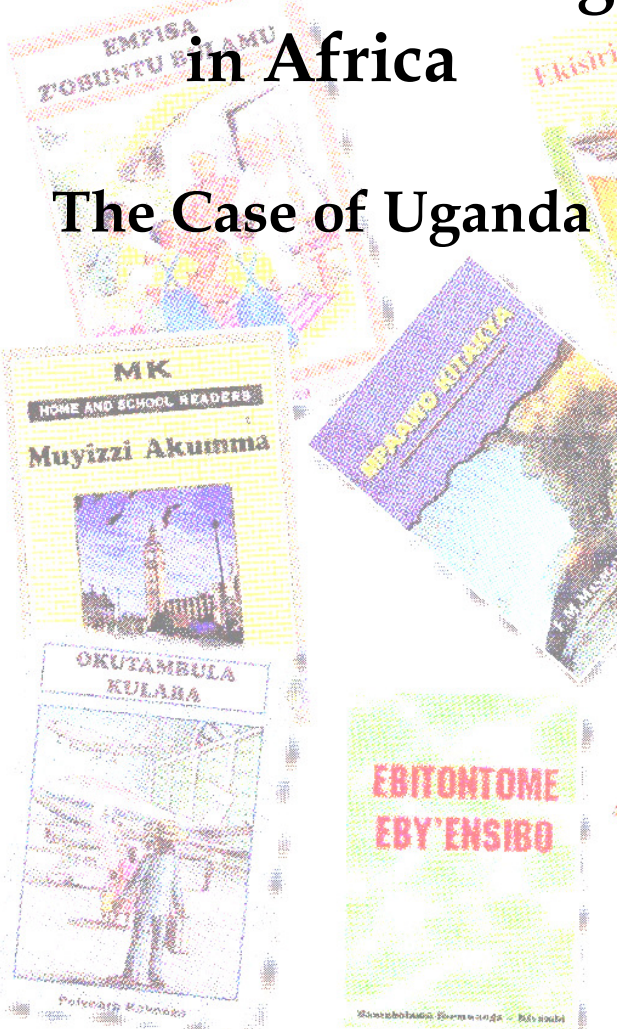


# Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa

## The Case of Uganda



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## Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa: The Case of Uganda

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## FOREWORD

After many months of work I am now able to present you this thesis, which is based on research I have carried out in Uganda last year; I was so happy to be able to unite my lifelong fascination for the African continent, my love of books and stories and the pleasure I take in making use of all the possibilities of language, which made me choose this master's of Theory and Practice of Translation. I have a great interest in why people think and act the way they do and what are these things that are really valuable to them. Art seems to have this special quality of expressing what is valuable to people, both makers and consumers, and as such it holds importance for many people all over the world, whether it is music, painting, drama or one of the many other art forms. To find out more about what makes art valuable to people, was an important reason for me to start doing a bachelor's in Literary Studies at university and it has influenced many of my choices in the course of my studies.

This thesis is dealing with the art form of literature, primarily fiction. Although people invent and write stories all over the world, in some places conditions are not favourable for making this art form flourish or giving people easy access to it. Poverty, which is sadly still prevailing in many parts of the world, is often an important reason. I had this wish of exploring the role and working of fiction publishing in one of these Third World countries. I am very thankful for having been given this opportunity by carrying out research in Uganda. During the time spent there I have learnt more things than in any other comparable time in my life so far. This knowledge I gained was certainly not only in the area of science, although I did learn many things in that area as well.

So having established this, it is clear that I need to, and in fact like to, express my gratitude toward certain people, the first being my parents, without whose support I would not even have been able to go to Uganda. Second, I would like to thank both of my supervisors. I thank Cees Koster, my Dutch supervisor for encouraging my research plan from the start, although it was a bit unusual in my discipline, and for the assistance given afterwards. I thank Oswald Ndoleriire, my Ugandan supervisor from Makerere University in Kampala for his willingness to assist me since I was a foreign student and for having been someone I could rely on when things were somewhat confusing and disheartening for me sometimes, having come to Uganda on my own and trying to adapt to an environment which was completely new to me. Furthermore, I thank all of my friends, some of whom have been directly involved in this thesis by giving advice and answering questions about

the lay-out or answering my questions about the SPSS-software used for analysing my research data. Other friends and family members have been asking every now and then how the work on my thesis was going, which was also important and appreciated by me. Two more people must be mentioned, because they have put a far greater than average effort into my research, helping me to collect data, when I was in Uganda. These people are Jozef (when introduced to people in Uganda, often only their first name was mentioned) from Mariannum Publishing Company and Catherine Seerah of Uganda Children's Writers and Illustrators Association. I conclude by expressing my hope that all these contributions have led to a thesis that adds to scientific knowledge about fiction and translation.

## INTRODUCTION

According to Paul Bandia in the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* ‘the practice of translation in Sub-Saharan Africa is virtually as old as communication through the spoken word’ (313). He adds that multilingualism has always been an important feature of Sub-Saharan Africa and even a quick look at present-day Africa, confirms that multilingualism is still a significant feature of African societies.

It is not hard to imagine the difficulties with which many African nations are faced. With so many languages within one nation, effective communication is a big challenge, to say the least. This multilingualism still being a prominent feature of almost all Sub-Saharan nations, it seems there is still reason for translation. The general picture, however, shows us that in many African countries it is the language of the former colonial power which is used in almost all public domains. Starting at a young age, children are educated in this European language and since everyone is supposed to understand this language, the role of translation seems to be confined to the realm of daily communication, where many different indigenous languages are used by people to communicate and express themselves.

The aim of this study is to see how multilingualism in a society affects the practice of translation. Its focus is on Africa, more specifically on the area of African literature. Literature is often considered to be an important part of a culture, because it carries values and knowledge of a certain culture. It is this idea that is expressed in the UNESCO policy on cultural diversity. On 20 October 2005, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted by the 33<sup>rd</sup> General Conference of UNESCO. As one of the objectives the convention seeks ‘to give recognition to the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning’ (UNESCO, par I, art. 1g). It also states that it wishes ‘to create the conditions for cultures to flourish and to freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner’ (par I, art. 1b). Language being an important means of expressing ‘identity, values and meaning’, one would expect people, when expressing themselves in literature, this to be in their mother tongue, since that is generally supposed to be the way in which people can most naturally express themselves. Seen from this perspective, it seems we should expect an urgent need for translations in multilingual societies. Translation of literature would enable the sharing of identities, values and meaning in these multilingual societies.

The purpose of this study is to shed more light on the role of translation in literature, distinguished from other areas in society like business or family life, but

also connected with them in many ways. It investigates this subject in an African context. Since investigating the whole of African literature would be too big an undertaking, it chooses to focus on one particular example of an African multilingual society: Uganda. In order to add to our knowledge of literary publishing in Uganda, research has been carried out on the spot. The nature of this research has been mainly descriptive and was of an exploratory kind, since very little research has been done so far in the area of publishing in Uganda. The aim of this study is to make a start with collecting detailed information about publishing of fiction, for the purpose of this study taken to be almost synonymous with literature, and the role of translation therein in Uganda. Collecting statistical information was part of this aim, because this sort of information has hardly been gathered so far in the area, whereas it is exactly this sort of information which could help us decide the truth about general impressions on the importance of certain languages in the publishing industry of Uganda and the role of translation. The main question guiding this study is:

*What is the position of translation in the literary system of Uganda?*

This thesis, in which the results of this research will be presented is divided into three parts. In the first part of this study, 'Translation and Context', the practice of translation will be linked to other areas of society, thus highlighting the context in which translation takes place.

The first chapter introduces the African context on which this study will focus. Translation is placed in the context of the complicated linguistic situation in most African countries. The many considerations influencing language policies in Africa are discussed.

The second chapter narrows down the focus, discussing the consequences of language policies on the publishing of books in Africa. Special attention is given to publishing of fiction and the role of translation in African publishing. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what is already known about the publishing industry of Uganda, providing a background for the research.

In the third chapter the position of translation within the broader area of the cultural system of a given society is investigated, thereby mainly drawing on the ideas of the Israeli translation scholar Itamar Even-Zohar, as expressed in his polysystem theory.



In the second part of this thesis, 'The Research: Translation and the Publishing of Fiction Books in Uganda', the results of the research carried out in Uganda will be presented. After a chapter concerned with the methodology of this research, the fifth chapter gives the results, first presenting an outline of different parties involved in fiction publishing in Uganda, then continuing to present facts and figures about Ugandan fiction publishing and discussing foreign influences in the Ugandan fiction publishing industry, translation of fiction and government policies concerning book publishing, in that order.

In the third part, 'The Future of Fiction Publishing in Africa: Conclusions and Implications of this Study', the results of the research carried out in Uganda will be summarised and related to the theoretical framework set up in Part I. The sixth chapter discusses the implications of the results for Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and assesses to what extent this theory can account for the system of Ugandan fiction publishing and the position of translated fiction therein.

The seventh chapter discusses how the results of the research in Uganda are related to the language issues African publishers in general have to deal with, as outlined in Part I. An assessment is made of the reliability of the results and a final conclusion answering my main question is presented.



# **I. TRANSLATION AND CONTEXT**



# 1. THE ISSUE OF LANGUAGE IN PRESENT-DAY AFRICA

## 1.0 Introduction

Carrying out research in the area of literature in Africa, one cannot ignore the issue of language, simply because many of the features and difficulties of African literature are directly related to the positions of the different languages and the many problems African societies encounter because of their multilingualism. Africa is one of the areas with the largest variety of languages in the world. Depending on the definition of what may be considered to be a distinct language (and not just a dialect), the number of languages still spoken in Africa varies from about 1250 to an impressive 2110 languages (Bischof 344, Chimhundu 9, Lewis): 30.5% of all the world's languages (Lewis), while it's population makes up for only 14.2% of the total world population (in 2005, UN). The present number of African countries being 56, the challenges African societies are faced with, can be imagined.

## 1.1 The Dominance of European Languages

The colonisation by European countries of almost the whole of Africa has been very influential in language matters and its consequences are felt up until this date. On the Berlin Conference held from 15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885 thirteen European countries and the United States agreed on the final division of Africa, resulting in the borders that mostly still exist. Because of this, ethnically and linguistically related communities were torn apart or, on the other hand, were supposed to be unified with people with whom they were never in contact before and with whom they did not share any particular bond. During the colonial occupation the language of the colonial power was enforced as the means of communication in at least the official segments of society, such as administration, law and politics. There were, however, differences in the way these colonial powers dealt with indigenous languages. The French and the Portuguese are known for their suppressive attitude towards indigenous languages, whereas the English and the German often had a looser attitude and even encouraged the use of indigenous languages, mainly Kiswahili, in some cases (Altbach, Dilemmas 3, Bamgbose, African Language Development 13, Bandia 316, Mulokozi 11-12).

Nonetheless, almost all new governments were faced with the difficulty of choosing the language they were to use in the new state, when in the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s almost all African countries gained independence. In most cases governments followed the old colonial patterns and kept on using the European language. Many reasons can be pointed out.

First, the language of the colonial power, was often the only language through which people from the different ethnic and linguistic groups that were put in one country, could communicate. Related to this issue, policy makers realised that the multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic nature of their states contained a potential threat to national unity and security and felt that a common language could be used as a device to unite people (Clayton 146). Choosing the language of an indigenous ethnic group for this purpose is mostly not accepted by other ethnic groups (146).

Second, there are important financial constraints African policy makers have to deal with. As a consequence, many newly-independent African states could simply not have afforded to pay for the development of structures to facilitate the use of indigenous languages and keep on having too little financial resources to develop the necessary materials for the use of indigenous languages in for example education. The fact that many indigenous languages are spoken by only a small number of speakers does not help, since production costs for materials in these languages will be relatively high (Clayton 149-150).

Third, for many indigenous African languages a script has not yet been developed. Except for a few writing systems with very old roots, notably the Coptic and the Ethiopian script, it was not until the nineteenth century that some other writing systems were developed mainly in the Liberia-Sierra Leone region and the Nigeria-Cameroun region (Pilaszewicz 51). In many cases it was the contact with the European or Arabic script that inspired people to develop these scripts for their own languages (53-54). Arabic has long played a role in Africa similar to that of Latin in medieval Europe (54). Consequently, the Arabic script was frequently used for African languages. This was until European missionaries arrived in the nineteenth century, beginning to record many African languages and in the process sometimes replacing the Arabic alphabet by the Latin one (56). What seriously hampered, and in many cases still does, the development of writing in indigenous languages, and as such their widespread use in official contexts, was the lack of a standardised orthography (56). It was only after this standardisation had been achieved that certain African languages could be effectively used for written communication (56-

59) and after independence be an alternative to using the language of the former coloniser.

Fourth, many Africans show disdain over their own languages and do not see their usefulness beyond the aim of daily communication (Obanya 89). The colonial language is seen as a sign of being educated and as the venue to (economical) success and therefore it has prestige.

Closely related to this reason is the fact that education is mostly offered in the European language and so learning this language becomes a condition for acquiring the good and well-paid jobs. As such the European language is indeed the venue to success, thus feeding the perception that African languages are of no use. In recent years a development can be observed of teaching children in their own language, but in most cases it is only for a few years, after which a switch is made to education in the European language anyway. Since the number of people finishing both primary and secondary education (let alone higher education) is still low in Africa, while others have no chance of going to school at all, this situation of education in European languages, creates an elite of well-educated people, speaking

#### **A Case in Point: The Rise of Kiswahili**

An important example of this kind of development is Kiswahili (often abbreviated to Swahili), at first only spoken in the coastal areas of present Kenya and Tanzania. The official replacement of its Arabic script by the Latin one took place in 1889. At the same time, the Germans made Swahili the official administrative language in their colony German East Africa (the present Tanzanian mainland). The British, after taking over the German colony, continued the use of Swahili in certain areas and also tried to spread the language in their other colonies in East Africa (Pilaszewicz 59, Mulokozi 11-12). Although they were reasonably successful in doing so in Kenya, in Uganda they met great resistance, especially from the people of the Baganda, whose language was already widely used. Christian missionaries also contributed a lot by developing glossaries, grammars and dictionaries and translating biblical tracts and hymn books (Pilaszewicz 59, Mulokozi 12). In 1930 the Inter-Territorial Language Committee for East African Dependencies (the later East African Swahili Committee) started to standardise the language and orthography of Swahili. All these efforts effected that the language of Swahili could assume the important position it now has in East Africa as a *lingua franca* (Pilaszewicz 59, Mulokozi 11-12) with about 100 million speakers, mainly in Kenya and Tanzania, but also in their neighbouring countries and in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Mulokozi 11).

the European language necessary for occupying the good positions in society. It has been suggested that this elite is eager to keep its beneficial position and uses the language policy favouring the European languages as a means to realise this in a strategy called 'elite closure' (Myers-Scotton 25). A different but comparable case was the language policy of the apartheid regime in South Africa and former South West Africa (now Namibia) where black Africans were not allowed to learn English in order to keep them away from power. Here, after the abolishment of apartheid, education in English became part of an emancipatory policy, meant to erase differences between whites and non-whites (Clayton 148-149).

### **International factors**

Besides these factors working on a national level, two more international influences can be traced. First, there is the fact that European languages play an important role in international communication, especially English and, to a lesser degree, French. In such different domains as diplomacy, business, science and the Internet, communication is only possible through English or another European language. Taking the African perspective, using one of these languages is the only way to explain African viewpoints to the world (Clayton 153).

Second, on a world scale, unequal relations can be observed between countries and clusters of countries. Some countries rely much more on certain countries than the other way round. In this sense one can speak of 'core' and 'periphery' nations in a world-system (154). African countries are heavily relying on Western countries, not only because the developing aid they receive from these countries, but also because many products are not available in Africa, or at least not of the same quality as in Europe for example. One of the areas in which this dependency is visible is the book market. For supplying their need of books, almost all African countries are importing large amounts of books from Europe or the United States. Since these often high quality books are easily available and are therefore used in, for example, the educational systems of African countries, this is another factor determining the continued use of European languages in Africa (155).



## 1.2 The Use of Indigenous Languages

As much as the aforementioned factors are influencing the language policies of many African countries, there are also arguments in favour of the use of indigenous languages and these are, in fact, gaining influence in Africa.

One of the most important issues concerning language in African countries is the language of instruction used in education. As observed before, in the present the language of instruction is usually the European language of the former colonial power. Although this may be the easiest option, considering the multilingualism of almost all Sub-Saharan countries, this practise has been criticised by many and linguistic research seems to put these critics in the right. It has shown that for effective learning it is important to teach children in their mother tongue. This has been proven in such diverse surroundings as Nigeria (Bamgbose, Mother-tongue medium), South-Africa (Desai), Belgium (Danesi) and the South Pacific (Gannicott and Throsby). Skills are better developed and so school results are better when children are instructed in the mother tongue. This can be partly explained by the principle of ‘linguistic interdependence’, which makes that pupils are able to apply certain aspects of literacy in one language to another language (Clayton 152). Thus, initial instruction in an African mother tongue improves pupils’ later performance in the national, European language. Certain African policy makers seem to have recognised this advantage of instruction in an indigenous language, as more and more countries establish education in the mother tongue in the first classes of primary school, followed by a switch to education in the European language later on. Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania are examples of this changing policy, just as Uganda, as we will see later on.

An important argument in favour of the use of indigenous languages is that these languages are the most natural ways in which speakers can express their identities. A powerful defendant of this opinion is the Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong’o: *‘Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world’*, he states in his famous essay ‘Decolonising the Mind’ (2538). He claims that the colonial imposition of foreign languages has taught African people to disdain their own languages and has been quite successful in creating this attitude (2538/2539). What Africans need to do, he argues, is free their languages from this colonial burden and develop them in all domains of life, starting with literature (2539).

Ngugi was in fact defending so-called 'linguistic human rights', a term introduced by several linguists who argue that all people should be able to use their own language in all domains, like the court, school or creative expression (Clayton 151).

To conclude this discussion of language matters in Africa, I turn to a major problem Africa is still faced with, namely the high illiteracy rate, which was in 2007 still as high as 38% for the Sub-Saharan countries (World Bank, Education). It can be imagined that developing literacy is easiest in the language people already speak. To develop their reading skills reading materials must be available in their language (Altbach, Dilemmas 2), but as we have seen they are not. Moreover, since education is mostly in a foreign language, an odd situation is created where literate African people are literate in a language which they often do not master very well, since it is not practised very often outside of school, whereas they remain illiterate in the language or languages they speak fluently and use in daily life. Since reading in the foreign language often involves too much trouble and reading materials in their own language are hardly available, many Africans hardly read and relapse into a state of 'functional illiteracy', meaning they know the basics of reading, but their understanding of more complex texts is very poor. The combination of illiteracy and the absence of published materials in indigenous languages is often seen as seriously hindering the development of a civil society (2), which requires active and informed participation of citizens in their society.

It will be clear by now that the present language situation in Africa is very difficult and that it is very hard to meet all the needs of these countries, dealing with a lot more problems than those related to language. When considering publishing of fiction in Africa, and in Uganda in particular, we should keep in mind the issues discussed in this chapter as a background.

## 2. PUBLISHING OF BOOKS IN AFRICA

### 2.0 Introduction

It will be no surprise that these general language matters affect the publishing of books in many ways. This chapter will be dealing with them. After a general overview of the development of publishing in Africa and its present state, I will relate the language matters discussed in the previous chapter to the practice of book publishing in Africa and introduce the position of translation within it. Finally, I will give a description of what is known of the present state of publishing in Uganda, the country where the practical part of this research has been carried out.

### 2.1 The African Publishing Industry: Its Development and Hardships

Publishing of books in Africa is an activity quite new to the continent, with a few notable exceptions, one of which is the case of publishing in Swahili. Under the influence of Islam, publishing activities in this language developed already in the eighteenth century (Ohly 470). In those days the main genre was court poetry, both religious and secular. The oldest preserved example of this is *Utendi wa Tambuka* (The Epic of Tambuka), written in 1728 by an unknown author. In his chapter on Swahili literature in *Literatures in African Languages* Rajmund Ohly mentions *Habari za Wakilindi* (1895, The Story of the Wakilindi Lineage) being the first novel in Swahili (473). It could be argued to be the first novel in Africa too. However, there seems to be no agreement about this. Almost coincidentally, but probably not by coincidence, with the beginning of the colonial era in East Africa there came an end to the production of titles in Swahili. A revival of Swahili literature would only take place in the period preceding independence, towards the middle of the twentieth century.

This is also the period when publishing activities in other parts of Africa begin to take shape. Before this time, most publishing is done by religious publishers, that up until today are still responsible for a large part of the book output in many African countries (Bischof 343). It is only after the independence of almost all African states in the 1960s that indigenous publishers start their work (Altbach, Perspectives 51). Initially, a rapid expansion of publishing activities took place. The years 1978-

1982 even saw a 50% increase in numbers of books published in Africa (Bischof 341). Although the world-wide economical crisis of the 1980s severely damaged the emerging African publishing industries, the business is still expanding. The 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *African Books in Print* (1984) listed 604 African publishers (Bischof 341), whereas its 6<sup>th</sup> edition (2006) counted 893 publishers (De Gruyter). Surely, many publishers have not been included in these lists, just as the many printers involved in some publishing activities, often the private publishing of unknown titles in small runs. It has to be noted that there is a large turnover of publishers: many do not manage to survive longer than a few years.

### **Difficulties for African Publishing**

This is because African publishers are faced with many difficulties, one of which is the continuing presence of multinational publishing firms. These publishers were already active before independence, although then their activity consisted mainly of importing books from Europe (Altbach, Perspectives 51). They are provided with many things, which indigenous publishers do not have, or not sufficiently: easy access to financial resources, long experience in publishing, and hence expertise, and high quality equipment making use of the newest technologies. Because of this, these multinational publishers were able to fill the high demand for school books, right after independence, when many African countries started to introduce public education. In fact, without these multinational firms the needs of the emerging education systems could have never been met (Bischof 341). However, since indigenous publishers could not compete with the multinationals on the aforementioned points, their development was seriously hampered by the presence of the multinational firms. The protective measures taken by some African governments (e.g. the Nigerian) to protect their own markets, for example with high tariffs on things like ink, paper, computers or other products not or hardly not produced in their own countries, made this situation often even worse, since they made the materials publishers need often too expensive (Altbach, Perspectives 46-47).

A maybe even more pressing problem for African publishers is the often abominable distribution infrastructure of which they have to make use. Although always the weak link in the book trade chain in Third World countries, Philip Altbach argues, Africa's book distribution is 'extremely deficient' and 'one of the main reasons for the very limited success of African publishing' (Perspectives 52). Distribution of books is hindered by basic things like bad roads and a lack of reliable

sources of electricity (and so no reliable use of computers and inability to control temperature for storing books) (52, Bischof 341). As a result it is very difficult to supply bookshops outside capital cities and in fact there are very few of them, especially well-stocked ones (Bischof 341). The lack of a functioning distribution infrastructure, sometimes forces publishers to do the distribution themselves, which is of course driving up the prices of books (Mulokozi 29). Libraries experience the same problems as bookshops and so they too are often seriously badly stocked. The Tanzanian author and professor Mugyabuso M. Mulokozi reports the results of a survey he carried out in 1996 into the stockings of the Tanzania Library Services which has 38 branches throughout the country. He found out that in a period of five years they had only added five novels, five plays and ten poetry collections to their stock of Tanzanian creative literature (28). However, other libraries cannot buy any new books at all (Bischof 341).

African publishers are dealing with serious financial constraints. The foreign exchange they need is often difficult to acquire, because African banks tend to see publishing as an unreliable and risky investment (342, for Uganda specifically Mutula and Nakitto 183, for Kenya see Mulokozi 25). When combining these constraints with the distribution difficulties just mentioned, one can imagine publishing to become expensive, and as a consequence the books, although publishers try to cut costs by issuing soft covers and often use paper of inferior quality and a simple design and lay-out. Still, most Africans cannot afford to buy books or at least not as often as is needed to establish a viable publishing industry, as is pointed out by many scholars (Altbach, Dilemmas 6, Bischof 342, Mulokozi 15). The general feature of book publishing, holding that it has modest margins of profitability and a slow rate of return worldwide, makes the pricing problem even more urgent for African publishers. In the next chapter we will see that these financial constraints are closely interwoven with and affect language decisions made by African publishers. However, loan programmes and special credit arrangements with banks could contribute to a stronger economical basis for African publishing (Altbach, Dilemmas 9) and in fact this is exactly what was agreed on on a meeting of African publishers in the Tanzanian city Arusha in 1984, where they decided that the Swedish Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation would establish a loan-guarantee scheme, which would enable indigenous African publishers to receive loans. It was the introduction of this scheme in Kenya in 1988 which helped many small Kenyan publishers to survive (Mulokozi 25-26).

Another difficulty African publishers are faced with is the fact that most African societies used to have an oral culture and have come in touch with writing rather recently only. Reading still occurs very rarely. For many literate people the only texts they are reading regularly are religious scriptures and hymns (15). It is often observed that although the literacy rate in Africa is climbing, the reading rate is still very low (15). As a consequence in most parts of Africa there hardly is a reading culture (29, Ndoleriire 12), although Mulokozi is eager to point out that the reasons for this lack of a reading culture are 'largely infrastructural and, to a lesser extent, cultural', an impression shared by the American librarian Phyllis B. Bischof (344).

Related to this oral culture and low reading rates is the difficulty of developing local authorship. On top of that, publishing conditions are often not very favourable for local authors, at least in East Africa where dishonesty in relations between authors and publishers is declared to be common practice by Mulokozi, illustrated by his personal experiences (19-21).

Given all these difficulties, Africa's publishing industry could be said to do actually quite well. This is especially true for the publishing industry of South Africa, which has always been the most developed of Africa, although before the abolishment of apartheid it was mainly the white segment of its population, which was enjoying this. Other reasonably successful publishing industries used to be those of Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe (Altbach, Perspectives 46-47). Zimbabwe's publishing industry, however, has been hard-hit by the political oppression of Robert Mugabe's government and the economical malaise (Primorac). Still, it is one of the few African countries that has yielded a literature in indigenous languages of a reasonable size. Here we touch on the issue of language again, which affects the publishing of books in many ways. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

## **2.2 The Choice of Language: The Difficulties of Publishing in Indigenous Languages**

The general situation with regard to the use of language in Africa is reflected in the field of book publishing. Publishing is still overwhelmingly in the languages of the former colonial powers, mainly English, French and Portuguese (Altbach, Dilemmas 1). From the books listed in the third edition of *African Books in Print* (1984), mentioned earlier, 23% was in African languages and there is not much reason to suppose this situation is very different from today's (Bischof 344).

We have read that after independence African governments saw the use of the European language of the former coloniser as an important instrument for uniting their ethnically and linguistically diverse societies. It will be no surprise that the publishing houses they founded in the years following independence published only in this European language. These government publishing houses were meant to supply the increasing need of primary and secondary school textbooks, to avoid that multinational publishers would fill this need and hence receive all the profits. However, by creating a monopoly in this area of publishing, they also deprived local publishers of their single most important source of income and thus effectively caused the almost total collapse of local publishing industries. This is what happened for example in Tanzania, after the founding of such institutions as the Tanzania Institute of Education, Tanzania Publishing House and the East African Publishing House in the 1970s (Mulokozi 17). This policy made the publishing of fiction very difficult, let alone in indigenous languages.

As was hinted at in the previous chapter, the financial constraints of African publishers affect their language policies in many ways and often prevent the development of publishing in indigenous languages. As has been mentioned before, many languages do not even have a script yet; others do have such a script but no agreed-on orthography. It requires the efforts of linguists and lexicographers to provide these languages with the tools to make them suitable for publishing. However, even if publishers are willing to publish in indigenous languages, they lack the money to pay for the work and the materials needed to make it possible. This holds even more for languages written in another script than Latin.

An extra complicating factor is the often small size of indigenous language markets and hence the potential reading public (Clayton 149-150). Publishing in these languages means small print runs and so high costs per book. On top of that, the high illiteracy rates in Africa and the often low purchasing power of Africans are further reducing this potential audience. Only a small percentage of all the African languages has populations large enough to support viable publishing industries with ease, if no other factors were interfering. Yoruba, Swahili and Shona are some examples. An additional problem, however, is caused by the fact that linguistic communities are often spread over several countries. Although regional publishing should be possible in principle, in practice it proves to be difficult to arrange cross-border trade (Altbach, Dilemmas 5). Notwithstanding these hindrances there are some examples of successful publishing in indigenous languages. In Nigeria so-called 'chap books' helped to get publishing in the Igbo language started. Chap

books are small, cheaply produced booklets, whose contents cover popular themes. These highly successful books were often sold on local markets and helped to create an awareness of books among the population (9). This example shows that using non-conventional ways of distribution can open up markets for publishers, even literally in this case. However, there were some advantages here, which other parts of Africa do not enjoy. First, Igbo is spoken by a considerable number of people (some 20 million), living within the borders of one country. Second, purchasing power among Igbo people is relatively high (9). In many cases, the income of African people is just too low to buy books: according to the 2007 report on development in Africa of the World Bank the average income per capita in Sub-Saharan Africa was \$ 572, without South Africa even only \$ 380 (Vlugt). Because of this low purchasing power of the average African, publishers are usually targeting the affluent elites that, as we saw, know how to speak a European language and use their mastering of this language to retain their privileged position. If they make up the public of the books published by African publishers, one can imagine that books will be published in European languages. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in this way the mastering of a European language becomes a sign of prestige. This even works out that when an African is literate in more than one language, one of which is European, he will prefer to buy European books instead of indigenous language books, even if the locally published books are less expensive (Altbach, Dilemmas 6).

This having been said, it must be mentioned it is not only prestige driving Africans to buy books in European languages: the fact is that there is a much wider choice of books in these languages (6), a sign of the earlier discussed peripheral position of Africa in the world system. For certain subjects or genres Africans have no choice than to rely on foreign books in European languages or the European language books are better in terms of quality.

Here, a vicious circle becomes visible: Africans, especially the more affluent, rely on books in European languages, because no books in their own language are available, but because they do so and because the majority of people is too poor for buying books, local authorship is not encouraged and no market for indigenous language publishing emerges, thus continuing Africa's dependency on Western books and books in Western languages. And, as Altbach notes: 'readers, once accustomed to buying European language materials, will seldom choose to buy local language books' (6).

This also works the other way round: when writing in African languages, a potential reading audience abroad will be forgone, 'until and unless translations



appear '(Bischof 344). But these do hardly appear, as we will come to speak about in the next chapter. When Africans do not read, for the myriad of reasons I have just described, one can imagine, especially in the case of fiction, that African authors choose to write in a European language. Besides reaching the reading elite of their own country, they are thus able to reach the masses of readers elsewhere in the world. Even an author like the Senegalese Ousmane Sembène, who is strongly in favour of writing in indigenous languages, has given the following explanation for not having written his novel *Le Docker Noir* in his mother tongue Wolof: '*who would have read it? How many people know how to read the language? ... Even written in French, how many Africans have read Le Docker Noir? Eighty-five percent of the people here are illiterate; the rest can read and write but they do not read African authors. That means that our public is in Europe*' (qtd. in Clayton 150). This was what he said at a conference of francophone writers in Dakar in 1963. Later on he switched to writing in Wolof, nonetheless, but not many authors make this switch. The fact that ownership in the world-wide publishing industry becomes increasingly centred in large multinational conglomerates does certainly not improve the possibilities for publishing in indigenous languages (Altbach, Dilemmas 4).

Mother tongue education can be an important means of breaking the cycle, because of its potential of creating a reading audience in indigenous languages. This audience in turn will create a demand for reading materials in indigenous languages, thus encouraging writers and publishers to fill the need.

Due to the goal of Universal Primary Education, which is taken up actively in many African countries, there has been a large growth of the market for school textbooks. In fact, the great majority of publishing activities in African countries consists of supplying the demand of their education systems (3). This close relation between the educational system and publishing is typical for developing countries (2). Publishing of general books could be supported by these textbook markets, if these are effectively linked to the publishing industry (3, 9).

A governmental book policy could be useful in creating these links. However, it is absent in most African countries. While observing that neither Kenya nor Tanzania has such a book policy, Mulokozi proposes that such a book policy '*should, ideally, be drafted by book sector stakeholders, possibly through the book councils, if they have been established. The draft should then be submitted to the government for approval and adoption*' (37). History has proven that a state monopoly on the production of school books is disastrous, because publishers in the emerging African publishing industries need the market for school books to develop themselves, since the market for

textbooks is the only one which is really lucrative until now (Altbach, Dilemmas 3). However, when assisting in creating a carefully privatised publishing industry, governmental concern could lead to fruitful connections between school books markets and other book markets, which could be profitable for the book industry as a whole (3). If the development of offering education in indigenous languages continues, this could be the real breakthrough for books in indigenous languages.

Following the arguments of linguists defending the linguistic human rights mentioned in the previous chapter, one could be wondering if publishing in indigenous languages would indeed not be the most logical option, since these languages are spoken by large segments of African societies, whereas it is estimated that only ten to twenty percent of Africans is competent in one of the European languages (Clayton 147). As Altbach points out, communication is most effective in the language of primary use and local authorship is to be expected in local languages rather than in the European languages, spoken (with a certain competence) only by minorities (Dilemmas 2). This is especially true concerning literature. One could indeed suppose that when being involved in creative writing the most natural way to express oneself is in the mother tongue, the language one uses everyday, or as Ngugi wa Thiong'o puts it: *'...in what languages other than African languages, can African literature be written?'* (qtd. in Bischof 344). African writers writing in a European language are generally writing in a second language. Bischof presumes that *'such writers may well, therefore, be subject to losing their intimate connection with the culture they seek to express. Normally one's first language is the one in which one dreams and sings; to write in a second tongue often results in a potential loss of literary power and persuasiveness'* (344). Translation could be a solution here, but its role in contemporary African publishing is still very limited, as we will see in the following chapter.

### 2.3 Operating in the Margin: Book Translation in Africa

How far the history of book translation in Africa goes back is a reason of disagreement among scholars. The Portuguese were the first Europeans settling in Africa and are responsible for some early known instances of translation. Some of the earliest examples of written translation are Portuguese translations of African literature and there seems to be historical evidence that these have flourished in the nineteenth century (Bandia 314). This usually concerned African transcriptions of stories and poems already existing in the oral tradition. Portuguese missionaries

soon realised that the spread of the gospel was most effective in African languages and consequently started transcribing these languages in the Roman script (315). This attention for African languages inspired the launch of the bilingual Portuguese-Kimbundu journal *O Echo de Angola* (The Echo of Angola) in the 1880s. However, the Portuguese authorities blocked this development of writings in African languages, since their policy was to spread the Portuguese language as much as possible (315).

Until the twentieth century translation of written texts has been an almost completely religious, Christian concern. Missionaries were involved in translating the Bible into local African languages. Although the activity of translating the Bible already started in the seventeenth century (Bandia 316), it was only in the nineteenth century that large-scale translation of the Bible began (316, Pilaszewicz 58). John Bunyan's religious novel *The Pilgrim's Progress* was one of the earliest fiction works translated into African languages. Translations of both *The Pilgrim's Progress* and the Bible were influential in standardising African languages and creating literary patterns not seen before in these languages (Pilaszewicz 58).

Religious publishing continued well into the twentieth century, which also saw some translations of the Quran in such languages as Hausa and Yoruba. In the course of this century literary translation became more important. The late 1950s saw the emergence of transcriptions of African oral literature in European languages, which naturally involved a process of translation. These translations were made by writers with a good command of both a European language and at least one African language (Bandia 317).

Another factor promoting some literary translation was the language policy of the British in their East African colonies. As we have read they implemented Swahili as the language of instruction in lower levels of education and administration. To promote the use of Swahili, translations of classical Greek and Latin writers, just as British authors as Rudyard Kipling and Robert Louis Stevenson were made (Pilaszewicz 59, Ohly 464). These were included in school reading lists (Ohly 464). Translation of Swahili literature into English also took place (Mulokozi 12).

Famous are the Swahili translations of William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (*Juliasi Kaizari*) and *The Merchant of Venice* (*Mabepari wa Venisi*) by Julius Nyerere, made before he became the first president of the newly independent Tanganyika (and later on of the United Republic of Tanzania), but published when he was already president, in 1963 and 1969 respectively (Noss and Renju 42). The fact that these translations were published by Oxford University Press is illustrative of the foreign dominance in the publishing market at that time. It was only at the middle of

the 1960s that the first African publishing houses involved in publishing literature in European languages emerged (Pilaszewicz 65), but until the present date it are European publishing houses involved in publishing the bulk of works of African authors writing in European languages. In the 1970s a beginning was made with the translation into Swahili of the works of African writers as the Ugandan Okot p'Bitek, Nigerian Chinua Achebe and Ghanaian Ayi Kwei Armah. (Ohly 479/480). As a result, Swahili has one of the most elaborate translation markets of all African languages, not only out of, and to a lesser degree into, European languages, but also out of languages like Russian and Chinese (Mulokozi 27).

The fact that many writers are both competent in a European language and one or more African languages, sometimes leads to the practice of self-translation. Ngugi wa Thiong'o is an example. After his decision to stop writing in English at the end of the 1970s, he continued to write in his mother tongue Kikuyu and translated several of his works, such as *Caithani Mutharabaini* (1981) (*Devil at the Cross*, 1982) and, recently, *Murogi wa Kagogo* (*Wizard of the Crow*, 2006).

Whereas public service translation is flourishing in multilingual Africa (Bandia 318), literary translation is still not a lucrative business (317). The case of Swahili just discussed is not representing the general African picture and even there the role of translation is not prominent. In many countries there is hardly any publishing of fiction in indigenous languages. Translation of works of African authors occurs, but usually of the ones writing in European languages. Translations from European languages into African languages are much less frequent and translation between African languages is hardly existing (317). However, detailed information is not available for the African situation, since statistical research in this area is hardly carried out in Africa.

### **Some comparative perspectives on book translation**

The situation in Europe is very different. In the second half of the twentieth century the proportion of translated books in the total book production of European countries was steadily rising (Heilbron 188). It can be seen as a sign of a increased international orientation of the developed countries and an increased cross-border mobility between them (188). Some recent statistics confirm these statements about the importance of translation in Europe. Translated books make up for 17% of the national title production in Finland, whereas in Turkey their proportion was 27% in 2007. Even higher is their proportion in Greece (44% in 2006) and Romania (about two third of the title production) (all data from Frankfurt Book Fair). Even in France,

whose language is a world language, some 14% of the national book production consists of translations (De Haan and Hofstede 11). Translation is mostly out of English. Not surprisingly the translation ratio in the United Kingdom is very low: 3% (11).

We now briefly consider the position of translation in The Netherlands. There, together with a rapid expansion of the book industry after the Second World War, the proportion of translated books in the national book production rose from 5% in 1946 to almost 30% in 1995 (Heilbron 189). Heilbron relates this rapid growth to sustained economic growth, increased prosperity and rapid expansion of the education system (189). Translation is even more important in the category of prose: as much as 70% of published books in this category has been translated (190). In 2005 76% of the translated books published in the Netherlands were out of English, followed by 10% out of German and 5% out of French (De Haan and Hofstede 45)

In all European countries a publishing industry in the indigenous language or languages exists. English has assumed a more important position, but always as a second language. As such the literatures of European countries remain in indigenous languages for the most part (De Haan en Hofstede 7). The question is whether such a situation is to be expected in Africa, once publishing in indigenous languages has established itself and the aforementioned developments of economic growth, increased prosperity and expansion of the education system will take place. The latest data of the World Bank seem to suggest that there is finally some sustainable economic growth taking place in Africa in the last five years (Vlugt). Incomes per capita are rapidly changing in some countries and throughout Africa much attention is paid to increase of school enrolment rates and development of the education system. It will be interesting to see how this affects the African publishing industries and the position of translation in particular. The research discussed in the second part of this thesis sought to provide us with some empirical data, which will enable us to see some developments in African publishing and translation of books.

It may be interesting to consider research carried out by John Milton into the influence of economic factors on the development of book translation in Brazil. He begins the research in 1930, which marked a change in economic policy that before highly favoured the production of coffee, on which the Brazilian economy was highly dependent. Starting in the 1930s Brazil developed itself from a developing country to an industrialised country with a reasonable degree of prosperity (164). Milton found out that high tariffs on imported books favoured the emergence of Brazilian publishing firms and caused an increase in the number of translations. He

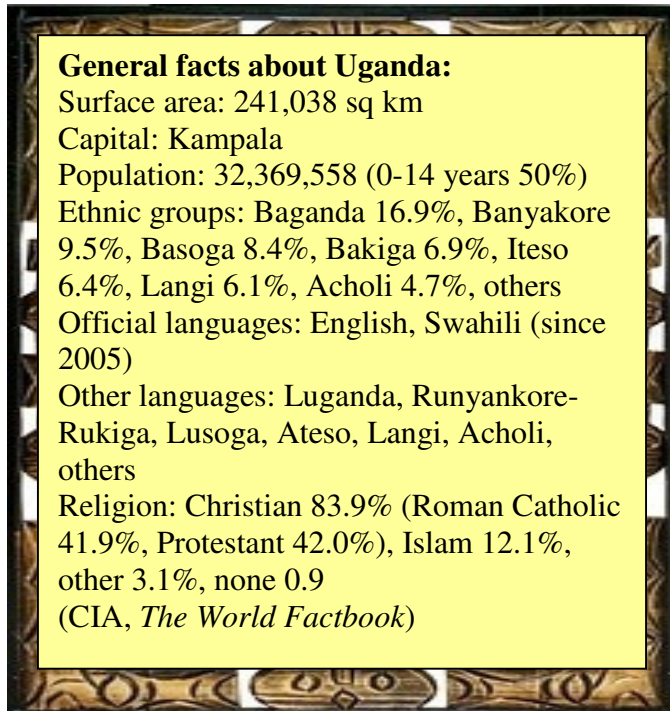
suggests that high tariffs are necessary in a developing publishing industry to get local publishing activities off the ground (167). He also concludes that publishing translation of popular works can be a means for a young publishing house to stand on its own feet, especially if no royalties have to be paid over the translated works (167).

When considering the relevance of these outcomes for the African situation we have to observe two big differences between the Brazilian and the African situation with regard to book publishing. First, indigenous languages have a very marginal role in Brazil, with most of them not having more than 5000 speakers (Lewis), whereas African states often have several large language minorities within their borders. On top of that, the mother tongue of the vast majority of the Brazilians, Portuguese, is a European language, even a world language up to a certain extent. This means that the publishing industry could easily stick to the former colonial language and did not have to invest in developing facilities for publishing in indigenous languages. Second, Brazil has a large internal market, due to its large population, which was close to 40 million even in the 1930s.

In other aspects, however, the Brazilian situation of the 1930s was comparable with the present one in Africa. For books and the materials needed for producing books, Brazil was heavily relying on Europe, just as Africa is today. Besides, the dependency on one export product is also typical for many African countries nowadays.

Charging tariffs has already been practised by many African countries as a way of protecting their developing economies, as we have seen earlier in this discussion of publishing in Africa. However, these measures have often caused more damage than good to the publishing industries of these countries, because while tariffs were charged on goods needed for the production of books, there were no serious domestically produced alternatives for these goods. But when investments would be made in the internal publishing infrastructures, the Brazilian case may function as an example of how a viable publishing industry may arise in a developing country.

## 2.4 Book Publishing and Translation in Uganda



The aim of this study is to find out to what extent the general features of publishing in Africa discussed so far, apply to the publishing industry of Uganda. Until now this publishing industry has not been closely investigated, but from what we already know, we will see that the general African problems and challenges concerning book publishing, are also the ones Uganda's developing publishing industry is faced with.

Just as almost everywhere else in Africa, writing in Uganda began with the advent of Christian missionaries, who started coming to Uganda in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Gérard 299). Until the middle of the twentieth century, however, the only writing in Uganda in a language other than English was in the language which was and is most widely spoken: Luganda (304). This is the language of the Baganda who were the inhabitants of the Buganda kingdom that had already reached a high level of political organisation when the British arrived, who subsequently made use of this in their colonial policy.

The first complete Bible translation in Luganda was finished in 1896 already, mainly the work of G.L Pilkington of the Anglican Church Missionary Society with the help of a converted Baganda, Henry Wright Duta (299). One of the most prolific early writers in Luganda has been Apolo Kagwa. His best-known work is *Basekabaka ba Buganda* (1901), which was to be translated into English only seventy years later as *The Kings of Buganda*. It describes the history of the Buganda kingdom (300). Well-known furthermore, is the account by him and his fellow traveller Ham Mukasa of the journey to England they undertook together to represent the protectorate of Uganda on the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. The book was immediately translated into English as *Uganda's Katikiro in England* (1904) by Reverend Ernest

Millar, who had assisted the two men as a guide and interpreter during their stay in England.

After this flourishing of Luganda writing around the turn of the century, production of Luganda books stagnated. This has been related to the British attempts to spread Swahili as an official language in Uganda, which met fierce resistance of the Baganda. In the *Uganda News* of 22 February 1929 the Buganda king wrote that he was 'entirely opposed to any arrangements which would in any way facilitate the ultimate adoption of [Swahili] as the Official Native Language of the Baganda in place of, or at the expense of, their own language' (301). Because of this resistance the use of Swahili in Uganda has been very limited, up until this date.

Just as was the case with almost all other African languages, Luganda faced the problem of the standardisation of its orthography, which seriously hindered the development of writing in the language. The Protestants and the Catholics used their own spelling which meant that their printing presses only accepted works published by members of their own denomination. This forced other authors to resort to local presses, which were often inferior, thus hindering the appearance of Luganda works (302). However, the advantage was that these local printing presses accepted small runs and so have contributed to vernacular literature just as well (302).

It took long before the first fiction titles in Luganda were published. The first were *Muddu awulira* ('The obedient servant, 1953) from Michael Basse Nsimbi and *Zinunula Omunaku* ('They buy a poor man', 1954) from Edward E.N. Kawere. After their appearance there was a modest growth of fiction titles published, mainly prose. All these titles were published by the East African Literature Bureau (EALB, a list of often used abbreviations can be found in appendix 1), in association with British publishers like Macmillan, Longman, Thomas Nelson and Oxford University Press (303). The foundation of the East African Literature Bureau in 1948 had the unexpected consequence of the emergence of writings in other Ugandan languages than Luganda. Unexpected, because in his advise on literature for Africans to the African governments, Charles Richards, manager of the C.M.S. bookshop in Nairobi, advised that publishing should be in Swahili and Luganda first and should be extended to Gang-Dho-Luo and Kikuyu, once orthographies for these languages were agreed on. However, developments proved to be too quick for this recommendation to be followed and so publishing in other languages happened right from the onset of the EALB (305).

For example, one of the first works of fiction published by EALB was in Acholi, a Ugandan language closely related to the Kenyan Luo. It was a novel, *Lak tar*



*miyo kinyero wi lobo* ('You have white teeth , then laugh', 1953), written by Okot p'Bitek, who was to become one of the most famous writers Uganda has known. His most famous work arguably is *Song of Lawino*, a translation out of Acholi made by Bitek himself of *War pa Lawino*, which appeared in 1966.

The founding of Makerere College in 1937 had a positive influence on writing in East Africa. This college was to become the University of East Africa in 1963 and still later the present Makerere University.

After becoming independent in 1962, Uganda was faced with a state consisting of many ethnicities and languages. Just as in almost all other African countries, it was decided to adopt the language of the former coloniser, in this case English, as the official language. So English became the language of administration, judiciary and education. There was an increase in creative writing in English, although publishing in indigenous languages was also still on the rise, with several languages having their first literary works (306). *Ha Munwa gw'ekituuro* ('At the point of death', 1963) was the first novel in Runyoro-Rutoro, written by Timothy B. Bazarrabusa. Other works in this language appeared, just as in Runyankore, Acholi and Lusoga (306-307). These beginning publishing activities in indigenous languages came all to an end with the advance of the Idi Amin regime in 1971 (303), although they had diminished earlier on already, because of the new education policy making English the language of instruction from the first class of primary school onwards.

They have never recovered afterwards, so that up until this date, English is predominant in Ugandan publishing, especially fiction. However, fiction is only a small segment of the Uganda's present publishing industry. It is estimated that 60-75% of all books published are textbooks, for primary schools alone (Ikoja-Odongo 41). Besides, there is still a lot of religious publishing. Centenary Publishing House and Saint Paul Publications are two major publishers in this field.

Just as elsewhere in Africa Ugandan publishing houses are struggling to compete with multinational publishers (43). Many of these opened their offices in Uganda soon after independence (28). They catered to the needs of the expanding education system and became very powerful. Within two years after the founding of Longman Uganda and their opening an office in Kampala, Longman supplied 60% of the books used in primary schools (29). Because of political tensions Longman and other foreign publishing houses moved out of the country. Their new strategy was to produce books in the United Kingdom and Hong Kong and then fly them to Uganda and sell them to institutions and bookshops (29). At this time Longman again has its office in Kampala, just as some other British publishers participating in the Ugandan

market. However, often the local branches of these publishers are only used for distribution and marketing, while the editorial process is done in Europe (Mutula and Nakitto 184-185). Here too, government publishing was seen as the solution, which led to the foundation of the Uganda Publishing House, Uganda Press Trust and Uganda School Supply, all subsidiaries of the Milton Obote Foundation (Ikoja-Odongo 53), thus undermining the local book industry (54).

With the end of the second Milton Obote regime in 1985 there came an end to this policy and some steps towards privatisation of the market were taken, although the market for school books is still heavily controlled by the government. In 2002 an experiment in Decentralised Instructional Materials Procurement (DIMP) was introduced into four districts. This meant that part of the budget for book procurement of the national government was paid to the districts, that in turn divided this budget among the schools in their district. These schools could then choose themselves from which publisher they wanted to buy the necessary books. These publishers had to be on a list of Official Textbook Suppliers. Schools ordered through a local bookseller and paid only after the deliveries to the school had been completed. Every publisher who is able to meet the basic requirements formulated by the government, is thus free to enter the lucrative school book market. Because of the good results and positive evaluation of this experiment the following year six more districts were included in the experiment (IMU 4-5). The procurement and distribution of textbooks is still arranged in this way.

Many of the problems mentioned in my general discussion of the African publishing industry are also faced by the Ugandan publishing industry. Local printing is too expensive, which makes that publishers do their printing in Kenya, South Africa or Asian countries (Mutula and Nakitto 185/Ikoja-Odongo 49), which is often cheaper than importing the materials and equipment needed for printing, which are not produced in Uganda (Ikoja-Odongo 79-80).

Distribution of books is very difficult, which makes that bookshops outside Kampala and some major towns are mostly not well-stocked (8, Mutula and Nakitto 184) and have no qualified personnel (Mutula and Nakitto 184) and are in fact few in number. Libraries have the same problems (Ikoja-Odongo 7). Lots of books are still imported (Mutula and Nakitto 184), although getting loans remains difficult (183). Reading books is not common in Uganda (181, Ikoja-Odongo 44), because a culture of buying information products needs to be cultivated (Ikoja-Odongo 43).

However, this is hampered by economical factors, such as high book prices compared to neighbouring countries (9, IMU 19) and the low purchasing power of

the average Ugandan (43) (the average income per capita was \$ 420 per year in 2008 (World Bank, Data). Furthermore, illiteracy is a major factor in Uganda too. It is estimated that still 32 % of the population is illiterate (7), though rapid progress is being made at this point, due to the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1997 and Universal Secondary Education in 2006 (8-9).

The publishing of books in indigenous languages encounters the same problems in Uganda as in other African countries: lack of standardised orthographies, small markets, and the perception that foreign books are better in terms of quality and content (Mutula and Nakitto 184). Uganda has a great diversity of languages, varying from 43 (Lewis) to 56 (Ikoja-Odongo 7, 15), depending on the definition of what a language is. Only about ten of these are used for publishing (7). Although 27 out of 43 Ugandan languages are spoken by less than 500,000 speakers and so indeed represent small markets, there are also at least eight languages spoken by more than one million people in Uganda (Lewis). Of these, Luganda is definitely the most widely spoken, with more than four million mother tongue speakers (Lewis), and with far more second language speakers: 6,5 million according to 1985 estimates, so certainly many more nowadays (Obanya 94).

Maybe the underdevelopment of indigenous language publishing is due to the lack of a book policy, pointed out by everybody investigating Ugandan publishing (Ikoja-Odongo 43, Mutula and Nakitto 182). An important development in education policy that could be of great importance to Ugandan publishing in indigenous languages was the decision to let indigenous languages be the medium of instruction in the first four classes of primary education (44). Thereafter English is the language of instruction. The direct consequence of this measure was the rapid increase in learning materials published in indigenous languages since its introduction in 2007 (31). This could increase levels of competence in reading and writing in these languages, which were and still are low, because people were never trained in these languages (32).

I have not been able to find any information about the proportion of translated books in contemporary Ugandan publishing. Although I have pointed out earlier that it used to have some importance in early Luganda writing and in the modest flowering of literature in indigenous languages in the 1960s, it seems to be of no significance now. Ironically, one of the most famous literary works of Uganda, the aforementioned *Song of Lawino*, was a translation out of Acholi. It is telling, however, that the original Acholi version was first published only in 1969, so three years after the English translation.

To make a start with filling this gap in what is known about translation in Uganda is actually the most important aim of the present study. By trying to collect detailed data about the proportion of translations in the production of fiction books, it hopes to give insight into the position of translation and its importance in contemporary Ugandan book publishing. It thus seeks to contribute to knowledge already gathered by research done in the area of translation studies. In the next chapter this study is related to the theoretical framework drawn up by this research.

### 3. TRANSLATION AS PART OF A CULTURAL SYSTEM

#### 3.1 The Sociological Turn in Translation Studies

When translation studies began to emerge as an academic discipline in the 1950s and 1960s of the twentieth century, its focus was almost completely on the analysis of verbal or textual utterances on a linguistic level. The work of Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (for example their *Stylistique comparée*) and Nida's *Toward a Science of Translating* are examples of this approach.

However, as early as 1972 it was James S. Holmes, commonly seen as one of the founders of the discipline of translation studies, who pointed out that the comprehensive study of translation should also include a function-oriented approach, dealing with 'contexts' rather than texts (Holmes 154). It was the Israeli translation scholar Itamar Even-Zohar who developed this idea in the 1970s and came up with his polysystem theory. The main idea of polysystem theory is that semiotic phenomena, described as 'sign-governed human patterns of communication' should not be analysed in terms of their material substance but on the basis of relations. Literature is one of these semiotic phenomena, but in fact all parts of society can be called complexes of communication patterns, so-called 'systems' (Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Studies* 9).

It is no coincidence that the development of polysystem theory took place when the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu presented his theory of the emergence and working of the literary field. His conception of society as consisting of different 'fields' (*champs*), one of which is the literary field, with an internal struggle for power between the several institutions of the field (see for example Bourdieu, *Regels and Field*), has many similarities with Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. In fact, Even-Zohar himself admits this and approves of Bourdieu's work (Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Studies* 2-3).

It is no wonder that Bourdieu's field theory has become more and more influential in many cultural disciplines and so it is in translation studies, especially its descriptive branch (cf. Merkle 178). We can see a gradual shift of attention from the individual translated text to the higher levels of literature, culture or even whole societies. Although sometimes being criticised for being too mechanical and overgeneralising on the basis of too little evidence, the field theory and polysystem

theory have often been used as a starting point or point of reference for other scholars.

The so-called 'cultural turn' in translation studies can be seen as a logical consequence of Even-Zohar's emphasis on the relations of translation with other phenomena in the literary system. In fact, some of the leading scholars in this cultural turn, had started their work with research based on polysystem theory, e.g. André Lefevere. Studies in this branch of translation studies aimed to show the influence of culture on the practice of translation and its ties with history and convention.

Still, some felt that the scope of this kind of research was too narrow, because of its 'unmistakable textual perspective' which yielded 'fascinating, yet in a way incomplete, pictures of distinct translations' (Agorni 126). What the Italian scholar Mirella Agorni suggests is 'localism': investigating 'the local, circumscribed aspects of cultural phenomena' and 'the details of the historical, social and linguistic contexts of translation activities' (129). She argues that these case-studies enable the testing of hypotheses about general patterns of translation behaviour (129).

It is this kind of research which can be seen as representing a new movement in translation studies, which has been called by many the 'sociological turn'. Research carried out from this frame of reference focuses on relations of translations and translators with the bigger communities within which they are functioning and operating. Research is often empirical, varying from case studies focusing on individual translators, (such as Denise Merkle's study) to studies concerned with broader institutional aspects of translation (for example Heilbron). The aim of this kind of research is to provide translation studies with a more unified theoretical framework that can explain translation phenomena and provide a basis for further research. It seems that work is made of the call of the famous Israeli translation scholar Gideon Toury in his book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995):

*What is missing is not isolated attempts reflecting excellent intuitions and supplying fine insights (which many existing studies certainly do), but a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself. Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the findings of individual studies will be intersubjectively testable and comparable and the studies themselves replicable, at least in principle, thus facilitating an ordered accumulation of knowledge (3).*

In fact, the outline of this goal of translation studies was already there in Holmes' explanation of the goal of function-oriented descriptive translation studies in his aforementioned article *The Name and Nature of Translation Studies*, namely 'pursuing such questions as which texts were (and, often as important, were not) translated at a certain time in a certain place<sup>1</sup>, and what influences were exerted in consequence' (Holmes 72).

The present study seeks to contribute to this branch of research by investigating the position of translation on the African continent, which so far has hardly been object of any systematic, empirical research. Therefore the nature of this study is highly explorative and aims to make a start with describing translation in Africa from a sociological perspective. It thereby hopes to avoid the pitfall of what Agorni calls the 'textual perspective'. Even-Zohar's polysystem theory will be used as a starting point, working out the inducement for sociologically oriented research into translation, implicated by this theory.

Following Agorni's suggestion of localism, I have chosen to focus on the case of translated fiction in Uganda, taken as representing the African case in many respects, as was shown by the last paragraph of the previous chapter. Building on the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar, this study conceives the literature of Uganda as a system and seeks to clarify the position of translated literature, limited to translated fiction, in this system. It is now time to look in more detail at polysystem theory<sup>2</sup>.

### 3.2 Polysystem Theory

A polysystem is defined by Even-Zohar as '*a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent*' (11). He sees polysystem theory as an example of what he calls a 'theory of dynamic systems', as opposed to a 'theory of static systems'. Both sorts of theories employ a

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<sup>1</sup> In a Dutch translation partially made by James Holmes himself, 'in a certain place' has been translated as 'into certain languages' (my own translation back into English). For the source of this Dutch translation, see Naaijkens et al. in the list of works cited.

<sup>2</sup> Even-Zohar modified his polysystem theory several times. This discussion is mainly based on his version of 1990 (*Polysystem Studies*), taking into account some minor modifications made in parts of this theory that are included in the book *Polysystem Theory and Culture Research* (2005).

functional approach to communication phenomena. Even-Zohar relates the 'theory of static systems' to the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. Within theories of this sort 'the system is conceived of as a static ('synchronic') net of relations'. A certain item is thus viewed as a function of its relations with other items. Even-Zohar claims that in this way one can not account for changes in the system over time. The factor of time-succession ('diachrony') is not considered to be within the reach of functional theory within this sort of theories (10).

A 'theory of dynamic systems', on the contrary, 'intends to account for how a system operates both 'in principle' and 'in time'' (11). The historical aspect makes this kind of theory diachronic, but Even-Zohar is eager to stress that this does not mean that it is not synchronic: 'both synchrony and diachrony are historical' (11). 'Synchrony' should not be equated with 'statics' 'since at any given moment, more than one diachronic set is operating on the synchronic axis' (11). He concludes that a system consists of both synchrony and diachrony, which is to say that the present state of matters consists of several historically developed situations. Thus, he concludes, a system need not be homogeneous. In fact, he argues, most of the time it is not (11). This is why the concept of 'polysystem' is introduced.

One of the presumptions in polysystem theory is that the systems are open structures with a 'multiplicity of intersections' with other systems, present and past ones, which creates a great complexity of 'structuredness'. Even-Zohar acknowledges that this reduces the possibility of exhaustive analysis of the research object, but emphasises that polysystem theory can explain changes in system structures over time (12). As a consequence he sees the great possibility of detecting 'the laws governing the diversity and complexity of phenomena rather than the registration and classification of these phenomena', described by him as what is regarded as the 'supreme goal' in modern science (9).

Polysystem theory was designed in the first place to explain the phenomenon of literature and since literature is the object of this study, I will discuss polysystem theory applied to literature from now on. This is not to say that this theory cannot be applied to other fields; in fact, Even-Zohar has stated that it is almost unavoidable that it should be done and has demonstrated this by revising his polysystem theory with only very small modifications in order to make it suitable for research into culture (Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Theory* 35/36). However, since the subject of the research discussed later on is a literary system, namely that of Uganda, it seems most relevant to stick to the literary application of polysystem theory, just as Even-Zohar mostly does.



### **Dynamics of the Polysystem**

What is causing the changes over time, according to polysystem theory, is the struggle between different 'strata', collections of phenomena in a society who maintain a certain rank in the hierarchy of the polysystem. Over time these strata try to increase their power and influence, thus creating movements in the system which cause some strata to move to higher ranks, constituting the centre of the system, while others are pushed away to the periphery. Even-Zohar points out that we should not think of one centre and one periphery, because one of the hypotheses of polysystem theory is that there are more of them. A certain item of one system could move from the centre of this system to its periphery and from there to the periphery of another system within the same polysystem, eventually becoming the centre of the other system (14).

### **Constraints**

While open in principle to all sorts of influences, the specific constitution of a polysystem at a certain time also causes constraints to the possibilities within the polysystem. These constraints determine 'the procedures of selection, manipulation, amplification, deletion etc., taking place in actual products (verbal as well as non-verbal) pertaining to the polysystem' (15).

According to polysystem theory, the centre of the polysystem normally consists of the most canonised repertoire (17). In polysystem theory repertoire is conceived of as 'the aggregate of laws and elements (either single, bound, or total models) that govern the production of texts' (17). So a repertoire consists not only of certain literary texts, but also of the rules which govern the production of these texts. The status of a repertoire is determined by the relations which it obtains within the (poly)system (18).

Usually canonised repertoire is of a 'primary' kind. Even-Zohar uses the term 'primary' to denote 'innovative' repertoire as opposed to 'conservative' repertoire, which he calls 'secondary' (21). We should be careful not to take words as 'canon' and 'primary' as describing whether certain literature is good or bad, but simply as words describing the state of a certain system at a certain time, governed by norms that are caused by that system and at the same time govern this system (15).

According to polysystem theory, a polysystem can only continue to exist because of competition between canonised and non-canonised repertoires (16). When no pressure is allowed the system will not be able to survive. Even-Zohar gives the example of the replacement of Latin by the Roman vernaculars during the

Renaissance in Europe (16). So we have the paradox that in order to keep itself stable, the system must be open to change.

In order to be stable Even-Zohar hypothesises that a system needs to have a minimum amount of literary repertoires (26). Without this minimum a literary system would not manage to exist. So in order to avoid this risk a system, according to Even-Zohar's second hypothesis, 'strives to avail itself of a growing inventory of alternative options' (26). Even-Zohar calls this the 'law of proliferation'.

### Elements of the Literary System

Even-Zohar uses the term 'literary system' as an abbreviation of the following definition: '*The assumed set of observables supposed to be governed by a network of relations (for which systemic relations can be hypothesised), and which in view of the hypothesised nature of these relations we propose to call "literary"*' (27). It will be observed that Even-Zohar chooses his words very carefully: 'assumed set of observables', 'hypothesised nature', 'we propose to call'. This is because he wants to stress the hypothetical nature of his definition of 'literary system': a hypothesis which needs to be tested instead of an '*a priori* reification of the "complex" to which it refers' (27), making further research unnecessary. As he brightly mentions it is not without reason to stress this, 'particularly [...] for literary studies, where confusion between criticism and research still exists' (13). He states that doing scientific research implies that value judgements should not be used as criteria for a priori selection of the objects of study (13). He adds that this does not mean that 'values or evaluation in general' should be left out of research, but rather that they should be treated as factors in the polysystem and so are objects of study (13). The decision whether some 'set of observables' is or is not part of the literary system, should be made based on considerations of 'theoretical adequacy' (28).

To illustrate which factors are involved in the literary system, Even-Zohar has adapted the famous scheme of communication through language of linguist Roman Jakobson to make it fit the communication situation in the literary system.

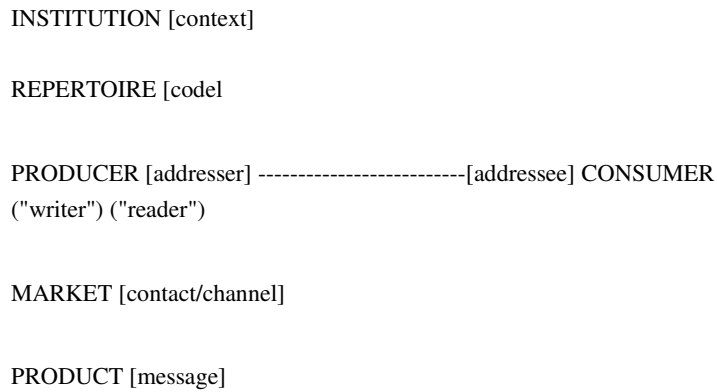


Figure 3.1 Model of communication in the literary system (31).

In this scheme all elements of communication in activities that could best be described as 'literary' are included. It shows that it is not the text which is the most important thing in the literary system (33), because there are no a priori hierarchies between the elements in the scheme. They are all interdependent and none can function in isolation. So the scheme should not be read from top to bottom, with the factor shown on top being the most important factor in the literary system and the one at the bottom as the least influential.

I will now briefly discuss Even-Zohar's conception of all six elements involved in the literary system (discussed on pages 34-44).

We should not restrict our sense of '**producers**' to 'writers'. Even-Zohar criticises the tendency in literary studies to declare the author 'dead' (to use Roland Barthes' phrase). By only concentrating on the text, he states, one ignores the fact that it is a product of a producer, who is subordinated to the rules of the polysystem in which they produce. The producer is 'both a conditioning and a conditioned force'. Moreover he states that we should not think of texts as the ultimate product of a literary producer. A producer can also produce 'images, moods, and options of action'. Furthermore he points out that producers are not confined to a single role in the literary system. They can be organised in groups and as such be part of the 'institution' and the 'market'.

In the same way '**consumers**' may also act in groups, thus making up what we call 'the public'. Even-Zohar points out that consumers often do not (only) consume texts, but the socio-cultural function of these texts (as when visiting lectures of writers or literary happenings). So just as we should not equate 'producer' with 'writer', the 'consumer' is not necessarily the same as the 'reader'.

'**Institution**' is described as 'the aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a socio-cultural activity'. It governs the norms that make out what is in the centre and the periphery of the system. However, it should not be seen as a unified entity. Even-Zohar hypothesises the institution to consist of many elements as diverse as critics, publishing houses, periodicals, clubs, government bodies, educational institutions and so on. All these groups try to influence the system and as such enforce their preferences.

The '**market**' is 'the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of literary products and with the promotion of types of consumption'. Even-Zohar stresses that without a market a literary system cannot exist, because it is the 'socio-cultural space' where literary activities can 'gain ground'.

The concept of '**repertoire**' has already been defined (see page 40). According to Even-Zohar there needs to be a certain amount of agreement about the repertoire. Although producers and consumers need not have to have the same amount of knowledge about the repertoire, he states that 'without a minimum of shared knowledge there will be virtually no exchange' (39).

We have already seen that in polysystem theory a '**product**' is not necessarily a text: 'any outcome of any activity, whatsoever can be considered "a product"' (43). So texts and behaviour can both be a 'product', just as a song, even if the words are not written down.

### **Interference of systems**

Even-Zohar states that every literary system is influenced by another literary system or often more of them, although not always to a large extent (54). He calls these processes of influencing 'interference'.

He has formulated several 'laws of interference and he has divided these laws into three groups. Below they are listed.

#### *1. General principles of interference.*

1.1. Literatures are never in non-interference.

1.2. Interference is mostly unilateral.

1.3. Literary interference is not necessarily linked with other interference on other levels between communities.

2. *Conditions for the emergence and occurrence of interference.*

2.1. Contacts will sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.

2.2. A source literature is selected by prestige.

2.3. A source literature is selected by dominance.

2.4. Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.

3. *Processes and procedures of interference.*

3.1. Contacts may take place with only one part of the target literature; they may then proceed to other parts.

3.2. An appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions.

3.3. Appropriation tends to be simplified, regularised, schematised.

I will now discuss each law briefly (based on pages 59-72).

1.1. *Literatures are never in non-interference.* This law simply states that interference is always taking place in literatures, even though it may not always be visible, since interference often starts at the periphery of the system. It should therefore be taken as the explanation for similarities in literatures, unless there is very strong proof against it.

1.2. *Interference is mostly unilateral.* Usually the influence of the source literature, being the literature from which the interfering material is originating, on the target literature, the literature being the object of interference, is much stronger than the other way round.

1.3. *Literary influence is not necessarily linked with other interference on other levels between communities.* Reasoning from the systemic structure of society it is possible that interference takes place within only one subsystem of the polysystem. So literary interference does not have to be accompanied by interference on other levels, such as politics or economy.

Speaking about the emergence and occurrence of interference, Even-Zohar has proposed the following laws:

2.1. *Contacts sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.* Although contacts between communities do not have to lead to interference immediately, they usually create 'conditions of availability', which means that people of the communities become used to the possibility of interference and develop favourable ideas towards it. However, there can be factors preventing interference to happen, such as nationalism.

2.2. *A source literature is selected by prestige.* A source literature is willingly chosen to interfere in the target literature, because there it is considered to be a model to follow.

2.3 *A source literature is selected by dominance.* A source literature interferes in the target literature because it is dominant because of conditions outside the literary system, for example its being imposed on the target literature by an occupying power.

2.4. *Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.* If certain actors within the system come to feel that its repertoire is no longer effective and they cannot find a solution in their own system, while an adjacent system seems to have that solution, than interference is very likely. The question is whether this need emerged from within the system or as a consequence of certain options being available within the source literature.

Even-Zohar also formulated three hypotheses with regard to processes and procedures of interference.

3.1. *Contacts may take place with only one part of the target literature; they may then proceed to other parts.* Overall interference is usually not the case. Rather certain interfering elements are first appropriated in certain sections of the target system, usually in the periphery, and then, from there, interfere in other sections.

3.2. *An appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions.* This hypothesis proposes that items from a source literature introduced into a target literature can assume a different function there, because of different norms governing the target system.

3.3. *Appropriation tends to be simplified, regularised and schematised.* An item transposed from a source literature to a target literature thereby usually loses some of its complexity. Its function in the target literature will be more restricted than in the source literature.

### **Interference in dependent literary polysystems**

Even-Zohar distinguishes between independent and dependent literary systems. Systems of the first type develop more or less on their own, whereas the second type is depending on other systems to maintain itself (79). This is because they are weak, which means that they do not have enough options within their system to keep the system healthy (80). Although this is not necessarily a consequence of political or economical weakness, it is usually correlated with it (80). Political weakness alone, however, has proven not to be enough reason for a literature to become dependent on some other (80). We have seen that African countries are mostly economically dependent. Besides, they have been politically dependent for a long time, due to colonisation, and in a somewhat altered form this dependency often still continues. Their literary systems are also heavily influenced by European literatures, if only with a view to the languages used most. In the next part of this thesis we will have a look at foreign interference in the literary system of Uganda.

Even-Zohar states that a literary system may accept interference of another system if the 'system optimum' cannot be maintained. The 'system optimum' is the optimal structure for the polysystem and its repertoire. If the situation is very acute, a system may opt for adopting another system, leading to bi- or multilingual polysystems (81). However, his hypothesis is that once it is possible to turn back to a unilingual system, this will normally happen, because it is probably easier to maintain such a system and because its repertoire is accessible to a larger number of the members of the community concerned. Nationalism can also be a reason to promote unilingualism. He adds that the increase of the social range of high culture consumers makes lingual diversity undesired (81). It will be interesting to see if this applies to the Ugandan multilingual society too.

Even-Zohar gives the example of Hebrew literature, which came to depend heavily on Russian literature after the mass migration of Russian Jews to Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century. The Russian literary system was used as a source of innovations (82). This proves Even-Zohar's hypothesis that 'weakness' is a relative state (81): the Hebrew literature was not necessarily weak, but became so, because of a great change in the system (being the mass immigration of Russian Jews).

To conclude this discussion of interference as theorised by Even-Zohar, I mention his statement that interference can be direct, by agents of a target literature knowing the language of the source literature and introducing elements from this source literature or indirect, whereby elements of the source literature enter the target literature intermediated by some channel, such as translation. In the following section we will have a look at what polysystem theory says about translation.

### **The position of translated literature within the polysystem**

Now that I have set out the features of the literary system in polysystem theory, it is time to take a look at what it has to say about the position of translated literature within the polysystem. Since the aim of this research was to find out what is the position of translated literature (fiction) within the Ugandan literary (poly)system, we need to know what hypotheses are formulated by polysystem theory for its functioning within the polysystem. We will see that translated literature is often supposed to be part of the conditions for emergence of interference and the procedures whereby it takes place, as set out in the previous section.

Even-Zohar states that translated literature is often neglected in histories of literatures. Nevertheless he says it has played a major role in the crystallisation of cultures (45) and assumes that translated literature makes up a distinct system within the literary polysystem. The fact that translated literature is seen as a system on its own, means that it is stratified, just as the other systems (49). Even-Zohar presupposes at least two ways in which translated literature correlates with other parts of the polysystem. The first is the way its source texts are selected by the target literature. The second is the way it adopts 'specific norms, behaviours, and policies – in short, [...] the literary repertoire' (46). He hypothesises that translated literature may have its own repertoire, that 'to a certain extent could even be exclusive to it' (46).

He continues to set out that although translated literature is often in the periphery of the polysystem (50), it can become part of the centre if it becomes one of



the means of introducing new repertoire into a certain target literature (46-47). He distinguishes three cases in which this is likely to happen.

First there is the situation that a literature is in the process of being established. In the beginning there will be too little repertoire for the literature to be able to serve its needs. It cannot immediately create the repertoire which is needed itself, but it can make use of other literatures to fill the gap and translated literature can be an important means of making this possible (47).

Second, a literature can be peripheral or weak, or both, and so not be able to develop the same range of literary activities as certain 'stronger' literatures. Here too, the repertoire may be too limited to be able to hold its position against the stronger literature. In this case too, translated literature can provide this literature with the repertoire needed and also stimulate innovations which are needed to keep the literary system in shape and preventing it from becoming petrified, which is supposed to be the end of the system (47, 48).

Third, a literature can be in a state of revolutionary change, because old models are no longer felt to be relevant for the present situation. If no new models are available within the system, these can be imported from other systems, which can put translated literature in a central position (48).

In the course of this thesis we will see if these three hypotheses rightly predict the position of translated fiction in the Ugandan literary system.

Even-Zohar hypothesises that the position of translated literature within the polysystem influences 'translational norms, behaviours and policies' (50). He argues that polysystem theory can account for these factors, where other researchers had to use local and highly subjective explanations as 'mistakes' and 'bad imitation' (15). He concludes that the borders of translation cannot be determined 'once and for all', but are dependent on the relations within the polysystem (51). It is the task of translation studies to investigate these changing relations.

When discussing the results of the research carried out in Uganda in the next part of this thesis, it will become clear if Even-Zohar's polysystem theory is able to explain the features of the Ugandan literary system and the position of translated literature therein.



**II. THE RESEARCH:  
TRANSLATION AND THE  
PUBLISHING OF FICTION  
BOOKS IN UGANDA**



## 4. METHOD

This study seeks to increase our knowledge of the significance of translation as part of the Ugandan book publishing industry. Uganda is taken as an example of a multilingual society in Africa. The broader context of this study is the influence of multilingualism in a society on its book production. For this research I have restricted myself to the part of the book publishing industry concerned with creative writing or literature, used in a broad sense. This is because I assume this segment of publishing to be less bound by policies and practical considerations than, for example, educational publishing. Moreover, literature is a means of personal expression of the author, much more than books published for education and science. Therefore the following research question has been used as a starting point:

*What is the position of translation in the literary system of Uganda?*

My use of the words ‘literary system’ is in the sense they are used in the polysystem theory of Itamar Even-Zohar, discussed in the first part of this thesis. Following his theory I assume all factors making the existence of literature in Uganda possible to be a system. The use of the term ‘translation’ will be confined to written translations made of books. For reasons of clear demarcation of the object of research I have chosen to restrict ‘literature’ to ‘fiction’ in this research, thereby meaning all invented stories with no direct connection with real life events. Poetry can also be assumed to have this characteristic and is therefore included in my definition of ‘fiction’.

Because the position of translation is assumed to be changing over time according to Even-Zohar’s theory, this research covers a considerable stretch of time. It takes its starting point in 1985 and aims to track the position of translation until now. I have chosen this period because 1985 was the end of the second Milton Obote regime and the start of a more peaceful period in Uganda, during which the publishing industry was able to develop itself and which has continued until the present date. There is a practical reason too: if the collection of data about publishing is already difficult in Uganda, it would be even more so for the time before 1985. Besides, when taking a larger period, the scope of this research would simply become too big.

As we have seen the present knowledge of the position of translation in Ugandan book publishing is very limited. Therefore, my research was of a highly explorative

nature, seeking to make a start with the collection of data about the publishing of fiction and of translation in particular. To guide the collection of data, I formulated five sub-questions, that are listed below:

- What is the total number of published fiction books?
- How is the distribution of languages?
- What is the influence of foreign publishing companies?
- What is the proportion of translated fiction?
- Is there a policy to direct the publishing of books in general, and the publishing of fiction and translated fiction in particular, and what does this policy involve?

The proper method seemed to carry out field work, using qualitative and quantitative ways of collecting data. My research focuses on three different areas: publishers, bookshops and book policy.

To be able to answer the first, second and fourth sub-question I needed publishing houses to provide me with information about their print runs and sales. My aim was to find all Ugandan publishers involved in publishing fiction. To get the data needed to answer my research questions I approached publishers with either a list of questions asking for data about their production and distribution of fiction books and the role language and translation played therein, or a questionnaire asking for the same information (which can be found in appendix 7 at the end of this document), or sometimes with both of these instruments.

I realised that the collection of this sort of data from Ugandan publishers could turn out to be a difficult undertaking. That is why I decided to also list the fiction books supplies in bookshops by counting their numbers and set down the languages in which they were written and whether they were translated works or not. Still, there was another reason to include bookshops in this research. By comparing the fiction supplies of bookshops with the Ugandan publisher's data, we are able to assess the influence of foreign publishers on the Ugandan market for fiction books, thus answering the third sub-question. This why I also listed the publishers of the books counted in the bookshops. On top of that, this provides us with additional data about book production, distribution of languages and the proportion of translated fiction. After some elementary exploration of the Ugandan literary system, I selected four bookshops (see the information box opposite) which I considered to be important players in selling fiction books and which could be taken to represent the

## Four Ugandan Bookshops

### Alphamat Bookworld

Alphamat Bookworld is a bookshop in a business park not far from the centre of Kampala. It only stocks educational books, part of which are fiction readers. From these four bookshops it has the smallest books supplies.

### Aristoc

Aristoc is promoting itself as 'Uganda's leading bookstore'. Founded in 1991 it now has two branches, both in Kampala. The one included in this study is located in a Western-style, modern shopping centre just outside the centre of Kampala. Its interiors are also exactly like Western bookshops and it is the only bookshop of these four that is selling modern, non-educational fiction from British and American publishers. It has a section stocking books in Swahili and some Ugandan languages. It is the largest bookshop of Uganda and also selling books in areas not covered by stocks of other bookshops, like popular history, self-help and nature (also mainly from British and American publishers), next to some non-book items, like greeting cards, gifts and stationery.



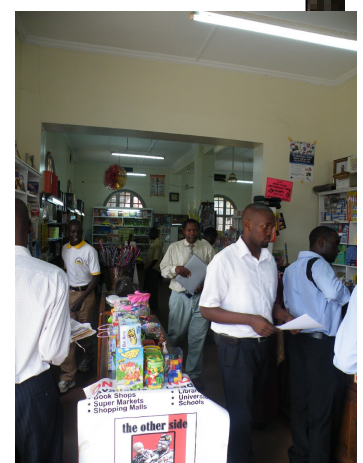
### Gustro Bookshop

Gustro Bookshop is the official distribution agent of both Oxford University Press and East African Educational Publishers and so its stocks are heavily dominated by these two publishers (and of former owner of EAEP: Heinemann). It is selling books used in education and some stationeries. The fiction books sold too are almost all meant for use in education.

### Uganda Bookshop

Uganda is by far the oldest of these four bookshops. It started in 1927 as a distribution outlet for British school textbooks. Besides selling books, it was also involved in publishing and printing. The printing part was done by its own printing press: Mackay Press. The publishing activities have been abandoned. The branch in Kampala used to be part of a chain of bookshops throughout the country, but not many other branches are left nowadays. The bookshop is owned by the Church of Uganda (the Ugandan Anglican church) and thus sells religious books, like bibles and hymn books. However, its stocks also include educational books and some small supplies of general fiction books. Besides, it has a small section with books in Luganda. A large part of its stocks are second-hand books, mainly American and British religious books and some fiction. Here too, stationeries and some gift articles are part of the stocks.

*The section with books in Luganda*



Ugandan fiction market in general. Remarks about the significance of these bookshops by many representatives of the Ugandan publishing industry have been decisive in my choice for these four bookshops.

Finally, to answer the fifth sub-question I set out to contact the government and especially the ministry or ministries most concerned with book publishing.

Wherever interviews I did with stakeholders in the Ugandan publishing industry could shed light on the issues dealt with in my research, I have included the results of these in my final conclusions. For a list of people consulted in the course of the research, I refer to Appendix 3. The results of the research, having made use of these diverse research strategies, are discussed in the following chapters.



## 5. FICTION IN UGANDA: AN EXPLORATION

### 5.1 The Literary Landscape of Uganda

Since so little is known about the publishing of fiction in Uganda, part of this research consisted of mapping out the elementary infrastructure of Ugandan fiction publishing. I am beginning this chapter describing some general findings about this infrastructure, in order to get a picture of the constituents of the literary system of Uganda. I will then narrow the scope and present the results of my research into fiction publishing in Uganda.

#### **Supporting Women Writers in Uganda: FEMRITE**

FEMRITE (acronym for ‘females writing’) is the name of the Uganda Women Writers Association. It was launched in 1996 because it was felt that female writers were not well represented in Ugandan literature. The aim of this association is to create an atmosphere promoting creative writing by women. Its mission is ‘building a platform for women to contribute to national development through creative writing’. To help these women writers FEMRITE started to publish books too. At the beginning of 2009, 24 titles had been produced, of which 13 are fiction titles. Other titles include true life stories written by Ugandan women, depicting their often difficult lives. These books often also find their ways to abroad.

Although promoting female writers is an important goal, FEMRITE’s activities are broader and aim to stimulate literature in general. They include writing workshops, public readings and reading tents for children. The Readers Writers Club is another example. Once a week writers and readers gather to discuss poems and stories, written by authors who are mostly present themselves and have often just started writing. Because of these sort of activities, FEMRITE has become an important institution in Ugandan literature, also representing Ugandan literature abroad, on international book fairs for example.

In order to have fiction books published, publishers are of course of crucial importance. I have been able to trace 45 publishers involved in fiction publishing, which simply means they have published at least one fiction title so far. They are listed in Appendix 2. Among them are many ‘standard’ publishing houses, but also some small private-run businesses, sometimes consisting of only one man. Then there are some organisations that do not have publishing as their main goal, but are nonetheless involved in some fiction publishing. The most important examples of these are language research institute SIL, the Uganda Women Writers’ Association FEMRITE (see textbox) and the Uganda Children’s Writers and Illustrators Association (UCWIA).

Almost all publishers are based in capital city Kampala. Not included in the number of 45 are the foreign publishing houses, because large parts of the publishing process of these publishing houses are done abroad. They will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 5.3 about foreign influences.

In my general description of book publishing in Uganda I have mentioned the importance of education for the book publishing industry. This is so even in the case of fiction. The majority of the books offered in bookshops are school readers, meant

*Figure 5.1 Fiction books in Uganda are mostly school readers like these.*



for use  
primary education.

However, these bookshops are not even the main distribution channel. The main distribution channel for many publishers is the government, because of its involvement in distribution of school books.

Other distribution channels mentioned by the publishers included in my study are libraries and schools. SIL Uganda mentioned some unusual distribution channels. SIL is involved in publishing in languages in which nothing or very little has yet been written. By publishing writings, and among them are some fiction works, in these languages, it aims to keep these

languages in use and thus preserve them. To distribute these books it makes use of local training workshops, churches and even hired sellers and distributors going around on foot and bicycle to distribute books.

Outside Kampala there are very few bookshops. Most bookshops, in and outside of Kampala, also sell other things like stationery.

## 5.2 Facts and Figures about Ugandan Fiction Publishing

### **Fiction output of Ugandan publishers**

Let us now take a look at the actual volume of fiction publishing in Uganda. It has proven to be very difficult to collect statistical data about the numbers of fiction books published in Uganda since 1985. Many publishers seem not to have recorded these or at least not in an easy accessible way. This means the data I have collected are highly fragmentary and should therefore be used with reservation.

Taking this into consideration, it will, unfortunately, be impossible to give a reliable answer to the first sub-question. I can only point at some trends. For the second and fourth sub-question, however, it is possible to compare the data obtained from publishers with those collected in the bookshops, thus creating a more reliable picture of fiction publishing in Uganda.

If collecting data about numbers of published fiction books was difficult, it has proven to be virtually impossible for approximately the first half of the period I planned to include in this research. So it is only starting from 1996 that I can start to point at some developments. The results are based on data of only nine publishers although the amount and accuracy of their data differ a lot, depending on the publisher. I do not have data for all years after 1996 of all these nine publishers, because some of them have been founded only later. Baroque Publishers was founded in 2004 and the Teacher Consultants Readers' Group in 2007, just as St. Bernard Publishers. Others were not involved in fiction publishing at first. The data I have collected show that fiction books are often not an established part of the output of Ugandan publishers. This means the number of fiction books they publish is heavily fluctuating. However, total numbers of published fiction books are increasing, with seven of these nine publishers making up for a total of 503,050 books in 2008.

Some additional information about the volume of fiction publishing is given by the statistics in Table 5.1 about title production between 1996 and 2008 by these nine publishers. Both its irregularity and increasing volume are confirmed by these data. However, they also show another characteristic of Ugandan fiction publishing, being its close connection with educational publishing. When totalling up the number of fiction titles produced in 2008 by all these publishers, except SIL (that could not provide me with data about their print runs), we have 83 fiction titles making up for 503,050 books, meaning an average number of about 6000 copies per title. This may seem a small number, but by Ugandan standards, these are large

numbers. Most fiction books have print runs of only 1000 or 2000 copies. The average number has been driven up by the large print runs of school readers included in these title output. The large print runs were possible, because the publishers were guaranteed to sell these books, because they are on the list of books needed in class.

Table 5.1 Number of fiction book titles published by 9 Ugandan publishers from 1996-2008.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Mariannum Publishing Company	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	6
Uganda Children Writers and Illustrators Association	1	2	0	0	0	1	10	4	11	1	9	9	12
Teacher Consultants Readers' Group												0	6
FEMRITE	0	0	4	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
St. Bernard Publishers												14	16
Kamalu Ltd.		15	13	11	9	12	11	21	11	11	13	14	?
Baroque Publishers									0	0	1	0	13
Macmillan Uganda	?	?	?	?	?	30	20	10	15	12	?	30	30
SIL				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	12	10

? = no statistics available

Furthermore, we can see that most publishers started publishing of fiction only around the turn of the millennium. Total numbers of published fiction titles are considerably higher than before in 2007 and 2008. It will be interesting to see if this development will continue after 2008. Still, these numbers are very small, especially when we consider that reprints of titles are included in these numbers.

### Fiction in Bookshops

These findings are reflected in the data collected in the four bookshops included in this study. In these four shops together I have counted a number of 3898 fiction books in stock. The actual number is higher, because the fiction stocks of Aristoc have only been listed partly. This because the time I was allowed for carrying out my research in this bookshop was limited, so I have restricted myself to the sections with literature and books in Swahili. However, to be able to give an impression of the total

stocks of this bookshop, I have counted the shelves filled with books. Since these were more or less of the same size, this enables us to make an estimate of the total number of fiction books in stock. Of 738 shelves, 166 were filled with fiction books (22.5%). Of these 166 only 14 have been listed. These comprised 312 fiction titles making for a total of 884 fiction books. This means an average of 63 books per shelf. These shelves were filled, however, with thin soft-cover books mostly, whereas many other shelves contained thicker books. Based on a number of 40 books per shelf, the estimated number of fiction books in store would be close to 7000. This is a reasonable number, but we have to bear in mind that this bookshop is Uganda's biggest and has by far the largest supplies of books. The other three bookshops included in this research are also among the biggest and most well-stocked of Uganda.

For the rest of my presentation of results I will have to stick to the number of almost 3900 books just mentioned, because these are the books actually listed. Some additional observations about the part of Aristoc's stock left out of this discussion are made in the following chapter.

Together these four shops had 1388 fiction titles on offer, so an average of 2.8 copies per book. There is some overlap between the bookshops, because many titles are of course sold in more than one bookshop. Of 76% of all the fiction titles three or less copies are available and of 49% only one copy is available.

### **The Dominance of English**

The table below shows the distribution of languages used for publishing fiction books in the period 2001-2008, based on data from Ugandan publishers. The data from before 2001 are based on a very small number of publishers and therefore unreliable. They would have given a too distorted picture. That is why I have left them out of this table. You may observe that the total percentage is never a hundred. The reason is that the data of some publishers did not cover all of these years. The data clearly show the dominance of English in the publishing of fiction. Only 2007 shows a majority of books published in Luganda. Here again, the large print runs of school readers, are strongly influencing the figures.

## Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa: The Case of Uganda

Table 5.2 Distribution of languages used for publishing fiction books by 9 Ugandan publishers 2001-2008.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Fiction books in English (%)	59	96	77	93	86	65	36	87
Fiction books in Luganda (%)	34	0	8	2	4	24	55	10
Fiction books in other languages (%)	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2

A comparison with the data of the bookshops, however, shows that the general pattern indicated by the publisher's figures is valid. Of 219 fiction book titles in total published by Ugandan publishers 65.3% are in English, 29.2% in Luganda and 5.5% in other languages. The absolute numbers show almost the same picture, with the proportion of books in English being slightly higher at the cost of the proportion of books in other languages: of 746 fiction books published by Ugandan publishers 68.2% is in English, 29.0% in Luganda and 2.8% in other languages. We can conclude that titles in languages other than Luganda and English have smaller print runs than titles in English and Luganda.

However, books published by Ugandan publishers make up only 19% of the total supplies of fiction books in the bookshops (and even only 16% based on their number of titles). If we look at the total supplies of fiction books in the bookshops the following distribution of languages can be observed:

Table 5.3 Distribution of languages for fiction books in bookshops.

	Number of fiction titles in stock	% of total number	Number of fiction books in stock	% of total number
English	1144	82.4	3094	79.4
Luganda	79	5.6	304	7.8
Other languages	165	12.0	500	12.8

It should be no surprise that the proportion of other languages is now higher, because this category now contains not only Ugandan languages, other than Luganda, but also international languages in which some of the books sold in bookshops are written. Actually, these are only two languages, namely French and Swahili. French makes up for 1.7% of the total number of fiction titles and 1.5% of all copies. The percentages for Swahili are 8.2% and 8.4%.

The languages other than English and Luganda in which Ugandan publishers report to publish are Lusoga, Runyoro-Rutoro, Runyankore-Rukiga, Acholi, Ateso

and Lugbara. SIL is the only one working with some languages that are not widely spoken. It has published some fiction books in Bwisi, Gwere, Nyole and Gungu. For the distribution of these books SIL, however, does not make use of bookshops, except a few local ones. So the languages other than English and Luganda, in which fiction books are available in the four bookshops whose stocks have been listed, are indeed from among the six first mentioned: Runyoro-Rutoro, Runyankore-Rukiga and Ateso. Their numbers are very small, as has already been mentioned.

### **Absence of a Reading Culture**

There is hardly any publisher I have been talking with in the course of my research who has not told me that publishing fiction in Uganda is very difficult, because there is no reading culture. In my discussion of other research in part one of this thesis, several reasons for this absence of a reading culture have been given. Whatever the reasons may be, the fact is that reading is far from common in Uganda and this is what the National Book Trust of Uganda (NABOTU) intends to change: ‘To turn Uganda into a reading nation’ is their vision. Founded in 1997 it connects stakeholders from the book industry to unite them in their efforts to promote reading among Ugandans. Their members include the Uganda Publishers Association (UPA) and the Uganda Booksellers Association (UBA), both founded at the end of the 1990s. As their mission NABOTU states:

- To create synergy between all members of the book chain
- To strengthen the local book industry
- To enlist government and international support for promoting reading activities

If they succeed in enlisting this government support, will be discussed in the chapter about book policy in Uganda. One of their activities meant to strengthen the local book industry is the annual National Book Week Festival during which many events related to reading take place, among them the International Book Fair, the presentation of the NABOTU Literary Awards and tours of so-called Children’s Reading Tents. In these tents children can participate in such activities as traditional story-telling, private reading, read-aloud marathons and drama, all meant to let children experience reading as a source of pleasure. Schools that participate in this programme of reading tents, receive a donation of children’s storybooks. However, that these books are meant to be actually used by children is something that not all

teachers seem to realise. Jackie K. Sabiti, Administrative Officer of NABOTU, told me that it occurred to her more than once that after her inquiring what has happened with the donated books on a later visit to the school that received the book donations, a headmaster opens a cupboard to proudly show her that the books are still there in good shape, unread. The chairperson of UCWIA, Evangeline Barongo, relates the same sort of story, dating from her time as a librarian. This clearly shows the unfamiliarity of many Ugandans with books and reading for pleasure. It can be imagined that in such circumstances it is hard to sell fiction books.

Some people involved in promoting a reading culture observe that reading materials are often not suited to the interests of potential readers, for example because stories have a European setting. This is why UCWIA strives for the production of children's books with 'an African touch' and why NABOTU distributes books in local languages.

### **Reading habits and books in local languages: a writer's perspective**

We have seen that the fact that there is little publishing in indigenous languages could be a reason preventing reading habits to develop among Ugandans. It would be interesting to have a Ugandan fiction writer comment on this issue, since they have all faced the choice of a language to write in. That is why I interviewed the Ugandan writer Susan Kiguli. The whole interview can be read at pages 65-67. Here I cite some remarks about her choice for the language she writes in, which is mainly English. Her choice for English, she says, was 'instinctively', because it 'is the language I speak most of the time and which all of my friends understand'. Still, she says, 'it is not my language'. The reason she speaks it so often is because it is the language that unites all different ethnic and linguistic groups in Uganda, at least their educated members.

In addition, she mentions it is also a question of reading audience. As she observes, some of her friends would not be able to read her poems, were they not in English. She argues that it is because of this limited audience that publishers refuse to publish in her mother tongue, Luganda; through publishing in English a market outside Uganda can be reached, something in which they were proven right by the international success of Susan Kiguli. However, while reaching an international audience, she fails to reach a large part of the Ugandan audience, as she recognises herself: *'If I'm saying that I'm writing for Ugandans, but only write in English and Luganda, I may not even reach half of the people, because although English is the official language (...), there are not so many people who would sit down and read an English poem'*.



Here she touches the issue of the poor reading habits of Ugandans, where we began this section with. She sees this as something which can and should be changed, especially by making reading part of the upbringing of children. ‘More emphasis or campaigns to encourage people to read and buy books’ could also be effective, according to her. This is because according to her reading is a ‘skill’ and a ‘habit’, which can be developed. She also mentions school as an important factor in promoting reading. She thinks the education policy introduced in 2007, obliging education in the mother tongue in the first four years of primary school, will help in developing reading skills. She herself has been missing this education in her own tongue and so illustrates the situation described in the first part of this thesis: although Luganda is her mother tongue, her writing skills are better in English, because this is the language she has enjoyed her formal education in.

Kiguli also points out a great deficiency of the Ugandan literary system: the absence of libraries in many parts of the country. Just as we have seen earlier on, Kiguli also observes that even if libraries are there, they are not properly stocked.

Even in Kampala the number of public libraries is very low. This means another difficulty for fiction publishing in Uganda, because in many countries with a flourishing sector of fiction publishing, such as The Netherlands, loans from libraries are an important way of getting fiction books to readers and thus provide a source of income.

## Interview with Susan Kiguli



### *When was your first book published?*

In 1998. Poetry is my main area. I also write short stories but I have not written a novel yet. Besides this book 76 of my poems have been published in magazines, journals and anthologies here and outside. My first book, *The African Saga*, was published by FEMRITE as part of a project sponsored by World Bank and HIVOS. They wanted not only to publish prose fiction, but also other genres: drama and poetry.

Susan Nalugwa Kiguli (1969) is a Ugandan poet and a senior lecturer in the Department of Literature of Makerere University in Uganda. She holds a PhD in English from The University of Leeds. She has served as the chairperson of FEMRITE from 2005 until 2007. Her first volume of poetry, *The African Saga* (1998) situated her among the main poets from Eastern and Southern Africa. The volume won the National Book Trust of Uganda Poetry Award (1999) and made literary history in Uganda by selling out in less than a year. She published many poems and short stories afterwards, many of which were published in international journals and anthologies. She has been involved in many literary projects, varying from being in the panel of judges for the Commonwealth Writers' Prize for African Writers in 1999 to being a special participant in the Yorkshire Professional Development for Writers of African and Asian Descent Project (2005-2006). In October and November 2008 she was one of the Poets in Residence of the German art foundation Kunst:Raum Sylt Quelle.

### *How many works of fiction have you written so far?*

*The African Saga* is my only published book so far, this is because after writing it, I did a doctorate and was too busy to look for a publisher for my creative work. The idea of FEMRITE is that they launch you by publishing your first book and that you look for another publisher afterwards. I didn't want to go to other publishers here in Uganda because I didn't like their marketing strategies, but that's something personal.

In the past years, my poems have been published in magazines, journals and anthologies here and there, especially outside Uganda. I have also published my poems in 'Dhana', the journal of the literature department here. It has been out of production since 2002, but it's going to be reactivated. Most of my poems have been published in anthologies and journals. It's hard sometimes, because when people ask you for your work, they think you did only this one book which has been published; they don't consider the other work which has appeared elsewhere. That is a problem.

### *In what other countries has your work been published?*

In Germany, both in English and in a German translation, in Britain, the US, South Africa, Sweden, Finland, translated into Finnish, in Colombia in English and translated into Spanish and in Ghana.

### *Do you have a certain audience in mind when you are writing, which you intend or hope to reach with your work?*

Because of my background in literature I would say that the concept of reader/audience is very complex. But let's say I write for Ugandans, in the first place, because I identify with the way they think, act and reflect on things. But there is a problem: I'm telling you I'm writing for Ugandans, but I'm writing in English, so how many people do I actually reach? I work in Luganda too, but most of this is published in magazines. Some of it has been broadcast on CBS. If I'm saying that I'm writing for Ugandans, but only write in English and Luganda, I may not even reach half of the people, because although English is the official language (next to Swahili, which is supposed to be my national language), there are not so many people who would sit down and read an English poem.

Last Thursday I recited poetry for almost 400 people. I think that was a good audience, but mostly people have to read these poems in books. But then here a reading culture is almost non-existent.

One of the things I have been reluctant about is being published abroad, because my audience is here, or at least should be here.

My book has sold very much. It was published in April 1998 and the first printing of 2000 copies was sold out in October of that year. After that it has been reprinted three times, each time with 2000 copies. For poetry this is phenomenal, especially in a country like Uganda, where publishing and reading is not strong.

My book could be sold more if it was part of the syllabus (of the literature course on secondary schools, BL). But it is hard for poetry to become part of the syllabus, unless it is an anthology. My poems have not been part of the syllabus, but they have been set for national exams.

*You have said that you write in English and Luganda. Could you explain why? Is it just because you do not know other languages or are there other reasons?*

Although English is not my local language, it was, because of circumstances, the first language I actually spoke. Luganda is my so-called mother tongue. First I wrote in English, because this is the language I speak most of the time and which all of my friends understand. I instinctively wrote in English. So, like (Chinua, BL) Achebe says, I write in this language, because it has been given to us. But when I think about it, it is not my language.

The language of my people is Luganda. I was encouraged by professor Muranga (Professor at the Institute of Languages at Makerere University) and the late Dr. Kasalina Matovu to write in Luganda. I started writing in Luganda as a political statement. But I think I still write in Luganda, because in a way I am able to associate with this language in a deeper way than with English.

I can write in English well, I lived in Britain close to seven years, so I do know about British culture. I found out that British society is more cosmopolitan than people think. To a certain extent English is a global language, although this is a little bit exaggerated.

Although I taught myself to write in Luganda, I am able to express myself well in it. It is the language in which I speak to my friends, cook my food in, it is the language of home, in which I talk to my mother, my grandmother, the language of our family jokes; this language expresses the core of my being. It does hold certain values for me. It expresses my way of seeing the world, both as an individual and as part of the society.

So I am able to write in both languages. It would be unfair to compare the two, because I have been instructed in English for many years, learnt about its linguistics, phonetics etcetera. But I taught myself to write in Luganda. So for English I have both: the language in use and classroom knowledge, whereas for Luganda I am more proficient in speech than writing and I have not been instructed in its grammar etc.

Besides, there is no clear avenue to publishing in Luganda. It is hard to get a publisher for Luganda writing. Unless it is on the syllabus, it will not sell. We are able to sell books in English beyond this country, but with Luganda that's hardly possible.

*Do you think that translation could play a role here, for example by translating Luganda books into European languages?*

It has been done, for example here at university by students of the Institute of Languages, into Runyankore etc, but the possibility of marketing these books is limited. Besides, by translating Luganda into English you lose richness. I know some people claim that some translations are richer than the source texts, but I don't believe that at all. You can never recapture the incense of meaning in the original tongue. You can never find an equivalent for some concepts. You may find an equivalent, but it will not be exactly what is meant in the source language. The British and Buganda cultures are different anyway.

*How do you think the number of fiction readers in Uganda could be increased?*

First by training right from home to school. To let children read as much as possible and to constantly tell them the importance of reading. Reading widens your experience, for example; a book can give you a free air-ticket to places which you would otherwise never be able to travel to.

When children are young they should be read stories. Parents should make time to read for their children. It seems to me that nowadays parents don't have time to interact with children, they are

busy. There is less interaction than when I was growing up. But we grew up in the eighties, that was war-time, so everyone was at home because of the curfews etc.

Second, the facilities in schools are often not enough. Libraries are not stocked and there are only a few schools with good libraries.

Then teachers sometimes don't have the skill and habit to read, so then how can they be the ones to encourage children's reading? Reading is a skill which can be developed. I think it helps that according to the new education policy children of the ages 5 till 9 learn reading in their mother tongue. That makes it easier to shift to English later on.

I think reading is a habit. For example, I have noticed that my Western friends take a book in their rucksack, when they are going somewhere. They use their spare-time to read. Here it is not like that. Even if they have the money, they don't buy books. In rural areas they don't have the money. Our culture is primarily an oral culture and there is no infrastructure for reading, no libraries. But that doesn't mean this can't be changed.

*Do you think the government should play a role with regards to the publishing and reading of fiction in Uganda?*

The policies for supporting the publishing industry should come from the ministry of culture and social development, but it seems reading is not one of the government's priorities. I don't know how realistic it is to expect to change this. But there should be government-supported programmes for reading at schools. I don't know if it would work, because of a shortage of financial resources. It is us who have to instill this habit of reading in the structure.

*Do you know about this draft which has been made for a book policy in Uganda in 2002, which did not make it?*

Yes, I know about that. But the copyright law has been strengthened, although it still doesn't have that much power.

*How do you view the future of fiction in Uganda?*

First of all we have made a lot of progress between 1986 and now, especially in women writing. The award winning Ugandan authors have all been women these last years: Monica Arach for example won the Caine Prize in writing. Jackee Batanda in 2005. If you just go and ask on the street which writers people know, they will mention FEMRITE-authors. They have done a lot in making writing visible and make people aware of Ugandan writers. There is awareness to a certain extent. For example, when V.S. Naipaul visited Makerere University in April 2008 the Main Hall was full of people. So many young people were inspired by his presence.

Still there are major problems. Still there is only one big publishing house, Fountain Publishers, and they don't seem to be very interested in fiction publishing, because the resources cannot go around. They haven't published novels these last few years. They think books from outside are superior.

Another thing: I still think that if we had more emphasis or campaigns to encourage people to read and buy books, it could have effect.

But people in the village are more concerned with surviving than reading. Maybe more donations of books by people who have books to people who don't, could help. Furthermore the setting up of village libraries is important.

I consider fiction to be very important. It is a way of seeing a people's imagination and perceptions. It is a very important part of their thinking and of their identity, so it should be given as much priority as possible. We should promote it in Uganda. And there are already many books of Ugandans on the shelves. So we are not starting from nothing.

### 5.3 Foreign influences

In the previous chapter it has already been observed that Ugandan publishers are responsible for less than 20% of fiction books available in the bookshops. This shows the Ugandan fiction market is heavily influenced by foreign publishers. A few of these have their own office in Uganda. These are the British Longman Pearson and Macmillan and the Kenyan Longhorn Publishers. First, the Ugandan publisher Kamalu Ltd acted as a sales agent for Longman, but this cooperation has ended in 2008. Now they have their own office, but the Ugandan branch is used only for distribution and marketing of books produced in the United Kingdom. Therefore, it will be considered as a British publisher in this discussion of foreign influences on the Ugandan book market, just as Macmillan, although it has started developing some books in Uganda recently. Still, much of their books are produced abroad and are only distributed by the Ugandan branch. The research in the bookshops has shown that most of their books are indeed from the UK, so Macmillan too will be considered as a British publisher henceforth. The Kenyan Longhorn Publishers originally started as a branch of Longman, comparable to the present Uganda branch. It has, however, become fully independent.

A special case is East African Educational Publishers (EAEP). Although the name suggests a multinational publishing house, it is in practice a Kenyan publisher. It used to have branches in Kampala and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) too, but these seem to be non-active at this moment. Gustro Bookshop, one of the shops researched in this study, functions as a distribution outlet for EAEP. Asked for information about the publishing activities of EAEP, the employees there referred me to the office in Nairobi, Kenya. That is why EAEP will be considered as a Kenyan publisher. Gustro Bookshop is also the distribution outlet for Oxford University Press (OUP), operating from their local branch in Kenya.

To provide us with a good assessment of the foreign influence on the Ugandan fiction market, we need to turn to the data collected in the bookshops. These show an overwhelming dominance of British publishers in the Ugandan supplies of fiction: of all titles available in the four bookshops investigated, 55% has been published by British publishers. The biggest share is offered by OUP, who is solely responsible for as much as 19% of all fiction titles. The table below shows the ten publishing houses with the largest numbers of fiction titles. Together they account for almost two thirds of the total supplies of fiction.

## Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa: The Case of Uganda

Table 5.4 The ten biggest publishers of fiction in Uganda, based on their title numbers in four Ugandan bookshops.

Name publisher	Proportion in total fiction supplies (%)
Oxford University Press	19.0
East African Educational Publishers	9.8
Heinemann	8.4
Macmillan	6.3
Longhorn Publishers	5.0
Penguin Group	4.5
Cambridge University Press	3.7
Fountain Publishers	3.0
Reader's Digest Association	2.4
Baroque Publishers	2.1
TOTAL	64.3

This top-ten is dominated by British and Kenyan publishers. The first Ugandan publisher is Fountain Publishers, on the eighth place and responsible for 3% of total fiction supplies, followed by Baroque Publishers on the tenth place with a share of a little bit more than 2%.

We see that almost all publishers in this list are involved in educational publishing. From the publishers in this list only Penguin Group, Fountain Publishers and Reader's Digest Association are involved in some substantial publishing of general fiction. Still, the majority of books published by Fountain Publishers are meant for educational use. All this is in line with estimates, given earlier, that 60% to 75% of Ugandan publishing is for educational purposes. Most books of this publishers are indeed school readers for improving reading skills or fiction titles who are on reading lists of school literature courses. The last mentioned are European classic works, mainly British, but also works of some canonised African authors. Oxford University Press, Penguin Group and Cambridge University Press are filling the shelves with works of famous, classic British authors as William Shakespeare, Jane Austen and Charles Dickens. There are a few titles of some non-British authors. Frequently stocked are for example *The Government Inspector* of the Russian Nikolaj Gogol and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* by the German Bertolt Brecht. Note that these are translations into English. The works of African authors are mainly available in editions from EAEP and Heinemann (in the African Writers Series). Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Wole Soyinka are available in large supplies.

Figure 5.2 British and African classics, both in large supplies.



Large publishing houses provide the bulk of what is offered in Ugandan bookshops: one third of all publishers active on the Ugandan fiction market provide 90% of all fiction titles in the bookshops.

Kenya is the second largest player on the Ugandan fiction market. Fiction publications of Kenyan publishers account for 18.2% of total stocks, with an overwhelming majority of these books having been published by the two Kenyan publishers that are in the top-ten of biggest fiction publishers for the Ugandan market: EAEP and Longhorn Publishers. Reader's Digest Association is the only American publisher in the top-ten. However, American publishers have no inconsiderable share in the Ugandan fiction market. They produce 7.8% of all fiction titles. The remaining 3.2% of fiction titles is produced by some Indian, Tanzanian and Nigerian publishers, the British-Dutch Reed Elsevier and the Singaporean System Publishing House Pte Ltd.

Analysing these data we can conclude that Uganda's fiction market is heavily relying on publishers from the Western world. British (including Reed Elsevier) and American publishers together account for 63.1% of all fiction titles available. African

publishers together produce 35.3 % of all fiction titles. It is meaningful to return here to my discussion of the fiction stocks of Aristoc. As I have explained, I have not been able to include all its stock in my research. Should I have succeeded in this, the proportion of fiction published by Western companies would probably have been even higher than the present 63%. A large part of the shelves I have not been able to list, namely, was filled with English language books, imported from abroad. These are books you would also find in every average European bookshop from authors like John Grisham, Philip Roth, Salman Rushdie, Ruth Rendell and Karin Slaughter.

We have already seen that English is predominant in Ugandan fiction publishing. We now take a look at the share Western and African publishers have in English language publishing and answer the question which publishers are mainly involved in indigenous language publishing. Not surprisingly, British and American publishers are the main producers of English language books. For the American publishers, English is the only language in which they publish. However, there are some books published by British publishers in other languages; 11.3 % of their books are published in languages other than English. 4.5% is in Ugandan languages and 3.8% is in Swahili. The remaining 3% is in French. This can be related to the new education policy requiring local languages to be the language of instruction in the lower classes. This has led such British based publishers as Cambridge University Press to publish school readers in local languages. The French fiction titles are also readers meant for use in schools, where French is sometimes taught as a subject.

We have already seen that 65.3% of all fiction titles published by Ugandan publishers is in English. The figure for all African publishers active in the Ugandan fiction market taken together is almost exactly the same: 65.6%. This means the position of English in East African publishing is still strong. However, the data also reflect the significant and still becoming more so, position of Swahili as a regional language. With some 8% of fiction books published in this language, it is the second most important language of fiction publishing, after English. In fact, the titles of Tanzanian publishers are all in Swahili. This clearly reflects the great pains Tanzanian governments have taken for many years to spread the use of Swahili and make it a national language. However, the proportion of Tanzanian publishers in the Ugandan fiction market is very small and most publishing in this language is done by other publishers, first and foremost the Kenyan ones. Some 25% of their title output is in Swahili and as such they account for 56.5% of all fiction in Swahili in these bookshops. Another 25.2% is published by British publishers. Even in Uganda there is some publishing in Swahili: 7.8% of all fiction titles in Swahili is published by



Ugandan publishers, making for 4.1% of total title production by Ugandan publishers.

The table below shows the influence of foreign languages on Ugandan fiction publishing by comparing the proportions of Ugandan languages with those of European languages (English and French) and Swahili and shows how this correlates with the publishers' national background.

*Table 5.5 National and international languages in Ugandan fiction publishing and their correlation with the publisher's national background.*

National background publisher	% in Ugandan languages	% in European languages	% in Swahili
Ugandan	30.6	65.3	4.1
British	4.5	91.8	3.8
American	0.0	100.0	0.0
Other African	1.9	69.5	28.6
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0

These data show that foreign publishers usually target the Ugandan fiction market in languages that are not indigenous to Uganda. From all the foreign publishers the British put most effort into publishing in indigenous languages.

## 5.4 Translation of fiction

Now that I have described the general situation with regard to fiction in Uganda, it is time to see what the proportion of translated fiction is, thus addressing my fourth sub-question. I will start with presenting the translation ratios based on print runs of the nine publishers included in my research.

*Table 5.6 The proportion of translated books in total numbers of fiction books published by nine Ugandan publishers from 2001-2008.*

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Proportion of translated fiction(%)	0.01	0.01	7.6	0.01	0.02	16.3	2.8	0.8

These are very curious data. The very low translation ratios of many years are striking, but even more striking perhaps is the heavy fluctuation of the ratio from year to year. As I have explained the data from the publishers are not very reliable, but still I think these figures point at a major feature of translation as a phenomenon in Ugandan fiction: its rarity. Self-evident as this may seem, realising this helps to explain the fluctuations. As we have seen the numbers of fiction books in general are already very low. When a small publishing house decides to publish a translation, this translation will be one of the few fiction books published by this publishing house. For Mariannum Publishing Company in 2003 and 2006 it was even the only fiction book they published. In this way the proportion of translated fiction in total numbers can easily become high. This is reflected in the figures above. Keeping in mind the low annual numbers of fiction books, we can imagine that a translation ratio of 0.01 means print runs of these translated books were very low.

A comparison with the bookshop data will again shed more light on the issue. Translated fiction accounts for 6.3% of total fiction book supplies. This may seem surprisingly high compared to the publisher's data just presented. A closer look, however, learns that most of these translations are produced by foreign publishing houses: 77.0% of all translations has been published by British publishers. Only 10.3% of all translations has been published by Ugandan publishers. This is 4.1% of the total of fiction titles published by Ugandan publishers. The rest has been published by Kenyan (10.3%) and American publishers (2.3%).

The distribution of languages is presented in the tables below. The first one shows the distribution of target languages, while the second shows the distribution of source languages.

*Table 5.7 Distribution of target languages of translated fiction titles in four Ugandan bookshops.*

	English	Luganda	Other Ugandan languages	Swahili	French
Proportion of total number of translated fiction books	29.9	13.8	16.1	21.8	18.4

*Table 5.8 Distribution of source languages of translated fiction titles in four Ugandan bookshops.*

	English	French	Other European languages	Luganda	Other Ugandan languages	Swahili	Other
Proportion of total number of translated fiction books	63.2	2.3	24.1	2.3	4.6	1.1	2.3

English is dominant both as a target and as a source language. The high proportion of fiction books translated into Ugandan languages may be called remarkable. These figures have everything to do with the newly introduced education policy requiring education in indigenous languages. The translations into Ugandan languages are for the most part translations of English school readers into Luganda, Runyankore-Rukiga and Ateso. These school readers are printed in large runs, thus driving up the ratios of both English as a source language and Ugandan languages as target languages.

To trace the patterns of exchange between the different languages we need to look in more detail at the relations between source and target languages of fiction books in Uganda. The following table shows all the combinations of source and target languages found. Target languages are in the first column, source languages in the second.

## Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa: The Case of Uganda

Table 5.9 Target and source languages of translated fiction titles in four Ugandan bookshops.

Language		Number of titles	Proportion in total translated fiction books (%)
English out of:	<i>European languages</i>		5.7
	German	5	
	French	5	4.6
	Russian	4	3.4
	Ancient Greek	2	2.3
	Czech	2	2.3
	Italian	1	1.1
Total:		19	19.5
	<i>African languages</i>		
	Acholi	4	4.6
	Luganda	2	2.3
	Kikuyu	1	1.1
Total :		7	8.0
<b>Total English</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>29.9</b>
Luganda out of :	<i>European languages</i>		
	English	10	11.5
	Ancient Greek	2	2.3
<b>Total Luganda</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>13.8</b>
Ateso out of	<i>European languages</i>		
	English	10	11.5
<b>Total Ateso</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>11.5</b>
Runyankore-Rukiga			
out of	<i>European languages</i>		
	English	9	10.3
<b>Total Runyankore-Rukiga</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>10.3</b>
Swahili out of	<i>European languages</i>		
	English	10	11.5
	Ancient Greek	2	2.3
	<i>Other languages</i>		
	Arabic	1	1.1
	Chinese	1	1.1
Total:		2	2.3
<b>Total Swahili</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>16.0</b>
French out of	<i>European languages</i>		
	English	16	2.3
<b>Total of all translated titles</b>		<b>87</b>	

These data show the same pattern earlier described as accounting for the whole of Africa: translation is mainly out of European languages (89.6%), there is some translation out of African languages (8.0%, with 6.9% being Ugandan languages), but no translation at all between African languages. This means that in those few cases where fiction works written in indigenous African languages are translated, access to these texts for Ugandans is only possible through the medium of English, if they not happen to speak the relevant African language, which will often be the case, since there are so many different African languages.

Let us now see what sort of books these translated books are. The books translated out of English into Ugandan languages are almost all school readers, translated to meet the requirement of education in the mother tongue. Translation of fictional works outside an educational context is virtually non-existing in these languages, that do hardly know original fictional works in their own language. The exception here is Luganda, that, as we have seen, has a small repertoire of fictional works, also containing titles not specifically written to be used in education. Luganda is the only Ugandan language wherein a non-educational fictional work translated out of a European language is available in these bookshops. Still, we are talking of two titles only: *Amaka ga bawansolo* (a translation of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*) and a translation of the play *Antigone* by the Ancient Greek author Sophokles. The last mentioned is the only Luganda translation published by a Ugandan publisher, namely Nabinene Emporium Ltd, a completely unknown publisher. By an employee of Mariannum Publishing Company, that printed this title, I have been told that the publishing of this translation is probably the work of only one person. This sort of one-man 'publishing companies' seems to be common in Uganda.

We have already seen that in Swahili there is a somewhat more developed literary culture, in which translation is being practised, be it infrequent. In these four Ugandan bookshops we find Swahili translations of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Weep Not, Child* and the translation of William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* by Julius Nyerere, mentioned in my discussion of book translation in Africa (see page 26).

The books translated out of European languages other than English are all classical titles of authors like Bertolt Brecht, Albert Camus and Nikolaj Gogol. These translations are all imported, whether from the United Kingdom or from Kenya. The same is true for the work of a few African authors writing in French. A translation of Ferdinand Oyono's *Une vie de boy* (*Houseboy*) has been published by British publisher

Heinemann, while Ousmane Sembène's *Les bouts de bois de Dieu* (*God's Bits of Woods*) has been published by East African Educational Publishers. It is very common that translations of books written by authors writing in European languages, like these two mentioned, are translated in Europe, whereupon they are used in Africa too.

Of those few titles translated out of African languages the four Acholi titles are all translations of Okot p'Bitek's *Song of Lawino*, in three different versions, one of which is a new translation published by the Ugandan Fountain Publishers under the new title of *The Defence of Lawino*. The translation out of Kikuyu is of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Bathitoora ya Njamba Nene*, translated as *Njamba Nene's Pistol*, not by Ngugi himself this time, for that matter. Both these books are more than twenty years old, however, so we can conclude translation out of African languages is virtually non-existent at this moment. The reason is probably a mixture of the small number of books written in African languages and a reluctance of publishers to publish them, because of economical considerations or lack of prestige of the African languages. Interestingly, considering the communication I had with some Ugandan authors, the view that English is a language more suitable for literary expression seems to be shared by at least some authors too. Moses Isegawa, who has been living for many years in The Netherlands, before he returned to his home country Uganda in 2006, expressed to me his love of English as follows: 'It has the necessary depth and richness and I would never think of writing in any other language'. Hilda Twongyeirwe, coordinator of FEMRITE and besides a poet, also told me to prefer to read and write in English.

'They think books from outside are superior', is how Susan Kiguli, in the interview with her on pages 65-67, comments on the low numbers of locally published fiction books. If the small fiction output of indigenous publishers is indeed to be interpreted as reflecting disdain about local books, the figures presented in these paragraphs prove her right at least partially.

## 5.5 Policies promoting publishing in Uganda

A flourishing publishing industry is usually embedded in a national policy for book publishing or, in a broader sense, culture. In this chapter I will answer the fifth sub-question inquiring into the existence of a book policy in Uganda and see if the translation of fiction books is affected somehow by this policy.

I start with saying that until now there is no policy incorporating all elements of the book publishing industry in Uganda. What is there, however, is a policy governing the publishing of books needed for educational programmes. This so-called Textbook Policy was implemented in 1993. Many representatives from the publishing field have told me this textbook policy has been important, for educational publishing but for general book publishing as well. The most important thing of this Textbook Policy was that it put the responsibility for the production of primary school textbooks in the hands of private sector publishers, thus making an end to the monopoly of state publishers in this area. Some manuscript development remained with the public National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), but private publishers were given the chance too to develop textbooks, whereby they had to meet certain requirements, drawn up by the Ministry of Education and Sports.

This liberalisation had the positive effect of promoting the local publishing industry. However, the Ministry of Education also expressed concern about the availability, accessibility and affordability of textbooks. Commercial goals seemed hard to reconcile with educational goals sometimes. Therefore in 1997 a committee was appointed by the ministry to review the existing textbook policy and make recommendations for its improvement. This Textbook Policy Committee presented its findings in March 1998. I will present some of these findings, because they give us an idea of the state of book publishing at that time and an opportunity to compare this with the present situation. I will focus on those parts linking textbook publishing and general publishing.

In their introduction the committee observes that ‘books shall continue to be the predominant and most effective tools of learning for many years to come in this country’. It acknowledges that to attain the goals of education for all, producing only textbooks is not enough: ‘If people are to stay literate, they must continue the habit of reading’. Therefore, the committee recommends that more efforts should be made into creating a reading culture. It states that Uganda has a severe shortage of books, especially for primary schools. It recognises that, because of this, import of books is necessary but argues that the textbook policy should encourage local publishers. It

proposes to encourage multi-national publishers to start joint-venture firms with local publishers. To develop the publishing of general books they argue that the Uganda Literature Bureau should be revived and sufficiently funded.

They state that because Uganda is a multilingual country books should be written and published in all local language groups. They suggest that where language groups are not large enough to support a viable publishing industry, the government should give support to publishing in these languages. This support should also be given to develop publishing in Swahili. This is one of the rare places where translation is considered. It is mentioned as one of the areas which should be covered by governmental financial support aimed to develop publishing in local languages and Swahili.

The other place where translation is briefly mentioned is when issues concerning copyright are discussed. To bring Uganda's copyright laws in line with international laws, one of the suggestions for amendments made by the Committee is to include that authors must have the right of translation of their own work. It recommends that Uganda should take steps to become a signatory of the international copyright treaties. However, at this time Uganda has still not signed treaties like the Berne Convention, although its copyright legislation has been renewed with the passing of the Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act 2006, thereby meeting many of the international standards for copyright.

A more comprehensive attempt for creating a Ugandan book policy has been undertaken by NABOTU in cooperation with UNESCO. In 2002 they presented a draft for a national book policy framework in Uganda (see Appendix 4), which did not pass the policy making institutions. In this draft the explicit acknowledgement of reading as 'useful recreation' is important with regard to fiction publishing, since it puts the importance of reading broader than being just a means to understand school books. It designs a framework putting the development of reading into the context of 'key principles of the constitution of the Republic of Uganda', being equality, democracy, freedom, social justice and progress (par. 2.1). It sought 'to create an informed society that seeks information for decision-making and problem solving' (par. 4.2). Again the creation of a reading culture is mentioned (par. 4.5). Just as the Textbook Policy Committee it proposes to sign international copyright treaties as the Berne Convention and the Universal Copyright Convention (par. 5.2.1). Again, public funding of publishing in indigenous languages is proposed, when necessary (par. 4.9). The draft expressed the aim of encouraging the export of Ugandan books (par. 4.11), something which is not very common at this time. This could of course



help consolidating the local publishing industry. It could also create a market for Ugandan-produced translations. To encourage authorship the draft proposes reduced taxation on author's royalties, nationally and internationally (par. 5.2.3 and 5.2.4). The need for reading materials for neo-literates is emphasised, to prevent them from relapsing into illiteracy (par 5.4.1). In conclusion it proposes that, in order to provide 'useful inputs for cultural policies', surveys on reading habits, needs and interests are to be carried out (par. 5.4.7).

Many of these recommendations are also found in an unfinished draft for a continental book policy framework (see Appendix 5), made during the First Pan African Conference on Literacy, Curriculum and Book Sector Development which was held in the Tanzanian Dar es Salaam from 24-27 March 2009. The Conference was organised by the African Union and had the following theme: 'Rebuilding Education in Africa'. The aim was to produce guidelines for national and regional book policies and to enhance the use of African languages in book publishing.

Thus it recommends 'to develop and promote book production, access, and use of books in African languages'. To achieve this it states, among other things, that African writers should be supported and promoted and that creative writing in all languages should be implemented in the school curriculum. Again governmental support for books in African languages is proposed, by the establishment of book funds. The use of African languages in education programmes is also highly recommended. The intentions and aims of the continental book policy are expressed in a charter (Appendix 6) which has been designed at the end of the conference. The makers of this charter show themselves to be deeply committed to the development of a reading culture in Africa. It is asserted that if books are read in Africa, these are usually textbooks. However, in order to change this, textbook publishing is seen as a steppingstone to the provision of books for leisure reading. They observe a shortage of reading matter in African languages, the only languages understood by the majority of African people. All these three documents expressing the goals of book policy recommend the development and the expansion of the number of public libraries.

An interesting aspect of the framework for a continental book policy is the advocacy of e-publishing as one of the ways to enhance African people's access to books. Charles Batambuze, Executive Secretary of NABOTU was involved in drafting the document for a national book policy in Uganda just described and was one of the Ugandan attendants of the AU-conference in Dar es Salaam. He sees e-publishing as a way of enlarging the amount of fiction published in Uganda and of

popularising literature. FEMRITE has in fact plans of offering fiction online for free. Alternative licensing models like this could be used to increase the reading audience in Uganda, Batambuze argues, by adapting to problems like the low purchasing power of many Ugandans.

So far several plans have been devised for a comprehensive book policy, but still this policy has not been constituted, although parts of the suggestions expressed by these plans are part of the existing textbook policy. Another relevant policy is the new culture policy formulated in December 2006 by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. It acknowledges Uganda's different languages as 'a storehouse of knowledge', but observes that communication between different linguistic communities has often proven to be difficult. It establishes that information in indigenous languages needs to be translated into English and vice versa to enable communication between these communities. They observe that 'gross distortions and loss of meaning' are often the result. It further observes that literary arts are hindered by the lack of orthographies for some languages. These literary arts are seen as a way of developing local languages. It proposes some measures to develop languages and literary arts, these being:

- Ensure that all languages have developed orthographies
- Ensure that languages are taught and spoken in educational and other institutions at all levels
- Ensure the preservation and development of orature and literature at all levels
- Ensure the development of dictionaries in local languages
- Promote the learning and use of local languages

Apparently, translation is not seen as a way of developing local languages, at least it is not mentioned as such in the policy. We may conclude that there are policies affecting the publishing of fiction, but the measures proposed are not very concrete.

**PART III: THE FUTURE OF  
FICTION PUBLISHING IN  
AFRICA: CONCLUSIONS AND  
IMPLICATIONS OF THIS  
STUDY**



## 6. TRANSLATION AS PART OF THE LITERARY SYSTEM OF UGANDA

Now, returning to our main question, what can be said about the position of translation in the literary system of Uganda? To answer this question I first discuss to what extent the hypotheses Even-Zohar has made about the functioning of a literary system in general are valid for the Ugandan situation, based on the results of this study. Then I continue to discuss the role translation has in this literary system and again see to what extent the results of this study confirm the assumptions made by Even-Zohar about the position of translated literature in a literary system.

Uganda's literature could well be conceived of as a polysystem, with educational publishing in the centre. Although this study has not provided in distinguishing educational books from books meant for general use, we have seen that the Ugandan market for fiction is dominated by educational publishers such as Longman Pearson, Heinemann and Macmillan. From the ten largest fiction publishers in Uganda, seven are almost completely committed to publishing for educational purposes. The majority of fiction books available in the four bookshops of this study are small school readers, meant to improve pupils' reading skills.

In my presentation of the results of the research we have come to speak about all the six roles involved in literary communication, as distinguished by Even-Zohar. Producers are of course the authors, but also publishers. Organised in groups producers can also be part of the institution and the market, Even-Zohar stated. So The Uganda Publishers Association is part of the institution just as other agents involved in maintaining literature in Uganda, discussed in the results section of this thesis: the Uganda Booksellers Association, National Book Trust of Uganda, FEMRITE, the Uganda Children's Writers and Illustrators Association, SIL, bookshops, libraries, the journal of the literature department of Makerere University 'Dhana' and The Ministries of Education and Sports and of Gender, Labour and Social Development. On the market, again the Ministry of Education and Sports is an important player, because it buys and distributes school books, including fiction readers. Schools are important too, because mostly they are the ones that pay for the school books. Of course buyers of fiction books in bookshops also belong to the market, but we have seen that both these buyers and bookshops are not so numerous in Uganda. We have seen that SIL uses some alternative distribution channels, thereby enlarging the market for its books. The consumers in the Ugandan literary system are buyers of books, the ones that receive books for free, primary school

pupils often being among them, but also visitors of the literature club meetings organised by FEMRITE. The people gathering at poetry recitals or listening to a storyteller (for example in NABOTU's reading tents) are also consumers of literature. This shows that the products are not always texts. In fact, historically, oral literature has been much more important in Uganda and keeps on playing an important role. Therefore, in the repertoire of Ugandan literature oral forms expressed in songs and poems still keep an important place. As we have seen, written literature is of a far more recent date. The genres of novel and short story began to develop only in the 1950s and still they are being in the process of getting rooted in Uganda and of being adapted to the African context.

Perhaps this is the reason why the Ugandan fiction market is dominated so heavily by foreign publishers. One of Even-Zohar's hypotheses was that every literary system needs to have a minimum of repertoire to maintain itself. If this requirement is not met, he states that the system will strive 'to avail itself of a growing inventory of alternative options'. In modern literature the genre of the novel is predominant, so it is natural that modern Ugandan literature tries to develop its own repertoire of novels. However, since so little material is available it uses other literary systems to provide itself with the 'alternative options'.

### **Forms of interference in the Ugandan literary system**

This use of options from outside makes the Ugandan literary system a dependent one. There are not enough options available in the Ugandan literary system to keep a 'system optimum'. Even-Zohar's hypothesis is that it is this sort of situation which will make a literary system accept interference from other systems. Indeed, the results showed there is a high degree of interference in Ugandan fiction publishing with only 16% of all titles available in the four bookshops from this study being published by Ugandan publishers. The general principles of interference according to Even-Zohar were that literatures are never in non-interference, that interference is mostly unilateral and that literary interference is not necessarily linked to other forms of interference. We have already established that interference is present in Ugandan literature, thereby confirming his first hypothesised principle.

The second principle is clearly illustrated by the data collected in this study. The dominance of the English language is a first sign of unilateral interference of the British and American literary systems in the Ugandan system. The bookshop data showed that about 80% of all fiction books is in English, whereas there are no books in Ugandan languages in The United Kingdom or the United States. Even for

Ugandan publishers, the proportion of English language books is 65%, whereas only 4.5% of books published by British publishers is in Ugandan languages. Second, 63% of all Ugandan fiction books is published by Western publishers, being almost all British and American. Ugandan publishers do not play a role in publishing industries of Western countries. Third, the translation data show that almost 80% of translated fiction books are published by Western publishers. On top of that, translation is mostly out of English, whereas translation out of Ugandan languages into English accounts for only 7%. Even then, the question is whether this English language publications will reach the European and American markets.

However, interference is not only Western. In a study about African book publishing discussed earlier in this thesis, Kenya was considered to have one of the best developed publishing industries of Africa and since it is a neighbouring country of Uganda, it is not surprising that its influence in Ugandan fiction publishing is considerable. Kenyan publishers account for 18% of all fiction books available in the bookshops. Together with the Kenyan interference comes the interference of the Swahili language, although we have seen that it is not only Kenyan publishers that account for the availability of Swahili books in Uganda. Still, they are responsible for 56.5% of fiction books in Swahili. We have seen that there also Ugandan publishers involved in producing fiction in Swahili. Attempts of the Ugandan government to spread the language, illustrated by its re-introduction as an official language in 2005 could be an explanation for this.

I have some information indicating Ugandan export of fiction to Kenya takes place. However, I do not have exact information about it and neither for export to Tanzania, so I cannot be sure about the proportion of Ugandan books in Kenyan and Tanzanian fiction book markets, but I think I can safely say that it is not large. Besides, we have seen that if African books are translated in Uganda, this is always into English, not into other African languages. Thus, we can conclude that interference is indeed unilateral.

Literary interference is not necessarily linked with other forms of interference, but in the case of Uganda it is, since Uganda is depending economically on the same countries as it is literary. Besides, the dominance of British publishers on the market for school books was facilitated by the British education system introduced under colonial rule. Uganda's education system is still relying heavily on donations from mainly Western donors and although the influence of British publishers on the market for school books is not as large as it was, it is still felt, notably through the activities of Macmillan and Longman Pearson, that both have an office in Kampala.

We see that interference of especially Great Britain can be detected on more levels than only the literary.

I will now discuss the validity of Even-Zohar's hypotheses about conditions for the emergence and occurrence of interference. The first of his four hypotheses is that contacts will sooner or later generate interference. These interference arose pretty soon after the British colonised Uganda, when British missionaries developed writing in African languages and colonial rulers made English the official language, which it is up until the present date. So, English and hence British literature, became a source of interference, because of dominance in the first place, thus confirming Even-Zohar's third hypothesis about the conditions for emergence of interference.

It could be argued that the use of English as a literary language is still an example of interference by dominance, because the reason it is used as the medium for writing fiction often is often not really voluntary, but involving considerations of audience size and chances of getting published. As became clear in the interview with Susan Kiguli, she thinks she will not have much chance of getting her work published if it is in Luganda. Another reason for her to write in English is that it is the language most people understand. In a multilingual society like Uganda's, although many people do not understand English, it still is the language understood by the greatest number of people. In this way the imposition of the English language on the people living in what is now the republic of Uganda is still at work. If an author want to reach as big an audience as possible, he or she does not really have a choice than to use the language of the former coloniser as the language of writing. The fact that English is a world language too is enforcing this state of matters.

However, it is not only dominance driving Ugandan authors to write in English and publishers to wanting their books being published in English. As discussed earlier, many Africans ascribe prestige to European languages, probably influenced by the fact that they are the languages the prosperous elites of their countries have mastered. In my discussion of the results, it appeared that some writers deliberately write in English, because they consider it to be the language most fit for literary expression, even though it is not their mother tongue.

The adaptation of certain literary forms and genres of British literature, like the novel, for Ugandan purposes could be explained by Even-Zohar's fourth hypothesis that interference will occur if certain options are not available in a target system. However, as Even-Zohar points out, the question remains whether this happens because of a real deficiency in the target culture or simply because certain options are available in a source literature. In other words: was the novel introduced



in Ugandan literature because it served certain needs of Ugandan writers that could not be met by existing literary devices or was it chosen because it was there in British literature and therefore had some prestige? This remains an interesting question that cannot be answered at this place. The focus of this study was more on statistical data about fiction and translation and not on matters of content. This could be the subject of another study. For the same reason it is difficult to say whether the third group of hypotheses about the processes and procedures whereby interference takes place, formulated by Even-Zohar, are valid. If a certain repertoire does or does not maintain source literature functions and if appropriation of source literature tends to be simplified are questions that cannot be answered on the basis of this study. Whether contacts between Ugandan and other literatures first take place in only one system of the polysystem and then proceed to others, Even-Zohar's first hypothesis from this third group, will be assessed after a discussion of the results about translated fiction in Uganda.

### **Translation of fiction in Uganda**

Even-Zohar supposes translated literature to be a distinct system within a certain literary polysystem, often operating in the periphery of this polysystem. If translated literature, or translated fiction to be more precise, is indeed a system within the Ugandan literary polysystem, it is definitely in the periphery. The results showed that only 6.3 % of all fiction titles in the bookshops were translations. Translation carried out in Uganda itself is even rarer: 4.1% of all fiction titles published by Ugandan publishers consists of translations.

However, according to Even-Zohar three types of situations are likely to move translated literature to the centre of the polysystem and make it the means of introducing a new repertoire to the centre. I will discuss each of these three situations and see to what extent they apply to our case of the Ugandan literary polysystem.

First there is the situation of a literature in the process of being established, that cannot immediately create the repertoire which is needed to maintain the system and therefore has to lend from other systems. This situation is very well applicable to Uganda's literary system, which is after all very young. As we have seen, fiction publishing started only in the 1950s in very modest numbers. During the regimes of Idi Amin (1971-1979) and Milton Obote (1981-1985), there was hardly any literary activity. It was only with the advent of a new period of peace after 1985 (except in the north of Uganda) that Uganda's literature got the chance to develop again. So with only some forty years to develop itself it is no wonder that Uganda's literature is still

small and does not yet have an elaborate repertoire. The results indicated that title production is very low and often irregular: one year some fiction titles are produced by a publisher, the other year none. A number of 25 fiction titles (including reprints) per year is already a lot for a Ugandan publisher. However, it is difficult to pronounce upon the number of fiction books published in Uganda, since the data of this study are so incomplete. It would be interesting, for example, to know the fiction title output of Fountain Publishers, considered to be the biggest publisher in fiction by everyone working in the literary field. However, even Fountain Publishers has not published fiction titles for some years now. This is at least what I have been told by people from this same literary field. These claims would have to be tested.

Another feature of Ugandan fiction publishing indicating its low development is the low proportion of indigenous publications in total fiction stocks in the bookshops, which is 16%, as has already been mentioned. Only 35% of their titles are in indigenous languages. The languages used for publishing fiction found in this study are: Luganda, Runyankore-Rukiga, Acholi, Ateso, Runyoro-Rutoro, Lusoga and Lugbara. These are only seven languages, or actually nine, since Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutoro are both combinations of two languages often regarded as one language, because they show so much overlap in their vocabulary and grammar. Of these 43 languages spoken in Uganda listed by SIL, 39 are indigenous. Together with those four languages being used by SIL for some fiction publications, the total number of languages used for publishing is thirteen. This means two thirds of indigenous languages is not used at all for fiction publishing, whereas numbers in those languages used are very small, as the results showed. Only Luganda yields a somewhat more elaborate number of fiction books published.

With such a low title production, especially in the indigenous languages, repertoire options within the own literary system can be imagined to be limited, so using options from other literary systems becomes almost necessary. That the Ugandan literary system is making use of other systems a lot, if only by importing books, is clearly shown by the data: 84% of all titles in the bookshops are published by foreign publishers. Considering the content of fiction in Uganda, one could also observe a lot of foreign influences, but this lies outside the subject of this study.

The second situation is one of a literature that is peripheral or weak, or both, and so not able to develop the same range of literary activities as certain 'stronger' literatures. This can also be argued to be the case for Uganda. As the results showed, the Ugandan fiction market is heavily influenced by British and, to a lesser degree, Kenyan publishers. In these countries, but especially in Great Britain, a much more

elaborate literature has been developed with a wide range of activities taking place. Uganda's literature is not able to yield this same range of activities and therefore has to make use of other literatures, which makes its position weak, at least compared to those systems it is lending from. Swahili literature has had more time to develop and so also constitutes a stronger literary system. This system is centred in Kenya and Tanzania and is influencing the Ugandan literary system, mainly through the Kenyan publishers that publish more than a quarter of their books in Swahili, as we have seen. However, we can conclude that the largest influence exercised on the Ugandan literary system is by far by the British literary system. British publishers provide more than half of all fiction books in Uganda.

The third situation is one of revolutionary change. Although this situation is not applicable to Uganda's contemporary situation it could be argued to have taken place during Uganda's turbulent past, with many changes occurring, at least in politics, first with the colonisation by the British, then becoming independent, the ascend to power of the notorious Idi Amin, the dictatorial regime of Milton Obote and another coup leading to the installation of Yoweri Museveni as the new president, a position he occupies until the present date. The influences of these radical changes on Ugandan literature (including 'orature', to use Ngugi wa Thiong'o's term) would be an interesting object of a future study.

So with at least two of these three situations accounting for the Ugandan case, one would expect translation to flourish in Uganda. However, it is not, as we saw, and the reason probably is its multilingualism. This may sound like a paradox, since in a society with so many languages, translation would seem to be almost inescapable. Yet this is not the case, at least not in literature, as is illustrated by this study. Even-Zohar describes multilingualism as a situation arisen from an urgent need of repertoire options in a polysystem, leading to the adoption of another polysystem. His hypothesis is that once it is possible to return to a unilingual system, this will happen, because it is easier to maintain such a system. Although the last statement can easily be admitted to be true, the other statements are not describing the Ugandan situation. Multilingualism is not the consequence of agents in the Ugandan literary system having adopted another literary system, because they felt their own was deficient, but of the British colonial rulers imposing their language, while creating the present state of Uganda, thus putting together in one country many linguistic groups that often had not much to do with each other before. Going back to a situation of unilingualism is no option, although the continued use of English in public areas could be interpreted as an attempt to create such a unilingual

society. However, the reality is that more than forty languages are spoken in Uganda and that a way has to be found to deal with this reality, in literature just as in other parts of society. This way of dealing with multilingualism is being developed, but much has to be figured out still. The current situation in Uganda's literature shows in fact a situation which is not that far from a unilingual literature, with English being predominant, but the question is if a literary system in Uganda can be maintained in this way, excluding so many Ugandans from it. This is not even asking if this would be desirable.

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory seems not to be able to account for the postcolonial context of the Ugandan literary system, and other African systems, for that matter. His hypotheses about the emergence and occurrence of translation may well be confirmed by the literary systems of, for example, European and Arab countries, where unilingualism is much more common, but in the postcolonial African context they seem to fail. These specific features of African literary systems will be the subject of the next chapter.

## 7. TRANSLATION OF FICTION IN UGANDA IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

In this final chapter I will further discuss the data about translation in Ugandan fiction and connect these to the issues concerning language and translation in Africa discussed earlier. This will finally lead to the answer to my main question about the position of translation in the literary system of Uganda.

In chapter 1 I have discussed the reasons for the continued use of European languages in most African countries. A need for creating unity in ethnically and linguistically diverse countries, financial constraints hindering the development of local languages, small numbers of speakers for many languages, no orthographies or no standardised ones and a disdain for African languages combined with prestige ascribed to the European language, which is supposed to be maintained by African elites were mentioned to cause the continued use of European languages. All these reasons apply to Uganda too. With 43 to 56 languages spoken, of which over half are spoken by less than half a million speakers and with many of them having no writing system and being proficient in English seen by many as a status symbol, it is not surprising that the position of English in Uganda is still strong. On top of that, there is the influence of English as a world language and the dependence of Uganda on the Western world, reflected by my data about the sources of fiction books in Uganda.

Of all these reasons only in the first one multilingualism itself is a reason for the promotion of one language, being English. The other reasons have their roots in the underdevelopment of indigenous languages and then this underdevelopment becomes the reason for using English. So, at this point I need to specify my conclusion in the previous chapter that the multilingualism of Uganda is the reason for translation of fiction to be so rare. Indeed, theoretically spoken, the Ugandan multilingual society is offering lots of chances for literary translation, but in order to take advantage of this multilingualism, the indigenous languages need to be developed first, so that they can be used outside the realm of daily conversation. So it is not multilingualism itself that is causing the low occurrence of literary translation in Uganda, but the fact that this multilingualism is not represented in public domains, thus preventing languages other than English from developing into languages fit for literary use.

### **Strengthening indigenous language publishing**

We have seen, however, that attitudes are changing and that efforts are made to develop African languages into languages used for literary expression. The makers of the frameworks for both a continental and a Ugandan book policy, just as the members of the Textbook Policy Committee advising on improvements of the Textbook Policy, were all recommending the use of indigenous languages and they all proposed to give this development governmental support, when necessary. Steps are taken to remove factors hindering the development of indigenous languages. The problem of the lack of standardised orthographies is addressed by the Ugandan Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development that has made the development of orthographies and dictionaries for all Ugandan languages as one of the proposed measures in the new culture policy. The work of SIL in this area is important and is yielding some fiction publications too, as this study revealed. The culture policy further expresses the aim of using indigenous languages in educational and other institutional contexts at all levels. A major step to the achievement of this goal, has been the introduction of local language education for the first four classes of primary education in 2007. This measure has been an incentive for Ugandan publishers to start publishing in local languages and the effects can already be observed, as is also shown by the results of this study. It showed that fiction publications in Runyankore-Rukiga and Ateso were all readers meant for use in education, just as the majority of books in Luganda. Without education in local languages, we can suppose fiction books in local languages to be almost non-existent. Noteworthy further, is that most of the books in Ateso and all books in Runyankore-Rukiga are translations out of English. Translation of fiction books into these languages, however, is still non-existent outside an educational context. This accounts for Luganda too, leaving aside the two translated titles into Luganda, discovered by the research. Except for one translation out of Luganda and the different translations of *War pa Lawino* (translated as *Song of Lawino* and *The Defence of Lawino*), translations out of Ugandan languages are also non-existent. This could change, however, because of the introduction of local language education. First, because it is diminishing illiteracy in general, but especially in local languages, thereby enlarging the reading audience in these languages, thus making it more attractive for publishers to publish books in these languages. Second, because now a beginning is made with the creation of authors that are well-instructed in writing in their own language and would also be in a position to translate books out of other languages, of which English may be the most natural option at this time. However, with many Ugandans, and Africans in general,

being proficient in more than one indigenous language, we may see a start of translation between African languages, which is considered to be non-existent, a fact that is confirmed by the data of this study. The efforts of the Ugandan government to spread the use of Swahili may also contribute to this, but not if it is intended to be used as a replacement for the way English is used now, as is the case in Tanzania. Research carried out in Tanzania would probably reveal that production of fiction and of translations of fiction in indigenous languages other than Swahili is very rare. However, it is now too early to assess this influence of local language education on book publishing and translation, in particular in the area of fiction. Assessment of these influence could be the aim of other studies, when local language education has had the time to develop.

The use of local Ugandan languages in institutions other than education, is however still not common. Perhaps the development of education in local languages and the increased number of books published in these languages will change this. A change is necessary, because otherwise the usefulness of African languages will be limited and English will keep on being seen as the venue to success and as a result preventing African languages from development.

### **Necessary changes in Ugandan publishing industry**

Another necessary change is to reduce the dependence of Uganda on other countries for providing its publishing industry with the materials needed for book publishing. A study conducted in Brazil by John Milton, discussed in the first part of this thesis, showed that the development of local production of these raw materials, such as paper and ink, first protected by tariffs, stimulated local production of books and locally produced translations of books. When this would be achieved, Ugandan publishers would not need to put out their printing jobs to foreign printers or import books from abroad. A decrease of the relatively high Ugandan book prices could be a desired consequence.

The fact is, that the low purchasing power of many Ugandans (with an average income of only \$ 420 per capita) is a factor reducing the possibilities of fiction publishers not to be underestimated. Since we may not expect poverty in Uganda to be erased soon, cheap books are necessary. On top of that, Ugandans need to feel that money spent on a fiction book, is well spent. This brings us back to the problem of creating a reading culture in Uganda. To turn Uganda into a reading nation, as is the aim of NABOTU, the content of reading materials would have to be of a kind appealing to Ugandans. This issue is probably related to the issue of the

language in which the books are written. Research would have to test this intuition. If it is true that Ugandans would feel more inclined to read fiction books, if written in their mother tongue, there is a major role for translation in creating a repertoire for these potential readers, since the choice of fiction titles in local languages is very low. This potential of enlarging the range of books available in local languages and as such contributing to the development of a reading culture, is not getting much attention, although the need for relevant reading materials is recognised by such organisations as NABOTU and UCWIA and the production of these materials promoted.

Of course, for these translations to reach people a well-developed distribution infrastructure would be indispensable. Although the distribution of fiction was not the main focus of this study, it nevertheless has illustrated some of the difficulties already described in the first part of this thesis. Bookshops are mainly centred in Kampala. Outside Kampala there are few, which has led SIL to making use of distributors walking or cycling to their customers. However, this is not an option suitable for large numbers of books. Libraries are even fewer in number and often not well-stocked. There is no central distributor (like *Centraal Boekhuis* in The Netherlands), meaning that publishers have to arrange their own distribution, which is of course impractical and driving up book prices.

Another problem impeding the development of authorship in local languages and the translation of books out of and into these languages, revealed by this study, is the difficult position of authors and translators. In the first part of this thesis, it is mentioned that they are often not well paid or cheated on by publishers, with no adequate legislation to support and protect them. Copyright laws are part of this legislation and this study showed that Ugandan copyright laws are still not fully protecting authors and translators. So far Uganda has not signed the Berne Convention. The Textbook Policy Committee observed that authors do not have the right of translation of their works and recommended this right to be implemented in the policy. Susan Kiguli observes the renewed copyright legislation of 2006 does still not have enough protective power. A condition for a well-working book industry is that authors and translators are well paid and adequately protected by legislation. A book policy could also provide solutions for these matters, but as we have seen it is still not there in Uganda.



### **Validity of research design**

For the conclusions drawn in this third part of my thesis, the results of the part of this study carried out in four selected bookshops have been an important source. This could be argued to affect the validity of the results in two ways. First, bookshops are only one part of the literary system of Uganda. One could argue that if the aim of my research was to know what the position of translation in the literary system of Uganda is, I cannot ignore its other parts. This is very true and so this is in fact not what has happened. The design of this research, as has been explained at the beginning of the second part of this thesis, also included publishers and the Ugandan government. As has been said, it has proven to be very difficult to collect the statistical data I was looking for from Ugandan publishers. Moreover, no comparable research has been carried out in the area of fiction publishing, so it was clear from the beginning on, that this study would be an explorative one. Therefore, the conclusions of this study need to be substantiated by further research. Still, notwithstanding these reservations about the validity of the results of this study, I think they offer some insights in what is going on in Ugandan fiction publishing. Moreover, although the results of the research carried out in the bookshops, may form the core of the conclusions, they are supported and illustrated by the results gathered from many other sources, representing different stakeholders in Ugandan fiction publishing, like publishers, authors and people involved in strengthening Uganda's book industry and promoting reading.

The second point of criticism may concern my choice of the four bookshops. As I have explained these bookshops are generally considered to be among the most important bookshops by people involved in the book industry. They are among the few bookshops in Uganda with some fiction supplies next to books meant for educational use. These four bookshops all have their own character, so I think that therefore different segments of fiction publishing in Uganda are covered by this study and that, as such, they are an accurate representation of the current state of the art of fiction publishing in Uganda and that the generalisations made in these concluding chapters, based on the results of the research in the bookshops, are justified. Of course, more bookshops could have been included, but as I was carrying out this research alone, I was faced with some limitations. A more comprehensive study would certainly increase the validity of the results and is encouraged by me.

## Conclusion

Taking in consideration everything discussed, I conclude that the role translation plays in current Ugandan fiction publishing is a marginal role. Most translations of fiction books are published by foreign publishers, mainly British publishing houses. Just as in the system of fiction publishing in general, English is the dominant language in the subsystem of translated fiction, both as a source language and as a target language. The role of indigenous languages in fiction publishing and translation is very limited. The Ugandan fiction market is dominated by readers meant for educational use. Translation into indigenous languages is mostly done in an educational context and usually out of English. Translation out of Ugandan indigenous languages is very rare and translation between Ugandan or other African languages is non-existent.

Uganda's literary system is young and in the process of establishing itself, weak and therefore depending on other literary systems, mainly the British and the Kenyan. On top of that, Uganda's recent history has seen many revolutionary changes, that may have affected Ugandan literature. According to Itamar Even-Zohar these are conditions for translated literature to become a major factor in a literary system, but so far the position of translated literature in Uganda is still in the periphery of the literary system. The fact that the development of indigenous languages is hampered by the continued use of English in almost all public areas of Ugandan society is probably the main reason for the role of translation having been so small until now. Development of these indigenous languages outside the realm of daily conversation could contribute to the development of the Ugandan literary system and the position of translated literature in it. In this way the fertile soil the multilingualism of Uganda offers for the existence of translated literature will be taken advantage of.

However, the development of fiction publishing in general and publishing in local languages in particular is hampered by many problems, including dependency on foreign markets for books and the materials needed for book publishing, financial constraints of both producers and consumers, the small number of speakers of many indigenous languages, thus constituting a small potential reading audience, further reduced by high, although declining, illiteracy rates or literacy in English only, a lack of standardised orthographies for many languages, a negative attitude towards African languages, the fact that a reading culture has yet to be established, a poor distribution infrastructure and poor protection of the rights of authors and translators.

A national book policy could help addressing these problems and thus developing the publishing of fiction, and translated fiction in particular, but it has not yet been implemented, although several attempts have been taken and are still being taken.

I would like to conclude with presenting a personal vision for fiction in Africa. The challenges for African fiction publishing are big: the data from Uganda, presented in this study, have once again confirmed this, but in order to preserve the knowledge stored in African languages and to let speakers of these languages experience the opportunities these languages potentially offer them, the development of these African languages is necessary and fiction is an important area in which this development could take place. In fact, it may even be one of the most important areas, considering these words of the Ugandan poet and writer Susan Kiguli: *'Fiction [...] is a way of seeing a people's imagination and perceptions. It is a very important part of their thinking and of their identity, so it should be given as much priority as possible. We should promote it in Uganda'*. Translation then could assume an important role, as it would be the necessary medium for having other peoples share these imaginations and perceptions expressed in African languages, the languages of African people. Does this sound too good to be true or is this a goal that can actually be achieved in Uganda, in Africa?



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Appendices

## **APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1. List of abbreviations used**

CMS	Church Missionary Society
EAEP	East African Educational Publishers
EALB	East African Literature Bureau
IMU	Instructional Materials Unit (of the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports)
NABOTU	National Book Trust of Uganda
OUP	Oxford University Press
UBA	Uganda Booksellers Association
UCWIA	Uganda Children's Writers and Illustrators Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPA	Uganda Publishers Association

## **Appendix 2. List of fiction publishers in Uganda**

1. Archway Publications
2. Baroque Publishers
3. Ben & Company Ltd
4. Bow and Arrow Publishers
5. CMS Publishers
6. Centenary Publishing House
7. Crane Publishing
8. Crown Books Ltd
9. Dennis Wyswah
10. Edward K.N. Kawere
11. FEMRITE
12. Fountain Publishers
13. The Grail Center
14. Kamalu Ltd
15. Kamenyero Publishing
16. Kampala Archdiocese
17. Karen West Resource Center
18. Kisayire Nninda
19. Kiwanuka Musisi
20. Mariannum Publishing Company
21. Martin Asingwire
22. MK Publishers
23. Monitor
24. MPK Graphics Ltd
25. Nabinene Emporium Ltd
26. Netmedia Publishers
27. Nets Africana Ltd
28. New Era Printers & Stationers
29. Nyonyi Publishing Company
30. Pan Africa Books
31. Ren Publishers
32. Richard Matanda
33. Richardson Omamo Books
34. Riso Pinters / Stationers
35. St. Bernard Publishers
36. St. Margaret Mary Mabiho B.A.
37. SIL
38. Solomon E.K. Mpalenyi
39. Spear Books
40. S.S.S. Busuulwa
41. Teacher Consultants Reader's Group

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42. Tomasi Kagera
43. Uganda Children's Writers and Illustrators Association
44. Uganda Literature Bureau
45. Wavah Books

### **Appendix 3. List of stakeholders Ugandan fiction publishing consulted during research**

#### Publishers:

- Boniface Zabajungu, Archway Publications
- Victor Byabamazima, Publishing Manager/Consultant Baroque Publishers, then member of Textbook Policy Committee
- Hilda Twongyeirwe, Coordinator FEMRITE, poet
- Julius Ocwinyo, Editor Fountain Publishers, writer
- Kenneth Kabagambe, Marketing Operations Manager Fountain Publishers
- Samuel Sembuya, Kamalu Ltd.
- David Kibuuke, Longhorn Publishers, chairman UPA
- Jane Mathenge, Field Editor International Education Longman Pearson
- Vicky Sentamu, Macmillan Uganda
- Jozef, Mariannum Publishing Company
- Simon Kasirye, MK Publishers
- Robert Mulumba, Sales & Marketing Manager, MK Publishers
- Alex Leeba, Office Administrator Netmedia Publishers
- Dr. Ijuka Kabumba, Nyonyi Publishing Company
- David Isingoma, Director Pelican Publishers
- Ronnie Nganwa, Ren Publishers
- Maria Rhoda Semafumu, Director St. Bernard Publishers
- Stephen, Teacher Consultant Reader's Group
- Evangeline Barongo, Chairperson UCWIA
- Catherine Seerah, UCWIA
- Employees of Monitor and Wavah Books

#### Literary Institutions

- Charles Batambuze, Executive Secretary NABOTU
- Jackie K. Sabiti, Administrative Officer NABOTU
- Faith Keishanyu, Administrative Officer UPA
- Employees of National Library of Uganda

#### Bookshops

- Tom Wangolo, General Manager Uganda Bookshop
- Alice, employee Aristoc
- General Manager Aristoc
- Employees of Alphamat Bookworld and GUSTRO Bookshop

#### Authors

- Susan Kiguli, poet, Senior Lecturer Department of Literature Makerere University
- Moses Isegawa, writer

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### Others

- Douglas Wicks, Communication Coordinator SIL (Uganda-Tanzania Branch)
- Robin Rempel, Literacy Coordinator SIL (Uganda-Tanzania Branch)
- Prof. Manuel Muranga, Institute of Languages Makerere University



## **Appendix 4. Draft national book policy Uganda *by* NABOTU and UNESCO**

### **DRAFT NATIONAL BOOK POLICY FRAMEWORK OF UGANDA**

#### **1. Preamble**

- 1.1 Modern civilisation is largely based on written word and books. Information and communication technologies have enhanced the importance of and access to information.
- 1.2 Books play a crucial role in life-long learning, information, useful recreation and eradication of illiteracy.
- 1.3 Books are a basic instrument for the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage and for the development of scientific and technological knowledge, skills' socio-political and economic awareness.
- 1.4 The book sector has a large number of diverse disciplines, stakeholders and interests that converge. The many stakeholders in the sector need to be brought together under a policy that ensures that there is harmonious co-ordinated and balanced growth in the book sector.

#### **2. THE PRINCIPLES OF THIS BOOK POLICY**

- 2.1 The book policy addresses and contributes to the realisation of the key principles of the constitution of the Republic of Uganda. These principles are equality, democracy, freedom, social justice and progress.
- 2.2 The Book Policy supports Article 30 of the constitution of Uganda, which states, "All persons have a right to education".
- 2.3 The policy is an integral part of the national development policies and strategies and reinforces the overall development objectives of the country in the areas of education, the creation of an informed society, democratisation, eradication of illiteracy and poverty.
- 2.4 The policy seeks to identify and address different national policies that negatively impact on the book sector.
- 2.5 The policy seeks to put in place mechanisms for planned and concerted action for the accelerated and sustained development of indigenous publishing and the provision of books for all; bearing in mind the need for quality and affordability.

#### **3. OVERALL GOAL OF THE POLICY**

To strengthen and facilitate the development of the book sector so as to effectively contribute to the socio-economic and cultural development of the country.

#### **4. SPECIFIC POLICY OBJECTIVES**

- 4.1 To produce and make available to the country good quality and reasonably priced goods that contribute to the enhancement of the quality of education and the creation of knowledge society in Uganda.
- 4.2 To create an informed society that seeks information for decision-making and problem solving.
- 4.3 To assist in the eradication of illiteracy and the imparting of skills for income generating activities.

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- 4.4 To impart knowledge, skills and information through the provision of appropriately targeted library services managed by qualified personnel.
- 4.5 To encourage a reading habit that will lead to the creation of a reading culture.
- 4.6 To produce and make available books in formats suitable for the different segments of society.
- 4.7 To encourage authorship
- 4.8 To encourage the setting up of bookshops and book trade throughout the country
- 4.9 To ensure that books that promote national cultures and languages are published; where necessary with the support of public funding.
- 4.10 To stimulate and facilitate the printing of books in the country.
- 4.11 To encourage the export of Ugandan books.
- 4.12 To ensure that the application of copyright provisions and international conventions regarding the promotion of authors, publishers and books are observed.
- 4.13 To create and expand employment in the book sector.
- 4.14 To encourage the set up of active professional associations in the book sector.

## **5. STRATEGIES**

The policy objectives shall be achieved through the following strategies:

### **5.1 General**

- i) Sensitisation of the general public and policy makers about the importance of books and issues relating to the book sector.
- ii) Promotion of the inclusion of book policy issues in overall national sectoral plans and policies.
- iii) Ensuring that the Book Policy is disseminated as widely as possible and understood.
- iv) Reviewing periodically text book policies with a view to removing bottlenecks and encouraging indigenous publishing.
- v) Setting up an institutional framework for carrying out the objectives of the policy.

### **5.2 In favour of authorship and publishing**

- i) Updating of the copyright legislation and accession to the international conventions on copyright such as the Berne Convention and the Universal Copyright Convention.
- ii) Advocating for the general awareness and enforcement of the laws of Uganda on copyright and intellectual property.
- iii) Adoption of measures for reduced taxation on authors' royalties.
- iv) Adoption of measures to avoid double taxation of authors' royalties at the international level.
- v) Setting up machinery for the collective management of authors' reprographic rights.
- vi) The setting up of literary competitions and prizes to promote literary creation and output.
- vii) Persuading banks to offer flexible credit facilities to publishers.
- viii) Removal of import duties on raw materials for the manufacture of books.
- ix) Offer export incentives on books published in Uganda.
- x) Encouraging the use of ISBN (International Standard Book Numbers) and other international numbers for books publishers in Uganda.

- xi) Setting up training programmes and facilities for the various aspects of publishing (management, proof reading, graphics, desktop publishing, typesetting, authorship, editing, promotion, marketing, export etc.)
- xii) Enabling publishers and authors to attend national and international book fairs.
- xiii) Encouraging the establishment and strengthening of the publishers and authors associations.

### 5.3 Printing

- i) Removal of import duties on raw materials for books.
- ii) Taking an inventory of existing infrastructure with a view to improving capacity in terms of material and human resources.
- iii) Setting up programmes and facilities for the training of personnel at all levels of the printing industry.
- iv) Putting in place measures for producing paper and other raw materials locally and if these materials are imported, removing import duties.
- v) Facilitating printers to attend international conferences and book fairs.
- vi) Strengthening the printers' association.

### 5.4 For the encouragement of reading

- i) Design, publish and make available appropriate reading materials to neoliterates to stop them relapsing into illiteracy. This will be done by the ministry responsible for adult literacy and education.
- ii) Under the ministry responsible for education, making budgetary provision for a network of schools and college libraries.
- iii) Under the ministry responsible for public libraries, promoting establishment, stocking and equipping of public libraries and community multimedia centres in urban and rural areas.
- iv) Establishing and strengthening the National Library to effectively serve as a repository of Uganda's bibliographic heritage, the publication of the National Bibliography and the promotion of reading.
- v) Establishing regular training programmes for library and information workers and for all the professionals concerned with reading. This will be done by the Uganda Library Association, the Reading Association of Uganda and the ministry responsible for education.
- vi) Organising in and out of school campaigns to promote reading and to create a reading habit especially among the children. This will be a joint effort of Book Development Council, parents, Reading Association and the ministry responsible for education.
- vii) Carrying out surveys on reading habits, needs and interests that would provide useful inputs for the cultural policies and publishing decision. This will be done by Book Development Council, the Uganda Library Association, the Reading Association, the National Library and the ministry responsible for education and for literacy.

### 5.7 The role of the ministry responsible for education

The main users of books fall directly or indirectly under the ministry

- i) At the political and policy level, the ministry will be the main promoter of this policy in cabinet, parliament and the country at large.

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- ii) The ministry will formulate a policy on the use of books formal educational institutions and such policies shall be part of the national book policy.
- iii) Put in place policies for sustainable textbook provision.

#### **5.8 Ministry responsible for trade and industry**

The book is an educational, cultural and industrial product. The ministry will accord the status of an industrial product on the book in terms of investment, raw materials, imports and exports and of the finished product. The ministry's policies shall take into account the industrial product aspect of the book and this policy in general.

#### **5.9 Ministry responsible for culture**

The ministry will accord the book and book development the necessary cultural status and will develop policies, which promote the book taking into consideration:

- i) This policy
- ii) The book as a conveyer and preserver of culture
- iii) International conventions on books

#### **5.10 Ministry responsible for adult literacy and education**

The ministry will make sectoral or sub-sector policies that aim at:

- i) Making books available to adults who have learnt to read and write so as to sustain and improve literacy and numeracy skills
- ii) Establishing rural and community libraries so as to facilitate life-long learning
- iii) Encourage reading and the creation of a reading culture.

#### **5.11 Ministry responsible for finance and economic development**

The responsibility of the ministry shall be to ensure that:

- i) Books, libraries and reading are accorded the necessary importance as tools for quality life-long education
- ii) Books and libraries lend support to other development policies that aim at the eradication of illiteracy and poverty.
- iii) Sufficient resources are allocated for the development of the book sector.

#### **5.12 The role of local governments**

- i) Ensuring that local governments encourage the establishment of school and community libraries.
- ii) Ensuring that local governments have plans that encourage reading and the culture of reading especially among children
- iii) Ensuring that local governments provide to communities appropriate reading materials that sustain and enhance literacy skills.
- iv) Encouraging the setting up of local bookshops.

#### **5.13 NGOs and Development Agencies**

The policy will encourage NGOs and other development agencies to:

- i) Support capacity building in the book sector
- ii) Support professional associations in the book sector
- iii) Support campaigns for the eradication of illiteracy

- iv) Support book promotion activities and reading campaigns
- v) Support the establishment of library services.

## **6. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**

There shall be established, a book development council to bring together the various stakeholders in the book sector.

### **6.1 Book Development Council**

6.1.1 The objectives of the book development council will be:

- i) To create a forum where all interest groups, private and public in the industry can co-ordinate their activities for individual and mutual benefit.
- ii) To support the establishment, development and strengthening of associations involved in the development, distribution and utilisation of books.
- iii) To formulate plans and strategies for the harmonious, accelerated and sustainable development of the book industry in the country.
- iv) To encourage the establishment and maintenance of high professional, technical and ethical standards in all segments of the book industry.
- v) To improve performance in the book sector by identifying training needs and facilitating the provision of such training.
- vi) To support and encourage literacy activities especially in rural areas.

#### **6.1.2 Membership of the Book Development Council**

The private and public sectors play an important role in the book sector. Membership of the book development council shall consist of the public and private sectors.

## Appendix 5. Notes for draft version African book policy African Union

### DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINENTAL BOOK POLICY

#### 1. Introduction

- Background of the coming to be of the policy, embedded in the social development policy for Africa sanctioned in January 2009; African Union (AU) Second Decade of Education
- Khartoum charter 2006, African renaissance, African development agenda, MDGs,
- Education and access to information being human rights embedded in the AU charter of people's rights
- Other AU/RECs legislative frameworks and documents
- Highlight the need for all inclusiveness including groups with special needs, e.g. visually impaired, hard of hearing, speech and language impairment; gender sensitivity
- Historical development of writing, publishing and reading in African countries
- Summary of current challenges to book sector development e.g. production, distribution and use (e.g. African languages)
- Summary of recommendations on book sector development
- Importance of ICT in book production, distribution and use (e.g. audio visual book technologies, e-books, e-publishing).

#### The Book Policy Development Process

- **Rationale for a Book Policy**
  - *Part of the implementation of AU policies, such as 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of education action plan;*
  - *Enhances the enjoyment of the human rights on education and information*
  - *Provides the necessary regulatory and governance framework for accessibility to books by the citizenry*
  - *Underscores the importance of books as an information and educational resource, and key contributors to the spiritual, socio-cultural and economic development*
  - *Clarifies roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders*
- **Linkages with other Relevant Policies**
  - *Cultural policy- in reference to the development and promotion cultural industries*
  - *Education Development Plan- Based on the mission as it describes the delivery of education at all levels (taking into account access, equity, quality and efficiency issues outlined in the curriculum)*
  - *Communication policy- with regard to information content, packaging, dissemination and access to information*
  - *Language policy- the stated means of communication and language use, application in curricula, development and preservation of African languages*

## Appendices

- Library policy-based on the mission of knowledge management and provision of access to information for sustaining the reading culture
- Copyright Act-The protection of intellectual property, ownership of traditional African knowledge, enforcement, etc
- Trade Policy –On matters of commerce, taxation and promotion of trade
- AU SECOND DECADE OF EDUCATION FOR AFRICA plan of action

- **Drafting process**

- Origination
- Involved parties
- Procedure
- Recommended Action Plan for Implementation of Book Policy

### **Objectives of the National Book Policy**

As recognised by government:

- To facilitate book authorship, publishing and trade
- To regulate book production, distribution and usability
- To improve access to diversified, quality, relevant and affordable books by majority
- To enhance and sustain literacy
- To promote reading as a means for personal and social growth
- To provide a mechanism for co-ordination, consultation and collaboration among book sector stakeholders
- To develop and promote book production, access, and use of books in African languages
- To facilitate/strengthen the formation of book sector associations
- To enforce a code of conduct and ethics among book sector stakeholders

### **Guiding Principles of the Book Policy**

- **The role of books as:**
  - Means of sharing of knowledge, skills and competences
  - Cultural vessel for preservation and transmission of African knowledge
  - Teaching and learning tools
  - Source of information
  - Personal and social growth and shaping of moral values
  - Recreational
- **The need for book sector development for:**
  - Socio-cultural and political functions
  - Contribution to education and human resource development
  - Contribution to economic growth
- **The role of African languages**
  - Developing, strengthening and diversification
  - Enabling access to reading materials by the majority

## 2. Recommended Policies

Area of Focus	Responsible Organ
<p><b>a) Policies for Writing of Books</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Develop authorship in Africa</li> <li>○ Support, promote and recognise African writers</li> <li>○ Promote writing in African languages</li> <li>○ Promote scholarly and academic authorship</li> <li>○ Support training programmes for African writers</li> <li>○ Creative writing in schools in all languages</li> <li>○ Promote writing in special scripts such as Braille and sign languages</li> <li>○ Support and promote writers to make use of modern technologies for writing</li> </ul>	
<p><b>b) Policies for Book Publishing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Establish consultative process between government and book sector to discuss curriculum reviews and other policy changes</li> <li>○ Establish and strengthen publishers' associations</li> <li>○ Establish training programmes for publishers</li> <li>○ Establish exchange programmes to ensure co-operation among publishers from African countries</li> <li>○ Provide incentives to African indigenous publishers</li> <li>○ Establish book funds to support areas of book scarcity such as African language books, children's books, cultural books, special needs (e.g. Braille and sign language) books, etc.</li> <li>○ Encourage cross-border partnerships among African publishers (co-publishing, licensing, etc)</li> <li>○ Promote the use of different technologies in publishing (e.g. E-publishing)</li> <li>○ Promote research and publishing in African languages</li> <li>○ Publish materials so that they are accessible for people with special needs</li> <li>○ Adopt multi-text book policies at national and regional levels</li> </ul>	
<p><b>c) Policies for Bookselling</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Remove tariff and non-tariff barriers to cross-border book trade</li> <li>○ Support Pan-African book trade forums (book fairs, buyers/sellers meetings, etc)</li> <li>○ Widen the book selling market by harmonising curricula among regional countries</li> <li>○ Review taxation policy on books to facilitate access to books for all.</li> <li>○ Support book selling associations</li> <li>○ Develop book selling networks and strengthen book distribution outlets by formulating policies that equitably empower all players along the book chain</li> <li>○ Support programmes for research, data collection, documentation and distribution in the book sector (Books in</li> </ul>	



<p>Print, readership surveys, etc)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Low costing of materials for people with special needs</li> <li>○ Promote online book trade on African specific platforms</li> </ul>	
<p><b>d) Policies for Book Printing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Review taxation on book printing industry (e.g. printing equipments and inputs for book production)</li> <li>○ Develop training programmes for printing industry</li> <li>○ Promote local printing industry</li> </ul>	
<p><b>e) Policies for Library Development</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Establish book collection policies that enhance African writers, and knowledge.</li> <li>○ Ensure that libraries are near all people and schools.</li> <li>○ Build capacity of library personnel.</li> <li>○ Increase funding for libraries</li> <li>○ Develop library networks for public, national, community and school libraries.</li> <li>○ Ensure that books are available in African languages</li> <li>○ Enhance access to e-library, audio visuals through ICT</li> <li>○ Enhance library access for people with special needs</li> <li>○ Develop strong library associations networks</li> </ul>	
<p><b>f) Policies for Reading Promotion</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Support National Book Development Councils</li> <li>○ Review education systems to allow use of a range of teaching/learning and resources and materials (IT, reference books, etc)</li> <li>○ Launch and support sustainable reading promotion and literacy development projects.</li> <li>○ Use African language in schools to enhance reading levels of learners.</li> <li>○ Develop multilingual education programmes that promote the use of the African languages and other languages needed for development.</li> <li>○ Share good practices about literacy programmes.</li> <li>○ Organise reading campaigns</li> <li>○ Capacity building for teachers to improve teaching literacy</li> <li>○ Integrate library courses in teacher training programmes.</li> <li>○ Establish networks for promoting, lobbying and advocacy on reading promoting.</li> <li>○ Promote reading culture amongst people with special needs</li> <li>○ Promote the use of ICT in reading</li> </ul>	
<p><b>g) Policy on copyright and the protection of indigenous/communal knowledge</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Establish ways to acknowledge ownership of indigenous knowledge and information (e.g. oral literature, intangible heritage).</li> <li>● Review/revise copyright policies to provide for Collective Management Organisations (CMO), community knowledge</li> </ul>	

**3. Implementation of Book Policy**

- *Responsible government organ*
- *Procedure*
- *Time frame*
- 

**4. Monitoring and evaluation**

## **Appendix 6. Draft Pan-African Charter of the Book African Union**

### **Draft Pan African Charter of the Book**

The First AU Pan-African Conference on Curriculum, Literacy and Book Sector Development: Rebuilding Education in Africa was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania from 23 - 27 March 2009. During the course of the conference, participants studied and debated papers presented by representatives of AU member states as well as experts and stakeholders in curriculum, literacy and book sector development. At the conclusion of the conference it was agreed to recommend the consideration and adoption of the following draft Pan-African Charter of the Book.

### **Pan-African Charter of the Book.**

In recognition of the value of education in all aspects of human development and the need for rebuilding educational systems, the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the African Union in Khartoum in January 2006, declared 2006 - 2015 the Second Decade of Education for Africa.

For Africa to realise its fullest potential, as expressed in the vision of the African Union, of a peaceful, integrated, prosperous Africa; an Africa driven by its own people to take its rightful position in the global arena, rebuilding of education in Africa is a cardinal imperative. Since we are what we are educated to be, education is the surest and most enduring means of ensuring attainment of a people-centred vision.

The book, is universally recognised to be the most important and effective educational resource after the teacher. However, it is yet to be integrated in the lives of the overwhelming majority of Africans. Where the book is available in Africa, it is usually a textbook written to meet the demands of a school curriculum. Rarely is it a book of general interest, fiction or poetry to be read for pleasure; or a book with practical new ideas and new knowledge to be applied for self improvement and for profit.

The low level of a reading culture, which is perpetuated by a dire shortage of reading matter in languages that the majority understand, jeopardises students' educational progress in schools at all levels. It also undermines people's potential for economic and social development and limits their individual and collective cultural expression. It is especially regrettable that children do not have access to books at the earliest periods in their lives because curiosity, inquisitiveness and cognitive skills are developed during that period and firmly planted for the rest of their lives.

Although Africa is among the first continents to produce books, from uncontested centres of great learning, it is now the continent with the least prevalence of books. To the early African centres of great learning came scholars from other continents and from those centres knowledge spread far and wide. The circumstances that destroyed those centres and nearly wiped off the map all the evidence of their great scholarly achievements are documented in history books, in particular UNESCO's General History of Africa, a work which was realised during the tenure of office of the first

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African UNESCO Director - General. The vicissitudes of time and the painful disruptions of Africa's independent history, during different periods of slavery and colonial conquests, suppressed African intellectual traditions to the extent that Africans themselves doubted their history or even denied it.

The vision of the African Union opens up opportunities to reclaim Africa's intellectual past and to forge new traditions of excellence by embedding the book in all our plans, in all our activities and in all our institutions. This vision challenges African writers, artists, publishers, and other actors in the book production and distribution chain to take advantage of the present disadvantaged position of the book, to give of their very best so that within this and the next generation Africa moves from a book poor continent to book rich one. But for them to produce good and affordable books in adequate numbers and varieties, African states must give them their full political, fiscal and financial backing.

Given the state of development of the book industries in African countries, it is the foundation of textbook publishing that will also lead to provision of books for leisure reading. Unless those textbooks are based on relevant, motivating and genuinely Africa-centred curricula, they will not produce African scholars and intellectuals who in turn will catalyse further development. Curriculum content should be relevant to the needs of African societies and should inculcate African values. Reform of African curricula has moved little from those inherited from the colonial period and there is therefore need for acceleration of the reform process.

African languages must be developed to become languages of science, culture and intellectual pursuits generally. This does not mean limiting Africans to using their mother tongues exclusively, or even their national and official languages. African people who already generally speak more than one language will need to learn other African and foreign languages. This will become evident as the geo-political shifts in the world economy reorient commercial and trade patterns and the demand for new languages in international communication evolves. Kiswahili language should be given priority and taught widely; it should also be used as a medium of instruction for use in all educational systems.

Writing and publishing can thrive only where there is a strong culture of reading and love of books. But both the reading culture and love of books can grow only if, like flowers, they are watered and tendered carefully. The way to do that is to provide spaces; to fill those spaces with different kinds of books; to read to children in the home and at school; to create libraries everywhere and to make libraries spaces of discovery of learning; of meeting mythical creatures; funny, entertaining or frightening characters from near and far, on earth and in space; ogres and unsolvable mysteries; all in books. Libraries should not be located only in the cities or in schools of privileged classes. Libraries should be everywhere in schools, in homes and community social halls, in village squares and in church and mosques compounds, so that young readers discover the joys of creative imagination, so that they in turn become writers, inventors and creators of literary wealth and traditions.

Those who write and publish books must be enabled to benefit from the fruits of their labour in order that they can continue to write and publish books. The smooth working of the book chain depends on each link honouring its obligations to the suppliers and the end users. The internationally recognised way to protect and nurture

## Appendices

authors is to respect copyright of their works and to remunerate them according to agreements entered into. Copyright is, therefore, an essential mechanism for protection of authors and development of the publishing industry. The African Union calls upon the international publishing community to make their copyrighted educational books and materials available to African publishers at reasonable and concessionary terms. Such co-operation in the long run will be advantageous to those foreign publishers because once the book industry develops fully in Africa the more opportunities there shall be for international book trade.

Information and communication technologies well as advances in the printing industry offer immense opportunities for expanding education in all fields and making it available to great numbers of people and institutions in Africa. African states should harness these technologies as soon as possible in order to reduce the digital and content divide between them and the developed countries.

The process of book production, warehousing, marketing and distribution is long and costly. The more books produced, the cheaper each book becomes. But more books can be produced only if an expanding market brings down book prices. Affordable prices are achievable only if families' incomes cover basic requirements and leave a surplus to be used for extras including buying books. African nations will become book societies if their economies grow steadily to meet all the challenges they currently face in meeting their peoples basic needs of food, water, shelter, health, and energy.

There are many aspects of the book that cannot be covered in this Charter. Book industries in the different states are at different levels of development. Each country has therefore the responsibility of setting up policies that are in line with the aspirations of the state and society. Book policies should therefore be comprehensive enough to cover all issues from the supply and demand side. This Pan African charter of the book is a framework to guide the architecture of national book policies.

Dar Es Salaam,

27<sup>th</sup> March 2009.

**Appendix 7. Questionnaire fiction production for Ugandan publishers**

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### QUESTIONNAIRE RESEARCH INTO THE POSITION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN UGANDAN FICTION

Spring 2009

Bob Lapajian, Makerere University, Kampala

Name publishing house:

#### About the production of fiction

1. Total number of published fiction books in:

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

2. Number of published fiction titles in<sup>3</sup>:

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

3. Distribution of languages

- 3.1 Percentage of total number of published fiction books in English in:

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

- 3.2 Percentage of total number of published fiction books in Luganda (if English is the only language in which fiction is published by your publishing house, please move on to question 4)

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

- 3.3 Percentage of total number of published fiction books in other languages: (if English and Luganda are the only languages in which fiction is published by your publishing house, please move on to question 4)

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

- 3.4 If your publishing house is concerned with publishing in languages other than English and Luganda (and so you filled in the table above), please specify the distribution of languages per year (in percentages of total number of published fiction books), starting again from 1985.

<sup>3</sup> So if your publishing house published for example 14 fiction titles in 1990 with from each of them 20,000 copies, you fill in 280,000 (=14 x 20,000) at the space of the year 1990 in question 1 and fill in '14' at the space for 1990 in question 2.

## **Translation, Language and Fiction Publishing in Africa: The Case of Uganda**

1985:

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### 4. Role of translation

Percentage of total number of published fiction books consisting of translated fiction books in:

1985:	1991:	1997:	2003:
1986:	1992:	1998:	2004:
1987:	1993:	1999:	2005:
1988:	1994:	2000:	2006:
1989:	1995:	2001:	2007:
1990:	1996:	2002:	2008:

### About the distribution of fiction

1. A specification of the distribution channels of the published fiction books (in percentages of total number of published fiction books) in:

EXAMPLE:

1985: Bookshops Uganda: 60%, libraries 15%, educational institutions 12%, foreign publishing house 1 (please give name) 5%, foreign publishing house 2 (please give name) 4%, government 4%

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2003:

2004:

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2006:

2007:

2008:

### 2. Distribution of languages

Please specify the distribution of languages per distribution channel for each of the following years:

#### EXAMPLE

1985:

Bookshops Uganda: English 90%, Luganda 8%, Runyoro-Rutooro 1%, Acholi 1%

Reading project NGO: Luganda 80%, Runyoro-Rutooro 8%, Acholi 7%, Ateso 5%

Foreign publishing house 1: English 100%

Foreign publishing house 2: English 100%

Government: English 80%, Luganda 20%

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## Appendices

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### 3. Role of translation

3.1 If your publishing house was involved in any publishing of translated fiction, could you specify what its share is in the total number of published fiction books, specified per distribution channel for each of above-mentioned years:

#### EXAMPLE

1985:

Bookshops Uganda: original works 90%, translations 10%

Reading project NGO: original works 95%, translations 5%

Foreign publishing house 1: original works 50%, translations 50%

Foreign publishing house 2: original works 30%, translations 70%

Government: original works 100%

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3.2 If your publishing house was involved in any publishing of translated fiction, could you state per distribution channel out of which languages the fiction books were translated and into which language? Please specify (in percentages of the total number of translated fiction works) for each of the above-mentioned years.

EXAMPLE:

1985:

Bookshops Uganda:

From English to Luganda: 92%

From Luganda to English: 7%

From French to Luganda: 1%

Reading project NGO:

From English to Luganda: 100%

Foreign publishing house 1:

From Luganda to English: 100%

Foreign publishing house 2:

From Luganda to English: 80%

From Runyoro-Rutooro to English: 10%

From Acholi to English: 10%

1985:

1986:

1987:

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**THANK YOU VERY KINDLY FOR YOUR COOPERATION BY FILLING IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!**