The Qualitative Self in Uganda: with the
Western influences

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"The charesteristic feature of the negroes is that their consciousness has not yet reached an awareness of any substantial objectivity – for example, of God or the law – in which the will of man could participate and in which he could become aware of his own being. The African, in his undifferentiated and concentrated unity, has not yet succeeded in making this distinction between himself as an individual and his essential univerality, so that he knows nothing of an absolute being which is other and higher than his own self. "

- Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 1975

"I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and in general all other species of men, to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was any civilized nation of any other complection than white, nor even any individual eminent in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures among them, no arts, no sciences...Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men."

- David Hume

We, the creators of the new black Generation,
Want to express our black personality
Without shame or fear
If this will please the whites, much the better
If not, it does not matter
We know ourselves to be beautiful
And also ugly
The drums cry
The drums laugh
If this will please the whites, much the better
If not, it does not matter
It is for tomorrow that we are building our temples
Solid temples as we will ourselves know how to construct them.
And we will keep ourselves straight
On top of mountain
Free in ourselves.

-Langston Hughes, 23 June 1926

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Self-concept within the psychological field has like many other instances excluded the African people in the research field or treated the Black people as "the other". The present study stress the theoretical problem and, through a different methodology than the hitherto used in the field, address the self in Ugandans as Africans to cover some of the existing gap. With the assumption that the West influence on the African continent affecting the perception of the self, the self of Ugandans are investigated through deductive thematic analysis. The self, perceived to closely connected to the African culture and way of living, is affected by imperialism and the previous colonialism in the history of Uganda. Results in relation to previous research, limitations and further research are discussed.

Participation in a complex society affect and mold peoples beliefs and behaviors, which have directed theories about self-concept and self-esteem. The self as a member of a group and in interaction with out-group members and significant others, influence this belief and behaviors. Self-concept is a multidimensional concept and contains in one model self-esteem, the stability of the self, and self-reliance or self-efficacy. Self-concept, self-esteem and self-image are treated by some authors as synonymous terms, who also argue that separation of these terms is difficult through the existing instruments (Barack & Lamprecht, 2003).

Self-concept is an internal model that includes self-evaluation. Self-esteem consists of feeling good about one-self, being liked and treated favorable by others (Thompson & Keith, 2001). There are assumptions that the perception of the self is molded by cultural frames within a society and arrange specific ways to perceive the self (Cross, Gore & Morris, 2003; Gudykunst, Matsumuto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, Kim & Heyman, 1996).

These theories, concepts and methods have however been created, developed and mainly applied in the Western context, particularly in Europe and the USA. Studies on self-concept and self-image in other continents such as Africa are extremely deficient. To add countries from other continents, like Uganda, to this body of research and also with another approach than the dominantly existing approach, will broaden the understanding of this issue and

positively utilize if these concepts can be culturally suitable for the non-western context.

In many of the racist societies, one culture is held to be more dominant over others and also more valuable (Hare, 1977). Real power is held by one group and the racist attitudes are linked to this power (Fernando, 1984). This is also one of the reasons why minority groups in Western societies are presented in the literature for cultural differences within a society. A review of previous studies show, that the majority of psychological research deals primarily with self-concept and self-esteem among Africans primarily as a minority in various White communities in the West. Foremost also has the Black peoples self-concept been explored due to historical and political reasons, in societies such as the U.S. or South Africa with the assumption that Blacks, as the targets of prejudice and discrimination should be affected negatively. Slavery and apartheid are treated almost as a social experiment, and research has been made to show or investigate the impact of the oppression it had practiced on the black psyche and self-image. The results of these impacts differ greatly and I would argue for the emergence of a theoretical problem (Reinecker & Jørgensen, 2011, p.125) where theories do not cover the Africans self-concept as Africans in Africa and also how enslavement and the impact of the Wests oppression on Africa as a continent, affect Africans self-image and self-concept, equally in Africa today. Africans self-concept in Africa is not treated theoretically and almost exclusively, the notion of self-concept has been theoretically investigated in a positivistic manner. To reverse this, it becomes necessary to give a voice to the largely voiceless Africans in the literature.

The majority of the executed former research on the concepts in the present study uses quantitative methods to measure or compare prevalence rates between different cultural groups. A review of previous research in the field, at PsycInfo, shows that no studies about self-concept or self-esteem has been conducted and published in or about Uganda. A search of published articles in PsycARTICLES, with the keyword "self-concept and self-image" where all items except qualitative studies excluded, 21st of September 2012, return four hits. None of these are relevant to this study, or relate to the concepts in the selected model. A new search with the keyword "Self Concept Africa" and where all methods except the qualitative excluded, yield 22 hits. This also includes studies conducted in Australia, India, Philippines and China. A review of the abstracts of the studies published on the selected keywords do not to have relevance for present study. Search by "Self Concept Uganda" gives 4 qualitative irrelevant results.

Although African American suffer from the chronicle stressor of living in a racist and oppressive society and which is well documented, not one article had been published year 1999 in the major psychological journals, that suggest for a treatment or case study focusing on this issue and the effects of the psychological and somatic health of African Americans have largely been ignored in the psychological field (Elligan & Utsey, 1999). The information collected from researchers of the Black family life have also used white analytical framework with ethnocentric (white) values and with methodological and theoretical problems that reflect researchers *mis*perception of black social reality (Nobles, 1974). This direction point on the African people being excluded from existing literature and theories in the field of psychology. An assumption is that Africa and Africans need help, assistance and various outside influences, and that help should come primarily from the wealthy, "more developed", economically stable Western world which is assumed to affect the individual African's view of himself as an African. Mainly also in relation to the White western societies that the "help" is coming from.

It is always, almost impossible to talk about Africa and Africans, without mentioning politics, power or power structures. The impact of power structures and politics affecting Africa and African people has been so severe, not only in the past history but also as an ongoing problem, which makes it hard for the present report to exclusively and entirely focus on the psychological aspects and discipline without mentioning politics. Hence, as far as possible, the emphasis was to the highlight the psychological impact on the research subject in study.

Self-Concept is not seen as something objectively observable but inherent in all people, therefore, the quantitative approach are not seen to be able to answer survey questions or to be adapted to the survey's purpose. The intention is to use empirical data to transcend the result and reflection greater than mere empirical data. Quantitative studies, such as surveys, tend to be more focused on data and give less room for interpretation outside the data and statistical results. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) writes that research should be less focus on the data and whether it can predict "how reality is" without putting more emphasis on interpretation and reflection. This is not only in relation to the object of study, but also in terms of researcher and his or her own linguistic, political, ideological and meta-theoretical context, which is also part of the purpose of the chosen research approach. I believe that an quantitative study about the self-concept as such would only give a continuity to the pre-existing theories, hence a

development and modification in the existing theories are needed to also understand the mankind and take the whole of man into consideration. Part of the purpose of the chosen research approach is to cover the gap that exists in the existing theoretical psychological school, with the hope to lead to something new.

The Self, Self-concept and Self-esteem

The "self" as a psychological construct dates back to the writings of William James (1890/1983) emphasis on the internal judging "self" and was understood as a ratio between ones' presumed abilities and skills and the actual achievements of the person. Although William James did not take into account the interactive influence of the environmental factors on such skills, abilities and achievements. Harter (1983) provided a developmental model for a cognitive "self-system" which includes self-concept and addresses such "self"-attributes as self-actualization, self-control, self-esteem and so on (Bracken & Lamprecht, 2003). Identity (and adjustment within that identity) is closely related to self-concept and self-esteem. Self-image or self-concept is a persons' picture of himself. Our feeling about our self-image is what is called self-esteem. Self-esteem is the evaluation of the self-image (Fernando, 1984).

Self-Concept, also called self-construction, self-identity or self-perspective is a multidimensional concept that refers to the perception of the "self" in relation to other characteristics such as gender roles, sexuality, racial identity, etc. No properties are insulated and self-concept is a collection of perceptions of the self. Self-concept is an internal model that includes self-evaluation. Properties that can be assessed include and are not limited to personality, skills and abilities and physical characteristics (Bracken & Lamprecht, 2003).

The psychological concept of self-concept refers to the perception individuals have valid themselves (Harter, 1990) and a range of cognitive structures (self-schemas, Mark, Smith & Moreland, 1985). These perceptions may include how the individual value different aspects of the ability to perform different tasks and what they think about themselves in general. This latter aspect of the self is known as self-esteem (self-esteem) and includes an overall assessment of one's own level of positive or negative attributions of itself. Therefore, one can have different types of self-concepts such as self-concepts of physical attributes, skills in school, social skills, etc. Proponents of the multidimensional model argue that self-concept should be assessed by instruments that measure each hypothesis of domain separately. These

advocates have also recently suggested that a global self-concept should be included in the multi-dimensional model and assessment instruments. The global self-concept is not a sum of all the self-concept items, but a separate domain that integrates what you feel for yourself in general. Hence, through this perspective, for example, a child can have high global self-concept but low self-concept in different specific domain, such as athletic skill (Wilgenusch & Merrell, 1999).

A model of self-concept contains three parts, namely self-esteem, stability and self-sufficiency. Self-esteem is the "evaluative" component that is where they make judgments about their self-worth. Stability refers to the organization and continuity of one's self-concept and whether permanent self is. The third part, self-efficacy, self-competence and self-confidence is best explained as confidence in the self. It is specifically connected with the judgments and beliefs about one's own abilities as opposed to self-esteem (Demidenko, Tasca, Kennedy & Bissada, 2010).

It is also unclear whether the self-concept, self-esteem and self-image are synonymous terms. Some authors distinguish between these concepts while others see the difference is minimal. Bracken and Lamprecht (2003) argues that the distinction between these concepts is difficult in everyday life and is indistinguishable when they are judged by existing scales. It is this perspective and the latter presented model that will serve as the basis and treated in this study. The research on self-concept in America is also dominated by focus on self-esteem (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

A substantial theory related to self-concept is Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) which view self-concept as operating in at least two levels, a personal identity and a social identity, where people's self-evaluation is not only influenced by their perception, but also socially (Guimond, Chatard, Martinot, Crisp & Redersdorff, 2006). The study of self-esteem rely on the basic premise that people evaluate themselves through significant others as their frame of reference and on the level of group evaluations, particularly race and class, the dominant group serves as the referent. This ideal center group has been defined as White, male, middle-class in the literature (Hare, 1977).

Cultural Differences in self-concept
Both culture and individuals within a culture differ in their endorsement of individualism and

its conception of people as interdependent of one another and the focus on personal goals, uniqueness and control. The theories of Individualism and collectivism rely on the premise that cultural frames set up characteristic ways of making sense of the self. The different definitions of individualism conceptualize a worldview that centralize the personal and peripheralize the social. Individuals and cultures also differ in their endorsement of collectivism, with its conception of people as members of a group that bind and mutually obligate people to each other. In these societies, social units with common fate, common goals, and common values are centralized; the personal is simply a component of the social. Individualism and collectivism are often treated as bipolar opposite in the literature, hence, they are not. Generalizations about levels of individualism and collectivism across geographic regions or even within countries are likely to be oversimplifications but are highly relevant to self-concept and self-esteem (Cross, Gore & Morris, 2003; Gudykunst et al., 1996; Twenge & Crocker, 2002; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

Race differences in self-esteem have been studied in hundreds of studies over the past 50 years and this, mainly because of historical and political reasons. In the context of race differences in self-esteem, the aspects of race have generated four different theoretical perspectives, namely *internalization of stigma*, *stigma as self-protection*, *racial identity*, and *cultural differences in self-concept*. Even though the research that support these four theories have been conducted mainly on racial minority groups in different Western and Asian societies, the theories seem to be relevant in the perception of the self in Africans as "the other" (Kenzo, 2002, Masolo, 1994).

Internalization of stigma emerged through theories that suggested that the self-esteem develops through other peoples view of the self, which led social scientists to hypotize that history of enslavement and exploitation of African people, legalized segregation and so on resulted to damage to the Blacks psyche and as the target of prejudice and discrimination, the Black Americans should suffer from low self-esteem (Twenge & Crocker, 2002; Hare, 1977). Although a quantitative review by Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2002) contradicted the validity of the internalization of stigma perspective when the authors' concluded that Blacks have significantly higher self-esteem than Whites and suggests that many Blacks have psychological resources that enable them to deflect the negative views of them in the society. *Stigmas as self-protection suggest* that membership in a stigmatized or disadvantaged minority group may protect or buffer self-esteem. This, trough minorities to selectively

compare the outcomes with those of similar disadvantaged others, attribute personal failures or rejections to prejudice, or devalue the domains in which their group fares poorly and selectively valuing the domains in which their group does well (see Twenge & Crocker, 2002 for references). *Social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; see Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000, for a discussion), suggest that when group identity is prominent and the in-group is devalued with other groups, people strive to achieve a positive in-groupp identity by emphasizing and redefining negative stereotypical qualities as positive and favoring in-group over out-group members. When racial identity is central (i.e. Important to the self-concept) and positive (i.e. Favorably evaluated), racial self-esteem and personal self-esteem will be high (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). People with devalued racial identities experience transformed consciousness, which entails moving from awareness and acceptance of their devaluation to resistance and redefinition of the meaning and value of their racial identity (Adams, 2001, Ref in Twenge & Crocker, 2002).

The literature on *cultural differences in self-concept* suggests that the self is associated with somewhat different views. In a individualistic cultural context the person is more likely to perceive to have a self that is stable and transcends relationships and situations. The independent self has also a tendency to maintain and enhance self-esteem, especially through efforts to stand out or be superior to others. On the other hand, individuals in a collectivistic cultural context is more likely to be viewed as having a self that is flexible and context-dependent and the tendency to stand out and be superior is weak and sometimes absent in these cultures with characteristics of interdependent-self-construal where harmony in social relations is a core important goal (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998, Ref in Twenge & Crocker, 2002; Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier,2002). In interdependent societies there is also a common practice of self-criticism to the service of self-improvement to promote harmony in relationships and also have a norm of modesty in self-presentations, which contributes to low scores on measures of self-esteem (Tafarodi & Swann, 1996, Ref in Twenge & Crocker, 2002).

Twenge and Croker (2000) found in a meta-Analysis that Blacks scored highest in self-esteem despite being the most devaluated and negatively stereotyped among the minority groups studied and also scored higher than Whites. The authors also discuss that the timing of the increase in self-esteem of blacks relative to whites occurred significantly after the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, suggesting a delay between the social and cultural changes, and

changes in self-esteem among stigmatized groups. Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s, but the increase in self-esteem among blacks was significantly higher than whites in the 1980s. Societal changes seem greater impact on children's self-esteem that still formed compared to adults where personality traits tend to be stable after adolescence. This is shown by the meta-analysis has the black 60 year olds lower self-esteem than the white 60-year-olds in the survey where it is believed that their self-esteem was formed even before the Civil Rights Movement.

A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies of Mean-Level Change in self-esteem from childhood to adulthood, detailed by Huang (2010) show that self-esteem does not change after 30 years of age. Self-esteem is changing more frequently in the first decade of Young Adulthood than all other stages of life and mature in the first decade of adulthood. The study also shows that the effect size of the change is greatly affected by what instrument one uses to measure self-esteem. Since the change in self-esteem is dependent on the use of instruments, a comparison of the measurements of changes in self-esteem in adolescence is often problematic. Change and stability also has differing definitions and the authors suggest that future research should focus on examining change in self-esteem at the individual level as well as the unique life events that affect self-esteem over time.

Fernando (1984) writes that early research in USA and Britain suggested that black children had a negative evaluation of their own self-image and an insecure sense of identity where the black children had a black cultural identity but incorporated the negative feelings towards that identity which is common in the society. Hence, it is not the culture as a theoretical concept that is devalued in the society, but it is the person himself or herself that is devalued, including his/her skin-color, mannerisms and often the way of life. The doll experiment conducted by Kenneth & Mamie Clark (1950) might be one of the most famous experiments on internalized racism. The conducted study contrasted African-American children from north (more integrated) and south (more segregated). The experiment involved a child being presented with two identical dolls, except for hair and skin-color. The explanation and the choice of doll showed a clear preference for the white doll among the children in the study. The brown doll is also described with negatively recited words as "ugly", "dirty" and also the N-word (in the Southern sample) as opposed to the white doll that is described with word like "pretty" and "good". The authors suggest that this correspond to a basic conflict between the child's racial self-image and the negative social evaluation of the child's skin color and also shows the internalized racism and feelings of inadequacy and inferiority that seems to become

integrated into the structure of the personality. These theories highlight the importance of culture and racism within different contexts affecting the perception of the self.

Racism, Colorism and Colonial mentality

I use the term"racism" to refer to the world system of prejudice and discrimination and institutional power that privileges the whites and oppresses people of different color. Racism in the literature refer to a group behavior or social structures including educational systems, medical or social services etc. Ann and Dummet (1982) describe racism as an attitude or behavior that arises from a belief (i.e. Racist belief) that people can be differentiated mainly or entirely on the basis of their ancestral lineage (referred to as races) often identified by some physical attributes (e.g. Skin color or size of the nose) but sometimes by behavioral characteristics (mannerisms). Thereby, groups of people so categorized are to be treated as different in terms of their rights, capabilities and basic needs and with one or more groups inferior as others (Fernando, 1984). Race is viewed by a racist as biological and inherent identity instead of as a social construction and racist attitudes do not only operate at individual level but has also been incorporated into social structures, laws and educational systems in an asymmetrical power relationship. It is sometimes found explicit as in the apartheid South Africa or covert and subtle as in many European countries nowadays.

The term "colorism" refers to a system that privileges the lighter skin over the darker skinned people within a community of color. The processes of colorism and racism are totally interconnected. The racial hierarchy system prefer light skin, which is associated with Europeans and is assigned a higher status than darker skin, which is associated with Africans or indigenous people and assigned a lower status (Hunter, 2002). These colonial value systems are forced on the colonized and often internalized by the oppressed (Fanon, 1967, Wade, 2005) where the value of the dominant group is transmitted.

The creation of skin-color hierarchies of African Americans dates back to the American system of enslavement and its aftermath where slavers used skin color as a bias to divide enslaved Africans for work chores and created distrust and animosity among them, minimizing the chances for revolt. Mulattoes led a more privileged existence compared with their black counterparts assigned hard-labor tasks, and generally assigned the coveted positions such as house servant, artisan, crafts man and skilled laborer. The fair-skinned

captive Africans also commanded a higher price on the auction block. The lighter Blacks served as a buffer class between the whites and Blacks (Coard, Breland & Raskin, 2001; Hunter, 2002; Thompson & Keith, 2001; Wade & Bielitz, 2005).

Beauty is highly radicalized and fair skin is an asset for African American women and girls since it is closer to the skin-tone of the white women, who are typically viewed as the standards of beauty (Hunter, 2002; Thompson and Keith, 2001; Wade & Bielitz, 2005). Skin color bias has practical as well as a clinical significance. Thompson and Keith (2001) studied gender differences in skin-tones among Black Americans and the effects on it on two different domains of the self, namely, self-esteem and self-efficacy. The authors' found that skin color is a predictor of perceived self-efficacy for Black men but not Black women and an important predictor for self-esteem of Black women but not Black men. The relationship between skin color and self-esteem was also found to be moderated by socioeconomic status where darker skinned African American women with lowest levels of income displayed lower levels of self-esteem and self-esteem increased as the skin color lightened. The applicability of these concepts in the Ugandan context is unclear because of lack of studies.

Bastien, Kremer, Kuokkanen and Vickers (2003) describe the process of and dimensions of colonization. The authors write that economically, it is the destruction of Indigenous self-sustaining economies and the imposition of market or socialist economies. Politically, it is the destruction of traditional forms of governance. Legally, the indigenous oral law and historical rights are invalidated. Socially, the destruction of rite of passage. Physically, exposure to contagious diseases. Intellectually, invalidation of the Indigenous paradigms and the dominance of an alien language. Spiritually, the destruction of ceremonial knowledge and that psychologically, the survivals of genocide show symptom of post-traumatic stress. The authors write: "Colonialism engenders dependency through legislation, destroys the traditional economic base, and enforces an alien educational system. It denies people the capacity to make intelligent decisions based on cultural knowledge" (p. 29).

The African American men's status in U.S. society finds its origins in the institution of chattel slavery. Upon their arrival to American shores, African men and women were subjected to a mass effort organized and directed toward their dehumanization and relegation to the status of a perpetual servant and beast of burden (Morgan, 1985, Ref in Elligan & Utsey, 1999). The eventual effect on the personality of the male slave was a complete transformation from the

proud and cultured African who arrived on American shores at the outset of the Transatlantic exploitation of African people to the "American Negro," whose recovery from this experience continues to be challenged today. Masolo (1994) writes that negritude as a legitimate origin of philosphical discussion in Africa has its origins and roots in African American writings on race in the United States in the 1920's. The aim of this literature was to correct and rehabilitate the image of the black man wherever he was and was an expression of black personality. This went side-by-side with what is largely known as the civil rights movement to reestablish the truth about the black man.

Scientific racism established Europeans as the most superior 'race', and dark skinned people from Sub-Saharan Africa the most inferior. Dehumanizing dark-skinned people in the scientific racism legalized the ferocious act by Europeans (Kellecioglu, 2010; Steyn, 2010). The poverty and wealth of nations are significantly and orderly correlated with the representative morphological trait of their citizens and the systematic direction is that the lighter a country, the higher the probability of that country having a higher economic level. This correlation stems from color-coded colonial practices in the societal hierarchies of the colonizer (Kellecioglu, 2010).

While formal colonial relations may no longer be practiced anywhere in Africa, subjectivities continue to be shaped through racially inflected discourses operating within unequal social positioning. Steyn (2010) writes: "The colonial unconscious may continue to operate within the social spaces of whiteness, maintaining the fantasies and stereotypes that sustain racialized social relations" (p. 536). Colonial mentality is a conceptual theory around feelings of inferiority within post-European colonial societies. Awareness of the values of the foreign and imperial powers is raised through the period of colonization and the colonial mentality refers to the acceptance, by the colonized, of the doctrines and culture of the colonizer as intrinsically more worthy and superior. The colonized indigenous people would sometimes mimic the foreigners and began associate that power with the foreigners' ways and regarded as the better way and in a higher esteem than previous indigenous ways. The foreigners' race or ethnicity itself may be equated being responsible and regarded as their superiority. This is also closely related to a cultural colonialism, e.g. the control of wealthy nations over other nations' values and perception through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion for economic reasons. The idealization and acceptance of the racial concepts of colonial mentality

can be seen in high rate of consuming skin bleaching products used by indigenous women and men (Shahadah & Asante, 2005).

These theorietical reassessments are highly relevant to the Ugandan context and fundamental for the subject in the study. The assumption that Western influences on Uganda affect the perception of the self as a Ugandan makes the connection of the theories and concepts to this assumption vital and forms the foundation of the study.

Purpose

This report will address the self of Ugandans. The objectives of this study was to, through a deductive thematic analysis, examine the perception of the self in Ugandans qualitatively. The cross-cultural context is an essential aspect of this study. This study, therefore, also aimed to fill or cover this gap that theoretically has been created through the selection of another methodology than the hitherto used by institutional dominance in a different uninvestigated continent. This, to examine the Africans self-concept qualitatively, and to also investigate and describe weather the history of the West's influence in Africa as a continent, in this case Uganda as a country, have an influence on the Black Ugandans self-concept in our time. As a product, this study also answers the question, whether the previously used and Western-developed theories and concepts can be applied to the Ugandan context.

Method

Participants

Purposive criteria were used to select a sample through snowball selection that would assure the presence of the phenomenon under investigation. All participants had to self-identify as Ugandans and been travelling abroad the African continent. This criterion was formed to make sure that the perception of the White population could reflect a personal experience, both inside and outside of Uganda and not just a view based on media or other sources. Seven Ugandans, two women and five men between the age of 27 and 75, participated in the study. Mean age of the sample was 36.6 years. Longitudinal Meta-analysis show that self-esteem does not change after 30 years of age (Huang, 2010). The majority of the interviewees were partly or fully from the Baganda tribe, living in Kampala and educated. One mixed race can

be found in the sample and one of the participants was retired. The majority of the participants were employed and only one in the sample had previous relation with the author.

Uganda gained independence from Britain in 1962. The majority of White people in Uganda is situated in the capital city, Kampala. Tourism and migration to Uganda have been increasing steadily since 2006. Europeans and Americans are the second largest group visiting Uganda, after other Africans who constitute the largest group (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Today the population of Indians and persons of Indian origin is approximately 30,000 and fast increasing. More than 70% of the top taxpayers of the country are businesses owned or managed by Asians, contributing in excess of 65% of the domestic revenue. At a rough guess, more than a million indigenous Ugandans are employed by Asian owned/managed businesses (The Indian Association Uganda, 2013).

Procedure

Data collection was carried out, after the agreement of participation with interviewees, and semi-structured qualitative interviews (see appendix 1) was conducted. The interview guide was formulated by the author connected to the prior research and theories in the field. Because the major interest was in overall judgments of self-worth, not in evaluations of the self in specific domains, the questions were not formed to assess self-evaluations in a single domain such academics or skills. Since the African history and the Western influence is assumed in this study to affect the perception of the self as a Ugandan, the majority of the question in the semi-structured interview guide is connected to this assumption. A pilot interview was conducted to test the questions in advance. Hence, the feed-back from the pilot interview resulted to treat the pilot interview as valid and accounted into the sample.

Participants in the groups were contacted by phone or at social meetings and in the first contact given "self-image" as the main topic of the interview. At the interview session, participants were given basic information about the study and encouraged to share their own personal experiences with the information that there was no right or wrong answers. Because the topic dealt with sensitive subject and the interviewer is seen as white, information was given about the author's heritage (Middle Eastern). No financial compensation was offered but the researcher offered alcoholfree drinks for the participants during the interview. Each interview lasted for 55-70 minutes, was audiotaped and conducted by one person, the author. The interviews were conducted at a quiet room in a hostel or at the homes or offices of the

interviewees. The order of the questions and follow-up questions was led by the interviewee and the dialogue. All questions were open-ended and aimed at eliciting real-life experiences. The interviewer gave sufficient time for all the participants to share their views. All participants were informed about the rights to cancel the interview at any point of time and were provided with contact details in case of need to talk off-the-record after the interview session.

Analysis

The interviews were transcribed, making sure that the identities of participants were removed and qualitatively analyzed. The analysis was processed on the basis of deductive thematic analysis (Langemar, 2005) where different themes were drawn from the transcribed interviews. The body of text that was of relevance to the purpose of the study was marked. Based on this, different themes could be discerned. Any material that could be traced to a particular theme was placed under the relevant theme and the text was read as many times as there were themes. Irrelevant material could thereby be excluded. Finally, summarizing each topic in own words, and each topic is presented as the main headings in the result. Respondents have been quoted under various categories, to represent supportive data for the category. Using the quotations as a basis, the reader can monitor whether or not the categories' content corresponds with what the quotations express.

The validity factor which, according to Kvale (1997) is applied to the interviewer is called handicraft skill. Prior to this study, several interviews but few qualitative studies had been conducted by the author. As a result the author have established a way of allowing respondents to express their experiences as well as ways of eliciting responses through the use of probing and follow-up questions, in order for respondents to expand their answers.

Results

The self with Self-Esteem

The analysis of the transcribed interviews showed that the majority of the participants define the African self, not only through the dark skin, curly hair and other physical features, but it is also strongly connected to knowledge, exposure and practice of the African culture. How one live with others in the society, how one communicates and the moral values are some of the

features of the culture that is mentioned by the majority. Being born in Africa also has a great impact since culture, personality and mentality is found to be hard to inheriting in a foreign society. The nuance of the skin-color of the Ugandan people is experienced by the majority to not have any importance, as long as the person is growing up within the African culture. The interviewee with lighter skin-color state that growing up in both cultures is an asset, providing to choose between the two different cultures, and do not experience to be treated in a bad way in Africa, as outside of Africa.

"Because of the way my mother and father used to behave with eachother/.../you know... they were equal. My father never, never... looked down on my mom or never like, underestimated her, or he never... questioned... anything she did./.../But it's not like, that it's an asset to me. It's not like am gonna get something done just because I have this type of skin clor. Although in Africa, I'm seen as a white person and in Europe am seen as a black person/.../European look at me as a black person. Which is not, bad, because I'm proud of being black. But they talk to me differently, they act differently around me, the same way Africans do in Africa, but for them, it is more on the racism side. As soon as they see that you are black or that you have an African background /.../ they underestimate you."

The identity is seen as developing through relationships. All of the participants, except for one, name at least one family member and also African people as a role-model or inspiration. The family is the most important of these relationships where this identity is guided and developed through, but an extended relationship to the whole neighborhood and the community is important for this development.

"When I was growing up... if... A friend of your parents caught you on the street, doing something bad… they would like... warn you or something. Or even slap you, that is something that doesn't happen in Europe but that is in the African culture. They say that a kid is not only for one person, it's for the whole community."

Concurrently, the ability to be an independent individual is valued by some of the respondents.

"I became myself, when I grew up, I was born and I didn't understand anything. When I grew up, I understood that I have the heart and mind that make me what I am/…/ I am satisfied that when I grew up that I found myself not dependent on anyone. I only depend on myself.

Because I'm capable!"

Compared to the Western population, almost all interviewees stated to have more culture and also practicing and embracing the culture that seem to have been gone in the Westerners. Some of the interviewees discuss the value of respecting and also taking care of the elders.

"The culture, they don't have – I don't think they have any, it's like if they have forgotten it. I don't know if they had, but they have forgotten-whatever they had, they have forgotten it. Because they want to be, they always want to be other people."

Some of the interviewees also experience a difference between the old generation and the young, existing generation. The younger generations, adapting to the Western lifestyle, this mainly through the media but also exposure to people who come from the West, are seen as being disconnected from the original Ugandan culture.

"Well I may not have the core principles of my elders who were in Africa before because am more exposed to the western culture and some of my values may be different. So I may not say I'm very African oriented."

Both of the female interviewees indicate that the way they feel others perceiving them as African is important to the self-image, and both are expressing themselves being Africans through wearing African jewelries, traditional African clothes or decorating the home with "precious" African hand craft, which is a part of showing the African identity but also what Africa has to offer.

"I always buy these African things, I always wear African jewelries, my fellow Africans they don't understand why I should, you know... but for me it's what makes me African, I am proud to be an African. I'm trying to show what Africa has you know..."

The self is not in many cases perceived as constant and rigid. The majority of the participants emphasize the importance of being able to change the self-according to the surrounding and the people around to cope with the situation and relate to other people. The ability to change according to changes in the world and the society is also perceived as essential. One of the interviewees state living like a chameleon after advice from the mother:

"When a chameleon goes to black, it turns black. When it goes to red, it's turning red. /.../I always try to live like that. If I go to a place, before starting to brag about who I am, I try to learn the situation around. And immediately as I know what kind of people I'm dealing with, I deal with them. I live like them. So in other words, I am like a hypocrite-liver. I live like a hypocrite. Because I live with the people the way they are/.../"

"When you are alone, that's when you start-when I'm alone, by myself, is when I know who I am. There are no friends; there are no people around me. It's me and me."

Self-esteem is, for the majority of the respondents, closely connected to feeling loved by people around, family and friends, and also to be appreciated. To be able to behave and communicate according to the traditions and culture is also seen to boost the self-esteem. The respondents perceive themselves as beautiful/Handsome and also don't find difficulties to name several assets they like about themselves. The self-esteem in men appeared to mainly rely on personal achievements and for the females in appearance. Majority of the description about the self that the person likes is either connected to the skin-color, achievements or qualities that serve to harmony in relationships.

"What I'd like, in myself is that I'm not… am not a short tempered person... and I forgive easily and quickly. I don't keep... something in my heart and I express myself./…/ What I like about myself is also, in whatever situation I am, I always try to be happy. I keep a happy attitude"

"I like my skin color. That I am mixed… that white people want to get, little bit darker, sunburned. And the dark people want to get a bit whiter. I have the chance to be that person. And... I like it. I am happy that, my mom chose my dad."

"As an African man I don't know… I'm proud. I have achieved at least something. If I die right now, /…/ I have managed to help people. I pay school fees; I buy books, fuel… and paraffin. At least if I die, someone back there will at least drop a tear."

All the respondents state to be proud of being an Africans and many of them state this several times during the interview. Hence, it is not always a clear view what component of being an

African the interviewees are proud of for some interviewees. Culture and skin-color is central to this pride for few, although several of the respondents have troubles to explain the pride.

"The fact that I'm black! The fact that My ancestors went through so much, to stay alive and get my other ancestors, to my great- great- great- grandfather's, to my father to get me. Because not so many people have survived you know, so many ancestors that didn't survive. Just the fact that I'm black, I'm still alive in Africa, that is what I'm proud of."

"I am proud. Because when I came to know the world, I was black."

"/../and then everybody's smiling, you know everybody... We are not restricted. We don't stay in flats, we don't stay in a plot, you stay for the whole environments/…/ Africa is good. Because, in Africa, we don't hate anybody any race/.../ I was born in a black continent. I am satisfied with myself"

One of the respondents mention self-esteem as a term and state that Ugandans see, through medias convincing way, the Western way of living and appearances as the ideal and failure in not performing to that standard, gradually kills the self-esteem of individuals.

Awareness (Neo-colonialism)
All respondents were aware of the ongoing and changed formation of colonialism and also refer to the development of the Western world and the current economic order of the world is experienced as linked to the past and current exploitation of Africa and African people.

"Because if you look at the African continent… Africa is the richest continent ever. Because Africa, has sustained all these other countries, if you go back into the history. Africa is a place where all the mineral sources come from, it's a place where you have diamond, you get gold, you get oil, and all this stuff/…/ Africa have been exploited so much."

There is awareness in some of the interviewees that the West has set the definitions of the superiority and inferiority, the first and the third world. Some of the interviewees also regard the West superior regarding to advanced technology and manufacturing weapons and supplying African countries. At the same time this view is in some way accepted or adopted.

"There is no way, African history, or African tradition will be treated as equal as any other in life. Africa is always the third world, it's always the last/…/ That's how it's been put/…/ But me, deep down I know, whoever who calls themselves superpowers, is a superpower, because I made him! Because, when it comes to me and steal my mineral resources, steals every little thing I have, take it to himself because of my stupidity, and makes himself powerful guy, and comes back telling me he's better than me. But I know that I am better than him/…/ but yes, I don't feel good about being in a Third World, at all. Nobody wants to be a loser. Africa is the loser. That's what they say."

"When they come, they come with whatever they come with, the rules, the ideas, the plans. Whatever they come with. They come with, the mentality of where they come from, forgetting that in Africa we have the way that we were living before they impose all the European kind of life. You know."

Regarding the culture of the African woman, it is experienced to be almost totally gone already by some of the interviewees. The old generation of women is seen as respectable, powerful, humble, strong and obedient. Obedient, in the sense of inferiority, while at the same time having the rights as woman in the family and respecting the position of the man and his rights as the leader of the family and the decision maker. And few of the interviewees express that the situation in Uganda was better prior to these changes. Many of the interviewees have a clear view on the fact that aid is given to Africa with strings attached, and the West imposing the ideologies from West without modifications to suit the African culture, society and way of living. The introduction of Gender Equality in Uganda is seen by majority of the respondents, as being one of the sources to the change of the image of the African woman and also a reason for differentiation between the old generations from the new.

"I respect the woman of today, but respecting the woman of today, doesn't mean... that I have to, also jeopardize or disrespect my traditions. /.../Back in the days, gender equality was not there, but men still - men also respected their women. /.../ But when it comes in, and is emphasized on to everyone, or enforced to everybody, now, the girls tend to... Lose it. You know, they take advantage of the fact that, you find a woman, who does not respect the traditions anymore, but respects the white man's gender equality.../.../ There were things, that we did as family. Man and woman. So there was so much equality already. But yeah, it doesn't mean that if she's a woman and I am man, that she can put on pants and I put on a

skirt.../.../Our African women, our young women, have been blinded by all of these equal rights, and stuff."

One of the respondents also reflect on the colonizers imposition of the English language:

"The one thing I would blame myself about is the fact that... After colonialism... (pause) British, being the colonial rulers, they came, and imposed English to us. But yeah, I am... (pause) just that.. (pause)... Sometimes I find myself speaking English, which is not supposed to be the case. I'm supposed to speak my language."

One of the respondents remark ICC (The International Criminal Court) as a way of controlling Africa and People with African descent.

"We are tired of it, we are tired of being controlled by Europeans, which is still a colonization, which they are doing, from far. I think if they just could give us a chance, to do it ourselves, we could actually do it better/…/Why can't we be judged in our courts? We have lawyers, we have our judges, so... that's what I call colonization by far."

All interviewees experience more consciousness about their skin-color outside of Africa. Almost all of the interviewees have experienced racism abroad and few mention to be more cautious about places to go to and having an uncomfortable feeling in certain places. Some refer this racism to be caused by ignorance. Only one of the respondents state to be positively discriminated because of his heritage from Africa in the West.

"It is painful but as you sit you say, that is out of ignorance. If you have an accident here, as a European, they will take you to the hospital, in the African continent, and then an African blood of group O, will be given to you. They will not wait for blood from Europe; they give it to you to save your life. Now what is the difference there?"

"You know, it (To be seen and talk to white people) is a pride in Africa. But when we come to Europe, when you talk to us, nobody cares. Some people would even say that "you are talking to monkey". European they say it!/…/ they are abusing us black people. Denmark and Sweden... But Sweden they are good. Even if they are talking about you, they talk behind you. Not when you are hearing. In other country they insult you they are abusing our children. But

that is immaterial because you when you talk- you know most European, they don't know - they are brought up just to talk and give their impressions. That's all. But in Africa, we learn how to talk to convince. We talk to bring someone nearer… an understanding."

A cultural colonialism is also experienced in the majority of the interviewees. Media is perceived to be the main source by majority of the interviewees. Almost all interviewees express the knowledge of Africa being more exposed to the West, than West being exposed to Africa. Almost all of them also related this to the Western people's ignorance on the view they have on Africa and Africans. One interviewee experienced to be treated better in west, because of the view of the "exotic African". Some state the Westerners being surprised that they spoke English even more fluently than the westerners, understanding jokes, their knowledge about Western issues and music the people they met were mentioning, but also managing electrical equipment's better than them.

"…these guys, they started to asking me: "is it true that you are sleeping with Lions?" "Did you buy those clothes at the airport when you arrived here?" as they have this perception of, that we in Africa, we get some leaves and put them around our private parts. And we don't have streets, we don't have buildings, or we… are walking, in the, Savannah or something, and we are hunting and when the night comes, we climbed up in the tree and sleep. That's the perception these guys had."

One of the respondents reflect on the African history as not being applicable in any other society outside of Africa and also reveal the perception that others, outside of Africa do not have any interest of the African history.

"You actually.... Never use.... The African history... Anywhere, but in Africa"

Some of the interviewees' experiences that the Westerners visiting Africa is coming with a colonial mind, not taking into account that Africans have their own traditions, way of living, and many times interpret the behaviors wrongly because of lack of knowledge and understanding of the traditions and the culture. Few interviewees refer to that the westerners do not see Africans as clever and do not try to learn anything when they come to Africa but try to force and teach their way to the Africans without learning something from Africans. The interviewees make a clear distinction between the Western mentality and the African mentality.

The way of living, thinking and the Culture is also seen as being distinct.

"/…/when I think of the western world, I think it hurts, that many of them do not know that Africans are actually very bright people. And many times when they come here they do not take time to see if they can learn a few things… some of them do with time, others do not appreciate the fact that they can learn something. They try to think that they can teach you everything and it hurts me."

Almost all of the interviewees mention human trafficking and sexual slavery as a new way of slavery. Few point to the slave trade to the Arabic countries and only one indicate and put emphasis on the Arabic countries slave trade. Only one of the interviewees had no reference or knowledge about the Arabic slave trade. The European and American slavery is perceived to be more prominent and important. This mainly because of the larger magnitude of it, but also the world's main focus on it. One of the interviewees state after being told about African slavery and the existence of Black people in Iran:

"I am very happy. I'm happy, that's good! My brothers is somewhere in Persia, and you are Iranian; you're bringing them closer to me. Our people are there... That is good/…/For me I am going to Persia, because those Africans are there. I think my grand grandfather is there my ancestors are there. I'm going to Persia and tell them you need to compensate me. You write it down!"

The majority of the respondents state that Uganda is not entirely independent and that work on the state of independence is important. More than half of the interviewees refer to the mindset of people that has to be changed, which is seen to take long period of time. Some of the interviewees refer this change of mindset to be necessary regarding the African politics and also to develop and as need for change. One of the interviewees states that it is a kind of fear for the unknown.

"…we are trapped in this era where, we are too scared to move forward... Okay, we have-it's developed, it's, like getting developed every day... we have infrastructure and all that, but in our minds, it's like we are trapped/…/ I think it's because of the colonization. Because we have always had… a leader. But who was not black!/…/And every time any African president who has been trying to change, there has always been problems after that. So that is the fear,

people are safe, saying that , okay I'm going to go to sleep tonight, maybe I can only make a dollar per day/…/but I am going to sleep good without hearing any gunshots or sound of something like that."

Internalization/Colonial Mentality

In connection to describing Africa, the African culture or societies, words as primitive, third world, undeveloped, uncivilized and backwards is frequently used. This, while the West is described as superior, developed and blessed. Africans are sometimes described by the interviewees with words like: lazy, ignorant, stupid and ungrateful. Almost all say that they want to have a mixed child, or have a white spouse or partner. Some of the interviewees utter it as an opportunity or a privilege.

"Yeah but they are, because Africans are stupid. Whites are superior, that's what I said in the beginning. I Come with a gun, and give it to you-I come with a mirror! To you, and show you, this is a mirror. Give me that space, so I can stay there and do my stuff. "Ooh, I see myself!" That's being superior, you're giving me a mirror, you're showing me a mirror and you take a piece of land from me, your superior, you're smarter than me, so yeah!"

"People are still backward and even the level of education we have in most of our countries does not meet our society's needs."

"Unfortunately the level of civilization is a bit low and it is up to as leaders to continuously and vigorously sensitize our fellow Africans to understand the meaning of being African but also to embrace civilization."

Almost all of the respondents refer to a certain kind of racism in Uganda as tribalism. Few state that racism as a term is overly strong word when applied to the African context.

"There are tribes that do not get along that much like when we were growing up, like people from the north, because of political history, when presidents like Amin and Obote from north were in power... the soldiers mistreated people from around the central and the west. People now assume that anyone from the north is aggressive and bad. In the community some people find it hard to relate with people from the north."

"Racism is a big word. I wouldn't say racism, but I don't know which other word I could use. It's so strong/.../It's like tribalism."

One of the interviewees refer to the difference between European history and the African history and state that there is nothing positive with the African history. The African history is perceived to be connected to war and fights, whereas the Western history is perceived as peaceful. The Black African-Americans is also perceived to have an aggression inherent in their African blood.

"You read about European history, there were some fighting's, but that was in 17th century. They fought, but since 1800-something, there weren't any wars. People have been moving on peacefully, peacefully. Which can never happen in Africa, no one has been moved off from the government post peacefully. Never!"

"…their ancestors went like slaves and things like that, but they still have this African blood in them, running through them. That's why they do these – kills themselves, someone comes and shoots you because of a pair of shoes /…/ That thing of Africa. /…/ I'm not surprised/…/so… like me, wanting peace, I would prefer white community. That's why I said I don't know what you going to think of me saying this. I'm black but I prefer being with white people /…/ They are always peaceful."

Two of the respondents justify the colonization. One interviewee refers to the idea that many good things grew in the country under the colonial period of time. One interviewee also thinks that some countries need to be colonized to be guided or to get a push from the Superior countries that the country is trying to copy. One respondent describes being white as special and a gift from God. The White is blessed with "a gift of life" where everything is there and the individuals can do anything they want. Slavery is justified by few respondents without blaming the Western countries because of the perception of a slave trade from both sides.

"…I would not blame the western countries because it was a trade where the chiefs gave away people. Someone came with a need and someone here was willing to give away people. We are both to blame for that."

"Sometimes I wish, maybe if my grand grand- grand- grand- grand-parents was in slavery.

Because when I was growing up, I was thinking Oh my Goodness, if I was in America... You see these black actors, yeah? Was thinking their grandparents were lucky to go there as slaves. /…/ No I am serious. I'm serious! We have a saying, that says, you can make yourself suffer for the coming generations to enjoy the fruits from your suffering. So being in Europe, oh my God, it's like being blessed."

After a short explanation, by the author, about exploitation of Africa and African people which led to the development in the Western countries, the respondent states:

"You know the good thing about Western Countries… they can come and colonize, but they always leave something behind. You come for my gold, I will be leaved with 70 hospitals built, or 80 schools built. Or I bring missionaries to teach you people. So you always get something back. You get?/…/if you ask me now, to choose between an African president or to be colonized, I would choose to be colonized/…/Because they will build schools, they will build the roads, they will build everything. Everything we have, was built by the British. Most of the things, the University was built by the British… Mulago (Hospital) was built under Idi Amin, but built by the British.../…/ You are lucky who can get a student loan."

More than half of the interviewees remark Bazungu (White people) to be more special. Some perceive them as more brilliant and more powerful. Some of the interviewees acknowledged that being seen with a white person is a pride. Few states that the reason the Whites are sometimes treated better in Uganda comes naturally and is because of the status they have in the county as expatriates or being targeted and equated with higher economy, which one can gain advantage from in some way. Few interviewees reflect on White people to be more favored and attract people as natural as they attract more attention in a white society. Because of people's awareness of Whites living in a better standard in West as a way of helping them to a better standards of way of live compared to the standard people self are living, making sure they are settled comfortably in the country, like in two different worlds with different experiences. Few states the view of Whites to be a mental aspect from the past colonization time, and some mention being mentally controlled.

"It is a mentality issue. Realistically you think of someone who invented a TV, a mobile

phone and water being made into power in the western world and automatically you think this person is brighter, more knowledgeable than I am. It is a mentality that can never be changed."

All respondents, although declaring themselves to not use skin-bleaching products, know someone close, among family, friends or co-workers, who use the products and some of the interviews remark both genders using the products. All of the respondents are aware of the health related issues about using the skin-beaching creams and some of the interviewees relate the use of them to lack of knowledge. More than half of the interviewees associate the use of the products with perception of beauty and few associate light skin with wealth.

"You people are proud of who you are, but we Africans are not. We think that you are more beautiful, more appealing than we are /…/ we as men think that someone with light skin is more beautiful. And a woman, wanting to be attractive and please the man, is trying to make themselves attractive. /…/ and also the perception that our community has, that someone who… Actually light skin is compared and related to someone being wealthy. /…/ So the skin color, in a way or the other, play a major role."

"… like I said I'm proud to be African. African! But I'm not proud to be black. Because every place I go to, with this skin (Clapping on the skin on the arm) I don't get the treatment I should get, if I didn't have this. You know what I mean? Sometimes I wish I was a colored guy, or… a mzungu that was born in Africa. Being an African man, born in Africa, grown from Africa. I'm proud to be African, but not proud to be black. Do you get the difference?"

"And also the reference that the dark color is more or less inclined to what we call the ancestry/…/ we evolved from the chimpanzees-the monkeys to be what we are/…/When you are dark you are almost turning to the other side."

The skin color is central for the perception of beauty and one of the repondents make a distinction between being an African and being Black. All of the repondents express an internalized view of racism. Hence, while in some repondents this is expressed subtle, in others, it is expressed explicit and clear.

Result summary

The analysis of the transcribed interviews show that the self in Ugandans are intimately connected to the knowledge, exposure and practice of the African culture. Relationships are essential for the development and perception of the self. At the same time, being an independent individualist is important for the respondents. Emphasis is posed on the flexibility of the self to fit the situation. All respondents are proud of themselves being an African and self-esteem in men appeared to mainly rely on personal achievements, while for the females appeared to rely on the appearance. The respondents are very well aware of the the past and the current exploitation of Africa and African people. The formation of definitions of superiority and inferiority is percieved to be set by Western countries. At the same time, this superiority is in some way accepted or adopted by the interviewees.

Discussion

Using data from Ugandans, the presented study aimed to examine the perception of the self in Ugandans qualitatively and to describe if and how the Wests' influence in Uganda has affected the Black Ugandans self-concept. Researches on the perception of self-concept in Ugandans are scarce and deficiency of corroboration of these concepts forecloses the development of the theories to other contexts. Hence, the use of the Ugandan sample was by means to facilitate and cover some of the theoretical gap existing in the theory of self-concept in the field of psychology. Utilizing the self-concept, self-image and self-esteem as synonyms in this study and applying it to a new unexplored context, in Uganda, an understanding of the Western-developed theories was obtained and the purpose of the study has been achieved.

The analysis of the transcribed interviews show that the self in Ugandans is not experienced to be inflexible and constant. This is experienced to be necessary in a changing environment and depending on the interaction with different people from different societal hierarchy and the relationship to the person and his/her age. In Western societies, the consistency of the self is highly valued and inconsistencies are generally thought to give rise to psychic tension whereas research has shown that Eastern cultures by contrast are encouraged to a flexibly adjust to changes in the environment and the self is viewed central in terms of their relationships and the consistency is less valued (English & Chen, 2011). These findings seem to also be applicable in the Ugandan context where the flexibility to adjust to the social environment is perceived to be vital. The respondents also experience the self is not only depend on self-

evaluation based on the own individuals' perception but also how the self is perceived socially. To be seen as an African by others seems to be important and this is in accordance with the Self-Categorization Theory (Guimond, Chatard, Martinot, Crisp & Redersdorff, 2006). Although there are some limitations conducted with cross-cultural comparisons in Eastern countries, like Japan (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002), where collectivism is assumed without testing it, the notion of Individualistic and collectivistic societies seem to be applicable in the context of Uganda, although more research is needed to cover the existing gaps in the field. The present study have also preassumed Uganda to be a collectivistic society without testing this preassumption. Hence, there might be similarities with the South African context (Hofstede, 1980).

The expression of self is described in collectivistic clarifications with the importance of relationships, which also is in concordance with Western developed theories regarding the differences between cultural frames to make sense of the perception of the self. Hence, the significance of the self being independent and at the same time dependent on the family and relationships, highlights the individualistic and collectivistic concepts to not be bipolar opposite but that cultures and individuals within a culture differ in endorsement of these concepts (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Twenge & Crocker, 2002; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Collectivistic oriented individuals treat all in-group members equally while distinguishing between in- and out-group members (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). This founding is also uttered in this sample, whereby the results show that all shades of skin color in Uganda is seen as Africans, as long as the person grow up in Africa within the culture and have an African mentality as compared to the white people who differ in their endorcment of culture, way of living and thinking. Colorism as a theory seem to not be fully applicable within the Ugandan context. There is no system in Uganda that previledges the lighter skinned Ugandans. The racial hierarchy system that prefer light skin, which is associated with Europeans and is assigned a higher status than darker skin (Hunter, 2002) is although internalized (Fanon, 1967, Wade, 2005), whereby the Europeans are percieved with higher status in the world and more special, as the results show.

The perception of the self, as an African, in the sample seems to also be closely related to the skin-color. To be black is something to be proud of, which is connected to the history of Africa and Africans. Corresponding to suggestions by Thompson and Keith (2001), self-efficacy and self-esteem is two different domains of the self. Achievements are central for men in this

study. The self is presented in relation to achievements for men, while self-esteem in both females is connected to the appearance and the way of living in the African culture. The culture is very significant for all the respondents. The centrality to be particularly raised in Africa with the view that culture cannot be inherited in a different society than the African society marks the cultural system very central. The self is developed through different relationships to others and the community where the culture is inherited. At the same time, to be an independent individual within the culture is emphasised in the interviewees responses. The interviewees express that exposure to the western culture, media and western mentality disconnects the young generation from the original culture. Additional research on these aspects and factors affecting the Ugandan perception of the self is needed and the existing theories and research do not completely cover these findings. This can though, be related to the internalization of the White supremacy and imperialism.

Internalization of stigma as a psychological concept is related but cannot fully explain the results and findings in this study. The theory of Internalization of stigma is applicable in Western societies where the Black individual is a minority and stigmatized because of systematic discriminations in the White societies (Twenge & Crocker, 2002; Hare, 1977). Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2002) suggest that Blacks have psychological resources that empower them to repel the negative views of them in the society. Hence, the Ugandans in this study live in a Black society and the stigma is not within the Ugandan society itself, but external to it and within the rest of the White world. Neither can Stigmas as self-protection (Twenge & Crocker, 2002) or Social Identity Theory (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000) completely explain the present findings since these theories also rely on treatment of Black people as a minority, which the interviewees of the present study cannot be treated as. Do we simply need a theory who treat Africans as minority compared to the rest of the world? This highlights treating Africa and Africans as "the other" in the previous literature and the complexity of treating the African self-concept without taking the historical and political properties into account. As stated in the beginning of this report, it is usually very hard to talk about Africa and Africans without discussions about history and politics connected to the Western world.

Within the political science, the concept of "Colonial Mentality" might be more appropriate to the findings in the present research. The process of human slavery is ultimately a psychological process by which the mind of the oppressed people is gradually and systematically under control of their captors which leads to a loss of awareness of themselves (AHS, 2013). The

integrity of the African culture is violated and the continuity of it disrupt through the imposition of a foreign awareness. When a colonized country is affected economically, politically, legally, socially, intellectually and spiritually (Bastien, Kremer, Kuokkanen & Vickers, 2003) and also continuing neo-colonized, we cannot expect the mind of the colonized and the oppressed to remain unchanged. We must understand that these circumstances in Uganda and also the mechanism that lead to an loss of awareness is not because of genetic deficiency or happened haphazard, but is because of the advantage of human oppression that created the privilege of the few and the poverty of the many. Scientific racism, imperialism and ongoing neocolonialism legalize this oppression.

Participants in this study are of the opinion that the development of the Western world and the current economic order of the world are linked to the past and current exploitation of Africa and African people, as stated by Rodney (1981). The West is perceived by the interviewees to set the standards. The awareness of cultural colonialism, neocolonialism, impositions of Western developed ideologies, the imposition of foreign languages and Western created institutions as a way to control Africa as a continent and Ugandans as individuals can be found in responses of all the respondents. The fact that the West repeatedly have through media and other sources idealized the White supremacy have affected peoples mind. It seems like, at one level, all of the respondents are aware of these issues, but in another level, this knowledge and to be treated as "the other" is internalized.

Regarding discussions about history, the governments of Uganda and Africa, it's not always clear if the view of African history and idealization of the European and Western history is because of internalization of white supremacy or lack of knowledge about the past and a global knowledge about the history of the world. The interviewees give different views about the education system of Uganda, some stating that sufficient African history is being taught in school, whereby some utter a lack of knowledge and being taught mainly the European history in school. The investigation of the history education curriculum in Ugandan schools was not directed in this study. Some of the respondents also state that Western countries can not be held responsible for the slave trade of African people because of the African chiefs selling the Africans to Europeans. Hence, as Shahadah and Asante (2005) state, there is a new propaganda about the slave trade to make Africans to be held responsible for their enslavement because of the Africans colaboration with Europeans, as there were Jews who colaborated with the Nazis', although Jews are not held reponsible for their holocaust. Studies

indicate that Black-centered education increase Black Americans' self-esteem and racial self-consciousness (See Baldwin, Brown, & Rackley, 1990; Berger & Milem, 2000; Ref. in Twenge & Crocker, 2002). This racial self-consciousness is highly important for people in Uganda additionally, where the Black-centered education can lead to empowerment of the African people in Africa, re-educating the Ugandans and the African centered education might be able to reconstruct the effects of this misinformations. Understanding the effects of the slavery of African people, instead of eradication and belittling of it is essential in the educational systems.

AHS (2013) writes that the fact that approximately 90 % of the indicted and prosecuted at International Criminal Court (ICC) are Africans, highlights the perception of "higher" morals of Western created institutions to "continue to act as parent to these wayward African orphan post-colonial states".

The advantage of a qualitative study is that it shows different qualitative characteristics as regards to the term self-concept, self-image and self-esteem. This methodology is also important since the concepts have not prior been tested in the Ugandan and African context. Participants have described something that is interpreted as colonial mentality and the different nuances in the self-concept are examined in this study. However, this study is small in scope and further investigations should be carried out in order to provide additional perspectives on the term Ugandan self-concept. One of the contributions to the literature is that this study is based on first-hand sources about the perceived self-concept.

Limitation of present study and further research
One limitation of this present study is that it was conducted by a white, non-western female interviewer. It is plausible that the expressions of the African self, had been differently ex-plained and expressed if the interviewer was a Black person. Also given the linguistic oppres-sion, conducting the interviews in the local language (mainly Luganda) could have had an impact on the responds. The role of social desirability was not addressed in this study. Also, the sample used in this study contained mainly educated individuals. It is reasonable that dif-ferent age group from different social classes and different tribes, leaving outside of Kampala had yielded different responds. Hence, the results found in this study can be regarded as rep-resentative because of the sample. What is important to keep in mind is that these resultas

cannot be generalized to Africans in the big African continent. Africa has 3000 distinct ethnic groups and 2000 languages, making Africans the most diverse people o earth (AHS, 2013).

It is also plausible, that the psychological impact of the Westerns influence in Africa, in this case Uganda, can be reversed so that the psychological impact of the oppression can be healed. More research in this field and

What constitutes the self is multidimensional as stated in the previous literature and the present study do not address a complete exploration of these dimensions. Further research on the self-concept in Africa and Uganda as country is necessary to be able to make more appropriate conclusions about the African self and identity. The lack of African literature and theories that cover the perception of the self in Africa, as opposed to minority in White societies, is needed. Even though modification of some psychological notions can be appropriate, there are no existing psychological theories that cover this identity. The majority of studies continue to infer the Black identity and the need of African authors and African conceptualizing of the African identity is hence needed in the psychological field of research. The simplistic idea that Africans have lower self-esteem is not sufficient and the Whites devaluing blackness is not simplistic. The issue of skin-color, perception of the self in connection to the historical past is a complex issue and a multidirectional social theory relevant for Africans is required. As one of the respondents state: "You actually.... Never use.... The African history... Anywhere, but in Africa"

As expressed by an African proverb: "Until Lions tell their tale, the story of the hunt, will always glorify the hunter". We must keep reminding ourselves that the problem is not really the low self-esteem, internalization of racism or whatever, since these concepts are only the symptoms of greater power structure problems in the world. The problem and the source is White supremacy and imperialism which have pronounced and significant effects on the individuals perception of the self.

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Appendix 1.

Interview Guide

Can you please tell me a little bit about you? Your name, age, what you do and how your days look like.

Which countries outside Uganda have you been in and how long was your longest stay?

Can you please try to describe what Africa means to you?

What does it mean to you to be an African woman/man (The own and the opposite gender)??

What defines your identity? Or how do you think that you became you?

In your opinion, what have Africa achieved?

What does Africa do better than the west?// Have Africans anything that people in west don't?

How do you think that the image of Africa & Africans are perceived here in Uganda?
        How do you see the image of Africa and Africans?

Do you think this view is different from how Western people perceive Africa? IF SO. How?

Do you feel that you are done with the colonization?
        Do you think the wounds in African people is healed?
        Do you feel that you need to talk about it?
        Do you think Africans need any kind of reparation?

When you think of the slavery of Africans in the history, which countries do you think of? (To also cover the slave trade to the Arab Countries)

What does mental slavery mean to you?

What do you feel about yourself as an African?
        Your achievements?
        Your looks?
        Your skin?

Would you like your partner to be light skinned? Would you like to have kids with a white person? Why/why not?

When it comes to appearance, what do you consider as beauty? (Both genders) (Face, skin color, hair, body).

When you were younger, did you use to compare skin colors with your friends?

Do you use skin bleaching creams? Why/Why not?

Do you wear your natural hair? Why/Why not?