some ethnic member groups may feel less or more patriotic is commonly engaged in this method. The contention about people who affiliate with a certain group of origin can lead to being patriotic. However, the argument in this school of thought do not exhaust the different variables relevant to analyzing ethnic groups in regarding to feelings of patriotism.

Understating patriotism may also arise from analyzing an individual's physical features their gestures manner of speech and style of dress. In Cheryan and Monin's (2005) study, she describes a difference between Asians and other nationalities according to their feelings of patriotism. She urges that Asian features (physical) are seen to be less patriotic. In the case of Uganda style of dress has come to portray different patriotic spirits among citizens. For instance, the popularized People Power movement is symbolized with red, yet it is anti-government. As a result, anyone putting on red, be it a pair of shoes or a tie is a traitor and therefore un patriotic. On the other hand, the ruling party is symbolized

with the color yellow and therefore all those who adorn themselves in yellow in support of the ruling party are taken or considered to be patriotic. In Uganda there are those who go an extra mile and make attires from the national flag to be worn on special national occasions. Perhaps this is one of the strongest view that supports how one perceives patriotism.

2.3 THEORIES OF PATRIOTISM

Patriotism's concerns can be related to the philosopher's question. How can one define patriotism? How is it connected to similar concepts, such as nationalism? How can it be defined on the angle of moral standing? Is it morally valuable or perhaps even mandatory⁵, or it should be something that we should distance ourselves from? Not until of recent, philosophers never used to show interest in the subject. The sixteenth century is the pioneering century for the discussion of patriotism in relation to philosophy, although many authors that are talked about in the article "The Historical Dictionary of Philosophy" mostly touches on authors who are not philosophers

Recent years have seen many changes related to patriotism. The changes were because of the revival of communitarianism which was a response to moral philosophy exemplified by John Rawls (1971) *Theory of Justice*. On the other side nationalism played a great part in these changes all over the world during this time. Andrew Oldenquist compromised with these changes on his version of morality as an issue of varying loyalties instead of outright principles (Oldenquist, 1982), and conquered with MacIntyre's argument that patriotism is a major moral aspect (MacIntyre, 1984). In responding to MacIntyre, scholars have urged for constrained or deflated type of patriotism (Baron, 1989; Primoratz, 2002). On the other hand, some have urged against all sorts of patriotism (Keller, 2005). The philosophical discussions relating to patriotism show no sign of abating. A similar debate in the politics of philosophy is related to a sort of patriotism that ought to stand in place of nationalism as a means of a stable self-sustaining polity.

Most of the discussions carried out on "both patriotism and nationalism are often tainted by lack of intelligibility due to the failure to distinguish the two terms.

⁵ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

Most of the writers use the two terms interchangeably”⁶. Among those who have tried to draw a line of distinction between the two ended up summarizing the meanings of both patriotism and nationalism in an unhealthy way. “In the 19th century, Lord Acton contrasted ‘nationality’ and patriotism as affection and instinct vs. a moral relation”⁷. Nationality is “our connection with the race” that is “merely natural or physical,” while patriotism is teaching of our moral duties to the political community such as helping the old and the needy in our societies, paying taxes which contributes to the development of our communities. It may also include advising the young generation who have gone astray from the countries founding principles like not going to school due to child labor, being good to other citizens and so many others. All these contribute to the moral duties of patriotism education since it is the grassroots of development of the nation in a democratic system. In the 20th century, Elie Kedourie looked at the other side of the coin, showing “nationalism as a complete philosophical and political dogma about nations. He added that they are elements of people within which the individual can find freedom and self-actualization, and patriotism is mere sentiment of affection for one’s country” (Kedourie, 2009).

George Orwell identified two main aspects related to patriotism and nationalism that is, aggressive vs. defensive attitudes. He explains that power and nationalism are one and the same and those that adhere to it are simply longing for as much power and prestige as possible. Thus, it shows how aggressive nationalism is while patriotism remains defensive. Patriotism is a “devotion to a particular way of life one thinks best but has no wish to impose on others” (Orwell, 1968). Describing these two aspects in this way is closely related to an approach common with politicians and the wide spread every day rhetoric that marginalizes and creates a double standard of us vs them. “Country and nation come first, and then patriotism and nationalism are determined in terms of the strength of the love and special concern one feels for it, as well as the degree of one’s identification with it. If these are shown in a thoughtful manner without ill or hostile actions, then it is said to be patriotism” (Orwell, 1968). However, if they become ill intended causing others to act badly, then it is said to be nationalism. Surprisingly

⁶ www.plato.stanford.edu

⁷ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

enough, it often arises that we are patriots, while they are nationalists (Billig, 1995).

In another other point of view, patriotism and nationalism can be distinguished as one that is basic and does not require moral underpinnings. By putting politics on the side “nation makes it identical with country, state, or polity, and the political or civic type of nationalism related to it. We need concern ourselves only with the other, ethnic or cultural sense of nation, and focus on ethnic or cultural nationalism”⁸. To do so, we ought to know or understand the meaning of a “nation”; which can be explained in relation to ancestral ties, historical backgrounds, norms, and cultural traits. “Both patriotism and nationalism involve affection of, classifying or associating with, and special concern for a certain entity. In the case of patriotism, that entity is one’s *patria*, one’s country; in the case of nationalism, that entity is one’s *nation*, (in the ethnic/cultural sense of the term). In short patriotism and nationalism may be taken as the same set of beliefs and attitudes however differentiated in terms of their objects rather than the strength of sentiments and attitudes. As there is much overlap between country and nation so it is the same with patriotism and nationalism. Thus, much that applies to one will also apply to the other”⁹. However, when a country is not ethnically bound or when a nation does not have a country of its own, this may become distinguishable. A good example are the Palestinians who do not have a country, yet they are a nation with ethnically bound citizens.

2.3.1 Normative Issues

Patriotism has had critics on the other side too. The punitive “among them have judged it deeply faulty in every important respect. In the 19th century, one of the Russian novelist and thinker, Tolstoy described patriotism as something useless and immoral” (Tolstoy, 1987). It is useless because every patriot thinks that his or her country is the best among others, of course, and only one country can qualify. “It is dishonest because it encourages us to promote our country’s interests at the expense of all other countries and at all costs, including war. On the other side of morality, it goes ahead to tell us to treat our people the way we want us to be

⁸ www.plato.stanford.edu

⁹ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

treated. This should be the basic law of patriotism and patriotism education” (Tolstoy, 1987). Recently, “Tolstoy’s critique has been supported by American political theorist George Kateb, who argues that patriotism is a mistake twice over: it is typically a grave moral error and its source is typically a state of mental confusion” (Kateb, 2000). “Patriotism is most importantly expressed in a readiness to die and to kill for one’s country. But a country is not a discernible collection of discernible individuals; it is rather an abstraction ... a compound of a few actual and many imaginary ingredients.”¹⁰ “Specifically, in addition to being a delimited territory, it is also constructed out of transmitted memories true and false; a history usually mostly falsely sanitized or falsely heroized; a sense of kinship of a largely invented purity; and social ties that are largely invisible or impersonal, indeed abstract ...”¹¹. Therefore, patriotism is “a readiness to die and to kill for an abstraction ... for what is largely a figment of the imagination”

Some of these issues can be explained. Although “full-fledged patriotism does involve a belief in one’s country’s virtues, it need not involve the belief that one’s country is better than all others. And the fact that a country is not a collection of “discernible individuals” and that the social ties among compatriots are largely invisible or impersonal, rather than palpable and face-to-face, does not show that it is unreal or imaginary”¹². As Benedict Anderson, who coined the term imagined community, points out, “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact ... are imagined.” “Imagined community is not the opposite of real community, but rather of community whose members have face-to-face relations” (Anderson 1991).

However, “there is another, more plausible line of criticism of patriotism focusing on its intellectual, rather than moral credentials. Moreover, Tolstoy’s and Kateb’s arguments questioning the moral legitimacy of patriotic partiality and thus highlighting the connection of patriotism with international tensions and war cannot be so easily refuted”¹³. Having looked at the above theories, their limitations and flaws, the next section discusses the different types of patriotism that are somewhat crucial for this study.

¹⁰ www.plato.stanford.edu

¹¹ www.plato.stanford.edu

¹² www.plato.stanford.edu

¹³ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

2.3.2 Extreme Patriotism

Machiavelli in his book *The Prince*, taught leaders that they should learn to break their promises in cases where it is necessary. He taught them to “deceive, dissemble, and use violence, sometimes in cruel ways and on a large scale, when political circumstances require such actions” (1998). The relevance of this teaching can be discerned from how one reads this rule in relation to patriotism. One of the most important of “Machiavelli’s teaching, however, is relevant; for he sought to convey the same lesson to politicians and common citizens of a republic”¹⁴. “When the safety of one’s country wholly depends on the decision to be taken, no attention should be paid either to justice or injustice, to kindness or cruelty, or to its being praiseworthy or ignominious” (Machiavelli, 1998)]. “The paramount interests of one’s country override any moral consideration with which they might come into conflict”¹⁵.

This type is however rare because it has no regard for any moral standing. Statements such as “Our country, right *or wrong*” cannot be right and demonstrate a general contrasting view towards the whole concept of patriotism which is wrought with a high sense of moral standing. On the other hand, it is not to say that it is or has not been practiced before. For instance, it can be presumed that during the imperial regimes when many countries were conquered, and their people turned into slaves to serve the imperial rulers. One could surmise that extreme patriotism was being practiced.

2.3.3 Robust Patriotism

In contrast to extreme patriotism is robust patriotism. In a lecture, “Is Patriotism a Virtue?” MacIntyre contrasts “patriotism with the liberal commitment to certain universal values and principles” (1984). On the liberal view, how and where one learns patriotism is as equally important as for what purpose it is learnt. For MacIntyre, “where and from whom I learn my morality is of decisive importance both for my commitment to it and for its very contents” (1984).

¹⁴ www.plato.stanford.edu

¹⁵ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

He further argues that morality is of relative importance and what is perceived moral to one community may be perceived differently by another. “Morality is always the morality of a particular community. One can understand and internalize moral rules only in and through the way of life of one’s community” (MacIntyre, 1984: 8). The rules that a moral standing acclaim is based on the value that is in it. These values are also pertinent to a people’s “way of life in a community”. “The individual becomes a moral agent only when informed as such by his community. He also lives and flourishes as one because he is sustained in his moral life by his community”. “... I can only be a moral agent because we are moral agents ... detached from my community, I will be apt to lose my hold upon all genuine standards of judgment” (1984: 10–11). This means that an individual is only moral with regards to what the community has designed him to be. In the case of Uganda, there are so many ethnic groups with varying moral standards however they may not be so extreme as to impinge on their patriotic spirit when it comes to national issues.

If I can live and flourish as a moral agent only as a member of my community, while playing the role this membership involves, then my very identity is bound up with that of my community, its history, traditions, institutions, and aspirations. Therefore, If I do not understand the enacted narrative of my own individual life as embedded in the history of my country ... I will not understand what I owe to others or what others owe to me, for what crimes of my nation I am bound to make reparation, for what benefits to my nation I am bound to feel gratitude. Understanding what is owed to and by me and understanding the history of the communities of which I am a part is one and the same thing” (MacIntyre, 1984).

From the above definition it can be proper to say that patriotism is not to be contrasted with morality. As a matter of fact morality is the bedrock of patriotism and so is patriotism to morality. Primoratz’s argument in relation to patriotism is also valid here. He argues that MacIntyre’s position is different from a popular version of patriotism that tends to conflate the two that is morality and patriotism. His view in relation to MacIntyre is that ‘one can oppose one’s country’s government in the name of the country’s true character, history, and aspirations.’ And to him this is more valuable and rational. However, Primoratz also argues about the questionability of this kind of moral standing saying that one might question the communitarian foundations. He adds that ‘one might find fault with the step from communitarianism to patriotism’. Primoratz further quotes Nathanson on the discursiveness of a community sense of patriotism.

Even if his communitarian conception of morality were correct and even if the process of moral development ensured that group loyalty would emerge as a central

virtue, no conclusion would follow about the importance of patriotism. The group to which our primary loyalty would be owed would be the group from which we had obtained our moral understanding. This need not be the community as a whole or any political unit, however. It could be one's family, one's town, one's religion. The nation need not be the source of morality or the primary beneficiary of our loyalty." (Nathanson, 1989, 549).

2.3.4 Moderate Patriotism

What then would a citizen regard as the right stance to take towards patriotism. If one does not attain robust patriotism it does not as well mean being impartial or neutral. It is necessary to create a sort of middle principle for two extremes. There is a common ground between these extremes. This would require a consideration of both the universal principles and those that are particular to a group or community.

As Primoratz further argues in relation to Baron's study, that "patriotism is compatible with liberal morality," or "liberal patriotism" (Marcia Baron 1989). Morality allows one to be both partial and impartial if the situation permits it to be so, as it would mean different moral standing in the different situation. At one level we can think of ourselves and be impartial but on one hand we are required to think about the universal values of our decisions and thus call our impartiality into question. We ought to consider "that with respect to certain matters and within limits, it is *good* for an American to judge as an American, and to put American interests first. This means that with respect to those matters and within the same limits, it is also good for a Cuban to judge as a Cuban and to put Cuban interests first, etc." (Baron, 1989, 272).

Primarotz further contends and as well Nathanson and Baron argue for a moderate sense of patriotism in several ways, albeit related. Both of their arguments acknowledge "the constraints morality imposes on the pursuit of our individual and collective goals."¹⁶ For instance, a patriot may fight a just war and only a just war for his country. This would mean that a suicide bomber aboard an airline may not be justified to kill all the passengers even if it is for his country because this kind of war would be considered unjust. But believers of "both extreme and robust patriotism will consider themselves bound to fight for their country

¹⁶ www.plato.stanford.edu

whether its cause be just or not”¹⁷. Moderate patriotism is the kind of theoretical approach that would be suitable even for this study. “It’s adherent will show special concern for his country and compatriots, but that will not prevent him from showing concern for other countries and their inhabitants”¹⁸. This would mean the Americans and their conceived American dream for those outside the country, whereas the leader President Trump famously from time to time pronounces the ‘America First’ slogan is questioned. Moderate patriotism takes on a very humanist stance in that it is necessary at times to put another person before oneself, to be selfless. Such patriotism is compatible with a decent degree of humanitarianism.

And in a final point as Primarozt has concluded, “moderate patriotism is not uncritical, unconditional, or egocentric’. For a person who follows this type of patriotism, it is not enough that the country is *her* country. There is an apparent need for the relationship to be reciprocal. One will also expect his or her country to live up to certain standards and thereby deserve the support it so demands. This includes showing devotion, and special concern for the individual’s well-being¹⁹’. A failure to do this would mean that the person withholds support for his or her country. In contrast, “adherents of both extreme and robust patriotism, on the other hand, love their country unconditionally, and stand by it whatever the cost is”²⁰.

2.3.5 Deflated Patriotism

This sort of patriotism argues that we are patriots because we were born and bred in a country and as a result we owe and are forever in debt with our countries for having given us an identity. And as Primoratz “argues, gratitude is probably the most popular among the grounds adduced for patriotic duty quoting” Socrates in Plato’s *Crito* (51c-51d), “... We have a moral obligation towards our country because we are indebted to it. We owe our country our life, our education, our language, and, in the most fortunate cases, our liberty. If we want to be moral persons, we must return what we have received, at least in part, by serving the

¹⁷ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

¹⁸ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

¹⁹ www.plato.stanford.edu

²⁰ www.stanford.library.sydney.edu.au.

common good” (in Viroli, 1995, 9). As this may be the case, one can’t deny that this sort of argument suffers a little strain especially if you consider the fact that we are born and bred by our parents and there for deflated patriotism may stand criticism for being overly exaggerated. More so, appreciation is good only for a benefit given freely as a reward and not as a quid pro quo. However, many benefits are received as part of persuasion and be able to influence behaviour. That one has a moral duty to one’s country and nation is undeniable but politically speaking the issue of fairness cannot be overlooked. If a country requires citizens to be bound to it morally then it is only fair that the country gives back to the citizens what is due to them. As earlier argued this sense of patriotism is unavoidably double sided.



CHAPTER THREE

PATRIOTISM IN UGANDA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

3. INTRODUCTION

This chapter briefly touches on the political history of Uganda dating from the period after independence in the early 1960's. This period is critical because it signals Uganda's systems of self-rule and formation of political, social, economic and cultural structures. Secondly the chapter highlights the geographical setting of Uganda and particularly identify the different ethnic backgrounds of the people of Uganda. Finally, the major crux of this study is going to be brought into perspective. The issue of patriotism education in the Ugandan education system is examined considering whether it is a dormant ideology of Uganda's political education structure.

3.1. UGANDA'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

Uganda was formally introduced in 1962 after the country gained its independence from her master colony Britain. This was the period when most African countries gained their independences from their colonial masters, Ghana being the first to attain its independence in 1954. It was on 9th October 1962 when Uganda fully became the republic of Uganda from the British colonial masters. In the years following Uganda's independence, coups and civil wars were the order of the day propagated by people who were fighting for power. Only in a period of 24 years after Uganda attained its independence, there were almost 9 military coups which casted a lot of negative implications on social, economic and political development of the country. It is one of the countries around the world which has had great leaders with that patriotic spirit on which the country was first founded. However, this sort of patriotism leaves a lot to be questioned later alone to be admired because of the way the leaders seem to perceive and put it into practice. For example, after Yoweri Museveni took over power in 1986, he promised to rescue Ugandans from civil wars, insecurity, and implement measures

to a well-recognised democracy, as well as make improvements in all sectors of social, economic and political developments.

This president, since the war of liberation in 1986 is still in power. In 1995 the current president introduced a new constitution in place which has since formed the basis of the country's "democratic" governance. After a period of 10 years (in 2005) the president passed a resolution to allow the constitution to be modified to a multi-party democratic system. And this has almost set a trend that the constitution shall change whenever there was going to be a presidential election.

Uganda as a Country has a population of 41 million people and it was referred as a pearl of Africa by the Europeans who first explored it during the 19th century. This was based on its favourable climate and fertile soils. One of the missionaries who visited Uganda in the early 1870s was heard saying, its only in Ugandan soils where you can plant your finger and it grows back, due to its fertility. Uganda is found in East Africa. It is still marked as a developing country with many of its people living below the poverty line. Uganda shares its boarders with "Tanzania in the south, Rwanda in the southwest, Democratic Republic Congo in the west, Sudan in the North and Kenya in the East"²¹. It is a land locked country. According to central intelligent authority (CIA) world fact book, 2004, more than three quarters of this population is rural based whereas almost half of it lives below the poverty line. (Ngaka, 2006). the condition of living is not favorable for many Ugandans. In addition to that, the country is faced with a lot of social, political and economic instability. As a result, the united Nations having seen this status, categorized Uganda as "The World's worst humanitarian crises." (Moyi, 2013)

Despite being a land locked country, the equatorial climate of this country is natured with cooling breezes from the rift valleys and the mountains plus the abundant vegetation resulting into of plentiful rainfall which happens to fall around April and November. Uganda is gifted with Lake Victoria which has got fresh waters though it shares its waters with some of its neighbouring countries. It's in Uganda where the source of River Nile, from which brings in a lot of tourists in the country and this helps us to boost our economy in terms of raising revenues from the tourism sector.

²¹ www.itu.int

Uganda's official language is English since she was a British protectorate. Luganda is also spoken widely throughout the country even though there are several ethnicities each endowed with its own language. There is a prospect of using a single language in the whole of Africa and that is Swahili which is being used in almost 20 countries in Africa with a prospect of turning Africa into a United States of Africa. For the case of Uganda English is used as an official language both in the official government systems and communities due to different ethnicities. For instance Uganda has got approximately 40 ethnicities each speaking its own native language. Baganda are the largest ethnic group, coupled with its centrality in terms of location, its language Luganda is widely used across the country after English. Besides that there are other ethnicities such as Basoga, Banyakole, Bagisu, Batoro and some of other ethnic groups founded in Uganda.

3.2 EDUCATION SYSTEM IN UGANDA

Uganda's education is not as new as one might think it could be, it is as old as its societies. Its education system can be traced to the indigenous education which was an informal based education and concentrated on instilling values and behaviour practices among people. This was not a class room-based form of education and its implementation was mostly done at home at any time but especially in the evening when work on the fields or farms had been finished. The best class room-like setting was around the fire place where educators were mostly grandparents. The most positive attitude towards this form of education was that children grew up with a firm foundation and strong grounding in the value systems of the community and the nation at large.

Being informal implies that the definition of the character is not written; it is simply described through oral tradition and the informal educational practices used to develop it according to national aspirations and goals (Smith, 2006). The California Department of Education (2009) observes that the attributes often used to define the ideal character that every citizen should develop include love and care for the country and its environment. It also teaches valuing one's citizenship, fairness, trustworthiness, having respect for others and a sense of responsibility, and being creative and productive.

In the 1870's the different kingdoms of Uganda such as Buganda, Ankole, Toro and others whose kingdoms were ruled by traditional rulers invited the missionaries to come and provide their people with formal education. This would enhance international relations and developments. It was during this period when a formal education system was introduced. The coming of the missionaries saw the construction of many missionary schools based on Christian or catholic religious principle and teachings. Formal education in Uganda has evolved over time towards what it is today. When the British colonialist took over rule in Uganda many systems whether political social or economic had been curved to resemble and imitate those of the mother Country Britain. As a result, Uganda's education system currently has a close semblance with that of the United Kingdom.

According to the Ugandan Education Annual report, Ugandans study both Primary and Secondary school levels of education. These levels are considered basic and do not qualify one to be a professional unless they have gone to a tertiary institution after either Primary or Secondary school. Uganda was based on a system of informal education mostly conducted at home and by the elders. This system involved no professionalism on the side of the teachers as it could be anyone from a mother to a grandmother or uncle and aunt. Most of these classes were done in evening around fire places. This time was convenient as everyone was guaranteed to be home after spending most of the day on the farms. In the last thirty years, the increase in formal education has been quite significant. "This could be attributed to the introduction of universal primary education and later universal secondary education which is a government sponsored project"²². Enrolment in primary schools has increased with a magnitude of over five million students. Enrolment in secondary schools is still low. In general, enrolment increased by five hundred students. As shown above, the gap between primary school enrolment and secondary school education is quite big. This indicates that many students drop out of school after primary school level. In addition, at secondary school level parents are told to pay a little extra money, thus students stop at primary level without continuing to secondary schools.

As earlier mentioned, the education system in Uganda is one similar to the British system. This is because Uganda was a British colony, so those who were left in

²² www.ijtase.net

charge of the country when the master colony had left Uganda in 1962, hardly changed anything. Ugandan educationists just picked up from where the British had left the country in all the institutions such as consists of law. Education starts at the very early age starting at the age of two in Reception class and Baby classes where the toddlers are taught domestic behaviour and norms like toilet habits among others.

According to “venture Uganda” a website which oversees the recording educational related research in Uganda, the government has tried to open up new school. But despite what appears to be genuine aims of the state, there are really few free state schools on ground. Moreover, there is so much competition between sponsored schools and privately-owned schools. This is because the quality of education and the results achieved by private schools varies tremendously. The system these days is result oriented therefore parents prefer to educate their children in private schools rather than state owned schools.

Apart from a few rare cases, Uganda’s education program runs from early February to early December. Children may cover a non-mandatory period of 2-3 years of pre-primary between the ages of 3-6. Primary level usually starts at the age of 6 or 7 years. Students study this level for seven years after which they can continue to secondary school for six years. The six years are divided into the first four years of ordinary secondary level and the last two years of advanced secondary level. Post-secondary level (university) normally covers a period of three years to five years depending on the field of study subject that a student chooses.

In Uganda the acquisition of education is a basic human right and should be accorded to all. Thus, the government continues to strive to make free education available to all children in the country. But as this may be the case, it has not done enough to ensure that service is duly provided. For instance, many states run schools lack resources like text books and other scholastic materials. In addition, teachers are not well paid so most of the time they are not willing to do their work and end up obscuring from duty. As a result, the education levels have continued to be stagnate.

The present system of universal primary education (UPE) that has existed since 1997 came into existence as an extension of the governments democratization

process. This was done hand in hand with the promotion of open election after government discovered that there was a general yearning for free education by many Ugandans. And indeed, universal primary education gained massive support and many members of parliament won seats. However, the project has for so long been plagued by problems of funding, corruption and poor management. After only two years since Universal Primary Education government enrolled six million students compared to the two million of the previous years. But the widening gap between those who continue to secondary school only attests to the challenges and unforeseen failure of the universal primary education.

The other reason why many universal primary education students are not able to continue to secondary school level is because they have not been able to score the required minimum entry into it.

When this program started, its aim was to provide free education to four children per family. However Ugandan family structure is very complex, with extended families where by a man is allowed both religiously and culturally to marry more than one wife. So, the program could not stick to this rule of four children per family. Because of the circumstances, the president ruled that education is free to all at both primary and secondary levels. (Omona, 2012).²³ As the policy gets into practice there is an influx of students which becomes over whelming and straining on the few resources and major structures that are on ground (Ngake, 2006). Ngaka further comments on the costs and losses that arose from this program one of which and perhaps the most challenging one is the poor quality of education. Other problems include “low pupil achievement, untrained teachers, poor infra-structures and classroom settings” (Ngaka, 2006, 173).

Because of the large number of students per class, teaching becomes quite difficult. In many cases, a class has a minimum of 70 pupils or students and the maximum of 150 pupils or students in a session. The ratio of student to teachers is sometimes one teacher to 50 students which is quite absurd. The system is also constrained by regulations which are very lax about who can register and who can't. so, at times a teacher is faced with an inequality in age with students ranging between ages 6-16 in a primary one class. (Moyi, 2013) The level of

²³ <https://informationcradle.com/africa/education-in-uganda>

understanding of these students varies so the teacher will have difficulties explaining as some will understand easily and others might not.

3.3 PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

As mentioned before, primary education level last for only seven years and ends with a primary leaving certificate exams (PLE). As the law states, education for children between six and thirteen years of age is mandatory. Lower primary classes of one to three have a much simpler curriculum, which consists of topics about daily life, about general hygiene and health, security and safety around own homes, and as a simple science about plants and domestic and zero grazed animals.

The medium of instruction ought to be English but in many rural schools a common local language may be used until the end of primary three. Primary four sees a change in curriculum from a thematic one to a more subject based one. From class four to class seven subjects taught include integrated science, English language, mathematics, social studies (SST), religious education studies, creative and fine arts, physical education, local languages and Swahili as a national language. However, not all the subjects are examined at the national levels. Only four major subjects that is, English, Mathematics, Social Studies and Science are examined.

In Uganda the school year is separated by three weeks holidays in May and September. Thus, there are three trimesters in a year. The holidays have been emphasized because there has been an increase in extra teaching or learning classes in recent years. The holidays are important because this is the only time the child spends out of school being that many go to boarding schools, More so, the holiday can be used to prepare co-curricular classes such as safely educator or even give more attention to patriotic clubs.

3.4 PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

“Secondary education comprises 6 years and consists of lower secondary for the first 4 years and upper secondary for the last 2 years. The age group of lower secondary school is around 13 to 17. Lower secondary is also called Ordinary

Level. Students take a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 10 subjects”²⁴. Secondary school education is comprised of different subjects under different categories like arts, sciences, and languages. The table below summarises, these categories.

Table 1. Subject Categories

Subject's Name	Category
Mathematics, chemistry, physics, Physical Education, Biology general sciences and	Science and Mathematics
Foreign languages English, Swahili, Literature in English Local Languages,	Languages
History, Religious Education	Geography,
Entrepreneurship Home Economics, Commerce, Fine art, Agriculture, Music, wood work, metal work, technical drawing, education, computer studies	Vocational Sciences

There are over twenty subjects that can be taught at secondary school level. However, the schools have the right to choose depending on the goals they have designed for their students and the resources available. For instance, to teach home economics, the school must provide extra resources and a home economics laboratory where practical classes are carried out. The compulsory classes at ordinary level include Mathematics, English, Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Geography, and History. After the four years of ordinary level, a national exam is conducted or done after which a certificate is issued the Uganda Certificate of Education. Although this level does not qualify one to be anything, many students branches into tertiary institutions to pursue different fields of interests. It is the

²⁴ See for details, www.nuffic.nl

same certificate that is required for civil servants especially those that represent people in parliament and local council levels.

The 2 years of upper secondary school prepare students for university. As a matter of fact, if this advanced level of education in the Uganda system is compared to the education systems like the Turkish one, this would equate to the first year of university education in the turkey education system. It is not surprising therefore that university education in Uganda takes a period of only three years. During our secondary education, “they would take a combination of 3 subjects at Principal level and 2 subjects at Subsidiary level, of which the subject general paper is mandatory. After 2 years of upper secondary, students receive the Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE). They will be around the age of 19 at this point”²⁵.

Just like many schools around the world, classes start at eight in the morning and end at five in the evening every week day. But for schools that run two sessions in the morning and the afternoon, the former session starts at seven in the morning until one, and the afternoon sessions starts at one thirty to six o’clock in the evening. The style of teaching involves explaining (lecture style), dictating notes and sometimes illustrating on boards or with wall charts. The system is more of theoretical than practical, some students have little or completely no access to laboratories for science classes such as biology, physics and chemistry.

Some schools have other co-curricular clubs that are headed by teachers and mostly run by students. Such clubs include patriotism clubs, debate clubs, scout’s clubs, red cross clubs and others as decided by different schools. On top of this many games are incorporated into the school program as an after-class activity. These include but not limited to football, netball, rugby, cricket and many others.

3.5 STATE RUN AND PRIVATELY-OWNED SCHOOLS

Ever since the introduction of privatisation of most of the government managed agencies and institutions, many schools took to the same form of management. As a matter of fact, many government schools have elements of private sections and the best government schools in terms of performance are in fact the most

²⁵ www.nuffic.nl

expensive ones. This has created an imbalance between what is considered a state school and a private school. That said, these schools have proved to be very competitive and can only accept the best students for vacancies to study in the school. In addition, there has been a mushrooming of many purely privately-owned schools whose aim is not only to impart knowledge and values but to also make a leaving against all odds. As a result, education- to be precise quality education has become quite expensive for the average Ugandan citizen. This affects not only education in general but also patriotism education which it is hoped can only be imparted in a formal setting of the goal of its implementation is to be achieved.

3.6 PATRIOTISM IN UGANDA'S EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The National Curriculum Development Center a body charged with overseeing the qualities of services given in the education sectors, stipulates that primary education ought to enable learners to develop competences and life skills for survival and general wellbeing. National Curriculum Development Center puts emphasis on the value placed in the subjects of literacy, numeracy, and languages. Other issues to be emphasized are values in society, attitudes towards learning and acquiring knowledge and the most important are which is cross-cutting assessment.

The education curriculum supports a methodology that is friendly, child-centered, and other methods in which learners must participate in the learning process fully to make a fair achievement. Another aim is that learners must acquire skills such as team work and self-confidence, which might help them meet the demands of society and life in general. (NCDC: 2017)

The Curriculum is presented in three cycles, namely:

- i) Lower primary curriculum.

This curriculum runs from primary one to primary three concentrating to issues easier and closer to the learner's environment. The content of the text in this level include hygiene, domestic behaviours and basic math.

- ii) Upper primary curriculum.

This curriculum runs from primary four to primary seven. It basically concentrates on defining concepts in different subjects and giving appropriate level examples. “Each cycle has its own structures of knowledge, skills and learning outcomes. This arrangement is aimed at catering for:

- Different class interests.
- Abilities of the different age groups.
- Easy monitoring of learning at each new stage introduced.
- Assessment of the learner’s achievement at each stage.
- Provision of feedback on the progress of the learner's concept development and skills acquisition”²⁶

History subject contains cognitive skills, timeline of various historical events, case studies, diagrams, maps and figures of various personalities. The subject makes learners appreciate their history and heritage; makes learners able to analyze and make judgments of historical events; prepares learners for further education e.g. Liberal Arts courses like LLB, Social Sciences and Education among others. It teaches learners research and writing skills (NCDC, 2017).

The “idea that schools should cultivate patriotism in children has been high on the political agenda in Uganda over the last few years. Shortly after the discovery that the terrorist attacks on Kampala were perpetrated by Ugandan citizens, government called for a revival of British patriotism, to be achieved in part by a history curriculum centred on the British national story”²⁷.

In the study conducted about teaching and learning for democracy in secondary schools in Uganda, Susanne Rauh notes that Uganda’s education system is highly centralized and that it aims at educating one type of Ugandan citizen. Such citizens ought to possess knowledge and skills, values, and attitudes in accordance with appreciation for the national unity and culture, moral and individual qualities. The Government White Paper on the Education Policy Review Commission Report (1992) continues to be the policy document for the goals of

²⁶ www.ncdc.go.ug

²⁷ <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2048-416X.2011.00001.x>

primary and secondary education. She further summarizes the goals of senior secondary education as stipulated below in the government white paper.

“The first three aims spelled out in this document refer to values and attitudes that should be imparted in Ugandan students from primary level on. Through formal education young citizens should firstly acquire *‘understanding and appreciation of national unity, patriotism and cultural heritage’*. The second goal requests *‘moral, ethical and spiritual values’* and the individual’s values of *‘self-discipline, integrity, tolerance and human fellowship’*. Morality, integrity and discipline are regarded as (religious) core values aiming at ‘good’ character education. This is further expressed by the third aim *‘to inculcate into Ugandans a sense of service, duty and leadership for participation in civic, social and national affairs’*. Collective responsibility and co-operation facilitated *‘through group activities in educational institutions and the community’* refer to the individual’s contribution to and participation in community and society. Next to these value-oriented goals, three knowledge-related goals stress essential *‘scientific, technical and cultural knowledge, skills and attitudes’* to contribute to national development. The importance of human capital for the advancement of the Ugandan society is put clearly in the last aim *‘To equip the learners with the ability to contribute to the building of an integrated, self-sustaining and independent national economy’* (Republic of Uganda, 1999: vii)

According to the above quotation, government white paper clearly stipulates that patriotism should be among the fields of studies in secondary schools. Other fields of study include, moral, ethical and spiritual values’ and the individual’s values of ‘self-discipline, integrity, tolerance and human fellowship can lead the citizens to the desired patriotic spirit. Without a good moral standing, you cannot have a patriotic person because these ingredients are part and parcel of patriotism education.

What we see of patriotic education is perhaps, reflected more in political education, one of the subjects taught in secondary school from senior one to senior four on ordinary level. Rauh lists a wide range of topics taught in secondary schools which are grouped in the four parts of ‘States and government’, ‘Political economy’, ‘Justice and Human Rights’ and ‘Revolutions, liberation wars and international relations’ (UNEB, 2005: 84).

In addition, the syllabus of Christian and Islamic Religious Education focuses on respective religious knowledge, values and attitudes that enable the practice of religious behavior. As a result, students will acquire the ability of love as taught by religion. History on the other hand aims at “the political, social and economic developments that have taken place both in East Africa and in the other regions of Africa up to present day’. Throughout the course, students should acquire the

abilities *‘to weigh information and make judgments on historical events’* (UNEB, 2005: 73).

The secondary school curriculum of Uganda presents another challenge in education. For instance, the history topics taught are less about the country and more about the rest of the world. For example the battles of Napoleon’s defeat of Prussia are crucial in the history subjects at the advanced level. It remains an intrigue whether this is more important than all other events in and around Uganda. But if you look closely at what is taught it might have a negative impact. Fichte a Prussian philosopher who declared that “Education should provide the means to destroy free will.” He exemplified this statement by noting that Napoleon, during the battle avoids being sentimental and thus plays a nationalistic goal. In this system learners are made to believe that work creates freedom, more so, working for the state or even sacrificing one’s life for it is the greatest freedom of all. This might have a positive impact as it might create more patriotic nation.

Our current history courses in Uganda such as European history does not help to know the values of patriotism. So many educationists encourage the changes in these courses to include the principles of equality, liberty and justice on which the country is founded. According to Catharine Kersten in her research in the “Centre of American Experiment” summarise how schools can encourage patriotism”.

“If students are to become patriots, they must understand and embrace the principles of liberty, equality and justice on which a (nation...) is founded. In addition, they must develop the qualities of character that mark true citizens courage, responsibility, gratitude to forebears and a self-sacrificing devotion to the common good. As educators and parents, our task is to help young people see that (a nation....) is worthy of their love, and to help them become worthy of their heritage as (a nation...) citizens”²⁸

Every morning on assemblies’ schools all around Uganda, students and pupils must sing the national anthem at least one stanza as this portrays the love for their country. This is repeated at the beginning of all school function as most of the head teachers of Ugandan schools recommend. This is of a government regulation because it’s done across at the different levels of education in both private and public institution in Uganda.

In primary levels from class 1-3, pupils are taught a topic entitled “The Road to Independence.” This topic marks out the history of Buganda which is now

²⁸ www.americanexperiment.org

Uganda. In 1954, a team from the British government led by professor Kenneth Hancock, came to Uganda to mediate a deal between the British government and the Buganda Kingdom. Buganda's then chief Justice (Omulamuzi) Matayo Mugwanya led the Ugandan team in settling this deal. The negotiations saw the marking of the 1954 Buganda agreement. Such agreements were aimed at creating alliances between nations something considered important in the issue of patriotism and more so nationalism.

The topic "The Road to Independence" is marked by such agreements as mentioned above. The agreement had to operate for a certain period under which Uganda would continue to be a British protectorate. The agreement had to be adhered to only between 1955 to 1962 upon after which period, Uganda would gain its independence and become a sovereign state. This agreement made very crucial changes which could perhaps have affected the level of patriotism among some citizens. For instance, the agreement stipulated that the king of Buganda the Kabaka, shall no longer be an absolute ruler but shall stay as a constitutional monarch. Uganda gained independence on 9th October 1962 at Kololo independence grounds. Dr. Milton Obote the Prime minister at the time and leader of Uganda's people's Congress shrewdly found a means to negotiate with the Buganda and was handed the constitutional instruments of independence.

Notwithstanding the above conditions and challenges, many schools have come up with different ways of incorporating patriotism education in their school curricular. These have played a great role in promoting patriotism. Schools started initiating patriotism clubs for students and pupils such as the girl guides, scouts and so many others. The current president H.E Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was at the helm in pioneering some of these patriotism clubs in different regions around the country all these have built and expanded on the inclusion of patriotism in schools in Uganda today. Robert Kabushenga of New Vision daily newspaper recalls that,

"President Yoweri Museveni initiated the patriotism clubs in secondary schools in 2009 to 'inculcate the norms and values of patriotism among the youth and students in the post-primary schools'. A year later, the National secretariat for patriotism clubs was set up to actualize the president's directive in secondary schools"²⁹.

He further adds that "according to the ministry of education and sports secretariat and partners in executing patriotism education in secondary schools, the theme 'is

²⁹ www.newvision.co.ug

the use of scientific laws to generate critical thinking and creativity in the clubs. Also, to restore pride and confidence in Ugandans regarding the scientific, technological and social-economic advances their ancestors had made before colonialism”³⁰.

It should be noted that the purpose of these clubs is to add value and guard the common good without reserve. As the saying goes charity begins at home members in these clubs who are mostly students engage themselves in and around the school community services like sweeping, pruning, slashing and rubbish collection. Some go as far as extending labor to neighboring communities and end up getting some money either for school fees or up keep. But such patriotism clubs have faced many challenges in terms of human resources and funding as shall be discussed later.

Pupils of primary five to primary seven are taught about the great men in Uganda’s history like the late George Wilberforce Kakoma, the author of the Uganda Anthem “*Oh Uganda, May God uphold thee*” (Refer to Annex 1I), Mr. Grace Ibingira the creator and designer of the Uganda Flag “*the great black yellow Red*” Pupils go ahead to learn the meaning of every color of the flag and the symbols in it. The three colours symbolize the people of Africa (Black), sunshine (Yellow) and brotherhood (Red) (refer to Annex 1II). Cecil Tood, a lecturer at Makerere University who designed the Uganda Coat of Arms, pupils go on to learn the meaning of each symbol on the coat of Arms (Annex IV), (National Curriculum Development Centre, 1999)

3.7 COURSE MATERIALS IN UGANDA EDUCATION SYSTEM

The “National Curriculum Development center (NCDC) is a corporate autonomous body of the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoE&S). It is responsible for arranging development of curricula and related materials for various levels of education (for example Pre-Primary, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary), organizing capacity building courses for stakeholders on curricula and matters related to curriculum”³¹. In both the primary and secondary school curriculum, teachers use related course materials with the sole aim of completing

³⁰ www.newvision.co.ug

³¹ www.ncdc.go.ug

the syllabus before the national exams. These exams include “Primary Leaving Examination (PLE), Uganda certificate of education (UCE) and Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UCE/UACE) for Primary and Secondary schools respectively”³².

Teachers use materials like textbooks/pamphlets written by leading examiners, from which they draw notes for the pupils and students to read and understand in their free time. However, the National development curriculum center (NDCC) has a responsibility of writing text books in four core subjects at the primary level that is English language, mathematics, science and social studies. The center is also responsible for writing the corresponding teachers guide for each subject in each level. However, the issue of supplying books to rural schools is questionable because many of the students cannot afford the copy and the government does little to fill this gap.

Looking closely at some of the texts used at both primary and secondary school levels, one can demystify this further. From primary three, Literacy is taught but bending more towards social studies. The main books used and recommended by NCDC is ‘Primary three MK Literacy’ This book mainly focuses on the traditional history of Uganda majorly the coming of different ethnic tribes. Although there is no emphasis put on one ethnic group as being superior compared to their counter parts, still there is no emphasis put on Uganda as one nation that ought to be loved by all citizens. After level three, books 4, 5 and 6 by MK publishers are basically social studies books tackling the general history, geography and capturing a bit of the agricultural and economic issues of the country.

Another important book on the primary social studies syllabus is Kitooke’s ‘Comprehensive Social Studies - A primary course for Uganda,’ which has different texts for primary 4, 5, 6, and 7. Book 4 and 5 have topics related to patriotism but they seem no to be examinable. The system is to some extent biased towards passing exams which makes the students and teachers give such topics inadequate attention. Book 6 and 7 concentrates broadly on East Africa and Uganda as a nation is not prioritized. As a result, the issue of patriotism is still swept under the carpet. A good example is how the book gives precedent to the

³² www.ubos.org

East African Community (EAC) an organization formed to bring together nations in East Africa. The first topic in book 6 is 'Benefits of the East African Community,' the disintegration and later revival of the community and other such topics about East Africa. Other topics include 'Resources of East Africa and Transport and communication in the region. No topic points to patriotism, perhaps because the book has been designed to cover a region comprised of more than three nations that ought to hold differing sentiments about their own nationalities.

In essence, patriotism ought to be given precedent too like other subjects that belong to the arts and natural sciences. Patriotism ought to become a more practical subject. Teachers do demonstration in class for practical subjects like geography, and the science subjects to enable students get to understand what they are learning because it is easier for a primary three to believe that air has weight when he or she sees an air-filled balloon outweigh an empty one.

Teachers also take students on study tours to different parts of the country depending on the subject, for example based on the topic of students are taken to the Kasubi tombs where they see the remains of Sir. Edward Mutesa II the first president of Uganda at Independence. They are also taken to Kololo Independence grounds where the Union Jack was lowered, and the National Flag of Uganda was raised. Other sites are visited like the Uganda Museum where they can depict their history. These are some of the course material used in the Uganda Education system.

In an analysis by UNESCO, the results of the organizational research revealed that there is a challenge with the current curriculum. UNESCO argues that the curriculum is too rigid which does not offer a wide range of opportunities to the learners. Aligning basic education together with learner's career interests becomes a myth. The education system itself is more concerned about passing the most important subjects. This does not give students moral to pay attention to other important subjects in the syllabus as passing them may not earn you a place in a good institution or a good job at that. Many learner's interests and aptitudes are in vocational education and the arts and sports. However, they fail to pursue these interests because a lot of prestige is accorded to other subjects like medicine, engineering and the like. Furthermore, the job market in the current century is in macro enterprises instead of traditional models of employment.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPLICATION OF PATRIOTISM EDUCATION ON POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

4. INTRODUCTION

After having looked at the education system and the level of patriotism in Uganda both in the literature review and theories, this chapter is going to focus on whether patriotic education is perceived in the right way or not, and if not, what could be the reasons for its failure

4.1 PATRIOTISM IN UGANDA

According to Acemah, (2016), The word patriotism comes into existence in Uganda during National Resistance Movement regime (NRM) and is still being used to date. The regime's big shots, or bosses enjoy putting on airs about the love they have for the country. However, it is another question if they ever practice half of what they keep talking about. The reality on the ground is that for ages these people have merely paid lip services to very critical issues such as these. As Akwakol (2009) notes, Uganda today "looks like an ethnic chauvinism wrapped in national colors". There has been more nepotism than ever before. Given the fact that the country is strewn with over 40 ethnic groups, this can likely pose a danger as some groups may feel left out and might arise towards a revolution which can lead to a genocide like the one Rwanda experienced in the early 1990's.

Kyadondo East member of parliament Robert Kyagulanyi, (Age limit Appendix 1) clearly explains the characters of a patriotic and what should be when he or she is serving his nation. According to Nuwagaba (2013), patriotism underlies citizens' loyalty to their country and their personal resolve and enthusiasm to participate in its socioeconomic and technological development process. It also underlies citizens' willingness to take part in ensuring and maintaining their country's internal security. It also entails defending it against external aggression, even when it means doing so heroically and at personal sacrifice to the point of death. Countries that want to achieve effective citizens' participation in their

development, security and defense have to therefore nurture their citizens' sense of patriotism to the highest level possible.

According to Achebe, "a patriot is a person who loves his country, not a person who says he loves his country. He is not even a person who shouts or swears or recites or sings his love of his country. He is one who cares deeply about the happiness and well-being of his country and its entire people. That definition would disqualify 95 per cent of those who love to shout about patriotism in Uganda".

Achebe continues, "Patriotism is an emotion of love directed by a critical intelligence. A true patriot will always demand the highest standards of his country and accept nothing, but the best for and from his people. He will be outspoken in condemnation of their shortcomings without giving way to superiority, despair or cynicism." He condemns mediocrity which is sadly condoned and accepted in Uganda (Gove, 2010). A very recent example can be drawn from the events in parliament that happened in June 2017. Although the Ugandan constitution, since its re-institution has time and again been subjected to amendments, which amendments are carried out to allow the incumbent to stay in power. The last bill that was proposed during the afore mentioned period was sought to be not an amendment but rather a violation.

Previously the Uganda constitution maintained that the president would be in power for a period of 2 five-year terms. However, after the president Yoweri Museveni who had been in power since 1986 had only ruled for 2 terms as per 1995 constitution, came up with a referendum vote to allow him to campaign for a third and last term. His party won the referendum which allowed him to campaign for presidency in 2006. It is the same referendum vote that saw the total lifting of term limits which meant that a president could rule for any number of terms as long as elected in to power every after 5 years. (Uganda constitution article 105). It is also very important to note that during such referendums, members of the ruling party National Resistance Movement (NRM) are usually taken to places like kwakwezi a (police/ military training grounds) and given money (bribed) to influence their positive vote.

To go back to the events of 2017, Raphael Magezi a current member of parliament for Igara county west and a member of the National Resistance

Movement (NRM) tabled a bill in parliament that sought to amend the constitution and remove the presidential age limit. This action caused profound distraught among many members of parliament, not only from the opposition but also from the ruling party. Consequently, as a lot of argument broiled against this bill and against amending the bill any further, the ministry of finance awarded each member of parliament a sum of 29 million Ugandan shillings to cater for their so called smooth consultation in their respective constituencies. Some members of parliament especially from the opposition side saw this as a bribe and those such as the Kyadondo East member of parliament Robert Kyagulanyi decided to take back this money. Other members who went to their constituencies and insisted on supporting the bill were chased with stones. A good example is the deceased former Arua member of parliament Ibrahim Abiriga. The famous Togikwatako slogan (don't dare touch it –the constitution) spread country wide that led to a battle in parliament when the bill was going to be passed. This saw some members of parliament at war with the special command forces that had been sent to make them exit parliament because of contempt of parliamentary rules and regulations.

Figure 1: Parliamentary session as MPs opposed the lifting of the Presidential age limit. 26.sep.2017



The above picture captures the Kyadondo East member of parliament Robert Kyagulanyi (center right) resisting arrest by a special command force guard (front center). According to many opposition members who in fact wanted to vote against the bill, the arrest was uncalled for and it was seen as a way of disabling their powers of voting in parliament.

Despite the fact that the members of parliament were trying to portray a patriotic spirit by fighting for the constitution, the ruling party portrayed them as hooligans. They were as well painted a picture of those who show resistance in parliament that bring about disorder and chaos and thus the failure of government to execute its affairs.

Developing patriotism is important because it encourages citizens to do whatever it takes to ensure that their country is a better place to live in presently and in future (Blattberg, 2000). It also cultivates citizens' dedication to defending and developing their country not for selfish ends but for the common good (DeWeese, 2013). Patriotism stimulates citizens' involvement in sustainable creative, productive and development activities aimed at improving their well-being as a country (Stephen et al., 2004). It therefore discourages exporting labour which can

be better used domestically (Bar-Tal and Staub, 1999). For instance, according to the New vision report of August 6, 2014, it indicates that the labour department reveals that 42,015 Ugandans have undergone brain drain by leaving the country to go out to other countries and work as domestic helpers. This figure however might have doubled because of the many recruiting agencies in major cities and suburbs of Uganda. This has posed a big challenge for the government of Uganda that has lost many qualified workers who go abroad to do domestic work, become security guards or taxi drivers. Most *nkuba kyeyo* (working abroad) have blamed this on the high level of unemployment and low salaries that make them take this decision to go and work at a job below their education qualification.

Patriotism encourages citizens who pursue wealth accumulation to do so not in a corrupt manner and for self-aggrandizement, but in an honest way and for mutual benefits; not in an environmentally degrading way but in a manner that displays love for and conserves their country's environment for sustainable use even by future generations (California Department of Education, 2009; Blattberg, 2000). In Uganda the acquisition of wealth poses another sad story for the average Ugandan. A clear example here is on our leaders who acquire wealth selfishly. They are supposed to act as examples to the rest of the citizens, but instead they act contrary to their designated professions and ethics of leadership. Most of them squander government resources for their own good, are very dishonest and their level of patriotism has really been swept by the wind if it were ever there. Moreover, if one is discovered to have squandered money that would be for service provision and is used for personal gains, they are left to go scot free without a charge or even asking them to return the funds. For instance, it is alleged that the former Prime minister squandered a sum close to 11 billion Uganda shillings from the National Security fund (NSSF). This money is collected off the workers' salaries and is meant as retirement benefit. Investigations that were carried out did not yield much and the arrests that had been made ended up in a release due to lack of enough evidence. And so, goes the story of a lot of government funds that go down such routes, leading into a constraint on the national budget each time it is read. The budget each time covers the same things without fostering development projects because the funds are always not enough.

Taking environmental issues into consideration, most of those in charge of the environment are involved in shoddy work, selling off some parts of Uganda national reserve forest to an Indian company for the construction of sugar factories. This as an investment plan is not bad but doing a good thing in the wrong place is inexcusable even that done by a government official. It only shows that there must have been a wrong doing in executing this investment deal. Moreover, such a deal does not take into consideration negative implications and consequences of environmental degradation for our next generation. The implementors of such deals only care about the benefits which are mostly bribes and perhaps special benefits for their families from these foreign investors. The same story goes for many swamps that have been degraded in this manner without regard for the future of Uganda's environment which was once considered to be the Pearl of Africa.

Still to enlighten more on the level of patriotism about some elected leaders who do work selfishly and for their families. Most government officials do acquire money in a dishonest way, money which could have benefited the whole society are not standard, is plundered by one person. Most of the roads that are constructed to ease transportation system not only for some officials from government but for the society are in poor shape. Most of our roads are not of the required standards. This is because they tend to hire mediocre companies who do shoddy work especially in the infra-structure sector because they want to save 70 percent of that money meant to do that work. For instance, if a road is to have a thickness of fifteen inches, this will be reduced to around seven so that almost half is saved from the construction of this road. This indeed portrays a lack of patriotism and love towards the country for a couple of months later this road will develop potholes and the same work will have to be done all over again. More over many of these leaders after plundering many of these resources build mansions but caring little about the roads that go to these mansions. Many feeder roads that go into the suburbs of the city are impassable especially when it rains. The picture below shows a clear example of some of these roads and on a rainy day all the pot holes fill with dirty water.

Figure 2: *The picture above shows the state of some of the roads in the capital of Uganda*



As a result, the government ends up spending more than it could have spent every financial year because of people who are not patriotic and have no love towards their country.

In relation to the above, patriotism therefore, plays a major purpose by making sure that a country attains sustainable growth and development in terms of national defence, internal security and social, economic and technological advancement. Educating and developing citizens' sense of patriotism is therefore inevitable if a country is to achieve desired development. It is particularly unavoidable at the secondary level where this sense is expected to be developed to its highest possible level and taking into consideration the fact that there is still a reasonable number of Ugandans who don't attend university education. However,

the grass root of patriotism should be right from child hood as it can warrant for this sense to be well grounded at this growth level.

Patriotic education if well taught right from infant stage till the adult stage, can help to cab on the level of corruption in Uganda which seems to be the order of the day. Ugandans are extremely corrupt to the extent that they don't care about their future generation which will come not later than sooner. We always say the leaders should act as an example in whatever they are doing so that the rest of the citizens can copy from their deeds. If you look at the current state of infrastructure of the roads in Uganda it shows that there is still something lacking with patriotic education. Each financial year, a budget is passed to make new roads throughout the country, 70 percent of that money passed to construct the roads is being stolen by ministers and other leaders who are in power hindering the development progress of the country, those roads which are constructed cannot last for more than 2 years for them to get spoiled. This has led to loss of lives of our citizens since the roads which are constructed are not to the actual standards they were meant to be in terms of sizes and quality. This is a business to some of our leaders and ministers especially those in a current ruling government. This portrays the level of greed among our selfish leaders, but in actual sense who are supposed to act as an example to the rest of citizen. The government is working for itself not for the citizens of Uganda. There is a gap that must be re-fixed in terms of patriotic education if this country is to move on well and prosper. Currently the ones who have the love for the country are the ones imprisoned because they criticize the members of government for their inappropriate behaviours.

There is current investigation which is going on in the country about the ethics on how the central bank (Bank of Uganda) is conducting its activities. The Ugandan parliament ordered the government chief accountant to cross-check on how the central bank shut down more than 8 other banks in the period of 20 years, whether they followed the right procedure or not. According to the latest information from the committee which is carrying out the investigation, the latest bank to be closed by central bank was Crane bank, and this was closed in 2017. It clearly indicated the level of corruption during the closure in that independent institution which is supposed to serve all citizens equal.

Literature indicates that if a sense of patriotism education is developed through a systematic approach that involves application of product-based training practices.

According to Smith (2006), these practices involve working on individuals and shaping them in ways that are set out by countries. One of the practices involves defining the nature of the character that citizens should acquire in order to behave in a manner that benefits their country in terms of defense, security and development (Smith, 2006; Penuel and Kim, 2000). To give a small example about the behavior education which is totally lacking we can take the example of those who steal the poles of road side lights and cut them into charcoal stoves for sell. While this person may be earning some money from this it would still mean that the government has to continuously budget for the street light poles. This means that that money is being directed for things that have already been done. Almost all Uganda's government system, intuitions and infrastructure are operated in this manner which causes a strain on the budget every year

The other practice focuses on imparting the defined character in the learners - that is indoctrinating citizens in ways that enable them to develop the desired character (Loima, 2006; Wilkins et al, 2005). In this way learners are transformed into citizens whose behavior demonstrates the desired sense of patriotism. Therefore, graduates who do not demonstrate any sense of patriotism lead to questioning whether the education that they attained made use of this form of training. This leads to questioning the internal efficiency and consequently the philosophy behind education in such a society.

According to Smith (2006), the above explained product-based training practices can be adopted into the management of school education to enhance the development of desired patriotism. The adoption can be carried out by integrating the character or behavioral attributes orally specified to bring about desired patriotism into the curriculum that guides school education (Smith, 2006). The integration can be conducted by using the attributes to design an educational program to which every enrolled student must be exposed during the course of their learning at the school (Cepeda, 2013). The program is designed in such a way that it provides criteria for shaping learners' positive attitude towards their country and for behaviors by which they can productively participate in the development of their country (California Department of Education, 2009). According to Marbaniang (2009), the criteria are determined in such a way that their inculcation will help develop behavior required to deal with the social, economic needs of a society within the context of its reality.

The content is then imparted in learners using indoctrinatory teaching techniques—that is, techniques that shape learners to positively change their view of their country, increase their love for their country. This will help to improve the value that they attach to their country to the extent that they will be willing to devote their acquired skills and abilities to the development of the country and wellbeing of all its citizens (Livingston, 2004). According to Smith (2006), the specific techniques include dialogue, conversation and democratic talks involving simultaneous efforts to diagnose needs, select content, and organize learning experiences. As a result, individuals are subjected and indoctrinated to behave as productively and proactively as desired. The indoctrination is carried out in such a way that at the end of training, learners are willing to do whatever it takes to defend their country and to make it a better place to live (Griffin, 2005).

It should be noted that although the preceding observations indicate how the informal product-based training practices facilitate the development of desired patriotism and how the practices can be integrated in school education for the same purpose.

4.2 ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN PROMOTING PATRIOTISM EDUCATION

A patriotic culture, without doubt is essential for fostering a national's development and building it as a whole. This may be a foundation for many developmental activities. Furthermore, it may lead to integration of diverse cultures (as seen in Uganda). Patriotism may be the umbrella under which all diversities snuggle and mingle whereas seeking protection from the state. As Namanya (2011) contends, “patriotism starts with one's moral behaviors. There is no way you can preach patriotism unless you lead by example.

It is therefore prudent to note here that the government has a big role to play in implementing patriotism education which will in the end foster development in many sectors in the economic, social, political departments of the country. The government has to implement unbiased means towards fostering patriotism education. However, the Ugandan government is impinged with political issues that perhaps may not favor this line of direction. The NRM having been in power for quite a number of years now fears to lose the electoral vote so members find

themselves having to work to please the government instead of the citizens. In their review of the economy and the education reforms in Uganda. (Mbabazi et al).

“The features of governance such as democracy, economic freedom, political freedom, and level of corruption, are theorized to have had an influence on Uganda government’s decision to universalize education. In addition, population characteristics such as percent of the population that is rural, percent of population poor, percent of population that is below 14 years of age, and HIV/AIDS prevalence rate are hypothesized to have a strong relationship to the government’s decision to adopt universal education. Furthermore, foreign aid donors and development agencies are believed to have a major say in policies adopted by developing countries in general, and the education sector in Uganda in particular”³³.

The above quotation stated is true for the case of Uganda as we can see the level of education which is deteriorating or decreasing at a very high rate due to high level of corruption across the entire country, the seemingly democratic way of leadership in Uganda is actually a back drop for the authoritarian form of leadership that has swept the country for decades.

The lack of freedom of debate and freedom of speech from opposing side yet Uganda is supposed to be the multi- party system of rule has also impeached on the implementing of policy whether social, economic or political. The education sector seems to have suffered most as it is so crucial in building citizens of values. Currently the education system concentrates on serving many and in the end the quality of education is compromised. However, Dr. Chris Baryomunsi who heads a parliament committee on social services and also a member of parliament (Kinkizi East) advised the government to channel the money meant to establish patriotism clubs into building secondary schools in 38 sub-counties. However, to some politicians, this is seen as a waste of resources. You could also find that, this money which was meant to build schools was already allocated but it could have been squandered. A very clear example is in 2013 when the government demanded a sum of 10 billion Uganda shillings to establish patriotism clubs in all secondary schools across the country ostensibly to teach patriotism. (New vision 2013).

According to Stasavaje (2005) in his study about some African countries which included Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi and Uganda, pointed out that, democratic thoughts and electoral choices are very important for the budget. He further

³³ www.must.ac.ug

contends that democratically elected leaders may be of greater impact to the nation than those that attain power through autocratic means. They are better suited to provide services for the population as a whole. In addition, such leaders may also place priority on services demanded by the masses. This assumes that “governments in political systems with competitive elections face fundamentally different threats to their rule when compared to autocratic governments” (344). Quoted in Mbabazi,) This indicates that the Ugandan government and its so called democratic systems target to appease greater numbers while compromising the quality of services given. According to the above-mentioned research, the writer notes that the adoption of free primary education was in fact an offset by a political demand rather than a rational developmental planning process.

Uganda’s democracy has impacted the policy makers in relation to the universalization of both primary and secondary education. The ruling government that is NRM with its contradictory tendencies after almost 34 years fears to be voted out of office. Stasavaje further contends that,

“if the risk of being voted out of office is real, then one can expect democratically-elected governments to choose policies that are designed to satisfy an electoral majority” (56) of which education may be one. Mbabazi adds that ‘Conceivably, what the government is trying to achieve with Universalization of education is not to manifest passion for literacy but rather to rationally maximize its utility given what we know for example about the performance of UPE and the demand of free education by the poor in Africa, in general and Uganda in particular *ibid*, Mbabazi’³⁴

The above 2 researchers Stasavaje and Mbabazi highlight Uganda’s recurrent problem in policy making which compromises quality for selfish political gains such as staying longer in power. And as Mbabazi adds that ‘the move to announce universal primary education (UPE) by president Museveni when the competitive elections of his rules were first carried out in 1996. In anticipating these issues, there is a foreseen political gain instead and concerns related to access and equity of education.

As independent struggles took patriotic movements to a great height gains from independence led the nation into a power sharing model of governance. However, it looks as though the necessity for patriotism was over looked. Following the years of independence in 1963. A committee was established to come up with

³⁴ www.must.ac.ug

methods for emotional integration based on the reports arrived at in the national integration council which had been set up.

Figure 3: Previous Turkish Ambassador addressing students on patriotism education



According to Sanya, (2017) government is being urged to support and advocate for democracy, peace and wellbeing in schools as a means of showing patriotism. Such debates are ongoing as can be seen through a strong partnership between Turkey and Uganda. “You cannot build a nation without people having patriotism in country. To achieve this, people should love their country as a priority,” Turkish Ambassador, when she presided “over the launch of peace, patriotism and democracy training that took place at Rubaga girls secondary school in Kampala”³⁵. The Turkish ambassador gave a donation of text books totaling to 600 whose main topic were democracy and patriotism. The project framework showed that more than 2000 books would be donated to schools around the country to foster the teaching of democracy and patriotism. The Ambassador as an example commented on how the feeling of patriotism saved the Turkish republic on embarrassing coup. During the night of 15 July 2016, when the coup was

³⁵ www.newvision.co.ug

staged many young nationals portrayed a patriotic spirit by pouring themselves on the streets amid gun fires and the air strikes. Many lives were lost by the country's honor was saved and to some there is not a better definition of patriotism than this.

“When you look at the median age in Uganda, you see that it's 16. This is very precious potential for Uganda to develop,” she noted. She explained that Uganda's patriotism and democracy are crucial to prosperity and development of the nation. Children have to be staunchly patriotic people and should love their country. “As young people you have a duty and responsibility to support your country to develop” she noted³⁶.

What she meant here was that a nation is built basing on that binding constructive patriotism citizens should affiliate with. The young generation should be taught the essence of patriotism since they are the future of the country. Patriotism education should aim at uniting people together not dividing them. However, citizens must have their rights to question those in charge or in power whenever they go wrong. In otherward, they ought to make checks and balances as this can lead the country into its desired destination in terms of social, economic, political and technological development

The ambassador of Turkey to Uganda also “cautioned pupils that there are some schools affiliated with FETO terrorist organization promoting to brainwash and indoctrinate young people”³⁷. The envoy further said: “to live up to this potential with a view to ensure the country's peaceful and prosperous future, quality education of Uganda children is of great importance. Turkey exerts every effort in different fields to contribute to the bright future of the African continent.” In addition, the ambassador's concerns were shared by the chairman of “Always be Tolerant Organization” (ABETO). Moses Musana stated that the issue of peace and patriotism education had been handled with baby gloves in our country. He noted that the education curriculum that is both formal and non-formal should be flexible enough to incorporate such matters that are crucial to a country's stability and development. He adds that peace should be anchor and seat of prosperity. These will foster co-existence and other maternal that make up a country's wellbeing and should all be packaged in own education curriculum.

The fight for peace has left some citizens very concerned. Some school principals have also started to play their part. For instance, the principle of Old Kampala

³⁶ www.newvision.co.ug

³⁷ www.newvision.co.ug

Secondary school Nsubuga Aziida noted her efforts to help the children from war tone areas acquire a means to education. She noted that the school has for over a century managed to help up children from neighboring countries that have been affected by war.

“In South Sudan they have many tribes fighting each other. Many girls have been raped during the war and left traumatized. If there is no peace you remain in war” (Wilfred Sanya New vision, February 25, 2017).

She explains that the project of peace building will demystify issues to the learners so that they come out as good leaders of the community in which they live. She expressed the need for students to treat each other with equality. Ronald Baguma who chairs the peace building association asserted that the aim of the project was to encourage and build equity among the students, he felt this might empower them especially the female students in fighting for their rightful places in society.

Government too has intensified the fight against impartiality towards one's country. The aim is to spread the spirit of love and devotion for the country where one is born. Paul Odauk who leads the national secretariat for patriotism clubs said that the government has made a resolution to set out with renewed efforts to strengthen and popularize patriotism in many secondary schools across the country. He said this while meeting with the media people at the journalist's association in Kampala

In the next 12 months we shall have trained secondary school teachers who will be the patrons of the patriotism clubs,” revealed Paul Odauk, the deputy head of the patriotism secretariat. He adds that “We shall equip the teachers with the necessary information for inculcating in the students to turn them into responsible citizens who love their country.

Odauk added that as they interacted with teachers they will not only be training them but also, they will consult them on how to advice the government about the best means of implementing projects related to patriotism. To support his argument, he adds that “all our activities stem from the constitution which constitution was formulated after consulting the various stake holders and citizens.

Most school textbooks as well as the teachers show and teach respectively that Uganda was attacked several times and led by many powers by outside before independence. The main reason given to explain these attacks is that the country was divided. Many rulers from different kingdoms kept on fighting for power and

supremacy. This could not in any way create an environment in which to teach patriotism. This situation seems to have continued up to date. While kingdoms may not be at war with each other. It is now the different political parties that are fighting to gain a seat in parliament or for the presidential seat itself. This has not only created divisions amongst its citizens but has also led grounds for further political and economic strains. It has led to less spirit of patriotism with many people hating the country more and more.

To turn the clock back a little, as the war of independence broiled one could sense a lot of patriotism because all the freedom fighters claim to love their country. But after the war when power was in the hands of the fighters, all was forgotten. Many patriots of that time currently only care about how much money they can take home. Such people have plundered the government resources and thus plunging it in to dire poverty. Lately only people become patriots at carnivals that usher in independence celebrations. At such events the national flag is strewn all over the place and national colors are the major attire of these events. So, what we have is a hypocritical portrayal of patriotism.

The global world in which we live in today requires that we first reorganize ourselves as a nation or else we shall easily get lost in the mass culture and world populism that is spreading rapidly on social media.

The situation of patriotism education would have been solved during independence struggles. There were massive campaigns that let in a committee whose aim was studying the role of education in promoting emotional integration. The committee did its work by studying emotional integration among students especially in colleges. A report was submitted however nothing was done yet this would have been the most appropriate time.

The government should play the role of unifying the elements that hold a nation together. A country is comprised of a community and its land. As Eamonn Callan observes, the basis of patriotism “a certain kind of territorially concentrated, intergenerational community to which the patriot belongs and whose survival and prosperity she values deeply” (Callan 2006, 533). It is still very important to distinguish patriotism and other selfish beliefs. For instance, a nation ought not to enjoy political independence if it will negatively affect the country. In 2018 Uganda faced a lot of political strife and different governments were forced to

intervene. United Kingdom member of parliament for Stockton south called Paul Daniel Williams in the house of commons tabled the issues relating to Uganda's unstable political environment. He said that "we will be debating democracy in Uganda. I will be leading the debate and the minister for Africa will be responding," this according to a telephone interview with the daily Monitor newspaper. This action led some Ugandans under the pretext of being patriotic to protest in front of the British Embassy. This action was cordoned not only by the British government but by the Ugandan government too. These young men were indeed not being patriotic by demanding that Britain should not interfere in the affairs of Ugandans. This sort of behavior only served to portray ignorance on the side of the protesters but not patriotism. Interestingly enough, it is the youth from the ruling party National Resistance Movement(NRM) that were protesting, clad in yellow t-shirts. This also portrayed a negative image on the side of the ruling party (NRM) and seemed as if the party was sponsoring this protest.

... rigorous historical research will almost certainly vindicate complex 'revisionist' accounts of key figures in American history. Civic education, however, requires a more noble, moralizing history: a pantheon of heroes who confer legitimacy on central institutions and constitute worthy objects of emulation. It is unrealistic to believe that more than a few adults of liberal societies will ever move beyond the kind of civic commitment engendered by such a pedagogy" (Galston, 1991).

4.3 IMPACT OF PATRIOTISM ON EDUCATION

Patriotism Education should rise from emotion to a movement in the point of state-building. Practical education of patriotism and emotional education about patriotism are two important types of patriotism education. Emotional education of patriotism is realized by basic theory education, traditional virtue education and explanation and the publicity of basic requests in socialism. The residents establish the right patriotism view and conduct them to put them into effect.

Patriotism Education should be Based on national character in racial and national development. The exclusiveness of patriotism indicates that patriotism emotions are different according to different races and nations, and people have deep emotion for their own race and nation. Therefore, patriotism education must be based on excellent traditional civilizations of their own race, and explore racial characteristics of their own race, and seek the traditional education resources that apply to their own race. If we had done that, the excellent racial civilizations of

our nation would advance and develop better, and the respect and pride of our own race would be re-built.



CONCLUSION

The study of patriotism education is quite inexhaustible. Patriotism as a field spread its wings in almost all sectors of governance, but to conclude this study one ought to summarise what it touches upon and perhaps make recommendations. These might help in improving patriotism education in primary and secondary school levels in Uganda as well as suggest recommendations for further research in the field.

From the onset the study set out to analyse the understanding of patriotism in the education context, the aim was to find out whether patriotism is taught at both primary and secondary school levels. The literature covered showed that patriotism is that citizens 'love for, devotion to, and pride in their country' (Cepeda, 2013). Sometimes it is assumed that the love for something comes naturally but according to this study this is to the contrary. As a matter of fact, a lot of effort, knowledge, good will, human resource and funding ought to be invested in teaching love or the love of the nation (patriotism). It is only through education that we can achieve the goal of patriotism. But for this to be done, an understanding of the concepts and theories of patriotism must be brought into perspective.

For instance, the research looked at blind and constructive patriotism whereby blind patriotism is the love of one's country without regards to checks and balances. This means that one's love of the nation matters more than anything else and this love cannot be compromised. For example, the Bush Administration after the 9/11 2001 attack on the pentagon, and without enough evidence of Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction, (WMD's) decided to launch an attack on Iraq under the pretext of protecting the US state and its citizens. On the other hand, constructive patriotism which is also known as democratic patriotism, is the love and pride of one's country without protecting the head of the state or a particular government. It is democratic in the sense that if the head of the country has gone astray, the citizens through the constitution can hold him accountable.

Other conceptual frame works that were studied include psychological and social cultural school of thought. The psychological conceptualization of patriotism

education analyzed how an individual's background nurtures their understanding of patriotism. This is opposed to social cultural framework which indicates how someone is perceived in terms of race, gender, religion and ethnicity which all affect one's attitude towards patriotism.

The above-mentioned theories and concepts were used as a framework to shape this study of patriotism education in Uganda. According to the literature reviewed, many scholars pointed out that Uganda's patriotism education is impeded by mostly cultural and ethnic underpinnings. This is because some ethnicity like Banyakole of western Uganda (where the ruling party NRM) originates considers themselves to be more patriotic than others.

The study also highlights Uganda's education system in terms of its policies, structures and curriculum. The study particularly took into consideration primary and secondary education and whether children or learners learn patriotism at these two levels of education. According to the government white paper of 1995, it indicates that citizens should be taught patriotism, democracy, civil education, human rights, economics among others. Under civil education is where aspects of patriotic education can be found. However, such topics as civil or patriotism education are merely given lip service but are not implemented in the actual sense.

The rigidity of the education systems in Uganda shows incoherence with learner's abilities and desires due to its being out dated new technological era. The emphasis is put more on passing the traditional subjects such as English language, mathematics, science, religious education and social humanities. This results into neglecting other important fields in education that can stimulate social, political and economic development of the country.

RECOMMENDATION FOR THIS STUDY AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The teachers who are supposed to transmit important message of patriotic education, are over loaded with a lot of work and little motivation from their peanut salary they are paid every month. As a matter of fact, teachers are the least paid workers in Uganda yet the work they do is much more important if related to the government's goals and objectives. A teacher gets a gross pay of 500 Turkish liras and you find a driver of a member of parliament gets a gross pay of 2000 Turkish lira. So, the Ministry of Education must revise its remuneration policies and find a way of motivating the improving teachers' pay, after all who are entrusted with an important task of teaching patriotism education. This will motivate the teachers to spread the gossip of patriotism education among the learners.

In relation to the above recommendation, ministry of education should introduce refresher courses or workshops for teachers and college tutors. These courses are meant to remind teachers on what they are supposed to be doing in line with their work. Teachers should also adapt to new methods such as learner-centered and participatory teaching methods. Teachers will be encouraged to apply for these interactive ideas with their students when they are conducting their lessons in all subjects.

In chapter 3, I described the education system in Uganda and the course materials that is aimed at integrating patriotism education in the curriculum throughout the levels of education in Uganda. The government white paper of 1995 clearly shows that patriotism education must be taught in schools. But as per different researches, it clearly shows that there is a gap left in these courses. I therefore recommend schools to emphasize the teaching of patriotism and government should do a follow up and do supervision to clearly see whether the schools are doing exactly what they are supposed to do. The government should follow up by interacting with or interviewing the students and other stake holders to see if there are no gaps left out. If patriotism education proved as an important factor for the country, the curriculum should be far less restrictive and centralized. This may lead the country to its desired destination in terms of social, political, economic and technological development since the citizens would have attained knowledge

about patriotism. More importantly, constructive patriotism when incorporated into the education curriculum, it will help to broaden citizens minds in terms of discussions and criticizing only where necessary in the interest of the country.

In the schools and classrooms, the school principals and other stake holders should opt for student-centered, participatory teaching methods. This will encourage students to participate and take decision on how they want their schools and classrooms to be decorated and painted. This will create a favorable learning environment for students and it will also bring that feeling and sense of ownership and belonging to the students. This makes them feel that they are part of the society and not alienated from the reality. Therefore, I would recommend the government to use the structures that are already in existence such as student's patriotic clubs to encourage the schools and their principles or managements to allow the students to participate in all decision making around their environment. Teachers and administration could still have the final say, but students should have a chance to demonstrate how responsible and mature they can act and decide. This may lead the country into its desired destination.

The following recommendation should be focused on parents, communities and schools as their involvement plays an important role which may yield a lot of benefits. Patriotism education should not only be confined in the classroom environment but also move out to the communities. This will encourage the use any platform available such as religious platforms cultural platforms. We have boarding institutions in Uganda and the schools always confine their students indoors and do not let them out of the schools to share their learnt ideas with the rest of the communities such as planting trees. These ideas may be beneficial in fighting global warming. For instance, what is being done is that they are hindering the application of course material of patriotism education as given to their students. So, I would recommend that interactive and socialization between all the other parties around the communities to realize the desired destination of the country in all other sectors.

As a future recommendation for future research, it would be interesting to find out what an actual field study would yield in relation to patriotism education. One of the limitation of this research, was a literature review research and the material covered is based on previous studies some of which are broad like democracy and does not necessary talk about patriotism in particular. I thus recommend that, this

research ought to be extended into a broad field work study so as to come up with findings that can help the government in grounding patriotism education

As earlier mentioned, the best way to teach patriotism is to use the product-based training practices which involves instilling in the learners a sense of necessity and productivity towards their country. According to Smith (2008), product-based training practices can be adopted into the management of education to enhance the development of desired patriotism. The adaptation can be carried out by integrating character or behavioral attributes orally. The aim is to bring about desired patriotism into the curriculum that guides primary and secondary education (Smith, 2006). Integration can be conducted by using the attributes to design an educational program to which every enrolled student must be exposed during the course of their learning at school (Cepeda, 2013). The program should be designed in such a way that it provides criteria for shaping learners' positive attitude towards their country and with which they can productively participate in the development of their country. According to Marbaniang (2009), the criteria are determined in such a way that their inculcation will help develop behaviors required to deal with the social economic needs of a society within the context of its reality.

The content is then imparted in learners using indoctrinatory teaching techniques—that is, techniques that shape learners to positively change their view of their country, increase their love for their country. This aims to improve the value which they attach to their country to the extent that they are willing to devote their acquired skills and abilities to the development of their country and wellbeing of all its citizens (Livingston, 2004). According to Smith (2006), the specific techniques include dialogue, conversation and democratic talks involving simultaneous efforts to diagnose needs, select content, and organize learning experiences. This will enable individuals who are subjected and indoctrinated towards patriotism to behave as productively and proactively as desired. The indoctrination is carried out in such a way that at the end of training, learners are willing to do whatever it takes to defend their country and to make it a better place to live (Griffin, 2005).

It should be noted that although the preceding observations indicate how the informal product-based training practices facilitate the development of desired patriotism and how the practices can be integrated in education for the same

purpose. They do not cover the level at which this has been realized as far as education in Uganda is concerned. The fact that the product-based informal training practices were not used in the management of education in central Uganda implies that if nothing is done, students will continue lacking the sense of patriotism required to foster the socioeconomic and technological process of development of Uganda. This is done in an environmentally sustainable manner, and not for self-aggrandizement but for the common good of Ugandans and the country in general.

Curriculum planners in Uganda should design a curriculum containing behavioral attributes by which a sense of patriotism can be fostered. This should be intertwined within the philosophy of education in the country as a topic in ethics.

Teachers should implement the designed curriculum so as to nurture a sense of patriotism in all the enrolled students. This is expected to increase the external efficiency of the education system.

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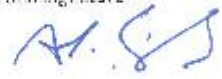
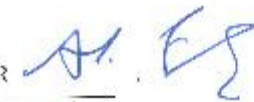
<http://www.americanexperiment.org/artical/our-can-do-a-far-better-job-of-teaching-patriotism> (accessed 4 Nov 2018)

<http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/cppprofile.asp> (assessed on Feb 20/ 2017).

<https://informationcradle.com/africa/education-in-uganda>. (accessed 17/08/2018)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX .1. ETHICS COMMISSION FORM

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMISSION FORM FOR THESIS
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT	
Date: 05/03/2019	
Thesis Title: PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA	
My thesis work related to the title above:	
1. ☒ Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 2. ☒ Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.). 3. ☒ Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity. 4. ☒ Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, interview, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).	
I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board/Commission for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.	
I respectfully submit this for approval.	
Name Surname: Rashid SSENTEZA Student No: N14127816 Department: POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Program: POLITICAL SCIENCE Status: ☒ M.A. ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Combined M.A./ Ph.D.	05.03.2019 Date and Signature 
ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL The study is based on literature. It is not an empirical one. That's why, there is no for "The Permission of Ethic Commission".	
Professor Ali ÇAĞLAR  (Title, Name Surname, Signature)	

APPENDIX.1. ETİK KOMİSYON MUAFİYETİ FORM

 HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KOMİSYON MUAFİYETİ FORMU
HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ SBKY ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA
Tarih: 05/03/2019
Tez Başlığı: PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmam: 1. X İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır, 2. X Biyolojik materyal (kan, idrar vb. biyolojik sıvılar ve numuneler) kol anılması gerektirmemektedir. 3. X Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir. 4. X Gözlemsel ve betimsel araştırma (anket, mülakat, ölçek/skala çalışmaları, dosya taramaları, veri kaynakları taraması, sistem-model geliştirme çalışmaları) niteliğinde değildir. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Kurullar ve Komisyonlarının Yönergelerini inceledim ve bunlara göre tez çalışmamı yürütülebilmesi için herhangi bir Etik Kurul/Komisyon'dan izin alınmasına gerek olmadığına; aksi durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim. Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.
05.03.2019 Tarih ve İmza <i>Ali Ç.</i>
Adı Soyadı: Rushid SSENTIZA Öğrenci No: N14127816 Anabilim Dalı: SBKY Programı: SİYASET BİLİMİ Statüsü: ☒ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐ Bütünleşik Doktora
<u>DANISMAN GÖRÜŞÜ VE ONAYI</u> Tez konusu literatüre dayalı bir çalışma olduğu için (uygunluğuna göre) "Etik Kurul İzin"ne gerek duyulmamıştır. Prof. Dr. Ali ÇAĞLAR <i>Ali Ç.</i> (Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza) Detaylı Bilgi: http://www.sosyalbilimler.hacettepe.edu.tr Telefon: 0-312-2976860 Faks: 0-312-2992147 E-posta: sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr

APPENDIX.2. ORIGINALITY FORM

	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT	
Date: 05/03/2019	
Thesis Title: PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA	
According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 05/03/2019 for the total of 95 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 10 %.	
Filtering options applied:	
1.	☒ X Approval and Declaration sections excluded
2.	☒ X Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
3.	☒ X Quotes excluded
4.	☐ Quotes included
5.	☐ X Match size up to 5 words excluded
I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism, that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.	
I respectfully submit this for approval.	
Name Surname: Rashid SSENTEZA Student No: N14127816 Department: POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Program: POLITICAL SCIENCE MA	05.03.2019/ Signature 
ADVISOR APPROVAL	
APPROVED.  (Prof. Dr. Ali ÇAĞLAR)	

APPENDIX.2. ORIJINALLIK RAPORU



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLIK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 05/03/2019

Tez Başlığı : PATRIOTISM EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN UGANDA

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 95 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 05/03/2019 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı orijinal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallık raporuna göre, tezin benzerlik oranı % 10'dur.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:

- 1- ☐ X Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2- ☐ X Kaynakça hariç
- 3- ☐ X Alıntılar hariç
- 4- ☐ Alıntılar dâhil
- 5- ☐ X 5 kelimeden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallık Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esaslarını inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermeyeceğini; aksinin tespit edileceği multimedial durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

05.03.2019/İMZA

Adı Soyadı: Rashid SSENTEZA

Öğrenci No: N14127816

Anabilim Dalı: SBKY

Programı: Siyaset Bilimi YL

DANİŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.

A. Ç.
(Prof. Dr. Ali ÇAĞLAR)

APPENDIX.3. OPPOSSING THE PRESIDENTIAL AGE LIMIT IN UGANDA

Presidential age-limits from the Constitution of Uganda is aimed at making Mr. Museveni a life President.

Below is Mr. Kyagulanyi's message in text for amending the constitution for life presidency. It shows how our leaders are not patriotic to this nation

Fellow Ugandans,

Yesterday the 12th day of September 2017 was a very sad day in the leadership of our country. Yet again, some of my colleague Members of Parliament who belong to the NRM Party did the most dishonorable and unpatriotic thing. They passed a resolution to remove the Presidential age-limits from the Constitution of Uganda so that President Museveni can become life President.

They did this at a time when our nation has been bleeding for the past thirty-one years. Our country's former glory is all gone. Corruption rates are alarming services delivery is at the worst. Mothers die giving birth. Unexplained murders are everywhere, and the judiciary is a mockery.

Our children face an uncertain future where unemployment is the order of the day. The national debt has turned us into slaves and the gun has become the master. The one-time pearl of Africa is now a laughing stock among nations.

All public assets have been sold and as if that's not enough to satisfy their appetites, after selling almost all public properties, the government now wants to take people's private land!

In response to all this, your elected members of parliament think that the best response to this crisis and national shame is to remove age limits and continue with the same nonsense. Other than think of rescuing Uganda from this mess, they are asking that Uganda sinks even deeper!

Well my message to them is this: You are traitors. You have betrayed your country and you have sold your conscience for cheap. History will judge you very harshly. You should remember that it is your children and your children's children who will have to inherit this mess that you are creating.

You should individually reflect on what you have just done. Remember that there will be a time when you must account for this nonsense. Yesterday those of you who put up hands to support that stupid resolution, you have put your names on the national wall of shame.

You should think about how you would love to be remembered- whether as men and women who loved and served their nation, or as people who thought about only themselves.

You should also remember that you swore an oath to bear true allegiance to the Republic of Uganda and uphold its Constitution. So, by passing this resolution, you did exactly the opposite of what you swore to do.

Well, the good news is that there is still time for you to withdraw your endorsements before it is too late!

And before I forget, I want to thank those few patriotic NRM MPs who rejected the madness of raping the constitution. You are heroes and please maintain your stand. Do not bow down to pressure because your voters are watching you and they will be rewarding you.

And to you president Museveni;

In 1986 you asked for four years to re-organize the country and hand over power to a civilian government, we agreed. You personally said that Africa's problem was not the people but leaders who overstay in power.

In 1990, you asked for five more years to be able to enact a durable constitution for the nation and then you go, we agreed.

In 1995, you asked for a new mandate under the Constitution, you asked for five more years, we agreed.

In 2001, you requested the nation to renew your mandate for your very last constitutional term.
We agreed.

Now to you my fellow Ugandans especially the younger generation; Here in Uganda we actually one time laughed at Zimbabwe. We laughed when Mugabe promised to rule until God calls him. We thought it was a joke, but now we share his falling and sleeping pictures on social media and he and his whole Country have become a laughing stock.

I know you know these things because most of the problems I have mentioned affect you every day. Poverty, unemployment, uncertainty, exclusion, violence at the hands of the state and many others.

We have only this one chance. No matter your tribe, no matter your religion, no matter your political party...Poverty and these terrible conditions in our country do not discriminate.

We must make the pledge that **we shall not allow this amendment to pass.**

Article 1 of that Constitution says that "**all power belongs to the people.**" We are the people. If this Constitution is amended today, we shall have only ourselves to blame for eternity.

20 or even 30 years from now, President Museveni will be asking for more terms and you will perhaps be on your sickbed or dead! or still living in this suppressive and oppressive environment. At that time, you will look back and wish you did something today.

we must defend the constitution before it is too weak to defend us.

Article 3(4) of our constitution says " All Citizens of Uganda shall have the right and duty at all times to defend the constitution...It also says that any person who resists the amendment of the constitution commits no offence.

Am therefore calling upon all leaders from Religious leaders, Cultural leaders, leaders of the business community, members of Civil Society, leaders of educational institutions, journalists, bloggers, fellow artistes and all of you fellow Ugandans, please do not keep quiet on this very sensitive matter on the future of our country Uganda.

As it has been said before and now seems real in our times, that "the world is suffering not because of the words of the evil people, but because of the silence of the good ones.

Let's speak up in one voice and prevent this rape of our Constitution or else your children in future will ask you what we did when the nation came to this point.

Begin today and exercise your God-given rights. Call your Member of Parliament or better still, pay them a visit and demand accountability. Stand up now before it is too late.

And if you believe in this cause, please help translate this message into your own language and spread it far and wide. Let us make use of social media and this modern technology to emancipated ourselves because the time is now. Let's make sure every Ugandan gets involved because we are the Country, we are the future and the future is today.³⁸



³⁸ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/You-can-t-fool-people-time-Bobi-Wine-Museveni>

APPENDIX 4: THE UGANDA NATIONAL ANTHEM

*Oh, Uganda may God uphold thee,
We lay our future in thy hand,
United free for liberty
Together we'll always stand.*

*Oh, Uganda the land of freedom,
Our love and labour we give,
And with neighbours all,
At our country's call
In peace and friendship, we'll live*

*Oh, Uganda the land that feeds us,
By sun and fertile soil grown,
For our own dear land,
We shall always stand,*

The pearl of Africa's crown

APPENDIX.5.THE UGANDAN NATIONAL FLAG MEANING



From the top, a total of six horizontal stripes of black, yellow, red, black, yellow, red.

Black represents or symbolizes our African heritage and the fertile soil of Uganda.

Yellow is for the glorious sunny days, so characteristics of Uganda.

Red symbolizes the red blood that runs in our veins, forming a common bond to all human kind.

The majestic crested crane (*balearica regulorum*) is the National bird of Uganda.³⁹

³⁹ <http://www.ghafla.com/ug/how-well-do-you-know-the-uganda-national-anthem/>

APPENDIX .6. THE UGANDA COAT OF ARMS AND ITS MEANING



The Coat of Arms of Uganda is centred on a shield and spears on a green mound.

The shield and the spears represent the willingness of the Ugandan people to defend their country. There are three images on the shield: those on top represent the waves of Lake Victoria; the sun in the centre represents the many days of brilliant sunshine Uganda enjoys; and the traditional drum at the bottom is a symbolic of dancing, and the summoning of the people to meetings and ceremony.

The shield is flanked on the right by a Crested Crane (*Balearica regulorum*), a subspecies of the grey crowned Crane and the National bird of Uganda. On the left is a Ugandan Kob (*Kobus kob thomasi*), a species of Kob that here represents abundant wildlife.

The shield stands on a green mound, representing fertile land, and directly above a representation of the River Nile. Two main cash crops, coffee and cotton, flank the river. At the bottom is the national motto: “For God and my Country”.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ <https://ottawa.mofa.go.ug/data-smenu-27-Uganda-Coat-of-Arms.html>