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The Ethics of Inequality: Charity, Sustainable Development and the Problem of Dependence in Central Uganda

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The Ethics of Inequality: Charity, Sustainable Development, and the Problem of Dependence in Central Uganda

by

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the interactions between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence in relation to problems of orphan support in Central Uganda. In the first half I describe how financial sustainability has emerged as a guiding principle for international development. As it has done so many non-governmental organizations in Uganda have moved away from providing charitable "handouts" and have instead attempted to foster sustainable community-based institutions. I argue that despite the popularity of these ideas among members of the local and international development communities, Baganda villagers experience these shifts away from charity not as acts of empowerment, but as suspect refusals to redistribute wealth. By contrast, I argue that rural Baganda experience charitable interventions as consistent with their own ethico-moral frameworks. Through this argument I trouble the hypothesis originally put forth by Marcel Mauss concerning the inevitable wounds of the charitable gift. In the second half I move on to examine the modes of subjectivation entailed in each of these ethical assemblages. Here I focus on a contrast between regimes of audit that are at the center of contemporary international development projects and the ways in which a community of Ugandan Catholic nuns engaged in charitable works use narrative and mimesis to shape themselves into subjects who, detached from worldly concerns, learn to trust in, and make themselves accountable to, a divine, rather than an earthly, auditor. Drawing on data collected during thirteen-months of fieldwork in Uganda my dissertation offers a reading of the contemporary philanthropic field that works to unsettle what are often assumed to be foregone conclusions about the ethics and effects of dependency and audit in the post-colonial world.

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Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction

"What we are doing here is not charity," Margaret Nassuna[1] explained to me as she described the suite of community-based orphan support programs she was managing at Hope Child. The frequency with which she and other Ugandan NGO employees distinguished their work as being something other than charity, and the lengths they went to avoid creating dependency on foreign funding, surprised me at first. But, over time I began to realize that these assurances were part of the international push for more sustainable community-owned development. Sustainability in this sense refers to a philosophy, practice, and set of technologies for economic development intended to create interventions that will have an impact beyond the life of the project itself. Sustainable development relies on the prospect of creating strong community institutions that will continue to exist after the NGO and their resources leave the community. Nassuna's comments not only indexed the rise of this new way of thinking about development, but also spoke to the marginal position of the charitable gift, the "handout," and the specter of dependency within the contemporary philanthropic field.

Hope Child's attempts to avoid "handouts" ultimately led to tensions between its field office staff and the program's beneficiaries and volunteers. While the Hope Child staff members were interested in creating support-groups for grandparents caring for orphans and building community-run Early Childhood Development (ECD) centers for children under eight, local people wanted farm implements, livestock, school fees, and

[1] I have changed the names of all people, places, organizations, and religious orders I refer to in this dissertation in an effort to protect their privacy.

mattresses. Despite Hope Child's claim that these beneficiaries were the "owners" of the project, the program beneficiaries were not able to convince Hope Child to spend any more than 6% of the 375,000 dollar program budget on these ideas. While the Hope Child staff, and the donor foundations that supported them, saw the refusal of "handouts" as part of a strategy to avoid aid-dependence and to promote programs which would yield lasting benefits, the Hope Child beneficiaries saw these choices as suspect refusals to redistribute wealth, and echoed a refrain familiar across the African continent that the NGO staff was likely "eating the money" (Bayart 1989).

My dissertation focuses on these tensions and accusations asking, "What do gifts, dependency, and attempts to avoid them mean in a community where patron-client relationships serve as a primary ethical compass?" In the chapters that follow, I articulate a central international debate concerning the most effective means for bringing about economic development and social justice, a debate that pits charity against sustainability, highlighting the ethical judgments rural Baganda make about the programs that result from these alternate orientations.

Ethics and Interdependence in Central Uganda

In opposition to the tremendous value placed on independence and self-reliance in many contemporary "western" cultures, personhood in much of Africa, and indeed in much of the world, is achieved through relationships with other people (Markus and Kitayama 1991:224-253; Shweder and Bourne 1982). This is not, of course, to say that Africans do not also deploy norms of independence and individualism, that they do not

also accuse their neighbors of being lazy and unworthy of assistance. However, there are certain ethics of interdependence which validate the creation and use of networks (often hierarchical) to secure support (often material). These ethics of hierarchical interdependence occupy an important place in local moral economies, particularly among the rural poor. These ethics of interdependence, which I will discuss in greater detail in the following chapter, mean that people with resources not only stand to gain from their relationships with those who have less, but also that people with resources have a moral obligation to take on dependents and that people with limited resources make active efforts to attach themselves to others as dependents (Vansina 1990; Miller 1988; Guyer 1995; Kopytoff and Miers 1977; Chabal and Daloz 1999; Ferguson 2009; Swidler and Watkins 2007).

Within this system of patron-client ties, one increases one's standing, one's sense of being a full person, not by becoming "independent," but rather by attaching oneself to others, and by acquiring clients of one's own. To be dependent on another is not a sign of absolute destitution, rather "[t]he truly destitute are those without patrons" (Chabal and Daloz 1999: 42). The multiplicity of patrons actively competing for clients, and the clients' freedom to move from one patron to another, should the first fail to meet their needs, builds a critical flexibility into these relations. It is thus not absolute independence that allows people to exercise their agency, rather "real freedom, in such a social world, [does] not come from independence, but from a plurality of opportunities for dependence" (Ferguson 2009:6). By acquiring a wide range of patrons, clients are not only assured of "having people" who can assist them in a variety of ways (Smith 2004), but also gain a measure of insurance against the fickle fortunes, and hearts, of their

patrons.

James Ferguson has recently written of the conflict between the demands made by Africans seeking to enter into hierarchical relations of patronage and Western ideals of development. He writes that given Amartya Sen's definition of development as an increase in human freedom "to declare for dependence, to wish for it, to seek it, seems to be a wish for one's own devaluation, and even dehumanization" (Ferguson 2009: 4). This position is troubling for Ferguson, and for myself, given the frequency with which such "declarations of dependence" are made by poor people in Africa as a way of attempting to improve their lives (Ferguson 2009).

In line with Ferguson's recent work, my research on the interactions between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence seeks to unsettle what are often assumed to be foregone conclusions about the ethics and effects of dependency in the post-colonial world. In so doing, I join Ferguson and other scholars, including sociologists Susan Watkins and Ann Swidler (Ferguson 2009; Swidler and Watkins 2007), in their efforts to shift the discussion on "wealth-in-people" in Africa from its prior focus on why patrons sought to amass dependents, towards a conversation about why dependents seek to attach themselves to patrons - and the increasing difficulty of securing such patronage in the contemporary moment.

In addition to this argument concerning the ethics and effects of dependency, and potential policy implications of the material I present in the following chapters, there are two sets of arguments I want to make in relation to the anthropological literature. The first set of arguments looks backwards towards long standing anthropological debates on the effects and ethics of asymmetrical gift exchange. The second set of arguments

looking forward to the emerging literature on the anthropology of ethics.

Injurious Patronage

The first half of my dissertation focuses on the relationships between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence. In these chapters I work against the theoretical position, taken up by authors including Mary Douglas, Marcel Mauss, and Pierre Bourdieu, that while charity benefits the giver, it necessarily harms the standing of the person who has received it. In her essay "No Free Gifts," which served as the preface of a 1990 edition of The Gift, Mary Douglas writes,

> "Though we laud charity as a Christian virtue we know that it wounds…What is wrong with the so-called free gift is the donor's intention to be exempt from return gifts coming from the recipient…According to Marcel Mauss that is what is wrong with the free gift. A gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction (Douglas 1990: vii)."

Given the impossibility of reciprocity, Douglas argues that charity yields only the pain of unrepayable gift-debt. Douglas's analysis reflects Mauss's own thoughts on charity, which come in a section entitled "Moral Conclusions" where he writes, "Charity is still wounding for him who has accepted it, and the whole tendency of our morality is to strive to do away with the unconscious and injurious patronage of the rich almsgiver (Mauss 1990: 65)." While moving from Mauss and Levi-Strauss's concerns with a synchronic structural understanding of gift-exchange towards a theory of exchange informed by a dynamic and diachronic theory of practice, Bourdieu maintained this moral critique of charity. From Outline of a Theory of Practice (Bourdieu 1977) to Pascalian Meditations (Bourdieu 2000), unrepayable alms serve as one of Bourdieu's primary examples of symbolic violence.

In opposition to a structural argument concerning the *necessary* violence of charity, I call for closer attention to the role particular socio-historical conjunctures play in shaping the ways in which givers and receivers understand these acts of charitable giving. In addition, my analysis attempts to trouble distinctions between self-interest and altruism that have shaped many contemporary readings of Mauss (Blau 1964; Firth et al. 1967; Douglas 2000). As noted by Jonathan Parry, these analyses focus on the self-interested nature of calculated reciprocal gift exchanges, ignoring Mauss's fundamental insight that the division between self-interest and altruism is a product of modern economics (Parry 1986), not a timeless truth.

An Anthropology of Ethics

My analysis of the interactions between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence also engages the emergent literature on anthropology of ethics and morality which seeks to understand how people come to orient themselves towards an understanding of "the good" and how they subsequently work to enact this through their daily practices and decisions.

Before moving further, I ought to note that my understanding of the word 'ethics' is by no means universal in anthropology. Anthropologists studying ethics have noted that the lack of sustained enquiry and debate on this topic has resulted in inconsistent and confusing use of the terms 'ethics' and 'morality' (Faubion 2001; Kleinman 1999; Kleinman, Fox, and Brandt 1999; Laidlaw 2002; Lambek 2000; Robbins 2006; Zigon 2008). For example, Arthur Kleinma's attempt to distinguish ethics and morality is deeply informed by his interest in the relationship between the use of principlism in

biomedical ethics and the complex ethico-moral quandaries of medical practice. This focus led him to define ethics as a set formal abstract rules or principles, and morality as the messy enactment of these rules in daily life. Using this definition draws attention to the need for anthropology as a method for of elucidating the details of moral experience, in contrast to the study of formal ethical systems (Kleinman 1999). Yet, while his definitions make sense in the context of biomedicine, they are quite different from those developed by other anthropologists and philosophers studying ethics and morality.

James Laidlaw's definition of ethics is closer to the Aristotelian sense of the term, in that it focuses on *phronêsis*, or the practical ability to make judgments about right action in specific situations. Following this tradition, Laidlaw defines ethics as situation-dependent practice informed by a process of self-training. This definition of ethics is anything but the application of a system of formal rules (Laidlaw 2002). Following Nietzsche, Laidlaw uses the term morality in a more limited sense to refer to a subset of ethical systems where "self-denying values inform law-like obligations" (Laidlaw 2002:317). More recently, Jarrett Zigon has attempted to distinguish ethics, which he defines as those moments in which troubled actors consciously reflect on their actions, from morality, which he defines as the embodied and largely untroubled enactment of the good in daily life (Zigon 2008:180). In my own work, I have decided to forestall the resolution of this debate and use the terms 'ethics' and 'morals' along with the term 'ethico-moral' interchangeably to refer to assemblages of technologies, norms, practices, and modes of reasoning related to situated judgment about 'the right' or 'the good.'

In the chapters that follow I am interested in exploring what we might think of as two different ethical registers. The first register concerns the content of ethico-moral

practices and norms, or what Foucault terms the "code of behavior" (Foucault 1990). It is to this first register that my comparison of charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence is primarily addressed. The second register relates to what we might think of as a sort of meta-ethics which concerns the governance of the ethical agent herself, what Foucault called "forms of subjectivation" (Foucault 1990). In my consideration of this second register, I focus on the contrast between an ethics of audit, which focuses on the production of visible proofs of measurable achievements, and a monastic ethics of virtue, which is primarily concerned with the formation of a self capable of loving and trusting in God.

In considering the alternate ethics deployed by my interlocutors and the relationships between these two ethico-moral registers, I have found it helpful to draw upon the conceptual tools of the apparatus and the assemblage. Following the publication of Discipline and Punish Foucault began to use the term apparatus (*dispositif*) to refer to the heterogenous collections of discursive and non-discursive elements that are used for the control and management of populations and problems at particular historical conjunctures. In his own writings Foucault used this concept as an unelaborated methodological tool, and it was only in later interviews that he articulated an explicit elaboration of this concept (Rabinow 2003:50-56).

Building on Foucault's usage of the apparatus Paul Rabinow developed the concept assemblage to refer to less stable networks of elements which have not yet calcified as stable apparatuses. In Anthropos Today: Reflections on Modern Equipment Rabinow defines the term assemblage. He writes,

> "Assemblages are secondary matrices from within which apparatuses emerge and become stabilized or transformed. Assemblages stand in a

> dependent but contingent and unpredictable relationship to the grander problematizations. In terms of scale they fall between problematizations and apparatuses and function differently from either one. They are a distinctive type of experimental matrix of herogenous elements, techniques, and concepts. They are not yet an experimental system in which controlled variation can be produced, measured, and observed. They are comparatively effervescent, disappearing in years or decades rather than centuries…One might say that an assemblage is not the kind of thing that is intended to endure; either a more structured apparatus emerges from it or it disaggregates" (Rabinow 2003:56).

As can be seen in other recent ethnographic applications of these terms (Ong and Collier eds. 2005) the conceptual tools of assemblage and apparatus are especially useful in their attention to the multiplicity of elements involved in resolving contemporary problems of ethics and politics. Such a formulation has an advantage over other conceptual tools that rely more heavily on the driving force of a single coherent logic or on purely cognitive elements. Assemblages allow us to think about more heterogeneous collections of elements, both discursive and non-discursive, and the ways in which these elements rearticulate themselves in relation to one another over time. The temporal sense implied by the term also serves as a reminder to focus on the possibilities of emergence and the need for tracing the recent histories of contemporary action. In many cases the assemblages are called up in response to problems are borrowed assemblages, originally created in response to some other problem or at some other time, which have now been called into service in reference to the problem at hand. As we shall see, there is also a considerable degree of slippage and borrowing between these ethical assemblages, even between those that define themselves as the other's opposite.

Method

By defining charity, sustainable development, and a Kiganda ethics of interdependence as assemblages or apparatuses, which can be distinguished from one another in such a way that they can then be put into relationship with one another, I am engaging in something of a thought experiment. As will become clear through the history and ethnography presented below these three assemblages not only inform, influence, and conflict with one another, but each was also present in the past and present articulations of each of the others. To speak of them then as separateable entities requires that we think of them as ideal types. Weber wrote that an ideal type

> "is not a description of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description…[It] is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many, diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct" (Weber 1949: 101, 90, quoted in Rabinow 2003: 36-37).

Weber's approach speaks to the limits of objectivity for social science. He emphasizes the active role the researcher plays in constructing an ideal type, but at the same time acknowledging a relationship between the construct and reality.

In constructing my analysis of these three ideal types I draw upon twelve months of fieldwork conducted in Uganda in 2007-2008 and 2010 and follow-up fieldwork with donor organizations in the United States and Europe in 2008 and 2010. The majority of my fieldwork focused on the daily practices of people living and working "on the ground" at village level NGO field offices. In addition, I draw on documents and interviews with more distant actors to demonstrate the ways in which these modes of defining and fulfilling obligations are linked to expansive global imaginaries, practices,

and networks of people. While I spent short periods of time at a number of organizations in Uganda, my dissertation focuses on two contrasting case studies.

My analysis of the daily practice of sustainable development is based on a case study of Hope Child. Hope Child is a mid-size indigenous NGO that was founded in 1995 by a Ugandan woman with experience working as a child welfare officer and as the director of another indigenous Christian child welfare NGO. Having expanded out from its original aim of operating the only toll-free child helpline in Uganda, Hope Child's programs are now shaped by a commitment to the holistic development of children and their caregivers and to the promotion of child rights.

The field office at which I spent the majority of my time was in the process of implementing a program designed to strengthen the capacity of grandparents caring for their young grandchildren, to promote early childhood development through the establishment of early childhood development centers, and to empower children and teenagers through the establishment of child rights clubs. Over the course of the last five years, Hope Child has become increasingly successful in securing grants from a wide range of international foundations and governments. When I first visited Hope Child in July 2007 I was impressed by the staff's holistic, community-based approach to the problem of orphan care. I saw their success in securing funding from a broad range of international donors as evidence of their alignment with contemporary trends in orphan support programming, as well as proof of their effectiveness and integrity. I was not interested in writing an exposé of an ineffective or poorly managed program, and thus sought out Hope Child as sort of a "best practices" case within the field of sustainable development. Using their donors' evaluations as a guide, I maintain that Hope Child is

an exemplary case of the sustainable development apparatus at work and that problems they encountered were not a product of incompetence or error, but rather were the products inherent to the successful implementation of the sustainable development model.

My investigation of the contemporary apparatus of Catholic charity centers on the daily operations of Mercy House, a home for orphans, children with disabilities, and the elderly is run by the Franciscan order of the Sisters of St. Clare (SOSC). Mercy House was founded in 1928 in a rural village two hours outside of Kampala. During my fieldwork, Mercy House was home to more than two hundred residents. Rather than focusing their efforts on a single population, the sisters running Mercy House have continued to open the gates to a broad range of people whom they see as being in need of care and support. This group includes orphans, children who have been abused, children and young adults with mental and physical disabilities, and elderly refugees and migrants who could no longer support themselves. Most of the children attend local schools, the majority of which are also run by SOSC. For the Catholic nuns who run Mercy House, charity was a form of prayer and a way of reciprocating what they see as God's unmatchable gifts of love and grace.

Both Hope Child and Mercy House are, in part, working to respond to the internationally defined African orphan crisis, in which 48 million children are thought to have lost one or both of their parents to AIDS, civil war, and other causes of premature mortality (UNICEF 2006). While orphans have generally been an unproblematic category of persons in Africa, being children who have and continue to be seamlessly incorporated into new households of their extended family (Brada 2008; Dahl 2008;

Madhavan 2004; Ntozi 1997; Ntozi et al. 1999; Aspaas 1999; Bledsoe 1989; Bledsoe 1990; Goody 1982; Southwold 1965), in international discourse orphans are icons of need and vulnerability.

In light of this there have been many unrelated others, both inside and outside of Uganda, who have felt an obligation to act on behalf of these children. These obligations are articulated in a range of registers. The child rights discourse formalized through the 1989 UN Convention on the rights of the child, but articulated early in the 20th century in isolated cases (Birn 2005), has been central in recent efforts to frame the obligations which states, families, and communities have to children (Cheney 2007). In a different register more closely linked to a discourse of citizenship than to one of human rights, Botswana has provided material assistance in the form of food or cash payments to families caring for orphans (Brada 2008; Dahl 2008). Child sponsorship schemes (Bornstein 2001) and the activities of countless NGOs speak to the ways in which the iconic image of the lone African child has inspired a sense of ethical obligation which extends beyond the borders of nation or kin. Liisa Malkki has described the ways in which images of refugees and children have been used to signify a sort of ahistorical and voiceless humanity that is particularly attractive to foreign donors and humanitarian organizations (Malkki ND; Malkki 1996). Photographs of orphans are plastered on the promotional materials distributed by a range of organizations with conflicting philosophies and programmatic approaches. Yet, despite their divergent aims, the figure of orphan serves them each equally well. Whether they are Christians attracted by the biblical command to care for widows and orphans, advocates of development attracted by the orphan's detachment from the corrupting influences of family and tradition, potential

sponsors drawn to the elusive possibility of international kinship, or humanitarians attracted by the orphans' bare and ahistorical humanity, the image of the solitary African child is a potent symbol of both need and possibility.

By 2005, at least 15% of children had lost one or both of their parents in seven of Africa's 54 countries. In twenty-two more countries, 10-14% of children were in this same predicament. In 2005, 14% of Uganda's children had lost one or both of their parents. AIDS led to the deaths of these children's parents in approximately 45% of cases (UNICEF 2006). While other causes of death including maternal mortality, wars, accidents, tuberculosis, and other diseases also play a significant role in the orphan crisis, the proportion of children orphaned by AIDS is rapidly increasing. In addition, AIDS often leads to the death of both parents, and is therefore more likely to result in children who are particularly vulnerable "double orphans" (UNICEF 2006).

While both Mercy House and Hope Child serve as sites that alternately privilege the ethical assemblages of charity and sustainable development, in neither case was a single assemblage exclusively in play. Rather, through both case studies we see the ways in which people struggle between these ethics, shifting between them and working to justify their actions to themselves and others. In addition, while the particular form of charity I discuss is explicitly tied to Christianity, many of Hope Child's employees and volunteers were also Christian, and each day of work at the head office began with an hour-long period of Bible study, testimony, and praise songs. And should we be tempted to think that perhaps sustainable development and charity can be thought of in terms of denominational distinctions between Protestants and Catholics, we need only look to the many secular and Protestant groups engaged in practices similar to those engaged in by

the nuns of Mercy House and to Catholic Relief Service's embrace of micro finance, or Maryknoll Tanzania's recent decision to contract a team of consultants from McKinsey and Company, to see that these ethical assemblages cannot be seen as limited to a particular set of religious beliefs.

The comparative nature of this project and the frequent demands of those participating in my research for something resembling "advice" often made it tempting to shift towards an evaluative mode of research. Yet, evaluation from an external "objective" position is not the aim of anthropology, or at least not the sort of anthropology I am interested in practicing. Rather, I follow James Ferguson's approach to analyzing the development "failures" of the World Bank in Lesotho. Ferguson's analysis highlights the ways in which effects of development projects can be read as a success by project planners (people are using the market to sell their cattle) when in fact these same facts index failure (people have become so poor that they have been forced to sell their cattle) (Ferguson 1990). But, rather than offering his own analysis of the relative success or failure of the project, he uses these conflicting interpretations as tools for thinking about the ways in which these two groups thought about success. In thinking about the outcomes of the projects implemented at Mercy House and Hope Child, it becomes important to attend both to the fact that those they served sometimes felt that their efforts fell short, while listening to the claims of success made by workers at these two organizations. Doing so allows us to attend to what these narratives reveal about the different ways in which project planners and project beneficiaries viewed their objectives, what for them constituted success. In this sense, my dissertation builds on Ferguson's

work to problematize failure in a field that is increasingly burdened with demands for ever more precise measures of success.

Buganda

Hope Child and Mercy House are located in districts that lie immediately adjacent to the capital city, Kampala, and are contained within the kingdom of Buganda. Most of those living in this area are Luganda speaking people who identify as Baganda. The Baganda are the largest of Uganda's thirty-three ethnic groups, accounting nearly 17% of the 32 million people living in Uganda (UBOS 2002).

Uganda remains a largely agrarian country with over 80% of the total work force involved in small-scale subsistence farming and cash cropping. Unlike Kenya, where the British encouraged white farmers to establish large plantations, local farmers historically raised most of Uganda's cash crops, including coffee and cotton, on small plots of land. This pattern continues through the present day, and many subsistence farmers in Buganda are also engaged in small-scale coffee production.

The central region of Uganda was at the center of the AIDS epidemic and the civil war which brought the current president Yoweri Museveni to power during the late 1980s. Both of these events led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, many of whom were parents. This region is presently experiencing a period of peace, as opposed to Northern Uganda where a brutal war between the Lord's Resistance Army

and the Ugandan government has raged since 1986[2]. Nonetheless, its history of war and aid continues to shape the lives of people and the stories that outsiders tell about them.

National and international NGOs have had a strong presence in Uganda since 1986 owing to the government's encouragement of civil society organizations following the end of the civil war (Bornstein et al. 2006; Dicklitch 1998). Museveni's government was unique in its encouragement of a climate of open discussion and engagement early in the AIDS epidemic. This not only led to an impressive decline in the number of AIDS cases, but also to a plethora of small scale community-based organizations that focused their efforts on AIDS and the widows and orphans left in its wake (Epstein 2007; Hunter 2003).

The significant role played by nearly 8,000 NGOs in Uganda, which employed approximately 10% of the non-agricultural work force in 1999 (when they numbered only 3,500) (Uganda National NGO Forum 2009), provides a useful contrast to studies that focus on countries in Africa where the state manifests itself more tangibly in the lives of ordinary people. Bianca Dahl and Betsy Brada's studies of AIDS treatment and orphan care interventions in Botswana describe a context in which NGOs serve to complement materially significant state activities, including a robust national health care system and cash grants to families fostering orphans (Brada 2008; Dahl 2008). In Uganda, the state provides no such assistance to families fostering orphans. The state does provide subsidized medical care and primary education, but the limited funding available for the

[2] See (Finnstrom 2009) for an excellent account of the war and the impact it has had on the Acholi people.

services, combined with high levels of corruption, mean that these services are often of such low quality that they are popularly decried as useless. Such complaints were not only formally registered in Uganda's relatively free press during 2007-2008, but are also made privately through the often repeated jokes including one that transforms the government's UPE slogan *bonna basome* (that all may study) into *bonna bakone* (that all may become idiots). In light of this view of government services, many Ugandans turn to NGOs and private for-profit institutions for such services.

Ugandan faith-based NGOs, a category to which both Hope Child and Mercy House belong, are part of a larger international trend towards faith-based provision of humanitarian and development aid and towards the involvement of faith-based organizations in advocacy work (Ferris 2005). Yet, despite the growing involvement of faith-based NGOs, the increasing demands for accountability discussed above have led to a situation in which international faith-based NGOs often prefer to develop partnerships with local NGOs (secular or religious) instead of distributing aid through local churches, as they had in the past, given the greater professionalism and "capacity" of local NGOs to account for their programming. In this way "a fifty-year tradition of 'inter-church aid' is being replaced in many quarters by professional programmes to eradicate poverty and respond to emergencies (Ferris 2005: 319)."

Euro-American involvement in Buganda must also be understood within the context of Buganda's history with British colonists and French and British Missionaries. Many accounts of the history of the Uganda Protectorate focus on the ways in which the

Baganda elites were eager to welcome the British and saw their possible relationship with the British as an opportunity (see for example Fallers 1964:414; Hanson 2003; Kiwanuka 1972). In her account of historical systems of patronage and the conjoining of love and power, historian Holly Hanson describes the Baganda's recruitment of the British as reflecting the strategies used by Baganda attempting to establish a relationship with a potential patron. Throughout the period leading up to the establishment of Buganda as a British Protectorate in 1893, and the signing of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, the Baganda elite used the distribution of gifts, spectacular displays of respect and honor, such as the six-mile torch-lit arch to mark Governor Bell's departure in 1909, and direct requests to frame their relationship with the British through the familiar language of mutual obligation and protection (Hanson 2003).

Buganda's early partnership with Britain helped to establish the Baganda as a favored group. Together the Baganda and the British waged war on Bunyoro, Buganda's long time rival to the west. The British based their strategies for indirect rule on the structure of the Kiganda bureaucracy and exported this structure to all other ethnic groups despite its incompatibility with their alternate systems of authority. During the colonial period, the Baganda also held many minor government positions within the colonial administration and had greater access than other colonial subjects to medical and educational institutions (Low 1971).

Since independence in 1962, the Baganda have had significantly less access to positions of authority than they did under British rule, and many continue to advocate for

a federal system of government (*federo*) that would give the *kabaka* greater authority over the territory. The brutal regimes of Milton Obote and Idi Amin specifically targeted the previously powerful Baganda (Sathyamurthy 1986), and while they are faring better under the current administration of Yoweri Museveni, many still accuse him of favoring the Nyankole and other ethnic groups from Western Uganda (Mwenda 2008:10-12). The identity politics and tensions between those from the Western and Central regions of Uganda became palpable when Hope Child staff members from Western Uganda came to conduct trainings and sensitizations for their Baganda "beneficiaries."

Given the role which Christian understandings of charity plays in my dissertation, it is also necessary to consider in some detail the place of Christianity in Uganda. According to the estimates of Uganda's Bureau of Statistics, in 2002 42% of Ugandans were Catholic, 36% were Anglican, 5% were Pentecostal, 12% were Muslim, 4% practice other religions, and 1% claim to have no religious beliefs (UBOS 2002). In addition, Uganda is often cited as a unique case in mission history given the speed of its conversion to Christianity. As opposed to many other African countries where conversion occurred quite slowly, often beginning with marginalized people who were not able to succeed in traditional society, Christianity was readily embraced in Buganda, and many of its earliest converts were chiefs, pages, and other members of the king's court (Hastings 1995; Martin 2009; Tourigny 1979; Bevans and Schroeder 2004).

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the first group of missionaries to arrive in Uganda. The CMS, which was founded in 1799, was part of a larger mission revival

based on the activity of "societies," which were independent of formal denominations. Henry Venn, who served as the CMS secretary from 1841-1872, outlined the need to found churches that were "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating."[3] In light of these aims, the training of local clergy was one of the CMS's primary aims. In addition to evangelization, missionary societies like the CMS also stressed the need for political, social, and economic development, thus putting the push for civilization and commerce nearly on par with the push for Christianity. Towards the end of the 19th century the mission revival reached a fever pitch with the development of the ideas of nationalist manifest destiny in which missionaries came to see themselves as part of the special plans providence had laid out for their countries. At this time, the Protestant Social Gospel movement emphasized the need to bring about the reign of God in this world using the tools of science and efficient planning (Bevans and Schroeder 2004).

A party of French Catholic missionaries, the White Fathers, an order founded eleven years prior by Charles Lavigerie in Algeria, arrived in Uganda in 1879 (Bevans and Schroeder 2004). The White Fathers were just one of a number of religious orders created during the 19th century as the Catholic church attempted to rebuild itself after the French Revolution. Despite their differing views on the Enlightenment and the role of the Church hierarchy, Catholic missionaries of this period shared the Protestants' interest in training local clergy and lay catechists who could participate in what Daniel Comboni, who founded the Verona Fathers in 1864, called "The Plan for the Regeneration of Africa

[3] This theme that not only reflects enlightenment suspicions of dependency, but perhaps also foreshadows the ends and means of sustainable development.

by Africa." The White Fathers were also committed to the evangelization of Africa by Africans, and Lavigerie saw the mission to Uganda as part of his larger plan to create a "Central-African Christian Kingdom" (Hastings 1995; Tourigny 1979; 1978:224; Bevans and Schroeder 2004).

The co-presence of Protestant and Catholic missionaries combined with *Kabaka* Mutesa's, and later *Kabaka* Mwanga's, attempts to recruit these groups as political allies laid the groundwork for two decades of civil war during which recent converts to Islam, Protestant Christianity, and Catholicism fought for control of the kingdom. Many of these converts were young pages of Mutesa's court and many of these men became the first lay leaders of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Uganda, often working in isolation from their European counterparts during the periodic expulsions of the missionaries from the kingdom. Over the course of the 1880s and 1890s Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims formed a series of shifting alliances with one another. By 1890 the Catholics, with the help of *Kabaka* Mwanga, and the Protestants, with the help of England, were battling for political and religious control of Buganda. In December 1890, Captain Lugard was sent by the British East Africa Company with one hundred men to try to end the fighting among the Catholic and Protestant factions in Buganda. However, rather than ensuring peace, the four hundred and fifty guns he distributed to the badly outnumbered Baganda Protestants for self protection were interpreted as a declaration of war by the Baganda Catholics, who made a preemptive attack on the British. The machine gun fire of Captain Lugard met their advance and the Catholics retreated to

Buddu. Lugard attempted to establish a triangulation of power that gave counties to the Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims, but this solution proved unsatisfactory to all parties and both Catholics and Protestants appealed to the British government for advice. In 1893, Lugard left Uganda and was replaced by Sir Gerald Portal, who had been given the power to establish a British Protectorate as a means of securing peace. All of the fighting factions signed the treaty establishing the Protectorate in 1894. The revolution lead by these young converts changed the stakes of their conversions, making the decision one between Catholicism and Protestantism, rather than one between Christianity and traditional religion. In addition, the revolution ultimately placed these young men at the top of Buganda's social and economic hierarchy as it was they who were appointed chiefs when permanent land titles were allocated in the Uganda Agreement of 1900 (Fallers 1964:414; Kiwanuka 1972; Hastings 1995; Low 1971).

Following the signing of the Uganda Agreement, the White Fathers decided that the only way to rid Uganda of the misconception that all Protestants were British and all Catholics were French was to leave Uganda and ask British Catholic missionaries to take their place (Gale 1959). In 1895 the first group of Mill Hill Fathers arrived from Britain and were joined in 1906 a group of Six sisters, including Mother Mary Patrick who would go on to found the all African order of the Sisters of St. Clare (Louis 1964).

While the Catholic missionaries of the 20th century were significantly less optimistic than their 19th century predecessors, Catholic missionary work continued in its focus on catechesis and charity provided through institutions including schools, hospitals,

and orphanages and support for foreign missions remained strong. Looking at the hospitals, schools, churches, and convents at mission stations like Namayumba one can see the success that these groups had in their appeals to charitable donors in the United States and Europe. The strong support African orders like the Sisters of St. Clare received during the first half of the 20th century was founded in the principle of subsidiarity, first articulated in the papal encyclical *Quadregesimo anno* in 1922. The principle of subsidiarity encouraged the support of actors who were closest to a given problem (Bevans and Schroeder 2004).

The arrival of Christian missionaries in the late 1870s was not only spiritually and politically significant, but was also materially important as the missionaries brought crosses, Bibles, schools, clinics, coffee, and cotton. Jean and John Comaroff have compellingly argued that the missionaries paved the way, though perhaps not intentionally, for the mercantile economy by nurturing desires among the Tswana of Botswana and South Africa for the imported products, such as soap and fabric, necessary for proper Christian living (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). In the case of Uganda, historian Ado Tiberondwa describes the ways in which the mission-led educational experiences of local leaders were central to the economic, political, and cultural exploitation of the Ugandan people under colonial rule (Tiberondwa 1998). In addition to the desires and attitudes inculcated through religious instruction, coffee and cotton, the cash crops that ultimately ruined local circuits of trade and production and became the

focus of the colonial project in Uganda, were introduced by the Anglican and Catholic missionaries (Mamdani 1976).

Yet, we must also attend to the spiritual experiences that were and continue to be central to the practice of Christianity in Uganda.[4] Rather than thinking about religion as something that Ugandans opportunistically employ to achieve existing, often material, ends, I find that Joel Robbins' discussion of conversion as a fundamentally transformative process more accurately describes the depth of religious practice I found throughout Uganda (Robbins 2004:383). And so, while it is important to reflect on the colonial origins of Christianity in Uganda, it would be a mistake to see its contemporary practice as a veneer or as belonging to anyone but themselves.

Notwithstanding the changes the second Vatican Council (1962-1965) made to the liturgy and to the daily lives of priests, brothers, and sisters, the religious lives of many Catholic Ugandans are intensively shaped by the formal prayers, often said aloud as a family kneeling together before retiring to bed, and rosary circles that are now seldom part of contemporary Western Catholicism. I mention these rosary groups not for their own sake, but as indexes which point to Ugandan Catholics' continued attachment to the forms of Catholicism first imported at the turn of the 20th century. In the ethical lives of the Catholic nuns, whose work I use as a key counter-example to the work of more mainstream NGOs, this conservative force is worked out through their attachment to the

[4] According to Uganda's 2002 census 42% of Ugandans are Catholic, 36% are Anglican, 5% are Pentecostal, 12% are Muslim, 4% practice other religions, and 1% claims to have no religious beliefs.

model provided by their foundress, who despite her own quest for change in the Church, was in other ways a woman of her time who saw direct material charity, not social revolution, as the best way of addressing problems of poverty and inequality.

Vatican II also opened debates concerning the best mode of improving the lives of the poor and the future of missionary activity. Vatican II's focus on the idea that the essence of God's grace existed in all world religions made people question the necessity of missionary activity. Ronan Hoffman called for an end of the missionary era in 1967, while Ivan Illich argued that missionaries in Latin America should withdraw immediately to focus on changing the US policies thought to be root causes of Latin American poverty. Ivan Illich's position is closely aligned with the Liberation Theology movement that swept Latin America in the last quarter of the 20th century. This movement was championed by Gustavo Gutiérrez in his 1971 *A Theology for Liberation* in which he argued not for traditional forms of charity, but for a preferential option for the poor through the radical transformation of unjust structures and for the participation of the poor in this process (Gutiérrez 1973:323). On the African continent, different debates were underway concerning the connections between African culture, the gospel, and the structure of the Catholic Church. While these debates were not necessarily opposed to Liberation Theology, they were different, and as such, African Catholic churches and the charitable institutions that radiated from them were not significantly transformed by the Liberation Theology movement.

Yet, the independent African religious orders of nuns, monks, and priests that the missionaries left behind were deeply effected by the post-Vatican II critiques of the missionary endeavor as they were largely cut off from global flows of philanthropic capital. Catholics in Europe and the United States were leaving the church in large numbers and those who stayed were less interested in supporting missionary work, as conversion now seemed now less necessary and charity less than revolutionary. As the streams of money that had previously replenished the coffers of missionary orders dried up, these orders were no longer able to support the African orders they had helped to create. For this reason, many of the African sisters I spoke with noted the difficulties which they had experienced in the wake of Vatican II as they suddenly found themselves without foreign support, while also speaking of the freedom and pride which had come following their congregation's separation from its European founding congregation during this same period. Yet, the sisters were sympathetic when local people complained that "Mother Patrick is not there anymore," referring to their inability to distribute charity as freely as they had in prior years, for it was not only Mother Patrick who had passed away, but also an era of mission support, the loss of which had left them - as the last link in the charity chain - with nothing to give to those who had grown used to the presence of this kindly patron.

What Lies Ahead

The chapters that follow explore the relationships between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence. In the first half of my dissertation I

describe the norms, techniques, practices, and modes of reasoning involved in each of these divergent ethical assemblages, focusing on the normative value assigned to dependence and asymmetric forms of gift exchange within each of these assemblages and the ways in which these divergent valuations affect their interactions with one another. In the latter half of my dissertation, I consider more abstract questions, including the differences between the ethics of audit and the ethics of virtue.

By way of orientation, Chapter Two offers a brief history and description of Kiganda ethics of interdependence, charity, and sustainable development. In Chapter Three, I describe the ways in which Hope Child, a Ugandan orphan support NGO, drew on elements of the sustainable development assemblage in designing and implementing a program designed to strengthen the capacity of grandparents caring for orphans. In Chapter Four, I explore the interplay between the Kiganda ethics and sustainable development's opposite, charity. In doing so, I focus on the daily operation of Mercy House, is an orphanage and home for children with disabilities managed by The Sisters of Saint Clare.

In Chapters Five and Six I move from a focus on the divergent conceptions of dependency within the content of different codes of behavior (Foucault 1980; 1986) towards an examination of forms of subjectivation (Foucault 1980; 1986), or modes of ensuring ethical conduct and ideas about the role of subjectivation within that project. In Chapter Five, I focus on the complex regimes of audit that were being introduced at Hope Child in an attempt to demonstrate their efficacy and accountability. In Chapter Six, I focus on the ways in which the Sisters of St. Clare use narrative and mimesis to shape

themselves into subjects who, detached from worldly concerns, learn to trust in, and make themselves accountable to, a divine, rather than an earthly, auditor.

At the close of the dissertation I move towards a meditation on hope, human agency, and the temporal forms relevant to charity and sustainable development. I argue that the Sisters of St. Clare do not see their work through an agent-centered lens of developmental time, but rather it belongs to the eternal present in which present actions are oriented not towards an earthly future, but towards their otherworldly consequences. In this alternate temporal orientation the question changes from "How can we bring about 'the end of poverty'?" to, "What are the ethical possibilities open to someone born into a position of relative privilege in a world of striking inequality?"

Since the end of the 1990s the push for sustainable development has proceeded largely unquestioned. Through its polysemic potential the term sustainable development has easily drawn a wide spectrum of supporters and is gaining strength as something of an absolute good. My dissertation provides provides an extended critique of this approach through an engagement with a larger set of conversations within the historical and anthropological literatures which have sought to articulate the ways in which power, love, care, and dependency relate to one another across a range of African contexts. In this sense my work continues a long tradition of anthropological critiques of development. Like those who have written of the more and less well intentioned people who have worked to change cultures, economies, and lives my work describes the ways in which Western models of development get it wrong, even when implemented by nationals under the sign of community-ownership, and as with more recent works I argue that attempts to liberate are perhaps as much to blame as attempts to subjugate (Rose

1999). Yet, in my efforts to think about the relationship between sustainable development's self-defined opposite, charity, and a Kiganda ethics of care my work pushes past a clear denunciation of international philanthropy and towards a more nuanced picture of the ways in which the ethics of gifts, dependency, and inequality are understood from within particular ethico-moral frameworks. In this way my work not only engages writing on the anthropology of development, but also the long debates on the moral valence of the charitable gift, the relationship between care and power in Africa, and the emerging literature on the anthropology of ethics.

Chapter Two: From Gifts to Grants: Three Ethics of Interdependence

Throughout Uganda's history colonists, missionaries, and aid workers have exchanged gifts, loans, and contracts with people without fully recognizing the nuances of the moral economies in which they were becoming involved. In this chapter I trace the genealogies of the three ethical assemblages at stake in contemporary conflicts over various approaches to orphan care in contemporary Uganda: sustainable development, charity, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence. In each case I focus on the moral valence assigned to questions of dependence and gift. In doing this I hope not only to give the reader the necessary historical context, but also to reveal the temporal depth of the contemporary conflicts discussed in the chapters to come.[5]

[5] In this chapter I follow Foucault's genealogical method. Beginning with Discipline and Punish Foucault shifted away from looking for the underlying structures that determined the limits and possibilities for thought, a method which he termed archeology, towards a historical method which he termed genealogy. Foucault defined genealogy in opposition to the search for origins or predetermined forms. Instead, to do genealogy is to "identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (Foucault 1984, 81)." In addition, where archeology looks towards subconscious rules, genealogy takes seriously what actors tell us about what they do and why they do it. Given the differences between these three assemblages the genealogical task of tracing the process of their construction entails the use of a wide range of sources that operate at different scales of analysis. While some of these sources mirror the sorts of sources Foucault used in his own genealogical work, others are quite different. In the first case I read my own ethnographic data in relation to the ethnographic record and secondary sources that combine comparative linguistics, comparative ethnography, archeology, and archival analysis to construct a more accurate history of pre-colonial Buganda. Given the extensive historical research that has been done on the social history of charity in Europe and missions in Buganda I draw primarily on these secondary histories in describing the genealogy of charity. The array of institutional documents produced by the architects of sustainable development allows for the sort of "gray, meticulous" analysis of documents, which conforms most closely to Foucault's genealogy.

Ethics and Interdependence in Buganda

In order to understand the reaction to and impact of sustainable development and charity in Buganda, we must first more fully understand the Kiganda ethics of interdependence with which they are interacting. Yet, in the attempt to explore the ideal typical assemblages of charity and sustainable development in relation to something which my Baganda interlocutors described as their "tradition" we are also left with the problem of attempting to balance the social fact of these statements, and what they mean to those who make them, with arguments concerning the impossibility of gleaning an accurate pre-colonial history from texts which were constructed by or at the behest of interested colonists, missionaries, and local elites (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1982). At one level, it is enough to treat these statements as social facts which matter to those who make them and which help to order the contemporary moral frameworks in Buganda, while recognizing that such claims are interested claims made for particular contemporary aims (Moore 1986). At a second, we might also look at the ways in which statements about tradition are shot through with the ethics of Christianity, colonialism, and development, either due to the interests of those who interpreted these statements or do to the mixing of these forms in the minds of the Baganda themselves. At a third level, despite the problems of interpreting pre-colonial history in Africa I am hesitant to ignore all that has been written on the history of hierarchy and dependence in pre-colonial Buganda. This is especially true given the recent writings of Holly Hanson and David Schoenbrun. Both Hanson and Schoenbrun use a variety of innovated methodologies to make considerable strides towards a more grounded and nuanced analysis of pre-colonial Kiganda history.

Having People

These more recent histories by authors such as Hanson and Schoenbrun are linked not only methodologically, but also conceptually to the work of Jan Vansina in their attention to the ways in which people seek to transform material wealth into wealth in people (Vansina 1990). Numerous scholars of Africa have noted the ways in which people with resources, even minimal ones, often take on dependents as a way of gaining access to labor (Miller 1988), knowledge (Guyer 1995), power, and social status through the accumulation of "wealth in people." The term "wealth-in-people" was first used by Kopytoff and Mier in relation to the idea of "rights-in-people" in their description of the demand for dependents of all kinds in pre-colonial Africa (Kopytoff and Miers 1977)[6]. Since their original usage of the concept, "wealth-in-people" has taken on a life of its own given its analytic purchase in places where "interpersonal dependents of all kinds - wives, children, clients and slaves - were valued, sought and paid for at considerable expense in material terms," (Guyer 1995) with "wealth in goods" being "converted into followers" whenever possible (Vansina 1990). Subsequent elaborations have focused on the ways in which people are simultaneously patrons and dependents, receiving from those above them and giving to those below them, taking their positions in long hierarchical chains of support (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Ferguson 2009; Swidler and Watkins 2007).

[6] The focus on hierarchies of dependence has, of course, a much longer history in the Anthropology of Africa. This is particularly true in Buganda where Lloyd Fallers wrote extensively on the topic in relation to the literature on comparative hierarchy in South Asia (Fallers 1964).

Even as patrons stand to gain from successfully recruiting and maintaining dependents, they are also under a certain moral imperative to take on clients. [7] Metaphorically speaking, one can either be a "feeder of people" or an "eater of people" (Bayart 1989). Redistribution thus becomes a moral imperative, and those who find themselves unable to "feed others" run the risk of being accused of a moral failing (Moore 1994:165). In their work on transactional sex in rural Malawi, Ann Swidler and Susan Watkins stress the ethical imperative to take on dependents, writing "Redistribution is not only strategic and instrumental, it is also the moral thing to do" (Swidler and Watkins 2007). This understanding of patronage as a moral obligation begins to break down the distinction between self-interest and altruism noted above, in that one both stands to gain some combination of material, symbolic, or spiritual capital by taking on dependents, while such an action is simultaneously thought to be an act of altruism to which the potential patron has an ethical obligation.

The emergence of patron-client hierarchies in Buganda has been traced to the introduction of banana permaculture early in the second millennium (Schoenbrun 1998).[8] Hanson argues that the permanency of a banana garden made the gift of land a means for establishing a durable, productive, and highly-visible relationship between chiefs (*bakungu*, literally those who gather up or those who assemble) and their followers.

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[7] While the character of patron-client relationships in Buganda varied over time, I use the terms client and dependent to refer to an individual who is attached to another in a subordinate position. I use the term patron to refer to a person to whom a client or dependent is attached.

[8] Prior to the second millennium the Baganda used agricultural system based on tubers, beans, sorghum and finger millet grown in fields which could only be worked for a few years at a time. Soil erosion, decreased rainfall, and over cultivation between 950 and 1100 may have created land shortages which made the shift to banana cultivation an attractive innovation (Hanson 2003).

Chiefs were able to establish their power by recruiting people to come and live on their land. The abundance of land and its variable suitability for banana cultivation led to a situation in which numerous chiefs [9] actively competed for followers, who were motivated to move either by poor treatment or sub-optimal soil fertility. Throughout the pre-colonial period there was active competition between chiefs for followers. While the chiefs maintained the right to evict their followers from their land, this rarely happened, and the relative security of settlers provides a striking contrast to the precarious position people dependent upon these relationships find themselves in today (Hanson 2003).

Hanson also attributes the emergence of *butaka*, (land held by clan [10] leaders), to stability of the banana gardens. As people were now able to bury their dead on land where they could continue living for long periods of time, they began to attribute a growing importance to tombs and to ancestors who were increasingly seen as being involved with the day to day affairs of the living. These tombs gradually became the means through which ancestral *butaka* land which belonged to members of the ancestral clans was created:

> "These fertile lands with clan graves did not come into being…because clans buried their members on land that belonged to them, but rather because the buried ancestors claimed the land for their descendants…'*Ensi engula mirambo' - 'Land is acquired through tombs"*"(Hanson 2003: 32).

While *butaka* belonged to the members of a clan, not all clan members lived on that land and people belonging to other clans might also be asked to come and settle there.

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[9] By 1900, there were over 4,000 competing for recognition.

[10] The Baganda recognize over 40 clans (*bika*) each of which is divided into major, minor, and minimal lineages, each of which has a head (*mukulu, jjajja,* or *mutaka*) who is responsible for overseeing the land belonging to the clan (*butaka*) and for attending to needs of members of their lineage living on land other than the *butaka*.

Clan "fathers" were charged with the task of ruling everyone who settled on the land and for attending to clan members dispersed across the kingdom (Hanson 2003).

Sometime after 1200 a new form of kingship was introduced in Buganda. This new form of centralized power was likely an import which came from outside of Buganda, most likely from Bunyoro. Over time these kings, who became known as *basekabaka (s. kabaka)* around 1600, worked to articulate their power against the authority of other chiefs and clan leaders (Schoenbrun 1998)[11].

Over the course of the next three centuries, the *basekabaka* introduced new forms of authority which expanded the number and variety of people who had the ability to establish relationships through the gift of land. The first of groups were the *balangira (s. Mulangira)*, the princes who were the sons or grandsons of the *kabaka*. All of these men were eligible to serve as the successor to the *kabaka* and were thus kept at some distance from the court to discourage possible coups. The second group were the *Bami (s. Mwami)* who were men who the *kabaka* granted positions of authority as territorial chiefs (*Bakungu*) or officers (*Batongole*) based on his judgment of their achievements and

[11] The practice of power in pre-colonial Buganda was somewhat unique when compared to other African monarchies in that lines of authority were largely arranged through individual dyads. Other major kingdoms, such as that of the Ashanti in Ghana, were "segmentary" or "pyramidal" (Southall 1954) in the sense that people of lower rank owed their allegiance to minor leaders who were in turn subordinate to other leaders of higher rank then themselves and so on up to the king. In Uganda, each leader, regardless of his personal power or position as a *mulangira*, a *mukungu*, a *mutongole*, or a *mutaka*, received his authority directly from the *kabaka* and not from another leader of a higher rank. Thus, in seeking a more powerful patron, a *mukopi* was not moving up a chain of command, but rather shifting his allegiance laterally to someone who might have access to the sort of land and other benefits he desired (Fallers 1964).

abilities. Over time the various chiefs appointed by the *kabaka* began to assume an authority greater than that of the *bataka* chiefs. In addition, the *kabaka* also began to involve himself in the selection of the *bataka* themselves.[12]

All four types of leaders *balangira* (princes), *batongole* (officers), *bakungu* (territorial chiefs), and *bataka* (clan leaders) sought to establish relationships with the *bakopi*. The *bakopi* were the undistinguished commoners who needed to attach themselves to a chief in order to secure access to land. The frequent translation of this word as "peasant" is somewhat misleading as most male *bakopi* were not involved in subsistence agriculture, which was, and remains, an activity performed almost exclusively by women. Male *bakopi* were generally involved in the production of bark cloth and banana beer, hunting, fishing, and serving their *mukungu* in battle or in local maintenance projects. Chief's sought to increase their group of dependent followers to increase their prestige and to signal the legitimacy of their authority (Hanson 2003). In addition to more diffuse forms of prestige, chiefs were able to secure the services of their followers as combatants, as people to maintain his compound, and in tribute in kind (*busulu)*, specifically in the form of bark cloth and home-brewed banana beer. In turn, followers stood to gain in the form of war spoils, feasts, and land upon which their wives could grow food for their consumption. Followers were never asked to provide agricultural labor for the chief, and they were more or less free to carry out their domestic agricultural activities on their own terms. Followers also hoped that these relationships

[12] This was particularly true in the regions of Buganda that were acquired during the major wars of expansion fought during the course of the 19th century.

might lead to gifts passed from the *kabaka* through the chiefs and possible placements for their children in the *kabaka's* court (Wrigley 1964: 21). Chiefs' were especially interested in followers who exhibited the virtues of *bwesige* (loyalty) and *buwulize* (obedience), while followers sought to find chiefs who demonstrated their *ow'ekisa* (kindness) and who were *ayagalibwa abantu aba waggulu* (favored by their superiors).

While there is no single word, which encompasses the concept of patronage in Luganda, the verbs that animate relationships between chiefs and their followers, *Okusenga*, to join a chief, and *Okusenguka*, to leave a chief, are significant in that they indicates actions taken by followers. This linguistic emphasis on client-agency also highlights to the dynamic tension between dependence and social mobility in Kiganda patron-client relationships. Many Baganda men received large tracts of land from the *kabaka* in recognition of their success in battle, thus giving them the capacity to acquire dependents of their own. Peasant boys sent by their father's chiefs to serve as pages in the *kabaka's* court also had the opportunity to distinguish themselves through service, and many of the chiefs began their political careers in this way. The importance of social mobility to the Baganda, and the role that asymmetric dependence played in accomplishing that goal can be see in the proverb *Omuddu awulira y'atabaza engule ya mukama we*. (The obedient servant carries his master's crown into battle.), which is figuratively understood to mean that faithful service will be rewarded with wealth and glory (Fallers 1964:414).

During the 18th and 19th centuries the Baganda engaged in an aggressive attempt to expand their kingdom, moving out from the area which surround the contemporary capital Kampala, to regions extending towards the southwest along the shores of Lake Victoria. As the kingdom expanded, the *kabaka* began to appoint an increasing number of *batongole* chiefs, many of which were given control over groups of people, most of whom were unfree captives, who were forced to work in *ebitongole* labor parties. The rise in unfree labor gradually made patrons less dependent on their clients for labor and other forms of service (Hanson 2003).

During this same period, the rise of external trade relations with Muslim traders from Zanzibar and the East African Coast in the early 1800s also changed the balance of power within the kingdom, by increasing the demand for ivory and slaves, and thus increasing status and wealth of the militia. While raiding had long been an important activity in Uganda, in the 19th century "[t]he structure of Buganda was in the main the structure of an army It contained a numerous class of organizers and commanders who did no directly productive work; whose business was leadership; and who enjoyed a political, social and economic status markedly above the common" (Wrigley 1964: 19). This standing militia was primarily engaged in wars of expansion and the capture of slaves and livestock from neighboring kingdoms, as had been the case in prior centuries. Yet, the prospect of acquiring cloth, pottery, and other consumer goods from the East resulted in increasingly aggressive efforts to acquire slaves and ivory, the relevant currencies of East African trade, from neighboring kingdoms. Guns were also purchased

from traders as a means of increasing "production" of these exportable "commodities" (Wrigley 1964: 24-25).

The arrival of Speke and Grant in the court of *Kabaka* Muteesa I in 1862 marks the beginning of another strand in the transformation of interdependent ties in Buganda. Initially, the Baganda elite were eager to welcome the British and saw their possible relationship with the British as an opportunity (Hanson 2003). In a series of letters to Colonel Charles George Gordon, Mutesa wrote of his desires for missionaries, gold, silver, iron, bronze, clothing, guns, cannons, and good houses. He framed his requests in a language of brotherhood and shared faith, writing in 1876:

> "Oh! thou European, I have become your true brother, I am Christian, only I have not yet been baptized. I believe in God I believe in God the Holy Father, Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only true Son of God…May your Queen be a mother to me and may I become her son. May her sons and daughters be my brothers and sisters" (Low 1971:6).

While establishment of the protectorate was seen by many Baganda through the lens of patron-client relationships, the coming of colonialism brought with it a series of changes which fundamentally altered, and in many cases weakened, the traditional forms of mutual obligation which had developed since the turn of the second millennium.

When indirect rule was established and the land divided through the Uganda Agreement in 1900, these new Baganda elites reaped the relative gains of their bond with Britain. While Buganda technically remained on even footing with the other provinces, the *kabaka* was recognized as the direct ruler of the province. Perhaps most significantly for the purposes of this discussion was the allotment of 9,003 square miles of *mailo* land

among some 3,945 chiefs of all ranks. While much of this land remained in the hands of chiefs who had held it prior to the 1900 agreement, the Uganda agreement significantly altered the meaning of land ownership. Prior to the agreement, chiefs appointed by the *kabaka* or other authorities held land at the pleasure of those who had given it to them. In addition, their ownership of that land was inseparable from their jurisdiction over the people living on it. With the introduction of the *mailo* system land could now be bought and sold and land ownership was ostensibly separated from political jurisdiction (Hanson 2003).

In addition, the British introduction of small-scale cotton farming further altered the ways in which land was used. Prior to this, land could only be used to produce subsistence food crops, small in-kind rents, and relationships. Following the introduction of cotton, land owners had the option of using their land for cotton farming and thus turning land which had once been used to generate wealth in people into land which generated wealth in shillings. This wealth was further converted into consumer goods which allowed chiefs to take up many of the cultural habits of the British, such as tea drinking, riding bicycles, speaking english and living in brick houses with tables and chairs. The acquisition of these habits created for the first time an elite culture which could not be easily mimicked by a poor man wishing to join their ranks (Fallers 1964).

The differential access to cash afforded to chiefs by their possession of land which could be commercially farmed for personal gain, and by the allotment of salaries paid by the colonial government, combined with the rise of a small number of elite boarding schools, further served to entrench their status position. As noted above, select children in Buganda have long been sent away to be educated in the courts of *kabaka* and senior

chiefs in the hope of giving them an opportunity for future advancement. While it was always more likely that the children of the powerful would be sent to fill these posts, children of peasants were also sent as there were many positions to fill, it cost nothing to send them, and some chiefs feared that children who behaved badly would be killed and thus sought to protect them by keeping them at home. The new Christian boarding schools on the other hand, were expensive, had limited seats, and posed no bodily danger to their sons (Fallers 1964). The new opportunities for social mobility created by the opening of careers in medicine, civil service, law, education, and religion were thus more likely to be taken up by these elite sons. And while in some colonial contexts people resisted conversion, resulting in a situation in which only those who failed to benefit from the prior system reached the school mission station, the rapid conversion of most Baganda, especially the elites, made this phenomenon less relevant there. [13]

As discussed above, there was a long history of social and economic differentiation in Buganda, but, historically the individuals who held these positions were in somewhat precarious positions and there were always possibilities for the advancement of those from the lower classes. The security of these positions altered the balance of patron-client relationships, making patrons less dependent on their clients for their authority and clients less dependent on their patrons for opportunities to advance through obedience and loyalty.

[13] Limits on the access to high quality schooling, particularly secondary and tertiary education, began to change in the later decades of the colonial period when both government and missionary organizations created new scholarship schemes to finance the educations of bright children from poor backgrounds. In addition, relatives also supported the education of poor relations, particularly those who showed promise and who might eventually bring glory or even concrete benefits to the family.

In addition to the ways in which the coming of colonialism served to entrench the position of the elite of 1900, the increasing demands made of clients by their chiefly patrons on behalf of the British and the inability of these same patrons to protect their clients from excessive infringements on their labor, land, and profits decreased the legitimacy of the patrons and made clients less likely to respond to traditional requests for assistance. In addition, the restrictions the British placed on people's ability to move reduced people's ability to leave their patrons. In the traditional patronage system, people's sense of agency and choice was not predicated on their independence, but rather on their ability to choose whom they would be dependent upon. This prior mobility also provided a crucial check on the power of patrons who knew that they were in danger of being deserted if they mistreated their clients.

All of these factors led to the breakdown of the unequal, but mutually beneficial, relationships based on mutual obligation which structured the lives of the Baganda in the centuries preceding the 19th. Yet, despite the ways in which the colonial period altered the form and efficacy of patron-client ties, positioning oneself in a hierarchical ladder of patrons and clients remains an important, and morally acceptable, means of achieving social and economic security and advancement in Buganda as finding school fees, jobs, contracts and positions on NGO participant rosters, often depends on similar forms of patronage. Would-be dependents in contemporary Uganda are often actively involved in seeking out an array of patrons who can assist them. Given the limited nature of the support provided by contemporary patrons and the uncertainty which shapes the lives of those living in Uganda and across sub-Saharan Africa (Johnson-Hanks 2005:363-385), many choose to cultivate relationships of dependence and mutual obligation with

multiple people who might be able to meet their needs. We thus find a move from a system in which every patron sought multiple dependents, to one in which both dependents and patrons seek out multiple forms of support. The multiplicity of these relationships is not only important given the variation and expansion of desired goods, services, and forms of protection, but also serves as a form of insurance against the loss of patrons in a world which has become increasingly uncertain.

Having Heart

These forms of reciprocal obligation, these ways of achieving social security and mobility, of having and being had by people, are also joined, in contemporary Uganda, by a second ethic of interdependence that is frequently articulated through the Luganda idiom of *mutima* or heart.

In contemporary usage, the phrase *omutima mutima*[14] is used to explain actions of kindness and generosity between kin and non-kin that extend beyond one's specific obligations. Peter Senabulya, a retired civil servant whose family I lived with during the first three months of my fieldwork explained, "A person with the heart for helping helps those he does not have an obligation to help." Mr. Senabulya stressed that this form of help has become increasingly necessary given the fact that the rising cost of caring for children has left many obligatory caretakers unable to care for the children who would have traditionally been their responsibility.

[14] In the ethnographic literature on the *Baganda* the term *mutima* or *omutima* is used to refer to the biological heart which becomes a spirit (*muzima*) following a person, and specifically the king's (*kabaka)* death (Orley 1970). In his book on culture and mental illness among the *Baganda* John Orley engages in a more detailed discussion of *mutima* as the traditional seat of thought, wisdom, and memory (Orley 1970).

Many people echoed this idea that what defines assistant given out of a sense of *mutima* in relation to other forms of assistance is its lack of obligation and reciprocity. Robert Sekamanya, the chairperson of a village in Hope Child's catchment area defined *mutima* by its lack of reciprocity and lamented the collapse of the heart for helping saying, "One can promise to pay fees for the children when they want to make the children dig for them. One can say, "let me help this child" while having an aim of cultivating his land…we cannot call that "real heart." That is not helping." Mr. Sekamanya defined *omutima omuyambi* as helping another without expecting to gain from the exchange. While givers can expect to be thanked for their efforts, people who act with the intention of concretely benefiting cannot be classified as being motivated by "real heart."

In speaking with middle-aged woman named Joan Nabagala about *mutima*, she emphasized that it was impossible to convince someone who does not have "the heart of sharing" to assist people in need. Mrs. Nabagala, who was at that time caring for six children in her home and paying school fees for several others said,

> "Nobody has money these days, but if you have heart, the little you have you share. No matter how much money you have, if you don't have the heart of sharing you will not end up assisting anybody until the day of your grave. Some people say that I help because I have money, but for me I don't have money, but I do have that heart…Now instead of calling me Auntie, they are calling me Mommy, because they see that I am the one responsible for each and everything. I can't tell you why I am assisting all of these children, it is just something about the way I was created."

For Mrs. Nabagala, "having a heart," meant caring for the orphans in her family. She did this in a variety of ways including paying school fees and raising some in her home. What is interesting about this in the context of discussions of kinship and kin

fosterage in Africa and elsewhere is that Mrs. Nabagala did not conceive of this as something she did because she was obligated as a relative to do so, but rather as something which she did because she was born with an inclination towards helping others. Indeed, many of the children Mrs. Nabagala was helping were children of her sisters' and, as such, children who, according to Kiganda tradition, she technically had no obligation to assist.[15] In line with this others emphasized that *mutima* was a sort of

[15] Classic writing on kinship placed its focus on obligation as the primary mode through which kin relations were regulated. A kin member falling into position A was obligated to do XY and Z vis-à-vis the kinsman occupying position B. While Evans-Pritchard, Morgan, Rivers, and Lévi-Strauss disagreed about the relative importance of ties of descent (Morgan 1870; Rivers 1914; Evans-Pritchard 1940) or ties of affinity (Levi-Strauss 1969), and whether institutions of descent and marriage were universal (Morgan 1870) or socially constructed (Rivers 1914), they all agreed that kinship told a person a great deal about what they owed to whom. Evans-Pritchard's writings on the importance of kinship among the Nuer is but one example of this focus on kin-based obligation."If you wish to live among the Nuer you must do so on their terms, which means that you must treat them as a kind of kinsman and they will then treat you as a kind of kinsman. Rights, privileges, and obligations are determined by kinship. Either a man is a kinsman actually or by fiction, or he is a person to whom you have no reciprocal obligations and whom you treat as a potential enemy" (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 183).

Schneider's now classic critique of the study of kinship attacked its focus on institutions of descent and alliance as the prime mover of obligations (Schneider 1984). Recent work on kinship in anthropology has focused on Schneider's critique of the universal importance of genealogical grids, which he argues are based on Eurocentric concerns with biological reproduction. Anthropologists have developed his argument by examining questions of substance and belonging in relation to queer studies and the advent of new reproductive technologies (Carsten 2004; Franklin and MacKinnon 2001; Hayden 1995; MacCormack 1980; Strathern 1992; Strathern 1995; Weston 1997). Rather than following this discussion, my work follows that of Margaret Trawick (Trawick 1990), Elizabeth Povinelli (Povinelli 2006), Lawrence Cohen (Cohen 1999; 2001), and John Borneman (Borneman 1999) in moving to consider the importance of obligation itself. Where Evans-Pritchard, Kuper, Morgan, Rivers, Levi-Strauss, and indeed Schneider himself, focused on obligation, these more recent texts focus on the enactment of kin relations. In so doing these authors lay the groundwork for a more subtle analysis of the fluid dynamics of kinship. Kiganda understandings of *mutima* similarly point to the ways in which relationships between kin are made through practice. While law-like obligations are still important among certain categories of kin in Buganda, relationships governed by *mutima* are necessarily contingent.

inborn virtue, which only some people had. As opposed to many instances in which we can think of ethics as a process of subjectivation (Laidlaw 2002:311-332; Lester 2005:344; Mahmood 2004), in which a person might be thought to acquire a quality like *mutima* through a process of inculcation, training, or socialization, my Baganda neighbors insisted that it was not possible to learn *mutima*, it was something with which some people are born and others are not[16]. While there are many Kiganda virtues that are thought to be the result of discipline and teaching, this is not one of them. The conceptualization of *mutima* as an innate quality also helps to account for the fact that people seem to make little effort to alter the *mutima* governed decisions made by others. People with *mutima* were frequently praised, but those without were not openly chastised or encouraged to change. During a conversation with *Jjajja* (Grandma) Teddy, who was herself caring for eight grand and great-grand children she said, "I would say that a person with heart has mercy. Someone could be having lots of money when they cannot give you a coin. Yet the one with less money may decide to help." *Jjajja* Teddy was, I believe, referring to her daughter, Scovia, who, despite her ownership of the most popular bar in the trading center refused to help the families' numerous orphans and to her son Ivan, who owned a prosperous petrol station and yet refused to pay school fees for any of his nieces or nephews. Under a logic of obligation, Scovia and Ivan might have been pressured to assist their sister Martha who was at that time working in food service at an

[16] This way of thinking about *mutima* is also a surprisingly good match for Catholic accounts of *caritas* as one of the infused virtues, which like faith and hope is not acquired through earthly learning but is rather infused through God's grace.

urban elementary school and paying school fees for the majority of the children in *Jjajja* Teddy's care. Yet, under the logic of *mutima* the problem was diagnosed as a difference in in-born qualities, which were not likely to change.

In my attempts to unpack this term I was also confronted with a complex tangle. Ideas including of patron-client reciprocity, the idea of a culture of "sharing" or generalized reciprocity, and claims that *mutima* had always been a Ugandan virtue were interspersed with Christian appeals to the virtues of charity, mercy, and the relationship between the giver and God. All of which are themes which will become central to the arguments put forth in Chapter Four.

Charity

One of the central arguments of this dissertation concerns the ways in which Baganda women and men acting within ethics of patronage and *mutima* saw something recognizable (Keane 2007) in the forms of Christian charity.[17], which arrived with the British and French missionaries at the last quarter of the 19th century. Many Ugandans have also incorporated these understandings of charity into their own ethical assemblages over the course of the 20th century such that it is difficult to ask questions about *mutima*

[17] While both Catholics and Protestants practice charity, albeit for what are sometimes different theological reasons, in the chapters that follow I explore the norms, technologies, and politics of charity as it is practiced by a group of indigenous Catholic nuns and thus my focus is on a particularly Catholic understanding of this ethical framework. It is not my intention to argue that the practice of charity is an exclusively Catholic practice, but rather to acknowledge the need to attend the nuances of different charitable traditions, rather than assuming that they all function in a comparable manner (Parry 1986:453-473; Bornstein 2006; Habito et al. 2006:209).

without receiving an answer, which simultaneously references a sense of ahistorical Kiganda values and Christian notions of charity.

The history of Christian charity, or caritas, stretches back at least as far as the prophetic period of Israel with the book of Deuteronomy instructing the people to give ten percent of their income in *tzedakah* (justice or charity) every three years to those living within the settlement who had no hereditary right to the fruits of the community's labor (Deuteronomy 14:22-27, 26:12). This conception of tithing as a form of redistributive justice, giving the poor what they are owed, was taken up into the Christian tradition in the writings of the 6th century Pope St. Gregory who writes "When we attend to the needs of those in want, we give them what is theirs, not ours. More than performing works of mercy, we are paying a debt of justice" (Regula Pastoralis 3, 21:PL 77, 87).

In the book of Tobit, written in the Second Temple period, centuries after the book of Deuteronomy, *tzedakah* comes to take on a very different meaning with the giving of alms standing in for offering sacrifice in the temple when distance made offering a sacrifice in the temple impossible (Tobit 1:6-8), the hands of poor becoming substitutes for the sacrificial altar.

The conception of alms as a substitute for sacrifice became central in the New Testament. To give but one of many examples of the importance of alms in the New Testament we might consider Matthew's account of Jesus' teaching on the judgment which will follow the second coming of Christ in which he writes:

> "[Jesus said] [w]hen the Son of Man comes in his glory…he will separate them from one another, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats…the king will say to those on his right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father. Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of world. For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, naked and you clothed me, ill and you cared for me, in prison and you visited me. Then the righteous will answer him and say, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you drink?…And then the king will say to them in reply, 'Amen, I say to you, whatever you did for one of these least brothers of mine, you did for me.' (Matthew 25:31-41)"

In this passage the poor serve not as altars at which sacrifices may be made, but as figurations of Christ himself. In addition, as throughout the New Testament, giving alms to the poor and loving of one's neighbor shifts is no longer one of many laws, but becomes the second only to the love of God.

This "gospel of love and charity" eventually became crucial to the spread of Christianity across the Roman Empire. Historian Peter Brown has persuasively argued that Christian bishops, and their lay and clerical helpers worked to redefine the masses of non-citizens who had always pushed at the walls of ancient cities as "the poor" during the fourth through seventh centuries. Through these actions, the bishops transformed the categories of difference upon which people in late antiquity understood their position in society, moving from a world of citizens and non-citizens to a world of the rich and the poor. Bishops also increased their own power through these actions by expanding both the scope and necessity of activities proper to the "love of the poor." Brown argues that it was through the actions of these bishops that the nature of giving was transformed during late antiquity as the wealthy man gradually shifted from striving to be a *philopatris*, a lover of his home-city, to desiring the status of the *philoptôchos*, the lover of the poor (Brown 2002:160). The Catholic Church continued to serve as the primary

institution through which services were provided to people who were poor or in danger of becoming poor throughout the Middle Ages.

At the end of the 18th century, French proponents of the Enlightenment advocated the elimination of Catholic charity in favor of state driven programs oriented towards *bienfaisance,* a term used to refer to rational, methodical, state driven poor relief which aimed to eliminate both idleness and poverty. The advocates of *bienfaisance* argued that the charitable institutions of the *ancien regime* were more interested in their own spiritual well being than they were in the material well-being of those who sought assistance through the hospitals and home relief programs. They also claimed that alms giving failed to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor. In so doing, "it aggravated the problem of poverty by licensing improvidence and sloth and discouraging enterprise" (Jones 1982: 3). This way of thinking was reinforced by Enlightenment philosophers such as Rousseau, who wrote, "dependence on men since it is without order engenders all the vices and by it master and slave are mutually corrupted" (Rousseau 1762:85).

The figure of the idle unruly beggar appeared in another instantiation in the United States as local governments distributing outdoor relief complained that the immigration of large numbers of Europe's poor, the excessive use of alcohol, and poor-relief itself had led to an overwhelming increase in the numbers of people requesting outdoor relief.

> "Indiscriminate charity and outdoor relief eroded more than the will to work. They also destroyed character. When the poor started to think of relief 'as a right,' they began to count on it 'as an income.' All 'stimulus to industry and economy' was 'annihilated, or weakened' while temptations to extravagance and dissipation …increased.' As a consequence, 'The just pride of independence, so honorable to a man, in every condition' was 'corrupted by the certainty of public provision' (Katz 1986:18)."

In contrast to *bienfaisance,* which sought to end poverty for good, those in opposition to outdoor relief had more limited aims. They sought only "to keep the genuinely needy from starving" while avoiding "breeding a class of paupers who chose to live off public and private bounty rather than to work" (Katz 1986:18). Efforts to discriminate between the worthy poor and their unworthy brethren resulted in the creation of the poorhouses which were purposely designed to discourage their use. Like their 19th century predecessors many people working in the NGO sector in Sebanda distanced themselves from the rural poor who, they argued, had been spoiled by the decades of humanitarian aid which had come into the area following the end of the civil war that brought current President Yoweri Museveni to power in 1986 (Englund 2006:247). Many argued that their village in other parts of the country had not been spoiled in this way, and that if the programs they was running were being implemented there that they would be much more successful.[18]

Following the French Revolution, the Catholic Church struggled to rebuild itself, not only reasserting its opposition to the Enlightenment, but also renewing its commitment to charity and to international missionary efforts. In addition, the new forms of poverty which arose alongside industrial capitalism over the course of the 19th century

[18] The idea that sloth can be produced through unnecessary handouts has been repeated in contemporary America in Charles Murray's widely cited critique of the negative effects of welfare on American families (Murray 1984). While Murray's argument, which attributing rising poverty, joblessness, and crime to the Great Society programs, has been widely critiqued for its lack of attention to macro-economic trends during the same period, it was used to justify massive welfare cuts in the 1980s (Wilson 1990). Fears of the unworthy dependent can also be seen in neo-liberal welfare-to-work programs, such as the United State's 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act that sought to transform dependent welfare recipients into independent employees.

inspired a century of periodic papal encyclicals [19] discussing the ways in which the Church and its members ought to respond to poverty, inequality, and injustice. The first of these encyclicals was *Rerum Novarum* published by Pope Leo XIII in 1891. While still deeply conservative in its commitments to the hierarchical ordering of the world, Pope Leo XIII, who was troubled by the new forms of poverty emerging in the wake of the industrial revolution, used the idea of the common good to argue that people are inherently interdependent beings who are obliged to care for one another. While later popes would emphasize egalitarian aims, Leo XIII took the continued existence of social strata for granted and focused on the responsibilities one has to one's fellow humans given one's position in the social hierarchy.

The emphasis on hierarchy and the role of acts of material kindness within that hierarchy not only shaped the social vision and strategies of Catholic missionaries in the 19th century, but also found a lasting resonance with the Kiganda ethics of hierarchical interdependence described above. There is evidence that many Baganda found something similar to *mukisa* or kindness in the goods and services doled out by Catholic missionaries in the name charity. In an 1899 letter complaining about local opposition to the fees charged at Protestant Church Missionary Society's hospital, Anglican Archdeacon Walker writes:

> "The people are unreasoning and look at the whole question from the point of view of "kindness" and say that the R.C.s [Roman Catholics] are kinder…they give all of their medicines away free of charge…The more I see of these people the more I see that "kindness" is the one thing necessary in their eyes" (Hanson 2003).

[19] A papal encyclical is a letter or essay written by the Pope to all of the Bishops. These encyclicals are meant to assist in instructing the clergy and laity on the current teachings of the Catholic Church.

In referencing Walker's letter I do not want to imply that the Baganda and the Catholics were operating within the same logic, but rather that there was an affinity between the actions that resulted from their distinct ethical frameworks that allowed for certain moments of recognition (Keane 2007). As you will see in Chapter Four, over the course of the past century, Catholic and Kiganda ethics have become more deeply intertwined, a process which was facilitated by the rapid and widespread conversion to Christianity which occurred at the end of the 19th century and the gradual emergence of a large community Ugandan clergy and catechists.

The social encyclicals that came after Vatican II were also markedly different from those written earlier in the century. Whereas in earlier times human activities were primarily oriented towards the forms of solidarity and salvation that would be possible after the second coming, the writings of Pope John Paul II focused on the possibility of bringing about the solidarity of the City of God in our own time. This sense of hope for egalitarian solidarity in this world, combined with an attention to the role that science, technology, rational planning, and small civil society organizations can play in bringing about this goal, brings contemporary Catholic social teachings into relatively close alignment with more mainstream approaches to development. Yet, as will become clearer in the coming chapters there is a way in which the work undertaken by African sisters like the Sisters of St. Clare remains closer to the late-19th century forms of charity work. Part of this stems from their steadfast adherence to the teachings and mission of their foundress, who was herself trained during this earlier era. The sisters' commitment to charity not only put them in an awkward position vis-a-vis the approaches to

sustainable development discussed in the following chapter, but also left them somewhat out of alignment with more progressive strands of the Catholic Church.

Yet, we should not understand this awkward alignment as the result of a lack of interaction or awareness, but rather as something of an unarticulated critique arising from the African sisters' experience of their work. In thinking about their position in relation to other globalized Catholicisms, I am reminded of a conversation between Sr. Caroline, an energetic Ugandan nun in middle age and an older American nun who had just arrived from the airport on her way to attend an annual conference for Franciscan priests, nuns, and brothers in Jinja. The American sister bounced along in the sisters' van, her bright blue eyes taking in the details about the different projects. Her white hair was buzzed into a crew cut and she wore a t-shirt promoting an anti-global poverty campaign, which read "Poverty is the Worst form of Violence," and a rubber bracelet from Bono's "one" campaign, asking countries to donate 1% of their GDP to foreign aid. After hearing about the orphanages, babies homes, and hospitals the Sisters of St. Clare were running, she interjected to ask what effect debt relief had had on the lives of rural Ugandans. "We all worked so hard to campaign for Jubilee 2000, and Uganda is one of the few countries that has seen real debt relief." Sr. Caroline laughed, "All the money just stays with the government anyway, I don't think anyone in the villages will ever see that money. Maybe in Mbarara where the President's people are from they have seen some of that money. The cows in Mbarara are treated better than our people are here. That Museveni does nothing for the poor, and I don't think much can be accomplished by lobbying them." The American sister seemed taken aback by Sr. Caroline's lack of hope and her narrow focus on the provision of direct services to the poor, but after a brief pause

continued on discussing her hopes for micro-finance, the Millennium Development Village project, and the possibility of establishing a mosquito net factory.

Sr. Caroline continued to express skepticism about the feasibility of these projects, and I began to see a split between the forms of Catholic charity that have remained in Uganda and the new directions the Catholic church has taken following Vatican II. As noted above, these new directions, here represented in the hope one American sister saw for her own role in bringing about the end of poverty, more closely resemble mainstream trends in international development than they do the older forms of charity which continue to be administered by the Sisters of Saint Clare. It is to these more mainstream trends that I now turn.

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development, which often defines itself as charity's opposite, is presently among the most popular frameworks for thinking about how development ought to be brought about. The term sustainable development has many distinct, but perhaps not unrelated meanings that are currently in use in the academic and policy literatures (Homberg and Sandbrook 1992; Elliott 1999). Indeed several authors have argued that it is in fact sustainable development's polysemic nature that has made it such an attractive concept (Redclift 1987; Mitchell 1998; 1997). It is possible, however, to group these definitions into two distinct categories, each of which has its own history and primary frame of reference. The first of these definitions concerns the environmental impact of development projects. This is the definition most often referred to in the primary and secondary literatures when the word sustainable development is used

(Homberg and Sandbrook 1992; Elliott 1999; Redclift 1987; Adams 1990; Baker 2006; Escobar 1995; Fernando 2003; Fernando 2003; Green and Chambers 2006, But See Kremer and Miguel 2007; Swidler and Watkins ND) While it has its roots in the environmentalist movements of the 1960s and the early UN seminars concerning the reconciliation between environmentalism and development held in 1971 and 1972 (Adams 1990), the environmental definition of sustainable development was most prominently articulated in the 1987 UN Report "Our Common Future." Also known as the Brundtland Report, "Our Common Future" defined sustainable development as "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). This understanding of sustainable development has been widely critiqued by anthropologists and other scholars of development for its reinvention of nature as something to be managed (Escobar 1995), for its emphasis on the effects of environmental degradation on growth, rather than the reverse (Redclift 1987), and for its imprisonment within the market logic of capitalism (Fernando 2003).

The second definition of sustainable development focuses on the financial sustainability of development projects. When the development workers I studied at Hope Child ask questions about "sustainability" under this second definition, they are asking whether or not the project will be able to continue to produce benefits that will extend beyond the life of the intervention. This was the only definition of sustainable development used by any of the development workers I encountered at Hope Child or at any of the other NGOs I visited during my fieldwork in Uganda. In light of this, I will

bracket the extensive literature regarding environmental sustainability and focus my discussion on what we might think of as financially sustainable development.

In tracing the history of this form of sustainable development we find a story which moves across three related themes: the first concerns the tensions between conceptualizations of aid which alternately posit it as a gift or a loan, the second concerns the type of knowledge which is thought to be necessary for development, and the third concerns the form and scale of capital which is conceptualized as being most effective for bringing about social transformation. Yet, despite the variations that occur along these axes, the focus on transformation and independence from on-going aid remain consistent. In tracing this story, I pay particular attention to the experience of Uganda at turning points in development history, not only to give the historical context needed to understand the ethnographic data presented in later chapters, but also to show Uganda's unique role in the development of models for sustainable development in the final decades of the 20th century.

By the end of the 1970s World Bank President Robert MacNamara's "integrated rural development projects" were largely thought to have failed and the Bank was coming to be seen as overextended and bloated. In addition to these internal problems, developing countries' debt burdens were also growing rapidly as a result of the dramatic decline in prices for raw commodities such as copper, coffee, and cocoa and the oil crises of the 1970s. As commodity prices fell and oil prices shot up, countries took out large loans to enable to themselves to buy the increasingly expensive petroleum products that they needed to support their industrializing economies. In 1979, the World Bank developed a series of policies and loan products in an effort to resolve the credit crisis. In

order to secure "structural adjustment" loans, countries trapped by the oil induced debt crisis were required to radically devalue their currencies in order to increase their exports so that they could repay the petrodollar loans. They were also advised to cut public spending to reduce their dependency on foreign credit. This shift in Bank policy, from promoting comprehensive poverty reduction programs to lending policies that required dramatic cuts in public services, heralded the beginning of a new era at the World Bank. During the 1980s, the Bank expanded its structural adjustment measures and such measures proved a good match for the global climate of support for the conservative policies implemented under the Reagan and Thatcher administrations.

By the early 1990s the World Bank, and development more generally, was faced with the task of responding to an increasing number of critics who argued that development had done little to help the world's poor. While some of these arguments were specifically related to structural adjustment, many had been forming for decades and so before moving forward with the story of ascendancy of sustainable development at the World Bank, we will pause for a moment to consider the critiques which led to this movement.

As seen above, arguments concerning the detrimental effects of the dependency that results from programs that claimed to work on behalf of the poor can be traced back to the French Revolution. Yet, in the 1960s a new variation on this theme emerged. Schultz's argument that food aid, such as the United States PL480 programs, depresses local production and leads to greater food dependence was one of the first pieces to make this claim (Schultz 1960). Schultz argued that foreign aid suppressed internal production making countries dependent on on-going foreign imports.

By the 1970s, another set of arguments concerning the harmful relationships of dependency between rich and poor nations had emerged. This school of thought was based on Andre Gunder Frank's view that underdevelopment was not a natural state, but was a product of the trade relationships between the capitalist metropole and its dependent satellites (Mamdani 1976; Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Wallerstein 1976; Frank 1967). In his influential Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil, Frank outlined the thesis that became central to the dependency theory of underdevelopment. According to Frank, underdevelopment should not be thought of as an ahistorical stage that naturally precedes development, but rather as a state that results from capitalistic relationships between the periphery and the core. Frank argued that poor countries would never "catch-up" as the well-being of those residing in the capitalist core depends on the poverty of the exploited periphery (Frank 1967). While both of these arguments developed in political contexts which we do not frequently associate with the 18th and 19th century opposition to outdoor relief and the construction of poorhouses, these arguments, particularly Schultz's play off of a similar problematization of dependence that resonates with contemporary neo-liberal manifestations of sustainable development.

During the early 1980s, there was growing concern that development projects often failed to consider the perspectives and insights of project beneficiaries. In Rural Development: Putting the Last First, Robert Chambers argued that development research undertaken by "outsiders" suffered from misleading data largely because of the use of surveys and "development tourism" in which program designers, evaluators, and funders make carefully orchestrated whistle stop tours of their project sites. He argues that

development research is shaped not only by biases towards the professional interests of the researcher, but also by a series of biases which privileged the experiences of relatively well-off people who live near main roads and who have chosen to participate in existing development projects. Chambers argues that such research leads to projects that do not reach the poorest of the poor, are biased towards ineffective western technological interventions, and fail to integrate the valuable knowledge rural people possess about their own problems and possibilities (Chambers 1983).

Chambers proposed a series of participatory research methods that he argued would work to include marginalized rural people in the development research and planning process. The World Bank gradually embraced several of these methods during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The importance of including potential beneficiaries, particularly poor beneficiaries, in project decision making and implementation was given formal recognition in the early 1990s (Cernea 1992) culminating with the publication of The World Bank Participation Source Book in 1996 and the incorporation of the ideas of community participation and project ownership in the Monterrey Conference in 2002 and the Paris Declaration of 2005.

By the 1994 annual World Bank meeting in Madrid, the protestors had come together under the common banner of the "Fifty Years Is Enough" campaign in reference to the Bank's fiftieth anniversary. The protestors cited the toll structural adjustment programs had taken on the world's poor and the environmental disasters created by large-scale projects like hydroelectric dams. The World Bank's critics pointed to more innovative approaches including micro-finance and participatory development that were

being implemented by NGOs and which they claimed had far greater success than the massive World Bank projects.

When the energetic financial advisor and philanthropist James Wolfensohn was appointed by Bill Clinton to lead the bank in 1995, he seized the chance to respond to the Bank's many critics. Instead of defending the Bank against the accusations being made by the NGOs, he embraced them and joined them in their critiques of the bank, vowing to return the Bank to its poverty-fighting mission of the 1960s and 1970s.

In his attempts to change the face of the World Bank and bring it closer to the "clients" it was purportedly established to serve, "clients" who he alternately imagined as the national governments of poor countries and the poor residents of those countries, Wolfenson took up the idea of a form of participatory development in which both poor governments and poor citizens would play a much greater role in designing poverty reduction policies. The idea of ceding project ownership to governments and communities had two sources. The first was a World Bank anthropologist named Scott Guggenheim. Guggenheim argued that the Bank's true clients were not national governments, but rather the people of the countries that those governments claimed to serve. Guggenheim had arrived in Indonesia in 1994. His deep frustration with Indonesia's corrupt government led him not only to speak publically about the misuse of Bank funds, but also to create the Kecamatan Development Project, in which small grants would be allocated directly to sub district councils to be spent on projects proposed, designed, and monitored by local villagers. Guggenheim started his program in 1998, and in 2001 the World Bank took over the project which came to account for half of its lending to Indonesia. The creation of the types of local institutions necessary to

implement a project like the Kecamatan development project can be seen as a key example of the focus on "social capital" which in the late 1990s was coming to replace the focus on "human capital" in the 1960s and 70s (Mallaby 2004).

The second inspiration for Wolfensohn's push towards participatory development came from the examples Uganda provided in the form of the Participatory Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and the rise of a robust civil society led by local NGOs. By 1997, Uganda had established itself as the poster child of international development. Through their use of a market based agenda which focused on the reduction of public spending, currency devaluation, the liberalization of the coffee market, and the first prolonged period of peace since independence, President Yoweri Museveni and his outspoken finance minister Emmanuel Tumusiime-Mutebile proudly took credit for the 40% increase in GDP the country had achieved since the end of decades of civil war in 1987. Not insignificantly, Uganda was also stunningly successful in its efforts to use community based care organizations and its own campaign to curb the transmission of HIV/AIDS during this same period (Epstein 2007). In light of these successes, international organizations began to look to Uganda as place to find the answers to the problem of development. While some argued that it was Uganda's implementation of standard structural adjustment policies which had led to their remarkable growth rates, others used Uganda as a chance to demonstrate the success of other agendas including debt relief, privatization, and decentralized government (Mallaby 2004).

Ultimately the strength and ability of Emmanuel Tumusiime-Mutebile, combined with the promise which World Bank President James Wolfenson and World Bank East Africa Director Jim Adams saw in the possibility of what could be accomplished through

more participatory approaches to international development, determined what elements of Uganda's development success were incorporated into the international agenda. Together Tumusiime and Adams succeeded in moving the World Bank Consultative Group Meetings, in which Uganda's development strategies were discussed, from Paris to Kampala. They also worked to develop the participatory poverty plan in 1997 and the participatory poverty assessment of 1998 in which thousands of interviewers were sent out to interview poor people across the country. Despite the fact that Uganda's poverty reduction successes were achieved before these interventions were implemented, and during a period in which Uganda was largely following the dogma of structural adjustment, the focus on process, on country ownership and popular participation, were the elements of Uganda's development policies which were ultimately included in Wolfensohn's "Comprehensive Development Framework" (Mallaby 2004).

The promise of "community owned" development projects also provided a solution to the problem of providing public goods following the elimination of state funded services during the structural adjustment period. While a proponent of debt-relief, Wolfensohn did not oppose structural adjustment and felt that many of the policies had been economically wise. The problem with structural adjustment in Wolfensohn's view thus lay not at the core of the policies, but rather in the way they were implemented without regard to their social costs. Community owned development schemes provided one route out of this problem. Economists Edward Miguel and Michael Kremer have argued that the need to provide an inexpensive substitute for state funded public goods eliminated under structural adjustment was the primary force which lead states and

international financial institutions like the World Bank to promote sustainable development (Kremer and Miguel 2007).

This move is evidenced in documents like the World Bank's 1998 "Beyond the Washington Consensus: Institutions Matter." While the authors of this working paper, Shahid Javed Burki and Guillermo Perry, conclude that while many of the structural adjustment measures implemented in Latin America resulted in significant economic growth, they go on to argue that sustained growth will require these countries to work towards developing "institutions," or the formal and informal rules which shape the behavior of individuals and organizations. In addressing the need to develop a robust educational system, Burki and Perry advocate for the increased involvement of parents in school management committees.

> "One way of improving the performance of schools in the region is to provide greater participation to parents in the schools' management. Empowerment (or voice) then becomes a means to ensuring that they school acts according to the interests of the household" (Bank 1998).

Burki and Perry largely attribute the success of educational reform in Chile to "local-level participation in the design of the education process, generating a sense of ownership within communities" (Bank 1998). Here the community management board becomes a plausible alternative for replacing more costly government management.

The focus on comprehensive community-owned strategies was part of a much more general push towards development which would be sustainable. The idea of sustainability itself is nothing new and has been part of development economics since its inception. The idea that a country will "take-off" into its own industrialized orbit is not unlike arguing that a country should strive for sustainable development in which it will someday no longer depend on ties to subsidized capital flows. Even going back to the

colonial period colonial governments were advised to reduce their dependence on their home governments through the implementation of taxes and forced labor. And so we might ask: What is new about sustainable development? In studying both the history and contemporary enactment of this ethic of engagement with the poor there seem to be two points at which the sort of thinking about sustainability that became part of main-stream development practice at the end of the 1990s differ from earlier thinking on this topic.

The first and most important of these is the focus on participation and the investment in local institutions as the key mechanisms for achieving sustainable development. No longer are physical or human capital the keys, rather the social capital is to be found in "the community," and especially in "community organizations" which are often spoken of as the keys to achieving sustainable development.. Secondly, whereas in prior efforts non-sustainable contributions could be made, now *each* action needs to be sustainable and infinitely replicable. Whereas in a prior moment it was the World Bank itself that needed to be sustainable, now it is the local community organization, which must be sustainable, and in this movement it is the individual villager who must now pay back the loan and be refused the gift, rather than a higher level official in the national government. These movements towards community ownership and participation were joined to the larger aid effectiveness agenda through the Monterrey Conference of 2002 and ultimately through the Paris Declaration of 2005. Having moved beyond the Washington Consensus focus on market based restructuring, community-owned organizations now emerged as the critical tool for bringing about sustained development.

Having now sketched a basic outline of the history and practice of each of these ethical assemblages we will turn to consider the ways in which they interacted with one other in the daily operations of Hope Child and Mercy House, focusing first on the ways in which the figures of dependence and gift giving influenced their programmatic decisions and then moving on to consider their respective uses of audit and virtue as alternate forms of subjectivation.

Chapter Three: "You Can't Give Someone a Baby Without Giving Them a Carrying Cloth": The Ethics of Sustainable Development in Theory and Practice

One afternoon over lunch on the shaded veranda at a restaurant located near the Sebanda sub-county trading center, my research assistant George and I chatted about his plans for writing a grant to the Rotary Club of Kampala. His brother wanted to do something for his hometown and Rotary was willing to fund projects provided that they would cost less than 10 million UGX[20] (5,882 USD), would benefit the whole community, and would be sustainable.

George initially proposed a subsidized dispensary or a school feeding program, both of which he felt were priority problems in the sub-county. He thought for a moment, and then quickly dismissed these, "School feeding is good, but it's not sustainable." He then suggested that his brother might purchase a set of plastic function chairs and a tent that could be used for workshops. I asked whether these chairs were really needed. "No, not really," he replied. "What's the point of providing things that are sustainable and benefit the whole community when they are things that people don't need anyway." I asked. George agreed that function chairs weren't really needed, people could always sit on mats, but function chairs were "sustainable" and this fact alone made them a good prospect for securing funding.

[20] The exchange rate during my fieldwork in 2007-2008 was approximately 1700 UGX = 1 US Dollar. The average annual per capita income in Uganda is approximately 510,000 UGX and a casual laborer in Sebanda would be paid 1,000-5,000 UGX for a day's work depending on the nature of the job.

The primary aim of sustainable development is to create programs that will ultimately be self-sufficient. In line with this aim development workers engaged in these projects are obliged to make programmatic decisions that will empower local people, avoiding the production of dependency at all costs.

The value placed on developing interventions that would outlast the life of the specific program is at the center of the sustainable development assemblage. In discussions at Hope Child and the other NGOs operating in Sebanda, determining whether or not an intervention was likely to yield long-term self-sustaining benefits was in many cases more important than determining whether or not a given intervention was the most necessary. From tiny decisions about what sorts of toys and play equipment could be provided at the Early Childhood Development centers (climbing structures and locally made banana fiber dolls were sustainable, soccer balls were not) to larger discussions about the payment of school fees and the provision of start up capital to prospective entrepreneurs, the "sustainability" of the intervention was the key term of the debate.

In this chapter I build on the historical discussion of the emergence of sustainable development laid out in the previous chapter. I focus on the ways in which Hope Child, a Ugandan orphan support NGO, drew on elements of the sustainable development assemblage in designing and implementing interventions. The short-term nature of program funding and a more general opposition to interventions which they feared might make people dependent on outside organizations also meant that non-material

interventions, including trainings and the formation of community groups, were highly preferable to the material supports that were often glossed as "handouts." Where material support is given, it was generally in the form of one-time capital-intensive projects, which ought to outlive the program staff's involvement, or in the form of micro-loans. The avoidance of non-material programming is also preferable in a climate where donor organizations are asking NGOs to reach an increasing number of clients with holistic, multi-faceted programming.

The first half of this chapter focuses on Hope Child's move away from the portions of the original intervention that involved making material donations to individual households. In place of these material gifts they focused on community education events and the establishment of early childhood development centers and support groups. I argue that while these changes were made in the name of increasing "community ownership" of the project, this public commitment to community ownership paradoxically prevented them from listening to some of the community's most adamant demands.

In the second half of this chapter, I describe how community participation and community ownership aims become central goals in their own right. Organizing volunteers, training them in record keeping systems, surveying people about their problems and priorities, and determining the best ways to involve community members in program implementation were clearly among the most important tasks for the Hope Child field staff. The completion and careful documentation of these tasks was an important indicator of Hope Child's success for those within and outside of the organization. This

focus on a certain variety of NGO-inspired participation came with what were unanticipated consequences. Participatory methodologies and a priori assumptions about the categories of people most in need served to exclude the poorest children and families from programs run by Hope Child and other NGOs in the area.

This chapter builds on the writings of other scholars who have argued that despite their populist appearance, participatory approaches to sustainable development make many of the same mistakes as their more conventional predecessors. Several economists have challenged the long term sustainability and cost-effectiveness of these so-called cost-effective sustainable projects (Kremer and Miguel 2007; Miguel and Gugerty 2005), while others have argued that the use of sustainable development practices such as microfinance and user fees has led to a decreased focus on the poor (Morduch 1999), diminishing household prosperity and food consumption (Brett 2006) and precipitous declines in health care utilization (Meuwissen 2002). Anthropologist and physician Paul Farmer has critiqued sustainability and cost-effectiveness by challenging the ways in which they have been used to argue for a sort of "managed inequality" and sub-standard care for the poor (Farmer 2003). Other anthropologists have mounted critiques of projects that while purportedly participatory, continue to promote agendas set by donor interests relying on people only for their labor and consent, while promoting the interests of a minority of elite community members at the expense to others (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Rahnema 1992; High 2009).

Through my exploration of these two facets of sustainable development, non-material interventions and the focus on community participation, and ways in which they helped to shape Hope Child's programs, I build on these critiques and make my first steps towards an argument that development's failure to produce locally meaningful outcomes comes not from the creation of dependency, but from attempts to avoid it. Some critics of development who would promote the kinds of sustainable and participatory approaches that I describe in this chapter might argue, along with the Hope Child field staff, that villagers have become accustomed to sitting and waiting for handouts. In this chapter I argue that while sustainable development may thwart some hopes for handouts, the villagers still wait, pouring out their time and minimal resources in anticipation of some tangible benefit that the carefully crafted sustainable programming explicitly excludes.

As we shall see in the following pages Hope Child did not fail to meet its objectives, indeed it generally succeeded in reaching its targets and producing measurable outputs. Yet, despite its self-defined success and participatory aspirations, it failed according to the standards of success set by its beneficiaries. I argue that Hope Child's locally defined failure was ironically produced by its own commitment to community ownership.

Sebanda

Sebanda is located 40 kilometers outside of the capital Kampala within the kingdom of Buganda. Most of the journey to Sebanda can be covered on a paved two-

lane highway, busy with public white mini-bus taxis[21], private cars, and speeding lorries piled high with matooke [22] bananas, cattle, and charcoal. Whizzing along crammed into one of these taxis, you pass identical trading centers with closely spaced houses, shops selling plastic basins and tea kettles, and wooden stands piled high with cabbages, tomatoes, and avocados grown in family gardens or purchased wholesale from the central markets in Kampala.

The last ten kilometers take you down a badly rutted dirt road which leads past single houses and smaller settlements, marked only by kiosks selling soap, sugar, and other household basics and ubiquitous thatch roofed bars selling fatty roasted pork and locally brewed beers and gins made from bananas, millet, and corn. The final kilometer passes through a papyrus swamp, jutting in and out of mud puddles. At night you can hear the croaking of frogs and smell a stand of farmed eucalyptus trees planted by a local agro-forestry advocate that mark your entry into Sebanda sub-county.

When the taxi pulls into its final stop at the crossroads of the trading center, it is greeted by a large pack of young men on boda-boda motorcycles[23] anxious to ferry the

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[21] In Uganda the word "taxi" or *matatu* refers to a large white van which seats 14 people. These taxis regularly travel along most major roads picking up and dropping off people at a seemingly infinite number of "stages." Most taxis eventually arrive at one of two unpaved "taxi parks" in Kampala. Rimmed by vendors selling everything from socks to blenders to pineapples, the taxi parks are jammed with taxis, often parked so closely together that one is unable to pass and must backtrack to find a way through the constantly lurching maze of vehicles.

[22] Matooke is the Luganda word for the cooking banana that is the traditional staple food of the Baganda.

[23] "Boda-Bodas" are motorcycle or bicycle taxis used for one or two passengers who sit on a seat directly behind the driver. They are also used for transporting goods such as: matooke bananas, precarious stacks of white plastic lawn chairs used at formal functions, charcoal, plate glass windows, and the occasional goat. The term "boda boda" comes from the phrase "border border" as these sorts of taxis were first used in Uganda to transport people and things across the border with Kenya.

taxi passengers to other locations in the sub-county. The trading center is lined with bars selling bottled beer and sodas, small restaurants, and wholesale and retail kiosks selling all manner of household goods. There is also a cluster of competing pork and beef butchers who hack portions from quarter carcasses that hang from hooks on their wooden stalls. The butcher closest to the taxi stand has a wooden table piled with pink and white offal that he regularly washes down with water from a white plastic bucket.

Behind the official shops are small densely packed brick buildings with single room dwellings largely rented by landless single women caring for their children and grandchildren. Piles of garbage are burnt in the late afternoon, filling the air with a haze of smoldering plastic bags. An unused marketplace built in the early 1990s by the International Labor Organization (ILO) as part of the reconstruction effort after the end of the civil war that brought President Museveni to power has now been completely abandoned. It is possible to rent stalls in the marketplace from the sub-county government for a small fee, but no one does. There are also smaller shops and a warren of circular thatched huts that are filled with regular groups of men who can be found drinking local beer at any hour.

The main roads are busy with people most of the day. There are packs of children in bright pink and yellow uniforms on their way home from school at St. John's Primary School. Other children are carrying water from the boreholes[24]located near the town center. There are men pushing bicycles loaded down with jerry cans of water tied to the frame with ropes. Landless women walk home with dirt-caked hoes and pangas (machetes) from distant garden plots, which they are borrowing or digging for pay.

[24] A borehole is a drilled water well operated with a hand pump.

At night the trading center is loud. Several nights a month a commercial "karaoke" lorry pulls into town loaded with six foot high speakers and a troupe of singers who perform the latest hits from the Ugandan pop music scene. On other nights there are all-night Christian crusades organized by the local evangelical church. The evangelical church is not affiliated with Hope Child, but instead organizes scholarships for some of the children of its members through its connections with churches in the United States. The local Catholic Church runs a government subsidized Universal Primary Education (UPE) primary school and also provides small scholarships for 200 children, regardless of their religious affiliation, organized through the Caritas International, a international Catholic NGO, to pay for fees, lunch, and uniforms for students who could not otherwise afford to attend school. A nearby convent of Catholic nuns, who are primarily engaged in managing and staffing a large clinic in the trading center and running a support group and medication adherence program for HIV positive women, also provide scholarships for a group of secondary students in exchange for weekend work in the sister's gardens.

As you move away from the trading center the roads quiet. The villages blend one into the next with no real break between them. The houses vary. Small rectangular houses of sun dried mud brick and dirt floors stand next to more substantial plaster homes with glass windows and cemented floors. Nearly everyone has a roof made of iron sheets, only the poorest still use grass thatch. The houses in the villages are each surrounded by small gardens of matooke bananas, white sweet potatoes, yams, cassava, coffee, mangoes, and papaya. Among these more carefully cultivated plants are local leafy green vegetables and jackfruit trees that tower above with glossy green leaves and clusters of huge spiny jackfruits at their trunks.

During the four months I lived in Sebanda, I spent the majority of my time with the Hope Child community volunteers and with the paid field staff, Martin and Nassuna. Martin, a BA-holding community Social Worker, is a member of the Baganda ethnic group and grew up in Kampala. Having spent most of his life in the diverse middle class milieu of the capital, he often said that he felt more comfortable in English than he did in his native Luganda. Martin rented a small room near the trading center in one of the few buildings with electricity. His permanent home was in Kampala where his wife and children lived. He also owned a small farm that he used hired labor to farm commercially. Nassuna, a BA-holding Program Officer, was originally from Fort Portal in the West and her parents are Congolese. She and her husband and their children lived in a rented house in the nearby market town of Gayaza.

Martin and Nassuna assisted me in the task of identifying a research assistant with whom I could work while in Sebanda. While my Luganda was strong enough to carry on everyday conversations, I felt that it was necessary to work with a translator during interviews. After interviewing several possible candidates, I hired a young man named George Mpanga. George was born and raised in Sebanda and is friends with many of the young men and women involved in NGO and community politics. George himself has worked as a volunteer for numerous area NGOs and currently serves as the representative for children and youth in the sub-county government. George became a trusted friend and key informant in addition to being an excellent translator and transcriber.

Over the course of four months, I observed the daily activities of the Sebanda field office. I attended staff meetings at the field office and at the head office, community trainings and sensitizations, monitoring visits from the head office, field visits to the

action support groups, early childhood development centers, and households, meetings for community volunteers, a workshop organized by their primary funder, the Netherlands based Frans Lansing Foundation, and activities of early child development centers. In addition to these direct observations I interviewed members of the Hope Child staff (7), Hope Child donors (4), Hope Child volunteers (10), Hope Child participants (9), Members of local government (10), and other local residents (18). I supplemented these more in-depth interviews with a household survey looking at socio-economic status, NGO participation, political involvement, and residence patterns. This survey was administered to every household (140) within a single Hope Child catchment village.

Hope Child

Nancy Kabwende, a soft, slight, almost luminous woman from South Western Uganda, built Hope Child out of an informal child helpline that she started in 1995. While similar toll-free hotlines for seeking advice and reporting cases of child abuse have long existed in more developed countries, Kabwende's helpline was the first of its kind in Uganda. When she began the child helpline she was working as the national director of a large child-centered NGO and had also worked as a district level Social Welfare Officer. In her book Establishing Life Transforming Organizations: The Story of Hope Child in Uganda, Kabwende writes, "In 1995 an inner voice said to me, 'you will be a comforter to hurting people.' I ignored it as just one of those thoughts. Two months later, I heard the same voice again, but this time it was louder than the first, 'You are going to be a savior of children.'" Responding to what she felt was a direct call from God, she listed

her home telephone number in the newspaper, offering to be a listening ear to any hurting child who needed to talk to someone.

Over the course of two months she recruited two volunteer staff members to help take calls and rescue children in desperate circumstances. The organization grew with the support of numerous volunteers, many of whom were upper and middle class urban women who were financially supported by their husbands.

Hope Child's attention to the needs of the whole family sets them apart from other orphan support organizations that focus their efforts more directly on the children themselves. In focusing only on children, other organizations fail to see the on-going importance of widowed parents, grandparents and other adults in the lives of orphans. Despite their visibility in popular media portrayals of AIDS orphans, child-headed households account for a tiny fraction of households caring for orphans in Uganda. To represent orphans as entirely alone in the world not only devalues the important and difficult work done by their caregivers, but also provides an inaccurate imaginary on which to base programming decisions and makes it difficult to see the differences between the majority of orphans who are not alone and those few who truly have no where else to turn. In line with this aim their programs include a child abuse hotline, a microfinance scheme for caregivers, child rights clubs, and the Grandparent Hope Network project which includes income generating support groups for grandparents caring for orphans and early childhood development centers for children under eight.

When Hope Child first began to pilot the Grandparent Hope Network (GHN) project in 2003, they set out to work with a group of 30 grandparents in a suburb of Kampala. In addition to establishing community support groups and early childhood

development centers Hope Child gave those first thirty households bedding, mattresses, clothing, and iron sheets for roofing. By 2007 such material assistance was rare at Hope Child, having become so marginal to the organization's mission that the staff members responsible for writing the GHN budget in 2007 did not budget for it at all. By the time Hope Child expanded their operations to Sebanda sub-county, their strategy had shifted to align itself more closely with sustainable development and such material gifts were now seen as unsustainable.

Instead, Hope Child focused its attention on the formation of small groups which were intended to provide social support and serve as bases for lending and group income generating activities such as rearing poultry, pigs, or growing green peppers for sale in local markets. Hope Child's work with these groups was also supplemented with frequent community sensitization events on topics such as malaria prevention, book keeping, child nutrition, and beekeeping. Community trainings on disease prevention, children's rights, and income generating strategies were seen as more sustainable in that the knowledge could be passed on indefinitely.

The material interventions that could be justified within sustainable development generally took the form of durable structures that would outlast the program. At Hope Child these durable structures were the Early Childhood Development Centers (ECD Centers). Over the course of three years Hope Child spent 43,700,000 UGX (25,700 USD) building and furnishing the centers and training volunteer caretakers to staff them. The ECD centers provided care, supervision, opportunities for play, introduction to literacy and numeracy in English and Luganda, and distributed cups of nutri-soy porridge to children under eight five days a week.

In 2007-2008 Hope Child was supported through grants from nearly a dozen private foundations and bilateral aid organizations like USAID, giving the GHN project an annual operating budget of over 375,000 USD. The grants that Hope Child receives come in the form of gifts and do not need to be repaid. These gifts are often imagined by lay people outside of the development industry as flowing through NGOs like Hope Child to the people whose faces stare back from their glossy annual reports. Yet, NGOs like Hope Child, which operate using the tools of the sustainable development assemblage, must transform these gifts in such a way so that they are prevented from simply transferring to the poor people they claim to serve. These gifts must be transformed into programs that can effectively demonstrate their capacity for lasting change. Rather than being passed along to the poor in the form of blankets, pigs, and school fees (as many in the rural sub-county of Sebanda imagined they might) they needed to be used for staff salaries, durable structures, community trainings, vehicles which would facilitate monitoring visits, research expenses, accounting consultants, seminars, and workshops. Within the ideal vision of sustainable development, one gift is enough, as one gift, properly used, can be transformed into an endless string of benefits that will never stop. Sustainable development is thus not only posited as "the end of poverty," it is also posited the end of aid.

Despite Hope Child's growth and success in securing funding from secular organizations in the United States and Europe, evangelical Christianity continued to be an important part of the organization's culture. Every morning members of the Kampala staff gather for an hour in the office's open-air atrium to sing and pray together. Members of the staff volunteer to read bible passages or to offer testimonials of their

faith experience to the others. People not only prayed for personal concerns during these daily sessions, but also for the needs of the organization. Hope Child's on-going commitment to Christianity, from its founding moment of Nancy Kabwende's divine calling and its early commitment to pragmatic gifts and empathetic listening, to its more recent embrace of more secular models of sustainable development and a growing resistance to the provision of gift aid, allows us to see the ways in which actors and organizations might draw upon different ethical assemblages, either simultaneously or over time. The combination of religious practice and secular development strategies within the walls of Hope Child confirm Erica Bornstein's findings concerning the compatibility between Christianity and development (Bornstein 2006). Yet, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters on Mercy House, not all Christian organizations have found this alliance so easy to broker and many have continued to cling to more traditional forms of charity, despite the costs this entails in terms of their ability to secure the support of Western donors.

"You can't give someone a baby without giving them a carrying cloth."

Outspoken Hope Child participants often complained the inadequacy of the material support provided and lived in constant hope of more substantial material assistance. Many of the Hope Child beneficiaries and volunteers complained that the trainings had become repetitive and that they also lacked the start up capital to put any of the skills they learned into practice. In discussing a recent agricultural training in which people had been given instruction in modern farming techniques, but then given only seeds with none of the other implements mentioned, Mary Nabukenya, a small group

leader, complained about the minimal assistance, saying, "You can't give someone a baby without giving them a carrying cloth." Mrs. Nakito felt that it was pointless to give people a few seeds when Hope Child knew that they would not be able to afford the more expensive implements like fertilizers. On the other hand, Hope Child saw itself as encouraging self-reliance through gradual savings. In their eyes Mrs. Nakito could eventually afford to buy fertilizers if she saved, a skill which would be lost if Hope Child simply gave her the fertilizer. Yet in Mrs. Nakito's eyes Hope Child was an organization with ample resources withholding something she needed and which ought to be given to her as a loyal participant.

People throughout Uganda were critical of the seminars and trainings put on by NGOs in the name of capacity building and sustainable development. The government of the Karamoja district in the Northeast of Uganda banned all NGO seminars in April 2009 arguing that local leaders ought to be spending the critical period during the rainy season readying their fields for planting, not attending meetings. The Minister for Disaster Preparedness was quoted in the national newspaper New Vision as saying:

> "It is raining and you are wasting your time with workshops…Use those billions you spend on baseline surveys and needs assessment studies to help the Karimojong have food security. Use that money to prepare gardens, dress Karimojong children and provide them with beddings. (Wanyama 2009).

Despite these protests the seminars continued, at least in part, due to the fact that the avoidance of material assistance is suited to the current climate of international development work that focuses on cost benefit analyses driven by a concern with quantifiable achievements. It is far cheaper to help a large number of families or children

when help is defined in terms of the number of people attending a workshop rather than the number of people assisted in more intensive ways.

This said, Hope Child continually vascilated between its prior commitment to an ethic of charity and its new commitment to sustainable development. At the close of the final staff meeting of 2007 Hope Child's founder Nancy Kabwende stood before the staff who were assembled under the tin roof of Hope Child's courtyard conference room. Nancy, usually bright and smiling, looked exhausted and opened her remarks by referencing a recent conversation she had had with God about Hope Child's plan to expand their services to reach 10,000 children: "I asked him how he expected me to take care of 10,000 children, and he told me that I already was." Despite the changes in programming which had limited the kinds of services Hope Child provided, Nancy still saw her work as "taking care" of all of these children and still saw her work as a calling from God and felt that she was being used as His instrument in the world. Yet, Nancy doubted that her staff still saw their work as a calling or "form of ministry" and, after stating that she felt like it was all over, accused them of thinking of their work at Hope Child as "a job that can be done for money."

Throughout the speech Nancy shifted between images of "taking care" and telling the stories of past events of "child saving" and emphasizing the importance of avoiding "handouts." Despite real efforts to avoid handouts, success stories told at staff meetings and in Hope Child newsletters often hinged on their provision. In an effort to inspire her staff Nancy recalled the case of two boys who had been found living in the corner of a collapsed house. "We built them a house, found them a guardian, and paid for their schooling." This movement between policies and programs founded on sustainable

community institutions and stories of idiosyncratic acts of charity was a common occurrence at Hope Child staff meetings. When asked to give some qualitative evidence of their successes at a previous meeting the staff from the Kampala site described how a long-time beneficiary who was well-known to the Hope Child staff had been robbed. Hope Child then decided to give her a gift of 500,000 UGX from the "Nancy Kabwende Foundation", which enabled the beneficiary to refurnish her home, pay her back rent, and start a restaurant. Ironically, stories like these were often used to demonstrate the success of Hope Child's programs, despite the fact that these stories represented exceptions that ran contradictory to Hope Child's general position on handouts.

School Fees

The consequences of Hope Child's focus on non-material interventions and the construction of permanent ECD centers can best be understood by contrasting these interventions with the local demand that Hope Child assist parents with their primary challenge, school fees. I argue that Hope Child's commitment to sustainable development, defined as a philosophy and set of technologies and practices which aim to create programs that will continue after the funding period ends, made them unable to address a problem which both they and local parents agreed to be the most important. Through my examination of this case I argue that the commitment to sustainability leads to projects that failed to address locally defined problems.

The problem of paying school fees is among the most frequently cited by parents and guardians in Uganda, as it is throughout much of the developing world where access to quality schooling is not freely available. Despite the 1997 introduction of the

Universal Primary Education (UPE) program in Uganda, families with children in Sebanda still needed to gather large sums of money each year to pay for the tuition, uniforms, and exercise books needed to attend primary and secondary school. The average family living in one village in Sebanda needed to save 150,000 UGX each year to educate their children, the family with the highest annual fee burden was responsible for over 2,500,000 UGX in tuition and other fees. The amount any one family paid depended on the number of children they had, how old these children were, and on the quality of the school the parents chose. Given the fact that most families in this area make their living primarily through subsistence farming and the sale of vegetables, livestock, and locally made bricks, the challenge of saving this much cash is ever present.

The frequent laments made by Martin, Nassuna, and local teachers that parents in the area were not committed to education was belied by people like Hasfah Nabasa who lived with her four children in a windowless dirt floored room they rented behind the trading center. When I visited her home the only light in the room came from the doorway and through the holes in the roof. Hasfah had moved to Sebanda ten years ago with her husband who had been hired to work as an assistant to a local wholesaler. After coming to Sebanda she gave birth to four children who were now ten, five, four, and two. Her husband had left her one-year before and she was now totally responsible for the family's survival. Each morning she left her house to go and dig in her garden growing sweet potatoes and cassava. She also sold firewood and worked for pay in other people's gardens to raise money to buy beans and groundnuts to feed herself and her children and to raise the money she needed to pay her children's school fees. Although there was a government sponsored UPE school near her home, she had decided to send her children

to St. John's Primary school which she felt offered a better standard of education. "The standards of the UPE School are too low and I'm afraid that my children won't be able to compete." In order to send her three oldest children to St. Johns she needed to save 120,000 UGX each year to pay for their tuition and uniforms. Given her daily wage of 1,000 UGX and her need to pay rent and buy food and other necessities like soap, salt, and Kerosene for their lamp, she constantly struggled to keep her children in school. Her two year old attended the Hope Child ECD center near her house and enjoyed it, "especially the porridge." Despite her enthusiasm for the ECD center she hoped that Hope Child might eventually be able to help her pay fees for her other three children.

Scovia and Thomas, who I visited in their large concrete house, were in a considerably better financial position than Hasfah, but still struggled with paying school fees for the children in their care. Scovia and Thomas were both heavily involved as community volunteers. Scovia not only volunteered as a zone leader for Hope Child, but also served as the leader for women's affairs in the sub-county and had participated in programs run by seven other NGOs. Her husband, Thomas, was similarly involved, serving as the elected village chairman, working as an HIV/AIDS counselor, serving as a catechist for the Catholic Church, and working as a traditional healer. While they had a considerably higher income than Hasfah including income from: a cow, chickens, the sale of fried snacks, the fees Thomas charged for his work as a healer, and the transport allowances they received for their volunteer work, Thomas and Scovia still struggled to meet the costs of sending their five children to school. With several children in secondary school their annual tuition burden was nearly 600,000 UGX.

Like Hasfah, Scovia and Thomas had originally hoped that Hope Child might be able to assist them in educating their children.

> "I went there every month to take reports from the community. We were expecting much help from them. Say, if you need a blanket they give it to you; if it is a mattress, the same. I thought that way. When they instituted the ECD's we thought that they would provide school fees for those above the ECD [age], but it wasn't possible. We stayed desiring that it could be done, but nothing, it seems that's where they wanted to end."

Like Hasfah, Scovia and Thomas argued that paying their children's school fees was their biggest burden and hoped that organizations like Hope Child might be able to help them, either by paying the fees directly or by giving them sufficient capital to create projects which would significantly increase their family's income.

Hope Child staff members were well aware that school fees were the primary concern for the residents of Sebanda. The baseline survey found that school fees were the most pressing problem for 95.3% of families. Martha, the GHN program manager, agreed with the parents, "Whenever we have an evaluation they keep saying school fees, school fees -- and they're right. Where do you want them to go? Even the cheapest would be 40,000, if you're just selling charcoal [you can't afford it]."

Nassuna was similarly in agreement that school fees, especially secondary school fees, were the most important problem. One morning as we waited for the head office staff to arrive for a monitoring visit Nassuna confided in me, wondering aloud about the focus on the ECD centers. "Most families are able to manage with the young ones, but older children are more difficult. School fees are expensive, the real problem is poverty." Like Scovia and Thomas, Nassuna argued that strong Income Generating Activities

should be at the center for any program interested in improving child and family well-being.

Yet despite Hope Child's general acknowledgement of poverty and the problems poor families faced in attempting to pay school fees for their children, program participants felt that Hope Child's two primary interventions for addressing this problem, the child rights clubs and income generating projects, failed to make any real impact.

Hope Child claimed to address the problem of a child's right to attend school through child rights trainings and child rights clubs. Hope Child's reliance on child rights clubs as a means of increasing school attendance is based on the assumption that parents' devaluation of education is one of the primary barriers to school attendance for children. Yet the majority of parents were very much in agreement that their children should attend school, so much so that women like Hasfah lived with gaping holes in her roof while paying private school tuition so that her children could receive an education which would allow them to compete with other more fortunate children. Stories about the rare father who refuses to send his child to school provide justification for this sort of intervention, while ignoring the fact that such opinions are held only by a minority of parents and are not the primary reason children are out of school.

The extreme poverty which actually kept children out of the classroom was unlikely to be solved by a child's demand that their parent or guardian send them to school, and as we will see below, it was unlikely that these poorest children would ever make it to a child rights training. Yet, given the stringent demands of cost-effectiveness, and project sustainability, directly financing these children's education was an impossible, and irresponsible, solution. Training children and other community members about their

rights not only provided a convenient way to address the educational issues of a large number of beneficiaries, while avoiding the high costs of more direct intervention, it also fell within the normative and technological bounds of the sustainability assemblage.

The income generating projects organized through the GHN support groups seemed to provide a more substantial answer to the ever present problem of paying trice yearly school fees. Many participants liked this idea in theory, but complained that it would not work as it was being implemented. Scovia said,

> "They would help, but when you only give me 10,000, how do you expect me to make it valuable? It can only buy ropes for the animals. It can't even buy a piglet. I accept the money all right, but it can't change a lot….So the person who is willing to help would donate something bigger."

Yet, as we saw above and will see in greater detail below Hope Child commitment to the ethics of sustainable development gave it reason to avoid donating "something bigger."

Participation as an End in Itself

The concern with community ownership provides us with another explanation for Hope Child's focus on non-material interventions. Nassuna argued that providing families or self-help groups with the money to implement these projects would decrease their sense of "ownership" in the project, and that without this sense of ownership the project would likely fail. During a round of routine visits to the GHN self-help groups, Nassuna explained the importance of using something like a garden project to generate seed money for a larger IGA in order to promote "project ownership" among the group

members. If they were simply given the start up capital, they would fail to value the project and might not put as much effort into it. "If their pig dies, they should really feel it because it was something that was truly theirs and not something that had been given to them."

The need to create "project ownership" as an ethical proposition was echoed in my interviews with Elizabeth Makena, the Kenyan-born Frans Lansing Foundation (FLF) field officer assigned to work with Hope Child. She was as emphatic as Nassuna that what these families needed were Income Generating Activities capable of generating enough money to pull their families out of the sort of grinding poverty which keeps children in danger of malnutrition and out of school. Yet, she was as committed as Nassuna to the ideals of community ownership that kept these sorts of Income Generating Activities from becoming a reality. In Elizabeth's conceptualization, the GHN program was ultimately supposed to be the community's project, with Hope Child serving as a support, a sort of mid-wife. She was insistent that people incorporate this kind of thinking into the very language they used to talk about the FLF funded programs. She did not want people to talk about the projects as belonging to the organization, but wanted to hear them talk about the projects as belonging to the community.

Community contributions thus became central to the work of Hope Child. Nothing was to be done without community involvement. Hope Child was there to facilitate, but the real management and initiative was supposed to come from within the community. Yet, as we have seen, it is the work of implementation and not of priority setting that is ultimately ceded to the community.

In light of the commitment to the idea of community contributions, community members participating in Hope Child programs were regularly asked to contribute time and resources to the running of the Hope Child programs. When visitors were coming to see the project, Hope Child participants gathered to slash the grass at the Hope Child field office compound and to cook food for the visitors. When ECD Center buildings were being constructed, people were asked to contribute labor and bricks. Parents were expected to provide the firewood and labor necessary to cook the porridge on an on-going basis. Each child attending the ECD center was also required to pay 3,000 UGX in tuition per term. User fees such as the ECD tuition are often talked about as community contributions, but are in fact individual contributions. Terming them community contributions masks their individualized nature and the potential exclusion of individuals not able to pay.

In addition, local organizations were often expected to find additional funding from within the community as a demonstration of the community's interest in the project. Yet, this was frequently not possible given the poverty of the community. Caught in the community contribution bind, the organizations were often forced to wait for another outside donor to come along to meet the funding gap -- unfinished buildings were often the result of such idealistically created gaps. When another outsider did step up to finance the "community contribution", the demonstration of the community's commitment was found not in its self-reliance, but in its ability to beg and leverage other existing connections.

In addition, the GHN support groups revolved around the promotion of savings, either as individuals or as a group. This required each participant to bring a small amount

of money to every meeting to be saved up for a larger purchase at a later date. For many rural families this does not present a problem. They are able to spare a few hundred shillings each week. Yet, there are other families for whom even such a small amount of money would represent a major sacrifice, such as not buying salt for cooking. Families who know that they would not be able to make the regular contributions either declined to join or were not asked at all.

Understanding the significance of such small amounts of money is difficult for urban Ugandans who participate in an economy that is distinct from the economy of poor rural farmers and even harder for employees at international foundations. Even within the village, the significance of small amounts of money varied from family to family. Within the context of the village 3,000 UGX was a very small amount for some people, while it was perhaps prohibitively expensive for others. The inability to afford user fees or other material contributions to projects likely contributed to the number of people who told me that they did not have enough money to participate in the numerous NGOs operating in the sub-county. And if not prohibitively expensive, there were certainly some parents who would rather use their limited resources to make other sorts of purchases. The children of parents who were not willing or able to prioritize their children's education were likely the ones most at risk and thus most in need of the types of programs sponsored by Hope Child. Yet, given the required community contribution, such children were excluded from participation.

Contributions need not refer to material goods. Indeed, people's time and their participation in the planning and implementation in the project are as central to the concept of ownership as material contributions. Within the logics of Hope Child and

FLF, community participation was essential to the community "taking ownership" of the project.

In early November, the Hope Child field staff decided to make a visit to each of the support groups in an effort to assess and encourage such community participation. Alongside the Child Rights Clubs and ECD Centers, the support groups were intended to raise the incomes and the spirits of the adults heading Hope Child participant families.

After making a brief stop at the ECD center, we walked over to the first of the support groups with Scovia, one of the area's most active participant volunteers. Scovia, dressed in a long pink denim dress with a square collar, brought us over to a group of three women working with pangas and hoes to dig holes for posts for a piggery. The group had managed to save enough to purchase one piglet. There were also some other pigs that belonged to the group member who owns the land where the pigpen was to be put.

The timing of their digging could not have been better. Nassuna was visibly pleased that they were all working together. It seemed to be such good timing that I wondered if it had been planned to coincide with the monitoring visit. All of the holes were newly dug, and given that the group was formed in May, and our visit took place in November, it seemed unlikely that the day they were to begin work would have randomly coincided with the visit.

Another support group had not left their participatory efforts until the last minute and at least some members of their group seemed to find hope in the project itself. Our group cheered their well-tended bed of eggplant and green pepper. Yet when I asked Nassuna how much she hoped the sale of the produce would bring, she estimated 10,000

UGX. Nassuna realized that 10,000 UGX split among eight people was not very much money. Yet she argued that collective work was good in and of itself, and that people should be coming and participating in the income-generating project to better themselves. If they were not coming, Nassuna argued that it was probably because they were lazy and not committed to the group enterprise. Given the ethical valuation of collective work within the sustainable development assemblage, non-participators also became morally suspect.

The positive valuation of collective work is one of the more interesting normative aspects of sustainable development, given the simultaneous commitment to neo-liberal ideals of self-help and entrepreneurship. The dual commitment to neo-liberalism and something verging on socialism reveals the dividing line between the community, which is idealized as an altruistic and egalitarian collective, and the outside world, which is considered separate and without moral obligation to participate in that collective. In a different register the collective also becomes an important monitoring body that will in the long run serve to ensure that micro-loans are repaid. The multi-functional nature of the collective, serving simultaneously the purposes of debt collection, social support, mutual aid, socialist enterprise, state substitute, and long term panacea for the end of aid makes it highly attractive to potential donors and aid workers across the political spectrum. The idea that people might have made a rational calculation that working in their own gardens was more productive than relying on a group effort ran counter to the positive valuation of collective work and could not be tolerated.

Several groups seemed to have put little effort into their projects or the performance of participation. At the home of one group leader there was a sad little plot with

haphazard cabbages and radishes in an un-weeded clearing. The garden stood in stark contrast to the woman's own well-tended matooke plantation. George commented to me that it reminded him of his childhood. "When I was about four or five my mother gave me a small plot of about that size so that I could learn how to farm. I would plant his little cabbages and tend the plot, and then we would all enjoy eating his produce for supper," he said. He was proud of his childhood garden, but found it laughable that this plot was the work of eight adults. "Perhaps these people do not see this as important work, perhaps they are just making a minimal effort to please the project staff. Even with a good yield a plot like this couldn't yield more than about 2,000 UGX."

Hope Child's demands for goods and collective labor closely mirror the demands chiefs, kings, and other patrons made of their clients and followers in Buganda as discussed above. Ironically, what was for Hope Child a demonstration of the community taking ownership of the project was seen by the participants as a way of securing the support of a powerful patron and effectively entering into a relationship of dependency. For a time this misperception helped Hope Child to achieve its goal of community participation. The enthusiastic response of participants like Miriam Nakibinge who felt that being selected as cook for a major event might help her to secure a special "blessing" reflected this way of conceptualizing the link between community participation and hopes for patron-client reciprocity. Most of the people I spoke with about their early experiences with Hope Child were like Mrs. Nakibige in that they had similarly looked forward to the possibility that Hope Child might be able to provide them with capital for their businesses, school fees for the children, and blankets for their beds. After several

months of voluntary service, the participants, found that material gifts of mattresses and school fees were not forthcoming.

Many participants viewed the refusal of material support with suspicion and privately accused the Hope Child staff and volunteers of "eating the money" which was intended for them. While the project beneficiaries who made these accusations were implying that some Hope Child staff members and volunteers were illicitly skimming money off of the Hope Child budget, I would like to propose an alternate reading of the situation.

Despite the modesty of Hope Child's field office their connections to wealthy foreign donors were made obvious during the frequent donor site evaluations during which Europeans and Americans arrived to inspect Hope Child's work. These visits confirmed local knowledge that Hope Child was in possession of vast resources that the villagers knew were intended for their benefit.

Yet, by the time Hope Child paid for its staff costs and the administrative overhead necessary for running their relatively modest head office in a way that would allow them to comply with international standards for ensuring that the funds had been spent in an efficient and effective manner, there was little money left to purchase things which the villagers could see and touch. Thus the administrative requirements of new regimes of audit and accountability and commitments to the ideology of economic sustainability led to a situation in which the Hope Child staff had to no choice but to refuse the mantle of patronage the people so eagerly held out for them. And so the participants decided to stop

volunteering. If Hope Child wasn't going to play the role of the good patron, they weren't going to waste their time playing the role of the client.[25]

The vulnerable and the worthy

By looking at Hope Child's gradual embrace of the sustainable development assemblage we can see the ways in which the articulation of the sustainable development assemblage, local alliances, and judgments village elites make about the poor resulted in a shift in the program's target population and focus. I argue that this shift is partially obscured by the use of qualitative and quantitative reporting techniques, which make and erase distinctions between segments of the rural population – and that these partial

[25] Dan Smith and Ann Swidler have described how NGOs similar to Hope Child work within patron-client systems. NGOs allow their employees to serve as "patrons" who compete for "clients" in the form of NGO volunteers through the distribution of "transport" per diems (Smith 2004:221-238; Swidler and Watkins 2007). NGO volunteers are those local people who take on unpaid leadership roles within the organization. NGO volunteers, in turn, support their NGO employee patrons by displaying their support for the project during monitoring visits from international donors. These displays of support prove critical in ensuring that the NGOs continue to receive their funding and the NGO workers their salaries.

The NGO volunteers I interviewed provided additional explanations as to why they valued these unpaid positions. Ben Mutebbe, a self-described "organization man," who was volunteering for seven organizations at the time of our interview, explained his dedication to volunteering saying, "When you are a leader and you want to deliver to your people..nobody will pay you for that, you have to deliver as a volunteer…You work hard so that you maintain your position as a focal person. Whoever comes to my farm, he [says] 'eh! this man is really a potential…[and] an example to others.'" In this aspirational statement we see that Mr. Mutebbe hoped that by working hard as a volunteer, he might be able to maintain his position as a "leader," a "focal person", "a potential," someone who both "delivers" to his people and sets an example. Thus, it is not only the material benefits of being a client that one gains in being a volunteer, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the opportunity to realize ones aspirations of becoming a patron, an aspiration which might otherwise be difficult to achieve for men who see themselves trapped in jobless rural economies.

erasures ease residual ambivalence concerning the mission of the organization and the purpose of development more generally.

Since its inception in 1995 Hope Child has defined children living in conditions of extreme vulnerability and poverty as its target population. Nassuna, one of Hope Child's rural field officers, explained that Hope Child tries to work with families starting from "rescue stage," with the hope that over time they will be able to move them towards self-sufficiency. Village chairmen were accordingly instructed to identify the most vulnerable families in the community for participation in the program. Families defined as being at "rescue stage" within Hope Child's *atenge* model were those families in crisis who were unable to meet their basic needs.

The emotive force of Hope Child's internal and external self-justification also relied on an appeal to the suffering of the poorest and most vulnerable children. Elizabeth Makena, a field officer from Hope Child's largest funder, emphasized the urgency of their work saying, "For young children life is today and not tomorrow. If a three-month-old baby is hungry today she might be dead in another three months." Her colleague, Peter Jansen, also insisted that while their foundation was not interested in doing emergency relief that they did intend to work with the poorest people in any given community.

Given these statements, which we might understand as remnants from Hope Child's prior engagements with other ethical assemblages, one might expect to find the poorest families in the village filling Hope Child's case files. Yet, this is not the case. Analysis of household level survey data related to socio-economic status and NGO participation shows that people eligible for participation in Hope Child's programs living at the middle

third of the local socio-economic ladder were three times more likely to be participating in Hope Child's programs than those in the bottom third. One might assume, for example, that the identification of the 31.4% of potential Hope Child beneficiaries who are only able to afford one meal a day, coupled with graphic descriptions of the damaging effects of malnutrition, would imply that Hope Child was likely to chose these families for inclusion in the program. Yet, when we look at data on actual participation, we find that only one of the thirteen (7%) families sending their children to a village level Hope Child crèche eat one meal a day. The remaining twelve families sending their children to the crèche eat two or more meals a day. All this despite the fact that there are six other Hope Child eligible families living in the catchment area who report eating one meal a day that do not send their children to the crèche. Given the goal of reaching families in the "rescue stage," one would expect to see a higher percentage of extremely poor families in the pool of people participating in the program than was seen in the baseline, rather than the reverse.

These statistical data were confirmed in discussion with people like Waswa Charles, Sebanda's government appointed community development officer.

> "What I would say is most families in Sebanda are not okay. But, if someone came targeting the most vulnerable, they are not the families being assisted. That is the problem. Take an example, one time I was walking to Mulondo's place…I found an old man..seated with a hoe cultivating. You can imagine! That is the most vulnerable person, who would have been helped. But maybe he doesn't associate with those who select. Such persons are neglected."

Waswa's comments not only support my observations concerning the exclusion of the poorest members of the community, but also highlight the role that debts and obligations to kinsmen, friends, political supporters, and other clients play in determining

who will benefit from local development projects. There is little doubt that these dynamics were in play when local leaders and experienced NGO volunteers were asked to assist in determining who would be interviewed during the baseline survey and who was ultimately placed on the roster of beneficiaries.

What were more surprising were local ideas akin to Euro-American notions of the "worthy poor". The "worthy poor" were locally defined as those who could best take advantage of what the program might have to offer. Nalongo Kasule, a member of multiple NGOs, argued that families who were not willing or able to participate fully should simply be left out of NGO programming. This view was common amongst many community leaders who argued that NGOs should focus their attention on the hardworking people who would be most likely to take advantage of their interventions.

Ruth Namiro was one such industrious woman who many NGO's were happy to include on their participant rosters. At the back of her compound she had a large well-constructed pigpen with two adult pigs and seven piglets, two of which belong to the support group she leads. The pen, with its cement floor, wooden walls, and a well-constructed reed roof, made me think that this was perhaps a very industrious GHN support group. I wondered if they had received some sort of additional help from Hope Child. As it turned out, the piggery had been in existence before Hope Child had come to Sebanda. The GHN support group had saved enough money to buy two piglets and contribute by bringing food for their feeding, but otherwise this had been a private initiative of the support group leader.

Nassuna praised their initiative. "They just went to the training and came home and did this!" George asked the support group leader how she had gotten the capital together

to start the piggery. She told us that she had sold her cow. She had been to a workshop put on by the vice president of Uganda, who promised piglets to anyone who could build such a structure. She sold her cow and bought the materials and started building. The piglets never appeared, but she was able to buy a few with the money left over from the sale of the cow. It was not only her initiative, but also her access to a large stock of ready capital that was rewarded and which enabled her to start the piggery.

This scene was repeated at the home of Mr. Musumba, a Hope Child volunteer and support group chairperson in the trading center. We walked around the back of his house where there was a large complex chicken house being constructed out of bricks, with separate areas for layers, for males, and for chicks. The building process had come to a temporary stop, as the builder, who had been hired by Mr. Musumba, had a sick wife. Mr. Musumba said that he planned to donate the chicken house to the group, but that if things disintegrated it would be back in his hands. Nassuna was impressed by this and by the smaller wood chicken area that she saw as the seed to this larger project. "Look at his ability to take advantage of the trainings, if only everyone had his initiative." She seemed not to think about the other sources of wealth that might be coming in. George pulled me aside and suggested that the seed for the larger project had likely come from Musumba's son who now lives and works abroad. He also privately pointed out the television antenna fixed on top of the house and the electric wires connecting the home to the intermittent privilege of electricity. Nassuna continued, "He started somewhere. He had initiative. There are some people here who really know about farming." Nassuna's exuberant celebration of Mr. Musumba's piggery reflects her judgment of Mr.

Musumba's ethical worthiness as someone who works hard and takes advantage of people. He is seen not so much as a person with resources, but as a resourceful person.

Nassuna's slippage between people with resources and resourceful people is not without some logic. People who work hard and save are likely to have more resources in the future. Thinking about Mr. Musumba's resourcefulness in this way erases any knowledge of the advantages Musumba's family may have had in the past. Nassuna argued that other people here had really not taken advantage of all of the opportunities presented to them. But, taking advantage of opportunities takes time and money, time and money that for some families could mean the difference between eating and not eating.

Rosemary Nakato, a skilled participant in numerous NGOs said that she and others in the area were troubled by high micro-finance interest rates and demands for community contributions. They wondered why the NGOs insisted on operating in this way.

> "We wonder sometimes. You find me with nothing, you say you want to help me, but you are saying I have to invest first. Now where do I get the money from? If you are to help me, do it unconditionally. And when they see someone who has [money], then they add him some more. Because that person can build a structure of cement."

In thinking about the requirements of participation and community contributions we find an answer to Rosemary's questions. Using existing resources as a way of determining someone's worth is highly compatible with the technologies of sustainable development. As noted above, sustainable development requires that people actively engage with development efforts by taking part in groups, coming to meetings and education sessions, and making regular contributions of time, money, and other goods.

The poorest people in Sebanda had neither the time nor the money to make these sorts of contributions and participatory efforts. They were either too busy trying to survive, or lacked the wherewithal and motivation to participate in a manner which Hope Child would have deemed acceptable. The adolescent members of the Child Rights Clubs told me that the children in greatest danger of contracting HIV and dropping out of school were those children whose parents were not hardworking and who spent all of the family resources drinking in the bars in the trading center. These children were not part of the clubs nor were their parents members of Hope Child. Not only were they not considered the "worthy poor" by the local leaders, who were thus unlikely to put them on the lists of people to consider for participation, but these parents were also unlikely to make the necessary contributions of time and money which Hope Child required as demonstrations of active participation. Fears that one might be asked to sign one's name also made people who are unable to read or write reluctant to come to meetings held by NGOs. Given these requirements, it is not surprising that people participating in Hope Child's programs were often already active in numerous other local NGOs, community based organizations, and government programs which all made similar demands on their participants. This mode of determining worthiness by looking at signs of present net worth closely reflects the Calvinist roots of contemporary practices of evangelical Christianity. This is not to say that sustainable development can only be practiced by Protestants, but rather that there is something of a natural affinity between the two ethical frameworks owing to their shared origins.

The ideal NGO participant is both extremely poor and interested in and able to participate. Yet, the poorest people do not often make the best participants as they often

lack the necessary cultural capital, resources, and time. Many of the poorest people in Sebanda also suffered from alcoholism or disability and these people were generally excluded. In their place Hope Child and other NGOs substituted people who seemed like they would be better able to take advantage of the opportunities presented. While certainly poor when compared with people living in wealthy countries like the United States or the Hope Child staff members, these families fell at the middle of the village socio-economic ladder and did not face the more extreme forms of poverty endured by their neighbors. While focusing efforts on the middle class is not problematic in and of itself, the fact that this de facto focus was not reflected in the program's design did create several problems. As seen above, explicitly targeted high-risk populations, such as children not attending school, were not reached, thus minimizing the potential impact of AIDS prevention programming. In addition, the forms of material support that were available through Hope Child were generally small. While a mosquito net or a very small injection of capital might make some difference in the life of a very poor person, Scovia's comment above reveals how a little difference such a contribution makes to someone at the middle of the local socio-economic hierarchy. If you are so poor that you can't buy a piglet or a rope for your animals, 10,000 UGX will make some difference to you, but if you need a cow or large quantity of cement to construct a formal piggery in order to make a significant change in your economic well being, 10,000 UGX is likely to make little difference in your life.

The refusal to engage the poorest of the poor is theoretically resolved by an appeal to the ideals of African community. Elizabeth Makena first articulated this during the same conversation in which she emphasized the urgency of helping young children in

danger of dying from starvation. Seated together on leather armchairs in the lobby of the Hotel Africana she explained, "We're looking to strengthen the community and the family safety net. This will eventually serve to help everyone in the end...The most vulnerable don't have time for meetings, but by strengthening community cohesion you will be able to help them indirectly."

Elizabeth's plan relies on a sense of community cohesion. The poorest of the poor will eventually benefit through the strengthening of the community safety net. Elizabeth's theory of the community safety net is paradoxically built out of something akin to trickle-down economics and what I have come to think of as the ideal-typical African Village. This imaginary village is built on assumption that members of a village have a natural regard for the well being of their fellow community members. We can also think of this ideal type as being related to the Bantu concept *ubuntu*. This sense of solidarity is the core premise of this ideal type and serves as the basis for the design of many community based programs.

Those who were the most vulnerable in Sebanda were often those who fell outside of this proposed safety net, which generally follows lines of kinship rather than geography. Those children at the greatest risk of being unable to access food, education, and basic medical care were the children of recent immigrants to the area and the children of alcoholics whose parents had been rejected by their extended kin. Indeed, there is a sense in which the judgments made by local people who were in a position to assist their poor neighbors and kin through ethics of patronage mirrored those made by NGO workers advocating for sustainable development. As has long been true in Buganda people who show promise are more likely to be taken on as clients. Thus, in this instance

we find a congruence rather than a conflict between indigenous ethics of patronage and sustainable development.

The subtle, but locally significant, differences between the poorest of the poor and those people who ultimately participate in NGO programs like those run by Hope Child are in large part flattened by the profound socio-economic differences between those who reside in countries like the Netherlands or the United States who fund Hope Child, and those who reside in places like Sebanda. These differences are further erased through the use of statistics and images that describe a population suffering from abject poverty. The use of scientific language, percentages, and numerical tables serve to assure the readers, and perhaps the writers, of Hope Child's reports that the work required to identify the poorest people has been accomplished, and that the work having been accomplished will influence the selection of the participants. In this sense it is not so much that Hope Child's survey methods failed to count the poorest people, but rather that their exclusion from the program was erased by the publication of counts that included them.

Until recently, the poorest people in the community were not only the focus of program reports, but were also highly visible in the majority of Hope Child's electronic and print publications, despite their falling presence in Hope Child's programs. The people depicted were photographed in front of mud houses, the stories described the most desperate cases, and the words "needy" and "vulnerable" were frequently deployed.

The use of baseline survey statistics and pictures serves to paint a picture of program beneficiaries who are extremely old and poor. As noted above, looking more closely at the data on the actual participants and comparing these people to their non-

participating neighbors reveals that resourceful middle class people have in many cases been chosen for participation and have in a way been substituted for the people who fit the statistical and photographic images. This switch is erased through the publication of statistics and photos that reassure the readers of the Hope Child reports that its participants are both extremely poor and highly involved. The unpleasant task of deciding between working with those most in need and those who will participate most actively is thus erased, left unspoken, and successfully avoided.

Self-Sufficient Strangers

There are signs, however, of a subtle shift that is presently taking place. The importance of sustainable development and its attendant effects on the target population are visually registered by a shift in the photographic rhetoric of Hope Child's more recent publications. On September 1st 2008 Hope Child's website underwent a transformation, with happier more self-sufficient looking children and grandparents replacing the hollow eyes and swollen bellies of their website's earlier incarnation. Not only were the photos themselves better framed and in higher resolution; they represented a critical shift in the organization's public image.

This shift aligns closely with movements in the contemporary culture of development which prize self-sufficiency and community ownership. FLF has been quite explicit about their decision to use pictures of happy hopeful children and caregivers. Paul Klein is quoted on their website as saying: "[We] always [try] to use images that gave issues a human face, that show optimism in the face of difficulty, and that show potential and capacity." Mary Andersen, their head of publications, writes

> "While most photo agencies have numerous images that depict children in disadvantaged circumstances, they usually portray children as victims, often in dismal surroundings, and without any apparent hope or prospect. We believe this has a numbing effect, and enhances the flawed image that most people have of developing countries and of poverty in general."

In this movement we see the "suffering stranger" described by Leslie Butt in her critique of Partners In Health's use of images and stories of named, but voiceless, suffering others (Butt 2002), being replaced by what we might call the "self-sufficient stranger." In part we can see this movement as a shift from a humanitarianism focused on the alleviation of physical and psychological suffering in the present moment towards a model of development oriented towards economic growth and future well-being (Bornstein and Redfield Forthcoming).

This new developmental star is ready to transform the world given an opportunity, a workshop, and a microfinance loan. Where as the informal economy was seen as a symptom of poverty, it has come to be seen as an opportunity to be exploited by the micro-entrepreneurs who are now held up as the newest panacea for ending poverty (Ferguson ND). While the "suffering stranger" exaggerated the impotence of the world's poor, this new image carries with it its own danger. This new model of participatory practice visually rendered through their smiling faces further erases the needs and voices of the poorest of the poor from the global imaginary. Their faces have been replaced with those of their more prosperous neighbors, neighbors who seem like better bets as candidates for sustainable development. We should not be lulled into thinking that it is the people themselves who have been transformed; it is only the focus of the cameras and the programs that have shifted.

Conclusion

In this chapter I developed a description of the sustainable development assemblage and outlined several of the problems that arose during its use at Hope Child. I argued that the commitments to non-material interventions and community ownership prescribed by the sustainable development assemblage prevented Hope Child from developing programs which would meaningfully address community priorities and forced them to exclude the poorest members of the community from participation.

While there were, no doubt, other problems which residents of Sebanda attributed to corruption, and Hope Child field staff attributed to transportation difficulties, electricity shortages, and lazy villagers, I would argue that many of the problems Hope Child encountered were unavoidable given the techniques, values, and ways of thinking relevant to the sustainable development ethic. In addition, despite accusations of failure made by Hope Child's participants, I would argue that Hope Child succeeded, on its own terms. In terms of ECD centers built, banana fiber dolls made, ECD caretakers trained, workshops held, stake holder meetings convened, reports written, and GHN support groups organized it was incredibly successful and this success has been rewarded by its many donors who rank it at the top of their funding portfolios.

James Ferguson's well known analysis of the World Bank's development programs in Lesotho similarly points to the ways in which the effects of development projects can be read as a success, while these same facts also serve as a index of failure among local people (Ferguson 1990). In thinking about the outcomes of Hope Child's projects it is important to attend both to local claims that Hope Child's efforts fell short, while listening to the claims of success made Hope Child's employees. It is through our

attention to these narratives that we come to understand how each group viewed Hope Child's possible purposes and what for them constituted success.

While cautioning against a simplistic reading of success and failure this analysis sets the stage for my larger argument that despite their language of empowerment and education; sustainable development projects are, in practice, even less likely than charitable gifts to alter relations of power and oppression, and that given a local reliance on patron-client networks as a path for achieving success we ought to caution ourselves against making quick judgments about the evils of hierarchy and dependence.

Chapter Four: "Love is the Answer": Charity and Kiganda Ethics of Interdependence

When I arrived in Uganda, I was interested in studying orphan care, but not particularly interested in studying orphanages or children's homes, as they seemed marginal to the models being used by the majority of local and international NGOs working in Uganda. Nevertheless, out of deference to my host father Peter Senabulya, a retired civil servant who was anxious to introduce me to the people he knew who were working with orphans, I had agreed to visit several of these homes, all of which were run by small communities of African nuns.

Mercy House was one of these homes, and on a morning in late-June I made my way through the chaos of the taxi park to the run down public taxi that would take me there. After a long journey lurching down miles of muddy roads, we arrived at the wide crossroads of the Namayumba trading center. Upon exiting the taxi, I met a young man named Peter who was riding a three-wheeled wheelchair powered by a two-handed crank located where the handlebars on a bicycle would be. He greeted me with a wide smile and asked where I was going. He told me that he worked as a vocational training instructor at Mercy House and offered to show me the way.

Leaving the bustle of shops and boda-bodas behind we passed a large hospital complex and a tall brick chapel surrounded by a carefully tended garden of dahlias, roses, and citrus trees. As we moved through the bustling mission complex, past the primary and secondary schools, and the housing for the sisters and novices, Peter told me about his work teaching courses in shoe-making for Mercy House's vocational training program. Turning a corner we came to an open iron gate leading onto the central

courtyard of the Mercy House compound. The compound was quiet as most of the children were at school. A few teenagers from the vocational training program were sitting on the concrete steps of a burnt-out building chatting with each other and watching people come and go.

I was informed that Sr. Valentine, Mercy House's second-in-command, was out working in the garden, and Peter told me that I could wait in the sitting room of the sisters' house until she could return. I waited alone on the turquoise foam cushions of their doily-covered sofa taking note of a homemade paper maché bust of a white nun wearing an old-fashioned wimple and a pair of wire rimmed glasses perched on the shelf. After some time, Sr. Valentine came and showed me around the compound.

Sr. Valentine's youth and energy surprised me, having grown up in a country where most nuns I had encountered were nearing, or well-past, retirement. As I struggled to keep up with her long striding pace, I was surprised by the range of projects they were involved in and by the extreme circumstances the children had been in before they arrived. Yet, I still felt that their charitable works were marginal to the larger story of NGO based development I wanted to tell and decided not to pursue Mercy House as a field site.

After four months of fieldwork with Hope Child in Sebanda, the significance of Mercy House, and charity more generally, began to come into focus. I began to see Mercy House as an important counterpoint to sustainable development, for it was exactly this sort of unsustainable charity that development advocates like Martin and Nassuna framed their work against.

And so, in November of 2007, I made a weeklong visit to Mercy House to explore the idea of starting work at a second field site. The sisters agreed to my writing about the work of Mercy House and in early December my husband Paul and I moved from Sebanda to Kampala. From Kampala I was able to travel regularly to Namayumba, generally staying for a week at a time in the guesthouse owned by the order, while continuing to make trips to Sebanda to follow the work of Hope Child. While at Mercy House I spent my days observing the activities of the home and talking with the sisters, the residents of Mercy House, and the steady stream of volunteers who came to donate their time through a varied array of self-defined projects.

Much of the time I spent at Mercy House was spent in the sisters' house, talking with them in their sitting room or passing dishes of *matooke*, rice, fish soup, and jugs of passion fruit juice around the table in their dining room. Many of these conversations took place late into the night, after the days' work had finally come to an end. When we were all exhausted, they would escort me out of the compound and across the road. The night air, cool and dense with the buzzing of mosquitoes near the lake, was often filled with the sounds of the Mercy House brass band practicing, including the sound of a massive sousaphone, donated by a German monk. In many ways, much of what happens at Mercy House feels similar to the seemingly inexplicable presence of that sousaphone; in that Mercy House is a place of unplanned gifts.

My fieldwork at Mercy House revealed the contours of a specific contemporary assemblage that has coalesced in the interplay between Kiganda ethics and the vestiges of older forms of Catholic charity, which predate, and differ from, contemporary Catholic social teaching. In the daily actions of the sisters at Mercy House, one can see evidence

of the reciprocal-obligations of forms of secular patronage networks and evidence of *mutima*, what was described to me as the in-born "heart for helping". These Kiganda ethics have played out in relation to the ethics of Catholic charity for over a century in Uganda and in this space sisters like the Sisters of St. Clare have created a new ethical assemblage that exhibits elements of both. In this chapter I not only speak to the dynamics of globalization in ways similar to those described by Ana Tsing (Tsing 2005), but I also claim that the productivity of this hybrid form is resisted by writing on development and philanthropy due to Western discomfort with dependency, inequality, and the co-existence of care and power.

Through a comparison of Hope Child and Mercy House I examine the effects of the Western assumption that dependency is a negative thing. I argue that this assumption leads many to disregard the ways in which having and being a dependent is valued in Uganda, to ignore the highly agentive behavior involved in seeking out a patron, and to neglect the fact that clients often go on to become the patrons of others. At the close of this chapter, I reflect on these assumptions through an exploration of the literature on gift-debt and charity. In so doing, I hope to represent the experiences of givers and receivers of charity in Uganda in a way which moves beyond structuralist universalism and ethnographic omniscience and towards a more nuanced reading of these actors' understandings and complex interactions between them.

Mercy House

Mercy House is one of the more than thirty convents established by Mother Mary Patrick in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. Mother Mary Patrick came to Uganda as a

Franciscan missionary in 1906 and went on to found the second order of African sisters, The Sisters of St. Clare (SOSC), in 1923. The home was originally established by Mother Mary Patrick on the grounds of their Namugongo Hospital in Kampala, which she opened in 1908, and was conceived of as a place where people with debilitating diseases could live and receive care following their discharge from the hospital. Over time it also became a home for people, both the very young and the very old, who had no one else to care for them.

In 1928, Mercy House was moved from its original site at Namugongo to a location across the road from the newly established motherhouse in Namayumba. Mercy House was moved so that "the sisters who had professed could bring food to the poor." Mercy House was thus created not so that the poor might have food, but so that the sisters could practice the form of charity that they saw as being at the center of their Franciscan charism. In this way, charity was not the means by which the poor might be helped, but was rather an end in itself, in so much as it was conceived of as a way of enacting one's love and devotion to God and neighbor.

A community of six sisters carried out most of the day-to-day work managing Mercy House, but few of these sisters had come to Mercy House by choice. While they had joined the order of their own volition, a committee of superiors assigned their specific jobs to them, often moving them from post to post with surprising frequency. The superiors explained these moves to me necessary to the functioning of the order, which was stretched thinly across its many projects, and an important lesson in detachment for the sisters. "It isn't good for a sisters to get too attached to the world and their work," explained Sr. Kathleen. "It isn't good for them to take ownership of the

projects." This intentional avoidance of project ownership stands in contrast to the forms of ownership promoted by advocates of sustainable development. Further, as we'll see in the coming chapters, the lack of interest in the impact of such moves on program effectiveness also indicates the distance between the aims of this mode of management and the prioritization of cost-effectiveness in the sustainable development assemblage.

Their most immediate supervisors were Srs. Grace and Kathleen who oversaw the work carried out by the LSOSC in the central region. These two sisters were in turn supervised by Mother Perpetua who serves as the Mother Superior for the entire order of nearly 250 sisters who work at the 64 mission convents running similar programs throughout Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. Several of the sisters also reported directly to funders. The salaries paid to the sisters by these organizations were, however, not theirs to keep but were turned over to the order to support the upkeep and ministries of all of the sisters.

The Sisters

The head of the home during the first half of my fieldwork was a Sr. Caroline. She had been raised in a village in eastern Uganda and had been at Mercy House since 1998. In addition to her duties at Mercy House, she was also involved with similar homes run by the SOSC in Eastern and Northern Uganda and with the Junior Franciscans program (JUNFRA), a Franciscan youth club designed to support and shape teenagers, most of whom are Catholic. In the evenings Sr. Caroline would often lean back in her chair, her heavy body exhausted after returning from visiting these distant projects, and spoke with enthusiasm about planting wheat for the bakery in Eastern Congo or extending JUNFRA

to Northern Uganda with a sense that God would provide for these projects as he saw fit, while the other sisters and volunteers, privately expressed their worries that Sr. Caroline's plans seemed more expansive than even providence would allow.

Sr. Valentine, the first sister I met when I originally visited Mercy House, had been at the home had worked at Mercy House for over a decade and had vivid memories of the home's recent history. Given Sr. Valentine's sharp mind and strong organizational skills, many of these funders were anxious to see her rise in the order's hierarchy and vied with one another to see her assigned to their special projects. Camilla Korteweg of the Netherlands based Bread for the World had won this battle for the time being and Sr. Valentine had been assigned the task of running the bakery at Mercy House, as well as overseeing the expansion of the Bake for Life project at several other of the LSOSC missions in Uganda.

Sister Sylvia, a tiny bookish woman in her early-thirties from central Uganda, was by far the most reserved of the sisters and was one of several professed nuns and priests in her family. Peering through her round glasses over her personal mug marked with a letter "S" printed in delicate scrollwork, she regularly offered her commentary on the happenings of Mercy House, while generally keeping herself somewhat distant front the chaos which swirled around her. Sr. Sylvia was deeply committed to attendance at daily prayers, and always managed break away from her work to attend the evening liturgy of the hours. She had recently made her final profession and was eager to show off the silver ring that marked her newly achieved commitment. Sr. Sylvia was primarily involved in managing the bakery, but taught classes in cooking and nutrition in Mercy House's vocational training program.

Sr. Rosemary and Sr. Marjorie were both junior sisters in temporary vows. Sr. Rosemary, a tall woman from Eastern Uganda was responsible for teaching tailoring in the vocational training school and also took the lead in welcoming visitors to the home and seeing to their needs. Sr. Marjorie, a slender young woman from Kenya who was the most junior of the six sisters, having just made her first profession, had been made the official accountant of the bakery and also took part in welcoming visitors and interacting with the home's residents on a daily basis.

It was with Sister Jane, however, that I formed my most sincere friendship. During the first half of my fieldwork, Sister Jane served as the primary social worker for the home and was in charge of overseeing the welfare of all of the nearly 150 people living there. Sr. Jane was born in a village near Lake Victoria in 1977. Her parents had divorced when she was very young and over time I learned that her story was not unlike the stories of many of the orphaned and abused children who arrived at the gate of Mercy House seeking care and shelter. After her parents divorced she went to live with her father and stepmother. But, she did not stay in this arrangement for long. "My stepmother beat us," she explained, "and we so we left and went to stay with my grandma." Her grandmother was poor and Jane and her brothers often suffered from kwashiorkor[26] and other illnesses: "We used to tease each other, pointing at each other's swollen bellies and joking about who was going to die first." When she was thirteen she decided to leave her grandmother and move in with her uncle who gave her the job of taking care of his many pigs. He also said that she could go to school. "I had never been

[26] Kwashiorkor is a form of malnutrition caused by diets which are extremely low in protein. While this form of malnutrition is common throughout much of the tropics, it is relatively rare in Buganda.

to school," she said "but at 13 it would be too humiliating to enter Primary One, so I said I would go if I could start at Primary Four." Her uncle agreed to the plan and when she went to the deputy head master of the school, which was four miles from her uncle's home, she told him that she had studied up to Primary Three, but had then gone to the bush during the war and her schooling had been disrupted: "I showed him some scars on my legs and told them that I had gotten them in the bush during the war running in the sharp grass and pointed sticks." The headmaster believed her story and agreed to let her into Primary Four. "I struggled, since I didn't know how to write and didn't speak any English. I didn't even know how to hold a pen and could fill a whole page with one letter M." Luckily she found friends who would help her to copy her notes in the afternoons and her uncle would help to prepare her for the next day's lessons at home in the evenings. That first year she was five places from the bottom of the class, but by the time she took her primary leaving exam three years later she was among the top five. Tragically, her uncle died the following year and left her with one pregnant pig as her inheritance. "That pig gave birth and I was able sell off the piglets, always keeping one or two behind and to gradually increased my piggery." Using the money she earned selling the pigs she was able to pay her own school fees through Secondary Four and was also able to pay the school fees for several other poor children in the village. "Even now when I go back they expect me to be rich since I always had money back then from what I was making raising my pigs." Sr. Jane eventually found her calling through her friendship with Sr. Christine, an elderly member of the LSOSC who still works as a catechist in the lakeside communities near Namayumba where Sr. Jane grew up.

In spring 2008, Sr. Jane, at 31, was asked to serve as the Mother Superior of Mercy House, despite the fact that she was still a year away from making her final profession. While she was visibly nervous about assuming such a large responsibility she agreed to take on the new role and was in the process of taking over the leadership of the home when I left in April 2008. Many of the sisters were glad to see her stepping into this role and felt that the home might be more organized under her leadership than it had been under the leadership of Sr. Caroline. Given her close involvement with the residents of Mercy House the other sisters saw her as singularly dedicated to the work of Mercy House and to the welfare of the people living there. And so, despite her youth and relative lack of experience they welcomed her tenure as Mother Superior.

During 2007-2008, the sisters were assisted by a group of twelve paid staff members. Many of these people had no special training and were hired at minimal salaries to serve as matrons (2), watchmen (1), agricultural workers (4), community outreach workers (2), and cooks (2). Others, including an occupational therapist privately funded by a German run NGO in Kampala and the shoe making instructor in the vocational training school, were better paid and more skilled. There were also several European and American volunteers who were deeply involved in the life of Mercy House during my fieldwork including a Peace Corps volunteer named Monica who was working on Mercy House's community rehabilitation efforts. A second Peace Corps volunteer named Ruth replaced Monica in Spring 2008.

Nearly everyone working at Mercy House felt that the home was badly understaffed, both in terms of sisters and in terms of paid staff. When an older nun, Sr. Deborah, was moved from her long time post at Mercy House to work with the retired

sisters living in the St. Balikudembe convent, she was never replaced. Nor were the sisters sent a replacement for Sr. Caroline when was moved in the spring of 2008. In light of this, Sr. Jane was still responsible for making all of the school visits herself and essentially acting as the mother to all of the children. When Ruth arrived to take up her Peace Corps post, she asked Sr. Jane about the possibility of getting some more matrons who could act as mothers to small groups of children. Her eyes filled with tears as she bit her bottom lip. "That sounds wonderful, but that would cost almost 5M UGX (3,000 USD) and the chance of having the money to do something like that is almost impossible. And if we weren't able to get the money we would be left with people we couldn't pay." Given the shortage of matrons, the children were largely responsible for looking after themselves and each other. Sr. Jane had gone to ask her superiors at the regional level for more staff and was told that everyone was busy preparing for the transitions that would take place after the central region elections. These elections are for the leadership positions in the order and take place every three years. Sr. Jane was clearly frustrated, having gone all the way to Kampala only to be brushed aside, and to make matters worse she received a letter a few days later asking her to teach two days a week as part of the collaborative vocational training school arrangement. Sr. Jane had come to ask the superiors for more staff, and her superiors had responded by giving her another task.

Their Projects

The interventions the Sisters of St. Clare were making were quite different from those being made by NGOs like Hope Child. Instead of holding community trainings and working towards the creation of sustainable community institutions, the sisters focused

on the direct provision of goods, services, and employment opportunities. Their activities had gone virtually unchanged since the time of Mother Patrick, and they argued that moving away from providing care directly to the needy would require them to abandon their Franciscan charism, the set of teachings for their order that placed the care of the destitute at the center of their lives. As such, the sisters' primary responsibility was seeing to the upkeep of the children and adults attached to Mercy House. Concretely this meant raising money to pay for their school fees and other expenses, taking them to medical appointments locally and in Kampala, visiting those living away at boarding schools, and managing the poultry, piggery, and garden enterprises which were designed to help Mercy House achieve some level of self-sufficiency. The sisters were also responsible for managing and teaching at the small vocational training school located within the Mercy House compound.

A commercial bakery supported by the Bread for the World Foundation is also located within the compound and further served the goal of promoting vocational training and job opportunities for people with disabilities while also providing Mercy House with an additional source of income to fund its other operations. Camilla Korteweg, the founder of Bread for the World, told me that the primary purpose of starting the bakeries was to show people that people with disabilities could work and could run something like a bakery, while also spreading her love of bread baking to countries without a baking tradition. She has remained committed to this and insists that all of the bakeries employ people with disabilities and that it should be the people with disabilities who hire and fire the non-disabled staff and not the other way around. She was very proud of the fact that

most of the bakery employees with disabilities are now living on their own and able to do things like pay their children's school fees.

The Bread for the World Bakery in many ways sits at the intersection of charity and sustainable development in that it simultaneously make Mercy House a more sustainable institution, in the sense that its revenues help to support some of Mercy House's other activities, while helping to produce what we might think of as "sustainable individuals," people with skills and access to a job which allows them to support themselves and their families.

During school holidays the sisters encouraged the children to go home to whatever relatives they had left, and often paid for the cost of transporting the children. Sr. Sylvia often described the challenges she faced working with the children's remaining relatives to encourage them take some responsibility even if they could not take full responsibility for the child. Sister Sylvia explained that, "Some of the parents try to ignore their responsibilities because they think we have more resources. Whenever I can I try to counsel the children's relatives to help them take on more responsibility for their child. They need to learn to value these children." In her previous work at a different school for children with disabilities, she asked the students to bring their parents with them when they returned from the holiday for a meeting. "Many parents sent the children back to school alone on "boda boda" motorcycle taxis alone. When they reached the school I told them to go back home and not to come back without their parents. A few days later all of the children returned with their parents. They were never sent back to school alone after that." Sr. Sylvia was quite proud of the success of this spectacle of strictness, and hoped to try the same at Mercy House during the next school holiday.

In addition to the programmatic tasks that took place within the Mercy House compound itself; the sisters also managed a community-based rehabilitation program staffed by two members of the local community. These two young men, James and Chris, were responsible for visiting the outlying villages and identifying people with disabilities so that they could be made aware of the various treatments, appliances, and other programs which might make their lives easier. The people they identified were then invited to come to Mercy House to meet with a doctor who came on a regular basis from Kampala to see new patients. When appropriate, these people were referred to clinics in the capital and elsewhere where they might be able to secure the assistance of doctors who had agreed to provide free services to patients referred by the sisters.

These on-going programs were often supplemented by sporadic events initiated by people from outside the home. In March a group of British ophthalmologists came for their annual visit and saw over 400 patients in four days many of whom were fitted for prescription glasses which the ophthalmologists ordered and sent free of charge following their return to Britain. During this same time the home hosted a pair of occupational therapy students from the Netherlands who worked to create a program for six residents with severe mental and physical disabilities. These same students also financed the building of an accessible playground on the Mercy House grounds.

The sisters saw all of these varied initiatives as fundamentally different from the workshop and advocacy based approaches of the more mainstream NGOs. Sr. Valentine was particularly frustrated by the loss of the support of the British based Mercer Foundation, who had been one of their major funders since 1983. In the early 1990s, the foundation had altered their mission statement and moved away from the direct support

for operational expenses of residential facilities for people with disabilities like Mercy House and were instead putting the majority of their efforts and funds towards legal advocacy and sensitization efforts. After the change, the Mercer Foundation sponsored a workshop at the palatial Hotel Africana in Kampala to which they had invited all of the projects supported by the Mercer Foundation. "Some of the sisters were so angry about the move away from direct services that they refused to attend the event. I decided to go, but I got nothing out of that workshop. People sitting around talking in a hotel have nothing to do with those in need." Sr. Valentine was similarly upset about a visit that the African Center for the Rights of the Child (ACRC) had made to the home more recently. "They came around collecting lots of nice stories to take back with them about all of the suffering these children had seen, but they did nothing for them! They talked so much about the importance of schooling, but did nothing to help us pay for the children's fees. Their speeches were nice, but they didn't give us so much as a little money for one blanket, yet they had 80,000 UGX (47 USD) to spend on fuel. What good did that 80,000 do for us."

Sr. Valentine's frustrations with the advocacy and training based approaches of these other NGOs speak to the sisters' broader sense of opposition to the immaterial forms of assistance which have become increasingly dominant in the aid community since the 1990s. As seen in the previous chapter on Hope Child, NGOs have been tending away from the distribution of material goods or "handouts" and towards efforts to form sustainable community based institutions and towards advocacy and sensitization efforts. As much as these other organizations explicitly defined themselves in opposition to "charity," Mercy House defined its charitable efforts in opposition to these mainstream

approaches that it saw as wastes of money that might otherwise be spent on more practical material needs. For an organization like the African Center for the Rights of the Child, or for Hope Child, handing out blankets or money for school fees would constitute a meaningless gesture unlikely to create sustainable change, while for Mercy House the failure to give concrete assistance was a sort of unethical withholding of money which rightly belonged to the children themselves. The sisters had little hope that advocacy efforts would have much of an effect in Uganda and had little faith in the capacity of the government to make changes that would actually benefit the people of Uganda. They, like many Ugandans, felt that most of the legislation passed through advocacy efforts resulted in pretty words designed to please the international community, but created little change at the village level.

Given these movements away from the funding of direct services, particularly direct services provided in institutional settings, the sisters were constantly scrambling to find money to cover the basic running costs of the home. In 2008 Mercy House ran on an annual operating budget of just over 21,000 USD. This money did not come in regular installments allocated to specific budgetary categories, but was rather pieced together over the course of the year, and generally spent as soon as it came in. Approximately half of this budget was generated through the sisters' IGAs, "income generating activities," including the bakery, poultry rearing, and a piggery. The other half of the budget was made up by gifts from a few private donors, by food shipments from the World Food Program, and through monies designated for the care of individual children through the Spanish Ortiz Foundation.

The sisters' reliance on IGAs as a strategy for self-support highlights the ways in which the sisters shifted back and forth between strategies which alternately privilege charity and sustainably. Yet, while Hope Child demands that its village level organizations support themselves without external funding, it has no intention of weaning itself off of the grants made to it by foreign foundations. Conversely, while the sisters of Mercy House have made some efforts to make itself less reliant on foreign aid, they are far less reluctant to take on the responsibility of providing direct care to "the needy."

The sisters' interest in becoming more self-sufficient increased in November of 2007 when they received an unexpected notice from the World Food Program along with their monthly shipment of maize, beans, and nutri-soy porridge informing them that that shipment was their last. The World Food Program had decided to shift their food aid to eastern Uganda where harvests had been badly damaged by floods. Mercy House's cassava harvest had also been ruined by the rains, and they were uncertain how they would feed everyone until the next season. By the spring they had barely enough food to last for two weeks left in their storeroom. Their long term goal was to reestablish the gardens that they had ignored since the World Food Program started sending food, but in the meanwhile they put their short-term efforts into prayer that a friend might appear to help them with their immediate needs.

While friends did appear that year, none of these friends were interested in buying sacks of corn and beans. Irish Aid contributed 39,000 USD for the construction of a new boys dormitory and a new double cabin pick-up truck donated in-kind from a group of donors in Britain organized by a British Airways pilot and the team of British ophthalmologists. The sisters had a relatively easy time fundraising for large capital

expenses like the dormitory or for increasing the capacity of income generating projects, as such expenses were easier to justify to people interested in creating a sustainable difference. The sisters found it considerably more difficult to finance on-going operating expenses, as people were generally reluctant to give money for things that were going to be consumed within a short period of time, since within a few months there would be no visible evidence of the difference their contribution had made. This led to a situation in which the sisters and the children were in the spring of 2008 simultaneously blessed with a new double cabin Toyota pick-up truck and a fantastically designed accessible playground, while being unable to afford the soap and basins necessary to stamp out a scabies outbreak and being forced to send children home to their relatives before the end of the term due to an extreme food shortage. This situation highlights the way in which the combination of the concept of sustainability and the fantasies of benevolent excess come together in the actions of those people and foundations interested in making donations to organizations like Mercy House.

The sisters remember Mother Patrick's reign as the Mother Superior as a time of great prosperity. In her efforts to expand the capacity of Mercy House and the other missions she had established throughout Uganda, Mother Patrick traveled throughout the United States and Europe on self-described "begging tours" soliciting funds from donors and advocating for changes in the church's teaching concerning appropriate work for missionary sisters. From the vista of the crumbling retreat house overlooking Lake Victoria, Sr. Amelia, the headmistress of a prestigious girls primary boarding school run by the sisters, imagined how much she would have enjoyed spending time there with Mother Patrick when everything was new and the flower gardens were blooming.

Mother Patrick's success in fundraising allowed her to distribute goods to local people with a generosity that the sisters at Mercy House, despite their own generosity, found difficult to replicate. Following Mother Patrick's death in 1958 the Sisters of St. Clare continued to receive funds from The Franciscan Missionary Sisters, their parent community in Ireland. But over time these funds dwindled and the sisters found themselves able to care for fewer and fewer residents. "That's why you hear some people say, 'Mother Patrick is not there', because they come here for help and you say 'I don't have' and they say 'Mother used to give things to the people. Mother Patrick used to give blankets. Mother Patrick used to do this…" Mercy House was known that anybody can come here and get what he or she needs, people were coming, when you feel you are needy you just come in Mercy House. So they don't know that you don't have." The sisters' inability to match the generosity of Mother Patrick was a source of concern for them, but this concern differed from the Hope Child staff's complaints that the people of Sebanda had been made dependent by the giving practices of NGOs that had previously worked in Sebanda. For the sisters it was not that the requests were unreasonable, but rather they lamented their own inability to respond adequately to them and complained about the donor priorities that were in part the source of their financial problems.

The Needy

In 2008 Mercy House was responsible for 52 children attending primary school, 47 teenagers attending secondary school, 12 young adults attending university, 12 vocational training students, 11 teenagers with severe mental and physical disabilities, and 10

elderly, residents. The sister's saw all of these people as sharing a common state of being "needy." The sisters regularly distinguished between the poor and the needy. "Most people in Uganda are poor, but few are truly needy," said Sr. Caroline. "We are here to help the truly needy, those who would not be able to do for themselves if we were not here." Being "needy" meant being at the bottom of society and having nowhere else to turn for support. Sr. Valentine told us how difficult it was for her to even think about sending such a person away. She pressed the back of her hand against the tip of her nose to hold tears back as she said, "It is impossible to send away the children who walk to the home or who are just dropped at the gate, especially the small ones."

While the category of "the needy" persistently resists formal definition and calculability, the stories told by Sister Caroline and Sister Jane, this fuzzy category into tragic focus:

"That one Malembe, his mom died when he was two and he went mental. His father was one of our cooks and he would bring that boy with him everyday and lock him in the storeroom. One day, the father left and didn't come back. Three days later we found the boy in the storeroom. He had nearly starved! He was naked and cold because he had taken off all of his clothes. We decided to keep him in the house where the cow is sleeping now and feed him from there. But when we would let him out he would run away, once we found him all the way in Mukono town. Eventually we decided to take him to Butabika [the national psychiatric hospital] because we couldn't manage him here. When he returned he was much better, able to greet, wearing clothes, and gaining a lot of weight due to better feeding and the appetite the drugs he was put on gave him. But, his father still refused to take him back, saying that he lived in his brother's rented house with both of his wives and that they refused to let the boy sleep there. We got him to agree to take Malembe with him during the day while he collected firewood for the home in the forest and then he could sleep here at Mercy House at night. The father agreed, but asked for some food for his feeding, so I gave him 5 kilos of posho [maize meal] and beans. But I kept the medicines for him to receive them at Mercy House. The father left with the boy. But, that night he returned the boy and never came back. We decided after that to keep him here at Mercy House, but the elderly objected saying that he was stealing their food, which he was, and that Mercy House was for the old and the lame and the orphans, not for the mentally disturbed. I told them that he had every right to be there. The elderly would beat him and throw stones at him, but we kept him anyway. One day when we were at Butabika for a follow up visit we received word that Malembe's father

had died and we quickly came home to attend the burial. When we reached the house we were told that the relatives had already come to take the body to Busoga. All of the relatives refused to take care of the boy because of his mental problems. I told the elders that now that the boy was a full orphan they couldn't refuse him a place at Mercy House. I told them that they didn't have to like him, but that they shouldn't beat him and should let him be in the compound. He is now living here and doing a bit better."

Like Malembe, many of "the needy" entered a process of rehabilitation and were enrolled in formal education so that they might eventually be able to leave Mercy House and become self-sufficient. But some, like Nelson Nsereke, a young man suffering from severe hydrocephaly, self-sufficiency was not thought of as an option. And yet even in these cases the sisters worked to train and educate a caregiver related to the person. The sisters envisioned ultimately being able to move the two out of the home as a pair, once the sibling had received enough education to obtain a job capable of supporting them both.

The prioritization of "the needy" at Mercy House stands in sharp contrast to the prioritization of self-sufficient strangers at Hope Child. While the sisters expected that everyone would participate in the running of Mercy House and asked known relatives to contribute to the upkeep of their kin, participation, community contributions, and signs of potential were not prerequisites for inclusion.

Intake decisions at Mercy House were generally made in a manner that demonstrated little concern for the impact that an additional resident would have on the well being of the existing residents. Whereas the staff members at some of the other children's villages I visited in Uganda emphasized the challenges they faced in selecting new residents from long lists of eligible orphans, the sisters at Mercy House were hesitant to turn anyone away, despite the costs of overcrowding. They seemed to look more at the prospective well being of the child in question. If they thought the child would fare

better at Mercy House than she would if they were turned away they welcomed them with open arms.

In a sense the sisters differed from other children's village administrators who looked primarily to the well being of the children inside the gate. For those inside the gate the best-interest standard provided a compelling moral compass, while those outside the gate aroused no sense of obligation. Within the ethics of charity, the sisters any child in need was worthy of their concern regardless of that child's effect on their capacity to maintain a certain standard of care. In a certain sense no one was excluded from their field of vision. Yet, as we will see below, many of Mercy House's residents and their kin actively sought out relationships with the sisters, using exchanges of goods, service, and direct requests to solidify potential bonds of obligation.

The limited funds available to the sisters and the large number of people who found themselves in their care compromised the sisters' ability to provide care on the standard of some of the more sophisticated well-financed children's villages in Uganda, places which I often thought of as housing an emerging class of "orphan elites," in many ways not unlike those frustrated younger brothers and orphans who found their way to the mission schools at the opening of the colonial era (Scherz, Forthcoming). While the children at Mercy House were well cared for in the sense that they had food, clothing, a place to sleep, and school fees, they lived in many ways like the other children in the village, both in terms of their standard of living and in terms of the ways in which they largely relied upon each other for care and attention. Some of the American and European volunteers who came to volunteer their time at Mercy House were concerned that the sisters were bringing in more children than they could care for. "They continue

to take in children without thinking about whether there will be money to feed them and send them to school," one confided in frustration.

Many of these decisions as to who to include and who not to include were also ordered according to an affective economy. Tears figured prominently in many of the stories of how children had come to live at Mercy House, both in terms of the sisters' own tearful accounts of the sadness they felt at seeing children who had been badly abused, and in terms of the way that children crying at the mention of being sent home for a visit over the holidays confirmed their sense that they had done the right thing. For some of the children this idea was deeply troubling. Namutebi Francis responded with tears when Sr. Sylvia suggested that they trace her family so that she could go and visit them over the Christmas holiday, tearfully asking, "Sr. Sylvia, don't you love me any more?," While Sr. Sylvia was able to reassure her and ultimately did help to reestablish a happy visiting relationship between Namutebi and her extended family, the tears themselves became an important part of her narrative about the good of bringing Namutebi into the home in the first place.

School of Charity

The sisters' attachment to an image of their charges as having been in a state of tragic need and suffering was central to their understanding of their charitable work as self-transformative.

In an article written for a self-published magazine commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Mercy House Sr. Roberta wrote

"The residents of Mercy House are the true riches of the church in Uganda…they will pass on into eternity with us when we come before the throne of God for judgment. We

will point to them, saying to us "when I was hungry, sick, naked, lonely…you did it to me." The poor will be our visa into eternity. They are a treasure we must care for very well."

The images of the poor beggar as a "visa into eternity" highlight the role of charity and almsgiving in the Catholic economy of salvation. Here Sr. Roberta draws upon the passage from the Gospel of Matthew referenced in the introduction in which the charitable act is not a gift made to God *through* the poor, as was the case in Second Temple Judaism, but rather, the poor themselves become figurations of God.

In a booklet on Franciscan spirituality, Sr. Reginald, who served as the Sisters of Saint Clare's program director for the central region of Uganda in 2007-2008, wrote:

"The nature of Francis and Clare's religious experiences can be said to be embodied. Whatever belongs to our human condition (joys, sorrows, weaknesses/failures, limitations, sickness and rejection) can lead us into an experience of the divine because of Jesus…Francis's compassion for the marginalized (the lepers and the poor) led him to have compassion for the crucified Christ…Thus the human experience with the lepers led him to experience the divine."

Mercy House was considered by the sisters to be an ideal "school of charity" in so much as it involved the intimate work of healing wounds, filling hungry bellies, and working with bodies marginalized by society. The marginalized status of many of the residents of Mercy House is thought to offer the sisters a unique opportunity for self-transformation, which they likened to the one St. Francis experienced when he first forced himself to embrace the leper on the roadside. In this sense the sisters' daily work becomes a form of prayer. The work they performed at Mercy House, teaching vocational training classes, bandaging wounds, worrying about where to find school fees for the many children in their care, struggling to make ends meet after accepting yet another neighbor into the fold of their ever expanding family, was an extension of the work of adoration they performed daily in the chapel. As we will see in the following

chapters these acts of charity were both acts in themselves arising from the sisters' formation as particular kinds of ethical subjects, and actions which the sisters engaged in as a sort of equipment, a particular sort of ethical work, aimed at shaping themselves into subjects dedicated to God.

A Heart for Helping: Charity/*Mutima*

As noted in the introduction, there is a certain kinship between the Kiganda concept of *mutima*, and the Christian notion of charity embraced by the Sisters of St. Clare. In discussing charity and *mutima* Sr. Jane used nearly identical definitions for both terms and concretely linked one to the other saying:

> "The practice of charity means giving without expecting a reward or payment from the one you are offering the service, in other words it means a free services given to a person in need. What we are doing at Mercy House is a form of charity…Me as *omuganda* I think the practice of charity or caring for the poor relates to the Baganda idea of *mutima omuyambi* or heart for helping because this means giving freely without any string attached."

In Sr. Jane's description both charity and *mutima* are defined by their lack of reciprocal exchange. In both, gifts are given "without expecting a reward or payment" or giving "without any strings attached." The idea that what defines *mutima* in relation to other forms of assistance is its lack of reciprocal obligation was repeated in many of the conversations I had with people about *mutima*. In a discussion between two men living in Sebanda about *mutima* and other forms of assistance, whether or not there was an expectation of reciprocity was the defining factor in determining whether or not an act of helping was motivated by "real heart."

"Frank: I will say like this; the heart of helping others collapsed long ago. Now people help with a motive of benefiting from those they help. One can promise to pay fees for the children when they want to make the children dig for them. One can say, "let me help this child" while having an aim of cultivating his land…we cannot call that "real heart." That is not helping.

Sekamanya: During professor Miiro's burial, they told of a boy who was suspended from Makerere University because of tuition. [Some years back] that boy had gone to that professor and said "My Father, I'm in my final year but can't find the tuition." The professor just asked how much and gave the boy one and a half million shillings! Free! That was real heart!"

As in Sr. Jane's definition of charity, Frank and Sekamanya both define *omutima omuyambi* as helping another without expecting to gain from the exchange. While givers can expect to be thanked for their efforts, people who act with the intention of concretely benefiting cannot be classified as being motivated by "real heart."

The slippage between charity and *mutima* was even more direct in other conversations where people moved easily between Kiganda and Christian idioms. In an email exchange with my host father Peter Senabulya he replied to my questions concerning Ugandan experiences of receiving help from abroad with the following:

> "When Ugandans get help people from outside…[it] is highly valued, it is even valued better than help from their relatives or neighbors. Just imagine. A person who is not a relative and she or he is thousand miles away to help them. It is a real sacrifice. But all my explanations given above are centered on the word '*Mutima*'. Viewed in the context of Uganda, "*Okutwalira awamu abantu abalina omutima omulungi bayamba abantu abalala oba babamanyi oba tebabamanyi*". In English, it is means "Generally, people with a good heart help others whether they are known to them or not". It is even written in the Holy Bible (I can not remember the chapter and verse) "that if you give something to another person, God pays you back more".

Here Peter's response concerning the ways in which distance indexes the degree to which a gift can be considered a "real sacrifice" and the subsequent "value" assigned to that gift by its Ugandan recipient. At the end of his comment he shifts between the idea

that people with a good heart make gifts to others whether they are known to them or not and an unspecified biblical reference promising that God will repay those who give these kinds of gifts.

Slippages like these often made me wonder whether this particular usage of the word *mutima* was in fact not an element of pre-colonial Kiganda ethics, but rather a syncretic invention that came about with the introduction of Christianity in Uganda at the end of the 19th century. Yet, the nostalgia expressed by many people like Frank who mourned the fact that "the heart of helping collapsed long ago" and Sr. Jane's discussion of charity and the "Baganda idea" of *omutima omuyambi* as related, but not identical, both seem to indicate that *omutima omuyambi* is locally conceptualized as an indigenous moral virtue.

Making Obligations: Charity/Patronage

While in many cases The Sisters of St. Clare working at Mercy House took in children and other people who were unknown to them, some of them having literally traveled to, or been left, at the gate without so much as a name. In other cases, the The Sisters of St. Clare were caring for children whose parents had purposely sought out relationships with them before they became unable to care for their children themselves. One afternoon Sr. Jane described the way in which one child's mother established such a relationship with the sisters.

> "That one, Tamusanga, when I was a novice in the formation house, his mother used to come with the children. She had others that were older than Tamusanga. Tamusanga that time was a very young child. That mother would come, she had rashes all over, they had not yet started with those ARVs [anti-retroviral medications used to treat HIV/AIDS], so she could come to beg food every lunch in the novitiate when we were there.

> And we had a sister called Leone…she loved her so much, that she could even, the staff all of us we keep and she would save for the mother of Tamusanga. So she took good care of that lady. And the lady could only bring us cut leaves [for steaming matooke]. We were not cutting the leaves so she could bring us cut leaves and everyone was now giving attention to that lady. But now when we finished, we professed that lady died and had nowhere to take the children. The first son he is able[bodied], but he went to the island and he drinks, and he could not help these ones. Then the others they are big enough to stay in the house where this lady was because they had a land. Then the two the last two, the Tamusanga and the sister, they were brought to this home. The sister is called Harriet, but Sr. Caroline has brought her to Torroro to start Senior One…But now Tamusanga is here, he has HIV AIDS. The other ones are okay, but this one is HIV positive. He gets his medicines from Project Care, but we are the ones to pay for hi[s] fees. He has gone through a lot of counseling. Even me I have been the one to talk to him. He had refused to study saying, 'After all I'm going to die anytime. I'm sick.' But now he is coping. He does very well in class."

In coming to the novitiate each day Tamusanga's mother was not only looking for food. Rather through her gifts and daily requests she was successfully establishing a bond with the sisters that obliged them to care for her and her family in a way that echoes the experiences of clients seeking to attach themselves to patrons.

In other cases, the sisters' obligations to particular children had been established through relationships built on labor that were more similar to those which one might have traditionally found between patrons and clients in Buganda. As described in previous chapters, chiefs appointed either by the *kabaka* or by the clan leadership had an obligation to care for those who farmed on their land or labored at their request, with these obligations of care extending beyond the period of service provided that the client had not left in search of another patron. It is in this way that children like Paul Kasirye, whose father had worked as the sisters' driver, and Nalungu Margaret, whose mother had been one of the cooks, had come under the care of the sisters. Both of their parents had

worked for the sisters and when they passed away the sisters felt obliged to care for the children they left behind. Temba Charles, one of the boys chosen by the sisters for inclusion in an American run sponsorship program administered by the sisters had secured his place based on his desperate circumstances, he was at that time living with his mother who not only suffered from a heart condition, but was also HIV-positive. His place on the roster was also assured through his grandmother's attempts to establish a bond of obligation with the sisters through her longstanding employment in the novice's kitchen garden. Though she was no longer able to work, the sisters were aware of her existence in the community and felt a certain sense of obligation to care for her, having not only built her a strong house of burnt brick and iron sheets but now having secured a sponsorship for her grandson.

In Hanson's history of mutual obligation in Buganda, she describes the ways in which British colonists and missionaries failed to understand the nature of these obligations, both the sense in which the obligations one had to one's workers exceeded the bounds of contract and in which requests themselves were a sign of love which bound the giver to future gifts. In one passage she describes a scene in which a young Muganda man was disappointed by the Protestant missionary C.W. Hattersley's refusal to give him money to pay bride wealth after having worked in his household for nine years. The young man said in protest,

> "When I came to join your establishment I gave myself entirely to you. Since that time you are my father; I have no other. Were I to apply to my father, he would only refer me to you…[Y]ou altogether fail to understand the customs of the Baganda. Do you not know that the more requests we make the more we show our love for you. Were it not that I greatly love you, I would never ask for a single thing" (Hattersley 1968: 189-190, Quoted in Hanson 2003:7).

From the perspective of Maussian reciprocal obligation, the young man's first claim is fairly easy to comprehend. In exchange for the gift of self and service, Hattersley ought to recognize the extra-contractual relationship that had been formed and reciprocate with assistance with the young man's bride wealth payments. This claim resonates with second set of stories above in which parents created permanent bonds of obligation through their labor. The second claim, "the more requests we make the more we show our love for you" is more difficult to understand, but is essential for comprehending the way in which Tamusanga's mother succeeded in arranging long term care for her son. In this second claim, we hear the ways in which requests and their fulfillment results in a situation in which the giver is obliged to give again. These gifts may be answered or prompted by reciprocal gifts, but instead the prior giving, rather than the prior receiving, creates the obligation for future gifts.

As with secular forms of patronage in Uganda, labor constituted an important currency, which was exchanged before, during, and after a child's stay at Mercy House. Such exchanges should not be thought of in terms of contract, with labor being bartered for food, school fees, and shelter, but rather in terms of a gift, as something that establishes or solidifies a relationship, and something, which is given on account of that relationship.

Most of the sisters felt that the children who grew up at Mercy House and who had been sent to school by the sisters ought to express their gratitude by giving back to the home in some way. One night after supper Sr. Caroline said, "There should be more children like Martha. She grew up here and felt that she should give back to the home. When she finished university she had a offer for a 300,000 UGX a week job, she would

have been making six times what a government school teacher makes, but she turned that offer down to come back and work here. If more people were like Martha we wouldn't have to worry so much about finding funders, the children who grew from here could finance the home."

When God Makes You His Messenger

The parallel logics of Catholic charity and indigenous forms of patronage were doubled in the ways Catholic charitable givers, Baganda or otherwise, understand their relationship with God. His father, who had almost joined the seminary, had raised him as a Catholic, but Kizito had turned away from the church as an adult. When the Catholic charismatic renewal movement started to take hold in Sebanda in the mid-1990s, Kitzito returned to the church. The profound religious experience he attributes to the Catholic charismatic renewal led him to give up drinking and growing sugarcane for rum distillation and also lead him to start attending morning mass on a daily basis at the Sebanda parish church. Kizito was also making attempts to redistribute some of the money he had made through his successes with *Kisa Kya Maria*, which he opened around the same time he returned to the church. Kizito concentrated his efforts on the elderly to whom he provided milk from his dairy on a daily basis. Kizito gave milk both to his elderly friends and neighbors, and to people like Simon Nanda, an elderly man who lost the use of his legs in a bicycle accident, who he saw as being in particular need. Mr. Nanda receives limited assistance from his grown children who resent the lack of care he showed to them during their youth when Mr. Nanda was addicted to locally distilled gin, a habit which not only depleted most of the family's meager resources, but also led to

frequent rages. In his old age Mr. Nanda had stopped drinking, but had been unable to mend his relationships with his estranged sons who not only refused to care for him, but also frequently took the small amounts of money he earned selling the beds and disk racks he fashioned out of cane and nails. Given this difficult situation Mr. Nanda found himself dependent on the charitable gifts he received from people like Kizito and the nuns and priests of the local parish. He saw the elderly as being in special need of care and attributed his interest in helping them, his heart for helping, to his renewed interest in religion. During an interview on the subject he said,

> "When I started reading the scriptures, [I realized] every time God makes you his servant…you are greatly protected. [Like] the way you see Museveni with his ministers..If you provide for an elderly person who has no one to help, God thanks you for helping this person."

Kizito's thoughts on charity draw on the figures of master and servant, figures that are essential to the pre-colonial ethics of inequality. Kizito believes that the people whom God chooses as his servants are protected; much in the same way that President Museveni protects his ministers, an image which he here associates not with corruption, but with the proper state of relations between patrons and clients. Speaking of his own experience, and pointing to a painting of the Virgin Mary hung on the wall of his restaurant, Kizito attributed the successes, which had allowed him to save enough to purchase a blender and to add a shaded veranda to the front of his restaurant, to her patronage.

Kizito is simultaneously a patron to people like Simon Nanda, he also considers himself to be God's messenger and servant. While Baganda, and anyone who becomes involved with them, are generally expected to occupy a position in the hierarchy of mutual obligations, which makes them patrons to some, and clients to others, the

charitable exchange complicates this hierarchy, as through the charitable gift one is *simultaneously* an earthly patron and a heavenly client.

Charity's Wounds?

The idea that charitable gifts are actually exchanges with God is but one of several points at which raises questions regarding Pierre Bourdieu's arguments concerning the symbolic violence of charity.

For Pierre Bourdieu, charity was the primary example of the sort of symbolic violence he spent his career writing about. In his words gifts are nothing more than the "endless reconversion of economic capital into social capital." Since "wealth..can exert power, and exert it durably, only in the form of symbolic capital" gifts become one of the primary ways in which the wealthy can exert power and control people. Gifts thus function as "ideological machines [which perpetuate the] unequal balance of power" Bourdieu argues that this is all made possible through a collective misrecognition in which both giver and receiver see gifts as "exaltation of gratuitous, unrequited generosity" (Bourdieu 1977:192) Bourdieu claimed that this misrecognition is facilitated by the obligatory time-lapse between gift and counter-gift and that in his commitment to a synchronic structuralism Levi-Strauss failed to see the critical importance of the timing of the gift and the way in which delayed or impossible reciprocation exacted an extended toll on the recipient through the perpetuation of unequal relationships (Bourdieu 1977:192-197).

Yet, when we suspend our reliance on misrecognition, and look more closely at the experiences of givers and receivers of charity, we find that Bourdieu's argument

concerning the *necessary* violence of charity is somewhat problematic. Historian Holly Hanson was similarly suspicious of Bourdieu's argument writing

> "Baganda…would have taken issue with Bourdieu's assertion that reciprocal exchange is always symbolic violence…To assert that 'gentle, hidden exploitation is the form taken by man's exploitation by man whenever overt, brutal exploitation is impossible' (OTP p 192) naturalizes domination and makes it inevitable. This perception impedes our capacity to recognize forms of power that may not have been coercive, and erases the possibility of non-oppressive relationships in the past or in the future. Humanity's capacity for moral choice is lost in a teleological expectation that human beings have always oppressed or been oppressed, and that only a future reorganization of social and political structures will create conditions for production characterized by moral interaction. It is more complicated, but perhaps more useful, to acknowledge that a particular habit of thought or social institution can at times oppress and at other times empower" (Hanson 2003:15).

Hanson's argument opens a discussion of the contingency of the gift: sometimes it might be exploitative, sometimes it might not. Taking a nominalist stance, she urges us to pay closer attention to the use to which particular gifts are put, rather than assuming universal motivations and outcomes. Denouncing universalizing tendencies is far from original, and yet Bourdieu's arguments regarding the necessary wounds inflicted by charitable actions continue to influence popular and anthropological critiques of charity.

While not excluding the possibility that giving to charities increased the social capital of Mercy House's donors, we must attend to the ways in which the ethics of inequality work in Buganda. In Buganda it is not inequality itself that is problematic, but what people do from their positions within the hierarchy**.** Being an elite is not considered problematic, so long as one is a generous patron who properly observes the injunction to redistribute wealth. By not taking his Kabyle informants at their word when they say, "The rich man is rich so as to be able to give to the poor" (Bourdieu 1977:195). Bourdieu fails to see this as an alternative ethical framework, instead focuses, on the inequality

produced through unrepayable gifts in "archaic societies." Such a view relies on a sense of "misrecognition" which allows only the anthropologist the privilege of seeing the truth that lies behind the mask. This view also minimizes the experiences of the recipients who have long found gifts made through logics of patronage or charity to be an effective means of climbing the social and economic hierarchy.

In addition, Bourdieu's characterization of charity reduces the role that God plays as the recipient and presumed reciprocator of Catholic charity to a superimposed illusio that hides the self-interested nature of charitable gifts. Yet, when we resist a hermeneutics of suspicion, Kizito Nakatana's claim that he gives to the elderly in his village as a way of giving to God, a claim that is echoed by the sisters and their donors, raises questions concerning the effects of this belief. For Kizito, God is his primary exchange partner and return gifts from the earthly conduits of these gifts, even in terms of intangible gifts like loyalty or respect, were at most secondary to this spiritual motivation. If we, following the anthropologist Jonathan Parry in his critique of interpretations of Mauss which overemphasize the importance of earthly reciprocity (Parry 1986), open the question of spiritual modes of exchange we are left with some interesting, but as yet unanswered, questions about the forms and effects of "gift debt" created through charity.

At another, and perhaps more conclusive level, I would argue that while Bourdieu's claim that charitable gifts fail to overturn structures of inequality seems consistent with my data, certain forms of charity and patronage do seem to result in significant socio-economic mobility.

In Uganda where only 4.5% of adults have completed secondary school (UBOS 2002), the charitable scholarships provided through institutions like Mercy House, which

was in 2007-2008 paying school fees for 47 secondary school students and 12 university students, constituted a critical point of access to higher education. In addition, a national study exploring factors that contributed to social mobility similarly found that having strong religious, personal, or familial networks was among the most important predictors of social mobility in Uganda (Uganda. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning et al. 2007). And while poverty and inequality are not the same thing, I would argue that at a more fundamental level Bourdieu's problematization of inequality is in many ways foreign to Uganda, for in Uganda it is not dependency and inequality which are themselves considered problematic, but rather, it is what one *does* from one's position within a given hierarchy that is the focus of moral anxiety.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, arguments that attempt to separate "self-interested gifts" from "true gifts" fail to understand Mauss's primary argument that prior to the creation of the market there was no distinction between interest and disinterest, they were not opposites joined in a paradox, but rather co-existed in an unproblematized union (Parry 1986). The same was true for the ancients who saw right action not as something that was in conflict with their own self-interest, but rather as something which would ultimately lead them to the flourishing life. Kant's, and I would argue many anthropologists'; suspicion of the motives of the cheerful giver is nowhere to be found. The separation between self-interest and altruism found in Malinowskian interpretations of Mauss would blind modern readers to the inseparability of these categories in both a Kiganda ethics of patronage, in which the patron has both a moral obligation to take on additional clients if he is able and personally benefits from doing so, and in a Catholic

ethic of charity, in which the giver has a moral obligation to give to God by giving to the poor and may expect otherworldly benefits from doing so.

In returning to my original question we find that in contexts where interdependent hierarchies serve as legitimate moral forms, where those with resources have a moral obligation to take on clients, and where what I have come to see as the present devaluation of "wealth-in-people" is viewed by many rural people as a moral crisis, attempts to "avoid dependency" are in many ways viewed as indexes of corruption. Ironically, one of the places this undistributed money goes is into increasingly complex monitoring and evaluation systems, making audit itself a form of corruption. By contrast the unmonitored charity of Mercy House, which from the perspective of audit culture and a depersonalized ethics of equality may appear as unsustainable gifts distributed along lines of personal attachment, is often consistent with, but not identical to, the Kiganda virtues of *mukisa* (kindness) and *mutima* (heart).

Interlude: Moral Murk

Talking with the young men and women who had obtained University degrees through the support of Mercy House revealed the shape of their relationships with Mercy House, as outlined above, while also illuminating the potential productivity of the sisters' model. While Charles Nsubuga was born unable to walk, he was also born with a brilliant mind and a tremendous thirst for education. As a young child he begged his mother to let me go to school despite the long distance between their home and the school, even making the attempt to crawl several miles in a rainstorm to reach the classrooms. After ten years of staying home and studying with his older siblings in the evenings, he was finally given an opportunity to attend classes himself when he was able to move in with his older sister who was living and teaching at a school in another town. He was first in his class every term.

Unfortunately, the school ended with Primary Five and Charles again found himself looking for somewhere that he could continue his education. His mother, who despite being unable to read or write was an ardent and effective advocate, contacted the British NGO Action Aid that was working in their district. His mother persuaded them to come and visit Charles at school. Help for Children took him to Mulago hospital and got him his first wheelchair. They also found a German man named Karl who was willing to buy all of the things Charles needed to start boarding school and sent him to start in P6 at the Kampala Academy for the Physically Disabled. He was again at the top of his class and received a first grade on the national primary leaving exams. But Help for Children was unable to help him continue his studies. Their program was designed to support children with disabilities in "basic education," which for them meant P7.

He returned home and started writing letters to look for another sponsor who would be willing to send him to secondary school. He stayed home for four years writing letters that his mother would deliver for him. One group offered to send him for a vocational training course, but he refused. "I would not go for vocational, I wanted academics. Even if it meant sitting for another four years I was willing to wait for the door to open to the academic world."

After another year the education officer of the district was made aware of the situation and helped to secure sponsors to pay secondary school fees for Charles. Unfortunately, the school they brought him to had not been made aware of Charles's disability and they refused to allow him to study there, arguing that he would not be able to keep up with the standard of the school. Heartbroken, he and his mother went home. His mother went and talked to the district officer again. The district officer fought with the headmaster and also proposed that Charles travel to attend a school across the country in the eastern region. Charles ultimately decided not to go to Iganga and decided instead to start at a small, undistinguished secondary school that had just opened. He decided to use the money to buy textbooks for himself and was determined to work himself according to the standard of the country's best boarding schools.

When he was in S3, a woman approached his mother telling her about Mercy House and the vocational training courses offered there. The school where he was enrolled ended with S4, and Charles feared being stuck again as he had been in P5. He decided to leave his school and travel to Namayumba where he could learn a trade and put himself through school. He was very disappointed when instead of electronic repair courses he found shoe making and tailoring. He went to the office and found Ronald,

who was at that time the business manager of Mercy House, seated with Sr. Caroline. He explained his disappointment with the courses offered and was very frank about the reasons he had left secondary school. Sr. Caroline told him to go back and finish S4 and that he could come back once he had finished. He returned to his school, much to the delight of the headmaster, and earned a first grade on the O-level leaving exam. After taking his exam he returned to Mercy House and Ronald helped him to travel to the secondary schools he had listed as his first choices. He did not find his name on any of the lists, but he asked the sisters to use their influence to find him a place in S5 at a good school. Sr. Caroline agreed to help him find a school and they ultimately found him a place at a top secondary school and paid for his tuition. After completing his secondary education he enrolled in a diploma-level course (similar to the associates degree in the United States) in community education and rehabilitation. During his education Charles regularly returned to Mercy House during his school vacations to visit with Ronald and the sisters. "They were my family now and I wanted to be near to them." He also worked with the sisters during these visits to establish Mercy House's community rehabilitation program.

Yet, when he finished his diploma course he found that his thirst for education remained and began to look for a way to attend university. After finding himself to be ineligible for a number of government sponsored scholarship schemes he asked the sisters to pay for his university tuition. They agreed and in the spring of 2008 he graduated from Makerere University with a Bachelors Degree in Community Rehabilitation.

Mercy House was home to many people like Charles. He was one of eleven university students sponsored by the sisters in 2008. Rebecca Nakakeni who had suffered

third degree burns to most of her body after her step mother threw a pot of boiling water at her, was now leading the pack of fifty-four primary school children racing off to attend classes across the street at St. Balikudembe primary. Thirty-three teenagers, most of whom would have otherwise been left out of the educational system all together, were enrolled in local secondary schools and if no suitable school could be found in the area, were sent to boarding schools which could accommodate them.

Yet, even as my conversations with Charles confirmed the effectiveness of the sisters' approach and its resonances with highly agentive forms of action involved in older forms of patron seeking, his words, which were deeply informed by his education in disability studies and community based approaches to rehabilitation. During an interview in one of the common rooms at Makerere University he said

> "What happens, Mercy House, being a charity based institution, which wants as much as possible to highlight the pitiful conditions of people so as to win the emotions of people so that they will let go of some of their resources in the end it impacts on the lives of the people. It socializes them into thinking that they are pitiful."

Here Charles explicitly challenged the sisters approach arguing that their religiously informed adherence to "charity" caused them to see and represent the people with disabilities as "needy," as objects of "pity," and that this vision prevented them from developing programs which were truly "empowering." These issues emerged after I asked him what he planned to do following his graduation from university that spring. He said that while the sisters wanted him to return to Mercy House that he felt that he would not be able to do the sort of community development work in which he had been trained.

While the controversy surrounding Charles's refusal to return to Mercy House revealed the presence of the reciprocal logic of patronage, it is his reason for not returning that I wish to attend to here.

While we might argue that it was not charity which kept him home all of those years waiting to go to university, rather it was dirt roads, inaccessible classrooms, and prejudiced headmasters who kept him out of the classroom; that NGOs like Action Aid who only wanted to assist him through primary school, his mother no doubt found many others who, while working on behalf of people with disabilities, were more interested in advocacy work and empowerment trainings than they were in handing out unsustainable scholarships; that his own critiques of charity are more informed by what he has learned through his coursework in disability studies than they are by his own experiences; doing so would ignore the moral complexity, the moral murk, that his critique stirs up.

And so, instead of seeking to resolve the tension between Charles's critique of the discourse of pity deployed by the sisters and other advocates of charity in their appeals to donors, and the impacts of this discourse on the people whose stories populate it, and the real forms of social mobility which were financed through its deployment, including Charles' university tuition, I want simply to take note of this discord, leaving it, for the time being, as an uncomfortable caveat to the arguments presented above.

Chapter Five: Performance Philanthropy

> "You want to be an intelligent giver, but how can you gather enough reliable data to do a meaningful analysis? There is a simple ratio you can use in almost every giving situation to cut through misinformation or lack of information. Just a price-to-earnings (PE) has become a standard ratio for evaluating investments, there is also a ratio you can use in your philanthropy. It answers the question, "What is the cost of improving one person's life?" I call it the cost-per-life, or CPL, ratio. Using the example of street children in Brazil, that grant had a CPL of only a little over $14, dividing 2,800 into the budget of $40,000 gives you the cost, on average, to change a life in that program" (Smith and Thurman 2007:224).

The moves made towards participation, sustainability, and community ownership at the turn of the 21st century were, at least in part, directed towards an effort to increase aid effectiveness. In line with this aim, 21st century NGOs have been increasingly called upon to produce visible, often quantitative, proofs of their outcomes. These outcomes are then read against project expenses and the resulting figure, what philanthropic advisors Smith and Thurman call the CPL ratio, serves as a key barometer of program success and fundability.

While thinking about the relative good of the outcome of a particular action as a barometer of moral worth has held a place of prominence in the consequentialist strands of the Western philosophical tradition since Bentham, the focus on "rendering things calculable in financial terms" (Rose 1999: 152) did not rise to its present importance until the 1960s. Following the publication of the Plowden report in Britain in 1961, an array of new techniques and committees were created to measure the cost-effectiveness of public expenditures (Rose 1999). In the United States, papers began to appear exploring the relevance of cost-benefit analyses for analyzing problems of weapon choice in

operations research in the 1950s and 60s. (Prest, A.R, Turvey, R. 1965; Quade 1971). Cost-effectiveness research made its way into the United States federal government in 1961 when the US Secretary of Defense, Robert MacNamara, appointed Charles Hitch as the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Hitch, who had previously been employed by the Rand Corporation, championed this new approach to decision making. By 1965, President Johnson was so pleased with the results of the use of cost-effectiveness analysis within the Department of Defense that he demanded that cost-effectiveness analysis be taken up throughout the federal government (Quade 1971). MacNamara took the gospel of cost-effectiveness with him when he moved on to head the World Bank in 1968.

The costs of MacNamara's commitment to the infallibility of cost-effectiveness in terms of the human tragedies of the Vietnam War have been widely critiqued. Nonetheless, cost-effectiveness has largely become accepted as a dominant determinant of decision making in a range of fields including medicine, welfare, and development. There are a few voices crying out against the human costs of this approach as it has been applied in medicine (Farmer 2003:402), but such critiques are in the minority.

Detailed reports on program and cost-efficacy have become even more important in what we might think of as an age of performance philanthropy. "Performance Philanthropy," a term coined by Geneva Global, a leading international philanthropic advisory firm, seeks to move beyond arithmetic comparisons between projects and instead seeks to apply the model of the exponential growth of market investments to the

possible outcomes of philanthropic gifts. As with conventional investing, performance philanthropists seek to maximize their returns, by leveraging their investments. [27]

Sustainable development projects are ideally suited to the aims of performance philanthropy since, theoretically, the local institutions created through small start-up grants should yield limitless benefits for generations to come. As we saw in the previous chapter, many charitable givers also see their gifts as investments, but look for their rewards not in terms maximizing outcomes, but in terms of divine dividends distributed by God in this world or the one to come.

In line with the aim of increasing returns of philanthropic investments, both large and small donors operating within this paradigm have become more concerned over time with the ability to see the impact of the money they donate. Organizations like Hope Child have now developed internal Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) departments dedicated to the production and collation of reports and internal studies (Bornstein et al. 2006). The present enthusiasm for M & E reflects the increased need to demonstrate aid

[27] The relative novelty of this approach, which by 2008 was so taken for granted as to be barely worth mentioning, can be seen by looking back to an article which appeared in the the Harvard Business Review in 1997. The authors of "Virutous Capital: What Foundations Can Learn from Venture Capitalists" criticize philanthropic foundations for failing to invest in "organizational capacity" thus limiting the growth and sustainability of their beneficiary organizations. In advocating for an approach to philanthropy which looks more like venture capitalism, Letts, Ryan, and Grossman highlight the need to focus on the demonstration of measurable outcomes (Letts, Ryan, and Grossman 1997,). I do not wish to suggest that this article was responsible for the move towards performance philanthropy, but rather to note that as late as 1997 this seemed to be a relatively novel proposition.

effectiveness, which in turn reflects global trends towards audit (Power 1997; Strathern 2000).

In turning my attention to audit in this chapter, and virtue in the chapter that follows, I am moving away from the concern with the relations between the role the figures of dependency and gift play in the ethical assemblages of sustainable development and charity, and moving towards an attempt to understand the sorts of governance and ethical work involved in the assemblages of charity and sustainable development. In so doing, I want to attend to the ways in which virtue and audit, charity and sustainable development, differ in more than content and the specific ethical exercises undertaken. There are also fundamental differences between their specific theories of how ethico-moral codes can be implemented, the role of subjectivation within these theories, and the ways in which these different forms of ethics and governing shape the sort of development projects that can be implemented. I am also interested in using the case of audit to think about the multiple forms of work performed by these modes of monitoring and evaluation. In particular I want to think about the differences between the ways in which learning the techniques of producing a properly formed auditable record of one's activities is simultaneously part of a regime of governance through audit and part of a project of self-making in which Ugandan NGO employees and volunteers work to fashion themselves into modern, educated, employable subjects. In line with this second aim, I am particularly interested in the forms of pleasure derived from the experience of documentation.

Monitoring and Evaluation

In 2007 Hope Child hired a new executive director, with the explicit aim of recruiting someone who could help the organization to improve its M & E capacity. They had also created a new department dedicated to monitoring, evaluating and reporting on their programs. 17%, or slightly more than triple the proportion budgeted for material contributions made to individuals or households, of the Grandparent Hope Network project budget was budgeted for M & E expenses[28]. The significant amounts of time and money allocated to M & E activities highlighted the importance both Hope Child's funders and the staff members themselves placed on these new techniques of transparency and accountability. The growing number of firms dedicated to conducting workshops and capacity building trainings on M & E similarly similarly point to the expanding market not only for auditors, but also for training people to prepare reports and other forms of documentation that could be submitted for such evaluations.

The majority of the report-writing at Hope Child focused on the quantitative documentation of particular program outputs that were tied to specific objectives (Bornstein et al. 2006). Outputs were measured against the specific quantitative targets and then brief remarks were given. For example, in the first quarter monitoring and evaluation report, the GHN staff report that they aimed to "Organize 30 video shows on HIV/AIDS and life skills" and their respective quarterly target is listed as "30 video

[28] This figure does not include the salaries of the executive director, the M & E staff, the time other program staff spend making explicit work plans, compiling data, and writing reports, and the M & E costs of their funders. These other costs were substantial, as many of the Hope Child staff dedicated a large potion of their time to the creation of reports and other monitoring documents.

shows." In the output column they report that "19 video shows were held and 4,968 youths were reached in Masindi, Gulu and Apac." The remarks column clarifies this, "The highest number of video shows were in Apac district where 3,237 youths were reached."

I most frequently encountered these reports at Hope Child's monthly staff meetings when these lists of goals and figures were read aloud and recorded in the minutes. The review of the minutes often took up the first hour of the meeting as people suggested grammatical and spelling changes, although content errors were rarely noted. Even much smaller meetings, such as the one that took place every Monday morning between the two Sebanda field officers, followed a set agenda and were recorded in minutes. Both the reports and meeting minutes serve as artifacts that can be audited. Through both the reports and the meeting minutes, Hope Child constructed a paper trail that can be checked and shown to others. In this sense the minutes serve not only as a record for Hope Child's own institutional memory, but also as an artifact, a receipt, which can be used for verification.

As noted by Power, regimes of audit focus on the observation of control systems, rather than on the observation of first order outcomes themselves. In contrast to Foucault's writing on "the care of the self" we see that it is not so much a part of "the self" which is the focus of concern, but rather it is the production of a complete and properly formatted paper trail which can be reviewed by one's superiors which is the central preoccupation. In a bureaucratic form of governance the bureaucrat was trusted as a particular kind of expert and impartial ethical subject, to make decisions in relative isolation (Weber 1978, Power 1999). These new regimes of cost-effectiveness, by

contrast, focus on developing of a subject capable of producing documents which would allow for an independent evaluation of her decisions, rather than a subject capable of making independent decisions.

USAID is very interested in numbers

The need to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of programs through sophisticated monitoring and evaluation practices was solidified through direct requirements and training opportunities. In order to accept the small grant from USAID, Hope Child was required to establish a Monitoring and Evaluation department which would be responsible for compiling and analyzing quantitative data on the program's implementation. These requirements also changed the way Hope Child designed its programs.

Lutalo Andrew, Hope Child's director of Monitoring and Evaluation, expressed the need to balance the conflicting demands for holistic programming and high beneficiary numbers during an early interview.

> "The program is very holistic we are looking at very many things. That is very demanding in terms of resources and time and we have limited resources…some people who are interested in numbers may not be interested in the work you are doing. Many donors are interested in numbers; USAID is very interested in numbers."

The focus on non-material interventions, such as trainings and workshops, is one of the ways in which Hope Child has managed to solve this problem. By covering a wide range of topics through low-cost trainings, Hope Child is able reach a large number of "beneficiaries" while addressing a comprehensive set of issues in a way which, with on-going peer-to-peer training, is both infinitely replicable and low-cost. The move towards

non-material interventions like trainings is thus justified through appeals to the related requirements of sustainability and cost-effectiveness.

Given the demands of funders like USAID who require the on-going production of quantitative data on project outputs, Hope Child has been required to build its M & E proficiency. By so doing they have been able to prove that they have made legitimate use of the grants they have already received *and* have also gained a significant advantage in the quest to attract future funders, as the acquisition of new donors is made easier with compelling reports regarding past outcomes and the demonstration of their mastery of crucial M & E skills.

Capacity Building

In addition to monthly, quarterly, and annual project reports submitted by each of the field staff, Hope Child's employees (including the cleaning person, driver, receptionist, and security guard) were also required to submit personal reports each year documenting what they had accomplished. The events of the annual staff meeting held in December 2007, during which these individual reports were presented and used as an exercise to improve report writing skills, speaks not only to the centrality of the bureaucratic process of report writing and presentation in Hope Child's disciplinary arsenal, but also to the sort of "ethical work" required of people engaged in this particular ethics of audit.

After reviewing the minutes from the prior meeting, we were instructed to break into small groups. Each group of five was given an hour to review five individual reports written by people outside the group. The executive director instructed us to review and

analyze each of the reports. We were then to prepare a brief presentation reporting back to the group what we had learned while reading the reports. For each of the reports we were asked to comment on the report-writing format, the issues raised, challenges faced, and lessons learned. "After you all report back, one of the officers from M & E will write a summary report based on what was reported back by those reporting on the reports." I joined one of the groups and we moved into an empty office to begin the task.

Marline, a social worker from the Kampala site, picked up one of the departmental reports and held it up for us all to see, flipping the pages. Most of the group agreed immediately that the report needed a cover page. They also objected to the fact that the report was written in the past tense. "The objectives and acronyms should have also been listed separately," another chimed in. "At least the figures are there, that's good."

When we reached the section on "challenges faced," the members of my group avoided discussing their content, and instead focused on whether or not we should write them all on the big sheet of paper. When I suggested that we might pause to discuss them, Stephen said, "We can just list them, there's really nothing to discuss. Late disbursements have come up a thousand times. This person probably just got their requisitions in late and that was that. Resettlement exercises in the camps were beyond his control, nothing could be learned, or managed differently the next time. Resettlements just mean that program activities had to be put on pause until thing settled down." This effectively ended the conversation, and we moved on to copying the list of challenges onto a large white sheet of a presentation flip chart.

During a tea break, I asked a group of young women how they had learned to do all of this report writing. They said that most of them had taken the same research methods

class at Makerere University. Some had also taken additional night classes in report writing. "In both of those classes issues of format are taken very seriously - we would be marked down and told to do it over if our report lacked the necessary components," added Betty, a young woman from Northern Uganda who worked taking calls on the Hope Child child-helpline.

The presentations made when we returned to the larger group focused, nearly without exception, on formatting issues. When a discussion did begin concerning the need to eliminate the "Hope Child contribution" line on the case planning form given that there was now no money budgeted for "Hope Child contributions", the timekeeper jumped in saying, "limit the questions" and effectively closed the conversation.

At 2:30 we broke for lunch. After lunch we were instructed to write 3 lessons learned, 3 recommendations, and 3 issues for discussion on sheets of construction paper that we then taped to the walls. While there were a few which pointed to concrete issues, such as the need to consider men for loans, what the volunteer stipend should be, and whether or not they should register the ECD centers with the government, nearly all of the 270 sheets of paper taped to the wall asserted the need for further training on report writing, the importance of writing clear reports, and the need to finish reports on time.

In dedicating its annual meeting to this exercise Hope Child's leaders sought to demonstrate not only the principles of good report writing, but also the importance of documentation and the importance of shaping themselves into document producing subjects. While one might scoff at the lack of attention given to the content of the reports in favor of a focus on form, I would argue that the focus on form is central to contemporary philanthropic practices which focus on "capacity building." For it is not the

capacity for something like empathy or even innovation which is being spoken of when people speak of the need to build "organizational capacity." Rather, it is capacity for this sort of formal report producing that is the aim of most capacity building initiatives.

In addition to its attempts to "build capacity" amongst its paid staff members, Hope Child also sought to increase the documentary capacities of its volunteers. In light of this the village volunteers responsible for coordinating the early childhood development centers (ECD), the youth clubs, and Grandparent Hope Network support groups were also trained in M & E practices. These individuals were responsible for keeping meticulous records of their groups' activities in large hardcover notebooks that they were given for this purpose. For example, the volunteer ECD caretakers were required to keep and produce separate files on children with special needs, the children's growth and immunizations, their academic assessments, the committee meeting minutes, the general meeting minutes, the caregiver meeting minutes, and the financial records for the ECD centers. The teenage leaders of the youth clubs and the leaders of the support groups were required to produce documentation of their groups' activities and finances. These village level self-reports were supplemented by evaluations made by the Hope Child field staff, the Hope Child head office staff, and by the employees of their funders who traveled to Uganda to tour the projects.

These reporting requirements were at once a tool for surveillance and a way to "build capacity" among the village leaders. It is in this notion of "capacity building" that we see the idea that the reports are considered to be a good in and of themselves, and not merely something to be produced for the appeasement of donors. Within the logic of sustainable development, the projects were expected to continue without any ongoing

outside support. Were the villagers themselves envisioned as both the long term producers *and* consumers of the program reports? One of the basic premises of the audit is that it is used only in situations in which it is not possible for the "principal" to directly monitor the activities of the "agent." While Hope Child is still active in Sebanda, Hope Child effectively serves as the principal with respect to the village volunteers who act as "agents" on their behalf. Hope Child in turn serves as the "agent" for principles like USAID. The plans for the eventual withdrawal of support would seem to make such on-going report writing capacity unnecessary given the lack of a principal to report to. Under the logic of "community ownership" one might argue that the villagers themselves should become the principals to whom the village volunteers report.

In thinking about the sorts of subjects the Hope Child staff members and volunteers are seeking to make themselves into when they submit themselves to the rigors of report writing we see that this is not only about the creation of "modern" or "accountable" subjects who have the skills required to make their actions legible to an outside auditor. It is also about the creation of employable, fundable, subjects who by becoming watchable or legible in particular ways might be able to secure permanent employment within the contemporary NGO labor market. It is not an abstract commitment to accountability which motivates college students to spend their nights taking extra courses in report writing, but rather the desire to secure a position within the competitive, and relatively lucrative, NGO sector which makes these classes so highly sought after.

The Pleasures of Calculation

The presence of coercive pressure from major funders and periodic complaints about the burdensome nature of these requirements (Bornstein et al. 2006) should not blind us to the internal appeal of this projects of capacity building. There are aesthetic (Riles 2001) and practical pleasures to be found in report writing. A day spent at the office carefully composing and formatting a document is also one less spent trudging along muddy paths between homesteads. There is also the potential utility of such esoteric skills in the endless quest for marks of separation between the precariously elite NGO workers and volunteers and the "backward" village beneficiaries (Englund 2006:247). For both the village volunteers as the Hope Child staff members the process of writing down their daily activities may also help to contribute to a sense that what they are doing is important.

In addition to this project of distinction, Ugandan NGO employees and volunteers made use of their M & E mastery in a project of self-fashioning in which they sought to constitute themselves as educated, employable actors. In this sense, while donors see M & E activities as an important way of improving cost-effectiveness, they can also be seen as a key component in a projects of self-care. Much in the same way that Ben Mutebbe, the self-described "organization man" used his volunteer efforts to define himself as "a potential," "a focal person" someone who could serve as an example to others, Ugandan NGO employees and volunteers make use of their M & E skill set as a way of defining themselves as modern, employable, literate subjects.

The enthusiastic embrace of report writing by the village volunteers requires a similar analysis. While Hope Child ideally envisions the community members as the eventual "principals" of the project, the village volunteers' enthusiasm for M & E

trainings suggests an alternate reading. For all of the difficulties involved in creating them, the process of writing reports allows some village volunteers to imagine themselves as lucratively employed NGO workers, both in the present, but also in the future. Such skills are not important for the management of an unfunded sustainable community project, but they are important for one who might wish to seek the support of another outside donor who might wish to find formal employment at an NGO. In this sense the "capacity building" project may essentially at odds with the idea of a sustainable community organization which is detached from outside funding sources.

Through my exploration of the use of techniques of audit at Hope Child, I am moving towards a theoretical argument that while all ethical and cultural apparatuses involve some set of processes aimed at shaping subjects in particular ways, not all of them can be described as working towards the formation of subjects capable of acting as independent moral actors. And so while we might be tempted draw analogies between Hope Child's personal annual reports and the written examinations of conscious described by Foucault (Foucault 2005) or the examinations of conscious made by the sisters during their training as novices, I would argue that we would be mistaken in doing so. For while both involve disciplinary processes of self-examination and performance, the intention of the performance is different in a way which significantly alters the effect of the action on the self. While one might be able to argue that the reports serve a similar purpose, the attention placed on the form and aesthetics of the reports, (the presence of a cover page, the separation of "challenges" and "lessons learned", etc.), as opposed to their content, leads me to believe that if it is the employee's subjectivity which is being shaped, it likely has more to do with transforming them into the type of person who

desires properly formatted documents, rather than necessarily shaping them into a person who is capable of making independent ethical decisions about programming.

In this way, we see that the descriptions of ethical action put forth by anthropologists inspired by virtue ethics should not be seen as a universal theories of ethics, but as one of the many conceptual systems for contemplating human action and ensuring ethical conduct.

Chapter Six: "Let Us Make God Our Banker"

> "Christian hostility toward the public realm, the tendency at least of early Christians to lead a life as far removed from the public realm as possible, can also be understood as a self-evident consequence of devotion to good works, independent of all beliefs and expectations. For it is manifest that the moment a good work becomes known and public, it loses its specific character of goodness, of being done for nothing but goodness' sake. When goodness appears openly, it is no longer goodness, though it may still be useful as organized charity or an act of solidarity. Therefore: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen by them." Goodness can exist only when it is not perceived, not even by its author; whoever sees himself performing good works is no longer good, but at best a useful member of society or a dutiful member of a church. Therefore: "Let not thy left hand know what they right hand doeth." It may be this curious negative quality of goodness, the lack of outward phenomenal manifestation, that makes good works because they must be forgotten instantly, can never become part of the world; they come and go, leaving no trace. They are truly not of this world."
>
> Hannah Arendt The Human Condition (Arendt 1998:74)

> "Teresa and a ducat can do nothing: God, Teresa and a ducat can do everything. Let us do everything we can, but let us make God our banker."
>
> Saint Teresa of Avila, 16th century Spanish mystic

All For Thee

It is six in the morning and raining when I walk from the cement floored guesthouse towards the chapel. There is no light in the sky yet, there never is before seven in Uganda. At seven the sun will rise quickly and the country will be bathed in the full light of noon until it makes its startlingly quick descent at seven again. I walk across the grass and the gravel lined paths to the chapel. Long florescent bulbs light the outside of the large brick structure.

The chapel itself is a stately brick structure and the floor of uneven red, black, and cream clay tiles has been lovingly polished by the feet of those who have come to pray over the years. Tucked into the quiet of a narrow wooden pew, I liked to watch those same feet slipping off their sandals, at home with God, in a house they seem to share with him. The shelves built into the backs of the pews hold their prayer books, most wrapped in worn silver foil dotted with tiny pink roses.

At the front of the church the novices, always dressed in white for prayers, lead the morning office and the singing, their high voices mixing with the beat they play on a set of large Kiganda drums.[29] From the back of the church their white veils, gathered at the back into a tidy V, they look a bit like a crowd of Halloween ghosts dressed in white bed sheets. Windows line the side of the church. They are often open, allowing light and views of their gardens to flood the space.

According to the sisters, Mother Patrick was given the money to build the chapel by a stranger who appeared in front of her as she walked and prayed one morning before dawn. As she thought and prayed for a solution to the problem of finding a source for the money needed to build a church, a stranger appeared before her, handed her an envelope filled with money, and vanished. The sisters have built a grotto to the Virgin Mary to mark the site where this is said to have occurred. One sister or another retold

[29] The morning office is one of six sets of prayers and readings that make up the Liturgy of the Hours. The Liturgy of the Hours is a series of prayers said throughout the day by the sisters, and by many people living as monks, nuns, and priests in religious orders. The prayers and readings are printed in a thick volume and follow a regular rotation according to the church calendar. Most of the Sisters pray the morning and evening office together in the chapel each day, the office of readings and hours of mid-morning, noon, mid-afternoon, and night are generally said privately. The morning office starts just before dawn and is followed by a mass said by the Sisters' chaplain. The evening office is followed by meditation and adoration of the Eucharist.

this story to me nearly every time I came to visit Sisters of St. Clare who work at Mercy House. It was also included as part of a formal display commemorating the life and works of Mother Patrick which they had assembled to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of her death. However, in reading the few biographies that have been written about the life of Mother Patrick I was surprised that this story goes unmentioned. Over time I came to see the story as not only a story they told themselves to reinforce their belief in the small miracles which prove Mother Patrick's sainthood, but also as a reassurance that their own financial woes would be solved, and that they would be solved through the mysteries of providence and prayer.

Invisible Accounting

Stories of the works of Mother Patrick, like the one related above, were endlessly repeated as the sisters spoke to each other, and to me, about what they were, and what they ought to be, doing. For a long time I found their stories about their Irish foundress amusing, but they struck me as tangential to my aims of understanding the training processes that they had gone through, and the ways in which the order kept tabs on their activities. Yet, over time I came to realize that these stories were not tangential at all, but were in fact the narrative to which the sisters attempted to shape themselves, and through this process the sisters came to participate in what I call a chain of mimetic virtue. Within this chain of mimetic virtue the sisters attempt to transform themselves into virtuous subjects by modeling their actions upon those of the saints and other holy men and women who they see as exemplars. During their lives these exemplars also

attempted to model themselves after other holy men and women. We thus find a chain of mimetic virtue extending back through the saints towards Christ.

Their trust in mimetic virtue, stood in the place of the bureaucratic rationality of sustainable development that relies not on invisible accounting, but rather on a highly visible ethics of audit in which every effort is made to render the process and results of NGO activities as transparent as possible. In this chapter I describe the sisters use of an ethics of mimetic virtue focusing on the ways they used stories drawn from the life of their foundress as a form of hagiography, which was at once didactic and deeply intimate, and which helped them to mold themselves to their vocations and to nurture their faith in Divine Providence. Despite the problems the sisters faced on account of their resistance to audit, I argue that this ethical mode that does not rely on public accounting was not coincidental, but necessary, given their ultimate aims, for as Hannah Arendt observed in The Human Condition, Christian charity is fundamentally opposed to transparency, for it is its occlusion which preserves its purity, preventing the "good" from transforming into the "good for" (Arendt 1958:74).

The sisters' reliance on divine accounting, practices of mimetic virtue, and their faith in Divine Providence are brought together in Mother Patrick's reference to Teresa of Avila's saying, "Teresa and a ducat can do nothing: God, Teresa and a ducat can do everything. Let us do everything we can, but let us make God our banker" (Louis 1964). As we will see below the sisters' lack of interest in making their actions visible to earthly bankers and their refusal to alter their charism to meet the demands of earthly donors reflect their singular commitment to their heavenly "banker." This motto is also reflected in the sisters' hope that God will perfect them and the actions they undertake, both those

made on behalf of the children at Mercy House and those made in an effort to craft themselves.

The trust the sisters placed in their regime of virtue and divine accounting, made formal auditing and other "rituals of verification" (Power 1997) seem superfluous to them. And so while the sisters often express openness to learning about audit practices, they have rarely made a serious effort to embrace a set of practices that seem redundant, and perhaps even dangerous, in the face of their existing methods for ensuring accountability. And so, whereas in a bureaucratic system of audit we find an endless regression of disembodied proofs each of which claim to be commensurable with events in the world, in the sisters' transcendent ethics of virtue they believe themselves and their counterparts to be the ultimate, even sublime, proofs of ethical conduct.

While the sisters of Mercy House are still able to catch the attention of some one-time donors, the occasional embassy, or Good Samaritan, their refusal to seriously engage with processes of audit disqualified them from taking a share of the torrent of aid that has flowed into Uganda since the late 1980s. For while those within the order may have placed their confidence in providence and the ethics of virtue, the lack of visible reports, lists and files of residents, budgets, work plans, formal meetings, and long term plans at Mercy House was shocking for those accustomed to working within formally managed bureaucracies and businesses. This was true both for Ugandan NGO workers and for many Western volunteers; all of who have largely embraced the regime of audit find the sisters' lack of organization to be a constant source of frustration. Monica, a Peace Corps volunteer who was finishing her two year term at Mercy House while I was conducting my fieldwork, said that when she first arrived Mercy House was a mess, "just

a jumble of people and needs." She began asking, what were for her, basic and necessary questions: "How involved is the Board of Directors?" "What is the five year plan for the home?" She was stunned by their lack of answers: "These were questions that could have been pulled from a business 101 course, and they couldn't answer them! I was ready to pack my bags and go home. I just went to my room and cried." Monica did not leave, but her frustration with the sisters at Mercy House continued for the next two years. Despite her best efforts to "build capacity" by introducing systems and budgets and plans, there still was not a complete list of residents or any written plan by the time she left. As I tried to gather basic facts about Mercy House's operations, I too was amazed that it took several weeks to compile a list of current residents, a task which was ultimately completed by consulting several competing filing systems, all of which had been begun by well-meaning volunteers, none of which were in active use, and checking these files against the sisters' memories of the cases.

The funders they did have were those who felt comfortable placing their trust in the sisters and their training, and who were themselves suspicious of the funds other organizations poured into monitoring the programs they funded. One Love, which organizes sponsorships for children attending primary school at two schools run by the sisters, makes no effort to monitor the use of the funds once they are wired into the sisters' bank account. Mark Daniels, the founder of One Love, said, "I trust the sisters, that's why we work with them and not other people. Too many other programs spend too much money on monitoring and evaluation. I don't want that to happen to this program." Mark was committed to working exclusively with nuns as he felt that their training and commitment to the work of God made them exceptionally trustworthy. He felt that both

diocesan priests and lay people could not be trusted in this same way given the differences in training and their ability to own private property. Camilla Korteweg of the Bread for the World foundation in the Netherlands which was working with the sisters to build bakeries as vocational training programs and income generating projects, found herself similarly drawn to the trustworthiness of the sisters. Like Mark Daniels, she too required little in the way of formal documentation and insisted on working exclusively with nuns.

In thinking about the distinctions between virtue and audit, I shift towards an examination of the ways in which people think about modes for ensuring ethical conduct, how they think about their own agency in creating change in the world, and the time frames within which they conceptualize the results of their actions. In doing so I hope to make the sisters' actions comprehensible, so that their way of being can be seen not simply as a "lack" or an area in which they need help with "capacity building," but rather as an alternate form of ethical practice. [30]

Care of the Self

"It is the process of formation, and the childhood that leads one to wanting to become a sister, that helps us to develop a strong conscience which tells us right from wrong," Sister Amelia asserted one evening over dinner. "That is why the work we do is different from the work done by those people working at NGOs. We have a full ten years

[30] There are, of course, numerous examples of times when this system of self-monitoring has failed. The horrific abuses carried out in the industrial schools of Ireland and the sex abuse scandal in Catholic Church in the United States being only two of many examples.

of training between the time we enter as postulants and the time we make our final vows."

Sr. Amelia, like the other sisters I spoke with during my fieldwork at Mercy House, cited their sense of vocation and their formation period as the critical difference between themselves and their lay NGO counterparts. They focused on the formation period as central to their ability to "tell right from wrong." Their formation period is a nine-year training process during which the sisters' are selected and shaped. In addition to the practices of labor, ascetic self-denial, isolation, prayer, examination of conscience, and service to the poor, there are also moments at which prospective sisters are asked or decide to leave the convent.

This idea of training and formation is very similar to the sort of exercises of character formation or "care of the self" described by Michel Foucault in reference to the ancient Greeks and early Christians in his lectures on The Hermeneutics of the Subject and in some of his later interviews on ethics (Foucault 1984:340-373; Foucault 1997; Rabinow 2003; Foucault 2005). These exercises in self-formation voluntarily undertaken under supervision were prerequisites for the acquisition of knowledge and were primarily intended to help shape a person so that his desires might align with the virtues allowing for the development of judgment in practical matters. This process of preparation is an engagement of the self with the self, in addition to it being an engagement with other

teachers and institutions. Through a series of exercises the self becomes equipped to face the ethical challenges that she will confront in the future.[31]

As we will see in the pages that follow the Sisters of St. Clare make use of an ethical mode in which discourses, specifically their charism[32] and Catholic theology, are instilled through specific forms of equipment, including narrative, mimesis, manual labor, daily prayer, voluntary poverty, laughter, art, and frequent reassignments. Through the use of these forms of equipment the sisters are formed in line with the virtues, or the qualities that are necessary to achieve the aim or *telos* of a particular practice, including in this case, faith, humility, solidarity, and detachment from worldly concerns. A sister who has successfully undergone the formation process is thought to be able to make decisions about specific situations in alignment with the ultimate end, aim, or *telos* of her

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[31] Anthropologists inspired by Foucault's work on discipline, self-imposed or otherwise, have explored the ways in which people are shaped into particular kinds of subjects. Rebecca Lester's ethnography of postulants in a Mexican convent beautifully articulates the role of embodied experience in these processes describing the ways in which postulants learn to read their bodies "as a sort of barometer" which measures the correspondence between their worldly "experiential self" and their transcendent "virtual self" (Lester 2005:344). Saba Mahmood's work on women's participation in the Islamic Rival movement in Egypt troubles the easy distinction between agency and resistance and helps us to understand how people might actively engage in processes of self-discipline (Mahmood 2004).

Paul Rabinow has recently taken up Foucault's concept of "equipment" in an attempt to describe the ways in which a logos (a discourse, which one believes states the truth and describes what one must do) into an ethos (an action oriented matrix deeply embedded into the subject which enables the logoi to be effortlessly deployed in the difficult moments of daily life) through the deployment of equipment (concrete institutions, technologies, and practices) (Rabinow 2003; Foucault 2005). In thinking about the ways in which the Sisters of St. Clare think about their own ethical practices, the concept of equipment becomes a critical tool. This is not because it works as a general theory of the ethical that would be applicable in all cases, but because their own model of ethical formation is an extension of the monastic practices which Foucault argues developed out of Greek forms of caring for the self (Foucault 2005).

[32] The term charism in this context refers to the beliefs, commitments, and mission of a particular order.

practice. For the sisters that end is the love of God, and all other ends are subordinate to that aim[33].

In line with this ethical mode, the Sisters of St. Clare undergo a nine-year training process during which they are selected and formed into subjects of virtue who are thought to be capable of making independent judgments. This process is not forced upon the sisters, but is rather begun by the prospective sister herself when she makes the decision to enter into the life of the order after completing secondary school. This decision is generally preceded by a period during which the prospective novices, the aspirants, live

[33] There is also a way in which the actions of the sisters at Mercy House are directed towards changing the ethico-moral and religious possibilities of those with whom they come into contact. This is perhaps most explicit in their schools and in their participation in international youth programs designed to help young people do develop themselves in line with Franciscan spirituality. While this aim of formation was less explicitly present at Mercy House, there were instances in which the sisters required the same things of the children that they required of themselves. For example, the requirement that all of the children participate in the cultivation of the food for the home and the moral value they saw in agricultural labor mirrored the role agricultural labor played in their own lives, particularly during their time in the novitiate.

This said, with the exception of sisters like Sr. Joan who continues to work as a catechist in an area with a relatively small Christian population, the sisters no longer see themselves as missionaries. They live and work in a world where religion appears as something of a constant. This is not to say that there were not conversions, but these were no longer seen as the primary aim of their work. While the sisters take great pride in the children who they have raised who have gone on to be active in the church as clergy or laity or who have a special devotion to God as demonstrated through their attendance at mass or their participation in all-night prayer vigils, this outcome should not be seen as the accomplishment of an instrumental aim. Rather, their work, their own efforts to imitate Christ was for them an end in itself and distinct from an instrumental logic, even one aimed at altering another's subjectivity. In a way to understand the motives of their actions we must see the transformation of the sisters' own subjectivity as the primary aim of Mercy House, and not the subjectivities of Mercy House's residents.

This finding provides a surprising counter to both Hope Child's focus on changing people's behaviors and attitudes through sensitizations, workshops, individual counseling, and support group meetings. The approach of the sisters also stands in contrast to that of the American evangelicals described by Omri Elisha in his writings on the "compassion fatigue" that faith-based activists experience when the objects of their charity fail to change their behavior (Elisha 2008).

outside of the novitiate and are guided through a process of "discernment" to determine whether or not they truly have a calling to the religious life. Following a formal ceremony during which they ritually ask to be admitted to the novitiate, they don a modified version of the LSOSC habit and enter a prayerful period during which they will be cloistered and unable to leave the three-story compound of dormitories and classrooms which make up the novice house. Much of this time is spent in silent prayer and in classes. Much of this instruction focuses on the lessons that can be learned from the lives of Saints Francis and Clare, and also those that can be found in the story of the life of their founder Mother Mary Patrick. In addition to the formal education they receive they are encouraged to read what they like from the novice's library.

After this first year the sisters begin to re-enter the world and are sent to spend three months working at one of the "missions," of which Mercy House is one. In the commemorative magazine produced by the sisters for Mercy House's Platinum Jubilee celebration in 2003 many sisters wrote remembrances of Mercy House that focused on its role as a "school of charity" through which they were better able to understand and live out their charism, or ethos of the order. It is in this spirit that Sister Pauline writes.

> "For the Sisters of St. Clare, Mercy House is a window through which their charism: to love and serve the poor and the needy of our world today, is lived and practiced daily. Mercy House is the school where such lessons are learnt and shared…As a living reminder of God's care, Mercy House attracts many organizations yearly, which come and perform works of Mercy or just a desire to reach others less privileged."

Sr. Jean similarly noted that until the mid-1970s every Sister who entered the Formation took her turn at Mercy House. "Having a turn at serving the poor," was seen as critical to the formation process.

Yet, the training of junior sisters and novices is not primarily directed towards the running of programs like Mercy House, although some may eventually be sent for professional training in teaching or nursing, to help them in their work. Rather, the work they perform at Mercy House is part of their on-going formation. The mundane details of teaching vocational training classes, plucking chickens, taking children to the hospital, and looking for ways to pay the children's school fees serve as an integral part of the care of the self. The care of the self is not the means, but is rather the ultimate end, the ultimate aim of their practice. They do not seek to shape themselves so that they might better serve the poor; they serve the poor so that they might better shape themselves into true "brides of Christ." The sisters see the love and adoration of God as the pinnacle of a hierarchy of tasks. Loving God and training their souls toward that end was not only the most important task, but was indeed the end towards which all other tasks were but a means.

At the end of the second year the novices decide whether or not to make the first of a series of professions in which they dedicate their lives to the order. After six years most sisters go on to make their final profession during which the sister dedicates her life to the service of God.

When not in prayer, classes, or discussion with elderly sisters, the novices spent their time carrying water, digging in the garden, cleaning, and caring for animals. This focus on manual labor continued beyond the novitiate period and the sisters' regular participation in the manual tasks required to run the home competed with paperwork for their time.

Manual labor is not only a practically necessary part of the sisters' lives, but is also something that is deeply valued. Sr. Rosemary, a junior sister working at Mercy House, who was preparing to go on a six-month retreat, spoke with enthusiasm about all of the gardening they would do while on retreat. "Gardening is very important to the Franciscans. Even if you didn't need all of the food yourself to have some to share with the other people. And beyond that, it's good exercise and makes a person feel strong." Sr. Caroline leaned back in her chair and laughed. "I was almost chased out of the novitiate because I had such a hard time waking up in the morning for prayers and didn't like carrying water. I was very fat!" she said reaching for another slice of bread, "I liked digging, but I got other sisters to carry water for me."

Most of the sisters at Mercy House looked forward to big manual tasks, like dressing the poultry that they raised as an income-generating project. In anticipation of a Saturday of poultry dressing, Sr. Valentine explained the process to me: "Everyone will do it together!" She exclaimed with pride.

Entering the compound the next morning I saw what she meant. The entire population of Mercy House seemed to be involved in the task of slaughtering two hundred white broilers. Those strong enough to wield axes were busy cutting off heads, while the smaller children skipped back and forth between those with the axes and those waiting to pluck the feathers off, swinging the bloody decapitated chickens by their feet. The elderly people sat next to big cauldrons of boiling water dipping the feathered bodies in one by one to ease the plucking. Those who could not walk were given the task of plucking the feathers off. Disaster, the dog, looked on, hungrily eyeing the growing mounds of chicken innards.

Sr. Caroline was seated with the pluckers and was herself busy pulling off handfuls of wet chicken feathers. She seemed delighted to be part of the work party. Given all of their unfinished grants and backlogged bookkeeping, it seemed strange to see the head of Mercy House sitting out here plucking chicken feathers. She looked disappointed when I, already feeling a little nauseated from the smell of chicken innards steaming in the sun, declined to join in the fun.

The chicken dressing was not only an important income-generating project; the participation in the collective labor of slaughtering the chickens was also a form of ethico-moral equipment. In participating in collective forms of manual labor, and especially messy manual labor like chicken slaughtering, the sisters were able to enact an element of their Franciscan charism and to nurture the virtues humility and solidarity. The morning of chicken slaughtering also allowed them to mimic Mother Patrick's own participation in manual labor. As with other aspects of their training, the sisters often remarked on Mother Patrick's own willingness to participate in manual labor and saw their own labors as modeled upon hers. Publicly participating in manual tasks gave the sisters a chance to demonstrate the value of work, something that Sr. Valentine had stressed as an important part of what they wanted to teach the people living at Mercy House. During one of my first visits to Mercy House she emphasized the importance of the collective participation in the task of gardening. "People learn that digging is good and see value in the food they produce and share together. Even those who crawl on their hands and knees for want of a wheelchair go to the garden to work together for an hour each evening. We all enjoy together when we harvest the sweet potatoes or roast and eat the corn together." Sr. Caroline similarly emphasized the importance of collective effort

at Mercy House. "Everyone has to be part of the family. And when you are part of the family you must contribute, even if a smile, even if a word of advice, even if something, so that you are part, have a belonging, a sense of belonging in this family, with all the pride and confidence."

Srs. Caroline and Valentine's claims concerning the sense of solidarity created through mutual involvement in manual labor raise other issues concerning the pragmatics and meaning of the sisters' vow of poverty. In the context of Uganda where 31% of the population lives on less than a dollar a day, thinking about what it means to voluntarily take a vow of poverty, concretely discerning what taking such a vow might mean and how it might affect one's work with the poor at a place like Mercy House, is complicated task. The sisters lived a life that placed them comfortably in the Ugandan middle class. Unlike the vast majority of people in Uganda most of the sisters had electricity, bedrooms with beds, mattresses, pillows, and mosquito nets, a generator, and regular access to meat, eggs, and milk. The sisters further up in the hierarchy also had running water and access to private vehicles. And while the sisters were not allowed to own property, they were given small allowances to cater for their personal needs, which they could spend as they saw fit. Sister Valentine had been dutifully saving hers to go on a whitewater-rafting trip at the nearby Bujagali Falls. Many of the American and European volunteers who came to work at the home grumbled about the sisters' hopes of a acquiring a television, accusing them of not truly living in poverty, especially given the conditions outside their door.

The question of what constitutes "poverty" and what purpose this vow serves has been a question that has mattered deeply to the Franciscans since Francis died in the 13th

century, at times threatening to divide the order. The matter was ultimately decided in favor of a more moderate reading of the vow of poverty that stipulated that while professed individuals should not own any private property, the order could. While still seeing value in living in solidarity with the poor, this moderate view also stresses that the poverty should not be so extreme as to cause great suffering. Rather the purpose of poverty is to detach oneself from the burdens of possessions and desires for them which might get in the way of their following their calling. In this way the Franciscan vow of poverty is more similar to their vow of obedience, than it is to their first Peace Corps volunteer's understanding of her own "vow of poverty," which was for her primarily about learning about global poverty through the experience of living in it.

One might argue that any young woman faced with the prospects of a life rearing six children in a dirt-floored house with no running water might well choose to better her life by taking a vow of poverty and joining the sisters in their comfortable convent. Yet, the experience of sitting among the friends and relatives of "the brides" who made their first profession in January 2008 visually belied the assumption that the sisters were all facing grim village futures. While everyone had clearly gone out of their way to wear their best, the quality of the fabric used to make their *gomesas* and elaborately tailored *kitengi* fashions served as a ready index of the high economic status of some of the "brides'" families. While, many families came by taxi, enduring the dusty two hour journey, rocking and bouncing along the rough road, others came in shining white land rovers, their stylish cream suits unwrinkled and unspoilt by the dust, the husband reading the Sunday edition of the New Vision newspaper during the speeches. And so while some

of the sisters' increased their socioeconomic status and stability by taking a vow of poverty, others were opting out of Uganda's upper class.

Their inability to own private property also freed the sisters from the demands of their friends and kin. "During the profession ceremony a woman's friends and relatives come to understand that none of the property of the order belongs to the sisters," Sr. Amelia explained. "They learn that they cannot expect to benefit materially from their kinswoman belonging to the order." During the celebratory lunch following the profession the Vicar of Lugazi Diocese mentioned that his brother was about to become the third priest in their family: "Many people are expressing their sympathy to my parents that so many of their sons had become priests." He explained that these friends felt that the family would have been better off if more of their children were making money. For while the priests themselves might enjoy a relatively comfortable life given their ability to enjoy the use of the church's property, this is not a comfort which can easily be transferred to the priest's family. And so while the nun's family not only loses an opportunity to receive bride price, an issue which was much joked about in the homily during the profession mass and which has long been an issue for girls wishing to join the novitiate, they also lose the opportunity to access wealth, either licitly or illicitly, through their daughters employment.[34]

In addition, the sisters argued that their simple lifestyle and their inability to draw salaries allowed more money to be spent on programs. The sisters, like many Ugandan's

[34] These internal arguments concerning barriers to corruption that are put in place through the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, are not unlike those made by castrated Hijra politicians claiming their incorruptibility (Cohen 1995:276-304). Yet, it is certainly not impossible for wealth to make its way out of the order and collection plate into the extended family of a nun or a priest.

outside of the development community, were critical of NGOs. "The salaries, the type of comfort those people live in, the way money is wasted at seminars at Hotel Africana!" Sr. Valentine lamented over a breakfast of bread and tea one morning. "It makes me sick," Sr. Caroline said as we sat in the unlit office at the back of the compound, gradually growing dimmer as the night came, mosquitoes buzzing in through the open shutters, "I've seen those NGO people in Lira, staying at fancy hotels, driving around in those big fuel guzzling Pajeros. Of course those vehicles make the work easier, but it isn't the right way to go about it. When we are there we sleep on the floor of the church with the youth. We don't stay at a hotel. We take a taxi, not a car. Instead of spending money on a hotel we buy food which we prepare and eat together." While Sr. Caroline's claims overstate the differences between the lifestyles of nuns and NGO workers, her speech conveys her belief in the value of living a simple lifestyle, as a form of equipment, which helps to instill the virtues of humility and detachment.

Mimetic Virtue

In all of these things the sisters look to their foundress Mother Mary Patrick as a model for religious life. They end each of their daily masses with a prayer of thanksgiving for her life and live in hope of her eventual beatification. During my second trip to Mercy House the Srs. Jane and Sylvia took me to see an elaborate exhibit that the novices made in honor of the 50th anniversary of her death. Photographs and stories were carefully pasted onto huge display boards commemorating the life and works of Mother Patrick.

Mother Mary Patrick was born in Sligo, Ireland in 1875. She is remembered by her biographer and by the elderly sisters who knew her as being a short, high spirited woman with a strong sense of God's hand at work in the world. She seriously considered marriage at eighteen, but turned down the proposal following a recurring dream in which she saw herself surrounded by dark-skinned people "There was…a dark-skinned man who appeared to be someone of importance, and who kept saying to her: 'Your work is to help my people'" (Louis 1964:12). She originally thought that this dream was a sign that she should go and work in the missions in America and so went and applied to join the Franciscan sisters at St. Paul's Abbey in England, a newly founded order dedicated to charity work in the slums of East London and the United States. She joined them with the intention of going with them to do work with African Americans in the United States. She was ultimately sent to Uganda as one of a group of six Franciscan Missionaries who had been asked to join the English Mill Hill priests already in Uganda.

During her 55 years of service in Uganda Mother Patrick established over thirty convents, hospitals, schools, and orphanages in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. During the last years of her life she took up residence in the United States, but remained in frequent correspondence with the Sisters of St. Clare. Upon her death in 1957 she was buried near her home in Sligo, Ireland. However, this arrangement did not last long. The *Katikiro*[35] of the kingdom of Buganda protested on behalf of the Catholics in Buganda arguing, "She must come here. A chief is always buried in his own *butaka*[36]. She must be brought here for a second burial. That is the custom" (Louis 1964:242) And so two months after her first burial in Ireland Mother Patrick's remains were disinterred and

[35] Prime Minister

flown back to Uganda where she was buried a short distance from the Mother House in Namayumba.

The sisters made near constant reference to Mother Patrick and often justified actions or decisions through an appeal to the actions, wishes, or intentions of Mother Patrick. The exhibit on her life was written with a tone that suggested the miraculous, implicitly making the case for beatification. Whether or not Mother Patrick is ultimately beatified, the idea that their order was founded by a possible saint and that they themselves were either personally or by one step removed trained by a saint carries a great deal of weight.[37]

In the Catholic tradition both Jesus and the saints serve as the virtuous others upon whom one might attempt to model oneself. Indeed, for many Catholics operating within this strand of the tradition, the imitation of Christ is at the foundation of what it means to lead a virtuous life. For the SOSC, this is accomplished both through the direct imitation of Christ himself; and through a mimetic chain of virtue in which they attempt to model their actions on those of Mother Mary Patrick, who in turn modeled herself after St. Francis, who in turn modeled himself on Christ.

For the sisters, learning about the life of Mother Patrick, something that was accomplished by talking with the elderly sisters who had known her personally was an important, and intimate, form of didactic hagiography that proved crucial to their training. Sr. Sylvia often spoke with great tenderness about the way she had been told Mother Patrick had taught the first sisters to pray simply, "Jesus I love you." "Jesus give

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[36] Ancestral burial ground or land belonging to one of Buganda's forty clans.

us food." Sr. Jane glowed when she spoke about Mother Patrick joining the other sisters in the fields when they went out to dig in the gardens. The intimacy with which the sisters learned the stories of the life of Mother Patrick was further evidenced by the poetry they wrote about her and her work in Uganda, and by the brightly painted homemade paper maché bust of Mother Patrick which smiled down on the sisters from a shelf in their living room.

Given the limited access the sisters had to the biography of Mother Patrick, a novelistic account of her life written by Sr. Mary Louis in 1964, and the minor discrepancies between the biography and the stories they personally shared with me, it is clear that the living hagiography of Mother Patrick is an intimate oral tradition in which stories are passed from sister to sister. These stories, and not their more formal catechetical training in the novitiate, were what they drew upon as they worked to mold their lives not only to the model of Christ, but also to the model given to them by Mother Patrick herself.

Providential Practices

> "The hand of the lord feeds us, he answers all our needs" – Antiphon, Psalm 145
>
> "Bishop Hanlon had been given a donation for the purpose of bringing a Community of Sisters to Uganda. When fares had been paid, outfits provided, and a convent built, there was not much money left. At the end of six months the Bishop had, most reluctantly, to tell Mother Paul that he could not longer give any financial help towards the Sisters' maintenance; the Community must support itself…Mother Paul was stunned when she received the news…She called Sister Patrick and told her about this

[37] A similar mode of justification can be found among the employees at secular organizations run by charismatic leaders. Employees of Partners In Health often explain their actions in terms of what Paul Farmer might do in a similar situation.

> unexpected difficulty...Mother Paul was almost in tears as she sat down on a tree stump and cried: 'Sister Patrick, dear, what *are* we going to do?' Sister Patrick tried to find a few consoling words when, suddenly, the ant-ridden stump collapsed and her poor Superior was left sitting flat on the ground! The situation proved too much for her bubbling mirth. She gave vent to peals of laughter. "The Bishop can't support you, Mother, and neither can the stump! We shall just trust in Providence!" The episode ended in hearty laughter, the Franciscan method of meeting a crisis, especially a financial one! They returned to the convent and, at evening recreation, Mother Paul laughingly told the Community that they were faced with utter ruin" (Louis 1964:58-59).

The sisters' relationship to providential faith is one of several instances in which Mother Patrick serves as a didactic figure of virtue upon which one might model one's life. In addition to the story of the mysterious stranger retold at the opening of this chapter, there were many others compiled for the Mother Mary Patrick commemorative exhibit, most of which were gathered together on a board entitled "little miracles." These stories all highlight the miraculous work of Divine Providence in her life and in the history of the order and emphasize the virtues of prayer and faith as the most important for any accomplishment. In one story a Duchess gave Mother Patrick a building for a convent for missionary sisters in Europe. In another, a midwife interested in traveling to Africa appears just as Mother Patrick was praying for someone to come and help the sisters provide better obstetric care in Uganda. These stories resonate with the sisters' own stories of providential fundraising. As in the story of financial ruin quoted above, what the sisters were sent was often less than they needed, but they nevertheless worked to meet financial crises with laughter and faith that funds would be forthcoming. This is not to say that the sisters did not worry when, for example, the World Food Program suddenly cut off its shipments of nutri-soy porridge without warning, leaving sick children with limited access to protein. Of course they worried. But, their faith that other

funding would be forthcoming greatly tempered their fear. Laughing in the face of adversity, a lesson learnt through their attempts to mimic Mother Patrick's own laughter, was for the sisters' a providential practice through which they both demonstrated and nurtured their faith in God's ability to care and provide for them.

Like manual labor and frequent reassignments providential practices like these can thus be seen as a form of ethico-moral equipment. The process of telling and retelling the stories of the "little miracles" and laughing aloud in the face of adversity helped the sisters to incorporate the discourse of divine providence into themselves in a manner which prepared them to face future struggles with a steadfast commitment to their charism and a faith that God would provide solutions to their problems. Just as the stoics prepared themselves for misfortune, so to were the sisters preparing themselves for misfortunes, preparing themselves to respond to these misfortunes in a way which would confirm, rather than deny, their love of God.

Proud Beggars

The sisters' faith in divine providence and their commitment not to a plan, but to a charism, also altered their relationship to donors and seemed to dispel the fear of losing donors that grips the Ugandan NGO community. In place of this fear there was a powerful trust that they and the children will be provided for, despite all evidence to the contrary. Over the course of visits the sisters of Mercy House told and retold the story of the Edmund Mercer Foundation. From my first trip to Mercy House it was clear that the story of their relationship with the Mercer foundation, and the subsequent termination of

that relationship, was as the center of the sisters' understanding of what their work was about and their place in the larger philanthropic universe.

Sister Caroline described how,

> "In 1983 the late Cardinal Nsubuga, of the Archdiocese of Kampala, got a letter from England concerning that Edmund Mercer man. We had five homes with charity services like this one, five of them. The Cardinal gave the letter to one of our sisters to go and attend the conference in London concerning this program of Edmund Mercer. It was a good program; they were interested more in disability. They said, 'You add in the name "Mercer"' and we will do the fundraising. That building [over there] was contributed by Edmund Mercer, that small workshop in the middle, the underground water tank, then the land rover, the red car, all of that was contributed through Edmund Mercer and their fundraising."

During this period the Edmund Mercer Foundation was largely interested in supporting direct care and rehabilitation programs for people with disabilities. Despite the fact that working with people with disabilities was only one of the tasks then being carried out at Mercy House, they felt that providing direct support for both operational and capital expenses was an effective way of carrying forward this mission, as evidenced by the goods and funding the sisters received during this period.

Sister Caroline continued, "Edmund Mercer died in 1994. The people who took over after he died, some were carrying on with his vision, others were not. They wanted this home to send away all of the old people and the children. But caring for those people is part of our charism." The sisters were very angry about the proposed changes and interpreted them as demands that they change their charism to match the desires of a donor. Sr. Caroline argued, "When Mother Patrick started her ministry she built the first small thatch hut to look after a boy who wasn't orphaned or disabled, but was simply needy." We could agree to take in more disabled, but we could not get rid of the others." After some time, they agreed that while they were not willing to send anyone

away, they would avoid taking in any more people who fell into the ambiguous "needy" category and would try to limit future intakes to people with disabilities. Yet this decision was not without consequences. Sr. Caroline continued,

> "One day an old man came to our gate requesting our help. Given the new agreement we turned him away saying there was nothing we could do given the new policy. The man, dejected, went to the parish priest and told him of the situation. The priest encouraged him to go back come back and ask again. But, he was so dejected that he refused to come back. Instead we found him hanging from the tree just outside their compound having committed suicide. You see this is the reason we cannot limit our population in the way that another group might."

In mourning the sisters reflected and prayed and eventually came back to the position that "It is the charism of the Franciscans is to cater for the poor and needy. We ultimately decided to say let the money go, let the donors go, we will find a way out. We may be beggars, but we are proud beggars."

The sisters felt that making the mission of Mercy House more specific would require them to change the fundamental mission of their order. Their ultimate refusal to do this is striking in a climate where NGOs regularly change their missions, target populations, and approach to match trends in international funding. Their decision to "let the donors go" placed Mercy House in a situation of grave financial instability. Their statement "we will find a way out" reveals their faith in Divine Providence as the force that would ultimately support them, just as the name of their dog, Disaster, who was a puppy at the time of the Mercer Crisis, reflects their ability to laugh at their own predicament.

The sisters' faith that God will ultimately provide the means to sustain their work, which they learned through the telling and retelling of Mother Mary Patrick's own providential encounters with the donor community of her time, reveals a logic of

sustainability which differs from that recently embraced by Hope Child. The sisters' of Mercy House believe that their work will be sustained not through their own efforts, but rather through the work of God and their place in his plan. The fact that they could not lose their jobs, which they had committed to for life, reinforced this feeling of stability comfort and gave them the space of freedom necessary to say no to the Mercer Foundation. As opposed to NGO workers whose positions depend on the fate of their grants, the sisters' positions were not directly tied the fate of their funding. Sr. Amelia once assured me that their work would continue whether or not they had donors, "We were doing this work before the donors came, and we will continue doing it even if they leave."

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Recent writings on the related but distinct discourses of humanitarianism and development have reflected on the ways in which different constructions of time figure within these related ethical assemblages (Ferguson 2006, Bornstein and Redfield Forthcoming). Within these works humanitarianism is distinguished not only by its concern with survival and bare life, but also through its operation within the space of an emergency. It is in this sense not only immediate, but also set apart from the problems of "normal life," no matter how long such emergencies may last. Development on the other hand is distinguished not only by its concern with economic-well being, but also by its focus on what we might think of of as the foreseeable mid-range future. Jane Guyer has recently written of the evacuation of the mid-range future in favor of a focus on the the infinite horizon of the "millennial future" and the immediate survival oriented present (Guyer 2007). Indeed, with the collapse of the promise of an imminent modernity (Ferguson 1999) in much of Africa, placing one's hopes on the mid-range future has become an increasingly risky proposition.

Mid-Range Futures and Measurable Outcomes

Hopes pinned on sustainable development rely on the belief that, when correctly implemented, development projects will continue to produce fruit for the foreseeable future. In line with this projection, Hope Child and its funders claim that if all goes according to plan the project will continue into the foreseeable future without on-going external funding. In some ways, sustainable development is focused on a vision of the future in which the effects of their work will only come into being after the NGOs leave

the community. As we have seen, this vision of the mid-range future is joined with a focus on the punctuated future of reportable measurable outcomes that can be used to measure the organization's completion of the measurable goals and outcomes that are thought to be necessary for the envisioned self-replicating future of its projects.

Regardless of Hope Child's vision for their projects, there are several factors that lead me to question the likelihood that Hope Child's projects will achieve long term sustainability. Many of the volunteers upon whom Hope Child's future relies appear to be motivated by the sorts of real and cultural capital they might gain by being associated with Hope Child. Once Hope Child leaves Sebanda these potentially valuable opportunities will leave with it. In addition, despite their focus on sustainability, none of the NGOs that had completed their work in Sebanda over the last decade were still operational. Organizations like Lone Mothers of Uganda (LMU) put in place a cadre of volunteers who were charged with the task of continuing the programs after the NGO officially ended their involvement in the project. In so doing, they were in large part following the same model used by Hope Child. A few counselors, like Sharon Nabukulu who was trained by LMU, still spoke with girls in her area using the skills she had gained working with LMU, but this was rare. LMU's volunteer work ground to a halt when there was no money to repair the broken sewing machines at the center of their job-training program. While the volunteers would have been happy to continue with their work, they have not, now that funding for transport, trainings, and supplies no longer exist.

The collapse of organizations like LMU raises questions not only about the future of Hope Child, but also about the future-oriented narratives of sustainable development

more generally. Yet, these are different questions than those raised by Guyer's recent writings or Ferguson's work in the Zambian copper-belt, for it is striking that in this case the mid-range future continues to hold great purchase in the minds of many development workers. While it is tempting to equate the eschatological ring of "The End of Poverty" (Sachs 2005) and even the Millennium Development franchise with Guyer's millennial future to do so would erase the profound faith in human agency involved in these plans.

Hope and the Eternal Present

In considering the sisters' faith in the power of Divine Providence, and the role the story of Mother Patrick plays for them in helping to develop that faith, we begin to understand that the sisters think about hope, time, and their own agency in the world in a way which is not only quite different from the ways in which development workers are taught to think about these, but also quite different from the ways in which some contemporary anthropologists have written about these concepts. Rather than focusing on "developmental time" (Ferguson 2006), the infinite horizon of the "millennial future" (Crapanzano 2003; Guyer 2007; Comaroff and Comaroff 2000), or the immediate survival oriented present (Guyer 2007), the sisters lived in a mode which I have chosen to call the eternal present, a mode of being which not only influenced their orientation towards time, but also towards questions of hope, grace, and the ultimate limits of their own agency.

While thinking about how to understand what I at that time saw as the sisters' focus on the immediate present, I stumbled across a copy of Thomas Merton's No Man Is An

Island in the sisters' collection of devotional books. In this volume Merton describes the good of working with what he calls "simple intention."

> The man of simple intention works in an atmosphere of prayer: that is to say he is recollected. His spiritual reserves are not all poured out into his work, but stored where they belong, in the depths of his being, with his God. He is detached from his work and from its results. Only a man who works purely for God can at the same time do a very good job and leave the results of the job to God alone. If our intention is less than simple, we may do a very good job, but in doing so we will become involved in the hope of results that will satisfy ourselves. If our intention is less than right we will be concerned neither for the job nor for its results, because we have not bothered to take a personal interest in either of them. A simple intention rests in God while accomplishing all things….Since a simple intention does not need to rest in any particular end, it has already reached the end as soon as the work is begun. For the end of a simple intention is to work in God and with Him – to sink deep roots into the soil of His will and to grow there in whatever weather He may bring. " (Merton 1955, 62-63)

And so, while the sisters' way of working often struck outsiders who were attached to outcomes as aimless and unpredictable, in looking towards Merton's notion that work has "reached the end as soon as the work is begun" we see some sort of pattern in their daily frazzled disorganization which is about more than having too little time and too little money. We also move towards a point of understanding how overcrowded, overcommitted orphanages like Mercy House come to be, as new residents are accepted as having been sent through divine providence and accepted for the good accomplished in the initial moment of action, with the ultimate results of the action being left to God.

Merton's writings reveal the ways in which the sisters' ethic of detachment is in many ways at odds with the sort of long-range planning and monitoring which is becoming increasingly essential for organizations called to demonstrate measurable

results as a condition for securing future grants from international organizations. Many of these organizations are moving towards a model which Geneva Global, a US-based philanthropic advising firm, has termed "performance philanthropy." Under the logic of performance philanthropy, potential donors are advised to think of their gifts as investments that can be evaluated according to their returns. These returns can be measured in any number of ways, cost-effectiveness modeling based on QALYs, DALYs, and Geneva Global's own CPL ratio, cost-per-life changed, which they liken to the PE price-to-earnings ratio commonly used among investors. All of these measures look towards some sort of mid-range future, punctuated or otherwise, and seem incompatible with Merton's advocacy for work performed in the present of the simple intention.

In Merton's "simple intention" we find detachment from the results of one's work described not simply as a negative lack, but as something actively promoted. This can be seen in the ways in which the sisters were regularly moved from one post to another, moves that they must accept as part of their vow of obedience. While such moves proved maddening for some of their donors, the Superior defends these moves as essential for discouraging the sisters from becoming too attached to their projects. Whereas advocates of sustainable development talked regularly of the need for project "ownership," the sisters were actively discouraged from taking "ownership" of their work.

This sense of detachment is reflected in the sisters' work, for while they are very interested in doing what they do well, they seem markedly less convinced that their

actions would be the primary cause of whatever results they achieve. Merton's encouragement to work in a way in which one envisions oneself "sink(ing) deep roots into the soil of His will and to grow there in whatever weather he may bring" provides a possible explanation for the sisters resistance to planning and about their relationship to questions of hope and agency.

In his essay on hope as a category of social analysis, Vincent Crapanzano, following Walter Pater, distinguishes the category of hope from the related category of desire, describing hope as desire's "passive counterpart". Hope, he writes, "ultimately…depend[s] on the fates - on someone else (Crapanzano 2003, 6)." Hope's temporal mode, like development's, is "linear, teleological, and eschatological," what separates them is the role which one's own agency can play in bringing something better into being. Yet, Crapanzano's distinction between "hope" and "desire" is not reflected in other writings on hope. Richard Rorty rejects the possibility of divine agency and pragmatically posits human action as the source of transformative power (Rorty 1999:288). His faith in human potential is clearly reflected in much of contemporary pro-development discourse and is perhaps best seen in Jeffery Sachs' promise of The End of Poverty (Sachs 2005). I would argue that Rorty's hope is no hope at all, but is rather something closer to what Crapanzano would call "desire." [38]

[38] Both Bloch and Miyazaki reject the agency debate altogether. They argue that neither "faith in God nor faith humans" can be the source of hope, but rather that both faith in God and humans are themselves manifestations of hope itself (Bloch 1986:920; Miyazaki 2004).

Crapanzano's discussion of collaborative agency (between God and humans, between the lover and the beloved) upon which hope ultimately rests is reflected in Mother Patrick's reliance on Teresa of Avila's saying, "Teresa and a ducat can do nothing: God, Teresa and a ducat can do everything. Let us do everything we can, but let us make God our banker." In line with this motto, the sisters live in the hope that what they accomplish in the present moment will be perfected and completed by God. This notion of collaborative agency is similarly reflected in the sisters' attitude towards the formation process. Shaped by an Augustinian anthropology, they understand themselves as essentially broken and incapable of truly molding themselves to religious life without God's grace. This same theme is again repeated in Catholic theologies of salvation in which God's will (grace) perfects human action (works). The sisters, like other Catholics, live in the hope that God will make up for their shortcomings, and this faith helps them to avoid becoming preoccupied with their own salvation.

The practice of charity itself is itself dependent on grace. The sisters do not conceive of themselves as "fixing the world" or "solving" anything. This is not the end of poverty. Rather, they see themselves working to better love their neighbor, and through these actions, loving God. In their embrace of the simple intention they believe that only God can complete and perfect their imperfect works, which are always broken, always partial, as they believe themselves to be. It is thus that we find that the giver of charity is not the complete human who strategically distributes her surplus to the broken

poor. In this vision, the giver herself is also broken and her actions can only be completed through divine grace.

Ways Forward

In this alternate orientation we find that the question changes from "How can we bring about 'the end of poverty'?" to, "What are the ethical possibilities open to someone born into a position of relative privilege in a world of striking inequality?" While resisting the prescriptive impulse generally found at the end of all NGO documents under the ubiquitous "Ways Forward" subsection, I want to close by thinking a bit about what the preceding pages might tell us about the possible answers to this second question. While acknowledging the need for broader forms of political and economic change in Uganda, the limits the sisters place on their expectations of what good might arise through their own actions aligns surprisingly well with contemporary thinking on the role of emergence and the limited goods accomplished through purposeful planning. Edward Miguel's slim, but encouraging volume Africa's Turn?, points to encouraging signs of economic growth and political progress in Africa, but attributes these not to planned development schemes, but rather to more contingent and unpredictable forces (Miguel 2009). For those who still feel called to act in a world where faith in the power of human planning has largely dissipated, small present-oreinted acts of care similar to those made by the sisters seem somewhat more promising than the future oriented vision of sustainable development.

And yet, sisters and their donors are not committed only to a ministry of the present. The sisters also regularly argue that "It is better to teach a man to fish than to

give him a fish." However, I would claim they are focused at a different level of sustainability than those advocates of sustainable development. Rather than focusing on the sustainability of an institution, they focus on the sustainability of individuals, households, and families. Through education, they hope to create sustainable individuals who will be able to care for themselves and for others. When self-sufficiency is not an option for someone, they aim to educate that person's sibling or relative such that they can create a sustainable household together.

In reflecting on the disjuncture between Hope Child's reliance on the image of the ideal-typical interdependent African village and its simultaneous exclusion of itself or its foreign donors from that vision, I often imagine a walled compound. Within this imaginary walled compound are the residents of places like Sebanda who are supposed to work together in harmony and solidarity. This is the village that is expected to raise the child. While NGOs and their donors might occasionally enter this walled compound to make a one-time gift or to educate or sensitize the people within, they are effectively forbidden from maintaining an on-going material relationship with those on the other side of the wall. While proponents of sustainable development would claim that the wall exists to protect the villagers from dependency, I would argue that donors and potential donors have built this imaginary wall to protect themselves. For the NGOs and donors were to tear down this wall would be to imagine themselves as part of that community and subject to the demands of those seeking to attach themselves to them (*okusenga*). The socially and materially thick relationships (Ferguson 2006) that might result would prevent cosmopolitan donors and NGOs from moving easily from place to place and would undoubtably decrease the numbers of people they could claim as "lives changed."

But in exchange for their statistics and freedom, they might actually see real improvements in people's lives.

While there are undoubtably problems with things like child sponsorships (see Bornstein 2003 for a critique), such programs most closely mimic the sorts of relationships Ugandans motivated by ethics of patronage, kinship, and *mutima* enter into with one another. To enter into such a relationship, even one mediated by a bureaucracy and problematic images and narratives which exaggerate the isolation of African orphans, is in someways to position oneself as being inside the wall, as being someone to whom others might attach themselves in socially and materially thick ways.

Partners In Health, an NGO founded by the medical anthropologist Paul Farmer that provides advanced health care for the poor in countries including Haiti, Peru, Rwanda, and Russia has historically worked through a similar model. By focusing their efforts around the decisions its physicians would make if they were in a doctor-patient relationship with a given person in the United States, Partners In Health effectively imagines itself as being part of the same moral world, as being inside the wall, with the people they aim to serve.

Such approaches are increasingly rare in the contemporary moment when so many organizations, including many of those run by the Catholic Church under the banner of solidarity, imagine themselves as somehow separable from those living in the places where they work. The sort of medical interventions engaged in by Partners in Health will not bring about an end of global poverty, nor are they as scaleable as Partners in Health's staff might like them to be, but they do represent one form of response to the ethical problem of living in a world shaped by inequality, and one which I would argue is

more similar than different to the answer given in the form of child sponsorships or the interventions made by the Little Sisters of St. Clare.

In refusing the dominant narratives of international development that continue promote sustainability, independence, audit and the power of human agency the Little Sisters of St. Clare have refused to build up imaginary walls to protect themselves from the demands of those living in the communities that surround their convents. In their decision to engage in on-going relationships governed by patronage, charity, and *mutima* we find a place in which a Kiganda ethics of mutual obligation and *mutima* may serve as a lesson for both Christian and secular ethics. In engaging in patronage relationships with those in their community the Little Sisters of St. Clare acknowledge that solidarity, like both justice and charity, is not a technical plan, but is rather a model for relationship.

In closing, I want to clarify that I am not arguing for a return to charity as a universal model for interrelationship. Rather, I hope that through my discussion of the interactions between charity, sustainable development, and Kiganda ethics of interdependence that we might unsettle what are often assumed to be foregone conclusions about the ethics and effects of dependency in the post-colonial world.

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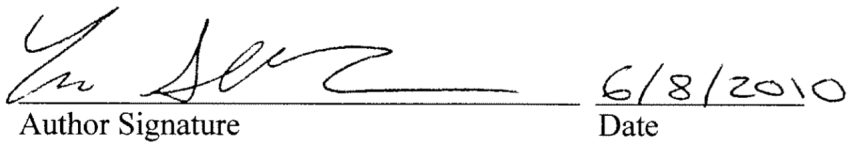

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