

# Online Appendix

## *Why Do Different Cultures Form and Persist? Learning from the Case of Makerere University*

Journal of Modern African Studies

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# A Interview questions and list of alumni interviewees

Interviews were semi-structured with an emphasis on free-flowing conversations.

**Background questions** They included name, birth date, contact information, current and former professional occupations, current and former leadership roles on campus (if any), Makerere class (year), hall of residence.

**Knowledge questions** To assess reliability, I asked whether the interviewee remembered key people such as the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Students, or the Student Guild President during their time on campus.

## Assignment questions

- Hall assignment procedure. How were you assigned to your hall of residence? / How were students allocated in general (random or selection)?
- Why was that particular method in place? / Who did the allocation?
- How easy or difficult was it to change halls?

## Origins of culture

- Why were halls started? / When did halls start? / Who named the halls? / Why the specific names?
- Why do halls have different cultures? / Where did hall cultures come from? / Why do some halls have no culture?

## Description of hall culture

- Can you describe the events and social occasions that took place in your hall?
- Can you describe the culture of your hall during the time you were in it?
- Was it different from cultures of other halls? If so, how?
- One word to describe your hall peers.

## Cultural persistence and change

- If you remain connected to MUK, how much would you say the culture of your hall has changed since you were on campus?
- How much would you say the culture of your hall has changed since you were on campus?
- Did the hall of residence change you in any way? If so, how?
- Did the hall mean anything after you left campus? If so, what?

Table A.1: List of alumni interviews

#	Name	Class	Interview	Main occupation	Main role at Makerere	Hall
1	Mayanja Nkangi	1950	23-Aug-16	Lawyer / Minister, Government of Uganda	N/A	Northcote
2	George Kihuguru	1954	12-May-16 26-Jul-16	Dean of Students (1970-1995)	Dean of Students (1970-1995)	Northcote
3	Henry Kyemba	1957	21-May-16	Minister of Health (1970s)	Student leader	Mitchell
4	Yesero Mugenyi	1957	25-Nov-18	Lawyer	N/A	Northcote
5	Patrick Rubahaiyo	1960	21-Nov-18	Professor, Makerere	N/A	Mitchell
6	Matthew N. Rukikaire	1961	26-Nov-18	Minister of Finance	Guild President	Livingstone
7	George Kirya	1962	27-Jun-16	Doctor / Professor, Makerere	Chairman, University Hall	University Hall
8	Wilberforce Frank Nabwiso	1964	25-May-16	Politician / Member of Parliament	Lecturer	University Hall
9	Erisa Dickson Olet	1965	22-Nov-18	Forestry officer	N/A	Nkrumah
10	Naigere Bezeren	1966	22-May-16	Administrator, education sector	N/A	University Hall
11	Onder Ofumbi Trophimus	1967	22-Nov-18	Agriculture sector	Minister of Entertainment, Livingstone Hall	Livingstone
12	Harold Acemah	1967	15-Jul-16	Consultant, Ambassador	Minister of Information, Nkrumah Hall	Nkrumah
13	Ephrain Kamuntu	1968	20-Nov-18	Minister of Tourism	Chairman, Northcote Hall	Northcote
14	Kakembo Abbas	1968	21-Nov-18	Doctor	Secretary General, Livingstone Hall	Livingstone
15	John Baptist Ssemanobe	1968	24-Nov-18	Economist, Bank of Uganda	Student / footballer	Livingstone
16	James Ntozi	1968	5-Jun-16	Vice Chancellor, Makerere	Professor	University Hall
17	Claudius M. Olweny	1969	26-Nov-18	Director, Ministry of Labour	N/A	Mitchell
18	Ruhakana Rugunda	1969	22-Nov-18	Prime Minister of Uganda	President, National Union of Students of Uganda	Nkrumah
19	William Epeju	1969	22-Nov-18	Professor, Kyambogo University	N/A	Nkrumah
20	James Baba	1969	13-Jul-16	Member of Parliament / Ambassador	Member, Student Guild Council	University Hall
21	Jack Sabiti	1970	20-Nov-18	Member of Parliament	N/A	Northcote

Table A.2: List of alumni interviews (continued)

#	Name	Class	Interview	Main occupation	Main role at Makerere	Hall
22	Stephen Dagada	1971	12-Jul-16 23-Nov-18	Engineer / Politician	Minister of Information, Lumumba Hall	Lumumba
23	John Ekudu	1971	29-Jun-16	Dean of Students, Makerere (1995-2011)	Dean of Students (1995-2011)	University Hall
24	Zakary Kwizera	1972	24-May-16	Manager, NYTIL and Picfare	Minister, Nkrumah Hall	Nkrumah
25	Bazanye Nkanji	1975	18-May-16	Administrator, Makerere	Administrator, Makerere	Northcote
26	Barnabas Nawangwe	1976	15-Jun-16	Vice Chancellor, Makerere	Student leader	Lumumba
27	Mugisha Muntu	1978	20-Jan-18	Opposition leader, General	Vice-President, Student Guild Council	Livingstone
28	Wadri Kassiano	1978	11-Jul-16	Member of Parliament	Chairman, Northcote Hall	Northcote
29	Stephen Kateega	1981	21-Nov-18	Deputy Dean of Students, Makerere (2011-)	Deputy Dean of Students (2011-)	Northcote
30	Christopher Lwanga	1983	19-Nov-18	Politician / The Mulungushi Club	N/A	Livingstone
31	Peninah Kabenge	1984	15-Jun-16	President, Sports Federation of Uganda	Minister of Sports, Mary Stuart Hall	Mary Stuart
32	Ofwono Opondo	1986	20-Jul-16	Director, Uganda Media Center	Chairman, Complex Hall	Complex
33	Felix Kulaiye	1986	3-Aug-16	General, Uganda People's Defence Force	Chairman, Livingstone Hall	Livingstone
34	Yovan Moses Lubaale	1988	14-Jul-16	Lecturer, Makerere	Minister, Northcote Hall	Northcote
35	Christine Amito	1995	23-Nov-18	Development Officer, Makerere	Development Officer, Makerere	N/A
36	Jackson Mucunguzi	2006	15-Jul-16	Chief Security Officer, Makerere	Minister, Lumumba Hall	Lumumba
37	Bernard Kayiggya	N/A	6-May-16	Chief custodian, Northcote Hall	Chief custodian, Northcote Hall	N/A
38	Kenneth Barigye	N/A	6-May-16	Chief custodian, University Hall	Chief custodian, University Hall	N/A
39	Robert Kiseambo	N/A	7-May-16	Chief custodian, Faculty of Agriculture	Chief custodian, Faculty of Agriculture	N/A
40	William Baguma	N/A	7-May-16	Chief custodian, Makerere	Chief custodian, Makerere	N/A
41	Henry Matovu	N/A	10-May-16	Senior Administrator, Makerere	Senior Administrator, Makerere	Mitchell
42	John Kanya	N/A	11-May-16	Senior Warden, Nkrumah Hall	Senior Warden, Nkrumah Hall	Lumumba
43	Edward Lukabala	N/A	28-July-16	Chef, hotel manager	Manager, Makerere Guest House	N/A

## B Culture at the halls of residence

### B.1 Passages on cultural influence and socialization

This section provides brief excerpts extracted verbatim from the Makerere University website, which contains a section dedicated to its halls of residence. These passages were written by Makerere staff that are recent alumni, such as Christine Amito (interview 35).

#### Northcote Hall

*This hall started in 1952 [and was] named after [British Governor] Geoffrey Northcote [...] Northcote Hall students were called spirits, the Hall had an anthem, culture of having Generals, a drum (known as stereo) and a tractor (state car). It was the only hall at that time that had and known to have the above-mentioned cultural ideology and symbols. [...] All students were officers believed to be brothers that brought unity among themselves, kept secrecy which made easier mobilization of students. [...] Hall Motto: “We Either Win or They Lose”*

#### Livingstone Hall

*The hall was opened at the beginning of the 1959/60 academic year. [...] Livingstone residents are referred to as “Gentlemen” and have a solidarity with the “Ladies” of Africa Hall called “Afrystone”. This solidarity was formed in 1976 and its activities became more pronounced in the 1980s.*

#### Lumumba Hall

*Lumumba Hall was built in the late 1960s and was opened in 1971. It was named after the late Patrice Lumumba, a freedom fighter and the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo [...] Students call themselves Elephants. The Gongom monument [statue and cultural symbol] has a protection brigade known as Gongom Protection Brigade of 10 members manned by a general. It is affiliated to Mary Stuart hall of female students. And this affiliation brings social, cultural and a solidarity known as Lumbox.*

## B.2 Random assignment should prevent cultural formation

Figure A.1: Randomization leads to lack of culture at Harvard dorms

From Your Quora Digest

### Why did Evan Chen transfer from Harvard to MIT?



E. Chen, Gold medalist TWN2 at IMO 2014

Updated Jun 30, 2015 · Upvoted by Joe Wezorek, MIT Class of 1994, Math with Computer Science (18C) and Katie Sedlar, MIT class of 2017

There were plenty of reasons (and anti-reasons). I should say some anti-reasons first to give due credit -- the Harvard math department is fantastic, and Harvard gives you significantly more freedom than MIT to take whatever you want. These were the main reasons why transferring was a difficult decision, and in fact I'm only ~70% confident I made the right choice.

Ultimately, the main reason I transferred was due to the housing.

At MIT, you basically get to choose where you live. All the dorms, and even floors within dorms, are different: **living on 3rd West versus living on 5th East might as well be going to different colleges**. Even if for some bizarre reason you hate 90% of the students at MIT you can still have a fantastic social experience if you're in a dorm you like.

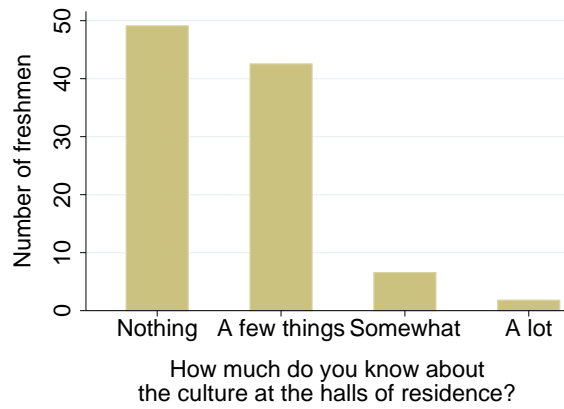
This is not true at Harvard, which shoves you in dorms **more or less at random**. Specifically,

- In freshman year, you are assigned a random dorm, and eat in a segregated dining hall (Annenberg) exclusively with freshmen. All students are placed on a mandatory unlimited meal plan, I guess to discourage them from eating out.
- After freshman year, you get a random House, and eat in a dining hall built into the House. There are restrictions that make it deliberately difficult to eat at other Houses.

The result of this random mixing is that (a) you only know people in your own year, and (b) zero dorm culture. Lounges are deserted, doors are shut, and people are unfindable -- in fact I still don't know the names of the students who lived next door to me. This a bigger deal than people give it credit for: students are busy and campus is large, so **you don't really see someone unless you share a class, live near them, or date them**. For example, I rarely talked to James Tao, even though we'd known each other for three years beforehand and had plenty in common.

Put more harshly ☹️: "Harvard's dominant typical social tone is superficial, inane, and too frequently alcohol-drenched to be interesting. It actively thwarts any attempts to escape this atmosphere, by assigning groups of students to dorms randomly -- thus guaranteeing all students a more-or-less uniformly superficial, inane and alcohol-drenched experience."

Figure A.2: Knowledge of hall cultures among first year students (2014-5) upon arrival on campus



Note: Even in the age of internet, only 7.5% of incoming freshmen report being familiar with hall cultures prior to joining campus.

# C Documents and pictures

Figure A.3: Code of Conduct of Livingstone Hall (2014-2015), pages 5-6

## ARTICLE 6

### NOISE POLLUTION

6.1. Gentlemen are free to enjoy the services of their music systems and their entertainment gadgets without inconveniencing other occupants of the Hall.

6.1.1. Volume of such appliances must therefore be maintained to the benefit of the person within the user's room.

6.2. Five room allocation points shall be deducted from any resident found in constant breach of this clause 6.1.1.

## ARTICLE 7

### THEFT

7.1. Hall property

Theft of Hall property is punishable by the Students' Affairs and Disciplinary Committee of the University.

7.2. Student property

Cases of Gentlemen cited in theft of fellow Hall occupants' property shall be handled by the Disciplinary Committee of Livingstone Hall. Any student found guilty of such shall be forwarded to the University Disciplinary Committee for further hearing of the case or forwarded to the university police department.

## ARTICLE 8

### VANDALISATION OF HALL DOORS AND WALLS

8.1. Gentlemen are not allowed to replace doors without permission from the Hall Warden or Chief Custodian.

8.2. Writing on doors and walls is also prohibited. This also applies to doors in corridors and toilet doors.

## ARTICLE 11

### ROOM ALLOCATION POLICY ON SPORTS AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

During the second semester a special sitting of the administration, Interior Ministry and selected members of the SCR Committee shall allocate rooms for the next academic year basing on the number of points accumulated by each individual applicant who is a resident of the Hall.

Residents cited to have persistently breached any of the clauses in these articles shall have their rooms allocation points deducted accordingly.

Residents with negative room allocation points shall be made nonresidents of the Hall.

#### 11.1. SPORTS

Gentlemen should participate in at least one of the sports and games involving Livingstone Hall Residents.

These games and sports include football, basketball, swimming, table tennis, scrabble, chess, and athletics among others.

Room allocation points shall be awarded to Gentlemen who actively participate in actual play and morale boosting.

Certificates of participation shall also be awarded for the same by the Sports Department of Livingstone Hall with the mandate of the Sport Minister.

Active participant will also stand a chance of being nominated or appointed to ministerial posts in the sports department.

Gentlemen should therefore aim at maximizing participation in the games and sports as the above mentioned awards shall be aligned with the number of times their names appear on the participation and attendance lists.

#### 11.2. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Gentlemen should endeavor to attend and contribute to mobilization and organization of cultural activities such as General Assemblies of Livingstone Hall called by the SCR cabinet and activities of the Afrostone Solidarity which is the Union of Livingstone Hall and Africa Hall such as the Annual Afrostone Cultural Week which takes place every second semester of the academic year.

Certificates and room allocation points shall be awarded as in 11.1 above by the Culture Ministry with priority being given to Gentlemen whose names appear most on the attendance lists.

Each participant in the Gentleman's Platform Debate will be awarded 1 room allocation point.

## ARTICLE 9

### HOSPITALITY AND RESPECT

9.1. Hospitality

Gentlemen must not address visitors using "abusive language" or openly insult visitors especially ladies.

9.1.1. It's a tradition for all Gentlemen to exhibit the highest possible levels of hospitality towards visitors. The same applies to passers-by.

9.1.2. Gentlemen must exhibit the acceptable level of respect towards one another.

9.2. Rape

Gentlemen forwarded to the Disciplinary Committee for cases of Rape shall be forwarded directly to the University Police Department once convicted.

9.3. Fights

Livingstone Hall does not provide room for any student fights and severe altercations.

Cases seen to amount to such must be forwarded to the Disciplinary Committee to avoid intervention by higher authorities, before which the student leaders do not have legal defense measures.

## ARTICLE 10

### WASHROOMS

10.1. Toilets

Gentlemen must not use material that is not toilet paper in toilets. Persons cited in such shall be answerable to the Disciplinary Committee.

10.2. Showers

Gentlemen must maintain cleanliness and order of showers. Vandalism of shower curtains and taps is an offense.

Gentlemen are also not allowed to wash clothes in both corridors and on washroom floors.

10.3. Washroom sinks

Remains of food, snacks and other non-liquid materials must not be placed in sinks in washrooms to avoid blocking the flow of water.

## ARTICLE 12

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE LIVINGSTONE HALL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

Residents cited in breach of the Hall constitution or any of the clauses of the articles herein shall undergo the following proceedings once forwarded to the Disciplinary Committee stipulated in articles 6 to 9 of the Disciplinary Committee scope and guidelines.

#### 6. Proceedings at Disciplinary Committee

The following order of proceedings will occur at the Disciplinary Committee:

6.1. Reading of the nature of matter referred or cited

6.2. Plea of cited party.

6.3. Presentation of case by cited party.

Note: The cited party shall have the opportunity of giving evidence and submissions orally and/or in writing and/or through use of video and may call witnesses in defense.

6.4. Review by Disciplinary Committee which may include the putting of questions to the cited party, witnesses of the cited party or other parties to clarify or obtain additional information to assist in review and reaching a decision on and/or resolution of the matter.

6.5. Deliberation by the Disciplinary Committee.

6.6. Advise of decision / resolution of the matter by the Disciplinary Committee.

#### 7. Decisions / resolutions of the Disciplinary Committee

The Disciplinary Committee will, following review and deliberation, decide and resolve the matter at Hall meetings, as follows:

7.1. Where no breach of the Hall rules, finding of conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Hall community or its members, and / or breach of the Hall constitution has been found and no further action is required.

a) Notify the cited party in writing that the matter has been dismissed.

b) Record and advise the Committee that no breach of Hall rules and / or constitution was found.

7.2. Where breach of the Hall rules, findings of conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Hall community or its member, and / or breach of the Hall constitution is found.

a) The Disciplinary Committee may impose one or more of the following penalties:

Note: Pages of the Livingstone Hall Code of Conduct (2014-2015) that were distributed to its residents. It includes its anthem, the elected Hall Cabinet and the expected values and behaviors of residents.



Figure A.4: A sample of Mary Stuart Hall (Box) culture files



## LUMBOX CULTURAL WEEK ACTIVITIES



**Daily activities:**

		every morning Every evening	6AM-7AM 4PM-12AM
*****			
<b>Monday:</b>	12-4PM	Sports: - football and Volleyball	
	4-5PM	Kwepena, Roundas, Skipping, seven stones (Box parking yard)	
	7-10PM	Mega benching (Elephants come to box)	
	10-12AM	Cultural presentation with fun games e.g. orange dance **An artist presentation winds up the dry**	
<b>Tuesday:</b>	4-6PM	Sport: - Mainly around the swimming pool (swimming, squash)	
	7-9PM	Mega benching (Boxers go to Lumumba with crazy dressing)	
	9-10PM	Making porridge / with pancakes 'eating competition'	
	10-12AM	Karaoke / Miming, dance group.	
<b>Wednesday:</b>	4-6PM	Sports: - Rugby	
	7-12AM	Pool tournament/ Board games/Entertainment from ministers Movies with free popcorn	
<b>Thursday:</b>	4-6PM	Sports:- Athletics, Bicycles riding.	

## THE GREAT LUMBOX EMPIRE CHAMBERS OF THE PRIME MINISTERS

Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2010

Hon.....  
...NAKIREGA...GEORGE...

Dear Madam,

RE: INVITATION FOR THE FIRST JOINT LUMBOX SCR SESSION IN PREPARATION FOR THE LUMBOX CARNIVAL AND REUNION DINNER

Reference, is made above to you, to attend the SCR joint session scheduled to take place on Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> /Aug/2010, from 8pm to 10pm at the box SCR room.

Below is the proposed agenda:

1. Opening prayers ✓
2. Anthems ✓
3. Introductions ✓
4. Communications ✓
5. Open dialogue [Reunion dinner]
6. A.O.B.s
7. Closing prayer.

*To our Signat  
blony*

On the most appealing note, you are reminded to keep and manage your time to avoid inconveniences!

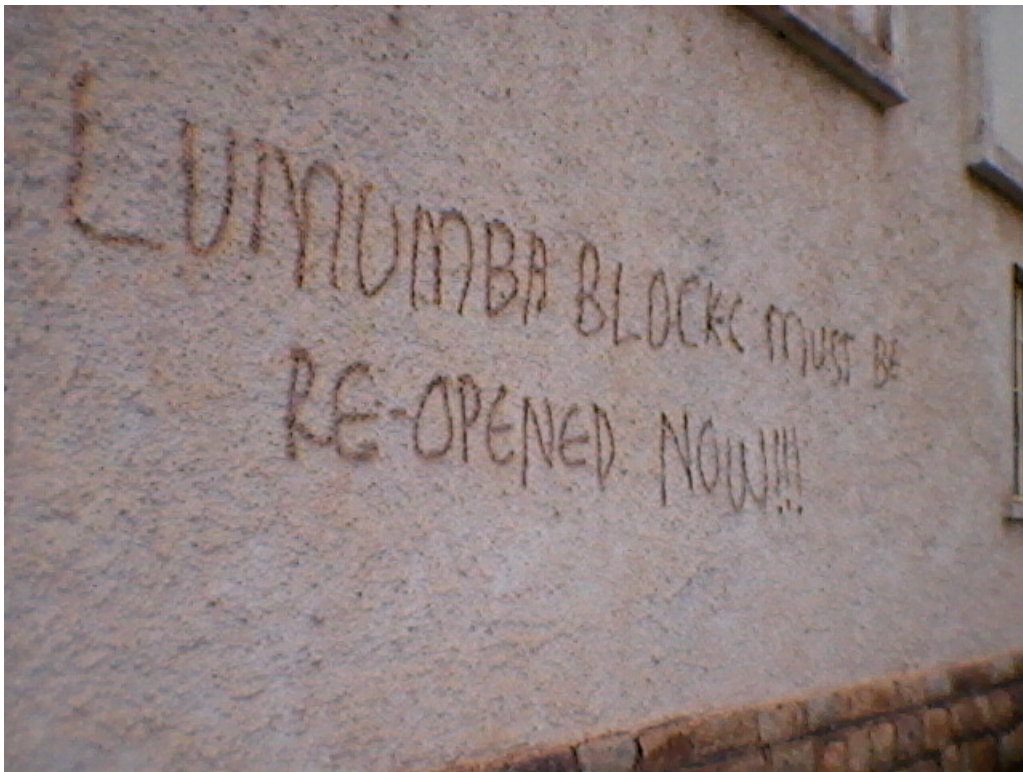
Yours in service

*[Signature]*  
Hon. NANSUBUGA NANCY  
Gen. Secretary/ Prime minister  
Mary Stuart  
0782 101 491

*[Signature]*  
Hon. JULIUS ENGEMU  
Gen. Secretary/ Prime minister  
The Great Lumumba  
0774 655 438/0714 655 438

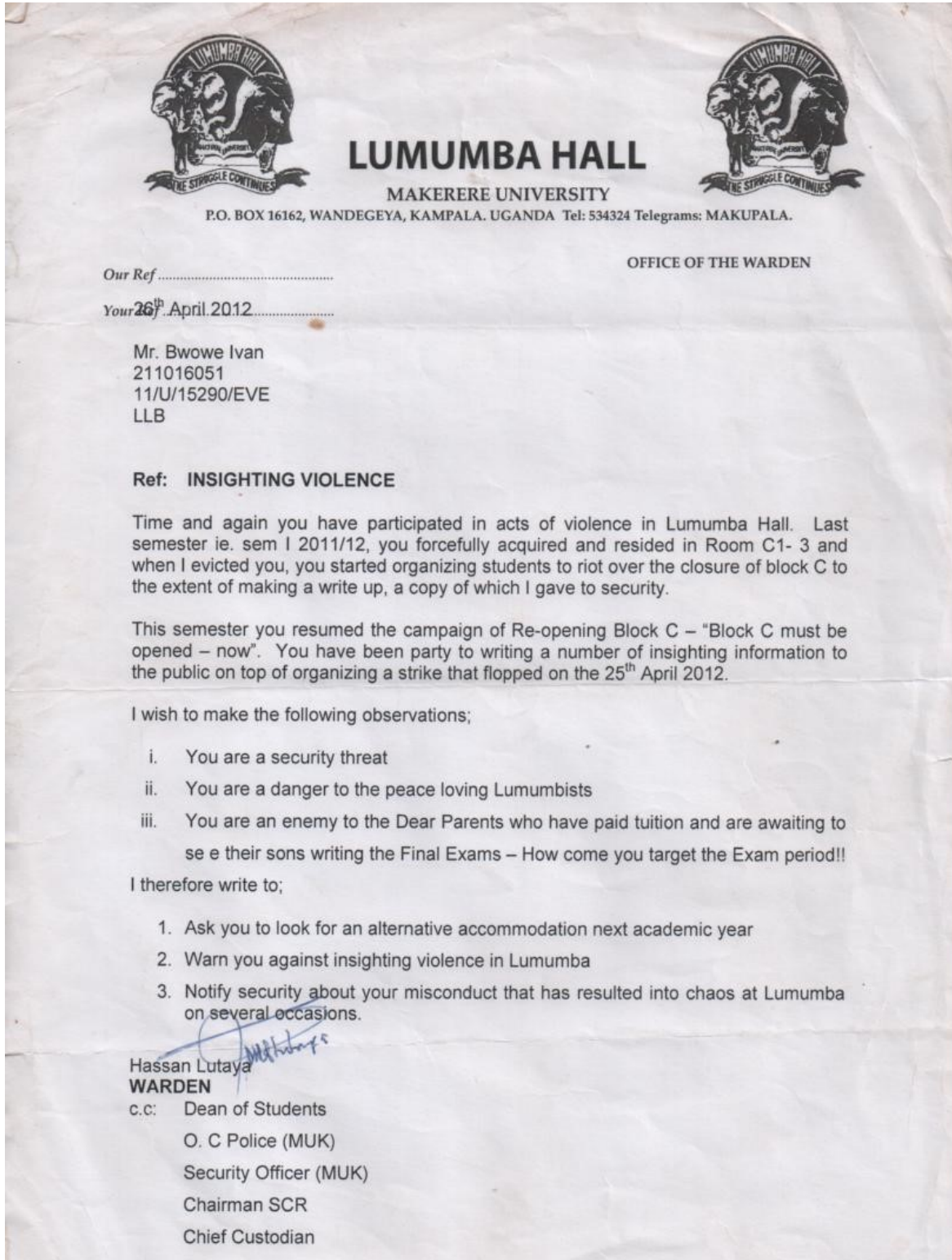
Note: Two pages from the Mary Stuart Hall (Box) cultural files. Reproduced with permission from the 2014-15 Culture Minister of Mary Stuart.

Figure A.5: Lumumba Hall students demand the re-opening of their third housing block (Block C), closed since 2006



Note: Makerere University, Kampala, July 2012.

Figure A.6: “Lumumba Block C must be reopened – now”



Note: Disciplinary action against student activist and to-be Guild President Ivan Bwove by Lumumba Warden Hassan Lutaya. Source: Ivan Bwove’s personal files.

## C.1 Political leaders among Makerere alumni

Figure A.7: Political leaders among Makerere alumni

**Profiles**

Makerere University has over the years churned out graduates who have gone on to become top performers in their various professional fields, arguably one of the reasons for its prestigious reputation across the globe. Below are selected alumni who have best epitomised the Makerere graduates

**POLITICIANS AND STATESMEN**

# GROOMING GREATNESS

» **Julius Nyerere**  
• Joined in (1943)  
The Tanzanian 'Father of the Nation' joined Makerere in 1943, and admitted for a Diploma in Education since East Africa's only institution of higher learning at the time was not awarding its own degrees.

» **Edward Muteesa II**  
• Studied Arts (1943-1945)  
The Kabaka of Buganda and later-to-be first president of Uganda enrolled at Makerere in 1943 studying Arts. He left in 1945 to continue his studies at Cambridge since Makerere did not offer degrees then. His two-year stay at the college is nonetheless one of the most discussed enrolments ever at Makerere, with numerous stories about how the king discarded much of his honour to sit in class with fellow students and take his studies seriously — albeit with privileges like being the only student with a car on campus and having a private house as his on-campus residence.

» **Milton Obote**  
• Joined in (1948)  
The two-time Ugandan President joined Makerere University College in 1948, to study for a Bachelor of Education degree majoring in Geography and English Literature because Law, which he had wanted to study was not being offered. Residing at Mitchell, Obote was expelled for involvement in anti-British activism for independence that was rife among Ugandan elite at the time. Nonetheless, he is said to have honed his gift for oratory at the university, where he addressed several student rallies and also acted in students' drama productions.

» **Mwai Kibaki**  
• Bachelor of Arts (1951)  
The current Kenyan President came to 'The Hill' in 1951. A resident of Mitchell Hall, Kibaki pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in Economics, History and Political Science graduating top of his class in 1955. He served as chairman of the Kenya Students Association and also vice-president of the Makerere Students Guild. In 1958 he returned to Makerere as lecturer after getting a masters from the London School of Economics, but it was only for a brief stay as two years later he returned to Kenya to become the executive Officer of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) political party. On February 24, 2012, Makerere University his alma-mater awarded him an Honorary Doctorate of Laws in recognition of his outstanding contribution to public service at national and international levels.

16 MAK @ 90

Note: Page from a book, Mak @ 90, celebrating the 90th anniversary of Makerere University that highlights a few of the many alumni that embarked on high-level political careers after graduation.

Figure A.8: Prime Minister Ruhakana Rugunda went from leading Makerere to leading Uganda



Note: Ruhakana Rugunda, Prime Minister of Uganda, was the President of the National Union of Students in Uganda (NUSA) during his time at Makerere University (1968-1971).

Figure A.9: Afrostone morning jog



Note: Members of Africa and Livingstone halls (Afrostone) on an early morning jog. The Afrostone jog was slow and calm compared to the Lumbox jog, where I was “encouraged” to participate and show Lumbox pride.

Figure A.10: Picture from Livingstone Hall



Note: The pictures show Livingstone Hall's traditional emphasis on respect (left) and discipline and academic excellency (right).

Figure A.11: Screenshot from a video of a Lumumba and Mary Stuart halls porridge night



Note: The screenshot shows a Lumumba resident on the left and Jackson, the chief of police (Officer in Charge) at Makerere and former resident of Lumumba Hall. I thank Urban TV for sharing their digital files.

Figure A.12: Visual examples of hall characterizations

(a) Livingstone Hall student leaders



(b) Lumumba Hall's Gongom Guard Brigade



(c) Livingstone Hall: "Gentility With Progress"

(d) Lumumba Hall: "The Struggle Continues"



(e) Africa Hall: "Ladies' Home"

(f) Mary Stuart Hall: "Train a Woman a Nation Trained"



Note: Picture (a) is an example of the order and formal disposition of Livingstone Hall student leaders asking for a picture upon completion of the behavioral games. Picture (b) shows Lumumba Hall's Gongom Guard Brigade, in charge of defending the Hall and its students. Pictures (c)-(f) show the billboards outside the four halls. Picture (e) is the entrance to Africa Hall, "Ladies' Home" (the slogan, however, is "Walk in the Light"). Picture (f) is outside Mary Stuart Hall, with its empowering motto: "Train a Woman a Nation Trained."

Figure A.13: Campus map

