

Poverty, Shame and Social Exclusion

Work Package 3

Uganda: Media Analysis

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Introduction

The main objective of the review of Newspapers was to explore the broad understanding and representation/characterization of poverty and shame and how they influence and shape public views on shaming. The analysis traced the manifestations of poverty in newspapers, the portrayal of poverty, and how the papers report on people's experiences of shame at a national, community as well as individual level. The analysis also tracked people's response to poverty related shame.

Methodology

In an attempt to contribute to the theoretical proposition that there is a link between poverty and shame, the analysis purposively focused on widely read newspapers in Uganda. These newspapers included The New Vision, The Daily Monitor, The Weekly Observer, Bukedde and Orumuri Rwa Uganda¹. Having established aspects on the link between poverty and shame in the previous work packages, the analysis used searches already encountered in WP1 &2 to track relevant articles from the selected newspapers. Using the New Vision, Daily Monitor and Weekly observer archives search, we used terms such as 'shame', 'poverty alleviation', 'exclusion', 'free education', 'UPE (Universal Primary Education), and NAADS (National Agricultural Advisory Services), to get relevant articles on poverty and shame. Due to the limited timeframe of these newspapers archives (since 2007 – 2011), we also engaged in the library search of articles flipping through the filed newspapers from 2001 to 2006. For the local language newspapers whose archives were unavailable on line, we did a physical search of articles in the library for the period considered under this study. The analysis covered newspaper articles ranging from 2001 to 2011 – a period of 10 years. All articles collected were then analyzed along the analysis checklist that recorded Newspaper article, name of author and date; Poverty situation being reported – (what is the dominant message? Real time cultural conceptions, Labelling/characterization – how newspapers report about the poor- the categorization, the shaming process). Other aspects tracked included examples of shaming, and the emerging themes. The analysis covered a total of 380 articles (Daily Monitor – 120, The New Vision – 105, Bukedde – 90, Weekly Observer – 45 and Orumuri - 20).

¹ The New Vision is an English newspaper leaning to the Ruling government in Uganda. For the period of our analysis, this newspaper commonly published features on the progress of most of the anti-poverty programmes in Uganda such as UPE, USE, NAADS, and prosperity for all. The Daily Monitor and the Weekly Observer are also English newspapers popularly circulated among the elite. Bukedde and Orumuri are the two local language newspapers focused on by the study. Bukedde is a daily Luganda newspaper, targeting central Uganda where majority Baganda hail from while Orumuri is a Runyankole / Rukiga newspaper largely targeting Banyankole, Bakiga, Batooro, Banyoro and many other tribes from western Uganda

The search also focused on analysing articles that talked about people's lives, the things that make their lives easy or those that made their lives difficult to live. Additional focus was on pictorial representations on poverty. These pictorial presentations particularly in cartoons enabled the analysis to explore women and men's relations that entail powerlessness, frustration or determination.

Newspaper Readership in Uganda

The analysis noted that in 2007, it was reported that among all the newspapers, only the two main dailies - Daily Monitor and New Vision managed to remain in the black as evidenced by Uganda Revenue Authority's (URA) top taxpayers' lists for the years 2005 and 2006. Kirumira and Ejwang (2007) noted that *as the rest of the world marks the World Press Freedom day, the newspaper industry in Uganda has little reason to mark the day with glee. The growth of newspapers and magazines of Uganda has not matched that of other forms of mass media like the broadcast sector. Besides, their death toll (over 100) has been amazing.* The article further reveals that today, it's only the Daily Monitor, East African, New Vision and Weekly Observer that are the major players in the industry. Newspaper readership has therefore been largely predominant in urban areas especially among the smallelite population although a few local language newspapers are also on the market in urban and rural areas.

Media Characterization of Poverty

Poverty in all regions of Uganda is described by newspapers in absolute terms. Through a language of 'total deprivation', newspapers, one-by-one, describe the poor in terms of services and goods they are not able to access – *inadequate material needs, inadequate incomes, their physical state, and social status.* The language of deprivation used defines poverty as “a situation in which someone does not have enough money to pay for their basic needs - mainly food, water, clothing, shelter, health and education”, “economically neglected”, “people cannot afford a safety pin to remove jiggers from their feet or to buy soap to wash their clothes or to bathe, people live in abject poverty”, “Ugandans still die in misery”, “There are many manifestations of abject poverty in the countryside”. These represent some of the recurring descriptions of situations of poverty whether in topical features, regional news, letters, opinions, or editorials. Other characteristics of poverty in these newspapers are reflected in government failure to deliver on its promises, tendencies of corrupt government officials misappropriating resources meant for the poor and failure of policies to benefit the poor. Most of these characteristics were referred to as a 'shame' for any country to experience in the 21st century (Emojong & Bareebe, 2010; Mulondo, 2010)

In another attempt to illustrate the hardships people live in, a Daily Monitor article reported an outbreak of jiggers² as the most terrible shame the local people in the area and the government in power can ever face. The article noted that *in every village, you will be stunned by the famine conflagration in months of a year, P7 graduates who cannot scribble their names, middle-aged citizens who are about to welcome the graves prematurely, and women in labour pangs carried on stretchers to the next health facility 10 kilometers away.* (Okuma, 2011)

These are the core characteristics of poverty the majority of Ugandans particularly in rural areas face. In other related articles, these characteristics of poverty were perceived by some writers as aspects of shame especially given the current global development trends. They were seen as characteristics of ancient times, long ago, contrary to current development times. In one of the New Vision articles (*Jiggers are a big shame to Uganda; Sunday, October 3 2010*), such characteristics of poverty were likened to the times when Indian coolies built the Uganda railway before British colonial rule in Uganda. The article goes on say that stories of people dying after being infested with jigger-fleas would remind one of past centuries Although the situation could be different, the idea of comparing the times points to the dirt, ancient times and backwardness the writer intends the newspaper readers to acknowledge. The shame in this article is compounded by the writer's insistence that this is not a story to be told of a country fighting to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The writer further notes that the state of events does not resonate with the optimism that the President has always expressed that every household in the country will soon be earning about Shs20 million annually. The tour through some parts of Busoga – and indeed many other regions in the country - clearly shows households that are living in abject poverty.

Poverty linked to shame

Newspapers broadly reported a link between poverty, and other social ills such as shame, theft, poor health, illiteracy, homosexuality, prostitution and many other evils (Sunday Vision, 2011). In another article, Mafaranga (2011) noted that Poverty is the leading cause of immorality among communities. In this article, the writer cites a catholic archbishop decrying the link between poverty and other social evils. According to the religious leader, girls in prostitution do not like to sleep with different men. He noted that *some of the men smell like rats, while others are*

² Jiggers, small insects that look like fleas, are the culprits in the epidemic that causes parts of the body to rot. They often enter through the feet. Once inside a person's body, they suck the blood, grow, breed and multiply. Affected body parts — buttocks, lips, even eyelids — rot away (<http://www.mnn.com/health/fitness-well-being/stories/jiggers-horror-disease-hits-uganda>). The insects breed in dirty, dusty places. The medical name for the parasitic disease is tungiasis, which is caused by the female sand fly burrowing into the skin. It exists in parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, besides sub-Saharan Africa

drunkards but poverty drives these girls to do it. The article adds that such immoral acts lead to shame of those so engaged. The article emphasized that if the Government and the church do not put in place measures to fight poverty, it may be difficult to eliminate prostitution and abortion, aspects he termed as social evils eating away the social fabric of Uganda.

The two articles closely identify with Akena, (2011), and Emojong & Bareebe, (2011) who report girls in poor families being treated like cash cows and jigger infestation as embarrassments for Uganda respectively. Emojong & Bareebe's article carried a lot of criticism of government and described hygiene and sanitary issues as the highest manifestation of poverty and shame. The authors noted that jiggers are a manifestation of poverty and have an effect on other social sectors. A similar article also run across other newspapers with the Sunday Vision article imagines how a family staying in a rickety grass-thatched house would escape public shame. In this article the writer asks, *how do you expect a family – that has to walk miles to reach the nearest health centre or water source – to lead a healthy life? Children have dropped out of schools because they cannot concentrate in class while the itchy fleas are ravaging their feet. Others have become a laughing stock. These are aspects of shame. The poor are blamed for being responsible for this state; when issues like corruption, ghosts or allegations of vote-rigging crop up, commissions of enquiry are appointed. But when jiggers are mentioned, everyone will turn their eyes to the opposite side and blame the same on poor sanitation and hygiene.* The analysis indicated that jigger infestation is one of the epidemics that elicits shame to the sufferers as well as those in government who ought to help them.

The media in Uganda have been awash with stories about jigger infestations that have killed and maimed people in Busoga. In response, political leaders from Busoga declared 'war' on the problem. Some media houses have noted that the most effective means of resolving the jiggers problem in Busoga is actually to eliminate and or reduce the presence of dusty homesteads so that the jiggers do not find sanctuaries to breed and multiply. In effect, their suggestions mean that the population should be able to afford modern construction options and drop the pre-industrial architecture when constructing homesteads. Whether this is within the economic means of the poor people, no one has explored. Thus, empowering the population economically remains the main feasible strategy so that they do not have to bother fighting jiggers given that jiggers are a manifestation of poverty-stricken conditions. When poverty is eliminated, jiggers too will fast disappear.

Unfulfilled promises

The analysis indicates that the period within which articles on poverty and accountability to the citizens came was during the political campaigns. This period in our analysis produces many articles in which the leaders accuse the poor people of not doing much to change their attitudes towards moving out of poverty, while the population also engages in shaming the political

leaders for their unfulfilled promises. During our analysis this period was 2001, late 2005 into 2006, and the last three months of 2010 and beginning of 2011. Matsamura (2010) for instance indicated how a group of women stood out by doing something different from the usual on International Women's day. The author of the article indicates that these women did not go out to dance and praise the President of Uganda for the female Cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament but instead chose to demonstrate against what they called the government's "*continued exploitation and hoodwinking of women.*" The women from different political parties protested against broken promises, poor maternal health conditions, poverty, corruption, and Police brutality. They complained about too many women dying of maternal complications in Uganda every day; many girls dropping out of school annually in spite of UPE; and many women "selling their radios, beds and chairs to educate their children." These not only mirrored just a fraction of the burdens the poor have had to contend with but also indicated that in some cases, programmes intended to address poverty had not achieved their objective. Further unfulfilled promises that newspapers presented as worthy to be ashamed of included widespread jigger infestation (Daily Monitor 2011), half-naked crowds during parliamentary and presidential campaigns (Wandera, 2010) as well as poor performance of UPE and NAADS programmes (Aguti, 2011; Museveni, 2011)

On Poverty alleviation programmes

The newspaper articles have been keen on reporting about poverty alleviation programmes. Whether it is from the editorials or periodic features almost all local and English newspapers report on the progress on the fight against poverty. The analysis established that the most commonly reported programmes on poverty alleviation include; Universal Primary Education, Universal Secondary Education, National Agricultural Advisory Services and Prosperity for all. In one of the ruling government leaning newspaper, the New Vision, Olupot (2008) wrote an article quoting the Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni happy with poverty campaign. In this article, the president was reportedly happy that people *have woken up and are engaging in commercial agriculture. I have seen the projects and I have instructed NAADS to construct dams in places where these projects are so that you can do some irrigation during the dry seasons.* The president was further quoted saying that *the philosophy of the Movement is not prosperity for some, but prosperity for all.* The president further indicated that it was a shame that Uganda used to import fruit juices from South Africa and milk from Denmark. "In 1986 we were importing powdered milk from Denmark yet the Banyankole and Iteso had been keeping cattle for the last 7,000 years. He terms it a shame, for him as an agriculturalist to leave resources untapped and spend the little he earns in importing what he could produce for himself. The ruling government was also quoted by newspapers on most occasions promoting agriculture modernization to improve household incomes. For instance in one of the New vision editorials

(July 2011), the president was quoted asking NRM MPs to encourage farmers to transform from traditional to modern methods of farming. He noted that “Modern methods of farming are likely to improve the farmers’ incomes much faster than traditional methods”. The challenge however, that was noted by the newspaper, was that some of our people are so traditional that it is very difficult to change them.” Once again the poor find themselves in the blame and labeled for being traditional, backward and rigid to changes that would have eradicated poverty. The poor, in this narrative are blamed and shamed for being responsible for their own poverty.

Anti-Poverty programmes aggravating poverty

Despite the success of anti-poverty programmes reported in newspapers, the analysis traced a lot of criticism put especially on the government for failing to implement poverty alleviation programmes to the benefit of the poor themselves. In what the Daily monitor terms as poverty programmes aggravating poverty (2010), the article blames increasing levels of poverty to free education and the scrapping of graduated tax by the government. Gulumaire (2010) cites an Anglican Bishop reported blaming the laziness of the poor on free education. The retired Bishop noted that “*the scrapping of graduated tax by the government in 2006 and the introduction of universal education over a decade ago has created laziness in rural areas.* He explained that instead of people saving money they would have used to pay the tax and school fees, they are engaged in unproductive ventures because they are assured of the basics of life. “What we have now is a wasted labour force engaged in gossip, politicking and booze.”

Further complaints about free education included too many students who were a strain to the few existing infrastructure - annual increase in enrollment not matching the facilities and teachers, leading to crowding in classrooms (New vision editorial August 2011). Other challenges included high drop-out rates with many children enrolling in Primary One and only a few completing the primary school cycle, poor literacy and numeracy skills of the UPE graduates; large classes that teachers have to deal with leading to poor quality teaching and learning activities. All these constraints have set UPE/USE programmes apart as meant for children from poor families yet with the poor quality education associated; there is a lot of stigma and shame associated with attending a UPE/USE School.

The analysis also documented calls to clean up all the poverty alleviation projects as early as 2009 noting that government efforts to eradicate poverty and improve livelihoods have not yielded much. The papers indicate for instance, that efforts are undermined by corrupt officials while in other cases, anti-poverty projects are conceived and implemented without clearly assessing the needs of the beneficiaries or the target audience. A New Vision editorial 4th October, 2009 argued that the success of anti-poverty projects requires design of programmes which are compatible with the high level of illiteracy and a low level of school completion in rural areas.

Leave UPE Schools for the poor; RDC

Bukedde 7 th January 2002	Mugalekere abanaku – RDC asabye abagagga okugya abaana mu masomero ga UPE	Leave UPE Schools for the poor; Resident District Commissioner advises the rich people to take their children out of UPE schools and leave them for the poor
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This article from a local newspaper in central Uganda quoted a resident District Commissioner – president’s representative, advising the rich people to take their children out of UPE schools and leave them for the poor. This rhetoric from a high political office, which was later re-echoed by the president that the rich families risked being imprisoned for interfering with programmes for the poor (Monitor, 2009), creates a clear distinction between the rich and the poor. It singles out UPE as a programme supposedly meant for the poor people rather than increasing all children’s access to education. Once such language is used, it has the potential to create the poor as the *Other* rather than the central focus in development programmes. In this article, the RDC advocated for the rich people to take their children to private schools and create more room for the children from poor families to access UPE School. He characterised UPE schools in the area as overburdened with extra load of pupils who cannot be effectively looked after. Although his comments may have been intended to improve UPE as a programme to benefit the most in need, the language used is likely to make UPE beneficiaries despised by other children and parents in non-UPE schools.

The analysis established that if there is going to be effectiveness in the anti-Poverty programmes, the poor themselves have to be vigilant. In an attempt to devise means to cut expenditure to beat economic hardships, Waiswa (2011), urges that citizens need to *change their attitude towards waste of time and resources*. The writer blames ‘Ugandans’ for not adjusting to the economic hardships that hit the world over and instead spend their modest earnings up front on luxuries. “This lifestyle was already deplorable even in the hay days. To stick to it now when we are deep into a great recession is to be poor in economic reason”.

Blaming and Shaming the leaders

The analysis also cited incidences where newspaper articles targeted shaming on prominent personalities in leadership. These articles, the majority of which were letters and opinions were always directed at politicians, religious leaders, and other prominent people for failing to address the needs of the poor. In one of the letters written in the Daily Monitor (2011) titled *Shame on you all, selfish Members of Parliament*, the writer challenged what he calls the selfishness of the newly appointed members of parliament for prioritizing the increase in their parliamentary allowances rather than meeting the needs of the population. The writer emphasizes that the

majority of Ugandans can hardly afford a proper meal a day, some are languishing in hospital corridors and cannot afford basic health services *yet the first thing our parliamentarians do is ask for an advance and salary increment?* To this article, the members of parliament ought to be ashamed of their selfish aims.

Further sentiments of shame are voiced by the opposition leadership against the ruling government for failing to fight poverty. Earlier on in the presidential campaigns of 2011, Emojong & Bareebe (2010), in their article *Museveni has set record of Jiggers*, quoted the main opposition leader shaming the president for failing to address the poor health of Ugandans. The opposition leader who had also contested for presidency said that President Museveni's regime will enter in the Guinness Book of World Records as the first government in the 21st century to have set up a ministerial committee to tackle jigger infestation. He explained that the problem of jiggers is a manifestation of the high levels of poverty that the majority of Ugandans in the countryside are experiencing. While apportioning the blame to the ruling government, the article goes on to say that as a president, "you cannot be in power for 25 years and your people are dying of jiggers but you still gather the energy to move around bragging that you are the President of Uganda, the commander in chief and you do not feel ashamed." Shame in this case is used as a tool to compel the government to accept responsibility for failing to prioritize and address the needs of the most poor (Mulondo, 2010). It was seen as a shame for the country to be engaged in a national jigger eradication campaign. The article termed this as *simply a reflection of failure of leadership not just at the local level but also at the national level since the campaign is national. It is a sign that social protection mechanisms have broken down,*" As such leaders ought to be ashamed of failure to eradicate poverty when they had the means.

Blaming and shaming the poor

In a wide range of articles, there was repeated use of blame language to the poor for their poverty. Most times the blame was levied against the poor by high profile politicians, civil servants in the government as well as church leaders. On most occasions, the poor were blamed for being poor because; *they are lazy, ancient, traditional and rigid – not ready to embrace change; they want to get rich quick and therefore opt for petty business rather than engage in agriculture; lazy because of free government programmes like UPE, USE, and removing Graduated tax.* Muzaale (2011) in his Daily monitor article, quotes a Bishop from Mukono District who blames food shortage on laziness. The article noted that the current food insecurity in the central region is due to laziness. The article calls it a *shame* that people in Buganda, an area with fertile soils and good weather, can face famine like those in Karamoja. "People in Buganda have failed to utilize the fertile soils we have here to grow enough food. Many are instead selling it to buy boda bodas (Motorbikes)." This is not the only article where a high profile individual blames the poor for their own fate. Other people engaged in the blaming and shaming the poor include the president who on most of his campaign trail blamed poor people

for being responsible for poor health and low productivity. In eastern Uganda the President blamed the households infested with Jiggers for having poor hygiene. Addressing a rally in Namutumba District, Eastern Uganda, Mr. Museveni said: *“If you were observing good hygiene, jiggers could not have attacked you.* In western Uganda, the president blamed people of Nyabushozi for being lazy. *“You have a problem of laziness. Every work you want to use labourers. There is still laziness here and you should stop it.”*

Earlier in 2008, Bahikaho (2008) quoted a Presidential Adviser on Poverty Alleviation, Joan Kakwenzire, urging residents to start modernizing their attitudes and family lives before they are given projects to look after. She allegedly blamed the poor who adamantly refused to adjust to modern ways of doing things and emphasized that government will *work with those who are quick to implement our policies; like having a clean homestead with all necessities for human beings.* What one reads from this high profile communication is the assumption that some families are lazy, not quick to respond to government programmes; that some homes have poor homesteads not worthy of human beings she said. Similar attitude of blaming the poor is re-echoed by a ruling Member of Parliament who warned parents who fail to send children to school that they risked going to jail.

These blame games, which in certain cases, lead to shaming the poor were expressed in different newspapers. Tingatsiga, (2002) a renowned columnist responded to another columnist on the *New Year Eve and why the poor like Sheraton*³. In this article, Tingatsiga provides a detailed article whose language had aspects of shaming the poor masses. Tingatsiga acknowledges that indeed many poor people turn up every end of year at Sheraton because the majority of them have nothing better to do on that day. Majority of them are described as poor because if they were not, they would have managed to enter, buy a drink and food as they waited for the New Year and fireworks that accompany it. Tingatsiga points out that Ugandans are to blame for being poor because “with the fertile soils, good climate, abundant natural resources and cheap labor, Ugandans need not be poor”. The columnist further cites other social functions that require visiting Sheraton and why. “It’s strategically located in the center of the city, has spacious facilities, so cosy and accessible”. “It has become extremely fashionable that for every newly wedded couple, immediately after church ceremonies and before the reception, has to head for Sheraton gardens for photographs.” The columnist wonders whether there was no other place in the city where the *unwashed masses could enjoy a dignified celebration of the New Year’s Eve leaving the privileged folk enjoy ...wines in guiltless comfort?* Tingatsiga notes that when it comes to eating and drinking freely, the poor folks enjoy better appetites and capacity than the privileged wealthy folks. The authors interesting remarks are voiced towards the end of the article - “suppose the hungry masses decided to invade the VIP party at the swimming pool?”.

³ Sheraton is a serene Hotel located in the heart of Kampala City.

All through the article, the columnist used strong language of blame, othering, and demeaning to the poor. As one read through, it was as if the poor described here are dirty, bothering, unprivileged, interrupting the rich and therefore they should have looked for what is fit for them. The article further portrayed them as *shameless* – for having interfered with the privileged folk. In a way, the poor ought not to have accessed Sheraton, a respectable, serene hotel reserved only for the privileged wealthy folk, and that those poor people should be ashamed of their attempt to want to celebrate the New Year’s Eve in such a place. This is reflected in the last gesture of the article that “*we live in hope that these unwashed masses, will always, by the grace of God, restrain themselves from offloading their hunger and anger on the VIPs in the society so long.*” (Tingatsiga, Monitor Tuesday January 8th, 2003)

Poverty and the Changing masculinities

In the local dailies, *Bukedde and Orumuri* poverty is predominantly portrayed in people’s failure to provide material things to consummate a marital relationship, or women divorcing their husbands for failure to provide basic necessities in a marriage. In almost a consistent manner across the years reviewed, Bukedde newspaper, under its heading *kasalabecca* literary meaning *sharp news*, reports on marital instabilities as a result of poverty. In a host of shaming headlines, women detest marrying poor men, while in-laws refuse their daughters to get married to families of poor men and many other statements that sound frustrating to the poor;

Date	Luganda (Headlines in Local language)	English translation
1.12.2002	Sifumbirwa mwavu – Bba bweyagobeddwa ku mulimu, n’asiba ebintu by’awaka byonna, nanoba. <i>“Abakazi Nkwenge esekera ayengezza”</i>	I cannot be married to a poor man. When her husband was chased from his job, she packed all her household belongings and went back to her father’s home.
May 6 th 2002	Obuwuulu bweyongedde lwa mbeera ya nfuna – bakugu “Abako abaavu babagobye”	Bachelorhood has increased because of the state of the economy – experts Poor in-laws chased
May 5 th 2003	Eyabbye busuuti agitwale ku buko yasuze mu kaduukulu: Nfudde	A man who stole a traditional dress and shoes to take to his fiancé for introduction, arrested and taken to police.
17 th April 2002	Omufumbo eyakwatiddwa mu loogi ayogedde; “Nkooye okunsuza ku kafaliso ka yinchi emu”	A married woman caught in the lodge with another man speaks out: I am tire of sleeping on a 1 inch mattress.
9 th March	Abako baabammye omukazi lwa	In-laws denied him the bride for lack of

2002	mitwalo 20 (80\$)	200,000 Uganda shillings - In-laws who had gone to get the bride were denied the girl for failing to pay fine of 200,000 for coming late.
May 21 st 2002	Ssemaka adduse n'aleka abaana mu nju. Afumbiddwa nnakyeyombekedde.	A man abandons his children at home, gets married to a single mother

The above articles reflect on poverty and its effect on marital obligations. Headlines in this paper indicate how women reject marrying poor men, in-laws are chased away for failing to bring the required bride price, or bringing less than what they were requested to offer for the bride, increasing bachelorhood in a community where marriage is a key expectation. The level of poverty portrayed in the articles is reportedly responsible for most males passing the age of marrying without getting married. These conditions of poverty are reportedly preventing men from marrying or at times lead to girls eloping with their loved ones without cultural practices of introduction and wedding. The paper further points to increasing single motherhood after failure to live to the marriage expectations. Single motherhood among the Baganda as a tribe is perceived to be negative and a sign of failure. All young girls are socialised right from childhood to cherish the institution of marriage. For girls who do not get married, they are negatively labelled “*nnakyeyombekedde*” (single, female household heads) to shame them from shunning marriage. Equally, a man neglecting his obligation of looking after his children and being married to a single mother is an extreme case of shame given that in this culture, men are expected to look after their children and, to marry and not to be married.

“Can’t marry a poor man”

This article cites a woman who divorced her husband because of joblessness. When her husband was chased from his job, she packed all her household belongings and went back to her father’s home. The article also likens women to birds; they smile at a farmer whose crops are ripe. In this representation, there is a close comparison of poverty with joy. The woman had to abandon the marriage because she did not want to be ashamed of associating with a poor husband. The language of shaming is used in the article when the paper symbolically likens the divorcing woman with birds that only smile at the farmer only when the crops are ripe. It’s a language that is likely to shame the woman as an opportunist, one who cannot bear with the hard conditions of poverty.



The monitor, January 28th 2002

Men's expectations in marriage and other family obligations are different. As a result, poverty and its effect on marriage relations had different effects for men and for women. As much as both women and men may be poor, the articles from the papers discussed herein indicate a lot of pressure on men to meet their expected obligations of initiating and sustaining a marriage. Increasingly, this has led to frustrations among men who cannot afford to keep their dignity due to failure to live by their expectations. This has led to increased bachelorhood among young men. As indicated herein the literature from the papers points to practices of shame or feeling ashamed as a self-conscious emotion that is nevertheless culturally shaped and expressed. Among the Baganda of central Uganda, this self-consciousness is commonly and widely seen as entailing a negative assessment of the core self, made with reference to one's own aspirations and the perceived expectations of others. The sense of failure to live up to the expected standards manifests itself in a sense of powerlessness – *men's failure to marry*, feeling inadequate – as in the case of a woman who divorces her husband or loss of the sense of shame, as in the case of *a married woman caught in the lodge with another man speaks out: I am tired of sleeping on a 1 inch mattress*.

The analysis noted that men's lives have been under pressure amidst poverty. There are many incidences of women shaming their husbands or prospective husbands for failure to live up to their expectations. As a result men are constantly under pressure (amidst poverty) to remain *men*. As a way of coping most men, are portrayed as resorting to living unmarried lives, stealing to provide the required material things for marriage or abandoning their families all together.

How newspapers inform policy making process on Poverty

Newspapers are central in influencing the policy making process since they inform the general public and the government on the prevailing state of poverty in the country. The newspapers particularly the New Vision, Daily Monitor, The Observer and Bukedde have been very key in;

- i. Raising catchy debates on policy issues, situation analysis of poverty – highlighting critical poor situations,
- ii. demanding accountability,
- iii. critiquing Poverty alleviation programmes,
- iv. offering alternative solutions to poverty

In all the four aspects above, the government has on most occasions come up to respond to issues of national concern. One of the most influential periods when newspapers were central in raising concerns about poverty was the period towards, during and after the parliamentary and presidential elections of February 2011.

Raising catchy debates on policy issues, situation analysis of poverty – highlighting critical poor situations

During the campaigns to the Parliamentary and presidential elections, newspapers raised key poverty issues central to Ugandans particularly rural Ugandans. Different regions were reported with unique concerns of poverty that at certain times the newspapers termed as a shame in this era. In North and Northwestern Uganda, newspapers noted poor housing, child labor, sex trafficking, and poor social services. In Northeastern Uganda, commonly known as the Karamoja region, newspapers identified famine and malnutrition, and the poor road network as the most biting issues of poverty. In Eastern Uganda, the campaign against jigger infestation was probably the most reported and shaming case of poverty. There were reported cases of children before age of 5 years as well as adults dying of jiggers while the effect of this infestation was also felt on the performance of children in schools. In Central and Southern Uganda, poverty was reported in terms of people's low incomes that drove them to witchcraft to look for quick riches. This was manifested through many incidences of child and human sacrifices. There was also reported laziness as most poor people shunned agricultural production in favor of petty businesses like boda boda riding. In western Uganda, poverty was reported in terms of poor housing such as grass-thatching, mud and wattle houses and the poor performance of UPE and USE schools. The newspapers also noted utter failure of poverty eradication programmes throughout the country. Such failed programmes included Plan for modernization of Agriculture that embraces National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS); Prosperity for All (PFA), Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs), UPE and USE. With such concerns raised to the public, most Ugandans became aware of the state of poverty and government efforts geared towards poverty eradication. Most reasons for the failure, according to newspapers are corrupt leaders, exploitation and mismanagement of programmes as well as politicizing poverty eradication which implies that those in political opposition never come to benefit from poverty eradication initiatives even when they are poor.

Although some of these issues were not entirely limited to the geographical zones listed herein, there was a pattern of commonality with each region experiencing the named challenges more than the other regions. These issues became central to candidates written and unwritten manifestos during the political campaigns with the opposition candidates using them to shame the ruling party for failure to deliver services while the incumbent government resorted to defending its programmes, in what the Monitor newspaper called *a Political Gimmick*.

Demanding accountability

Public awareness created through the newspapers especially during the election period led to most poor people, with support of the political opposition leaders, to demand for accountability of how poverty eradication programmes have been conducted. Poor people in rural areas demanded to know what the government will do once voted into power, while other organs like parliamentary committees demanded results of government programmes on poverty. For instance, in a New Vision article titled *Presidential adviser grilled over poverty funds*, it was reported that the MPs on the public accounts committee tasked a senior presidential adviser on poverty alleviation, Joan Kakwenzire, to account for sh280m allegedly given to individuals instead of the poor in the constituency. They argued that the money should have benefited everyone rather than the two individuals, one of whom was from the president's office. In another attempt to demand accountability, Daily Monitor ran an article on *Tuesday, October 19 2010, NGO forum launches citizens' manifesto*; protesting the promotion of individualism. The article featured The Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform (UGMP), a grouping of 17 NGOs, which had launched a citizens' manifesto ahead of the 2011 national elections.

The citizens' manifesto was launched in Kampala on Friday. The forum urged the government to strengthen institutions instead of promoting individualism. -Bishop Niringiye who presided over the function called on government to "listen to the citizens". He said it was a shame for the country to be engaged in a national jigger eradication campaign. "It is simply a reflection of failure of leadership not just at the local level but also at the national level since the campaign is national. It is a sign that social protection mechanisms have broken down,"

The Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform described the status of the citizens but also government's failure to address citizens' concerns as a shame, especially to be engaged in a national campaign to eradicate jigger infestation. In an attempt to drive the policy agenda on concerns raised, the forum urged the government to strengthen institutions instead of promoting individualism. It should also be noted that the government acknowledged the citizens' voice

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since the Ministry of Gender has currently been tasked to ensure implementation of a social protection fund for the poor and elderly in the entire country.

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