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***Mwoch*: A Metaphorically Expressed Identity**

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Abstract

This article concerns Acholi *mwoch* (panegyric), an example of design for all, in the context of Northern Uganda. Discourse analysis is the method that generated fodder for this article; yet I sometime think over indulgence with mainstream research methods will 'get me stuck in a tar baby'. The expression resides in American folklore; I borrowed it because it strikes a note similar to the Acholi folktale in which the hare, wildcat and elephant are characters. The short of the folktale is that the elephant made a latex doll that he used to catch the hare and wildcat who were stealing his crop of cowpeas; the two thieves got stuck in the doll. Whereas the Acholi panegyric strikes a note that may be similar to expressions in other cultures it is a different approach to matters identity.

Introduction

A significant feature of African cultures, not shared very much with others, is the panegyric pronouncement that describes and praises people and/or their livestock. In parts of West Africa 'praise singer' is a well-defined social role whether voluntary or institutionalized, free of charge or for pay (Finnegan, 2023). In Eastern and Southern Africa (Fikeni, 2006), there are many manifestations of the panegyric most of which are self-generated,

that is they are composed and pronounced by the person they are about. In many communities, men praise their favorite or most important bulls and broadcast laudatory description of these special animals whenever they can. We have seen Somalis, Dinka and Nuer men imitating the shape of their favorite animals' horns in dance (Beckwith & Fisher Fisher, 2018). Maasai and other Nilotic peoples sing loudly in praise of their ox; they may also extoll the beauty of the coat pattern they are breeding into their herds or have inherited from their fathers.

These same peoples design themselves by creating personal panegyrics, each person about himself, as a declaration to self and to the public that they are wonderful. Europhone social scientists have observed and noted these panegyrics but have seldom recounted or analyzed them in detail. This may be, at least in part, because the panegyrics are in vernacular languages that are seldom accessible to foreigners, especially researchers. They are never written down, being strictly an oral genre and a design for and by all when compared to design that came to East Africa from Europe. The design that came to us in East Africa came with an Industrial Design attitude; meaning, for sale, making profit, economic development and empowering a few in society.

We can consider the personal panegyric as a statement of how the person designs him/herself and wants society at large to see and understand him/her. Because there is no clear parallel phenomenon in the Europhone world, each community picks a term from the colonial language to designate the personal and/or ox panegyric. In my own community, Acholi of Northern Uganda, we use the English word 'nickname' even though our panegyrics are not

much like the shortened, diminutive or descriptive single words that English speakers use among themselves. Our nicknames are always in our own language thus making their utterance completely opaque to non-speakers. They are also loaded with metaphors and symbolic connections that only other Acholis can make any sense of. So, we are studying a culture of broadcast dissemination but only within a particular language community. This dichotomy between spreading the word widely while at the same time restricting it to a relatively small number of people should be, but is not, an item of intense interest to both designers and social-scientists.

Differences in culture and overlapping categories can explain why it is difficult to translate *mwoch* into nicknames, panegyrics, or ox-name; but panegyrics is closer to *nying pak* (praise name), *nying twon* (ox-name, the name a man gives and uses it to fondly refer to his favorite bull as his symbol) or *boro* (to glorify or praise an individual). Nonetheless, I translate *mwoch* as panegyric, a form of indigenous Acholi identity that is metaphorically expressed; it is a form of verbal communication with insiders who are able to decode and engage with the messages. Acholi *mwoch* is a genre distinct from other oral literature in Acholi culture and similar verbal expressions in other ethnic communities such as Anuak of Ethiopia, Maasai of Kenya, and Nuer of Sudan. *Mwoch* is also a system of stating individual and group identity and a way of lavishing praise on a person, homestead, or clan. It is a way of projecting oneself as great, wise, brave, successful, infallible, and invincible. Since one may inherit a nickname from grandparents, it is a social link between old and young people; it is a way the past thoughts continue into the present and future, and it is social engineering. An

older man/woman can take his/her own *mwoch* and give it to a boy/girl who does not have one. The gift of *mwoch* is intended to humanize the recipient individual because it is unthinkable for a person to live without a nickname. Whichever the origin and whatever the social purpose, nicknames often make statements on individual or group world views. It is in this regard that Acholi nicknames may be seen as expressions of philosophy, knowledge and aesthetics.

Interviews were the main source of raw data that I processed through recording, analysis, and discussions with selected performers, experienced consumers, and academics. You-tube is a major source of secondary data while Okot p'Bitek's *Lak Tar* (White Teeth) and JP Ocitti's *Lacan Makwo pe Kinyero* (never laugh at a living poor; meaning, every dog has its day) are the only currently available texts containing many unexplained Acholi nicknames. Given that I was raised in a *mwoch*-rich culture, critical reflection is the other method that I used to generate data. My senior relatives gave me nicknames but I also developed and use nicknames that serve as my identity and metaphorical expression. I feel good whenever my agemates use my nicknames to refer to me. In other words, I am a participant and observer; participant observation being the fourth method I have used to generate data for this article.

Background

In this region, East Africa, undergraduate design education began at the University of Nairobi, in 1968. The course of studies leading to the Bachelor of Arts in Design probably helped to

popularize Visual Identity Design as a discipline that play significant roles in national development. One of the problems with the course and discipline is that the two have been largely Eurocentric at the expense of African interests, especially decolonization and Africanization. This paper is another attempt to rethink design in Africa and try to steer it away from European style thoughts and practices. The other key goal is to ask and answer whether Acholi *mwoch* is metaphorical statement of Acholi sage philosophy and indigenous knowledge. Answering the question requires recording, analyzing and discussing Acholi *mwoch* before they are lost in Acholi efforts to absorb Western style and so-called 'modern' cultures of the world .

The cultural navel of this inquiry is Akara, a small village in Muchwini, Kitgum District of Northern Uganda. Akara village is where I was born and raised to live a village life though I also attended Wigweng Full Primary School that belonged to the then Native Anglican Church, now Church of Uganda. The school did not entertain the concept and practice of *mwoch*, this happened most likely because our European colonizers considered nicknames to be a way of African savages. But away from the school and as a child growing-up in the village I learned that my clan, Pang'odo, has *mwoch* that serves as our anthem. A section of my clan's *mwoch* is *nok ci myero* (few yet beautiful). In a culture where life is constantly under threat of annihilation, one can see why a big population is desirable and beautiful; but Pang'odo's population is small yet beautiful instead of ugly, why? Could it be because 'less is beautiful' (Kortleven 2013)? Or could it be because 'small is beautiful' (Schumacher 2010 and Ishii, 2001)? To answer these

questions requires another piece to be delivered on another day. Meanwhile I want to note that we Pang'odo clan prefer to give our address as Akara; doing so enables us to enjoy 'more is beautiful' since the Akara clan is big in population. I also want to note that Acholi people prefer to behave discreetly, not loudly, because it is a way of surviving in perpetual danger as may be the case with a population as small as that of Pang'odo clan. After the background to the article, let me now briefly review the few existing publication on *mwoch*.

***Mwoch* from published sources**

As I said earlier, European missionaries, colonial administrators, and anthropologists initiated historical and anthropological writing on Acholiland and its people (Crazzolaro 1938; Malandra 1939; Bell 1906). Recent scholars appear more concerned with human rights instead of the details and nuances of Acholi culture including nicknames (Amnesty International 2020; Tripp 2010. International Crisis Group 2004). The more recent political phenomenon of sequestering internally displaced people (IDP) can be seen as an attempt at exterminating the Acholis (Kirkpatrick 2013; Wegner 2012). *Mwoch* (pronouncement of nicknames) is a prominent feature of nearly all Acholi music and dance; this why YouTube and audio-visual tape music and dance are significant sources of panegyric nicknames for analysis and discussion. For purposes of this article, I take three examples that I found on YouTube. The first one is *mwoch* of City Boy whose other performance name is Brother Q. While performing his song, he makes many pronouncements; one of them is *lakwele pe kwiny* (she who loves doing sex cannot be a provocateur of fights, City Boy

2014). Obviously, provoking fights can discourage sex partners since making love and fighting appear mutually exclusive. Consequently, one who does not like making love can afford to provoke fights.

Meanwhile, Tam's *mwoch is akako kany mupong* (I operate the place that is full of pus) is the second example (Tam Noffy 2014). The expression is a metaphor for uprooting trouble, disturbing individuals or the community. Its origin is guinea worms and other parasites that lodge in the body, cause swellings and abscess. Before the arrival of European-style medical practices, Acholis used traditional surgery in which practitioners remove worms and other foreign bodies lodging in the flesh. Those who experienced the surgery will remember that the process is raw, intrusive and very painful but relieving. Besides, the expression stands for doing exactly right regardless of other people's expectations. It is about being as professional as eliminating all margins for error. That an African act can be exact, without room for error, may raise questions on the generalization that African products are often shoddily finished.

The third example is *dero ne wiye* (her granary is her head, which means a poor woman who lives from hand to mouth, Murugut, 2024). To gain a better view of this nickname requires first explaining the place of the granary and begging for food in Acholi culture. In the everyday sense of the word, a granary is a store for grains and other food crops. Many and big granaries symbolized food security, good feeding as well as strong and mighty men in the home. Homes with big and many granaries were admired and

respected as much as wealthy homes. On the contrary, a home without granaries is a symbol of laziness, poverty and doom. Prospects of living a life of perpetual food shortage and begging for food is the main reason why ladies do anything to avoid marrying in such homes. Murugut's *dero ne wiye* (her granary is her head) speaks on begging for food that is only a container carried on the head, never much enough to fill a granary. After viewing the above three examples of mwoch I found on YouTube, let me view some examples I found in the following two books: - *Lak Tar* (White Teeth) and *Lacan Makwo* (abbreviated from *Lacan Makwo pe Kinyero*, every dog has its day).

Okot p'Bitek's *Lak Tar* (White Teeth) stands out as one publication containing many unexplained nicknames. In the first place the title of the book draws from '*lak tar miyo ki nyero wi lobo*,' which means, 'teeth are white that is why we laugh at unpleasantness'; laughing at *wilobo* (super human circumstances) is considered to be a bad moral conduct and thoughtlessness. The book title also draws from the observation that individuals, with brown or no teeth, cover their mouths whenever they laugh. Whatever its origin, it is a nickname and is one way we Acholis marvel at why we laugh given that life is constantly unpleasant enough to make us agonize all the time instead of laughing at all. To laugh as a response to extreme sadness seems to be the opposite of crying as a response to extreme joy as tears of joy (Paoli, Giubilei, and De Gregorio, 2022). In the context of tears of joy, *Lak Tar* may be understood as an adaptive behavior to extreme sadness. The other example from the same source is *ituku ten iot pa maro* (you upset the pot standing in the house of a mother-in-law) Okot p'Bitek

2021, p1). This *mwoch* makes a statement on two things one ought to avoid. First, making mistakes in wrong places; a mother-in-law's house is the worst possible place in which one can make a mistake. Second, a little fear is good for everyone; one must not be fearless enough to do the socially unthinkable as a man making love to his mother.

There are many nicknames in *Lak Tar*, the book; one of them is '*wangi col pi dyang oree* (your eyes are black on account of the carcass of a cow that died of foot and mouth disease, Okot p'Bitek, 2021, p1 and Odoch Pido, 2017, p4). This *mwoch* speaks against getting upset over things that are as worthless as the carcass of a cow that died of foot and mouth disease; such a carcass is burnt, never eaten, and there is no point getting upset over it. There is also *del wangi pek kom kwon* (your eyelids are thick on account of millet bread; meaning you are selfish and ill-prepared to share food Okot p'Bitek 2021, p9). In a setting where famine is frequent, sharing food is a way of ensuring survival; anyone who does not endorse the sharing of food is viewed as antisocial. The other is *dako kali ki lak nyango* -a woman steps over you, when the morning sun is biting (Okot p'Bitek 2021, p9); this is a metaphor for mistaking a husband for a wife, such an exercise is a very big insult. Among Nilotic speakers, a husband worth his salt cannot allow a wife to step over him. Why stepping over a husband is taboo will come to light when one notes that husbands do not sit with their legs stretched out, in the morning sun when they should be working. Lastly for now, *tyena teda* (my feet cook for me), (Okot p'Bitek 2021, p12). This *mwoch* appears to be a way of marveling at a lady who eats other women's food all the time, meaning that she never

cooks. Essentially it is a way of insulting and hopefully correcting a woman who does not behave like a wife.

JP Ocitti's *Lacan Makwo pe Kinyero* (do not laugh at the living poor) also contains many unexplained *mwoch* (Ocitti, 1960); I discuss only three of the examples here. I begin with *ingok ki angit wii kul*; translated as 'you puke on account of eating the brains of a wild boar' (Ocitti, 1960, p8). This nickname is a kind of observation on and important record of goings-on in society, especially human reaction to unusual cuisines. Together with giraffe and duiker meat, Acholis classify wild boar meat as 'black meat' because it can cause *laa jok* (severe allergic reaction); could this be the reason why eating it can make one vomit? The other explanation is that many people don't like consuming brains; anybody who eats brains invites negative reactions including vomiting. Whereas people do not like eating brains, we school children used to believe that eating fish brains made us clever enough to highly pass examinations. The belief encouraged us to catch, cook and eat brains of fish on days of important school examination. It was also believed that eating the head of a cock would empower one to be alert. Men who sought to a watch on night activities, cooked and ate the brain of cockerels.

Let me follow with the nickname *idworo cwari ki gweno ma obedo akinyakiny*; translated as 'you pamper your husband by serving him a dish of *akinyakiny* chicken' (Ocitti, 1960, p 14). In the Acholi culture, husband pampering depends on the husband and his wife; but a meal of an *akinyakiny* chicken is very special and intended to soften the heart of any husband. This happens because chicken occupies a special place in Acholi life; it the way to tell time,

it symbolizes the home, it is used to bless relatives and foretell the future. It is rumored that chickens were used to pay bride wealth; consequently, women shun eating chickens. This is why chicken used to be a male-only food. In general, chickens are beautiful birds; a chicken that is *akinyakiny* (black with white dots) is seen as truly beautiful. In other words, a meal of an *akinyakiny* chicken is a way of showing beautiful love and pampering a husband. In any case, they say 'the way to a man's heart is through his stomach'.

Ijwiyo dako pari pi gin mukwok idek malakwang (you jeer your wife on account of seasoning gone bad in *malakwang* dish) is the last nickname from Lacan Makwo pe Kinyero (Ocitti, 1960, p75) that I review. Before engaging deeper into discussing the nickname we need to note that *malakwang* is in the family of hibiscus, a sour but delicious vegetable. We also need to note that cuisines often vary from province to province within the Acholi subregion; in short there are many ways of cooking and serving a dish of a *malakwang*. In the case of this nickname, animal skin is left to rot a little and then used to delicately season the *malakwang* dish. Of course, the seasoning must have gone wrong, and that is the man jeered at his wife as dismissal of the dish as unsuitable for consumption.

In 2017, I published an article on Acholi nicknames as indigenous knowledge (Pido, 2017); the warm reception that greeted the article encouraged me to write this. In the 2017 article, I divided nicknames into categories as nicknames assigned by the general public and those related to food, sexuality, physical strength, and thought systems and cultural practices. As I did in January 2024, I concentrated on my relatives, most of whom have

passed on. My chief informant was my mother who passed-on in February of 2021 at nearly ninety-five years old. She had good knowledge of nicknames from her maiden home in Panyum and our home in Akara. Let me cite nicknames of my grandfathers since doing so might help connect my past and current efforts. *Okoche emong* (a bull buffalo living alone, outside the herd and so-called bachelor) signifies enormous strength, survival skill, experience and wisdom; all are the desired qualities of a man without much psychosocial support from close relatives. *Apura kono* (the black and white of feathers) was the nickname of my maternal granduncle; is it about black and white composition (Odoch Pido, 2017).

Discussions of a few *mwoch* from my data

The beginning of this year, 2024, I visited my home in Akara where I was born and raised. The visit presented to me the chance to collect more *mwoch*, to add to what I already collected and used to write one article in 2017. I first sought to know panegyrics of wives, husbands or relatives of owners of the panegyrics I have, to be more complete in my data. Right from the beginning, my informant told me that she did not know the *mwoch* of Okoch-Emong's wife, yet I thought her *mwoch* would make my collection somewhat complete. However, she could remember her song, which I present below in Acholi as well as English.

<i>Piny ma ruu ni</i>	This day that is breaking
<i>Ka akwoo</i>	If I live
<i>Akwoo</i>	I live
<i>Piny ma ruu ni</i>	This day that is breaking
<i>Ka atoo</i>	If I die
<i>Atoo</i>	I die

As I already said, Acholi panegyrics are at times by and for self; this panegyric is not different. Her story may provide a window through which we can view the panegyric. First, she married a married man as was expected in polygynous marriage, she had a rocky relationship with the first wife. Her husband, too, had a rocky relationship with relatives who expelled him from the home he helped to build. One time he fell sick, his sickness worsened, and he decided to return to his home since an Acholi man prefers to die and be buried in a place that he considers to be his home. Accompanied by his second wife and their four young children, he set off walking to 'his home', some thirty miles South-East of where he lived. He could only make it to his uncle's home, which was fifteen of the thirty miles; he died and his uncles buried him. She became a widow at an early age, in a place that she wasn't culturally entitled to own, among distant instead of close relatives, and with children who did not have a father figure. To be a single mother at that time, early 1900s, was a very tough engagement because it was a dominantly a man's world. She moved into the home of a man she called her brother. The arrangement did not work out and, consequently, she moved to the home of her first son-in-law. Since her two sons were becoming men, it seems she braved single-motherhood over remarriage or wife-inheritance.

Exactly when she composed the song remains unclear but my informant first heard the song around 1956 when the author performed for her audience who was usually an elderly male neighbor who took care of spiritual rituals in her home. I learned that the neighbor danced to the tune of her song. Whereas the song painted a picture of her bad experience and her stubborn resolve, it

made statements on Acholi worldview. Literally translated, '*piny*' means down here on earth, the opposite of up in the sky or clouds. At the same time, it is a metaphor for the universe, the force of nature, which decides how we humans behave without question. That is why a section of the song indicates that she does as the force of nature determines suggesting that there is no point in going against decisions of the universe. One may ask what is left of her if all she does is do as the universe decides. It would appear that she actively submitted to God's sovereign will as it plays out in our lives. This would be line with views of Christian religion (Walker 2022).

Walker and similar scholars would have it their intellectual ways if only Christian or other foreign religions had fully dominated the spiritual culture of the Acholis. But Acholis have yet to leave their own religion, one based on the spirit of ancestors. This observation enables us to look for alternative thoughts to explain her panegyric. Despite enormous difficulties in using and interpreting words, I think that she sought to be easy going instead of complaining all the time. I come to this after a quick look at 'if you want to be easy going, say goodbye to worries' (Athar, 2023) and 'positive character traits of an easy-going person' (Brown 2024). To be easy going Athar advises against worrying about perfectionism, tomorrow and other similar matters. Acholi craft aims at obtaining an object that is good enough to function socially, culturally and physically. The craft philosophy does not include perfection; which means that her philosophy in life is to be good enough instead of perfect. On the other hand, two of Brown's advices on easy going are important because they are relevant to Acholi cultural mentality. It advises anybody, who desires to be

easy going, not to be needy and dependent. *'Pe amito gin ma ngati moo'* (I don't need anybody's thing) and *'doga pe ki laa* (I do not salivate over other people's things) are frequent expressions in Acholi social conversations and it expresses the spirit of the pangyric- if I live, I live; if I die, I die. Meanwhile, the expression *'lacan kwo ki lwete'* (a poor man lives-off the sweat of his forehead) is about independence as an essential in easy going. Though 'I am because we are' is a well-published and popular Bantu philosophy (Paulson, 2019), this panegyric implies that she aspired to design herself not to depend on other people for her survival.

After the song that serves a panegyric let me now present and discuss *mwoch* that is closely related to the above song because it speaks about 'day' as the universe determines.

<i>Piny ruu keni keni</i>	The day breaks differently
<i>Onyo, kuman</i>	Now is like this
<i>Diki, kit maca</i>	Tomorrow is like that

The nickname was frequently shortened to *'piny ruu'*. It means one day is different from another, perhaps in the same way one individual is different from the other. This *mwoch* seems to suggest that some days are good while some are bad (Baiju, 2019). Often, we tend to ride on and not worry too much when the day is good but one big question is what we should do when the day is bad. In the Acholi culture people will most likely persevere the bad day, sort of weather it. Using a time-matured system of predicting danger, no person undertakes a journey when he expects that danger awaits him somewhere on the safari route. Acholis are also often weary when things are going too well, they hesitate to enjoy a good day. On a day, when a baby is happy and laughing, its mother will stop

the baby from laughing too loudly; they say such a level of laughter invites disease and crying. In short, a happy day is greeted with suspicion.

So, what has 'some day is good and some days are bad' got to do with panegyric as the design of the individual? It means one forgives the past, sort of 'let bygones be bygones' because dealing with such matters attract pains more than joy; so, one learns to live without expending too much resource on the unproductive past. There is learning from but forgiving the past (Nielsen, 2019) which advises concentrating on the present and future or going forward instead of remaining stationary or going backwards. From the two examples one may see social-cultural values in the panegyric '*piny ruu*'; let me turn to 'today' and 'tomorrow'. I begin with common examples of living for today and allowing tomorrow to take care of itself. It seems living for today is life for the moment is the common practice among sports personalities and so-called successful musicians. A common observation and fear is that living for today often sends one to abject poverty as was the case many famous European artists. In the Acholi context, there is folktale of *tulekee*, a people who had a bumper harvest, prepared and ate so much food and burnt all their granaries. The moral of folktale is 'leave something for tomorrow or you will suffer pains'. Every culture has its own reason for bothering or not bothering with tomorrow; the Acholi say *wakuru ma diki* (we wait for what tomorrow brings). This is similar to saying 'tomorrow will take care of itself' which is essentially absolving one of all responsibilities for the future. This happens because Acholis think that 'inside the future is dark', meaning, precarious and uncertain. Overall, the panegyric engages

with yesterday, today and tomorrow in metaphorical ways, which may not find exact translations into English and other languages.

Meni cunu coo (your mother seduces men) is the last panegyric I discuss in this paper; it is about social morals gone wrong to the level of decadence. Acholis think that it is morally right for men to seduce but morally wrong when a woman seduces men and worse when a mother seduces men. Of course, a woman may attract or even flirt with a man she likes. Cosmetics and other forms of beautification are common methods women all over the world use to attract men but they stop at looking attractive. She may smile at man, be in his face or flirt with him in other ways but her efforts stop at flirting and waits for the man to seduce her. Acholi women also attract and flirt with men and all seem proper and right as is the case throughout the world. A mother neither admonishes nor rebukes her daughter for *nyinyo wiye* (doing her hair) because it is a culturally approved way of attracting suitors. During *myel moko* (get-stuck dance, a popular teenage dance) a girl will dance before a boy of her choice; her action does not trouble anybody since that is how culturally correct way to turn a man's head towards her.

From the above paragraph we can say that it seems 'your mother seduces men' makes a statement on a practice that crosses the Acholi morality redline as a *malaya* (someone with oversize sex appetite) would do. It warns women against going as far as seducing men. The panegyric begins with 'your mother'; by so doing, it lays emphasis on mothers. An Acholi mother is the moral custodian of her family and this is why sex morals do not allow her to seduce a man. So, the panegyric does at least two things; it is a

public education and reminds people of the fundamental position of a mother in the family. A wife who is not a mother can afford to seduce a man with whom she may get a child who will live for her when dies; the child as a symbol of life after death is a good excuse for her to cross the morality red line and seduce a man.

Summary of Discussions

This article is about *mwoch*, a cultural expression of the Acholis, a Nilotic-speaking people of Northern Uganda. I translated *mwoch* as 'panegyric' though it is close to nicknames as appears in the article Nicknames as Indigenous Knowledge (Odoch Pido, 2017). Besides Acholi, a few East African ethnic communities use *nying twon* (ox name) as practiced by the Dinka in South Sudan and *nying pak* (praise names) as practiced in Western Uganda; the two are close to *mwoch*. Whether or not there are links between *mwoch* and shortening of names from Anthony to Tony or Elizabeth to Liz, as practiced by Europeans, requires additional studies to establish. *Mwoch* remains common in the Acholi sub-region. But there is little literature on the subject, and that lack of literature is partly responsible for this article.

When we were undergraduate students, we had an overdose of European design theory and practice; the overdose encouraged us to look for alternative in our own cultures. We were also undergraduate students where there was hope that university education would deliver Africa from Colonialism in its entirety. Moving away from ways of Europe was the spirit with which we attended public lectures given within and outside the University. And as a part of fulfilling our ambition of being design students, we

tried to behave inquisitive and creative; we imagined that our own African culture held the key to design by and for Africa. With this in mind I started to look into identity issues hoping to provide creative fodder for what we used to term 'studio-based' design.

While serving studio-based design remains my goal, I hope this article finds space in design for all as long as we confine it to the design paradigm where design is by and for users as part of cultural fulfillments.

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