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SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS AND ECONOMIC STRATEGIES IN BUNYOLE

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This paper has grown from some discussions with Beverley Brock over the summer when I paid a few hurried visits to Kampala. At that point I was just getting settled in to field research in Bunyole and felt rather more knowledgeable than I do now. At any rate we talked, and the conversation turned to social constraints, to what the term might mean and what the phenomena might be. Since that time Mrs. Brock has developed her ideas on constraints, the most recent paper I have seen being her RDR No. 87. I assume her argument about 'social' constraints in fact containing, logically, economic constraints in that these are also social behaviour. And instead of her three kinds of social constraints I would see two situations where the term takes on rather different meaning. One situation involves relationships between what she has called the change agency and the recipient group. Here, whether or not there is any overlapping of goals, social constraints are called upon by the agency or its agents (or social scientists evaluating the agency) to label the behaviour of the recipient group when that behaviour is not successfully shaped by the programs of the agency. As Mrs. Brock points out, this lack of success is often due to different weightings of priorities between the two groups. An extreme example: there is an American Peace Corpsman in Bunyole who is working on a trachoma scheme and also teaching health education. He has frequently been upset by the apparently lackadaisical attitude towards appointments for group meetings which he has gone to some pains to set up with all concerned. In his set of priorities health education and trachoma eradication rank at the top. Certainly Banyole also value good health and would like to be cured of trachoma. Yet I suspect that his meetings - as opposed to his clinics where eyes are examined and medicine given out - are seen as entertainment by most of the Banyole. The

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meetings rank somewhere between a free lecture at university and a cinema, to be attended if nothing else pressing turns up. From talks with other extension workers in other fields, and from my own visits. I would guess that this attitude is more or less the rule.

Another different constraint situation is what Mrs. Brock calls type 3. The relationship between the innovator in the local population and the rest of his society is the focus here, and we call those pressures brought to bear on the innovative activities of the individual, social constraints. It is in this kind of situation that we read reports of crops being burned, plough oxen injured, fences pulled up, while in the other situation the reports complained of poor attendance at meetings, unwillingness to plough early, to space correctly, to spray, etc. Admittedly, I have picked some extremes, and I have done so to make a point, that in one case social constraints are seen as social control by the society on a deviant member, while in the other case it is not so much social control but 'the dead hand of tradition' (which is what change agents at least really mean when they talk of different weightings of priorities).

As I have discovered in the past few months, there are problems to both notions of social constraint. In practical terms I have yet to meet a modern farmer who feels he has been specially singled out by his community for social controls or sanctions because of his modernity (this for what it is worth, for I have not yet met nor discovered many modern farmers in Bunyole). Certainly there is jealousy here, and a man with a good crop of cotton will do well to watch his fields when the bolls have burst and the moon is full. Equally he is wise not to leave a lot of picked cotton in a house with a grass roof. And a man trying pigs for the first time sold his first lot for a low price and too soon in part because he feared trouble from his jealous neighbours as the young ones grew and raided nearby fields. Yet this same man is saving for more pigs. Indeed the problem with seeing social controls constraining innovators, with 'levelling' formulations, is that in Bunyole at least not just innovative success but any success is apt to - indeed people tell me that it is assured of - bring someone's wrath down upon you. (cf. notions of limited good and Foster's work) Thus if you investigate only modern farmers you will find that each one has problems - real and perhaps imagined - with jealous neighbours and with begging relatives. But so does everyone. The issue is success or relative good fortune more than innovation.

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Equally difficult to handle in practice is social constraint seen as differences in goals and priorities, though for different reasons. Certainly there is no question but that this condition exists: the problem comes - as Mrs. Brock also suggests - in focusing one's investigation on the agency or the agent and 's specific complaint (eg. why don't people pick all their cotton?) for then the researcher ends up analysing the society in question in terms of the categories of the agency or the imperatives of the activity (eg. rational management, cash profit maximization, segmentation of agricultural tasks). Perhaps more important, he conducts his investigation negatively, always asking why are they not doing this, always in his own mind noticing the absence of certain technology. People being people, if you ask why aren't you - say -planting early in June or May you will get an answer. From men I have gotten basically two kinds of answers: there was sickness, or a death, and we got started late; we were working on the millet harvest first or some other variation, indicating conflicts within the agricultural cycle. Another answer came from a woman who said that she planted at the end of June - because it was her custom to do so. Now all these responses are true - or at least as true as any other ethnographic 'fact'. And an approach that focuses on why people are not doing a certain thing will point up certain kinds of constraining forces. There does indeed appear to be a conflict between the demands of millet harvesting and cotton planting, and this is particularly so for those without access to ploughs. These people face the laborious task of harvest and the laborious task of clearing a field for cotton at more or less the same time. (It is worth noting that if they did clear and plant their fields in May, many would then be faced with first weeding of their cotton at about the same time as the millet harvest) Similarly it is true that the end of the rains just before the harvest is a bad time for people. Food is apt to be running short in many years and the rains themselves, with their concomitant cold, damp and mosquitoes do seem to bring on more than normal sickness and death.

In fact I have spent some time asking people why they didn't do a certain recommended cotton practice. In the case of spraying, a reason given for omission was that it cost too much money. Sometimes simply a way of saying - 'I don't want to bother with it', certainly for some of the people I talked with. Dudumaki can be gotten from the local society on credit, five bob being deducted from cotton money at the end of the season, and the use of a pump would for many have

been not much more. But certainly dudumaki is widely used, even used as a crop insecticide by many who don't use it on cotton, and its use on cotton is often not in the recommended fashion. Indeed there is already grown up a number of beliefs and practices associated with spraying: one man explained that in his area spraying cotton was unnecessary because there were insects which ate the insects which ate the cotton. Yet this same man, and indeed probably more people than sprayed cotton, sprayed their cowpeas. Dudumaki has also been used to spray houses and bedding for fleas and bedbugs, to wash clothes in order to kill lice, and to heal sores and chigger infestations. A man who had speared another used it to wash the bloodstains off his spear. Thus to the question of the kind, did you spray, how, if not why not?, accompanied by some follow up on the answers, a lot of information comes up. Some of this information I will deal with later on in my paper, but for the moment I would make just one point. None of the reasons why a practice is not accepted, or is accepted in a very much modified form, seem to be of much help in trying to discover, to explain, to understand, what people are in fact doing. Some Banyole do follow modern practices, or, and this is more to the point in Bunyole, some people are willing to try most anything that stands to increase their cash income. Other people, most people, fall somewhere in between total unconcern with any extension advice at all and total acceptance. One key to understanding this is indeed to be found in differences in goals and priorities - but not the differences between the Banyole's and the change agency's goals and priorities, but differences amongst Banyole themselves. Thus it is a question of knowing what Banyole want and need, what they are doing about it - in short, what kinds of plans and strategies are possible in Bunyole. It is not possible to come up with anything meaningful if we take as field of investigation just those aspects of Banyole activity which are the focus of interest of the change agencies. It is not useful to research a topic such as 'social constraints on modern cotton farming in Bunyole' (or anywhere ^{else} for that matter), for by accepting only cotton farming, and modernizing cotton farming at that, as the framework of investigation, we find out only what the Banyole are not doing. What is slighted is what they believe they are doing, and the place of cotton within a total economic strategy. In fact strategy is too loaded a word, implying that there is to be found some set of patterned choices regularly made in the course of progress towards some defined goal. For this too is simply an hypothesis to be investigated in the field.

Imposing sentiments. What remains though is for me to try to develop my notions of what place cotton has in the economic life of the Banyole. First though I want to emphasize that what follows is tentative in the extreme. I have not yet undertaken any proper surveys and I have collected no data from which I can produce quantified analysis. But this is not to be meant as a brag from a humanistic ethnographer. Surveys are planned and I will realise the need for reasonably detailed microeconomic data. In fact what material I will be using has in large part been gathered in the process of developing a series of survey forms and testing them at a first go around. Banyole, at any time of the year, is clearly cotton country. From June, when the young plants appear in countless plots, through February and March, when the old snags are still clearly visible over the weeds, cotton is obvious by its presence. At any time of the year its paraphernalia is there: cotton stores, piles of seeds and fifi in the corner of a room, extra wide ditched paths to accommodate the lorries, old tins of dudnaki. And even in the off season cotton creeps into all sorts of conversations. Talk about prices and people will give you two sets - for cotton season and the rest of the year. Talk about drinking and people tell stories of the bars never closing in December and January. Second funerals are put off until cotton season, loans are made to be paid during cotton season, and on and on. On the surface at least it would seem that anything which would increase cotton yields would be welcomed - for cotton means money and complaints about no money are as omnipresent as cotton. Yet, despite appearances, cotton is by no means the only source of income in Banyole. There are craft specializations such as making papyrus mats, pots, baskets. There are carpenters, a few blacksmiths, tailors, bicycle repairmen, shoe repairmen, housebuilders, charcoal makers and butchers, traders and duka proprietors. Also well established as cash earners are diviners, medicine specialists and herbalists, even rainmakers. A man with a plough and oxen can usually earn - without much difficulty - more from ploughing other people's fields than from his own cotton, and a bar or a still would seem to be the most profitable low capital business of all. And failing any of these, a man (or a woman in some cases) can work as a porter or assistant in a variety of tasks from cultivating to helping build houses.

Now as nearly as I can figure (and Banyole I have asked agree with this) a reasonably energetic man and wife or wives would plant two or three acres of cotton and expect to get from this 500-1000 in a good year. In cases where I know the people and the kind of year this is,

if anything, a bit high and it is not really unusual to get less than 200/= from this acreage. Typically this kind of stand would be in more than one plot, planted at varying times from mid June to the end of July, sprayed once and well weeded. The money would go for poll tax, new clothes (especially egonasi or esuka for the wives), and general Christmas cheer - beer and meat. Also from this money will come other fixed expenses such as school fees, religious contributions, clan fees. As might be expected the money can easily run out before the list does, and of course this small list represents only a part of one's yearly expenditures. What to do? Certainly one thing many people do is to try to meet anticipated high fixed expenses (such as school fees) or desires (bati houses, bicycles, wives, etc.) by planting more cotton for that year. But another way out is simply to count on cotton for poll tax, a few new clothes and a good time at Christmas, and look elsewhere for whatever other cash is needed or wanted, not just for the fixed expenses but for other cash needs as well.

Let me go into this in more detail, and try to present some of my first thoughts about the cash economy here in Bunyole. As a start I will talk about major kinds of expenses that Banyole have during the year. The list is as yet incomplete and the annotation tentative, but I have found that compiling it has been a useful way to investigate economic matters and I pass it on in a rather undigested state.

Expenses:

I. Fixed Expenses: This group I call fixed for want of a better term. Only poll tax is really inevitable, but still people seem to think of the others as both regular from year to year and predictable. In addition to poll tax it includes:

cow-tax - omusolo gw'eng'onbe - this year 5/= on each cow to raise money for dips, expected to be less in future years. Ebisaale
by'esomero - school fees - it seems usual for a mother to contribute from her cotton if possible, as well as father, on whom the primary responsibility lies. If one child has gone through secondary school and found a job he or she is expected to see brothers and sisters through. Clan contributions - ebesa j'ehiha - not all clans are so organized, but many demand each year 3/= or 5/= from each man and less from its married daughters and young people. Religious contributions - endobolo, obuzinba, obutongoli - mostly small amounts, Catholics are

expected to give 4/= for men and 3/= for women, Protestants use a pledge system which may involve larger sums, Muslims about the same as Catholics. Rainmaking fees - ebesa (oba engoho) j'onugimba ejahusclonga - a shilling, perhaps a young chicken, eggs, cigarettes, which the rainmaker asks of each person in his neighbourhood. In a normal year two collections, one in January-February for the millet rains and another in the early fall for short rains, though normal years do not seem to happen very often.

II. Likely expenses: that is, you would not be surprised to have such an expense, indeed some are inevitable, but you cannot predict when it might come nor how much it will cost you.

Bridewealth, either paying (omuhwa enaali) or returning (ohuwolola (enaali), and holding a second funeral, (olumbe) are the most predictable of all, tending as they do to involve drawn out planning and organizing. In the case of marriage, five cows and six goats are exchanged, though the 5th cow will usually not be paid until the first daughter of the union is herself married. In addition to livestock, and the inevitable chickens eaten, money also is spent on the wedding, given as part of the enaali and as subsidiary gifts. In cases I know about this has ranged from shs. 300/= to 600/= to 1100/=. As for olumbe, here contributions can be expected from a wider range of clanspeople, though cash outlay can be considerable for the principals. Mourning (ohulira) neighbours, relatives and friends also has a financial aspect and the relationship with the deceased determines the amount, which can range from /10 or /20 to 50 for a mother-in-law. In addition, if your own person, a parent or spouse or child has died there will be other funeral expenses not wholly met by these contributions, some inevitable and some, like a cemented grave, optional.

There are also a series of expenses related to the supernatural - a category most firm in the mind of the western analyst. Death, a sickness, a run of very bad fortune, and a person will go to the diviner to find out what is happening. Consultation is 2/= a time, and sometimes a hen added. It may be a curse of a senior relative which is the trouble - and it may cost a goat and usually some cash to lift the curse. A sacrifice or ritual may be needed, necessitating purchase of animals and perhaps extra payment to the specialist, in cash, meat or animals. Or it may be a case of obulogo, of sorcery, and therefore protection or counter sorcery is desired. (In particular the latter can be expensive - running to over 100/= in some

cases). At any rate in the majority of Banyole households at least one member in a given year will be the subject of a visit to an omulagusi. Certainly a fair number will require the services (more expensive) of the specialist in 'protective' sorcery, onung'ang'a and some unknowable number will seek his services for aggressive purposes. In addition to all this there are abaangi specialists in curing purely physical ills, herbalists, bone-setters and those who sell shots of procaine penecillin. The services of these people is usually on a cash basis - from a few amalambula to 5/= for an injection.

More prosaic an expense, but I suspect significant, is repairs - in most cases to bicycles (50/= or 100/= in a year would not be unusual). But those with ploughs must also keep them in repair, buy spares and so forth. Similarly, but at less cost, suferias, shoes, granaries, etc.

Another kind of expense, considerably frequent, involves litigation - usually over land or women - before the magistrate's courts. I am told that it is not unusual for a case to run to as much as 3000/= over a year or so, what with court fees, hiring an advocate (omubaha) and payments to witnesses and so forth (ohulinula).

Finally, but by no means least, are expenses deriving from begging (ohusungarisa) and more generally from giving money, cigarettes, clothes and so ^{on} to people whom it is difficult to refuse - in-laws, senior clans-people, older men, mother's brothers. The more the cash income and the younger the person earning it the more demands, and the less able he is to refuse. (Incidentally, I would suspect that one avoids some of this by getting one's money in a lump during cotton season when others are also getting money. It is more difficult if you are earning a regular wage and people know that you are.)

III. Capital Expenses: again a loose term to cover purchases which one expects to keep for investment or use as the basis of some enterprise. Cattle, goats and, to some extent, chickens (as well as sheep, pigs, turkeys, ducks and pigeons in smaller numbers) are investment, a good store of wealth, and (particularly goats and chickens) needed for social and ritual purposes. Trading back and forth between chickens and goats and taking ^aprofit from the difference in the barter and cash markets is a popular activity, as is buying cattle off cotton season for resale or slaughter some months later in the next cotton season when prices have soared. And there is a regular trading progression

from hen to off-spring to goat to off-spring to cow, which people claim to have done in four years if all goes well. Almost everybody at least buys chickens in the course of a year, and many will buy or acquire in trade a goat or cow. Perhaps a slightly different kind of purchase is buying a cow for use as a plough animal. I have as yet no figures on the density of ploughing teams but it is at least clear that ownership of a team of oxen and a plough does not mean that the owner is necessarily a modern farmer, in the sense that he is apt to follow more than a very few of the recommended practices for any crop.

In this line, another kind of capital expense is agricultural equipment : ploughs, weeders, poli-culteurs (I know of only one), sprayers, and of course hoes and pangas. The last three are, not unexpectedly, the most commonly owned.

Less clearly capital expenses are those associated with building: houses, kitchens, granaries. A grass roofed house - not very big - will cost about 40/= or eight tins of mwenge beer (also 40/= if bought, while if you squeeze the beer yourself you can sell it for more than this by the pot or bottle. I have been told that it is better to use beer though, since more people come and the house gets built quicker) Mud walled bati houses start at 200-300 and are very much liked. I am told that they are the mark of a successful man and that they are safer, harder to rob and to burn, as well as harbouring few insects.

IV. Household Expenses: largely obvious and ranging from pots and suferias, dishes and cups, paraffin candles, mats and beds and bedding to staples such as soap, sugar, salt and tea and occasional meat or chicken. Nowadays many women bring millet (they had always brought maize) to the mill for grinding either for beer or food. Mats, baskets, pots, ropes and so forth are locally made and sold through the year in markets, and though there may be some tendency to get the wife a suferia for Christmas, the bulk of household expenses would seem to be pretty well spread over the year.

V. Personal Expenses: a large category, inevitably, and one I have not tackled systematically yet. Nonetheless I have the impression that there is a good bit of structure to what is bought, and a fairly well developed hierarchy of wants depending on age and sex. I will not try for a complete listing here, but several points can be made

nonetheless. Under the category of personal expenses the most personal are those consumed by the purchaser on the spot or soon thereafter - eg. beer, enguli, cigarettes, gambling, ohuhobia (money spent engaging women). The most social of personal expenses are clothes and bicycles (and the latter are almost as easily seen as capital expenses for most people). What I mean here by social is that these kinds of possessions are visible and relatively durable, thus loanable or fair game for borrowing. It could be worthwhile to construct a scale on just these dimensions - perhaps running from beer to shoes to a watch to a radio to a shirt or bicycle - and see if such a scale had any predictive value for typing statuses or orientations. There are problems of course since money spent on drinking, for example, is often social in the context of the bar, at least as long as the money lasts, but definitely unsocial from the point of view of many relatives and neighbours. The other obvious scale of this sort is on a modern-traditional dimension. It is a commonplace to note that first choice in clothing for young and for elite men is not a Kanzu, but beyond such gross contrasts I am not sure that this is a dimension really worth pursuing since it is so easily blurred by the modern young and elite having so much more to spend.

Finally it should be noted that in the part of Bunyole I am living in drinking appears to be rather heavy and the brewing of the beer and bootleg waragi (enguli) a booming business the year round. It is entirely possible for a man to spend more than 50/= a month drinking mwanje beer and enguli, though 5/= to 10/= might be more normal. Unfortunately as of now I have no idea what amounts are in fact spent on beer, clothes and so forth, although, as I mentioned at the outset it would appear that Christmas and the cotton buying season account for a lion's share especially of clothing and meat.

At this point what I need, and what I don't have yet, are some statistics on the relative importance, the relative amount spent on my various categories. About all I can do is to give general impressions and the results of conversations about such matters. For now the point I would make is just that there are quite a few major kinds of expenses, mainly falling in my second category of 'likely expenses' which are apt to come out of cotton season and will have to be met with for the most part from other sources of income. More generally, I would add that buying and selling in Bunyole is not limited to December-February, that tailors, carpenters and housebuilders

work throughout the year. Local markets also operate throughout the year and a look at market fees collected by one gombolola containing two important markets shows no relation between volume of sellers (measured crudely by the fees paid) and much of anything. Over a three year period there is wide fluctuation from month to month both in the produce and craft category and in the cloth peddling category. It is certainly true that vagaries of collecting fees plays a part here; still the same records clearly show the 'cows for Christmas' pattern in the receipts from private slaughter permits, the figures for December being usually twice the next highest month.

I have several times pointed out the existence of a range of income earning possibilities, from crafts to dukas to trading ^{to} ritual expertise. For the most part the list of expenses given above is a series of payments from Banyole to Banyole either for goods or services. The exceptions: mostly cloth and bicycle spares, largely handled by Indians in Busolwe township. Yet some African dukas stock bicycle spares and there are itinerate cloth peddlars at the weekly markets, some ^{connected} with an African duka. Indians also compete in produce dealing, seen to buy most of the hides sold, run the only mill, etc. This situation will change soon since only one of Busolwe's Indians is a citizen, though it seems likely that Indians will continue backing African dukas. From the other side, there are a number of Banyole traders and middlemen who of course are directly competing with Indians and who buy from Banyole to sell on the markets of Tororo, Mbale, Jinja, and Iganga. In any case the simple point is that in Banyole there is a considerable cash sector not directly related to cotton and continuing throughout the year. It is a point easy to forget around now when the cotton societies are buying and every third bicycle that passes carries its load of cotton, but I think it is one of the keys to understanding Banyole attitudes to their cotton farming. It is certainly true that most everyone grows cotton, but this does not at all mean that most people consider cotton to be the only way, or even the best way to earn money. Very crudely, I would hypothesize four kinds of cash income possibilities.

1. 'Ordinary' cotton farming, producing in a reasonable year something up to 500/= concentrated in a few months.
2. 'Big push' cotton farming, again assuming a reasonable year, which could produce perhaps 1000/=.

Before continuing, some discussion of these first two possibilities. Cl-early weather is a major factor - not necessarily or even usually in the sense of a District-wide drought or deluge, but in the small but crucial differences from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. Within a few miles rainfall patterns can differ sharply drowning one man's crop and parching another's. Time of planting (this year July and even August cotton looks to do best in many places) and kind of field (fertility, nearness to a swamp, etc.) are only a few of the factors that can sharply affect yield, and which people feel cannot really be controlled for. Equally important are limitations on available labour, a point mentioned to me again and again. Weeding especially is a problem and men seem to plan their cotton acreage in terms of the labour they expect to be available - usually themselves, their wives and older children. Another major factor, at least in retrospect, is 'ebigosi' - troubles. There is always the chance of death or sickness in the family or among relatives close enough so that caring for or mourning them involves much time away from the fields. The death, for instance, of one your wife calls mother can, in addition to obligating you to pay 50/= mean that your wife will be gone to mourn for as much as a month. But to continue:

3. 'Modern' cotton farming - here crudely defined by the use of a plough and a spray-rig, and some attention to recommended spacing and planting times. Here a local Agricultural Assistant estimated that 2000/= a year, almost all from cotton, would be a reasonable return, though my impression, and some three lengthy interviews with modern farmers, is that half of this is not unlikely. One man I know, after spending 244/= for ploughing three acres twice, after spraying four times, weeding and planting early and to recommended spacing, was faced with a late rain and got only 250/= out of it. This year he seems headed for better fortune and people estimate a yield of as much as 1000 kg. on two and a half acres - if the weather holds. Thus even the man who uses mechanical aids and - as in the case of the fellow cited - in fact has sought and followed the advice of the local A.A., still faces uncertain climate and misfortune. For the man owning a plough and oxen there is a good hedge to bad seasons in the money he can earn ploughing for others, though people are quick to tell me that oxen and ploughs cost too much and there is no one to teach them to use them properly (as far as I can tell this last is not really true). Also the modern farmer is more apt to try - and even succeed - in growing a secondary cash crop such as groundnuts or maize,

and some few have done well with vegetables, especially onions.

4. Cotton plus an outside speciality. The advantages of this sort of arrangement have been pointed out to me in terms of being able to count on some income during the year and not having to depend wholly on the vagaries of agriculture. Certainly this is true for the man with a full time activity (or perhaps I really mean a regular, profitable activity): a butcher, a carpenter, a tailor hired by the year in the local township or trading centre, a duka owner, etc. But even more people have some casual cash income possibility - perhaps trading (though this can certainly be full time too) or mat making or even potting, or working as a porter for a local builder or the road crew or whatever.

Indeed I suspect - hypothesize seems a bit grand at this stage - that this general alternative is the most often chosen. Certainly, it makes sense, allowing a man to use his cotton income for fixed expenses yet still spread the risk of a bad season and avoid the difficulties of budgeting and saving over a ten month period. I also suspect that for many the extra effort put into cotton would not produce the same cash rewards as for instance, regularly making papyrus mats for local sale (several men from one small community make 1000/= a year at this). Probably more important than absolute income is the flexibility which comes from another income source. For while a man pursuing this strategy will find himself involved in the general inflation of cotton season, using his cotton money for the same purposes as his fellows, he also can take advantage of the rather sharp seasonal swings in prices that come when cotton money is largely spent.

Clearly however, a lot of work remains to be done before I can say anything more in detail. So far in this paper I have been talking as if the Banyole were a homogenous group - yet they certainly are not. Banyole itself provides ample variation in land, degree of isolation and access to markets and proper jobs. Religious divisions, Protestant, Catholic and especially Muslim, also mark out differences in lifestyle and economic orientation - most crudely obvious by a head count of kofiras at a market or a trading centre, Age and education, pressure on land, strength of local kin group, all tend to subdivide the Banyole. All these factors must be taken into account in any attempt to understand the kinds of economic strategies at work here.

Furthermore, in the scheme just given it will be necessary to go further into the kinds of cotton farming found here and the kinds of outside cash sources. It is still something of a mystery to me just where the money comes from that keeps the markets, dukas, bars and so forth running from February to November, particularly since shillings spent on poll tax, most cloth and school fees are removed from the system straightaway. Indeed money spent in dukas, either Indian or African, would seem mostly to end up in the pockets of middlemen and the export earnings of other countries (though there is a sort of assembly-line brassiere factory in Busolwe currently exporting its products - some labeled Hollywood - as far away as Kampala).

More to the point, I cannot yet explain why a particular activity is chosen over another, though I think I have at least shown that cotton farming is not the only route available, nor even the most desirable. Young, educated men (say P. 7 or a few years of secondary school) seem relatively put off by farming, even modern farming. One of my assistants - in this category - pointed out to me after a day spent talking with young modern farmers, that he and his friends saw little point in even trying to get together the capital for ploughs, oxen and the rest, only to be able to hope for some 2000/= in a good year, especially since he was educated and could do the work of jobs paying at least that much, meanwhile letting his wife farm. In fact this particular man has not any such job, nor many prospects that I can see, but on the other hand the only people he has heard of who are making consistently good money at modern farming are semi-legendary older men, usually already wealthy, such as the Lusania chicken farmer who makes 3000/= a month.

Some of this attitude - as has often been pointed out - is probably a product of the kind of educational system Uganda has developed and inherited, but certainly some is also related to the very real problems of trying to become a modern farmer here in Bunyole. For instance, there are only three Agricultural Assistants (and two ox instructors) in the county - for a population that was over 50,000 ten years ago. For what may or may not be good reason, loans and subsidies are not common, little is known about them and in any case a secondary school leaver would not qualify. There are no marketing facilities for vegetables and people are convinced that they are cheated when they come to sell such crops as groundnuts, beans, millet and maize (I think they are right). Yet from what I gather most of

the programmes now operating in Bunyole, certainly Young Farmers Schemes, are still stressing vegetables without first teaching about proper storage or developing a marketing apparatus. Indeed for these young people it seems almost reasonable to look askance at most any kind of farming when there are essentially no models of success - in modern terms - available.

Those most responsive to modern farming practices - according to the Agriculture people here - are in fact not young men, certainly not young educated men, but rather those older men who have children in school. The A. A. in charge of the newly started ESP here reports that t he has success with these men - and even greater success with chiefs and some abataka who he claims will pay careful attention so that they can go and become teachers to others. Additionally, the chiefs feel that they are more apt to be promoted if it is known that they are 'modern'. To this I would add that for men who are after the large lump sums of school fees (and who presumably have already some of the necessary capital, such as potential plough oxen) a one shot income has advantages and more efficient cultivation accompanied by the intensive advice possible in an ESP makes their interest quite understandable. For a man no longer young and faced with the prospect of high fixed expenses for a number of years, if he has not yet developed any craft or trading speciality, modern farming would seem the best answer, or perhaps the only answer. But the A. A.'s themselves point out that it is not easy to convince even willing farmers to follow many practices and that it takes follow up visits and encouragement suggesting that rapid progress is unlikely with only three of them in the county.

I started this paper with a brief discussion of social constraints, in effect asking why Banyole are not all trying hard to increase their cotton production. First I turned the question around and asked, what are they doing to make a living? I then went on to discuss the kinds of expenses Banyole have during the year and to give some idea of the frequency and magnitude of these expenses where I had any data. I showed four ways of earning the cash for these expenses, also pointing out the problems involved. My point was that the last of these ways, basically a strategy of cotton for certain big expenses and another cash activity to carry through the rest of the year, made good sense given conditions in Bunyole. I have also suggested that modern cotton farming is just one alternative among others, not necessarily the

best for many people, and I have added my own incomplete observations to the point that there ^{are} a much larger number of non-cotton cash earning possibilities than would be immediately suspected, involving a large number of people... thus finally returning to the original question. I have left behind the discussion of social constraints mainly because at this stage I do not see much use in the concept. On the one hand the notion of a constraint is negative, orienting research towards finding out why people don't do what someone would like them to do. It becomes too easy then to ignore what people are doing, and too easy to fall back on such catch-alls as conservatism or social pressure against innovation. And again, emphasizing constraints can lead to perfectly reasonable statements about why people don't increase cotton acreage, yet then what about those that do? For it is too simple to see economic activity as a game played against one kind of opponent, social pressure, and with only one set of rules. Instead there are many strategies and many opponents and - perhaps most important - many short and long term goals and many sets of rules.

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