

PsychoSocial Profile

Audience Analysis

UGANDA

2025-2026

Psychoanalytical Anthropology

Psychoanalysis of Conflict Participants





A COUNTRY OF ORIGIN REPORT - UGANDA

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APPENDIX A COUNTRY OF ORIGIN REPORT - UGANDA

§A1 Uganda's International Context.

The nature of asylum cases involving Uganda is dependent on the context of Ugandan society and governance in relation to mental and physical disabilities, legal protections, sociopolitical corruption, and the intersections of asylum countries' systems of justice and medicine in comparison to those in Uganda. Uganda maintains an important international position with the African Union, Europe, the United States, and the United Nations, all of which are involved with and dependent upon, Uganda's continued cooperation on international activities.¹ This dependence provides President Yoweri Museveni, Uganda's ruler for the past quarter century, with negotiating power needed to suppress dissenters and maintain his family's rule. This dependence on Uganda has not stopped the US, AU, Europe, and the UN from noticing and voicing opposition to, Uganda's increasingly autocratic rule and violation of a broad spectrum of human rights in a manner resembling populist rule that panders to those population segments preferring a return to premodern forms of social life. The United States, despite being one of Uganda's largest donors, supporters, and security ally, has banned numerous government officials in the Museveni regime from entering the United States, charging them with undermining democracy, human rights violations, and repression of marginalised groups.² This dichotomy, where international organisations and governments, both depend on, and decry, Uganda's authoritarian government, is an important consideration in understanding the differing attitudes of western governments' systems of justice versus international relations. The four sections in this report describes a Ugandan society under pressure from President Museveni's 37 years in power and the sociopolitical violence that has been increasingly driving Ugandan's into seeking Asylum in large number over the last decade. Various social commentators, many of whom paid the price for their impertinence with imprisonment and torture, describe the context of political and social violence in Uganda as "Murder-as-Social-Order," and "Violence-as-Political-Action." In this regard, §A2 is critical to understanding the observable, visible sequelae of this 'society under pressure' and which makes Uganda an unsafe place for all its vulnerable and marginalised minorities. The Government of President Yoweri Museveni is currently at odds with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States over their travel advisories against visiting Uganda and over accusations that he and his regime have undermined democracy and are in flagrant violation of human rights. President Museveni describes the actions of the UK and USA governments as "interference in our internal affairs" during a heated press conference.³

§A1.1 Context of Political and Social Violence in Uganda.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement have maintained control over the country for the past 37 years and will exceed 40 years at the end of his current term of office. As in Chad, Museveni's son, a military general, is being positioned to take the reins upon his father's retirement from the presidency. The United States and other governments and intergovernmental organisations have described the last several elections in Uganda as being inconsistent with international standards of democracy. The U.S. Department of State has, for the past 3 years, been banning travel to the United States by members of the Museveni regime for their roles in undermining democracy in Uganda.⁴ Among the allegations behind the increasing isolation of the Ugandan government, there are credible allegations of arbitrary killings and disappearances of opposition supporters, disenfranchisement and voter intimidation, harassment of the opposition, closure of social media websites, and lack of transparency and independence in the Electoral Commission.⁵ The national police maintain internal security, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs oversees police. The president detailed army officials to

¹ The United Nations Regional Service Centre in Entebbe

² (Sserugo, 2023)

³ (Biryabarema, 2023)

⁴ (Sserugo, 2023)

⁵ (Bureau of Democracy, 2022)



leadership roles within police and the executive, including government ministries. The law allows the military to support police operations to maintain internal security. The Ministry of Defense oversees the army. There were reports that members of the security forces committed numerous abuses, with only a few low-ranking officers purportedly punished. These human rights violations were deemed significant by the UN and included credible reports of: unlawful or arbitrary killings, including extrajudicial killings; forced disappearance; torture and cases of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment by government agencies; harsh and life-threatening prison conditions; arbitrary arrest or detention; political prisoners or detainees; serious problems with the independence of the judiciary; arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy; punishment of family members for alleged offenses by a relative; serious abuses in a conflict, including unlawful civilian harm; serious restrictions on freedom of expression and media, including violence, threats of violence, and unjustified arrests or prosecution of journalists, and censorship; serious restrictions on internet freedom; substantial interference with the freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of association, including overly restrictive laws on the organization, funding, or operation of nongovernmental organizations and civil society organizations; serious flaws with citizens' ability to determine their government through free and fair elections; serious and unreasonable restrictions on political participation; serious government corruption; serious government restrictions on or harassment of domestic and international human rights organizations; lack of investigation of and accountability for gender-based violence, including domestic and intimate partner violence, sexual violence, and child, early, and forced marriage; crimes involving violence or threats of violence targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or intersex persons; and existence of laws criminalizing consensual same-sex sexual conduct between adults.⁶ Both the U.S. Department of State's Bureau for Democracy and Human Rights and Human Rights Watch found that the government was reluctant to investigate, prosecute, or punish officials who committed human rights abuses or engaged in corruption, whether in the security services or elsewhere in government, and impunity, including for serious abuses, was a problem.⁷ Beyond these surface conclusions of the international community above, the remainder of this section examines the context of political and social violence in Uganda that are driving many Ugandans into exile.⁸ The violence that has become a standard part of Ugandan social, political, and cultural life is neither new, nor does it arise from only one segment of society. Instead, it has become like an epidemic of sorts, with public officials championing and advocating for violent

"I AM NOT AN EMPLOYEE. I HEAR SOME PEOPLE SAYING THAT I AM THEIR SERVANT; I AM NOT A SERVANT OF ANYBODY. I AM A FREEDOM FIGHTER; THAT IS WHY I DO WHAT I DO."

"I DON'T DO IT BECAUSE I AM YOUR SERVANT. I AM NOT YOUR SERVANT. I AM JUST A FREEDOM FIGHTER."

I AM FIGHTING FOR MYSELF, FOR MY BELIEF.

THAT'S HOW I COME IN. IF ANYBODY THINKS YOU GAVE ME A JOB, HE IS DECEIVING HIMSELF.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni Friday, January 27, 2017

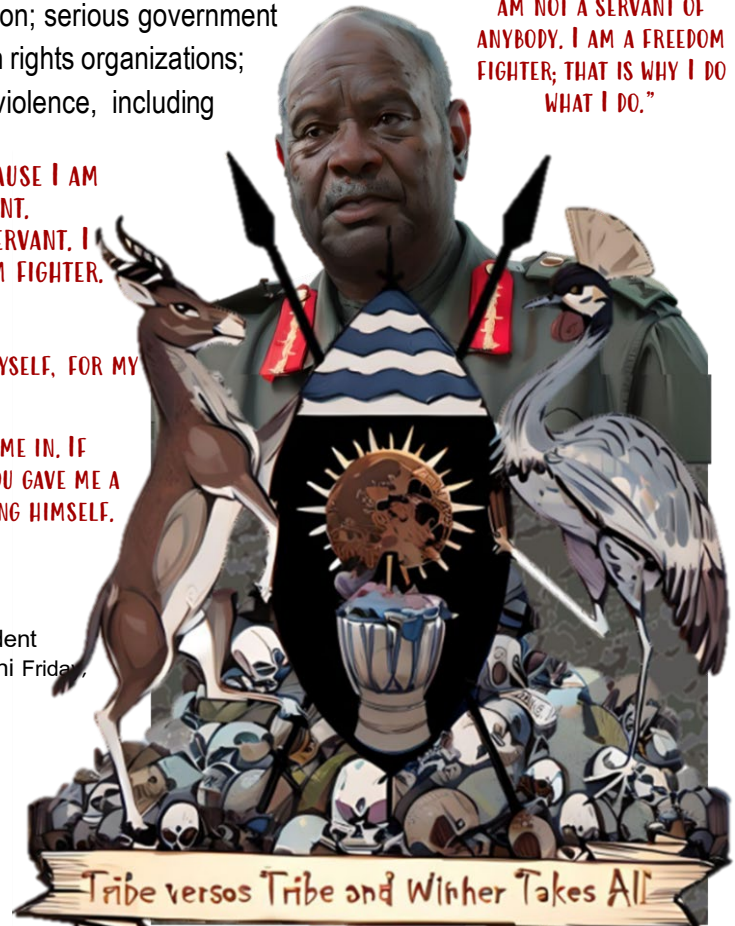


Figure 1 Depiction of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, with dark humour depiction of the national crest and quotes about his right to rule.

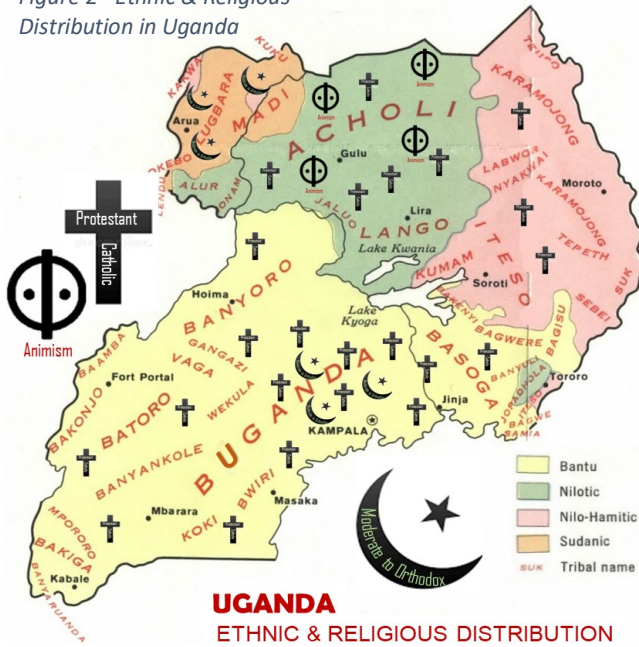
⁶ (Hayden, 2022)

⁷ (Bureau of African Affairs, 2022; Bureau of Democracy, 2022)

⁸ The amount of easily accessible material available on the political, psychosocial-cultural, criminal, and security situation that is relevant to this section is seemingly endless.



Figure 2 - Ethnic & Religious Distribution in Uganda



responses to protests and other violent responses in an endemic cycle of violence.⁹ As the graphic in figure 2 illustrates, Uganda is majority Christian, with enclaves of Muslims in the northeast and southeast. The dominant ethnicity is Buganda, where the country draws its name. Neither ethnicity nor religion appears to be major drivers of conflict. Instead, I have found there to be widespread depth of generational psychosocial-emotional trauma from 50-years of violent civil conflict that is nearly continuously overlaid by violent and abusive local and national governance. Part of this governing abuse is the creation of a ‘winner-takes-all’ mentality that permits or even encourages political ingroup-outgroup creation of social representation in the form of ‘haves versus have-nots’ expressed as a murderous reordering of society. At the centre of this murderous reordering is President Museveni’s National Resistance Movement, which has transferred psychological

ideations of tribe-clan self-love to political party self-love. It is not enough to merely be neutral, as neutrality implies membership within the outgroup of NRM self-love, where competitions over social, political, or security agendas are the outward (rational) manifestations of an otherwise psychological motive for the violence. There are deeper aspects of this phenomenon in play, however this kernel of diagnosis establishes the context needed to describe the context of political and social violence more fully in Uganda. Those Ugandan urbanites who are or were part of any of the competing competitions over social, political, or security agendas are at particular risk of violent attention. And this violent attention extends to their families as part of a pattern of psychosocial vengeance by victims-turned-perpetrators, creating a social situation that may well become intractable.

§A2 Traumatic Psychosocial Community Deformation of Ugandan Society.

Kampala based writer, playwright, and social critic, Kalundi Serumanga describes Uganda’s political and justice system as “Murder-as-Order.”¹⁰ In a powerful social commentary published in early 2021, Mr. Serumanga depicts a dystopian political-social-security structure that is based on the employment of terrorizing violence under a thin veneer of rule-of-law based democracy. The National Resistance Movement Party led by President Yoweri Museveni, **“Murder as Social Order”** has been in power for nearly three decades with a principal focus on internal security.¹¹ The NRM operates at nearly every level of government administration, to include the national elections commission and all the security services. While Ugandan law establishes and protects political action and guarantees free and fair elections, the reality is much the opposite. Violence, coercion, and open bribery have ensured Museveni’s position of power and a compliant legislative parliament.¹²

While Uganda holds regular elections, their credibility has deteriorated over time, and the country has been ruled by the same party and president since 1986. The ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), retains power through the manipulation of state resources, intimidation by security forces, and politicized prosecutions

⁹ (Crisis Group Staff, 2017)
¹⁰ (Serumanga, 2020)
¹¹ (Muhumuza, 2009)
¹² (Voice of America, 2010)



of opposition leaders. Uganda's civil society and media sectors remain vibrant, despite suffering sporadic legal and extra-legal harassment and state violence.¹³

During the 2016 election, the NRM dominated parliament passed a law to eliminate presidential term limits from the constitution, despite overwhelming public opposition. Afterwards, each member of parliament was given 5-million Ugandan Shillings by Museveni as a gift for allowing him to continue in power.¹⁴ The evolution of political and social violence in Uganda occurred against a backdrop of postcolonial 'tribe-as-ideology' collection of civil wars, cults, and insurgencies that have battered Ugandan society for the past 50-years.

Throughout the Kampala and Entebbe regions, a rising tide of murders of Ugandan women have been attributed to politics, policing, devil worship, land disputes, and other contradictory reasons. Many of the women's bodies showed signs of rape, genital mutilation,¹⁵ torture, and strangulation, leading the United Nations HCHR to identify Uganda as having discriminatory laws that lead to greater violence against women.¹⁶ Kampala based writer, playwright, and social critic, Kalundi Serumanga describes Uganda's political and justice system as "Murder-as-Order."¹⁷ In a powerful social commentary published in early 2021, Mr. Serumanga depicts a dystopian political-social-security structure that is based on the employment of terrorizing violence under a thin veneer of rule-of-law based democracy. The violence that has become a standard part of Ugandan social, political, and cultural life is neither new, nor does it arise from only one segment of society. Instead, it has become like an epidemic of sorts, with public officials championing and advocating for violent responses to protests and other violent responses in an endemic cycle of violence.¹⁸

The scale and intensity of suffering in postcolonial Uganda is almost unmatched on a continent that has borne indescribable horror from within and without. The postcolonial Ugandan state was carved out of several tribal kingdoms that had been in conflict even before the Arab and English intervention began in the 1800s. Islamic, Protestant, and Catholic missionaries added to the pre-existing divisions by adding a metaphysical component to what had previously been only ethnic-tribal conflicts over land and resources. Uganda's first independence government was characterized by conflict between hereditary tribal authority and the newly arrived form of European democracy based on the Westphalian State concept adopted by the United Nations. This experiment in liberal democracy was quickly overthrown by an army colonel named Idi Amin, who seized and held power for most of the 1970s, in a manner that rivalled Cambodia's Pol Pot Regime. Upwards of 500,000 men, women, and children were killed in Amin's quest for power and control. After Idi Amin's demise in 1979, his supporters took to the bush and began a 6-year civil war called the Luwero War, that ultimately saw Yoweri Museveni, and his National Resistance Movement come to power in 1986 in yet another violent coup. A year later, in 1987, Joseph Kony, a nephew of Acholi medicine woman Alice Auma, the founder-spiritual leader of the Christian-Animist Holy Spirit Army and Movement, appeared as first a spirit medium, and then as the psychopathic guerrilla leader of the infamous Lord's Resistance Army. Kony's LRA created an army out of as many as 60,000 abducted children where were psychologically broken to create monstrously malformed psychological identities/personalities that could be directed to kill on command. His army and areas of control grew to most of the Acholi tribal areas in northern Uganda and spilled over into Sudan and threatened Ugandan President Museveni's control over the northern half of his country. Museveni's initial response was a scorched earth approach

¹³(Freedom House, 2022), <https://freedomhouse.org/country/uganda>

¹⁴ (Tripp, 2012)

¹⁵ Such as sticks or other objects inserted into their vaginas.

¹⁶ (United Nations Women, 2021)

¹⁷ (Serumanga, 2020)

¹⁸ (Crisis Group Staff, 2017)



of collective punishment and then forced resettlement on the Acholi population who were the principal victims of the LRA.¹⁹ Even as the Uganda-Sudan insurgency of the LRA became mostly subdued with assistance from USAFRICOM, a new insurgency, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) insurgency began carrying out attacks in Uganda beginning in the mid-1990s, with a goal to replace Museveni and his government with an Islamic fundamentalist state. Both the LRA and ADF continue to plague the populations of Uganda.

For the citizens of Southern Uganda and the metropolitan areas of greater Kampala, a half-century of war and violence has inculcated a willingness to tolerate an authoritarian government if it can provide security and prosperity. Bareee and Ashaa observed that “...voters in previous polls showed a rare inclination to defy repression and vote for the opposition, especially in urban areas.”²⁰ Ugandan voter desire for security tied into the already existing psychological trauma of the last 50-year of violence, making cooperation with an authoritarian governance preferable to continuation of chaotic terror. Throughout the Kampala and Entebbe regions, a rising tide of murders of Ugandan women have been attributed to politics, policing, devil worship, land disputes, and other contradictory reasons. Many of the women’s bodies showed signs of rape, genital mutilation,²¹torture, and strangulation, leading the United Nations HCHR to identify Uganda as having discriminatory laws that lead to greater violence against women.²² Although women bear a disproportionate amount of the violent attention, many

of the shootings initially targeted politically active Muslim leaders. After March 2016, however, the attacks escalated to include senior government officials, social-activists, and residents involved in ethnic conflict. Even Museveni’s close circle of supporters in parliament are not immune from the violence. NRM lawmaker Ibrahim Abiriga and his bodyguard were gunned down by unknown assailants in Kawanda, north of Kampala. Abiriga had successfully campaigned to remove the presidential age limit of 75.

Emotional Affect

- Withdrawal | Avoidance | Sullenness
- Denigration of Self & Others
- Emotions of Alienation, Shame & Rage
- Vacant compliance | Depression
- Fear of abandonment
- Anesthetisation *via* Promiscuity, Addiction, & Casual Attitude to Violence
- Hyper vigilance / Hyper arousal
- Helplessness / Hopelessness

Behavioural Effects

- Presence of child soldiers & warlords
- Refugees & broken primary families.
- Starvation
- Family and clan separations
- Psychosomatic physical ailments
- Ethnic & cultural violence
- Absence of government presence
- Extreme overkill of the “other”
- Violence without motive
- Dependence on aid workers

§A2.1 The Sequelae of Violent Trauma - Focusing alienation, shame, and rage against Uganda’s vulnerable minorities.

The descriptions of sociopolitical life in Uganda in the previous sections are drawn from, and agreed to by, a host of donor governments and donor non-government organisations that monitor the country and the health of the population segments. The methodology of Museveni’s sociopolitical rule and securitisation efforts, establishes a dual system of law that remains disconnected from implementation. The support for multiple oppositional competing segments of Ugandan society and encouragement of their resort to physical violence as social expression results in violently traumatised realities for each segment. These traumatised realities in turn, establishes a set of predictable sequelae of

emotional affect and behavioural effects within the population that includes all segments. Sequelae is comparable to symptoms of physical disease that has been found by research over extended periods and multiple subjects to be how the body responds to pathogens or physical injuries. Likewise, psychosocial trauma (intentional or otherwise) also creates

Figure 3 Emotional Affect and Behavioural Effect Sequelae of Psychosocial Trauma

¹⁹ This researcher was stationed in the region of Sudan-Uganda-Somali in 2004 – 2005 and participated in actions against Joseph Kony and the Lord’s Resistance Army. (Bareebe & Ashaba, 2018)(Bareebe & Ashaba, 2018)²⁰ (Bareebe & Ashaba, 2018)
²¹ Such as sticks or other objects inserted into their vaginas.
²² (United Nations Women, 2021)



symptoms that we call *sequalae* that can be predicted, diagnosed, reduced with treatment, or increased by malign encouragement or purposeful neglect. Figure 3 below illustrates some of these *sequalae* that are common in conflict zones in Africa, Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Europe. This graphic, and others like it, are used by conflict studies analysts to track the breakdown and eventual weaponisation of the civilian population. Notice how many of the emotional affect and behavioural effect *sequalae* are found in Uganda? Over time, these symptoms or *sequalae* of trauma reality works to deform the personalities of internal members, normalising abhorrent behaviour and transmitting this malformed reality to future generations in a cascading effect. Said differently, the violence of past transmissions combined with present occurrences, creates cumulative or 'complex' trauma that produces ever greater psychosocial deformation from a healthy standard with resultant behavioural violence.

When I encounter manifestations of physical, psychological, and social violence that is random (without a clear narrative), extreme in its intensity (such as torture, mutilation, and or clearly overkill), we begin to suspect the possible presence of violent trauma *sequalae*, which normatively presents from intentional infliction.²³ The presence of an NGO in Uganda, for example, like CERASAV in figure 10, is one such example that leads us to further research. Based on such individual instances, I began to explore more closely, the psychosocial health of Uganda's various population segments from a distinctly psychoanalytical and vulnerable persons sociological perspective. I found that despite the large sums of donor funding for the professionalisation of Uganda's security and policing services, that mob violence was prevalent. Communities often resorted to mob violence due to a lack of confidence in police and the judiciary to deliver justice. They attacked and killed persons suspected of robbery, homicide, rape, theft, ritual sacrifice, and witchcraft, among other offenses. Mobs often beat, lynched, burned, and otherwise brutalized their victims. In a recent example from this past summer of 2023, local media reported that a mob in Fort Portal town lynched and burned the corpse of a man suspected of a killing and theft. Police stated they would investigate the killing but did not reveal any findings by year's end. The collective killing a person by hanging from the neck, and then burning the body is a clear act of overkill which suggests that presence of mental-emotional motivations beyond those stated.²⁴

We found that Ugandan law criminalizes discrimination of persons with physical, sensory, intellectual, or mental disabilities²⁵ and we found verbalised assurances by Ugandan government officials that they were complying with their internal laws.²⁶ But our research

found that persons with disabilities could not access education and health services on an equal basis with others. The law provides for access on an equal basis to education, employment, health services, information, communications, buildings, transportation, and the judicial system for persons with disabilities, but according to our research and that of international donors, the government allowed open defiance or ignorance of such laws.²⁷ According to disability rights activists, persons with disabilities lacked equitable access to public buildings and transportation.²⁸ Activists reported that many public schools, hospitals, and courts lacked access for persons with disabilities in practice. Human rights activists reported that authorities not only failed to protect persons with disabilities from harassment and violence but that many police and local government officials many times encouraged and participated in

Traditional Healers & Mental Illness in Uganda

...About half [of respondents] believed that physical illnesses were caused by evil spirits, witchcraft, or curses, but 17 thought they were caused by poor sanitation and 7 by poor nutrition. All believed that mental illnesses were caused by evil spirits, witchcraft, or curses, 5 thought they were caused by high fevers.

Figure 4 Research survey in Uganda

²³ (Elsass, 1997) Dr. Peter Elsass is a psychotherapist working in the treatment spaces of indigenous victims of torture and violence and his work cited below offers a fuller explanation of how we are can discern the intentionality of the trauma *sequalae* from that which naturally occurs.

²⁴ (Christian, 2018a)

²⁵ (The Mental Health Act, 2018, 2019)

²⁶ (Museveni, 2023)

²⁷ (Bureau of Democracy, 2022)

²⁸ (Hayden, 2022)



harassment of people with mental disabilities.²⁹ Human rights activists also reported that persons with disabilities experienced discrimination in social service delivery and employment, while women with disabilities were at higher risk of rape and sexual harassment than women without disabilities.³⁰ According to the latest Ministry of Education statistics from 2016, 2 percent of elementary school students were children with disabilities while the rate in secondary schools was 0.6 percent. Human rights activists reported that many parents of children with disabilities in rural and remote areas hid them from the public

and denied them an education due to the perception it would bring shame to the family.³¹ We found that psychosocial ideations of mental and physical illness were intertwined with metaphysical beliefs that harboured both healthy insights and devastatingly unhealthy practices.³²

We found that Ugandan law criminalizes infanticide, including of children with disabilities, but authorities sporadically enforced the law. Local media reported that intersex children were at high risk of infanticide and that some parents of children with disabilities abandoned them in the bush or threw them in pit latrines to die. Yet other psychosocial ideations of traditional social and family life were relatively new, and monstrously deforming of collective life and governmental securitisation, emerging into the public sphere of Ugandan social life mid-way through Museveni's 40-year reign.

In every violent conflict zone involving civilians, we find that complex trauma malforms before puberty, and deforms afterwards, the personality structure of men, women, and children. Trauma creates victims, which, untreated, can morph into perpetrators and transmitters of broken realities of victim and perpetrator, with the latter's realities becoming monstrous without competent intervention.³³ Whether this monstrous reality of perpetration be anal sex with

KAMPALA, UGANDA August 2023

Joseph Sserubiri is a 30-year-old pastor of Deliverance and Healing Ministry Christian church and a member of the Kakira Town Council, located in the country's Jinja District.

On a bright Thursday afternoon of the last day of September, in 2021, Pastor Sserubiri and his girlfriend, Felista Namaganda, lured 4-year-old Isabella Trinity Nakisuyi from her parents' home using a piece of cake.

They then took the girl to their church, and the pastor slit the girl's throat as Namaganda collected her blood in a ritual container used for child sacrifices. Pastor Sserubiri had had a dream in which his spiritual father instructed him to sacrifice a human child for the sake of the Church's ministry. From the ritual container, they poured the blood in a toilet – as the ritual required of them – to get more powers and wealth over other pastors in Uganda. After murdering the girl, the couple wrapped her head in a polythene bag and buried it under a tree while the torso was dumped in the nearby sugarcane field. This event is only one of hundreds that occur each year that are reported, with hundreds more that are not. Examples of the sort of human sacrificing cases include:

- 3-year-old girl Evra Mudaali, brought to family shrine by grandparents and 4 other family members, and mutilated with holes in her armpits, and ears and heart cut out.
- 4-year-old boy (unidentified) mutilated remains recovered, with left hand, leg, intestines, and genitals cut out, with family believing it to be the work of traditional healers.
- 2-month-old girl Ronia Nabagye, kidnapped, brought to shrine for sacrifice.
- 1-year-old boy, abducted, head and toes cut off for sacrifice.
- 40-year-old man Suleiman Mutabazi, kidnapped, dismembered, mutilated.
- 1-year-old Iden Owamani, kidnapped, dismembered, genitals cut off, abandoned.
- 5-year-old boy Edrine Muguluma kidnapped, dismembered, and buried.
- 3-year-old boy, Mukisa, abducted, genitals cut off during religious sacrifice, and dumped in bushes outside his parents' house.
- 1-year-old toddler, kidnapped, mutilated, abandoned in brush.
- 3-year-old girl Hope Biyinzika, abducted, mutilated, dumped in latrine pit.
- 5-year-old boy Juma Muyita, abducted by father and pastor and murdered in ritual killing...
- 6-year-old boy Allan Ssembatya, beheaded and dumped in forest as sacrifice.

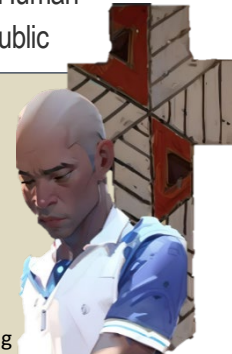


Figure 5 Human Sacrifice in Uganda as sequelae of violent psychosocial traumatization

²⁹ (Ovuga et al., 1999a)

³⁰ (Bureau of African Affairs, 2022; Bureau of Democracy, 2022; Hayden, 2022; Sserugo, 2023) (Masudi & Al-Shareqi, 2019)³¹ (Masudi & Al-Shareqi, 2019)

³² (Christian, 2011, 2019b)

³³ (Christian, 2011, 2013a, 2014, 2016, 2018a, 2018b, 2019a, 2019b; Christian et al., 2018)



prepubescent boys by Afghan police colonels or child sacrifice by religious pastors and indigenous healers, these are principal indicators of deeply deformed societies in the throes of violent trauma. Indigenous societies that survive and thrive, do so through the

Figure 6

creation of cultural, spiritual, and healing practices that preserve and nurture the basic nuclear family unit while tying it into the larger related clan or community. Any practice that damages this sensitive family tissue is, by its nature, destructive and alien, or else it would have resulted in the extinguishment of the cultural entity long before.³⁴

The field of psychoanalytical anthropology studies just these types of phenomena to understand where and how they infected the community and track the epidemiology of their spread. It appears that these ritualistic practices of human child sacrifice emerged into the indigenous spiritual and healing sphere in the early 2000's. In the mid 2000's, these practices appeared to begin receiving support from

social leaders with financial and political wherewithal. In 2008 more than 300 cases of murder and disappearances linked to ritual ceremonies were reported to the police with 18 cases making it to the courts.³⁵ There were also several high-profile arrests of parents and relatives accused of selling children for human sacrifice. At one point in 2008, under pressure from an alarmed international community, the Ugandan government appointed a special police taskforce on human sacrifice and announced that 2,000 officers were to receive specialist training in tackling child trafficking with the support of the US government.³⁶ In the immediate aftermath of the taskforce's operations, 15 more murders linked to human sacrifice were discovered with another 200 disappearances, mainly of children and young adults, under investigation."³⁷

The issues of child sacrifice, acid burns, organised rapes, and mob violence by themselves and collectively, are indicative of a wider pattern of psychosocial dysfunction, that is made alarming by the population's practice and participation in these methodologies of community suffering. As described previously, the overkill, gruesomeness of the physical violence belies an even greater degree of psychological deformation of the society that commits these crimes; benefits from these crimes; witnesses these crimes; are victimised by these crimes; and tolerate these crimes within their midst. Gruesome stories like those recounted are frequent. Child sacrifice in Uganda is a rampant phenomenon that has slowly embedded itself within traditional customs, although it is not genuinely related to the local culture, indigenous spirituality, or healing rituals. Traditional healers assert sacrifice and herbalist medicine falls within Uganda's tribal 'cultural beliefs.'

Museveni's NRM political party treads carefully not to overly antagonise the large and influential indigenous healing communities where witchdoctors yield such influence as to define election results.³⁸ Within many, if not most, communities in Uganda, there are high levels of stigma to persons, events, and ideas that portend weakness. Impotence. Powerlessness. Helplessness. Hopelessness. These concepts are dreaded because they are so deeply extant within Uganda's traumatised population segments. At the community level in Uganda, there is a high level of stigma of anything new that might reawaken fears of the unknown and reminders of loss of control as is the norm in violent traumatic conditions. As described in figure 7,

³⁴ (Christian, 2011)

³⁵ (Bandiho, 2023; "Herbalists Seek Right to Present Findings in Child Sacrifice Cases to Court," 2023; "Two Get 40 Years in Jail over 'Child Sacrifice,'" 2022; Kabanza, 2023; Kigongo, 2023; Kitunzi, 2023; Murzaale, 2022; Muzaale, 2022, 2023a, 2023b; Nakato, 2023a, 2023b; Olukya, 2022; Wandera, 2023)

³⁶ (Segawa, 2017)

³⁷ (The Guardian (6 September 2009)

³⁸ ("Herbalists Seek Right to Present Findings in Child Sacrifice Cases to Court," 2023; Murzaale, 2022; Ovuga et al., 1999a)



violent, subconscious reactions to the introduction of persons, events, or ideas can result in physical violence, avoidance, denigration, and rejection, with hypervigilance bringing everything new to daily attention and hyper arousal driving over-reaction to otherwise normal external stimuli. The population of Uganda have learned a type of helpless compliance with the national regime of President Museveni, but he and his ministers have provided a needed outlet to the various population segments by offering them cause celebrities for their own internal

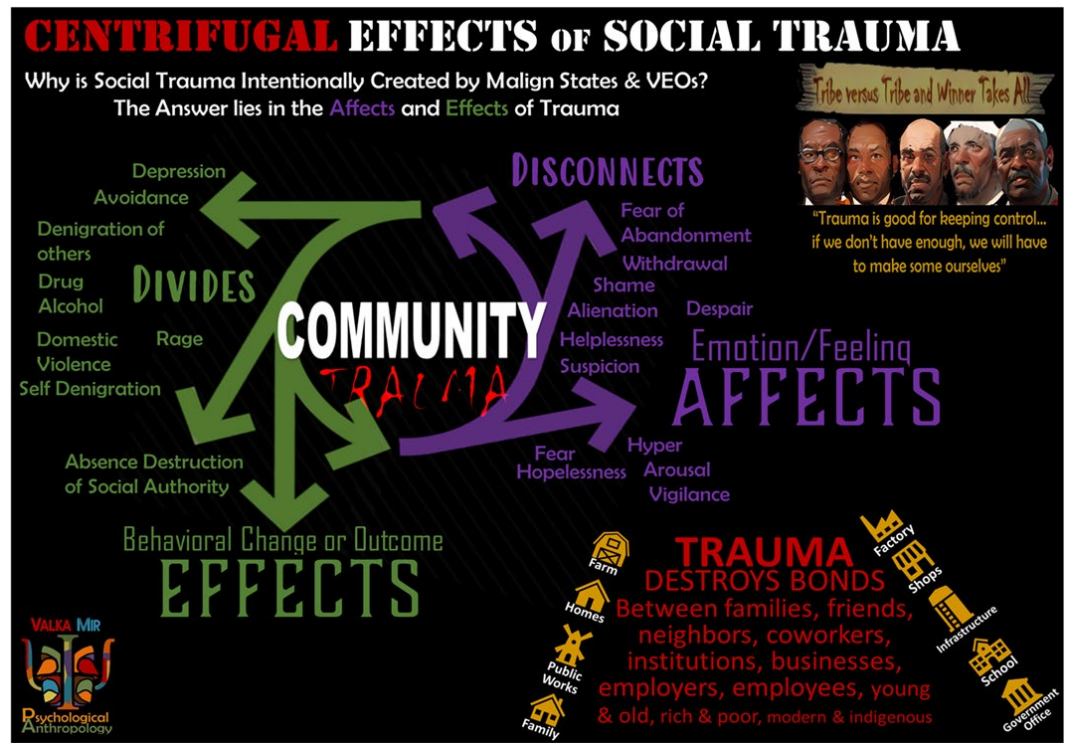


Figure 7 Centrifugal sequelae of violent psychosocial trauma in Uganda

anger and resentment; those vulnerable minority groups who are 'responsible for you not getting ahead in your own society; responsible for your country not getting ahead in its regional society; and for wealthy western tyranny which frustrates the life goals of Ugandans.

§A3 Rule of Law and Uganda's Legal System: Human Rights Protection, the protection of vulnerable minorities, the institutional structures in place for vulnerable persons and groups to have the ability under Uganda's legal system and other institutions to protect themselves from harm.

I have detailed the pattern of governance and social life and the extreme negative effects on Ugandan society that has been driving its citizens into exile, seeking asylum. We found and documented above, that although Uganda's international donors and supporters have helped to implement forward thinking legislation regarding the rule of law, treatment of vulnerable minority, health care, and nurturance of society, the current government, now in its 37th year of rule, has constructed its system of governance in a manner that adds to, rather than reduces social dysfunction and harm. The rule-of-law in Uganda is not practiced or enforced by the national or regional governments. What few anti-corruption cases there are, are against opposition parties and used to convict and jail, low level administrators for slight, or wholly fabricated offenses. An example of a slight corruption offense is the trial of government employee Amos Lugolobi, who used government provided tin roofing sheets to roof his goat shed without paying for it.³⁹ Meanwhile, US and other international donors report that the Ugandan government has lost trillions of Ugandan Shillings worth hundreds of millions of pounds that eventually end up in party loyalists' bank accounts. The World Justice Project has ranked Uganda as the second most corruption-ridden country among the world's low-income countries. Only the Democratic Republic of Congo is ranked worse than Uganda. Investigators found that government officials in the executive branch use public office for private gain, matching missing public funds donated by allies to Ugandan officials' personal expenditures. Government officials alleged misconduct includes bribes, informal payments, and other inducements while delivering public services and enforcing regulations. Independent investigators also

³⁹ (Nalwadda, 2023)



looked at the extent to which government procurement and public works contracts are awarded through a closed and informal process of family and party loyalists' system of graft, and the various mechanisms that government officials at various levels of the executive branch embezzle public funds. Investigators found that the officials in the police and the military use their offices to solicit and accept bribes to perform basic police and military services or to investigate crimes and are not free of improper influence by private interests or criminal organisations. Even judges and judicial officials in the judicial branch were found to have solicited and accepted bribes to perform duties or expedite processes, and whose judicial rulings are not free of improper influence by the government, private interests, and criminal organisations. To a lesser extent, investigators found that elected members of parliament have on occasion, used their public offices and votes to trade for financial inducements. Overall, prosecution of an NRM government minister for corruption is rare.

§A3.1 The Context of Corruption: Social, Financial, Political, Judicial, & Governmental. Links between and acquisition, bank fraud, money laundering, and social conflict.

Uganda is an origin, transit and destination country for human trafficking, primarily for forced labour and sexual exploitation. Most adult victims are subjected to domestic servitude or forced labour in various sectors, including agriculture, fishing, forestry, mining and street vending, and are often trafficked to the Middle East or other parts of East Africa. Fake recruitment agencies render migrants more vulnerable to human trafficking. Women and young girls are the most vulnerable to transnational trafficking, with many of them being fraudulently recruited for employment before being exploited through sex trafficking. Children in Uganda are also vulnerable, with child traffickers often subjecting them to prostitution and forced begging. Child traffickers are often individuals from transport or recruitment agencies, bar owners, rebels or strangers that steal children from their families. Traffickers also compel some children from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania and South Sudan into forced agricultural and sex trafficking in Uganda. The financial struggles of care givers increased the vulnerability of children to human trafficking. Currently, the easing of COVID-19 restrictions and free cross-border human flow (for both the criminals and victims) is fueling the crime. Uganda serves as a source, transit and, to a lesser extent, destination country for men, women and children. Human smuggling within Uganda is more prevalent than transnational smuggling and most victims are children. The country's strategic location and high levels of state corruption make it a haven for smugglers, with many internationally wanted smugglers based in the country. While most labour migration recruitment agencies are legitimate and subject to government oversight, many cooperate with migrant smuggling networks and engage in document falsification, bribery or



Figure 8 Anti-Corruption Demonstrations in Kampala and Entebbe met with police and military violence. US Embassy Kampala voices support for demonstrators.



other criminal acts. Uganda is one of the largest refugee hosting nations in Africa and, with international borders opening, smuggling is increasing. Extortion and protection racketeering are also prevalent in Uganda. Outside of Kampala, gangs known as 'iron bar gangs', periodically extort businesses, residents and visitors. Although cases are widespread, most of them are not linked to organized crime. Despite the vast outplay of corruption, crime, fraud and violence that permeates Ugandan society, most of the police activity is spent repressing public protest of the endemic corruption that makes life impossibly difficult.⁴⁰ The protest, partially inspired by recent youth-led protests in neighbouring Kenya, saw participation from young Ugandans who had mobilized online.⁴¹ The protesters' demands include the resignation of Speaker of Parliament Anita Among, who had in February been named alongside other parliamentarians in a corruption exposé published on social media, and for the salaries of Ugandan parliamentarians, among the highest-paid in the world, to be reduced. In a statement posted on its X account on Friday, the U.S. embassy in Uganda urged the government of President Yoweri Museveni to investigate allegations that some of the detained protesters had been assaulted. The mostly youth-led protests were met with overwhelming police and military force that broke up the small pockets of protest and arrested several government MPs face corruption charges, with protesters calling on Parliament Speaker Anita Among to resign after she was implicated in a graft scandal – and sanctioned by the United Kingdom in June.⁴² Graft plaguing development programmes may be contributing to food shortage and malnutrition in north.⁴³

Land Fraud. Land-related disputes are the most common cases that are overwhelming the local courts in Uganda, both in rural and urban areas. The cases range from land grabbing, border disputes, encroachment on protected areas, disputes relating to compensation and family-related disputes like succession.⁴⁴ Frustration and marginalization of tribal segments trying to adapt to the uncertainties of post-tribal urban life often result in violent conflict that is further complicated by



Figure 9 Property owner in Kampala trying to prevent fraudulent sale of property

population growth, government and legal corruption, government's use of eminent domain for infrastructure development and changing land use patterns.⁴⁵ As is the case in many developing countries, land registration in Uganda further adds to the conflict by unregulated land use agreements, land titles, poor record keeping, and government offices that operate with outdated systems, processes, and records. Practically and traditionally, there is a lack of transparency and accountability in the land sector with uneven and poorly managed mechanisms to resolve land disputes that pit the remnants of tribal councils against government officials who are susceptible to corrupting influences.⁴⁶ Over the past several decades, the land ownership system in Uganda generally, and Kampala metro specifically, has allowed a cottage industry of land fraud that uses forgery, impersonation, and

misrepresentation, to grow uncontained by government regulation.⁴⁷ The population density of the Kampala Metro area helps explain the competition for land, space, and economic survival. The houses in any given local council area of Wakiso District ranges from large expansive home estates to one room structures with tin walls and roof and a dirt floor. As the government's attention continues to be dominated by efforts to eliminate protests and civil disobedience against the Museveni regime, families all along the socioeconomic scale find themselves nervous about their land tenure, limiting their

⁴⁰ (Biryabarema & Ross, 2024; Reuters Staff, 2024)

⁴¹ (Muhati, 2024; Nyeko, 2024)

⁴² (Biryabarema & Ross, 2024; Muhati, 2024; Nyeko, 2024; Reuters Staff, 2024)

⁴³ (Oketch, 2023)

⁴⁴ (Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2017)

⁴⁵ (Obaikol & Ogwapit, 2017)

⁴⁶ (Deininger & Castagnini, 2004)

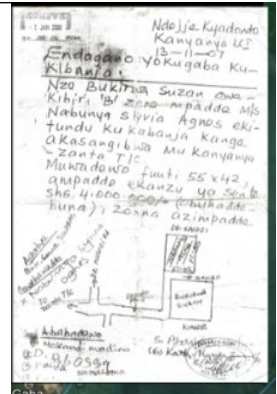
⁴⁷ (Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2017)



willingness to invest and build. Most Ugandans report a deep distrust of the legal system of land ownership in Uganda and offer a mistrust of any system of justice afforded by the current government.⁴⁸ The most vulnerable to Uganda's corrupted land use and land title system are those without a historic tradition of land ownership, young people with no social support, widows, pastoralist, and elders, according to the Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2017.⁴⁹ By all accounts, conflicts over land are increasing and have dire consequences for the affected communities pushing Ugandans to take securitization of land into their own hands in the face of government corruption and incompetence. In Sylvia's case, the fact that her unknown antagonists insist on her obtaining and handing over the title to the land, suggest that they require their ownership to be able to stand up to future legal scrutiny both with the local council and with the legal court system.

Financial Banking Fraud. In the past 10-years, Uganda's banking system has come under crippling pressure from fraudulent loans and money laundering schemes that are orchestrated by bank officials and facilitated by family members of protected government officials.⁵⁰ Some of the banks involved thus far include the Centenary Rural Development Bank

CASE STUDY IN CONTEXT OF LAND CRIME: Sylvia purchased a small plot of land in the Wakiso District of the Kampala Metropolitan Area, in the Zana Town Neighbourhood. The Wakiso District harbours the metropolitan city of Kampala, minus the Kampala Capital District. The plot of land that she purchased was in Wakiso District, in a Neighborhood called Zana, named after a historic hotel, the Zana Hotel. Zana town neighbourhood is part of the densely populated and heavily built-on metropolitan city that is perhaps 10 to 15 minutes from the parliament and presidential compound. Ms. Nabunya purchased and was in the process of registering the 55' x 42' lot for a little more than £1,100 GBPs in 2007, a considerable sum in Uganda in 2007. She was ultimately stopped from registering her purchased land because of threats against her life.



"In 2006, I stopped working at New Taxi Park as a cashier and sales and was making preparations to start my own textile business, mainly school uniforms and cultural clothes. I had gained valuable experience in this field and was a good salesperson and wanted to be independent financially. The landowner sold me half of her land in {Ndejja Kyadondo ... (Local council one) Kanyanya close to Zana Town Centre for 4,000,000 Uganda shillings, which was a lot of money at the time ... I planned to rent the house and earn a profit, and this was my own idea. I just needed some financial contribution from George [in loco spouse] of about 600,000 Uganda Shillings as I did not have all the funds myself. The remainder of the sales price was paid by my savings gathered from years of work. The transaction was done by a single payment in cash as is usual with no instalments. A sales agreement was signed by both parties, in presence of 6 witnesses (the agent and the other 5 I did not know) on November 13, 2007 (see sales agreement in exhibit). I never met with the original owner, Bukirwa Susan, again after this meeting"

Sylvia's plan to build a 2-x bedroom, 1 x bathroom home as a rental unit would have been a solid business decision based on the growing need in the capital metro areas. Unfortunately for Sylvia, as soon as she began building the new rental house, she began receiving threats to sell the land:

"Immediately after I commenced the construction work, I started receiving unknown phone calls at very random times, often in the middle of the night, on a daily basis. I did not take it seriously at the beginning as I thought that other people who were interested in buying my land were complaining as they missed out on the sale. In general, during these phone calls, I picked up the phone, asked the person over the phone "who is this?". The other party kept silent. As a result, I hung up the phone. Moments later, the phone rang again with an unknown number. This time I asked the same question. That person did not address himself but only asked for the land title. It was always a male voice. I then asked him "which land title? The land is mine!" They then went on to threaten me by saying "if you do not give us the land title, we will kill you." "Do what you can!". I changed my mobile number as well over time, however, similar threatening calls kept coming even though I changed my phone number. The conversations were similar including threatening to kill me."

"Considering the continuous nature of the threats and increased intensity, I had planned to talk with the [person] who sold me the land, to try to understand if there was a family issue of hers or if she had sold the land to other parties at the same time. However, I got too scared to meet with her and I hoped that this problem would go away. Per George's advice, I went to report all these threats to the chairman of the LC 1, Musoke James, and then took his report to the Katwe police station early 2008. This is a usual process, as issues needs to be reported first to the chairman to see if he can help solve them, and then only going to the police is the next option. I gave a statement to the chairman about the ongoing threats despite the land sale and I was told that they would investigate the matter. The current statement of the chairman reports that there was a misunderstanding with a family, which I am not aware of. It is usual for a chairman to know everything about everyone in villages. I followed up with the police several times, but there was no progress on my case."

Limited, MTN Uganda, Tigo Rwanda, Stanbic Bank Uganda, Equity Bank Uganda, and others. The various criminal enterprises have taken billions of shillings out of the Ugandan economy that has left both national and international companies with large financial losses. At the same time, other criminal enterprises have injected up to USD \$50B into the Ugandan economy that does not exist, through the employment of internally generated float, or created e-money, on the mobile money system. The 'float' would then be sent to colluding agents and customers who cashed out the value. This means that e-money was being generated that was not backed by physical cash in MTN's bank account held at Stanbic. As one former MTN employee testified, the stolen money was essentially "printed by MTN itself".⁵¹ This demonstrates how

⁴⁸ (Rugadya, 2009)

⁴⁹ (Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2017)

⁵⁰ (Morawczynski, 2015)

⁵¹ (by Daily Monitor, 2024; Nalwanga & Sejal, 2022; Ugandan Police Force, 2023; URN, 2024)



fraud of this nature can have financial stability implications. The unauthorized internal generation of float led to massive discrepancies between the general ledger account (MTN's e-money balance) and bank balance at Stanbic. At one point, audit reports revealed that the discrepancy totalled 146 billion UGX, roughly \$50 million, in falsely created e-money. The audit reports, from as early as 2009, warned MTN of various weaknesses in the mobile money system that made it prone to fraud, such as the mismanagement of user rights administration. It was reported that terminated employees continued to have access to the system as their user rights remained active and their passwords unchanged. At Equity Bank, the managing director, the head of agency banking, the bank's relationship managers, bankers, relationship officers, and distribution and marketing officials worked collaboratively with outside persons to steal hundreds of millions of Ugandan shillings from bank account holders and investors. While the schemes varied from bank to bank and group to group, a common thread was that loans were created for wholly fictitious persons, or for unsuspecting people meant to take criminal responsibility for the fraudulent loans. The criminal enterprises include fraudulent diversion and disbursement of funds from the bank, in form of unsecured loans to unqualified people. Some of these included relatives, with whom they created fictitious companies and fraudulently disbursed huge amounts of money, that would be picked directly by the staff or indirectly using co-conspirators, proxies or conduits. The investigations depict a brazen effort to siphon monies from the bank into personal accounts or accounts of family members. Another six employees of MTN Uganda were arrested and charged with defrauding and embezzlement of the company out of 10 billion USh (\$3.4 million), including the company's finance manager, director of public access-mobile money. Along with sensational daily headlines, this case is providing a detailed account of the impact of a particularly large and public internal fraud on the mobile money system.⁵²

§A3.2 Murder, abduction, rape, and torture as social order and justice in Uganda's metropolitan capital.



Figure 10 Protest march in Kampala against killing women. Right: Ugandan Police checkpoint searching for weapons in a Kampala marketplace. This one section of photos offers insight into the extraordinary disfunction of Uganda's socio-political and security realities that drive and support the ongoing

A wave of unresolved murders in Uganda over the past 10 years has left a large part of the Ugandan population in a state of heightened fear.⁵³ Throughout the Kampala and Entebbe regions, a rising tide of murders of Ugandan women have been attributed to politics, policing, devil worship, land disputes, and other contradictory reasons. Many of the women's bodies showed signs of rape, genital mutilation,⁵⁴torture, and strangulation, leading the United Nations HCHR to identify Uganda as having discriminatory laws that lead to greater violence against women.⁵⁵ The following story of one Ugandan informant of what happened to her fits the pattern of violence against women in Uganda that has been tolerated by the

⁵² (Morawczynski, 2015; Muhati, 2024; Nyeko, 2024; Reuters Staff, 2024)

⁵³ (Otone, 2018)

⁵⁴ Such as sticks or other objects inserted into their vaginas.

⁵⁵ (United Nations Women, 2021)



government for the last several decades. Women bear a disproportionate amount of the violent attention, and the security services often provide them little to no support after they are attacked, raped, or murdered. Often, only non-governmental organizations are the only source of assistance women who survive their attacks. In figure 11, it may at first appear incongruent that a small country such as Uganda requires a specialized NGO called CERESAV deal with large numbers of women who are subjected to facial acid attacks. But the regime tolerates a near pathological response to women who defy subordination to legacy systems of patriarchal social order, who are punished in a manner that creates traumatizing effects within the population but avoids the onus of direct governmental responsibility. The traumatizing message to the population affects not only the individual targeted, but every member of his/her family as well.⁵⁶ Torture that ‘defaces the face’ of its victims is oriented as much towards the families of those who might otherwise summon the courage to speak out in protest as towards the victim.⁵⁷ The resulting compliant population is less likely to resist the Museveni regime, the governing political goal of the state. But such a population is also less likely to defy the spread of malevolent forms of social order within a trauma-reality where violence is normalized and empowered by a lassie fare system of justice and protection. The population of the Kampala metro area try to overcome the government’s lack of concern for security by involving traditional council authorities, who might act as intermediaries with the police and urge investigation.⁵⁸ The descriptions of violent and volatile social, political, and cultural life in urban and suburban Uganda are part of a shared experience that has become normalized by its very longevity and persistence for over a half-century. Social media and witness reports of government security forces abducting and torturing opposition activists, voters, and their families are extensive enough that the International Criminal Court has begun investigating widespread human rights abuses.⁵⁹



Figure 11 NGO Support System for Ugandan victims of Acid and Burn Attacks

The evolution of political and social violence in Uganda occurred against a backdrop of postcolonial ‘tribe-as-ideology’ collection of civil wars, cults, and insurgencies that have battered Ugandan society for the past 50-years. After the 2016

Context of Rape as a Weapon: “The phone calls kept coming, and in early 2008, one night at about 9:00 p.m, I was returning home from the market. The road was dimly lit. On the way home, suddenly someone came to grab me from the back. Quickly I was blindfolded and dumped into a car. All along I was blindfolded and could not identify the persons’ faces. By identifying the voices, I reckoned that there were about five to seven persons. The car moved with great speed. They kept on asking me for the land title during this ordeal. They also hit me at my waist with their elbows. I felt intense pain in me. I supposed they were the people who made phone calls to me earlier. I kept crying as I thought that I would be killed. The car stopped and they pulled me out of the car. I remained blindfolded. Two people held my arms and pulled me to a place. I was pushed to the ground. They started to rape me. More than one person raped me. During the rape, they told me to give the title, and I said I would make them stop but they kept raping me. In the middle of the event, I fell unconscious. I cannot recall further details of the event. When I regained consciousness, I found myself lying on the side of the road with blood stains on the skirt. My underwear was gone. I managed to stop someone driving in a motorcycle to help me. He drove me to a place where I could take a taxi back home. When I reached home, I took painkillers. I dared not to go to the hospital for a check-up since I was afraid to find out that I could have AIDS.”

Judicial Impotence. “I told George about the rape but did not give all the details as I was too shocked. George was assigned to work in Mainland China at that time. He suggested that I report first to the chairman of the village council, and then to the police. As a result I did so. The chairman of the LOC, the same to which I reported, was there when I bought my land and was aware of my ownership, and I explained the attack to him and how it was linked to my land. The chairman wrote my statement down in his book and gave me his consent to go to the police and I got a report number. I was told that the police would investigate but I never heard anything back. I checked several times with the police at the station, but there was nothing they could tell me....”

election, Museveni and the NRM found it increasingly harder to maintain control of public opinion, protests, election behaviour, as well as the courts, public service agencies, and security services. Despite “various subjugation tactics

⁵⁶ (Christian, 2016a)

⁵⁷ (Christian et al., 2018)

⁵⁸ (<http://www.sunrise.ug/news/201705/wakiso-man-left-for-dead-over-land.html>)

⁵⁹ (“Arbitrary Detention and Torture in Uganda: The Government Ignores the Law,” 2021)



employed by the Museveni regime, the endurance of opposition to his rule continued to [create] trouble [for] the regime elites.”⁶⁰ In his first speech after the election, Museveni announced that he intends to “wipe out the opposition completely in the next five years.”⁶¹ This was followed by a wave of defiance by other segments of the population, that saw assassinations and attacks against the government’s security structures. Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIGP) for Uganda, Andrew Felix Kaweesi, was assassinated with his bodyguard, Kenneth Erau, and his driver, Geoffrey Wambewo, again, by four men on motorcycles while driving to work. AIGP Kaweesi was shot 27 times, Erau was shot 33 times, and the driver was shot 11 times, in classic execution style. The assassinations of Uganda’s key security officials have continued, with the latest being an assassination attempt on the Ugandan Chief of Defence Forces this past June 1st, 2021. General Edward Katumba was attacked by four men on motorcycles while driving to work along Kisota road. The attackers sprayed the general’s official staff car with bullets from AK-47s, wounding him, but killing his daughter, Brenda Nantongo, and his driver, Haruna Kayondo at the scene. These incidents are representational examples of government violence and counter-government violence that further destabilized society and result(ed) in a general disintegration of justice and protection for all but the best-connected segments of Kampala society. The growing list of social-activists, political, and security members and their families that have been killed has proceeded from threatening rhetoric from senior government officials, notably, President Yoweri Museveni and his Minister of Security, General Elly Tumwine. President Museveni has vowed to “crush” Ugandan’s who protest against him and his regime.⁶²



Figure 12 Police in Uganda serve as extra-judicial physical punishment role.

“Police has a right to shoot you and kill you if you reach a certain level of violence. Can I repeat? Police has [sic] a right or any security agency if you reach a certain level, they have a right.” – Gen Tumwine⁶³

“Some of these groups are being used by outsiders; the homosexuals and other groups outside there who don’t like the stability and independence of Uganda. But they will discover what they are looking for.” – President Museveni⁶⁴

The killings that accompanied the violent rhetoric from Uganda’s leaders included execution style ride-by shootings of victims in their cars and homes, often killing both victims, passengers, and drivers. Human rights and social activists such as CIDE staffer Maria Ngirinya and LGBT activist Brian Wasswa, are kidnapped, murdered, and their bodies dumped in ditches.⁶⁵ Wasswa’s murder was followed by the Ugandan Minister of Ethics and Integrity announcing that the government plans to introduce a bill criminalizing homosexual acts.⁶⁶ Police interventions in opposition protests often involve shootings

⁶⁰ (Bareebe & Ashaba, 2018) p.91

⁶¹ (Kafeero, 2017)

⁶² (Amnesty International, 2020)

⁶³ Ugandan Security Minister Gen Elly Tumwine quote during speech in Kampala in the aftermath of the police killings of opposition protesters, using COVID-19 safety laws to justify extra-judicial killings.

⁶⁴ Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni at a political rally in Kotido town, northern Uganda.

⁶⁵ Witnesses were able to link government security forces (CMI) to Ngirinya’s death and eight police officers were arrested and tried for her kidnap and murder. The trial was held in secret, with the presiding judge barring public coverage. (Monitor Staff, 2020)

⁶⁶ This proposed bill is similar to a 2014 Anti-Homosexuality act which was annulled by the constitutional court. Anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment is widely prevalent in Uganda and the government constantly capitalizes on it.



and deliberate use of police vehicles as weapons by running over protesters in streets. The physical torture described by victims includes bullets in knees, fingernails pulled out, cigarettes burned into skin, and genitals cut and pierced.⁶⁷ Last February, the European Union formally demanded an accounting of government torture of citizens over political and social activism critical of the Museveni government and the NRM political party.⁶⁸ The government's persecution of news and reporters that is critical of Museveni, his family, and government works to suppress any organized understanding of factual events and the meaning, cause, and effects of life in Uganda.⁶⁹ Internal leaks by competing government agencies creates deeper confusion and leads to wild speculation and conspiracies that divides the community more deeply than it already is.⁷⁰

*"The press-freedom landscape in Uganda is one of unique contradictions. On one hand, Uganda is said to have one of the most free and active media landscapes in Central and East Africa, and courts regularly rule in favour of journalists' rights. On the other hand, an array of legal and extra-legal mechanisms continues to limit free expression."*⁷¹

The growing divides allow for greater levels of violence as the normative governing securitization of society is replaced by participatory violence, vengeance, and retaliation as a form of governance.⁷² This form of governing ideology creates malformed public institutions that focus on personal self-interest rather than the public good. The governing effect is chaotic, which causes some segments of public life to recede and others to join in and amplify the growing violence as a defective form of group self-defence.

§A3.3 Detailed overview of the deputyship system in Uganda.

The relevant legislation in the Republic of Uganda to regulate the administration of Estates of Persons of Unsound Mind is in Chapter 155 of Ugandan Law and titled the Uganda Administration of Estates of Persons of Unsound Mind Act, 1951 Chapter 155 Commenced on 13 September 1951. The version of the Act as of 31 December 2000 was revised and consolidated by the Law Reform Commission of Uganda. The Republic of Uganda uses the term "Manager" rather than 'Deputyship' or 'Conservator' to describe the person which authority over a disabled person's estate.⁷³ The above legislation provides preference for the next of kin of a person of unsound mind to apply to be considered as the court designated manager of an unsound family member's estate. The 1951 Administration of Estates of Persons of Unsound Mind Act follows European legal framework as it was written while still a Colonial State of the United Kingdom and has changed little in the intervening decades as family is nearly always responsible for their members who are of unsound mind to deal with. In cases of unwillingness of family in Uganda to care for him, officials would activate §3 of this act which states:



*If as a result of the inquiries made under subsection (1), the court is of the opinion that there is no suitable relative of a person of unsound mind who is willing to act as the manager of that person's estate, then if the court is of the opinion that a manager should be appointed it shall appoint the Administrator General as manager."*⁷⁴

⁶⁷ .(Taylor, 2022)

⁶⁸ (Biryabarema, 2022)

⁶⁹ (VOA Staff, 2022)

⁷⁰ (VOA Staff, 2022)

⁷¹ (Sobel & McIntyre, 2020)

⁷² (Human Rights Watch, 2018) See also Human Rights Watch Report: "State of Pain – Torture in Uganda" from 2004 for a detailed qualitative exploration of Museveni regime's reliance on torture to maintain political control.

⁷³ (Administration of Estates of Persons of Unsound Mind Act, 1951; Revised as of 31 December 2000 and Consolidated by the Law Reform Commission of Uganda, 2000)

⁷⁴ (The Mental Health Act, 2018, 2019)



The Administrator General, in turn, The Administrator General's office is a government Directorate under the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs that deals with Inheritance and Succession matters. It is established by the Administrator General's Act Cap 157 and under Statutory Instrument S.I -161. The it also doubles as office of the Public Trustee. The Office of Administrator General is a corporation sole with perpetual succession and an official seal, capable of suing and being sued in all legal proceedings. However, the government represented by the Attorney General is still vicariously liable for all the Administrator General's acts and/or omissions like any other Government. The Administrator General and the Ugandan Court will have complete authority over care and estate. This complete authority granted to the Administrator General would include his courses of treatment as recommended by the staff at Uganda's National Mental Health Hospital. Section 7.3 below, offers insight into the conditions, medical practice, and funding/staffing levels of the mental health hospital that Administrator General interacts with as part of his deputyship responsibilities. The Administrator General of Uganda's Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs is Mr. Kasibayo Charles, a political appointee of President Yoweri Museveni. I have never met Mr. Charles and cannot speak to his character or integrity. I can speak to the fact that, once a citizen's assets estate are turned over to the office of Mr. Charles, he will be in complete control of both individual and estate. I can state that the entire 2022-2023 fiscal budget of the Ugandan Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs is Ush 4 billion Ugandan Shillings, which amounts to £845,000 GBP.⁷⁵ The Ugandan Mental Health Act of 2018 provides for no foreign oversight of citizen's estate or his psychological and physical care or condition even if requested by family living abroad.⁷⁶

§A4 Mental Health & Physical Disabilities in Uganda – Psychosocial Perceptions & Responses.

Mental and physical health perspectives in Uganda can seem to be nearly unrecognisable to practitioners in Europe and North America. But this is a sensitive subject, as western medicine (physical & psychological) is constantly being shaped and changed by new findings from ancient indigenous worlds of healing practice. Indigenous, pre-colonial Ugandan understanding of, and treatment for, mental illness, was inextricably linked to their understanding of the metaphysical world. This is/was not only true for the indigenous tribes Uganda, but all of Africa, Middle East, Asia, and so on. The metaphysical world means the real or perceived realm of humans and animals before or after their physical existence has started or ended. This realm also includes those real or perceived entities who create, manage, and populate this metaphysical world separate from humans

The deformation of civil society has had an unreasonable impact on the level of physical and mental healthcare currently in service in Uganda that does not allow for a sufficient continuity of care from the United Kingdom to Uganda.

and animals. This is simply a cultural-universal way of saying heaven, hell, ghosts, spirits, angels, demons, gods, and under-gods, that are common to all human cultures at some point in their development. Those human beings who could (for various cultural reasons) communicate in some way with this metaphysical world – again, culturally universal – are/were called priests, rabbi, medium, healers, and witches, amongst other names. These peoples were created and

used to deal with subconscious fears and emotional pain of death, disconnection, loss of loved ones, grief, guilt, sadness, alienation, shame, and subconscious defence mechanisms of repression, anaesthetisation, and repairs of traumas to the psyche and reestablishment of self-esteem/worth/acceptance. Their real or perceived capacity to help their fellow communities also afforded them respect and influence. Within some cultural communities, however, internal, and external factors deformed, then malformed, what was/is a normally healthy system of physical and mental health.⁷⁷ These factors included colonial conquest-oppression-domination, war, ethnic cleansing, torture, and the unmanaged collision between

⁷⁵ This is my educated, expert opinion.

⁷⁶ (Administration of Estates of Persons of Unsound Mind Act, 1951; Revised as of 31 December 2000 and Consolidated by the Law Reform Commission of Uganda, 2000; The Mental Health Act, 2018, 2019; Government of Uganda, 2023; Institution Staff, 2018; Moses, 2007a, 2007b; Namungalu, 2018)

⁷⁷ This explanation of indigenous health is articulated in many of my books and journal articles cited and is part of my instruction to UK and allied forces deployed to Africa.



indigenous phenomenological reality and intrusive globalisation that Samuel Huntington thought of as a “clash of civilisations.”⁷⁸ Western systems of understanding, explaining, and treating mental health illness have been adopted as a normative global standard with support from a western educated United Nations, and this western system, until recently, was disconnected from similar indigenous systems. Many cultural communities, especially those tribes inhabiting the area of Uganda, were especially affected, and colonial governance “introduced segregated institutional care in response to perceptions of an increased number of Ugandans with mental illness” in the early years of the 1900s.⁷⁹ Ugandans with lived experience of mental illness, including survivors and those still in treatment or care, have been historically disregarded and mistreated ever since as a result of western oriented bias against indigenous mental health issues. In Uganda specifically, the treatment and perception of those with mental illness has been historically interwoven with cultural beliefs about witchcraft and spirit possession, as well as the introduction and implementation of Western psychiatric practices (and institutions) during Uganda's colonial period. This introduction/implementation of western practices was never integrated or deconflicted, but merely overlaid onto the original system creating fear and uncertainty. Both western and indigenous systems produced negative reactions with the patient populations and beyond, contributing to punitive practices, stigma, and social rejection. Ugandan laws and human rights policies have become an unintegrated, unresolved compilation of conflicting prescriptions and proscriptions that have largely failed to ensure the rights and community inclusion of persons with psychosocial disabilities. In Uganda, people have a wide range of beliefs about mental illnesses that are at odds with Uganda’s disjointed efforts to modernise, intersect with globalisation, and at the same time, maintain a family-party based system of rule that uses populism, violence, and trauma as election ingredients. Because of this most perceptions of mental health disorders, especially in men, are believed to originate with a person’s failed relationship with Misambwa (Clan Gods or God) or Mizimu (Ancestral Spirits) that is based on personal weakness or defect, whether inside the individual or inside the family, or inside the clan (byekida).⁸⁰ Ugandans believe (consciously and or subconsciously) that metaphysical spirits’ malign activity (called witchcraft) are the cause of mental illness. Western psychology of the sort introduced into Uganda criticize and stigmatise these indigenous understandings rather than translate them into western understanding and treatment. This, plus the lack of trained mental health personnel, drive Ugandans to continue seeking out traditional healers before, if ever, seeking evidence-based medical help. While traditional healers are generally patient-centred and caring, their practice is not based on science and often applies harmful practices, including chaining and tying the patients down for long periods of time to ‘ward off’ the spirits. It has been reported that 80% of the patients in mental hospitals sought traditional healers before seeking medical help, delaying evidence-based treatment, and most likely offsetting the best chances of full recovery.⁸¹ The estimated incidence of mental illnesses in Uganda is massive: 35% of Ugandans suffer from a mental illness, and 15% of Ugandans require treatment.⁸² It is likely that the incidence of mental illnesses and the need for treatment is much higher.⁸³ Uganda is ranked among the top six countries in Africa for rates of depressive disorders, while around 3% live with severe anxiety disorders according to the World Health Organisation. Mental illness and health remain a topic shrouded in silence and stigma in Uganda.⁸⁴ Traditional gender norms often emphasize stoicism and emotional restraint for men, leading them to suppress their emotions and avoid seeking help when facing mental health challenges.⁸⁵ Those who have developed mental illness

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⁷⁸ (Huntington, 1996)

⁷⁹ (Kitafuna, 2022)

⁸⁰ Terms for mental illness that may be used in Baganda and Basoga include "Kazoole", "Kalogojjano" and "byekika" (clan illness).

⁸¹ (Kitafuna, 2022; Molodynski et al., 2017; Ovuga et al., 1999b)

⁸² (Abet, 2023)

⁸³ The number of people affected by mental health disorders greatly varies from source to source as well, as there is little pre-existing research on mental health in Uganda.

⁸⁴ (Geller, 2017)

⁸⁵ (AN Na & Dhufera, 2023)



face stigmatization by their community largely due to misunderstanding and disconnect between tradition and modern medicine. This societal pressure not only hinders their ability to cope with issues but also perpetuates the notion that mental health concerns are a sign of weakness. Uganda spends 9.8% of its gross domestic product on healthcare, or US\$246 annually per person, but just 1% of this goes into mental healthcare.⁸⁶ The majority of national mental health funding goes to the national mental health referral hospital, Butabika Hospital - Psychiatric institution for persons with psychosocial disabilities. Established in 1955, Butabika hospital now with frequent overcrowding, and has limited staff.⁸⁷ Despite Butabika Hospital being the only nationally funded mental hospital, many severe criticisms have surfaced in the last couple of years. Butabika Hospital detains without assessment, houses patients in seclusion rooms without toilets, fails to distinguish between compulsory and voluntary admissions, offers no separate facilities for children, and relies heavily on pharmacological treatment, which often results in heavy side-effects.⁸⁸ Butabika has 550 beds, but it averages around 700 - 800 patients at any given time. Patients share beds or sleep on the floor. The facility has 3 social workers and treats about 7,000 inpatient mental health cases and 30,000 outpatient mental health cases annually. The Executive Director of Butabika Hospital, Dr. David Basangwa, says that the hospital is mandated to have 1 psychiatric nurse for every 6 patients.⁸⁹ Dr. David Kyaligonza, assistant commissioner of nursing services at Butabika, says that the hospital has never had more than 1 nurse for every 55-



- > 550 beds, but averages around 700 - 800 patients at any given time. Patients share beds or sleep on the floor.
- > 3 social workers and treats about 7,000 inpatient mental health cases and 30,000 outpatient mental health cases annually.
- > 1 nurse for every 55-60 patients.
- > Average admission is 6 weeks. Some, never leave if they lack family to care for them
- > Nurses, rather than doctors, make admission and treatment decisions.
- > Few written guidelines about admission procedure and or treatment and patient care are available to medical staff.
- > Electroshock Convulsive Therapy remains an approved treatment protocol.

Figure 13 Butabika Hospital in Kampala

60 patients.⁹⁰ Butabika consulting Psychiatrist Dr. Sylvia Nshemerirwe, describes the admissions wards where patients in acute stages of mental health reside are prone to violence and damage. "Mattresses and bed sheets are torn; walls and windows are damaged regularly. It is a challenging place to experience. Sometimes patients get violent with each other or with the staff."⁹¹ As a consequence of being the only specialist psychiatric hospital, at times Butabika can have 1200 patients with over half having acute mental illness.⁹² Many newly-admitted patients are dropped off by families at the front gate, and many of these families are emotionally relieved to proffer the ill relative over to the state. By all accounts, Butabika mental hospital does provide a greater curative supportive care than living in situations of homelessness or treatment by traditional healers

using witchcraft. Mental illness in Uganda carries powerful stigmas of exclusion, fear, and projections of metaphysical evil. Prior to their families surrendering them to Butabika, many loved ones have already been brought to consultations with traditional healers. The families have nearly always consulted their local religious leaders and searched in vain for non-existent community mental health services. The average admission is six weeks. Some patients stay as little as two weeks. But some stay for much longer. One nurse informed our research team that she had been working there for 18 years and

⁸⁶ (Molodynski et al., 2017)

⁸⁷ (Moses, 2007c)(Asiimwe et al., 2023; NP Admin, 2023)

⁸⁸ (Moses, 2007c) (Cohen, 2021)

⁸⁹ (Mugisha et al., 2019; Nkurunungi, 2023)

⁹⁰ (Bagalaaliwo, 2021; Mugisha et al., 2019; Nkurunungi, 2023)

⁹¹ (Bagalaaliwo, 2021; Mugisha et al., 2019; Nkurunungi, 2023)

⁹² (Bailey, 2014)(Kaggwa et al., 2022)



described one patient as a male with mental retardation who had been committed for more than two decades. She explained that because he has no family, “He has no family,” she said.⁹³ Despite the hospital having three social workers, the fact that this person’s family rejected him nearly two decades ago means that no attempt has ever been made to get him out of hospital and living somewhere in the community. Mental-health services are extremely under-resourced in Uganda, and the primary health care system in the country does not have adequate resources to effectively address mental health concerns. There are only 32 psychiatrists nationwide, approximately one psychiatrist for every million people, and less than 1 (0.78) psychiatric nurse per 100,000 individuals.⁹⁴ Additionally, most of the mental health workers are concentrated in urban centres, such as Kampala, where the country’s only psychiatric hospital, Butabika National Referral Mental Hospital, is located. Because 83% of the population in Uganda lives in rural areas, those living in much of the country have little access to mental healthcare. The next sections describes the violent sequelae of mental health disorders in Uganda, and these sequelae are self-reinforcing, contributing to an epidemiological spread of mental ill health in a generational transmission of trauma.⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ The sociopolitical violence as trauma sequelae is reinforced or deepened by deformed national culture of endless fighting against real or perceived enemies that include globalising change leading to adaptive failure within the population segments of Uganda.⁹⁷ This traumatised adaptive failure of family life, in turn, is further reinforced by distorted indigenous practices masquerading as healing and spiritual salvation, leading to grotesque waves of child murder and sacrifice that are completely dissociated from reality. In the 1960s, immediately after achieving independence, Uganda had one of the best healthcare systems in East Africa. Hospitals were well-equipped, well-staffed, and had a set of connected healthcare units.⁹⁸ Violent civil war and political turmoil from 1970 to 1985 fragmented this healthcare system and organised public corruption has turned Uganda’s healthcare system into one of the worst in the world. Uganda’s health care system is ranked in 149th place out of 191 countries in the world by WHO. The ubiquitous government corruption hinders access to vital services, worsening poverty and increasing inequality. Access to essential services across the country is often dependent on the ability to pay a bribe to the public servants who act as informal gatekeepers.⁹⁹ Other major challenges facing Uganda’s health system include grossly underpaid health workers, a shortage of health workers, inadequate supplies of medicines and essential equipment in government facilities, insufficient hospital beds, high costs, and poor accessibility to health services, particularly in rural areas.¹⁰⁰ People with disability lack access to public and government facilities like hospitals, schools and legal centres like courts and police stations. They end up having nowhere to run to in case they have problems. They also face multiple discriminations and rejections. Public health has long been underfunded throughout the country, to such an extent that one in two Ugandans seeking medical treatment must use private instead of public clinics “because the latter are unable to provide services,” according to a CSIS report. Health service delivery in Uganda is often characterized by weak public health systems, with deficient financial and human resources, poor organization of health services, and lack of information about the local disease burden, are an underlying cause of these constraints. Finally, medical training in Uganda’s hospitals and clinics both primary and continuing has been a critical but neglected part of the healthcare crisis in Uganda.¹⁰¹ I found that despite the legislative reforms with the 2018 Mental Healthcare Act signed by President Museveni, persons with disabilities still experience some of the worst forms of discrimination, from negative social attitudes that strip them of protection, to physical and legal barriers that curtail their full enjoyment of rights. Of course, these obstacles become even more severe for persons living with disabilities who belong to minority and indigenous communities.

⁹³ (Bagalaaliwo, 2021; Mugisha et al., 2019; Nkurunungi, 2023)

⁹⁴ (Organisational Staff, 2022)

⁹⁵ (Gabbard, 1998; Lensvelt-Mulders et al., 2008)

⁹⁶ (Søreide, 2009)

⁹⁷ (Bayer et al., 2007; Christian, 2013b; Derluyn et al., 2004; Krystal, 1978; Matsakis, 1989; Taylor & Erikson, 1995; Volkan, 2001)

⁹⁸ (Mukasa, 2012)

⁹⁹ (Fazekas & Nikulina, 2021)

¹⁰⁰ (Mukasa, 2012)

¹⁰¹ (Ogei & Lewis, 2023)



The unreconciled clash between ethnic cultural systems of knowledge and western globalised evidence-based science, have been vastly exacerbated by the compounded trauma from generational transmission of violent realities and the ongoing societal psychosocial violence stemming from the current government's attempts to straddle globalisation and tribal winner-takes-all politics. The many competing cultural belief-superstitions that have been deformed by trauma and violence have spawned a level of extreme violent outplay that citizens and government have difficulty explaining, even to themselves, outside of metaphysical curses, evil spirits, or ancestral vengeance on the present community. Unfortunately, the governing and supportive institutions that Ugandans are supposed to depend on, frequently act towards them and towards each other, in a manner indicative of violent psychosocial trauma as described above. Those who present physical and psychological disabilities, lack "even the means to effectively manage their disability and related needs like mobility devices, medication and regular medical treatment."¹⁰²

§A4.1 Healthcare Accessibility, Reliability, Regulatory, and Interconnectedness for Patients.

Physical healthcare in Uganda for the socioeconomic-political elite and western foreigners working and living in Uganda is provided by western staffed providers at or above normal market rates for Europe. Major powers embassies such as the USA have their own internal medical staff for levels 1 & 2 treatments, with medical evacuation for major surgery and or recuperative and palliative care. Middle and upper-middle class families have a narrow but growing medical care services segment to meet their needs staffed by the nascent medical schools and colleges in Kampala. The lower-middle and below classes of families and individuals in Uganda depend on government healthcare with limited support from western NGOs. The government of Uganda's healthcare system has become hollowed out shell of its former structure because of the effects of corruption in Uganda. In the 1960s, immediately after achieving independence from England, Uganda had one of the best healthcare systems in East Africa. Hospitals were well-equipped, well-staffed, and had a set of connected healthcare units.¹⁰³ Violent civil war and political turmoil from 1970 to 1985 fragmented this healthcare system and organised public corruption has turned Uganda's healthcare system into one of the worst in the world. Uganda's health care system is ranked in 149th place out of 191 countries in the world by WHO. The ubiquitous government corruption hinders access to vital services, worsening poverty and increasing inequality. Access to essential services across the country is often dependent on the ability to pay a bribe to the public servants who act as informal gatekeepers.¹⁰⁴ Other major challenges facing Uganda's health system include grossly underpaid health workers, a shortage of health workers, inadequate supplies of medicines and essential equipment in government facilities, insufficient hospital beds, high costs, and poor accessibility to health services, particularly in rural areas.¹⁰⁵ People with disability lack access to public and government facilities like hospitals, schools and legal centres like courts and police stations. They end up having nowhere to run to in case they have problems. They also face multiple discriminations and rejections. Public health has long been underfunded throughout the country, to such an extent



Figure 14 Graphic aid depicting the difference between egocentric and sociocentric social life.

¹⁰² (Staff, 2018)
¹⁰³ (Mukasa, 2012)
¹⁰⁴ (Fazekas & Nikulina, 2021)
¹⁰⁵ (Mukasa, 2012)



that one in two Ugandans seeking medical treatment must use private instead of public clinics “because the latter are unable to provide services,” according to a CSIS report. Health service delivery in Uganda is often characterized by weak public health systems, with deficient financial and human resources, poor organization of health services, and lack of information about the local disease burden, are an underlying cause of these constraints. Finally, medical training in Uganda’s hospitals and clinics both primary and continuing has been a critical but neglected part of the healthcare crisis in Uganda.¹⁰⁶

§A4.2 Elderly and End of Life Care in Uganda’s Sociocentric Society.

The concept of government regulated collective-care nursing homes, retirement homes, and end of life care, are unique to the developed world and foreign to most indigenous societies in Africa, Asia, Middle East, and Latin America. Indigenous societies are sociocentric, which means that they are inherited social structures based on bloodlines that carry imprinted codes of personal and familial responsibility. The graphic in figure 14 illustrates the essential differences in psychological organisation between egocentric and sociocentric societies. In some cases, these differences may be in degree, but still shape the society into significant differences. In the UK, Europe, and North America, we live in varying versions of constructed society where bloodlines end at the age of legal maturity, beyond which, attachments lead to suspicions of nepotism and corruption. In Uganda (and elsewhere), nepotism is an integral positive aspect of sociocentric society. Uganda’s ongoing

“...an elderly person without family is destitute. A middle-aged man or woman without children is poor, regardless of their financial wealth because one cannot buy what is not available for sale. In the patriarchally organised sociocentric societies of Africa, the elderly widow without family is literally at the lowest point of human social worth.”

merger into globalised systems of law, governance, trade, travel, communications, and human rights, directly competes with this more ancient system of psychosocial organisation. As families and clans reorganise to fit into the globalised model of human life, nuclear families become detached from multiple generations of extended families commonly described as tribes or clans. The lost connectivity leads to a corresponding loss of social safety nets that emerging governance struggles to replace. Perhaps the

greatest impact of this massive social disruption is on eldercare and end of life care. Elderly persons in **healthy** sociocentric communities are normatively in family positions of wisdom, influence, and even sacredness, due to their decades of sacrifice for the current and future generations. For these healthy sociocentric family communities, ‘government regulated collective-care nursing homes’ are an (negative) aberration, not a social (positive) aspiration. The net result of this phenomenological reality is that an elderly person without family is destitute. A middle-aged man or woman without children is poor, regardless of their financial wealth because one cannot buy what is not available for sale. In the patriarchally organised sociocentric societies of Africa, the elderly widow without family is literally at the lowest point of human social worth.

¹⁰⁶ (Ogei & Lewis, 2023)



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