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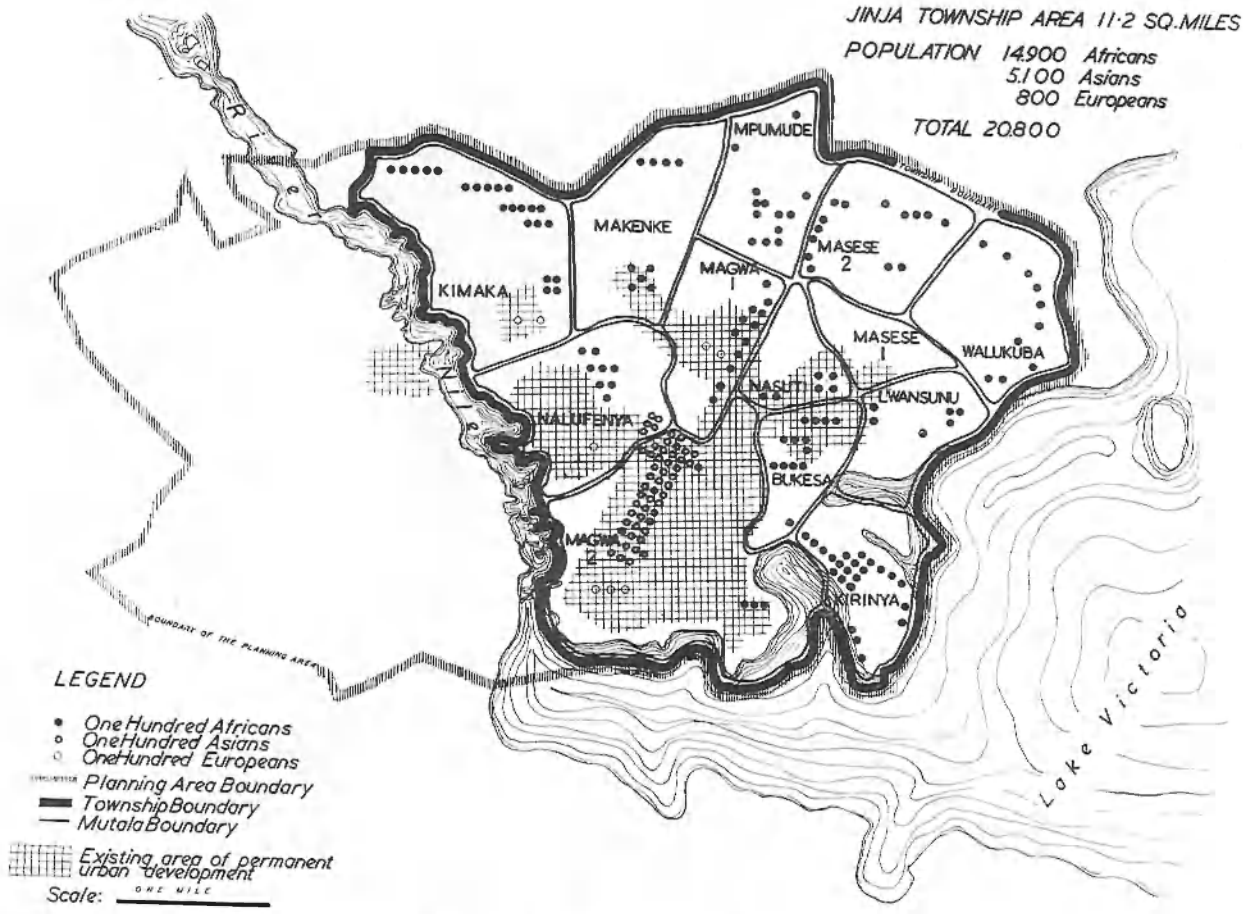

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION WITHIN MITALA BOUNDARIES

JINJA
TRANSFORMED

A SOCIAL SURVEY OF A MULTI-RACIAL TOWNSHIP

CYRIL SOFER, Ph.D.

RHONA SOFER, Ph.D.

EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

KAMPALA, UGANDA

1955

JINJA TRANSFORMED

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Index of Tables

FOREWORD

THE social survey described in this book was completed in December, 1951. The present report was prepared by Cyril and Rhona Sofer by December, 1952, but publication has been delayed by a number of difficulties and misfortunes, culminating in the loss of the corrected galleys in a Comet disaster between London and Entebbe so that the whole work had to be begun again. The Nairobi printer who undertook the work found himself unable to complete it, and the report had to be set up yet again by the present printer.

During these unfortunate delays many changes have taken place in Jinja. The industrial development foreshadowed in the Sofers' report has been considerable. The Jinja Dam which was still under construction at the time of the Sofers' work was opened by H.M. The Queen in May, 1954, and additional industrial undertakings have been built. A bridge over the Owen Falls Dam has been completed. The difficulties of town planning for an area through which the political boundaries of Buganda and Busoga run have been overcome, and the Jinja Outline Scheme prepared in 1954 plans for the township and its environs as a whole. The Asian population has increased from 5,100 to 7,000 ; the African population from 14,900 to 16,000 ; and the European population has remained stationary at 1,000.

It has nevertheless been thought impossible to bring this report up-to-date, or to make the amendments and additions which the authors would now like, without altering its whole character. It therefore stands as a description of conditions in 1952. As the authors' preface points out, much of the information which would today be out-of-date has already received circulation in Uganda before appearance of the present report. The general description and analysis remain pertinent. Many of the problems of inter-racial relations are typical of those of a number of East African towns, as are the difficulties involved in building up municipal administration for a population of which the larger proportion is still migratory.

A. I. RICHARDS.

PREFACE

This Report constitutes one of three completed works based on researches undertaken in Jinja, Uganda, between June 1950 and December 1951. It contains an outline description of the population of Jinja and deals chiefly with material of relatively short-term administrative utility and interest.

A substantial part of the material collected during the social survey of Jinja has been analysed in two separate studies available at the University of London in dissertation form. One study deals with African urbanism and family life under the title " Some Characteristics of an Urban African Population " and the other deals with problems of industry in a multi-racial social structure under the title " Some Aspects of Race Relations in an East African Township ".

This Report was completed by December 1952. It was originally planned that it should be published in 1953, so as to maximise its topical interest for the people of Jinja and those who govern them. A variety of factors, culminating in the loss of the finally corrected galley proofs in the aircraft which disintegrated between London and East Africa in April 1954, have greatly delayed publication. Fortunately, preliminary drafts and tables had had some circulation during and immediately after the study.[1]

Though orientated more to matters of scientific interest, the two dissertations are of some practical local interest as they carry further the analysis of African urbanism and family life and of the workings of the occupational structure. Even with these the study of Jinja can by no means be regarded as completed. It has largely been exploratory ; the researches were confined, by time and finance, to this outline study and to the more detailed investigation of only two of several topics of profound significance and interest.

It would require several years' work by a large team, working with adequate clerical assistance, to attempt to make a complete study of a complicated urban society with over 20,000 members of a variety of races and cultures such as exists in Jinja. We are particularly conscious of the superficial level of our information which was collected concerning Asian social life and African women in employment. It has not been possible to take the investigation of the Asian community far beyond the level of a statistical survey, because of lack of resources and of the necessary specialist knowledge of the different Indian and Pakistani cultures, religions and languages. In the case of the employed African women, the background of detailed information concerning urban African women in general had barely been filled in when the period of fieldwork came to an end. Further important gaps unfilled through lack of time and financial resources concern the African domestic servants of the Europeans and Asians and African population resident on the west bank of Jinja " planning " area which forms part of Jinja socially and economically even if not in the formal administrative sense.

The proposal to conduct a social survey of Jinja arose out of the recommendations made by Dr. W. E. H. Stanner, then Director of the East African Institute of Social Research, in his 1949 report on Research Needs

(1) Various short papers on the project were published between 1951 and 1954. See " Some Characteristics of an East African European Population", British Journal of Sociology, December 1951, C. and R. Sofer ; " Recent Population Growth in Jinja", Uganda Journal, March 1953, C. and R. Sofer ; " Working Groups in a Plural Society", Industrial and Labour Relations Review, October 1954, C. Sofer. A paper on " Family Problems in a Society of Early Industrialisation " was presented by R. Sofer at the World Population Conference, Rome, 1954. At the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference on the social impact of industrialisation in Africa of September 1954, C. Sofer presented a working paper on " Urban African Social Structure and Working Group Behaviour", and R. Sofer presented a working paper on " Adaptation Problems for the African Population in a Society of Early Industrialisation " ; the two U.N.E.S.C.O. papers are to be published during 1955 in a volume on the Conference.

in Uganda and Tanganyika.[1] In a section on researches likely to be of practical administrative value, Stanner emphasised the importance of Busoga and Buganda as the zones of current capital concentration in Uganda, the destination points of some of the main labour migrations, and the areas in which post-war capital investment would make the heaviest impact. He pointed to the scantiness of background data " on almost every situation in which reactions to large-scale economic expansion may be expected " and recommended that a social survey should be made of Busoga of which the object would be " to illuminate social and economic conditions around the nodal point of new investment."

In elaborating this proposal, Stanner referred more specifically to Jinja, the largest town in Busoga and in the Eastern Province of Uganda. " With the construction of the Nile barrage and the growth of manufacturing industry based on electric copper treatment and cotton goods, Jinja will develop some strategic and great industrial and commercial importance. It is an important rail junction and lake port. . . . There is some degree of urban development at Jinja, and town planning has started. It seems that a very large town will grow rapidly in five or ten years. The characteristic urban problems of Kampala, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are predictable for Jinja also."

After the circulation of the Stanner report and discussions between the East African Institute of Social Research and the Uganda Government it was decided that two separate studies should be made within the Busoga district, one to be a study of the Soga tribe[2] and the other a social survey of Jinja township.

The social survey of Jinja was conducted under the auspices of the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere College, Kampala, which is under the direction of Dr. A. I. Richards, with whom we were in constant contact. Dr. Richards and Professor D. V. Glass of the London School of Economics kindly read through drafts of this report and made many helpful suggestions. It remains to mention our original training in techniques of social surveying under Professor E. Batson at the University of Cape Town.

The expenses of the Jinja researches were borne mainly by the East African Institute of Social Research. The Colonial Social Science Research Council paid our travelling expenses to Uganda and provided one salary for the greater part of the duration of the research. The Uganda Government provided housing at the same subsidised rate as for their own officials and, for a period of two months, gave free accommodation in the township housing estate to eight African field investigators ; it also provided free postal and local telephonic facilities.

The various projects which together constitute the social survey of Jinja were carried out by ourselves with the help, from time to time, of various assistants of all three races. Our thanks are due to Mrs. M. Barclay, Miss J. M. Fortt (then Secretary to the East African Institute of Social Research) ; to Messrs. M. R. Patel, C. P. Patel, R. D. Kailash, D. D. Pathak, Mrs. I. B. Kelshiker, Miss M. M. Alarakhia, who assisted on the Asian sample survey ; and to Messrs. Binaisa, Kiwalabye, Erulu, Odera, Sekabunga, Okeny, Ibale and Masajalumbwa, who assisted on the African sample survey. During the closing months of the Jinja study we also had the help of Mrs. Erina Mbogua and Mr. T. F. Babalanda as research assistants. We wish to acknowledge assistance and advice received on numerous occasions from Messrs. T. R. F. Cox, R. F. J. Lindsell and N. D. Oram of the Uganda Administration, Mr. M. S. Shirale of the Central Offices, Mr. R. F. Gazzard, Assistant Town Planner, Mr. English, Government Archivist, Mr. Lal Singh Bagowalia, headmaster of the Government

(1) Stencilled Report circulated by the Colonial Office, 1949.

(2) Later carried out by Mr. L. A. Fallers, who studied the political and economic system of Busoga between November 1950 and June 1951, and also a fellow of the E.A.I.S.R. during the last year of his work.

Indian Secondary School, Mr. Ian Robinson of Busoga College, Mr. J. Bazannya, sub-county chief of Sabawali, and his assistant chiefs, Messrs. Bulasi Wakibi, Yeremia Kaketi, Amulamu Wanyumi, Azalia Waiswa, Ziadi Waiswa, Yakobo Fumoro, Yosia Waluseka, Kazironi Kisa, Mr. J. M. Naluma, the sub-county chief of Mutuba, Kyagwe, Buganda, and Mr. J. Mbogua. We are grateful too, to the staff of the Social Survey of the Central Office of Information in the United Kingdom who greatly hastened the analysis of the sample survey material by undertaking the coding and tabulation and certain computations connected with the Asian and African statistical data.

Our chief debt is to the large numbers of anonymous Africans, Asians and Europeans whose co-operation made the survey possible.

C.S.
R.S.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"JINJA is destined to become a very important place in the future economy of central Africa. . . . In years to come, the shores of this splendid Bay may be crowned with long rows of tropical villas and imposing offices, and the gorge of the Nile crowded with factories and warehouses."—So wrote Winston Churchill in 1908. [1]

Jinja is already the second largest town in the British Protectorate of Uganda. It is situated just north of the equator at the head of the Napoleon Gulf of Lake Victoria, near the Ripon Falls, at which point the lake discharges into the Upper Nile. It is Jinja's situation at this point, the outlet of a lake the size of Scotland and with a storage capacity of seven million cubic feet, which led Churchill to remark that "it is possible that nowhere else in the world could so enormous a mass of water be held up by so little masonry." [1] The township is on the east bank of the river and lies within the administrative district of Busoga, being separated by the river from the Mengo District of the neighbouring Buganda Kingdom. Both Busoga and Mengo are important cotton producing districts. Jinja is 52 miles by road from Kampala, Uganda's largest town, 72 miles from Entebbe, the seat of Protectorate Government, and 73 miles from the western border of Kenya. It is connected by rail with the east coast of Kenya and with Kampala, where the Kenya-Uganda railway terminates. Jinja is the largest commercial centre in the Eastern Province of Uganda and the administrative headquarters of Busoga and the Eastern Province.

Churchill's prophecy is today rapidly being translated into reality. After nearly five decades of relatively unspectacular growth, this small commercial settlement at the source of the Nile has recently become the focus of industrial development within Uganda. It is being transformed within the space of a few years into a modern manufacturing centre based on a great hydro-electric power scheme. But Jinja's encapsulated industrial revolution, like that of Western Europe, is productive of a variety of problems, problems which are especially acute and especially difficult to resolve because of the racial[2] heterogeneity of the population and because of the sharp cultural discontinuity between traditional African societies and the new urban ways of life. "Jinja" as Vernon Bartlett wrote in 1950, "may develop into a second Johannesburg, devoid of any moral standards to replace the moral discipline it has destroyed. With the right sort of planning and control it may become the most hopeful place in Africa." [3]

The main sections of this Report are devoted to Jinja's historical background, the composition of the present population, occupations and incomes, standards of living, political and administrative structure and household and family organisation. This Report includes precise measures or close statistical estimates of such variables as the size of the major racial age and sex sub-groups, the length of residence of the urban population, numbers in different occupations and industries, educational attainments, wage levels, rents, housing standards and household size. It also contains certain of the non-statistical material collected during the course of the researches. These data are used at some points,

(1) My African Journey, 1908.

(2) The use of the word "race" in this Report is not intended to imply that Europeans, Africans and Asians constitute "pure" physical types. The term is applied simply to designate human populations sufficiently different from each other in their physical characteristics to be described and recognised. See discussion in Burlingame, L. L., Heredity and Social Problems, McGraw-Hill, New York and London, 1940.

(3) *News Chronicle.*

e.g. in the section on occupations and incomes, to supplement the statistical data, and at other points, e.g. in the section on political and administrative structure, on their own. This makes it easier to consider the main statistical findings in their human context and to view the non-statistical data against an objective background of facts and figures.

The material has been arranged around the theme of the social solidarity or potential social solidarity of the individuals and groups who together comprise the urban population. In several ways, the development of social solidarity between its members is a key problem in any new society. If it is to function successfully, there must be a certain minimum co-operation between members of the population and a certain minimum of consensus in regard to rules and values. There must be an area of agreement in regard to common aims and an assumption of the existence of social goals and social utilities which may transcend individual and sectional interests. Many of the social problems of which Jinja's administrators and citizens are aware either give evidence of a lack of social solidarity or may be regarded as symptoms of its absence. These include deficiency in civic consciousness, the inadequate participation of the Africans in township affairs, the absence of effective social control among African tenants in the housing estate and the schisms which exist within and between the racial groups.

Jinja's population consists of three main sections, Africans, Asians and Europeans, marked off from each other not only by differences in physical or " racial " features, but also by a multitude of differing social and cultural characteristics. Together they comprise a " plural society " in that they form separate social elements which live side by side yet without a basic social unity, in one political and economic system.[1] All three racial groups in the township are administered within a political framework determined by the Protectorate Administration ; all three derive their cash incomes from the specialist economic functions performed in Jinja. But there exist between the races fundamental differences in social background, values, philosophies, traditions, customs, work habits, aims and orientations. It is only the exceptional African, Asian or European who would view the interests of the races as identical or complementary. Perhaps the majority regard the interests of the races as competitive or conflicting. Some would sacrifice the existing level of economic and political co-operation if a changed society left their particular group with exclusive power.

In a plural society, it is the component racial or cultural sections rather than the whole society which form the foci of social allegiance and loyalty. Each tends to be self-sufficient. Internal bonds are often reinforced by antagonisms towards the other sections. In Jinja, conflict also exists within the racial groups. All societies and communities are, of course, to some extent socially differentiated and it would be permissible to argue that at least the European and Asian communities exhibit divisions which are little more remarkable or significant than those which exist in racially homogeneous societies. But the Africans constitute a population which is especially divided within itself because of the tremendous heterogeneity which exists within it with respect to political rights, tribal membership, occupations, incomes, standard of living and educational standards. This variability, coupled with an orientation towards the town as a temporary work-place, makes effective African co-operation a chimera rather than a possibility capable of short-term realisation.

There is a temptation to try to administer plural societies as if they were much the same as relatively homogeneous societies except for the greater differences in appearance and " habits " which exist between their members. But as Furnivall has pointed out[2] the problems of the two types of society are

(1) The term plural society was introduced by J. S. Furnivall to denote "a society comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit."—Netherlands India, 1949, p. 446.

(2) Idem, p. 462—463.

of a different order. In a homogeneous society one of the major aims of economic policy is to satisfy collective wants. In a plural society the task is more basic ; there is no community and there are no collective wants. Authorities standing outside the society must assess and attempt to satisfy its collective needs—for instance, for social services, and encourage integration in sufficient degree for members of the society to perceive that they have collective needs and that it is their responsibility to formulate them into articulate wants.

In a homogeneous society, a basic problem of applied political science is to provide most adequately for the expression of a " social will," to create the most effective machinery to represent the will of the people. But a plural society lacks a common will extending across the racial or cultural frontiers and to a large extent the different wills of the different groups frustrate each other in a tug-of-war of interests. It is difficult to begin to provide appropriate political institutions until a measure of demand exists for some means to provide for the society as a whole, i.e. until the society has achieved a workable level of social solidarity, and such institutions as are provided must help towards that end.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

Objectives

THE study of Jinja had three main objectives :—
(a) to collect data likely to be of use to government in framing policy; (b) to contribute to the general body of scientific knowledge concerning social processes and social relations in urban societies with multi-racial populations ; (c) to experiment in methods of social research.

(a) *The collection of data likely to be of practical use to government in framing policy :* At the inception of the research and on subsequent occasions various government committees and officials in Jinja made requests for investigations likely to be of practical value to them. These included requests for general inquiries, requests for answers to specific queries and requests for the provision of statistical information. The general inquiries requested included such subjects as the effects of the employment of women on African social structure, land tenure within the township's African villages and forms of local African prostitution and temporary marriage. We were asked to find out why African workers prefer monthly to weekly wages ; whether African workers tend to spend a small share of their earnings on accommodation in the town and retain the rest ; whether tenants in the African housing estate would like to have communal plots to cultivate ; whether Africans receive adequate attention at the local hospital ; what fuel Africans use and where they secure their firewood. Statistical information was requested regarding African incomes and rentals and regarding the numbers of African and immigrant European children in need of educational facilities.

A town plan was being prepared and it became clear that a large mass of statistical data was also needed regarding such matters as the age and sex structure of the population, its racial, tribal, national and religious composition, the origins of the population, periods of residence in the town, job turn-over, educational standards, marital status, household and family composition, occupations, earnings and distribution of the population within the urban area.

(b) *Contributions to comparative knowledge concerning urban, multi-racial societies.* The Jinja research is, from this point of view, to be regarded as a case study of a multi-racial and multi-cultural society undergoing a process of rapid growth and change. Findings should be of interest to comparative sociologists attempting to build up theories or universal principles applicable to all such societies. The construction of such theories is not yet far advanced. But the formulation of principles, even on a rudimentary level, should suggest to the investigator what situations and processes are likely to be found in any particular case not yet investigated and enable him to start work with certain minimum guiding hypotheses. As a body of comparative knowledge and principles is built up from a large series of case histories, the administrator may also be helped to predict and perhaps to anticipate impending events in his own area. This possibility is important in Uganda where the rapid growth of Jinja is expected to be followed by similar developments in other urban areas where it is hoped that massive industrial investment will also take place.

(c) *Experimentation in methods of social research.* It was intended that the researches in Jinja should be conducted by a combination of the methods of the quantitative social survey and of more intensive fieldwork. The former group of methods usually involves the investigation by interview of a sample number of units selected by statistical techniques to represent,

within calculable degrees of accuracy, the general population and the use of a fixed schedule of questions, replies to which can be recorded or analysed in quantifiable form. Intensive fieldwork involves lengthier interviewing of fewer informants, some of whom are selected for their special knowledge, and a lesser use of fixed, direct questions. There is a greater concentration on qualitative data not susceptible to expression or analysis in quantitative form and a certain amount of participant-observation in the life of the group whose activities are being studied. Quantitative methods are particularly well suited to the collection of more static data and intensive fieldwork to the collection of dynamic data.

The employment of sample survey methods becomes necessary when it is desired to collect systematic numerical facts relating to the characteristics of a population as a whole and when that population is large in relation to research resources and heterogeneous in respect of the characteristics in which the investigator is interested. If the population is small it is possible to investigate all the units involved, or if its members are more or less homogeneous in respect of their characteristics it is possible to select for convenience the nearest, most co-operative or most interested groups or persons and to study them in the assurance that their characteristics do not differ significantly from those of the whole population on which the investigator wishes to report.

The contribution of data collected through survey methods to the understanding of dynamic aspects of town administrative problems is, however, generally limited. If depth of insight is to be obtained into the problem situations and processes of urban life, survey methods need to be supplemented by the intensive fieldwork of the trained observer, involving relatively lengthy and/or repeated contact with individuals and groups. This necessity can be illustrated with reference to problems associated with immigration. It is possible through survey methods to ascertain such facts as the tribes, religions, age and sex composition, geographical origins, standards of living and occupations of the immigrant population, but less easy to discover significant material relating to the immigrant's transition to urban life, or to the effects of the new environment on his relations with his wife and his control over his children. Again, survey methods can establish the labour resources of the population in terms of manpower and training, but help only to a limited extent to account for the productivity of the labourer, a question bound up not only with nutrition but also with such factors as the social atmosphere of the job and familial incentives to higher productivity.

It is valuable to use both groups of methods in urban social researches. But there is considerable scope for experiment with regard to such matters as the applicability in multi-racial African towns of survey methods developed in Western cultures and the inclusion in surveys of questions to which the answers might provide indices to larger complexes of attitudes, feelings and emotions. There are further problems relating to the optimum combination of survey with intensive fieldwork techniques and to the sequence in which researches of both types should be undertaken.

Scope and methods of fieldwork. Fieldwork on the Jinja researches began at the end of June 1950, and ended in December, 1951. Allowing for temporary absences, the total amount of time spent in Jinja was about fifteen months. The research began with a period of exploratory interviewing and observation in an African housing estate. It was hoped that this experience would provide us with practice in the use of Luganda, the most commonly used language in the area, and that it would give us a preliminary acquaintance with the daily rhythm of activities and issues of particular interest or significance to the African population. Another function of this preliminary work was to suggest meaningful ways of framing questions for inclusion in schedules to be used in later stages of the research. This work covered about two months and continued until the middle of August.

During the latter part of August a statistical survey was made of the European population. In view of the small numbers involved and the heterogeneity of the European population in respect of domestic organisation, nationality, occupation and earnings, it was decided to conduct this investigation on a census rather than a sample basis, i.e., every European household in Jinja was included. This procedure ensured that no important category of persons would be omitted and strengthened the validity of the results.

In the second half of September a sample statistical survey was conducted of the African housing estate. This was intended to serve mainly as a pilot or experimental study for a major survey of the entire African population planned for early 1951, and also to provide certain incidental material of interest to the Administration. Part of the experiment consisted of the use of four Makerere College African students as investigators, with a view to the use of larger numbers of students in the later survey.

The major African survey was conducted over 2 months, in January and February, 1951, with the assistance of 8 Makerere College students and 2 local African workers. Nearly a thousand African households, comprising about 15% of all households in the population, were investigated. This sample was selected in such a way as to make possible statistically valid inferences from it to the total number of African households in Jinja. The sample was also internally stratified so as to represent each of the 13 administrative units[1] in proportion to its size and to enable conclusions to be drawn about the characteristics of each unit separately.[2] At the conclusion of this survey, the schedules on which the data for each sample household were recorded were sent to the Social Survey organisation of the Central Office of Information in the United Kingdom for coding and tabulation.

A survey of the Asian population followed in April. This involved the investigation by a staff of Asian schoolteachers of a sample of 300 Asian residential units, comprising between them about one-third of all Asian residential units in the township.

From the inception of the research to the completion of the Asian survey, part-time work had also been carried out on the dynamic aspects of the two special investigations intended to form part of the overall Jinja study, i.e. on African urbanism and on the occupational institutions of a multi-racial society. The remainder of the fieldwork period was spent on these topics, each investigator having the help of one full-time African assistant for about four months.[3] These special investigations involved a combination of statistical and qualitative methods, the latter including participant observation, intensive interviewing and the use of discussion groups and socio-dramas.[4]

Methods of enlisting co-operation.

The execution of a social research project depends on the success achieved by the researchers in dealing with the individuals and groups among whom the research is conducted. This is especially the case

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(1) The main administrative units of the Busoga Local African Government area are saza, gombolola, miruka (singular, muruka) and mitala (singular, mutala). These will be referred to in this Report as counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages respectively, although, in fact, two of the "villages" in Jinja have recently been cleared of privately owned African dwellings and agricultural holdings and now have few village-like characteristics.

(2) See Appendix on sample statistics and population parameters.

(3) We worked together during the first three months of the research on exploratory interviewing and observation in one African housing estate, on the European survey and on a pilot study of the African housing estate. It was often found very valuable at this stage for interviews in African homes to be jointly conducted during a more-or-less informal family visit. Subsequently, one of us conducted the major African survey, and made the investigation of African urbanism, while the other conducted the Asian survey and made the investigation of the occupational structure of Jinja.

(4) The technique of socio-drama involves the performance by members of a group of a scene. In Jinja, members of groups were, for instance, frequently asked to act out the details of a domestic or employment dispute in which one of them had been involved. Details of dialogue and interaction between the actors were then noted by the observer. It was found that socia-dramas were often extremely revealing of attitudes, feelings and points of view.

when the research includes the collection of material which is of emotional significance to respondents.

Whether the rights and privileges accompanying the researcher role are given or withheld by the persons being studied depends largely on the way the researcher behaves.[1] The task of the researcher is particularly difficult when, as is often the case, the leaders and members of the society in which the research is being made have not themselves asked for the research, do not share the interests of the researcher in its successful completion, and it cannot be guaranteed that positive benefits to them will arise from its completion.

Additional complications arise when, as in Jinja, the population to be studied is large and its members extremely heterogeneous in respect of their social background, education and sophistication. Under such circumstances it becomes one of the most difficult and important tasks of the researcher to build up an understanding on as wide a basis as possible of his role, objectives and methods and to enlist the co-operation and avoid the active or passive resistance of leaders and potential respondents. Some measure of success in these tasks is essential if he is to gain and maintain access to research situations and attain his particular research objectives.

The following paragraphs outline the approach we used in attempting to meet inevitable field difficulties of this type. A knowledge of the difficulties and of the approaches adopted to overcome or reduce them, will make possible an appreciation of the nature of the research task as well as adding to the description of the society studied.

We arrived in Jinja as academic research workers attached to the East African Institute of Social Research, and working with Government backing. On our arrival the administrative officer then in charge of the town showed us round the area and introduced us to certain European officials, businessmen and African chiefs with whom the research was likely to bring us in contact. Soon after this we attended meetings of the Busoga District team and the Jinja Township Authority in order that officials and citizens comprising these communities could be informed of our roles, the nature and purposes of the research and its possible utility to them. Our intention was to encourage as much as we could the participation of members in the research, to draw persons into it and obtain their continued interest. To this end we asked the committees and officials at our first meetings with them to suggest topics for possible inclusion within the scope of the survey and let us know at any stage during the course of the survey whether further points occurred to them. Interest was shown and suggestions were made.

A subsequent meeting was held at the Jinja sub-county headquarters with the African sub-county chief and his parish chiefs to explain again our capacities and interests and the nature and purpose of the work. This proved rather more difficult as none of those present had come into contact with, or heard about, work of this type or met Europeans in such roles. They were, however, willing to co-operate and suggested that when we were ready to talk to people in their areas they would hold preliminary meetings to introduce us and to ask the population to help. On a later occasion we addressed at some length an African social club outside Jinja, on the West bank of the Nile in Buganda, from which area large numbers of African workers come daily into the township. There was at first a certain amount of suspicion and uneasiness. We were asked questions concerning the aims of the East African Institute of Social Research, reasons for the choice of Jinja as an area of study, the financing of the research and the connection of Government with the work. Speakers asked whether we would pay for information, whether we would be prepared to enter their homes and why, if we wished to attend African functions, Europeans did not invite them to European functions. In practice we did not do any research on the West bank, but this

(1) See Human Relations Skills in Social Research by Mann, F. C., in Human Relations, Vol. 4, No. 4.

meeting and the type of question asked were valuable indications of the typical obstacles and difficulties which would have to be overcome in field-work with Africans.

While the most effective single point of entry into a community is through the top levels of status, authority and prestige, it is often necessary to approach the population at other levels too, so that the researcher will not be too closely associated or identified with the group in authority and his presence be regarded as an imposition by that group on the rest of the society. We tried wherever possible to involve not only leaders but also other interested persons in the research. We circulated preliminary results and invited any interested persons to see available results and our working methods. It was found very difficult, however, to maintain continuing interest in the research by more than a few outside persons. If time and clerical assistance had been available it would perhaps have been useful to constitute an all-race committee from the population to which progress reports could periodically have been given and with which some aspects of the research problems could have been discussed.

We defined ourselves as academic researchers, who were collecting material likely to be of interest or use to the community itself, to students at Makerere College, to administrators and citizens in other growing African towns and to fellow researchers attempting to frame comparative principles of urban development. The mass of the people of all races with whom we were to work had little conception of a social researcher. We, therefore, regarded it as imperative to impart as quickly and thoroughly as possible basic ideas about what a sociologist is and does, and how we were ourselves trained. We also thought it important to explain the source of our finances, how we planned to collect our data and how long the study was expected to take.

Few members of the local population had any previous experiences of social research or contacts with researchers. But they naturally had, in such factors as our race membership, apparent social status, observed associations with other persons, age and sex positions and standards of living, several indices from which they could predict what we would be like, how we would act and what our motivations and interests were likely to be. These expectations, as modified in some cases by our public relations efforts, by the circulation of gossip through the society and eventually through our personal contacts with individuals, formed the platform on which we had to build our own version of our roles.

To the African population, our race membership and our interest in their affairs appeared to provide the initial reaction that we must be government officials. This apprehension was linked with fears that their land might be taken away, based on recent land clearances for urban development. Only through prolonged and intimate contact with particular groups and individuals did we succeed in reducing these fears. They persisted even then, among some sections. Throughout the research occasional correspondence was sent to us at the Central Government offices even though the persons concerned had been told our private box number and that we had nothing to do with the Government offices. And even among the people who knew us best there were occasional onrushes of anxiety that we might after all be government officials who would somehow use the research information against Africans. This response is as clearly indicative of African race attitudes as of field difficulties.

The alternative roles in which Europeans are familiar to Africans are those of businessman and teacher/missionary. It was eventually probably as some sort of approximation to the latter that our role was redefined among Africans. This impression was strengthened by the fact that we were often assisted by students attached to Makerere College. In the end it seemed that we were regarded, on the rational level, as " teachers " who did not teach but who collected facts to write books which students and others could read to find out about the way Africans live in towns.

Apart from African fears of land dispossession and of being returned to their homes, one of our difficulties in gaining acceptance arose from the absence of effective local African leadership. Many of the early explanations about ourselves came through African chiefs. Even when they described our work accurately, and in some cases they did not, either because they could not understand the facts or did not accept them as true, their word was not always accepted by the general population. In at least two cases a parish chief introduced us to a village chief in the correct way, and the latter thereafter proceeded to instruct his people to give us and our assistants untrue information. It is believed, in any case, that all Europeans, even those who are not officials, are connected with government. This belief was clearly expressed by a respondent who, when told that although Europeans, we were not government officials, asked in reply, " Is a leopard different from a tiger? " It is difficult to overstate the problems arising from these preliminary definitions of our roles by Africans.

With the Asian population it was also particularly difficult to dissociate ourselves from government. This probably arose out of the combination of facts that our initial introductions to certain Asian leaders on the Township Authority had come through its chairman, a European government official ; that it was realised that we would not be undertaking the work without at least getting government consent ; that Makerere College is regarded by this community as a semi-government institution ; and that our interests included the collection of demographic and socio-economic information of obvious administrative utility. The identification of our roles with those of government officials was particularly difficult to eliminate among all except a few informed and professional persons such as doctors, barristers and teachers, and such organisations as the Indian Secondary School and the Indian Women's Association. It was fortunate for the research that these persons and groups were among the most influential and respected in the population.

Among other individuals and bodies—including the Indian Association, a political body—it was practically impossible entirely to remove the impression that we were government officials. Usually, however, we were assigned " good " or " harmless "attributes within that category and were often thought to be attached in some way to the Welfare or Education Departments. Because of this, and because Asians are anxious to co-operate with government, our identification with the administration would not have proved such a drawback as in the case of the African population. There is, however, much nervousness in case undesirable publicity is given to Asian overcrowding and poverty, and in case special administrative measures are contemplated in connection with Asians. It is probably true to say that without the influence of those leading individuals and bodies who became convinced of the genuine nature of our research role, without the fact that similar studies were also being made of the other racial groups, and without the use of Asian teachers on the Asian survey, successful large-scale research among Asians would have been extremely difficult. As it was, it became relatively easy.

Europeans in colonial towns have sometimes had contact with, or have heard about social scientists, either in their home countries or in the colonies. The work of the social scientist in a colony is, however, usually confined to indigines. It was, therefore, often with surprise and sometimes with resentment that Europeans learned that, to some extent, they too were to be studied. Similar difficulties with Europeans have been encountered in Singapore and other colonial areas. Partly because of the tendency to link social research with social welfare, Europeans, as the most respected and powerful group, regard this work as appropriate only to lower status groups. The remark was often made about the research that " of course, Africans need it most." There is the additional fact that the European social researcher inevitably becomes part of the small European community and that he and

his work become well known to other Europeans. This provides him with an opportunity to create an accurate picture of himself but imposes the difficulty that when European respondents are asked to supply information they seldom feel that they are giving this to some distant and impersonal organisation through investigators unknown to them and whom they will never see again. In the circumstances they are sometimes hesitant to give information about themselves in case this becomes public knowledge. This makes it essential to convince people of one's integrity, to avoid being unduly inquisitive and to demonstrate that one is interested in social statistics and social institutions rather than in individuals.

One of the major distinctions made in a European colonial community is between officials and private citizens ("governmenti"; and "commercial" in local terminology). To the researcher this is important with regard both to the social placing given him and with regard to the differential reactions of the two sections of the community to him. In Jinja there appeared to be some difficulty at first in placing us, but it seemed that we were eventually regarded as being more like "governmenti" than "commercials." This was due largely to the fact that we were in Government accommodation, collecting material likely to be useful to the Administration and had the sponsorship of the District Commissioner for the European survey. But to some extent we remained a puzzle to European private citizens (as well as to some officials outside the Administration) since we were attached to no Government department, and did not have a telephone or an office separate from our home ; moreover we did not keep the same working hours as other Europeans and spent much of our time in African areas and African homes.

The Europeans who knew most about our work were the administrative officers. It was sometimes necessary to make it clear that our research was intended to be independent of and sometimes supplementary to, but never competitive with, that of the administrator. The administrator understandably feels that he knows his area and his job and the presence of a social researcher may imply that the knowledge which he has is incomplete. Actually the role, training and technical competence of the social research worker differ from those of the administrator and it is only when the two spheres of action are clearly distinguished that real co-operation can be obtained.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"WE were well rewarded," wrote Speke on the 28th of July, 1862, after discovering the Ripon Falls, at which point Lake Victoria discharges into the Nile at Jinja, "for the 'stones,' as the Waganda[1] call the falls, was by far the most interesting sight I had seen in Africa. Everybody ran to see them at once, though the march had been long and fatiguing, and even my sketch-book was called into play. Though beautiful, the scene was not exactly what I had expected ; for the broad surface of the lake was shut out from view by a spur of hill, and the falls, about 12 feet deep, and 400 to 500 feet broad, were broken by rocks. Still it was a sight that attracted one to it for hours — the roar of the waters, the thousands of passenger fish, leaping at the falls with all their might, the Wasoga and Waganda fishermen coming out in boats and taking post on all the rocks with rod and hook, hippopotami and crocodiles lying sleepily on the water, the ferry at work above the falls, and cattle driven down to drink at the margin of the lake, made, in all, with the pretty nature of the country — small hills, rock grassy-topped, with trees in the folds, and gardens on the lower folds — as interesting a picture as one could wish to see."[2]

This was the first time a European had seen the site on which stands today the town of Jinja (the Luganda word for " stone "), which is now the administrative headquarters and the focus of the commercial and industrial activity of the Busoga district and of the Eastern Province of Uganda. But before Jinja and eastern Uganda were to receive concentrated European attention the British had first to settle the pressing problems of their relations with the powerful Ganda, in the adjoining territory which constitutes the Kingdom of Buganda, to which the Soga were at that time largely tributary.

The first European missionaries arrived in Buganda in the late 1870's and began to teach and proselytise under conditions of extreme difficulty and danger. After the death of the Ganda King Mutesa in 1894, Mohammedan and Arab influences gained strength in Buganda and surrounding areas, the missionaries and their converts were persecuted and the Buganda kingdom was torn by civil war and political intrigue. On the 19th of June, 1894, however, largely through pressure exerted on the British home government by the missionary societies, a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the Kingdom of Buganda and on July 3rd, 1896, the Protectorate was extended to cover Busoga over which the British had already gained some measure of control. The first Sub-commissioner for Busoga was appointed and official files record his strenuous efforts to maintain order between local groups, protect Soga against marauding Ganda, keep the caravan trade routes open, collect tribute[3] from the Soga and introduce European concepts of justice.

The centre of British Government in Busoga was first established at Lubas (named after the chief of the area) in 1892, but after a mutiny of Sudanese soldiers at this station it was moved to Iganga, which is now the second largest town in Busoga. It was moved again, this time to Jinja, in 1901,

(1) In the text of this Report we omit such African plural prefixes as " Wa " and " Ba ", and the singular prefix " Mu ".

(2) From Speke's Journal of Discovery of the Sources of the Nile.

(3) The British East Africa Company which preceded the British Government administrators in Uganda completed arrangements with the Ganda first to collect the annual Busoga tribute on their behalf and later to retain a share of this tribute. The tribute system was subsequently replaced by a hut tax.

after Sir Harry Johnston, His Majesty's Commissioner for Uganda, announced in a despatch to the Foreign Office dated February 2nd, 1901, that, " I have decided to transfer the civil headquarters of the administration in the Busoga district to Jinja from Iganga. Iganga is not a very healthy place, and it is, so to speak ' nowhere ', and commanding no important route ; whereas Jinja is of great importance, as being at the Ripon Falls, and commanding what may become a very important transport route along the Nile to a placed called Kakogi below the falls where the river becomes navigable all the way into Lake Kioga, and then down to Foweira. This will become certainly one of the main transport routes of the Uganda Protectorate. Moreover, there is an important telegraph station at Jinja and a certain aggregation of European settlers."[1]

The British East Africa Company, predecessors of the British Government in Uganda had established a trading post at Jinja, one of its advantages being its suitability for canoe traffic owing to the narrowness of Napoleon Gulf. Administration represented a new addition to Jinja's functions. This involved also changes in the composition of the population and Jinja, in the early years of the century, came to include among its residents indigenous Africans, immigrant Arab and Indian traders, Swahilis from the coast, Nubian soldiers, British administrators and English and French missionaries. With the increased Government control in Uganda the missionaries extended their activities over a wider area. A grant of land in Jinja was made to the Church Missionary Society in 1901 and both Catholic and Protestant missions worked in Jinja.

With Jinja as their main base, the British worked in Busoga largely through Ganda agents who interpreted between Swahili, the lingua franca of East Africa, and Lusoga, the local language of the district, which is closely akin to Luganda. In 1905 the Ganda chieftain, Kakunguru, was established in Jinja to take charge of Busoga. He modelled the Busoga administrative system on the Buganda organisation, i.e. into counties, sub-counties and parishes, each with a chief at its head. In the early years these chiefs were often the existing power holders with hereditary claims to rule the areas with which the new administrative units had been arranged to coincide. The senior chiefs were subsequently absorbed into a type of paid African civil service, subsidiary to the British administration, and the process of bureaucratization was carried further by the introduction of the principle of appointment and promotion by merit, educational standard and length of service. More recently, the democratization of the internal African administrative system has been attempted through the institution of elected councils at the parish, sub-county, county and overall Busoga district level. Jinja township itself seems first to have been administered through an African station headman and then through a sub-county chief and permanent staff with jurisdiction over the Africans living in and around the township. With the growth of the town, a committee of nominated official and unofficial members, the Local Sanitary Board was formed by Government in 1906, to take charge of such matters as sanitary and cleansing services, the allocation of plots and the inspection of building plans.

In the year of its inception as the administrative headquarters of Busoga, Jinja's importance as a transport terminus became considerably enhanced by the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway from Mombasa on the east coast through to the Kenya lake port of Kisumu, as the operation of lake steamers between Jinja and Kisumu considerably shortened the time needed to carry goods between Uganda and the coast. Soon after this the decision to make Jinja the administration headquarters on the grounds of its potential importance on a trading route was again justified by the introduction of cotton as a cash crop for export. Lines of communication within Busoga converge fanwise upon Jinja and give access also to the northern Province

(1) Despatch in Government Archives, Entebbe.

through the steamer service on Lake Kioga, so that Jinja became, until the further extension of the railway through Busoga in 1928, the main outlet for the rapidly expanding cotton crop of the eastern and northern Provinces. Jinja became not only a busy port but also the centre for the financing and purchase, insurance, marketing and export of the cotton crop, and a variety of firms established agencies and imported staff to carry out these functions.

The introduction of cotton as a cash crop and the new opportunities for wage labour put increasingly larger amounts of cash into the hands of Africans. They took eagerly to the purchase of bicycles, lamps, hardware, cheap European-style clothing, cloth, sugar, soap, salt and tea. A considerable retail trade developed in the town, catering not only for nearby cotton growers and the town's own labour force but also for the African porter caravans which, until about 1912 when the Jinja-Namasagali (Busoga) railway line was completed and motor transport came into more frequent use, terminated in Jinja. Jinja became the main shopping centre of the Eastern Province and with this came the development of importing and wholesale businesses with customers throughout the area.

While the political stability necessary for the conduct of economic activities had been secured by the European administrator, it was for the most part the Indian who organised both the export and import trade and who carried on at first hand the retail business with the natives of Uganda. Indians have been connected with East Africa from a very early time and a flourishing Indian community already existed on the mainland at Mombasa in the 15th century. A further Indian element was introduced into East Africa in 1895 when the British Government began construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway and it was found impossible to obtain a sufficiently large and continuous supply of local African labour. At the completion of their service on the railway a number of Indian workers remained in East Africa. Some became market gardeners and artisans while others secured credit facilities from the large Indian wholesalers of Mombasa and Nairobi and, as shopkeepers and itinerant traders, penetrated into the remotest corners of East Africa. Indian immigration was encouraged by Sir Harry Johnston who in 1900 urged the recognition of Uganda as " . . . . a suitable sphere for the expansion of British Indian commerce, enterprise and imagination." [1]Indians have subsequently become the major non-African element in the population of Uganda. They have concentrated especially in urban and other trading centres where they have succeeded in business through their possession of capital, skills and outside contacts lacking among Africans. These assets, together with their greater willingness than Europeans to incur health risks and to endure low living standards for commercial objectives have given them a dominant position in the business life of the country.

Until recent years Jinja's growth has been due almost entirely to the expansion in its commercial activities, themselves mainly dependent on the cotton industry within the Eastern Province. In 1917 " the commercial point of view " was described as " the only one which maintains Jinja," and in 1924 an official letter from Jinja ascribed the population increase in the town to " the incessantly increasing prosperity of the country due to the speedy development of the primary industry of cotton (which) has opened up new fields of commercial activities and has attracted a good number of people from Kenya. . . ."[2] At one time it was thought that the further extension of the railway to Jinja and Kampala, which now relieves the lake traffic of the cotton crop, would stop the town's further development, but, although Jinja's activities as a port were considerably reduced, it continued as a busy centre for retail trade and as a financial headquarters of the Eastern Province cotton industry. The commercial emphasis has remained

(1) Thomas, H. B., and Scott : Uganda, 1935, p. 343.
(2) From official correspondence in Government Archives, Entebbe.

until recently and the cigarette factory which was started in 1928 remains Jinja's main manufacturing enterprise.

There have been spectacular developments in the township since 1949 when there began the construction of a hydro-electric power station which is expected to provide a basis for a major industrial concentration including a textile factory, a brewery, a grain conditioning plant and other large projects. The dam project has brought an unprecedented building and commercial boom with repercussions on many other fields of social activity. Just before the dam construction started, a building firm received a contract to construct housing estates and labour camps for African and European employees who would be constructing the dam and who would be subsequently engaged on its operation. They began building in 1949 and by 1951 had a staff of 650 Africans and about 50 of other races. The first representatives of the dam construction company arrived in Jinja in November, 1949. Six months later constructional work was in full swing and by 1951 the company employed about 1,600 Africans and 250 persons of other races. There subsequently arrived several subsidiary firms connected in one way or another with the hydro-electric scheme as well as some undertaking independent development projects. Existing local industries such as the tobacco factory and the smaller motor engineering, welding and carpentry firms greatly expanded their activities and personnel. The Public Works Department, having to increase the township services of road construction, maintenance, lighting, drainage and sewage, nearly trebled its African labour force between January 1949 and early 1951, and there is hardly a government department which has not expanded. The increase in spending power has also brought about a commercial boom from which both retail and wholesale distribution have benefited.

It is a matter of some difficulty to trace the early population history of Jinja owing to the unreliability of early statistics and to the fact that changes may have occurred in the extent of the area to which they refer. It is apparent, however, that since the early years of the township, the Indian population has outnumbered the European, as European occupations in Uganda were confined until recently mainly to senior government posts and to mission work. The African population attributed to Jinja from time to time has always been the largest single element of the total population and appears to have been composed partly of persons who had their homes in and around the town and partly of migrant labourers who came to work there.

Mirams, in his 1930 Report on the Town Planning and Development of Jinja[1], refers to Jinja as a " comparatively small town with a population of 3,120 of whom 2,200 are reported as Africans, 800 as Asiatics and 120 as Europeans." He quotes the comparable annual figures since 1924, when the total population had been 5,037, and attributes the decrease to slackness of trade. This is possibly connected with the 1926 plague outbreak and with the slump that was expected to occur within Jinja at the forthcoming extension of the railway through to Kampala. " I am bound to say," wrote Mirams, " that my own view is, definitely, that no considerable increase in the population of Jinja is likely to take place, certainly during the next decade and probably for a much longer period."

History contradicted him. By 1948 the population of Jinja had risen to 8,400, of whom 4,400 were Africans, 3,800 were Asians and 200 were Europeans. During the subsequent three years the population more then doubled itself, reaching a total of 20,800. The rapid increase was, however, due only partly to immigration or natural increase, for a large part of the increase was due to the extension in 1950 of the township's boundaries to include certain African areas on its peripheries. But it has increased responsibility and jurisdiction of Government and African authorities in Jinja and in many respects altered the social framework of the Africans in those areas.

(1) Published by the Government Printer, Entebbe.

TABLE I

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF JINJA TOWNSHIP 1948 AND 1951

	Africans	*Asians*	*Europeans*	*Total*
1948	4,400	3,800	200	8,400
1951	14,900	5,100	800	20,800
Percentage increase	239%	34%	300%	148%

The township boundaries are now coincident with those of the native administration area Sub-county Sabawali, which at the 1948 census had an African population of 13,000. The African population of Sabawali has thus increased by about 2,000. The recent influx of Africans into Jinja has been greater than would appear from this ; the extent of the influx is partly concealed by resettlement outside the Jinja area of some 800 persons who were cleared off township land during early 1949. Apart from this, about 1,000 adult men and 250 wives and children are being accommodated at the dam site on the west bank of the river which is outside the formal township boundary though within the Jinja " planning area." The number of African workers who cycle and walk in daily from outside areas has also considerably increased and is now over 3,000.

These increases are bound up with the recent expansion in the demand for African workers. The constructional projects which have become established in Jinja since 1948 have organised themselves mainly on the basis of a relatively highly-skilled nucleus of Europeans or Asians and a large, relatively unskilled African labour force, this form of organisation being very largely determined by the great disparity in current wage-rates and skills between Europeans and Asians on the one hand and Africans on the other.

The proportion of Asian population growth between 1948 and 1951 which occurred through natural increase was approximately 44%, the greater part thus being due to immigration. The immigrant Asians who have contributed to Jinja's population growth consisted to a larger extent than the immigrant Africans of elementary family units, as wives and young children in many cases accompanied or followed adult wage-earners to Jinja. The largest single element among the employed male Asian immigrants has consisted of artisans and the remainder have been mainly clerks and persons engaged in shopkeeping.

The trebling of the European population was due chiefly to the wave of industrial expansion consequent on the inception of the hydro-electric project. This project brought to Jinja not only a large number of engineers, foremen, gangers and artisans directly employed by the dam construction company, but also Europeans to supervise the construction of housing for dam employees and to supply building and industrial equipment. Further numbers of Europeans have come to work on such smaller projects as the grain conditioning and storage plant and there has also been an increase in the number of government officials.

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION COMPOSITION

JINJA now has a total population of about 20,800 persons, of whom 14,900 are Africans, 5,100 Asian and 800 Europeans. While racial classifications are based on physical differences between individuals in skin colour, hair form and shape of head and nose, these classifications have a special importance where they correspond also to social or cultural differences. This is the case in Jinja. Each racial group tends to be confined to its own residential areas (see frontispiece Map of racial distribution of population) and to have its own distinctive styles and standards of housing. Differences exist in the typical clothing of members of each race. Each has its own schools. Each has its own language or group of languages. The main home language of the Europeans is English, with a substantial minority speaking Italian or Danish. The chief home languages of the Asians are Gujerati and Hindi, while the most frequently spoken languages among Africans are Luganda, Lusoga and Swahili The great majority of the Europeans are Christians. Among the Asians the largest religious groups are the Hindu (79%), the Moslems (10%) and the Christian Goans (5%). Of the Africans 37% are Protestants, 35% are Catholics, 15% are Moslems and 13% profess no religion. Apart from these differences, the races make different contributions to the town's economy, receive different rewards and achieve different standards of living.

This chapter deals in turn with each of the racial components of the population, describing the age and sex distribution of its members, their geographical origins and their degree of stability within the township. It shows the main differences between the races with respect to each of these variables and also brings out some of the differences within each group. While these are less pronounced than those between the races, they are often equally important for social relations within each group.

Africans

Sex and Age Composition : As is expected in a community largely made up of migrants, males predominate in the population, more especially among adults. (See Table II.)

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN MALES AND FEMALES BETWEEN AGE GROUPS

Age Group	*Males*	*Females*	*Males and Females*	*% age of males among total in each age group*
Under 1 year	1.4	3.4	2.1	44.2
1 year	5.5	10.8	7.4	48.7
6 years	10.0	13.9	11.4	57.1
16 years	75.6	67.1	72.6	67.7
45 years and over ..	7.5	4.8	6.5	74.4
TOTAL	100	100	100	65.0
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE	1,323	712	2,035	

It is mainly the adult males who come to the town in search of work. While women are beginning to do so, this process is not yet far advanced. Of the male immigrants many are bachelors, while others leave their wives at home, looking after the crops and tending the children while their menfolk are away. Men without women greatly outnumber the women in the town who are without men, both because of the relatively small number of adult women work-seekers who come to Jinja on their own, and because there are relatively few African families in Jinja which have been long enough established for their children to grow into adulthood.

It may be estimated from the African sample survey that the number of African adult bachelors, of men without their wives and of men who have been widowed, divorced or separated, together totals approximately 4,933. In comparison with this, there are altogether approximately 687 women who are spinsters or have been widowed, divorced or separated from their husbands. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that imbalance of the sexes has resulted in the creation of a class of more-or-less promiscuous women who are in effect shared between the men in the town, that most Africans have little or no interest in urban affairs and that few think of the town as home.

The main feature of the age distribution is the concentration of persons in the 16-45 years category, which includes seven out of every ten Africans in the town. It is mainly the young people who leave their homes to spend a period in Jinja, their elders remaining in the countryside and supporting themselves by agriculture or depending on their relatives. It is probable also that a certain number of older persons comprising relatively long-established Jinja residents were moved out of Jinja during the recenty land clearances and that replacement by younger immigrants has reduced the proportion of persons over 45 years of age in the population.

There are relatively few children in the town. Men with children usually leave them behind with their wives. Even where the wives do accompany their men to the towns the children are sometimes left behind with relatives. Furthermore fertility in Jinja appears to be extremely low. Whatever the precise combination of causes, few Africans now grow up in Jinja and develop bonds with the urban society from early childhood.

The connection between urban workers and their relatives and dependants is maintained largely by the remission of cash to homeplaces. This means firstly that the supply of cash for the personal use of the worker is reduced. The physical separation has the further result that the personal duties of the urban worker toward his relatives are commuted to a cash obligation. Often he lacks the primary group behavioural restraints or the responsibilities which he would have if living with his relatives either in the countryside or in a settled urban community.

Jinja's Africans consist mainly of " foreigners ", born outside the town and, for the most part, outside the Busoga District. Nine out of ten of the Africans now in the town were born elsewhere. (See Table III.) The sample survey shows that the small minority who were born in the town are mainly children under 16 years of age. Among the 1,099 adult males only 3.1% were born in Jinja and among the 512 adult females, 6.6%.

A large section of the population (30%) is drawn from Jinja's rural hinterland, the Busoga District, of which the town forms the commercial and industrial focus. The majority, however, are recruited from outside the District, largely from Mengo, the adjacent Buganda District across the Nile, and from Kenya.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND BIRTHPLACE

BIRTHPLACE		SEX		
		Male	*Female*	*Male and Female*
EASTERN PROVINCE	Busoga	25.5	39.6	30.5
	Teso	6.2	3.6	5.3
	Mbale	10.5	5.9	8.9
BUGANDA	Mengo	10.9	19.0	13.7
	Mubende	0.5	0.3	0.4
	Masaka	2.6	1.3	2.1
WESTERN PROVINCE	Ankole	3.3	0.7	2.4
	Toro	0.8	0.7	0.8
	Bunyoro	2.3	1.8	2.1
	Kigenzi	2.3	0.3	1.6
NORTHERN PROVINCE	Lango	2.4	2.4	2.4
	Karamoja	0.1	0.0	0.0
	Acholi	3.4	3.6	3.5
	West Nile	2.4	1.0	1.9
KENYA		20.8	16.0	19.1
CONGO AND RUANDA-URUNDI		2.5	1.0	1.9
SUDAN ..		2.0	0.7	1.9
OTHER		1.6	1.5	1.6
TOTAL		100	100	100
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE		1,323	712	2,035

A substantial section of the African population consists of relatively recent immigrants. Of the males, nearly one-fifth have been in Jinja less than six months. More than a quarter have been in the town less than one year.[1] In contrast with the relatively recent arrivals there are groups of Africans who, even if they were born elsewhere, appear to have made Jinja their home ; a quarter of the males and a fifth of the females in Jinja have, for instance, lived there for more than five years.[2]

In an investigation conducted subsequently to the sample survey,[3] 100 skilled and unskilled African male workers were asked why they had left their homes ;[4] why they had chosen Jinja rather than some other workplace and how long they intended to stay. Seventy-nine explained their reasons for leaving home in terms of economic motives.[5] In a minority of cases cash seemed essential to the worker to support himself, but in most cases it was wanted so that he could buy European goods such as clothing, shoes, a cycle, crockery, or pay taxes. Many of the workers in this sample had opportunities to acquire money through growing cotton or other cash crops at home, but the return was often reckoned to be so much less certain than regular earnings from wage labour as not to be worth the trouble involved. Jinja was popular as a workplace because it had become widely known as an area where jobs were plentiful.

Many Africans are in the urban society but not of it. Most of the workers interviewed owned land or had access to land at their home-places and the majority said that they planned to return home where they

(1) The proportions for females are rather lower since the male element in the population has increased more rapidly than the female.

(2) Many of these live in areas which will eventually be cleared of African dwellings so that, in a sense, they do not constitute a permanent element in the population.

(3) This investigation is reported on in detail in the study of occupational structure.

(4) It is not possible to say from an urban study alone what type of person prefers town work to agriculture, as a way of life, when they have equal opportunities for both. Rural investigations in Buganda have found that the people there prefer the relative freedom of agriculture to regular wage-labour. A combined investigation on what type of person migrates to the urban area and what type stays at home should be most fruitful.

(5) Definite numerical proportions of this type should not be taken too literally in this type of investigation. An explanation is sometimes given in terms of economic motives merely because this sounds most rational or reasonable and these may be more important or supplementary non-economic motives for migration. While economic motives play an important part, they appear to comprise only one of the sets of factors which the migrant labourer takes into account in apportioning his time between country and town.

could cultivate or combine trading or a craft with cultivation. Few could give a definite answer regarding the length of time they would stay in the town. Many complained that they were finding it difficult to save enough money to take a respectably sized sum home, as town life, unlike country life, involved expenditures on food and housing and encouraged them to spend extravagantly on tempting urban amusements. This prolonged their stay. Apart from this, it is obvious that many people linger on in the town for reasons other than the economic, as the permissive urban environment and the absence of kinship obligations and behavioural restraints are themselves inducements to delay returning home.

The African worker nevertheless retains strong attachments to land and home. Only a minority make a deliberate choice of the urban way of life as a permanent alternative to the rural. Reference was made at an earlier point to groups in Jinja who have been in the town for several years. But these are, in the main, persons living in one or other of the villages within the township and not people who have abandoned agriculture for wage-labour.

The orientation of so many Africans toward the country rather than the town is evidently correlated with the absence of provision in the town for the African contemplating permanent settlement. Urban administrators and employers have come to take for granted the presence of a migrant labour force which constantly renews itself. When they have provided accommodation this has been cheap and temporary. Efforts to attract a more permanent labour force are only in their early stages and accommodation for married workers and their families has only recently begun to be provided.

The instability of the urban African population has obvious economic implications in terms of the low level of skill the worker is able to acquire during his temporary stay in the town. It also has important social implications as the African does not, in general, acquire a stake in the successful administration of the town. His own permanent interests and future lie elsewhere.

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND TIME SPENT IN JINJA

	MALES			*FEMALES*		
TIME SPENT IN JINJA	*Under 16 years*	*16 years and over*	*Total Males*	*Under 16 years*	*16 years and over*	*Total Females*
Less than 6 months	15.2	17.4	17.0	14.0	12.3	12.8
6 months	10.3	11.0	10.9	10.0	11.7	11.2
12 months	8.5	12.9	12.2	7.0	10.6	9.6
18 months	0.5	4.4	3.7	2.0	3.1	2.8
2 years	8.5	12.0	11.4	12.0	12.1	12.1
3 years	4.9	7.7	7.3	5.0	8.2	7.3
4 years	4.0	5.5	5.2	4.5	6.5	5.9
5 years	7.1	11.2	10.5	4.5	13.5	11.0
10 years	1.8	13.3	11.3	0.0	12.9	9.3
Born in Jinja ..	37.9	3.3	9.1	40.0	6.6	16.0
Visitors	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.0	2.5	2.1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE ..	224	1,099	1,323	200	512	712

Drawn from several districts of Uganda and also largely from Kenya, the African population of Jinja includes representatives of over 80 different tribes, comprising between them a variety of sub-cultures. The main tribes and the proportion they constitute of Jinja's African population, are shown in Table V.

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND MAIN TRIBE

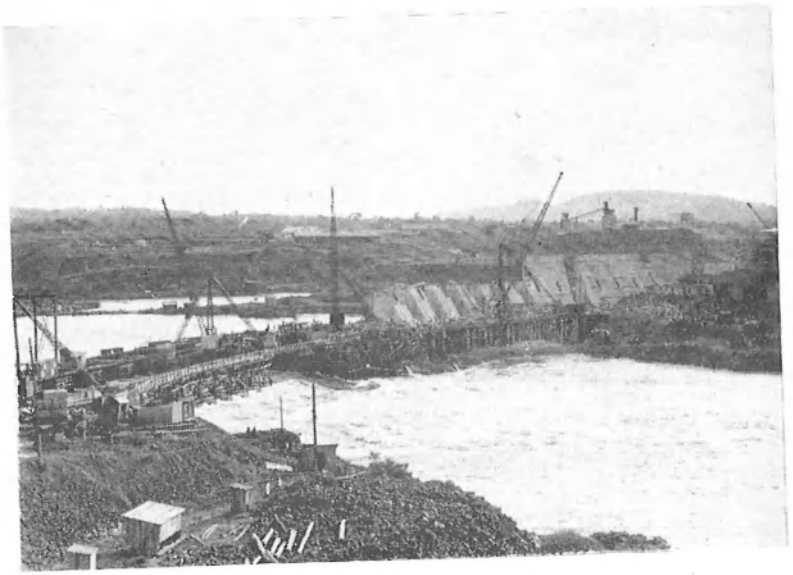
TRIBE	*PROPORTION (per cent.)*	
	Males	*Females*
Acholi	3.3	3.7
Ganda	14.3	20.6
Gishu	6.0	3.5
Lango	2.6	2.7
Luo	9.8	9.7
Nyankole	4.7	0.7
Nyoro	2.3	2.4
Samia	10.0	6.2
Soga	20.7	31.5
Tesot	6.7	3.5
Rest	19.7	15.6
TOTAL PER CENT ..	100	100
NUMBER IN SAMPLE ..	1,323	712

Urban influences will in time probably reduce the social importance of tribal differences, and produce a common denominator in the form of the African adapted to town life. Tribal divisions may be replaced by economic divisions between groups and social classes. In the meantime, urban processes continue to sift and sort the population largely along tribal lines and tribal differences remain important factors dividing the African population. There are also marked divisions between the local Soga and Ganda on the one hand and the " foreign " Africans, that is to say those coming from North Uganda or from outside the Protectorate altogether. There are also marked differences of tribal groupings among the foreign immigrants. There is a tendency for tribal clustering to occur at various places in the town. Even in the local administrative units which have a numerical majority of Soga and Ganda there are substantial Lango, Teso, Gishu and Samia enclaves. In one case, at Kirinya, there is a population concentration almost entirely of foreign immigrants. Hence Samia and Jaluo dominate the scene and even have a Samia chief. The most diversified group of Africans lives in the township housing estate where accommodation is equally open to all, but even there people of the same tribe try to share rooms or live next door to each other.

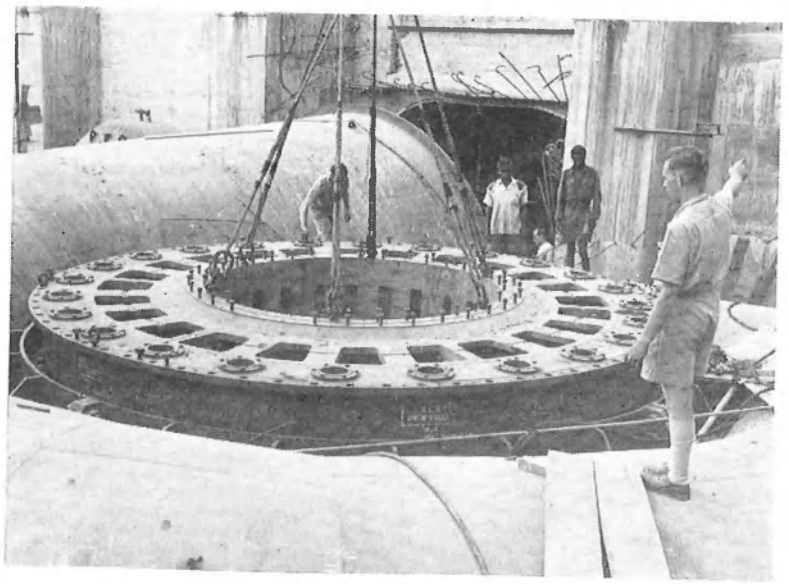
The tendency of the tribes to become concentrated in particular areas is partly an outcome of the fact that Soga and Ganda hold much of the village land, which is therefore not freely available for settlement and squatting. It is also largely due to the system of mutual aid offered to the newcomer by members of his own tribe or clan who will usually accommodate and feed him until he starts to receive pay. Psychologically as well as materially, these communities help to bridge the gap between country and town.

To some extent those individuals living in tribal enclaves continue to identify themselves with their own tribesmen and their own small local communities rather than with the African population at large. The perpetuation of tribal divisions, more especially between the Soga-Ganda section and the " foreigners," is further promoted by the political dominance in Jinja of the indigenous Soga. The latter constitute the local African administration even though they form a numerical minority of Africans in the town. The Soga administration appoints chiefs to each area, makes bye-laws and administers the courts. It is a common grievance that the local courts are unduly harsh when a foreigner appears on a criminal charge and biased when a Ganda or Soga appears against a foreigner in a civil action. The division of the population between Soga and Ganda on the one hand and " foreigners " on the other has, however, not had the effect of welding the latter into a political unit, owing both to the tenuousness of the bonds of the latter with the town and to their own intertribal divisions.

1. The Owen Falls before the dam.



2. The new dam at the Owen Falls.



3. Immigrant labour—black and white.

4. Street scene in Jinja.

Asians

Sex and Age Composition : The proportion of the sexes among Asians is, except in the case of persons over 45 years, more or less equal. (See Table VI.)

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE

Age Group	*Males* %	*Females* %	*Males and Females* %	*Male Proportion* %
Under 1 year	4.9	4.7	4.8	55.4
1 year	16.3	18.3	17.2	51.7
5 years	26.7	29.0	27.8	52.5
15 years	41.6	42.2	41.9	54.1
45 years	10.5	5.2	8.1	70.4
Unstated	—	0.5	0.2	—
TOTAL	100	100	100	
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE ..	952	795	1,747	

The approximate equality of the sexes among adults suggests a stability of the population lacking among the Africans. The presence of an adequate supply of females does not, however, altogether settle mating problems among unmarried people, since each of the numerous sub-groups into which the Asian population is divided prefers, on the whole, to marry endogamously. There is, therefore, a constant interchange of females between Jinja and the other East African Asian communities, the man usually going to fetch his wife and taking her to his own homeplace. This process serves to form links between different Asian communities in East Africa rather than within Jinja's own Asian population, but may become less marked as the local Asian population grows and the prohibitions on endogamy weaken.

There is a very much higher proportion of children in the Asian population than in the African. Few Asian men are bachelors. Families live together in the town. The fertility of Asian women also appears to be much higher than among Africans. Most of the Asian children were born in Jinja and are the children of first generation immigrants. They go to school and grow up in Jinja which is generally the only home they know. The

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ASIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND BIRTHPLACE

BIRTHPLACE	*Males*	*Females*	*Males and Females*
Jinja	33.3	35.7	34.4
Elsewhere in Busoga	4.5	5.8	5.1
Other E.P. Districts	2.7	2.9	2.8
Buganda	4.4	4.7	4.5
Western Province	0.6	1.1	0.9
Northern Province	0.7	0.8	0.7
Kenya	4.9	5.8	5.3
India	43.8	39.0	41.6
Goa	2.3	2.0	2.2
Other	2.6	2.3	2.5
TOTAL	100	100	100
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE	952	795	1,747

young Asian is more deeply rooted in the town than either his parents or the members of the other races. In general, the presence of young Asian children settles their families more securely in the area and makes their local orientation more definite.

While almost all of the younger Asians were born in Jinja or elsewhere in Uganda, most of their parents were born in India. Of those born in India the majority lived elsewhere in East Africa before coming to Jinja.

Although the size of the Asian population has increased rapidly since 1948, about half of this increase has been due to births. The proportion of new immigrants to the total population is, therefore, not so high as the rapid population growth might suggest. It would undoubtedly be higher if Asian immigration into Uganda were unrestricted by Government. The Asian population, moreover, does not experience the same rapid turnover as the African. When a worker arrives he brings his wife and children with him, or sends for them soon after, and makes a permanent home in the town.

It is striking that six out of every ten Asian adults in Jinja have been in the town five years or longer. Although the total African population is three times the size of the Asian, there are only about twice as many African as Asian males with a minimum of five years' residence in the town.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, AND TIME SPENT IN JINJA

TIME SPENT IN JINJA	*MALES*			*FEMALES*		
	Under 20 years	*20 years plus*	*Total Males*	*Under 20 years*	*20 years plus*	*Total Females*
Less than 1 year ..	3.4	5.0	4.1	3.7	4.5	4.0
1 year	6.4	7.0	6.6	4.3	7.8	5.8
2 years	7.7	9.8	8.6	6.7	11.1	8.6
3 years	4.5	6.5	5.4	6.1	9.3	7.4
4 years	5.4	5.0	5.3	4.3	9.3	6.4
5 years	9.9	18.9	13.9	8.9	22.6	14.6
10 years + ..	3.7	43.4	21.1	4.5	30.1	15.2
Born in Jinja ..	56.3	3.8	33.3	68.8	3.6	35.7
Unstated	2.8	0.5	1.8	2.8	1.5	2.3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE ..	535	417	952	463	332	795

While the major distinctions within the African population are those of tribal membership, the most important among the Asians are those of religion, caste-group and sect. Further sub-groups exist of Goans and Arabs. As far as the major religious groups are concerned, Hindus are today greatly in the majority, though earlier in the century the numbers of Muslims and Hindus appear to have been more nearly equal. The decline in the relative numbers of Muslims was apparently connected with the collapse of certain large Muslim wholesale houses in Kenya which used to finance local traders and with the relaxation of religious prohibitions on Hindu travel abroad. The religious distinction between Hindu and Muslim has gained added significance since partition in India. Political differences have come to reinforce those of religious belief. In conformity with events in India the significance of caste and sect distinctions appears to be on the decline but, from the point of view of the solidarity of Jinja's Asian population, this appears to be more than offset by the addition of a political content to the Hindu-Muslim religious difference.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ASIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY MAIN SUB-GROUPS

Brahmin	*Kshatriya*	*Vaishya*	*Shudra*	*Sikh*	*Moslem*	*Goan*	*Arab*	*Other*	*Total*
8.6	46.6	16.8	1.5	5.3	9.3	5.2	0.9	5.9	100

Europeans

At the time of the European survey in August, 1950,[1] the age and sex structure of the European population closely resembled that of the African. Seven out of every ten Europeans were male while six out of every ten were between the ages of 16 and 45 years. The high proportion of males and of adults would have been even more pronounced if the population had not included at this time a number of children home for the holidays from boarding school in Kenya.

The preponderance of males and adults has, however, probably decreased as some firms subsequently made provision for the families of their employees to join them in Jinja. But in general it is men rather than women workers who come to Jinja, and adult women come only because their husbands or, in rare cases, their fathers have jobs in the town. It was found in the European survey that of 129 adult females enumerated only five had no adult male relative in the town.

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE

AGE GROUP	*Males*	*Females*	*Males and Females*
Under 1 year	3.0	4.0	3.3
1 year	5.9	10.7	7.5
5 years	8.3	9.6	8.7
15 years	64.5	55.4	61.6
45 years+	16.4	9.6	14.2
Unstated	1.9	10.7	4.7
TOTAL	372	177	549

Although Uganda is a British Protectorate, three out of every ten Europeans in the township at the time of the survey were nationals of countries other than the United Kingdom. (See Table XI). These were mainly Italians and Danes working as artisans on the dam and smaller constructional projects. There was also a small contingent of Dutchmen employed on the dam. Practically all of the Italians, Danes and Dutch were recruited directly from their home countries, but a substantial proportion of the British nationals had worked in other parts of East Africa before. The proportion of nationals of countries other than the United Kingdom has probably risen since the survey as it was mainly the families of the Italians and Danish artisans who came out to Jinja in 1951.

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION BY SEX AND NATIONALITY

POPULATION	*British*	*Danish*	*Italian*	*Dutch*	*Other*	*Unknown*
Males	238	30	69	13	19	3
Females	149	5	4	2	15	2
TOTAL POPULATION..	387	35	73	15	34	5

While a third of the Asian males in the township and a tenth of the Africans were born in Jinja, no Europeans were born there. In August, 1950, less than half of the total European population had been in Jinja for more than six months and only three out of ten for more than a year. The short period of residence of the majority of the population is due mainly to the inception

(1) The European population grew considerably between August, 1950, when the European censal survey was made, and early 1951 when the African and Asian surveys took place, by which time it appeared to total about 1,000 persons. The survey covered 549 persons. A further 10 residents were away, and it did not prove possible to include within the scope of the survey the persons living in the King's African Rifles cantonment.

of the new constructional projects but also, in part, to the relatively short periods of service of Government officers who are liable to transfer from one part of Uganda to another.

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE BY SEX AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN JINJA

PERIOD SPENT IN JINJA	*No. of Males* (1)	*No. of Females* (2)	*Total Males and Females* (3)	(3) *as % of Total Population*
Under 6 months ..	175	50	225	52.8
6 months	54	31	85	20.0
12 months ..	20	11	31	7.3
18 months ..	9	9	18	4.2
2 years	12	9	21	4.9
3 years	4	5	9	2.1
4 years	2	2	4	0.9
5 years and over ..	19	8	27	6.3
Unknown	2	4	6	1.4
TOTAL	297	129	426	100

Before the recent industrial development the European population of Jinja was relatively small and relatively homogeneous, consisting almost entirely of English-speaking British nationals. The men were mainly the employees of Government and of the few European-owned commercial enterprises in the area. At this stage the high rating given in Uganda to European values and habits, and consciousness of resemblances between themselves and of differences from the rest of the population seem to have operated to give a sense of unity to the European population. With the expansion, several of the resemblances between the Europeans have disappeared or become less widespread. The present population is considerably differentiated in respect of such characteristics as nationality, home language, occupation, income and style of living. As a consequence, the European population is now split into a series of separated smaller units and status divisions have appeared to divide the population still further.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

THE immediate aim of British policy within African territories has recently been defined as the building up of "efficient and representative local government institutions."[1] Local government in this context is regarded as "the building up of institutions through which the people can manage their own affairs and provide the services they need."[2] The achievement of effective local government is evidently regarded as one of the prerequisites for the attainment of self-government within the Commonwealth which has been officially declared to be the eventual objective of Britain's policy in East Africa.[3] While the proviso has been added that self-government must include proper provision for all the main communities which have made their homes in East Africa, it has also been made clear from time to time that as far as the Uganda Protectorate is concerned it is the intention to develop the country chiefly for the benefit of the African inhabitants.[4]

For the present, all governmental authorities in Uganda operate within an overall political framework determined by the European-controlled Protectorate Administration in whom overriding legal power within the country finally resides. The Protectorate's administrative machinery works through a succession of levels of authority, the highest level of which is situated outside the country in the Colonial Office in the United Kingdom, from which the Governor of Uganda with his headquarters at Entebbe derives his power. From this level further descends a series of bodies forming links in a chain extending to the individual.

African authorities occupy the lower levels of this hierarchy, forming an intermediate layer between Protectorate administrators and the mass of the people. During recent years the Protectorate Government has begun reshaping African authorities and their personnel into the type of rational-legal bureaucracy necessary for participation in the modern world-wide exchange economy into which the African people of Uganda are being increasingly integrated. A paid cadre of chiefs has been created, whose members are subject to appointment, transfer, promotion and dismissal according to strictly defined procedures, and machinery has been created for the election of councillors to make recommendations and decisions for the African people. Attempts have thus been made to democratise both the relationship between African and other authorities, and the constitution of the African authorities themselves.

Administrative problems of the urban area

These developments have been intended to cover urban as well as rural areas. But Jinja is distinguished from the rural administrative units by its greater size and by several special features which make its administration an especially complicated task. It is, in the first place, the administrative headquarters and main centre of commercial and industrial activity of the Eastern Province and has a relatively very large built-up area of offices, shops and residences. This physical setting makes necessary the provision of organised

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(1) Opening Address by Secretary of State for the Colonies to 1951 Colonial Office Summer Conference on African Administration. African 1178.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Statement made by Secretary of State in House of Commons in December, 1950, reported in *Uganda Herald* on 16th December, 1950.

(4) See Foreword by Governor to A Development Plan for Uganda, Worthington, E. B., December, 1946.

activities to divide the township area between its different uses, to maintain layout and allocate plots, examine plans, inspect buildings, and maintain drainage, sewage, cleansing and lighting services.

Jinja also contains the largest concentration of non-Africans in the Province, its 6,000 Indians and Europeans forming between them more than a quarter of the township's total population. This divides the population into two major sections greatly differentiated with respect to their political rights, laws, incomes, standards of living and ability to pay for social services.

It is not intended that Uganda should be developed as a country of non-African farming and settlement. Non-Africans are therefore seldom permitted to buy land and, within townships, may acquire business and residential sites only under short-term leases. On the other hand, although Busoga is legally Crown land, Africans throughout the district buy and sell land rights and gain recognised long-term privileges in this way over land usage. They may also elect African councillors to the African Local Government which is responsible for their immediate control. Both Africans and non-Africans are subject to Protectorate laws, but Africans are also subject to native customary law and to African Local Government regulations.

Europeans and Indians live in houses and flats near the town centre along made-up roads and receive electrical, water, sanitary and refuse disposal services, while most Africans live in mud huts in bushy areas on the outskirts of the town and receive few township services. European and Indian incomes are generally five to ten times as high as those of Africans.

The Africans are composed of a large variety of elements living under a large variety of conditions. More than 80 tribes are represented. The indigenous Soga, who form the local African authority, are the largest single element but a minority among the total African population.[1] Jinja's African population has increased partly by an influx of immigrants and partly through the extension of the township to include outlying villages and peri-urban settlements. At present over 30% of the township's African population live in villages. Some live in labour lines provided by their employers, some in the Government-subsidised African housing estate, and some are domestic servants living on the premises of their employers. Most of the villages are under hereditary Soga chiefs or their deputies, but the amount of power of these chiefs varies from one village to another, depending largely on the tribal mixture and rapidity of turnover of the population. In other villages chiefs have been appointed by the sub-county chief. These chiefs may have no hereditary rights but have been given their positions because of their special knowledge of the migrants in their particular areas. The various labour lines have their own headmen with formal responsibilities to their employers and with duties of keeping the peace and arbitrating in disputes. The housing estate has an African headman responsible to the Jinja Township Authority through a European African housing superintendent.

Apart from the tribal heterogeneity of the African population and the variety of their modes of living, the administration of Jinja is further complicated by the town's geographical lay-out. Its African villages and settlements are not contiguous but for the most part lie scattered along the peripheries of the town. In addition, the nearby area on the West bank of the Nile which, in economic essentials, forms part of the township is under the separate African authority of the Ganda, who are extremely jealous of their territorial and political rights. The unity of the West bank with the East has been recognised by its inclusion within the Jinja " planning area ", but political considerations appear to make it impossible at present to include it within the Jinja township. Important among these considerations is the influence which Jinja's Asian population might then have upon the development of this important sector of the Buganda kingdom.

(1) In a sample survey carried out in early 1951, the Soga constituted 24% of the total population in Jinja.

There is, at present, no uniform system of administration or single all-purposes township body in Jinja. But if the township is to be developed in an orderly manner and if the various racial and tribal components of the population are to be welded into some semblance of a co-operating community some form of administrative integration is urgently needed. Some of the difficulties in the way of achieving this arise out of the differences between the groups comprising the population. Other major difficulties arise out of the fact that few individuals of any race identify themselves and their interests with the township and out of the absence of local African leaders able to command popular confidence and to participate effectively in civic affairs.

Present administrative arrangements

At present the administration of Jinja is split up between four separate bodies, the District Administration of the Protectorate Government, the Township Authority, the Jinja Planning Committee with inclusive authority also over that part of the West bank delimited as part of the Jinja " planning area ", and the Sabawali sub-county (African) administration.

The District Administration of Busoga is headed by a European administrative officer, entitled the District Commissioner, who is responsible to the Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province of Uganda for the peace and good order of his district and for the efficient conduct of its public business. He acts as executive officer for any Government department not directly represented in the district and is also responsible for the conduct of African affairs. He has responsibility for the education and control of the African Local Government and for advising and guiding the African population.[1] Since most specialist Government departments are now represented in Busoga, the District Office concentrates almost entirely on African affairs.

Until 1949 the administration of Jinja township as well as of the district was carried out by the District Commissioner, Busoga, who acted also as the Chairman of the Township Authority, the functions of which are defined as " the control, management and good government of the township."[2] For some time before this, the detailed work arising out of the development of the township had been pressing very heavily upon the District Administration and, as a result, a special administrative officer was appointed to deal solely with township matters. In June 1950 the status of this post was raised to that of " District Commissioner, Jinja," and this officer was given administrative powers over township matters with the exception of African affairs which remained in the hands of the District Commissioner, Busoga.

The Township Authority is headed by the District Commissioner, Jinja, who has an administrative staff consisting of an Executive Officer, Conservancy Officer, Committee Officer and Secretary, Superintendent of African Housing and a labour force of 2 Asians and about 500 Africans engaged on conservancy work. The Township Authority committee, which can be regarded as an embryo municipal council, consists of 20 members appointed by the Governor. These comprise the District Commissioner, Jinja, as chairman, 5 European officials, the African chief of the sub-county Sabawali (with whose boundaries Jinja is coincident), and 7 Asians, 5 European and 1 African non-official members.[3] This Authority is responsible within the township for water-supply, street lighting, sewerage, markets, slaughter-houses, cemeteries and anti-malarial measures ; it also allocates plots, examines plans, grants liquor and trading licences and such licences as are required for the sale of food in the townships. It levies local rates, and

(1) See Thomas and Scott, op. cit.

(2) An Ordinance relating to Townships, 1938.

(3) The fact that non-official Asians and Europeans are appointed by government to the Township Authority indicates that, despite the emphasis given in Uganda to the paramountcy of African interests, administrative bodies are meant to be representative also of non-African interests. The general aims referred to in the first paragraph of this chapter, however, would appear to have reference mainly to an increase in rights and responsibilities of Africans.

manages the rapidly expanding African housing estates. Its funds are derived directly from the Protectorate Government.

In effect, the Township Authority committee deals in its deliberations mainly with the built-up sector of Jinja, i.e. with the sector that contains the administrative and commercial areas and European and Asian housing. It is only to these areas and to the African Housing Estate that township services are provided and only on plots in business and administrative and European and Asian residential areas that rates are levied.[1] The bulk of the African population is therefore unaffected by the Township Authority, except in so far as its discussions concern questions relating to the African Housing Estate and the large township market, and such action as the Township Authority may take in regard to the supply of meat to the township. Consequently, the bulk of the matters discussed and determined by Township Authority meetings appear of immediate concern only to Europeans and Asians and participation by the two African members is, in practice, very limited.[2]

The fact that many of the matters considered by the Township Authority are matters of technical or administrative interest to the official members also means that it is largely they who determine the direction of Township Authority discussions. The decisions which are made are in many cases merely ratifications by the rest of the Committee of actions which one or another of the officials feels to be necessary. The chairman and secretary prepare the agenda mainly in consultation with official members. At the meetings the chairman opens the discussion on each topic and either puts forward a resolution himself or asks the official most intimately concerned with the topic to explain the necessity for the type of action he favours. Unofficial members can put forward resolutions, express their opinions or influence decisions. They constitute a majority and could out-vote official members on any particular resolution. But in practice the officials put forward most resolutions and the administrative and technical expertise of official members tends to sway the balance of decisions. There is the further fact that the chairman of the Township Authority is also the local representative of the Protectorate Government, to which certain resolutions of the Township Authority must be passed for acceptance or rejection. It is inevitable that he guides the Committee, and that the Committee accepts his guidance, into channels which ensure conformity with the lines of Government policy.

It is legally permissible for a person other than the District Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the township lies to be appointed chairman of the Township Authority, but the usual Uganda practice of appointing the District Commissioner has been followed in Jinja. It would certainly be difficult to find a private citizen in the town who would have the necessary time, interest and background of general qualifications and experience to undertake the work of chairman. There is an obvious administrative convenience in having as chairman an official able to maintain close contact in the course of his daily duties with the Central Government. There is the additional fact that the Township Authority lacks its own technical staff, and it would be difficult for anyone but a government official to call on government technical staff to execute local functions. There is a certain ambiguity, however, in the present position in that the same individual is simultaneously the head of a body which makes representations to the Central Government and the official through whom the Central Government receives that body's representations.

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(1) There is, in theory, nothing to stop an African from acquiring a plot in residential areas occupied by Asians and Europeans, or to stop an Asian from buying a plot in areas where European homes are concentrated. The town is, however, zoned into areas within which buildings have to conform with varying minimum standards. Government-built housing for Africans is concentrated in the area with the lowest minimum standards and it is also in these areas that the vast majority of Africans can afford to build. Similarly, relatively few Asians can afford to build in the area predominantly occupied by Europeans.

(2) These comments and those which follow on proceedings at Township Authority meetings, are based on frequent attendances by the writers during the period covered by the research.

It is probable that the duality of the position of its chairman helps to obscure the degree of independence which the Township Authority committee may legally possess. This appears to make it more of an executive arm of the Central Government and less of an autonomous body than is necessarily intended. At present there is extremely little civic consciousness in the town and it is only a strong movement in this direction and the emerg- of local leaders with an interest in local civic affairs which could overcome the predominantly " official " character of the Township Authority.

The division of the Committee into officials and non-officials also appears to have the result that officials are regarded as responsible for the problems of the town as a whole, while the non-officials regard themselves as representatives less of the total population than of the racial communities to which they belong. It is in fact largely on the basis of their prominence within their own communities that the latter are chosen as Township Authority members.

It is a further handicap to the emergence of a representative Township committee that the two African members, one the sub-county chief and the other a private citizen, do not always grasp so quickly as the Europeans and Asians the implications of each discussion and are less familiar with committee procedure. Proceedings, which are in English, often go too fast for them. While it is part of official policy to encourage African participation on such committees the necessity to finalise urgent administrative decisions frequently takes precedence over the use of meetings as a training ground for the induction of Africans into fuller participation in civic affairs.

It has been mentioned that it is the District Commissioner, Busoga, not the District Commissioner, Jinja, who is responsible for African affairs in the township. The latter controls, however, through the township Superintendent of African Housing, an increasing number of Africans residing in the African Housing Estate. He is formally responsible for the building of African housing units, for the allocation of these units to Africans and for the provision of amenities attached to them. Since the large majority of Estate tenants are newcomers to Jinja[1], live in an area without an immediate chief, and lack the qualifications and interest to enable them to participate in sub-county Council affairs, their control devolves, to a certain extent, directly upon the District Commissioner, Jinja, and his staff. They assist in the settlement of disputes and in the maintenance of law and order — functions which are largely performed in the other African settlements of Jinja by village and parish chiefs and their assistants. These developments, dating from late 1949 when an African Housing Estate was first instituted in Jinja, are of considerable significance in view of the great expansion which is planned for subsidised African housing, and the increasing proportion of the African population of the township who will come in due course to live in such conditions. Local circumstances are forcing governmental and police functions upon officials administering African housing schemes. Even without a formal transfer of responsibilities from the District Administration, the District Commissioner, Jinja and the Township Authority will inevitably in the future take a greatly increased share in the political control of Africans in Jinja.

In June 1950, a Town Planning Area was declared for Jinja and its West bank environs and powers over this area concerning the control of building and development of land passed to the Central Town and Country Planning Board of Uganda. A local Jinja Planning Committee was formed to prepare for consideration by the Board a scheme for the area which would allow for orderly development, to plan in detail various residential, commercial and other zones and to consider building applications on behalf of the Board. The Planning Committee is an advisory body with members appointed by the Town and Country Planning Board. It consists at present

(1) In a pilot survey conducted in the Housing Estate in September, 1950, it was found that 50% of the tenants had been in Jinja for less than one year and that only 4% were Soga.

of the District Commissioner, Jinja, as chairman, the Government Town Planner as secretary, the Senior Medical Officer, the Provincial Engineer, the Senior Surveyor, the Committee Officer and Secretary of the Township Authority, the Chairman of the Uganda Electricity Board, the county chiefs of Butembe-Bunya and Kyagwe, the Ganda sub-county chief of the area of the West bank of the Nile, the Traffic Superintendent of the East African Railways, two European, two Asian and one African private citizens.

Recommendations are passed from the Planning Committee to the Town and Country Planning Board at Entebbe. This committee has no direct connection with the Township Authority, except for a certain duplication in personnel and in the work of considering building plans which must be submitted to both bodies. One body administers the town, while another body, independent of it, has the necessary advisory powers regarding future development. It is probably only the overlapping membership of the two bodies which prevents undue confusion.

While the Township Authority is the local administrative body, it is the recommendations of the Planning Committee which, in large degree, will determine the extent and nature of Jinja's future economic development, layout and division into functional zones. Although the population does not yet feel the impact of the recommendations of the Planning Committee on its daily life, these may, in the long run, have more far-reaching effects than decisions of the Township Authority.

To meet objections on the part of the Ganda against the West bank being under the control of the Jinja Planning Committee, Government has recently proposed that a separate planning Committee should be set up for the West bank, on which Asians will have less or no representation. It is contended in Jinja, however, that the separation of planning functions for the East and West banks would carry consideration of the political susceptibilities of the Ganda to the point of economic absurdity. Under present proposals the West bank will be the site of nearly all the new large plants whose establishment is contemplated, as well as of the power station, the balance of light industries being catered for in the township. It is within the township that the residences of the senior workers on the dam and new industries will be situated and from the township that a large part of the labour force for these plants will be drawn. Unless parallel facilities are provided, the labour office in the township will be at least as much concerned with workers on the West bank as on the East and the financial, commercial, medical, police, legal and day to day administrative needs of the new industrial area will also be provided by the township. In the interests of Jinja township the new West bank plants will have to be sited so as not to create nuisances or destroy amenities for business undertakings and private individuals on the East bank, and so that the layout of buildings and roads on both banks will be such that these give a maximum service to the needs of all. The proposed division would negate the common-sense principle of attempting where possible to plan for natural regions instead of arbitrarily determined political units. It is clear that if separate plans are to be formed for the two areas there will have to be such a high measure of consultation and collaboration between the two bodies as to constitute a merger in all but name. There have been further recent political developments in Jinja arising out of planning arrangements. The appointment to the Central Town and Country Planning Board of an Asian with large industrial interests near Jinja has led to the formation of an association of European residents with apparent objectives of expressing non-official European opinion and protecting European interests. This would seem to represent a crystallization among non-official Europeans of the feeling that the Protectorate Government, anxious to preserve African interests as paramount but reluctant to forego the economic benefits of Asian investment, operates against its own nationals an inverse colour-bar. The new association is almost certain to exacerbate

political thinking along racial lines, and to militate against the integration of the various racial groups into one social system.

The African Authority

Despite its special characteristics as an urban area, the general form of sub-county Sabawali is much the same as that of the rural sub-counties of Busoga African Local Government. It has a sub-county chief, council and court, parish chiefs, two or three clerks and a small force of police, and is a subordinate unit to the county and district African authorities. As previously mentioned, when Kakunguru was established at Jinja to take charge of Busoga, the existing divisions of the country between various land aristocrats were retained and formed into administrative units of the Buganda pattern of counties and sub-counties, each with a chief at its head. At first, Africans in Jinja appear to have been administered through a station headman directly responsible to the District Administration, but the township area and environs were subsequently constituted a separate sub-county within the Busoga District and a sub-county chief and staff appointed. Since the West bank planning area forms part of Buganda, control is exercised there by the Ganda sub-county chief within whose area it lies and not by the Busoga Sabawali. There is a constant traffic of Africans between these two areas—many residents of each bank work on the other and produce is daily brought from the West bank to the Jinja market—but no official channels for co-operation or for consultation exist between the two native authorities. Such measures of co-ordination as do exist are effected only at higher levels by the Planning Committee and Protectorate Government.

For an appreciation of the division of functions within the township between the sub-county Sabawali and the other administrative bodies, a short description is necessary of the powers and functions of the Busoga African Local Government of which Sabawali forms part and from which it derives its own authority.

The Busoga African Local Government consists of Chiefs, the District Council and certain other grades of council. Its chief executive officers are the Kyabazinga (President of the District Council), Secretary-General and Treasurer. The District Council consists of up to 22 ex-officio members (viz. the three senior officials, the county chiefs and certain clan heads) ; up to 20 nominated members ; and one elected councillor for every 1,500 taxpayers. Though primarily consultative, the District Council may pass resolutions on matters connected with the district and is empowered to pass bye-laws on certain defined subjects. The chiefs are responsible for law and order in their respective areas, for tax-collection and the execution of governmental policy generally.

A standing committee is established in each District and is appointed by the District Commissioner, who is himself its Chairman. The function of this body is to consider all business which it is proposed to introduce before the District Council and to draw up the agenda for Council meetings. The Council is not permitted to vote on any resolution or bye-law until the Standing Committee has had an opportunity to consider the matter and tender advice. On the financial side, the District Council has powers, subject to the sanction of the Protectorate Administration, to levy local rates and collect dues for the benefit of the Native Treasury. The Council considers an annual budget prepared by the Treasurer and a financial committee established by the District Commissioner who, in consultation with higher Protectorate authority, determines its final form. Close supervision is exercised over the preparation of estimates, as it has been found in the past that Africans have not always appreciated the limitations of a public income. At the present stage of development it is a new experience for African councillors to think in terms of the large sums involved in public finance ; without restraint from the European administrators the African Local Government is inclined, for instance, to vote more than it can afford to educational grants.

The recurrent revenue of the African Local Government is derived mainly from taxes on the African population which it itself imposes and collects. Male African adults in Busoga pay a total annual tax of 31 shillings, of which 25 shillings is an African Local Government Tax and 6 shillings a Protectorate poll-tax. Recurrent expenditure is mainly on administration, public works and education. The African Local Government is given to understand by the Protectorate Administration that it will eventually take over certain Government technical departments and is therefore asked from time to time to undertake in increasing measure payment of the salaries of certain African staff members of those departments.

The African Local Government has its own system of courts, at the head of which is the district court over which the President also presides as a judge. The native courts are empowered by the Protectorate Administration to administer native law and custom " so far as it is not repugnant to natural justice or morality or in conflict with the provisions of any law enforced in the Protectorate " and to administer Rules or Orders made by the Protectorate administrative officers or by the African Local Government. Native courts have jurisdiction only over Africans, so that cases involving at least one party who is not an African go to a Protectorate court. Appeals from the district court may be made to Protectorate courts through the District Commissioner, and the district court itself acts as a court of appeal from the lower native courts. The District Commissioner has access to all native court records and may revise or quash proceedings. The necessity for the District Commissioner's revisionary powers arises largely out of the fact that the distinction between criminal and civil cases is not always perceived by native courts. Cases have occurred in which parties to civil cases and witnesses have been imprisoned because members of the court had decided that they are " bad characters ". However, the number of cases needing revision is decreasing as court officials gain experience.

Apart from the Kyabazinga, the Secretary-General and the Treasurer, the administrative personnel of the African Local Government consists mainly of African chiefs at the head of each of the 8 counties, 51 sub-counties and 283 parishes into which the District is divided. These chiefs are salaried officials deriving their formal authority from the Protectorate Government via the African Local Government and are subject to appointment, promotion and dismissal as civil servants. The present policy is to appoint to chieftainships persons whose qualities of leadership, education and experience qualify them to participate successfully in a modern system of government, rather than those whose kinship affiliations would automatically entitle them to positions of authority in the traditional system. There still remain, however, within the administrative structure some chiefs who would have been entitled to positions of leadership by virtue of their family affiliations alone, even in the absence of the European Government. Their official appointments have been achieved in many cases because of the superior opportunities for education and experience which they have had over the rest of the population, and because of the informal influence and prestige which they and their relatives possess. Others, however, hold chieftainships now which they would not have held under traditional rights.

Below the parish chiefs, who are the lowest grade of official recognised by the Protectorate Administration, exists a layer of village chiefs who exert hereditary authority over the persons under them, either personally or through deputies whom they may appoint.[1] They play an important part in the effective government of Africans at the lowest levels in what are, in effect, dual roles as hereditary leaders and henchmen to the parish chiefs. In their capacity as hereditary leaders, they are recognised by Africans as " owners "

(1) There have been attempts by the Protectorate Administration to regularise in some respects the position of the village (mutala) chiefs by bringing them into the African Local Government as civil servants, but this has been resisted on the grounds that it appears to involve the abrogation of personal rights over the villagers and render the chiefs liable to transfer and dismissal. At present the official point of view is that the village chief is responsible only for the allocation of land to persons in his area.

of the land in their villages, which they may distribute as they like, and as arbitrators in petty disputes ; in their capacity as henchmen to parish chiefs they maintain law and order, report cases and collect evidence to be dealt with by the court, assist in the execution of official orders and act as witnesses to transactions. According to L. A. Fallers[1] these village chiefs have in fact more authority than the parish chiefs, since the latter posts are the artificial creation of the Protectorate Government. Sub-county chiefs often issue orders direct to the village chiefs, thus by-passing parish chiefs.

The Jinja sub-county chief and his staff are, within their area, the representatives of the Busoga African Local Government. Their main duties are to maintain law and order among the African population, to try civil and criminal cases and collect taxes. The functions of the sub-county council are largely deliberative and advisory, though it is entitled to elect three of its members to sit on the county council. But its bye-laws must be confirmed by the higher council, and its importance lies largely in its ability to make proposals and recommendations for consideration by the higher authority. It nominates persons for the offices of President and Secretary-General, and participates in the election of district councillors. The jurisdiction of the sub-county court of Jinja is subject to the limitations of all African Local Government courts and it is further not permitted to deal with cases of arson or witchcraft ; it may deal with civil cases involving up to 1,000 shillings and give terms of imprisonment up to 6 months. In practice, most cases dealt with by the Jinja court involve theft, debt, land disputes or fighting.

Difficulties of African Local Government

In 1951 the Secretary of State emphasised that African Local Government should be " efficient enough to run the services which the people now require . . . adequately representative of the people . . . and close to the people."[2] To what extent are these targets for local government achieved in Jinja ?

It is extremely difficult for the Jinja sub-county and parish councils to be adequately representative of the people and close enough to them to represent their views efficiently. This is largely due to the immigrant and shifting nature of the population and to their lack of continuing interest in the area. Most of the adult Soga males in Jinja have their homes and more permanent interests elsewhere in Busoga. Soga constitute in any case less than one-fifth of all adult males in Jinja. Under the electoral regulations, an African who is a stranger to an area may acquire after 3 years' residence eligibility for membership of its parish and sub-county councils and the right to participate in council elections, but only about one-third of the foreign Africans in Jinja have been there as long as this. As a result only about a half of the adult male African population of the township is entitled to participate in the election of the councillors who represent them. It is therefore not surprising that little interest is shown by the general African population in the councils and that many do not even know of their existence.

The sub-county council consists of the sub-county chief as president with four parish chiefs as ex-officio members and 12 other members elected by parish councils from among their own number. Of these five are Soga, four Ganda, two Tesots and one is a Gishu, so that although Soga are in the minority among the elected members they have an overall majority as all five ex-officio members are Soga. Attendance by non-officials is, in any case, very irregular, partly because council meetings are held in working hours and partly through lack of interest on the part of the elected members and the general population they represent. Decisions are left very largely to the permanent officials. Parish councils are elected at meetings at which Soga resident in the parish and those foreign Africans with the three-year residen-

(1) Report on a Conference on the Position of Lower Chiefs, E.A.I.S.R. July, 1952.

(2) From the Opening Address by Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1951 Colonial Office Summer Conference on African Administration, H.M.S.O., African 1178.

tial qualification are allowed to vote and be elected. In Jinja these parish councils hardly function at all. Although instructions are issued from time to time by the sub-county chief to the parish chiefs to convene meetings, these seldom take place since members fail to attend. This is probably aggravated by the fact that none of the four parish chiefs live in their parishes. They do not have close personal contacts with their people. The weaknesses of the parish councils again throw responsibilities on to the officials and tend to make African administration in the township an increasingly more centralised affair[1] conducted at a remove from the general population.

Court work[2] within a Busoga sub-county is normally conducted by the sub-county chief who acts as president and sits with four or five unofficial court members. Through pressure of work in the growing town, however, the administrative functions of the sub-county of Jinja have recently become separated to a certain extent from the judicial, a special judicial assistant having been appointed to take charge of the court. The unofficial court members act as a jury over whose judgments this official may, if necessary, exercise a casting vote. At the end of each hearing he asks for their decision and pronounces sentence accordingly. In Jinja it has become the practice to include, among the panel of unofficial court members, tribesmen other than Soga. These are at present a Jaluo, a Samia, a Gishu and a Ganda. These tribes together constitute a majority of Africans in the town. In spite of this, there remains a widespread feeling among non-Soga that the local court discriminates against them.

We have seen that the Sabawali court is, as a native court, not empowered to deal with cases involving non-natives, arson and sedition, or with most matters covered by Protectorate legislation, and also has its own limitations within the native court system arising out of the fact that it constitutes the lowest level of court within that system.[3] Within its own jurisdiction there is furthermore a certain overlap in criminal matters between the Sabawali court and the local Protectorate court. This arises partly out of the fact that Protectorate as well as African Local Government police have the right to arrest offenders and that Protectorate police officers may exercise a certain amount of discretion in deciding whether an accused person arrested by them shall be tried in the Protectorate or native court. These decisions appear to be determined in part by the seriousness of the offence. Offences tend to be dealt with by the native court which, from the point of view of the police officer, are minor and from the point of view of the sub-county are " simple." There is also a tendency for the Protectorate police to hand to the native court cases involving charges unlikely to be sustained, on the weight of the evidence, in a Protectorate court, but in which a conviction could conceivably be secured in the native court with its less rigorous rules of evidence and methods of questioning accused persons and witnesses.

Under the arrangements which have been described, several bodies are concerned with the administration of Jinja township. In spite of this, and partly because of this, the administrative system does not appear to attain desired ends. The sub-county authorities do not represent the mass of the heterogeneous and mobile local African population, have only a very limited control over them and neither enjoy their confidence nor that of the other bodies and officials engaged in local administration.[4] The rationale of using indigenous or old-established institutions for the government of Africans is presumably that it is democratic and that, since the chiefs have

(1) The chiefs complain that they have more work and responsibility in Jinja than in the rural parishes.

(2) Cases come to the attention of the sub-county court in three ways : they may be referred by the Protectorate police, or offenders may have been arrested by the African Local Government police, or Africans may bring cases or complaints directly.

(3) The sub-county court has jurisdiction over civil cases involving up to 1,000 shillings, 20 head of cattle or 100 sheep. It may give terms of imprisonment up to 6 months and/or a fine or compensation up to 12 head of cattle or 60 sheep or goats and/or whipping up to 10 strokes.

(4) This statement is based on numerous interviews with private citizens and officials.

traditional authority, it is most convenient and efficient to govern through them. The success of such a system depends on such factors as the acceptance by the people of the traditional authority of chieftainship, on the personal links between chiefs and their people[1] on common kinship affiliations, on the common ground of tribal and clan customs, on interest in and willingness to contribute towards effective government and on the sanctions derived from a spontaneously aroused public opinion. Apart from a few villages in Jinja where the population is mainly Soga and Ganda and where some vestiges of a traditional content still exist, these conditions do not obtain in the township as a whole.

While the retention of the existing system within Jinja may fulfil symbolical functions for the European and African administrations, the special characteristics of the township area render this form practically devoid of real content and meaning for the mass of the African people.

Apart from its own internal problems, the sub-county administration is hampered by the nature of its relations with outside bodies. At present the external orientation of the sub-county is towards the Busoga African Local Government and to African district affairs, rather than to township affairs. But the majority of Africans living in the town are not Soga and are involved in township rather than in district affairs. A need appears to exist for the sub-county chief to act as a link not only between the African people of Jinja and the African Local Government, but also between them and the Township Authority which exists to provide local services to Africans as well as to other races. The need for adequate representation of African viewpoints is only partially met by the inclusion of two Africans, one the sub-county chief and the other a private citizen, on the Township Authority committee. This is due not only to the fact that the Africans form only a small minority of the committee but also, as we have seen, to the limited nature of their participation in its deliberations. In certain other East African urban areas the problem of adequately representing African interests on the township body is met by appointing the urban District Commissioner in a capacity other than chairman and charging him with specific responsibility for African affairs. As pointed out earlier, the District Commissioner, Jinja, will in any case bear increasing responsibilities for Africans as more come to live in the growing housing estates.

Overall Township Problems

The under-representation of African viewpoints appears to form part of the overall problem that the Township Authority is insufficiently representative of all races. Its position is similar to that of the sub-county administration in that it tends to function as a local branch of a central authority rather than as an organ of representative local opinion. This emphasis seems due not only to the lack of effective and sufficient African representation but also to the tendency of non-official members to represent their own racial communities, to the fact that a government official acts as chairman and to the fact that the Township Authority does not have its own technical staff. The separation of the Township Authority from planning functions constitutes a separate problem of the desirable relationship between day to day administration and long-term planning. The position of the Planning Committee appears anomalous ; with respect to the township area its functions could probably be performed as adequately and more appropriately by the Township Authority, and with respect to the West bank, its recommendations are evidently to be regarded by the Protectorate Government and by the Ganda as unacceptable.

The problems which have been discussed stem from a liberal policy. They arise from the task which British colonial authorities have set themselves

(1) It was found in the sample survey that 51% of the adult African males did not know the chief with immediate authority over them.

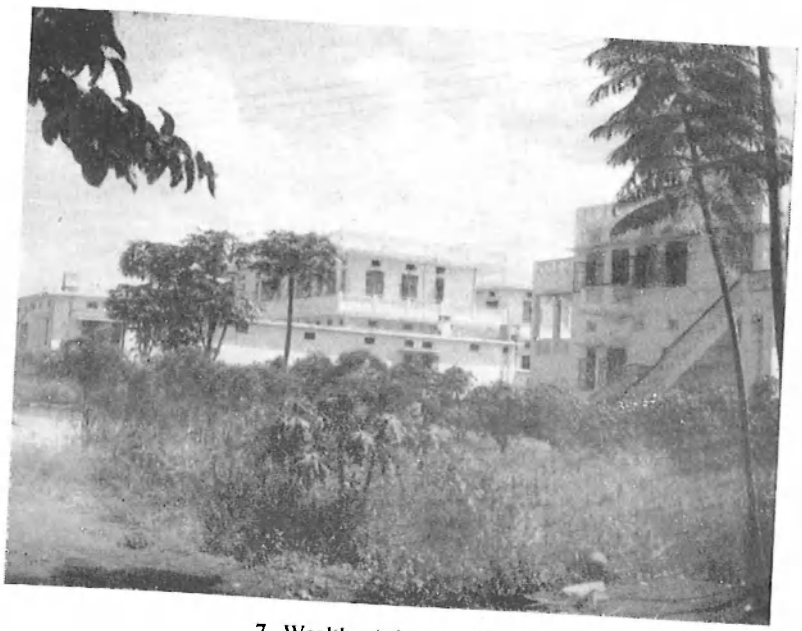
of attempting to evolve an efficient and democratic administration for the expanding urban society. The necessary political changes will be found to involve also changes in the social structure and in the value system. But there are, in the first instance, certain issues of policy which will have to be clarified. These arise in regard both to the relations between the various bodies and to internal organisation.

Central among these issues is the future role to be assumed in the administrative system of the African authority. Is Jinja's local African authority to remain in its present form or to be integrated more closely into the general township administration ? If the latter, what form should this integration take ? Would the native authority become absorbed into the Township Authority as a Native Affairs department or retain some of its separate characteristics and its connection with the Busoga African Local Government ? Is it more democratic for a cosmopolitan African concentration in a tribal area to be controlled by the tribal authorities or by the representatives of an electorate including foreign African immigrants ? If representatives of the immigrants are to be chosen, what should be the principle of selection and what should be the appropriate franchise qualification for voters ?

If the Western type of moral code is essential to the workings of the new administrative system, how is this code to be made more widely acceptable in a society based on a different value system ? What non-economic motivation can be introduced to induce Africans of integrity to devote time to the service of the public ? This question is, of course, not confined only to the African authority but is a basic issue for the township administration as a whole. How can sufficient civic consciousness or community spirit be evoked among all races, nationalities and tribes to make the Township Authority committee effective as the forum and agent of local public opinion? In particular, how can African participation be made more effective and how can African affairs within Jinja be brought under a more unified form of administration ?

5. Soga woman peeling bananas.

6. African housing—Walukuba.



7. Wealthy Asian dwelling.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATIONS AND INCOMES

"EIGHTY-NINE years ago the first European stood on a rock and watched the green water swirl and thunder down the Ripon cataract. Captain Speke had fulfilled his ambition. He had found the place where the second largest lake in the world spilled over to give birth to the world's third largest river. Little could he have imagined that in just ninety years' time the last European, the last man of any kind, would stand on that rock to watch the plunging waters—that both Speke's rock and the Ripon Falls themselves would disappear engulfed in the water piled up behind the Owen Falls Dam. When it is finished, the dam will raise the river 60 feet above its present level over a period of five months. . . . By March, 1953, some 6,480,000 gallons of water a minute from the pent-up lake will cascade through six great turbines, each producing 15 megawatts of electric power. . . . "[1]

" Construction has started at Jinja of the buildings which will house Uganda's first Textile Mill which, it is hoped, will produce nine million yards of cloth a year in five years' time and which will ultimately produce twenty-seven million yards annually. The share capital of the company will be about £1,500,000 . . . . employment will be found for from 5,000 to 6,000 Africans, any of whom will be given the opportunity to rise by merit to positions of responsibility."[2]

These developments represent the culmination of Jinja's conversion from a relatively self-sufficient agricultural area into an economic unit dependent on and interlocked with its rural hinterland and the world economy. Economic development has also had the effect of moving different peoples and sorting them out among the different types of task to be performed. The new economic institutions have been established by a skilled European and Asian nucleus who have built a relatively unskilled indigenous labour force around themselves. While it has been theoretically possible for persons of any race to fill any position in the economy, there has arisen an occupational hierarchy in which individuals of each race are limited to narrow ranges of jobs and ranks. Europeans, Africans and Asians have each tended to enter the occupational structure at a given level and to perform functions distinct from those of the other races.

This chapter describes the present distribution of Jinja's working population between the main economic activities of the town and then continues with an account of the occupations and earnings of each of the racial groups.

Jinja is at present the scene of considerable capital investment, with building and constructional activities employing twice as many workers as any other industry (see Table XIII). This investment is taking such forms as the construction of the dam, the erection of dwellings, shops, offices and workshops, the provision of grain storage facilities and the improvement of road, water and sanitary services. Although these projects are being undertaken by a variety of different bodies and individuals the combined effect is that of a heavy investment in the town's future. These developments are largely preliminary to the industrialisation of the area, for it is expected that a textile works to spin local cotton, a copper smelter, a brewery and other large manufacturing enterprises will take advantage of the provision of hydro-

(1) *Uganda Herald*, 11th September, 1951.
(2) *Uganda Herald*, 24th April, 1951.

electric power and establish themselves in or near the township. It seems probable, therefore, that while building construction will continue for a time to be Jinja's main industry, manufacturing will eventually become the largest utiliser of labour.

TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN, ASIAN AND EUROPEAN MALES BETWEEN MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES[1]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	*African*	*Asian*	*European*	*All Races*
Building and Construction ..	43	23	58	41
Manufacturing	19	9	4	17
Transport and Communication	4	11	6	4
Commerce	2	46	10	6
Public Administration and Defence	9	1	19	9
Personal Service	12	5	1	11
Agriculture and Fishing ..	2	—	—	2
Professions	—	6	2	1
Other	9	—	—	8
TOTAL NUMBERS ..	14,400	1,400	500	16,300

For the moment, manufacturing has the second largest labour force in Jinja, its position depending mainly on the tobacco factory which alone employs over a third of all persons engaged in manufacturing. The remainder are employed in a variety of smaller concerns including an oil refinery, carpentry and engineering workshops, a soya bean factory and a number of brickfields and quarry works.

The third largest economic activity is personal service, mainly the provision of domestic labour to non-African immigrants. This provides one of the most significant indices to the standards of living of the non-African population. It emphasises also the dependence of the indigenous African population on the new opportunities for wage-earning provided by the presence of foreigners from the outside world.

Building, manufacture and personal service provide between them the bulk of African employment opportunities. The table above shows 74% of male African workers as occupied in these activities.

As the administrative headquarters of the Eastern Province and the Busoga District, Jinja is the main centre of planning and administration for eastern Uganda and government officials representing a variety of departments are stationed in the town. Public administration includes also the cleansing, sanitary and refuse disposal services provided by the Township Authority, which have greatly increased with the expansion of the built-up area in the last few years, the services of the large local hospital staff and the

(1) The figures for Africans and Europeans in this table are approximate. They are derived mainly from information available in the office of the Labour Commissioner concerning firms employing over 25 workers : supplementary estimates have been made of the total numbers employed by the smaller firms. The figures for Asians are derived directly from the Asian Sample Survey of April, 1951, being the best single estimates that can be made from the sample.
The African figures include categories of workers excluded from the African sample survey of January-February 1951. These are : (1) The 1,000 workers on the dam who live at the dam site on the west bank of the river, i.e., within the Jinja Planning area, though not within the township itself: (2) Domestic servants living on the premises of their employers. It has been possible to estimate from the Asian and European surveys which included questions on the employment of servants that male domestic servants total about 1,700. It was found during the African survey that few Africans have domestic servants though some have young relatives living with them who help with household chores. (3) Those workers who live outside Jinja but come in daily to their places of employment. Since the approximate number of workers as estimated from the sample survey was 7,300 and the Owen Falls resident workers and the domestic servants totalled between them a further 2,700, the number of commuting African workers must have been in the region of 4,400.
It would have been valuable to include an investigation of the households of the excluded categories of workers within the scope of the sample survey, but this proved impossible owing to severe limitations of resources. Their inclusion would have greatly amplified the survey data and increased their administrative usefulness.

local military and police establishments. Jinja has been, since 1939, the military headquarters of Uganda and accommodates in barracks a force of soldiers consisting mainly of Africans drawn from Kenya.

Commerce, next in importance among Jinja's economic activities as an employer of labour, was of vital importance in the earlier development of the town, but is carried out very largely by small units consisting of a proprietor and perhaps a few assistants. Its present position, in contrast with building, manufacture and personal service, is due to the large number of small units rather than the presence of large enterprises.

As full-time activities, agriculture and fishing, occupying only about 2% of African adult males, are now in the background, dwarfed by the specialised agencies which give Jinja its present place in the world-wide division of labour. The majority of African men now living in Jinja are in housing estates, barracks and labour lines and are not in a position to cultivate land within the township. Cultivation is, however, carried on part-time in certain areas of Jinja by some men with access to land who also have jobs in the town, and by their wives and children. The small numbers of full-time fishermen are reinforced outside ordinary working hours by men supplementing income derived from their regular jobs.

The different races make different contributions to the various economic activities of the town in respect both of their numerical representation in each, and of the processes they perform. Africans, for instance, are the only cultivators and fishermen, but there are practically none in commerce and only a few in the professions. Asians contribute the majority of workers to commerce and the professions, but relatively few, in proportion to their population size, to public administration and defence, personal service and the primary industries. European contributions are mainly in the spheres of constructional activities, public administration and defence.

AFRICANS

The majority of African workers in the town, as is shown in Table XIV, are relatively unskilled, performing manual work with objects rather than mental work with paper or people. This applies not only to those included in the category of unskilled labourers but also to the artisans, the majority of whom must, by Western as well as Asian standards, be rated at best as semi-skilled. Only a negligible proportion of African carpenters and mechanics, for instance, can compare in skill with the Indian or European artisan.

The only other group comprising more than 5% of the African male workers in the sample are the traders. Many of these are food distributors, acting as intermediaries between the rural areas and the town market or selling produce from their own plots. The presence of the Indian storekeeper and the insistence on minimum standards for shops tend to keep the African shopkeeper out of the built-up sector of the town. But the African's virtual monopoly of the land and the facilities provided for trading in the town market place him in an excellent position to take advantage of the economic opportunities offered him by the concentration of large numbers of persons in the urban area with its limited and decreasing acreage under cultivation.

Of particular interest is the growing class of clerical and professional workers, who, among Africans, have had the longest formal training in European symbols, techniques and values and perform the functions most closely resembling those of Europeans. The clerks and professionals form a prestige elite to which the ambition of the young African is oriented, and who regard themselves as the most civilised and advanced African group. Their social behaviour and domestic life tends to be modelled on that of the Europeans and they are beginning to emerge as a group with a culture marginal both to that of the European and the African.

An important category of African workers, excluded from the African sample survey, but exceeded in numbers only by the unskilled labourers and the artisans, are the domestic servants. These are almost entirely em-

ployed by Europeans and Asians. The fact that there is scarcely a non-African household in the town without at least one African servant illustrates the relative status of African and non-African in the urban economy.

TABLE XIV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES IN SAMPLE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	*Percentage*	*Total in sample*
Professional and Clerical	4.2	46
Traders	5.6	61
Artisans	24.9	274
Unskilled labourers	45.0	495
Supervisory unskilled	3.3	36
Military and Police	6.2	68
Domestic Servants	2.0	22
Cultivators	2.5	27
Fishermen	2.0	22
Scholars	0.9	10
Unoccupied	3.3	36
Unclassified	.02	2
TOTAL	100	1,099

A new feature in Jinja's economic life has been the introduction during the past year of a number of African women as operatives in the tobacco factory. These now total about 100. This move has met with considerable African opposition. It is said that it encourages women to leave their husbands and undermines the customary authority of father or husband in that it enables the woman to support herself, and encourages "immoral" living in the town. There are further African women, numbering about 110, working as domestic servants, mainly as children's nurses, in European and Asian households. A few others work as hospital nurses and shop and hotel assistants, but it is unlikely that the total number of African women in paid employment in the town exceeds 300.[1] Apart from this, many of the women in the villages which lie within the town cultivate food and cash crops while some earn money from making and selling food, drink and handwork.

To what is the confinement of most African males to unskilled work due? In certain other countries, such as South Africa, the exclusion of Africans from skilled work is due largely to the operation of official policy and to pressure exerted by bodies of workers of other races. These bodies insist either that Africans be explicity excluded, or on equal pay being given to members of all races in the same post, which results in the virtual exclusion of Africans since their efficiency is, for various reasons, generally rather lower. In Uganda, by contrast, the Government fosters African participation in industry at all levels and there is no organised labour movement keeping Africans out of skilled work.[2] In view of the low starting wages of African workers in relation to those of other races, it is usually in the interests of the employer in both countries to have an African undertake skilled work, but this is opposed in Uganda neither by Government nor organised non-African labour.

(1) There are also African women living on the proceeds of prostitution.

(2) While there is no organised industrial colour-bar, it is stated both by Africans and Europeans that the development of skills in Africans is sometimes retarded by the reluctance of the Asian employer and foreman to teach the African worker more than is essential to the job he is performing. Though the individual cases in which this occurs may have important symbolic significance for Africans there is no evidence that they occur on a wider scale. This is further discussed in the separate report on occupational structure.

The instability of the African labour force militates against the development of skills.[1] There is a considerable loss of acquired skill through workers leaving the town after only a relatively short period. Even if the worker returns to the town he has forgotten much of what he has learned.

Apart from the temporary nature of his stay, the African makes changes in his job, for one reason or another, while he is in the town. As Table XV shows, 35% of the workers in the sample have held more than one job and 12% more than two jobs. Even among these who have been in Jinja less than one year, 18% have held more than one job. The sample survey data show changes of job to be only slightly more frequent among unskilled labourers than artisans and do not indicate a significant difference in this respect between educated and uneducated.[2] From the point of view of the economy as a whole, this would not be very serious if the worker stayed in the same type of job and merely transferred his skills from one employer to another. But occupational histories show that a change of employer often involves a change of occupation and, therefore, the virtual waste of the worker's previous experience.

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY NUMBER OF JOBS[3] AND LENGTH OF STAY IN JINJA

LENGTH OF STAY	*Number of Jobs*							*Total in Sample*	*% in each Category*
	0	1	2	3	4	5	*Uns.*		
Less than 6 months ..	13	155	18	2	1	1	1	191	17.4
6 months ..	0	89	26	4	2	0	0	121	11.0
12 months ..	2	99	32	7	1	0	1	142	12.9
18 months ..	0	33	12	2	0	1	0	48	4.4
2 years ..	0	89	32	7	4	0	0	132	12.0
3 years ..	1	43	28	6	3	3	1	85	7.7
4 years ..	2	32	17	7	1	1	0	60	5.5
5 years ..	2	69	34	6	6	4	2	123	11.2
10 years and over	1	49	40	26	17	10	3	146	13.3
Born in Jinja ..	4	17	11	2	0	2	0	36	3.3
Visitors ..	12	3	0	0	0	0	0	15	1.4
TOTAL IN SAMPLE ..	37	678	250	69	35	22	8	1,099	100
Percentage ..	3.4	61.7	22.8	6.3	3.2	2.0	.07	100	

The concentration of Africans in unskilled occupations is in large part a result of their limited formal education.[4] Of every 100 adult African males in the sample population, 55 have never attended school and only 12 have completed a primary education. Only a half of 1% have completed secondary school.

(1) Longer experience increases the likelihood that the worker will acquire a skill : in the African sample survey it was found that a majority (56%) of African artisans had been in Jinja two years or more while a minority (40%) of the unskilled labourers had stayed as long.

(2) Perhaps the least mobile African workers are those members of the small elite of government-employed professional and clerical workers. The instability of African workers in the town is more fully discussed in the separate report on occupational structure.

(3) The term " job " refers to post and not to occupation ; thus if a mason transfers his services from one employer to another, he is recorded as having changed his job.

(4) It is possible to estimate from the 1948 Census and from school attendance figures for Busoga that about one half of the child population of this district attended school. There are, at present, in this area containing over half a million people, 96 government-aided schools for Africans, a further number of unaided " bush " schools and three secondary schools, only one of which covers the full range of secondary standards.

TABLE XVI

CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION (per cent.) OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD ATTAINED

Educational Standard attained	*Percentage*
None	54.8
At least Primary 1	45.1
" " " 2	42.3
" " " 3	34.4
" " " 4	26.9
" " " 5	17.7
" " " 6	11.9
At least Secondary 1	5.5
" " " 2	4.1
" " " 3	2.6
" " " 4	1.3
" " " 5	0.7
" " " 6	0.6
TOTAL PERSONS	1,099

Educational attainment differs between the tribes. (See Table XVII). It was found in the sample survey that Ganda have educational attainments significantly[1] above the average, while Gishu and Nyankole had a standard of education significantly lower than the average level for all tribes.

Apart from formal schooling 8.5% of the African adult males in the sample had received some form of technical training by way of army instruction, technical school attendance, or paid lessons from drivers, tailors or mechanics. Most learning of skill is, however, acquired on the job and by graduation from the ranks of the unskilled.

The link between African occupations and educational qualifications is shown in Table XVIII. Only a small minority have had sufficient education to enable them to secure the prized clerical and professional posts. The great majority with little or no education are unable to find paid work other than as unskilled labourers, headmen (supervisory unskilled) or domestic servants.

A wide range of educational standards is shown in the case of artisans ; this category includes persons who have worked their way up from the ranks of the illiterate unskilled as well as many who have had some primary schooling.[2] The artisan who has had some secondary education is, however, rare despite efforts made by Government and private employers to persuade the better educated African to undertake this type of work. A secondary schooling has been regarded as a passport to a comfortable and well paid job at a desk and it has been regarded as undignified for an educated African to do any form of manual work. The members of this group envy the earnings of the higher paid artisan, but there is, against this, the loss of face incurred by an educated man doing such work and the lower starting salary paid to the learner artisan.[3] There are, however, now some signs that the prejudice against skilled manual work is decreasing, owing to the fact that there are, since the inception of the constructional boom, many more Europeans working with their hands[4] and owing also to a growing tendency for prestige to become attributed to persons able to command a higher income.

(1) Use of the word " significantly " in this context indicates that the relevant statistical data have been tested at the 5% level of significance.

(2) Persons with little or no education, as well as the better educated, have sometimes been the recipients of " technical training ".

(3) African workers usually prefer a job which starts with a " full " wage even though this may be lower than the eventual earnings of an artisan.

(4) The high status of clerical jobs among Africans appears very largely to be due to the past concentration in office jobs of the Europeans.

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN MALES BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD AND TRIBE

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*TOTAL*	*Percentage*
None	24	54	85	15	49	148	86	56	78	21	152	768	58.1
Primary 1	1	1	6	2	3	11	7	1	7	—	12	51	3.9
„ 2	3	8	6	3	3	20	15	7	8	2	27	102	7.7
„ 3	5	7	4	6	4	25	10	6	9	4	13	93	7.0
„ 4	4	6	7	2	2	26	22	7	12	1	18	107	8.1
„ 5	—	1	11	2	1	16	15	—	8	1	12	67	5.1
„ 6	6	7	4	2	—	13	17	1	5	1	18	74	5.6
Secondary 1	—	2	1	—	—	6	2	—	1	—	3	15	1.1
„ 2	—	1	1	1	—	5	3	—	1	—	5	17	1.3
„ 3	1	—	1	1	—	1	7	—	2	—	1	14	1.0
„ 4–6 ..	—	1	2	—	—	3	5	1	1	1	—	14	1.0
Unstated	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.1
TOTAL	44	88	129	34	62	274	189	79	132	31	261	1,323	100
Percentage	3.3	6.6	9.8	2.6	4.7	20.7	14.3	6.0	10.0	2.3	19.7	100	

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD AND OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	*None*	*P1-P3*	*P4-P6*	*S1-S3*	*S4-S6*	*Unst.*	*Total in Sample*
Clerical & Professional ..	—	3	12	21	9	—	45
Traders	39	12	9	1	0	—	61
Artisans	121	48	95	9	1	—	274
Unskilled labourers ..	311	95	83	4	1	1	495
Military and Police ..	29	11	20	8	0	—	68
Supervisory Unskilled ..	19	7	8	0	2	—	36
Domestic Servants ..	16	6	0	0	0	—	22
Cultivators	23	2	2	0	0	—	27
Fishermen	17	3	2	0	0	—	22
Scholars	0	6	3	1	0	—	10
Unoccupied	26	5	2	2	1	—	36
Unstated	1	2	0	0	0	—	3
TOTAL NUMBERS ..	602	200	236	46	14	1	1,099
Total Percentages ..	54.8	18.2	21.5	4.2	1.3	0.1	100

The variety of educational standards found among artisans is paralleled on a smaller scale within the military and police category, since this includes both the constable and the soldier with little or no education and the non-commissioned officer who has attended school.

Trading, an occupation which in the other races usually requires a certain minimum education, is carried on among Africans mainly by the illiterate grower who brings his own produce to the market for sale or sells from small stocks at his own home.

The confinement of nearly half of the African labour force to unskilled occupations pulls the average African wage down towards the legal minimum of 33 shillings per month. Table XIX indicates that a third of all African male workers earned between 33 and 40 shillings per month.[1] The median wage for workers of all grades is 42 shillings per month.[1] While the great majority of unskilled labourers earn under 40 shillings per month, the supply of unskilled artisans is relatively small and the resultant scarcity greatly increases the wage of the competent workman. The median wage of artisans is 81 shillings and of African workers earning 100 shillings or more per month over half are artisans. African starting wages are, in general, so much lower than those of the other races that ample opportunity usually exists for the African worker in private employ to raise his earnings as his skills increase. A worker beginning as an unskilled labourer and passing into the ranks of the skilled may double or treble his wages within the space of a year or 18 months. The range of skill possessed by artisans is, however, very wide and there is therefore considerable disparity between the earnings of one artisan and another.

Among the clerks and professionals there is also a considerable variation between those who are little more than office boys and the handful holding a rank in government technical departments or in the military or police forces nearly equivalent to that of some junior Europeans. The median wage of 100 shillings for clericals and professionals is above that of the artisans. There are nevertheless some artisans who earn considerably more than clerks. There is considerable variation too in the earnings of the military, police and traders, in the case of the first two because of the large number of duties and ranks included within this category and in the latter because of differences between the smaller trader and better established business man.

(1) In some cases African earnings are supplemented by wages in kind, usually food, or workers are given the opportunity to receive part of their wages in food costing them less than open market prices.

TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY PRESENT OCCUPATION AND CASH EARNINGS IN MONTH PRECEDING SURVEY

EARNINGS	*Clerical*	*Police and Military*	*Traders*	*Artisans*	*Unskilled labourers*	*Super-visory Unskilled*	*Domestic Servants*	*Culti-vators*	*Fisher-men*	*Un-occupied Scholars*	*Unstated*	*TOTAL IN SAMPLE*	*Per cent. in each earnings category*
Not an earner	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	10	20	—	34	3.1
Unemployed one month	—	—	—	9	23	—	1	—	1	—	5	—	39	3.6
Below 33 Shillings ..	—	—	8	6	73	2	3	5	6	—	1	—	104	9.5
33 Shillings	2	7	2	27	312	8	7	1	4	—	2	1	373	33.9
40 „	1	15	11	34	54	7	4	2	—	—	2	1	131	11.9
50 „	3	7	1	10	17	9	2	—	—	—	—	—	49	4.5
60 „	1	4	3	31	10	2	1	1	—	—	2	—	55	5.0
70 „	5	18	3	21	2	2	1	1	2	—	—	—	55	5.0
80 „	6	7	3	14	—	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	34	3.1
90 „	5	2	1	17	1	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	29	2.6
100 — 150 Shillings ..	11	5	8	63	1	2	2	3	—	—	—	—	95	8.6
150 — 200 „ ..	6	2	5	24	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	39	3.6
200 Shillings	1	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	10	0.9
250 „ & over ..	5	1	11	6	—	2	—	5	4	—	—	—	34	3.2
Unstated	—	—	5	6	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	18	1.6
TOTAL													1,099	100

The earnings of the individual trader vary widely from month to month and this is an additional factor making for the earning differences shown in Table XIX.

Education is an aid to a worker, especially if he has proceeded beyond the primary standards, but formal schooling is not always essential to economic success.

There is a positive but low correlation between earnings and education (0.2). From Table XX it can be seen that many persons with primary education earn relatively little. Although they have received some education this is evidently insufficient to lift them out of the unskilled low-wage group. There are, on the other hand, some higher paid artisans who have had no formal school training and have acquired their skills from other sources. Again, scope exists for the enterprising trader to achieve business success even without schooling.

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALE EARNERS BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS AND †MONTHLY EARNINGS

EDUCATION	Earnings (Shillings) 30—	40—	50—	60—	70—	80—	90—	100—150	150—200	200+	*Total*
None ..	293	74	29	30	27	13	11	38	7	22	544
P1-P3 ..	95	27	8	7	5	8	6	15	7	5	183
P4-P6 ..	83	26	12	17	14	9	6	30	17	12	226
S1-S3 ..	4	4	0	0	9	4	5	7	7	3	43
S4 or S5 ..	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	2	0	6
S6 ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	6
TOTAL ..	475	131	49	55	55	34	29	95	40	45	1,008

†*Only those in receipt of earnings in the month preceding survey.*

The new urban societies bring into close proximity representatives of a variety of different tribes. New groups arise. In some cases these coincide with and reinforce tribal distinctions and in other cases cut across them. In Jinja the Ganda and Soga constitute the majority of clerks, professionals and artisans and have earnings significantly above the average, while Teso, Nyankole and Samia have earnings significantly below the average. The partial correspondence between tribe, occupational category and earnings probably favours the maintenance of tribal distinctions between Soga and Ganda on the one hand and " foreign Africans " on the other and hampers the development of a racial solidarity cutting across tribal groupings. There is, nevertheless, a range of variation within most of the tribes from the unskilled labourer to the clerical or professional worker, from the illiterate to the man with a secondary education, and from the labourer on the minimum wage to the artisan, trader or professional in receipt of a relatively high income.

There are signs that a new class structure is beginning to emerge which is no longer based on tribal differences. For instance, there are growing divisions between the relatively educated and highly paid professionals on the one hand and the mass of " porters " (unskilled labourers) on the other. The former wish for separate accommodation and separate recreational facilities. They try to confine their friendships to their own group and denigrate other Africans as " uncivilised " and crude. This tendency is fostered when officials encourage the highly paid to move into better accommodation for which a higher rent is charged.

Another new division, of potential political importance, may be arising within the town between clerical workers and the larger-scale and more successful of the traders. Some of the clerks are becoming conscious of the

TABLE XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY OCCUPATION AND MAIN TRIBE

OCCUPATION	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*TOTAL*
Clerical and Professional	—	1	2	1	—	13	16	—	5	2	6	46
Military and Police	5	7	4	4	—	2	2	1	—	—	43	68
Traders	—	4	1	4	2	13	18	5	—	2	12	61
Artisans	11	10	30	5	5	65	59	3	29	9	48	274
Unskilled Labourers	12	52	43	10	51	59	39	50	67	11	101	495
Supervisory unskilled	1	2	12	2	1	4	3	—	4	—	7	36
Domestic Service	1	—	3	1	—	5	2	1	—	2	7	22
Cultivators	—	1	—	—	—	13	10	—	1	—	2	27
Fishermen	1	—	2	—	—	10	6	2	—	—	1	22
Scholars	—	1	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	1	10
Unoccupied	2	5	—	—	1	11	7	1	—	1	6	36
Unclassified	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
TOTAL NUMBER	33	83	99	28	60	200	164	63	107	28	234	1,099
Percentage each tribe	3.0	7.6	9.0	2.6	5.5	18.2	14.9	5.7	9.7	2.6	21.3	100.0

act that the genera popu ation loo increasing y upon t e re ative y wea t y rather than the educated as successful townsmen and may, when their wishes become articulate, prefer to select their leaders from the former class.

ASIANS

The largest single element (44%) of the occupied Asian male population is engaged in commerce and finance. (See Table XXII). It has been mentioned at an earlier point in this report that at the turn of the century Sir Harry Johnston encouraged the development of Indian commerce in Uganda and that the Indian's possession of capital, skills and contacts lacking on the part of the African and their willingness to incur health risks and endure low living standards has given them a dominant position in the business life of the country. Their concentration in commerce is also connected with the virtual prohibition of land purchase by non-Africans and the disinclination of Government to employ Asians except where essential. This means that Asians have had their best economic opportunities in spheres where entrepreneurial skills are rewarded and in private enterprise. Consequently, Asians who can muster a small sum of capital have tended to become shopkeepers, and those with better support wholesale merchants, financiers, or in a few cases, manufacturers. Those unable to raise capital have usually become clerks and assistants to Asian businessmen, as their main opportunities for wage-earning employment have lain with the Asian private employer.

Recent developments have also provided opportunities for Asians in the constructional industry in which over a fifth of employed Asian males are now employed. Also participating directly in the capital investment programmes are the transport proprietors who form 10% of the total.

The foregoing information refers to men. The number of Asian women in employment is negligible ; of 387 adult women (15 years and over) in the sample only 1.13% were occupied. These were mainly school teachers. There is, however, also a small number of women who take classes of school children in their homes, i.e. in effect run small private schools. It has recently been realised that advantage can be taken of the unused labour pool provided by the presence of African women in the town, but it is not always seen that Asian women constitute further economic resources which appear to be under-employed.

The conventional picture of the Asian in East Africa is as a shopkeeper. In the occupational distribution, those Asians describing themselves as earning a living from shopkeeping only are shown as subordinate businessmen, while those who have a number of business interests which may or may not include shopkeeping are shown as independent businessmen. Since the former category comprises 16% and the latter 14% this means that a maximum of three out of every ten Asian males are in fact shopkeepers. A further 21% are employed in clerical posts, chiefly in Asian commercial and financial concerns. The prominence of artisans, who form 23% of all occupied Asian men, is new, and is due mainly to the recent constructional boom. These men have formed the largest single element among Asian adult immigrants to Jinja during the last two years. Their presence in Jinja is connected with the fact that employers in Jinja, both government and private and both European and Asian, find existing African levels of skill inadequate to meet the urgent needs of the new economic developments. They have the alternatives of importing European or Asian artisans and often prefer the latter in view of the lower wages and inferior living conditions which Asian workers are prepared to accept. While European artisans are generally regarded as superior to Asian, the extra value of their higher or better quality output evidently does not always compensate sufficiently for the extra costs of employing them.[1] Apart from the employed artisans there is a

(1) There has been a notable exception in the case of the construction of the dam, where relatively rare specialist skills have been required and language differences between professional European staff and Asian artisans would have proved prohibitive. See later paragraphs on Europeans.

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND OCCUPATION

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	*Pro-fessional*	*Sub-ordinate Pro-fessional*	*In-dependent Business-men*	*Sub-ordinate Business-men*	*Managers*	*Clerks*	*Shop Assistants*	*Building and Transport Con-tractors*	*Artisans*	*Bar and Hotel Pro-prietors*	*TOTAL IN SAMPLE*	*% in each Category*
Commerce and Finance ..	2	—	33	70	12	46	20	—	2	3	188	43.9
Manufacturing	2	—	16	—	—	6	1	—	16	—	41	9.6
Building and Construction ..	2	—	—	—	—	12	—	22	61	—	97	22.7
Transport	1	—	7	—	1	9	—	9	17	—	44	10.3
Medicine, Education and Law	9	10	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	26	6.1
Others	2	1	3	—	—	8	4	—	3	1	32	7.4
TOTAL	18	11	59	70	13	88	25	31	99	14	428	100
Percentage	4.2	2.6	13.8	16.4	3.0	20.6	5.8	7.2	23.1	3.3	100	

further 7% of occupied Asian men who are participating in the constructional boom as independent contractors.

Asians have very largely to make their own economic opportunities as is shown by the large proportion (47%) who are self-employed. Self-employed persons comprise the majority in commerce, and over two-fifths in manufacturing and transport. (See Table XXIII). These are mainly the independent and subordinate businessmen (shopkeepers), building and transport contractors and caterers. Those in employment are chiefly artisans, clerks, shop assistants, teachers and nurses.

TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND WHETHER OR NOT SELF-EMPLOYED

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	*Self-employed*	*Not Self-employed*	*Total Number*
Commerce and Finance ..	58.5	41.5	188
Manufacturing	41.5	58.5	41
Building and Construction ..	27.9	72.2	97
Transport	45.5	54.5	44
Education, Medicine and Law..	30.8	69.2	26
Others	56.3	43.8	32
TOTAL	46.7	53.3	428

Although there is a group of adult Asian males (7%) who have no education, Asian men are, in general, highly educated in comparison with Africans. (See comparative table XXIV).

TABLE XXIV

CUMULATIVE DISTRIBUTION (per cent.) OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN ADULT MALES BY EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

School Standard Attained	*African*	*Asian*
None	54.8	6.6
At least Primary 1	45.1	92.9
„ „ „ 2	42.3	92.5
„ „ „ 3	34.4	89.7
„ „ „ 4	26.9	84.3
„ „ „ 5	17.7	76.4
„ „ „ 6	11.9	69.4
At least Secondary 1	5.5	58.5
„ „ „ 2	4.1	53.0
„ „ „ 3	2.6	44.8
„ „ „ 4	1.3	38.5
„ „ „ 5	0.7	30.2
„ „ „ 6	0.5	24.0
TOTAL PERSONS	1099	504

Seventy out of every 100 of the Asians, as against 12 of every 100 Africans, have completed primary schooling, and nearly a quarter of the Asians, as against less than one per cent. of the Africans have completed secondary school. Among the occupied Asian males, 10% have completed, in addition to the full period of secondary schooling, a formal and systematic course leading to a professional, academic or technical qualification. It has been shown that among occupied Africans, 8% have had some technical training, but this applied largely to persons with no or little education. The courses are rarely comparable in standards and length with those taken by the Asians.

Table XXV below illustrates the levels of education associated with most of the tasks which Asians perform :

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational Standard	*Professional*	*Subordinate Professional*	*Independent Businessmen*	*Subordinate Businessmen*	*Managers*	*Clerks*	*Shop Assistants*	*Building and Transport Contractors*	*Artisans*	*Bar and Hotel Proprietors*	*Total in Sample*	*% at each Educational level*
None ..	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	8	16	2	31	7.2
P1-P3 ..	0	0	4	5	0	3	3	3	21	1	40	9.4
P4-P6 ..	0	1	18	33	3	11	6	10	29	8	119	27.8
S1-S3	1	0	10	15	2	12	6	5	13	1	65	15.2
S4 or S5 ..	2	2	11	10	2	12	5	4	5	1	54	12.6
S6	15	8	13	5	6	49	5	1	14	1	117	27.3
Unstated ..	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0.5
TOTAL ..	18	11	59	70	13	88	25	31	99	14	428	100

Statistical tests on the data presented in Table XXV show that the professional, clerical and subordinate professional workers have an education significantly above the average, and the artisans and building contractors an education significantly below the average. Many members of the former including clerks and teachers as well as doctors and lawyers, have had a post-secondary training. The artisans are mainly persons with no education or only a few years of primary schooling, but it is interesting to note that they include some persons, besides the relatively uneducated, who have also had a long period at school. There is, in fact, also a sprinkling of artisans who have had post-secondary courses leading to qualifications in such subjects as mechanical or radio engineering. Many of the artisans with low educational qualifications are, in any case, practising hereditary crafts involving long periods of informal training within their own families. Even where both have had little or no education or formal training, the Asian artisan generally possesses a much higher degree of expertise than the African.

Occupation and educational standards coincide to a certain extent with Asian sub-groupings. In particular, Muslims and Sikhs, generally the worst educated among the Asians, tend to work as artisans. Goans and Brahmins better educated than the majority, are found in the professional and clerical occupations more frequently than the proportion their numbers bear to the total population would lead one to expect.

It was found possible during the Asian survey to allocate earnings into three categories only.[1] The results show that 17% of the employed males earn over 1,000/- per month, 67% between 400/- and 1,000/- and the remaining 16% under 400/-. From information collected subsequently from employers it seems that the majority of earners receiving under 400/- are usually not far from this level, so that the overlap between Asian and African earnings is very small.

(1) Asians are extremely sensitive about their political position in Uganda and about the administrative use which might be made of information concerning their incomes and the practice of sub-letting one-family dwellings. In these circumstances it was decided that, instead of asking exact incomes, respondents would be asked to allocate their earnings to one of three categories and that all persons living in a dwelling would be enumerated on one form, i.e. there would be no attempt to record data for separate households on separate schedules where there was more than one household in a dwelling. While this has made for a lack of precision in respect of some items it would otherwise have been impossible to collect the remaining data.

TABLE XXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND MONTHLY EARNINGS

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	*Under* 400/-	400/- *to* 1000/-	1000/-	*Total*
Commerce and Finance ..	30	113	45	188
Manufacturing	12	23	6	41
Building and Construction ..	10	81	6	97
Transport	5	33	6	44
Education, Law and Medicine ..	2	17	7	26
Other	8	20	4	32
TOTAL	67	287	74	428

TABLE XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BY OCCUPATION AND MONTHLY EARNINGS

OCCUPATION	*Under* 400/-	400/- *to* 1000/-	1000/-	*Total*
Professional	—	6	12	18
Sub-Professional	1	10	—	11
Independent Businessmen ..	6	22	31	59
Subordinate Businessmen ..	7	53	10	70
Managers	4	6	3	13
Clerks	14	71	3	88
Shop Assistants	16	5	4	25
Building and Transport Contractors	3	24	4	31
Artisans	14	80	5	99
Bar and Hotel Proprietors ..	2	10	2	14
TOTAL	67	287	74	428

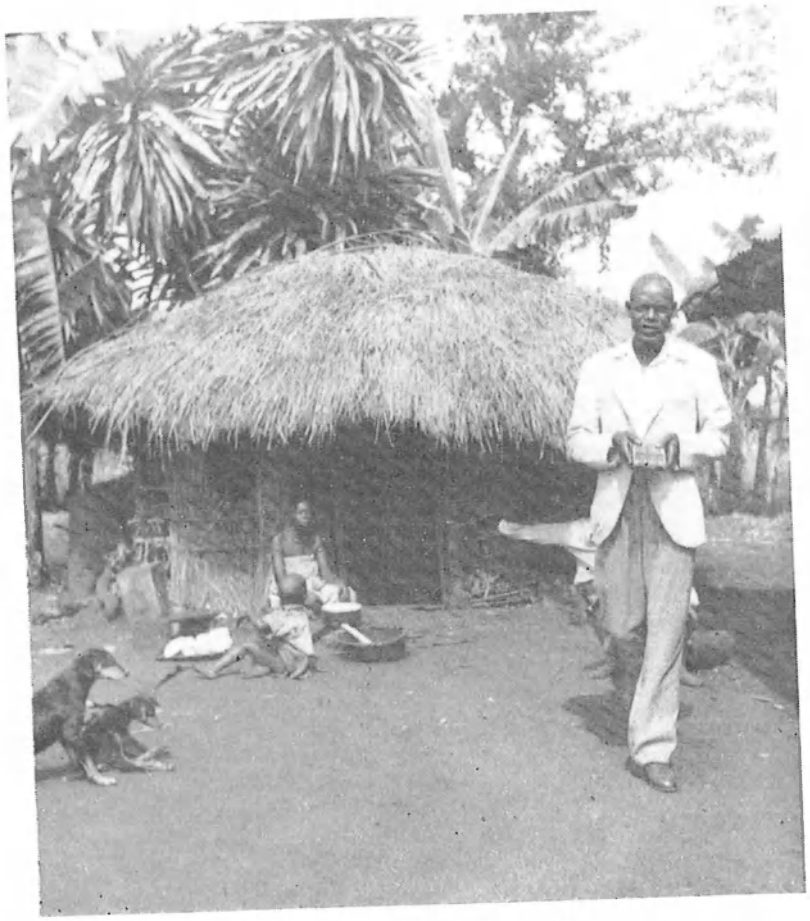
Statistical analysis of the survey results shows that the sample members of the professional and independent business occupational categories receive earnings significantly higher than the average, while the earnings of clerks and shop assistants are significantly below the average. As far as can be judged from the broad earnings grouping, no significant differences exist between the industries with respect to the earnings they yield, nor between the Asian sub-groups[1] with respect to the earnings of their members. It has been noted at a previous stage that caste-group distinctions among Hindus in the population appear to be slowly decreasing in importance, but that religious differences between Hindus and Muslims have recently received additional political significance. The income differences between individuals, suggested though inadequately documented in this report, form another potential dividing line among Jinja's Indians. It is possible that Indian society is slowly moving toward a state where its most significant structuring may be on political and economic rather than on the more traditional caste-group and sect lines.

EUROPEANS

The industrial distribution at the beginning of this chapter showed that, among Europeans[2], the largest single element is now engaged in building and construction. The next largest categories are public administration and

(1) This refers to the major caste groupings and to the further divisions of Muslims, Goans and Arabs.

(2) The European survey was conducted in August 1950, several months before those of the Asians and Africans. In view of the rapid growth of the employed European population, statistical data collected during the 1950 survey on the economic status of Europeans was largely out of date by the time the other surveys took place. Descriptive rather than statistical data have thus mainly been used in this section.



8. Rural-type housing—Makenke.

defence and commerce. By far the majority of the Europeans in building and construction are employed on the dam as artisans. When originally tendering, the Company sent representatives to Jinja to discuss with employers the possibility of recruiting locally. They came to the conclusions that there were too few local tradesmen available to fill the many specialised vacancies that would arise for such workers as steel erectors and fixers, excavator and derrick drivers, also that existing levels of skill among carpenters, mechanics and welders (nearly all Asian) would not, in general, be high enough for the precision work that would be required. In consequence, Asians have come to form a much smaller proportion of artisans in this organisation than is usual among older concerns in Jinja. Instead, Italian, Danish and, to a lesser extent, Dutch and English artisans have been imported under contract. Managerial and professional posts are confined to Europeans while the large semi-skilled and unskilled labour force is entirely African.

The Europeans engaged in public administration and defence are either officials of the numerous government departments now established in Jinja or officers and N.C.O.'s of the King's African Rifles. The number of the former has grown very greatly during the recent economic developments. In the past European private enterprise in Uganda has been on a small scale and most small European communities have consisted almost entirely of government officials and representatives of semi-official organisations. At present these are in the minority in Jinja. Less than a quarter of employed European males in Jinja are in government or semi-government employment, the remainder being employed by private contractors connected with the dam construction scheme, on a road engineering project and on a grain conditioning plant.

The distinction between governmental and non-governmental Europeans refers to a difference in employer. Further important differences exist with respect to the nature of the work performed. Europeans in Uganda have until now predominantly been non-manual workers. Some government posts have involved supervision of African and Asian manual labour, but these have seldom necessitated the same close contact with manual labour as, say a foreman's job.

Now, at least a quarter of the employed males in Jinja are artisans, gangers and foremen. These are all in private employment. Since performance of, or close connection with, manual labour is generally associated with non-Europeans, the Europeans doing this work tend to be isolated from the rest of the European society and there is a feeling among many Europeans that a European closely connected with manual work in a multi-racial situation is not a full member of his racial group.

With respect to income too, the European population of Jinja is more heterogeneous than before and possibly also more heterogeneous than the other small European clusters in Uganda. There are few entrepreneurial incomes, and at the time of the census of the European population only 3 out of every 100 employed males received cash earnings greater than £1,250 per annum. It is of special interest that 24 out of every 100 employed males earned then under £500 per annum. The existence of a group with such low incomes is a new feature in the life of Europeans in Jinja.

The increased differentiation of Europeans in occupation and income has had the result of decreasing social solidarity among Europeans. A rift now exists between government, professional and white-collar workers on the one hand and artisans and foremen on the other. The community has been split into two major status groups corresponding roughly with differences in occupation and income.

Among persons with lower status there is a further separation based on nationality and language. Italians, Danes and Dutchmen tend to be especially isolated and associate mainly within their own separate groups. There has also been some antagonism and jealousy based on the fact that persons of

TABLE XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN MALE POPULATION OVER 20 YEARS BY EARNINGS[1]

Annual earnings	*% in each category*
Under £500	23.9
£500	31.0
£750	17.5
£1,000	10.8
£1,250	2.0
£1,500+	3.0
Unknown	11.8
TOTAL	100
TOTAL NUMBERS	297

different nationality recruited by the Construction Company on terms attractive in their own countries, have subsequently found that the terms differ from one national group to another, even when both do the same work.

THE RACIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND INCOME

The racial division of labour drives wedges between the racial groups. This occurs largely because the characteristic occupations of each race carry with them different rewards and different grades of prestige, i.e. because the racial division of labour is vertical rather than horizontal. Africans perform the most arduous, worst rewarded and least respected tasks in the economy. As business men, artisans and clerks, Asians perform more skilled functions, receive higher rewards and enjoy a higher status. Although there are many Asian business men with earnings well above those of the average European, Europeans have a monopoly of the highest-status posts as government officials and business executives.

This situation is perceived and interpreted by each of the three races from their own special viewpoint. Members of each group have their own definition of the situation. To the European it is his capacity for leadership, his moral standards and special knowledge which legitimise his role as government representative, business executive and professional worker. As far as the opinions of the other races are concerned, the European is in the key posts because he has secured and maintained power. Asians think that policy and prejudice keep them out of the government posts, prevent them from owning land, and segregate them into private business. While Asians feel that they contribute unique services which the other races are unable or unwilling to supply, the Europeans and Africans resent the Asian near-monopolies that have been created. Africans attribute their confinement to relatively unskilled work and low pay largely to racial discrimination, while the other races disparage African economic effort and African attitudes to work as crude and primitive.

The members of the two racial groups in the subordinate occupations do not accept their positions without question[2], and this makes for an undercurrent of dissatisfaction if not yet of tension.

Where a certain overlapping of function occurs, i.e. in clerical and technical work, resemblances between the work done by the different races are usually only superficial, since there are great differences in respect of quality and quantity of output. But in these situations the African worker often feels that the difference between his wage and that of the other races is out of

(1) This table is intended to give only a rough idea of the distribution of earnings. In some cases it excludes such items as bonuses, over-time pay and the value of free or subsidised accommodation. Since August 1950, salaries have, moreover, tended to rise with the addition of cost-of-living-allowances.

(2) This is one of the main features differentiating the social system of Jinja (or of Uganda) from that of a caste society in its classic form.

proportion to differences in output. The Asian has the same feeling in comparing his rewards with those of the European. Relatively few individuals are involved in such situations but their symbolic significance is widely felt through the society. Feelings of injustice are focused on these cases and they are quoted wherever the topic of wage differences between the races is discussed. They are regarded as evidence that it is a man's race rather than his abilities or output that determine his pay. Governmental practice lends force to this argument by laying down, in certain instances, different scales of pay for the three races.

Through the lower pay which he may receive for what is apparently the same work, the presence of a non-European in a prized post may symbolise to the rest of the society racial inequality of treatment rather than racial equality of opportunity. Africans especially find this practice difficult to square with the officially stated policy of developing the country in the interests of its African inhabitants.

There is again, an occasional overlap between the nature of the tasks performed by Asians and Europeans in government and business offices. Here the reaction of the Asian to the salary differential between himself and the European appears to be much the same as that of the African to differential pay between Africans and Asians for manual work.

A further stratification of workers appears within every large firm or working unit. In units unvolving all three races, Europeans characteristically fill the most senior or important positions, Asians the intermediate positions and Africans the lowest. During the working day Asians are subordinate to Europeans and Africans to both Asians and Europeans by virtue of the occupational roles they perform. Since these roles are seldom or never interchanged, the divisions of status harden and the development of communal sentiments between the races is retarded.

The work situations in which the races meet further favour social fragmentation in that the views which each race holds of the other are formed under unfavourable circumstances. Most Africans arrive in the urban society to confront an economy in which most of the activities are of a bewildering novelty and for which their own social environment has not prepared them. In assessing the African and his performance as a worker, the European and Asian tend to judge him from their own point of view and social vantage point, as if the African had had the same lifetime of familiarity with urban objects and processes and as if his lack of competence in dealing with them was purely a reflection of his innate lack of ability. They tend to draw the conclusion that the African is an inferior person, unfit for training or advancement, and disparage him as a primitive of limited intelligence[1]. Europeans draw unfavourable conclusions about the quality of Asian craftsmanship from the performance of those Asian artisans they employ, though these are often the worst of the Asian artisans on the labour market as the better workers conduct their own businesses or are employed by fellow Asians.

The split orientation of the African between urban working place and rural home also retards the development of links within the town and therefore with the other races. His interest in the town is a short term one. He wishes to secure what benefits he can and return to his tribal home, rather than build a permanent urban home and career. His orientation is towards the country, and is likely to remain so at least until suitable facilities for African home life become more widely available in the town. The position of the European in the town is not dissimilar, since the majority of individuals both in private and public employment will not stay in Jinja permanently.

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(1) Europeans and Asians judge Africans in much the same way as Africans might, in a hypothetical situation, evaluate the abilities of Europeans from the performance of a European women with a hoe.

CHAPTER VII

STANDARDS OF LIVING

THE differences in earnings of Africans, Asians and Europeans reflect differences in their abilities to purchase goods and services ordinarily available on the open market.[1] Given the same tastes, Africans cannot command a flow of goods and services of the same quantity and quality as is possible to the other races, nor can most Asians attain the same consumption levels as most Europeans.

In fact, the tastes of the three races do not coincide and their consumption patterns are affected very largely by culturally determined preferences. This is especially marked in the case of food. The majority of Europeans in Jinja live mainly on meat, fish, eggs and bread, the majority of Asians on green vegetables and pulses, and the majority of Africans on plantains and grains. There are further culturally determined differences in the uses to which members of the different races put their earnings. It appears, for instance, that Africans and Asians spend larger proportions of their earnings on relatives outside their immediate families than Europeans. The latter prefer to spend their earnings on the current consumption of their immediate family group. A variation in culturally determined preferences occurs again within the racial groups, Muslims differing from Hindus in being meat-eaters and the Soga and Ganda, who eat plaintains, from the Luo and Acholi, who eat grains.

Apart from the culturally determined differences in consumption within the limits imposed by earnings there are, of course, differences in spending patterns arising out of varying family or household needs and out of individual or idiosyncratic choice.

Social scientists have examined problems of standards of living from a number of points of view, and have differentiated between various concepts which may profitably be applied.[2] Use of the term " standard of living " has sometimes been restricted to that type of consumption pattern which people would like to have for themselves and the term " plane of living " to that type of consumption pattern which they do in fact attain.

The realities to which these concepts correspond are all of great importance, since they are closely bound up with many aspirations, achievements, gratifications and frustrations. They are of special interest in a multicultural society like Jinja in which there is a great deal of variation in the consumption which people would like for themselves and in what they actually reach, and where that variation corresponds to a large extent with race membership.

In regard to " standards of living," as technically used to refer to aspirations, no systematic study was made of this feature of social life during the survey. But it is obvious that this set of aspirations is greatly affected by the type of society which has been formed and further affects social interaction within it. In the town horizons shift and standards are raised. The African who enters the town does so largely because of his need for an increased supply of cash to supplement the subsistence economy of his rural home, but he develops many new wants in the town for more or better Western-type goods and urban facilities. Many Western consumption items such as soap, sugar, salt, have already become conventional necessities

(1) The term " ordinarily available in the open market " is used to exclude such objects of consumption as subsidised housing which are not available for purchase on the open market.

(2) See Zimmerman, C. C.: Consumption and Standards of Living, 1936, and Bossard, J., Social Change and Social Problems, 1938.

even in the countryside. To these are gradually added others such as lamps, paraffin, cycles, watches, cameras, brick houses and European-style clothing. Desires to possess these articles increase incentives to participate in the urban economy.

Immigrants of other races raise their economic and social status almost automatically by entering the multi-racial society at the level appropriate to their race membership, social background, knowledge and technical skill But, in the presence of greater opportunities than they have known beforehand, they also develop new ambitions as well as receiving new satisfactions. Higher " standards " of living therefore motivate individuals of all races.

Differences between the " planes of living " of the races are also of the utmost importance Africans compare the levels they achieve unfavourably with those of Asians and Europeans, and Asians look similarly at the levels attained by Europeans.

It is often inequality rather than injustice which causes inter-racial tension, and it is certain that differences in consumption levels promote envy and dissatisfaction in Jinja.

It is inevitable that there should be an increasing convergence in consumption aspiration in urban areas The outstanding aspect of this convergence has, of course, been the acquisition by the African population of tastes for goods and services similar to those consumed by the European and Asian immigrants In the words of a former East African Governor, " a wide range of new needs has developed—clothes, for example, for previously hundreds of thousands went naked or scantily clad in skins or bark cloth ; writing materials and books for the school, for there had been none ; transport equipment, for they were accustomed to walk and carry their goods ; knives, spoons, plates, cups, for they ate with their hands from a common dish and drank from the common calabash or bowl."[1]

This chapter documents certain features of the planes of living of each race, points out the variation within as well as between the races and attempts, from time to time, to assess the social significance of the variation It has not been thought necessary to apply to the three groups comparative measures of adequacy of income or accommodation such as a poverty line or crowding standard, since it is obvious that almost any such standard, developed on a basis applicable to all the groups, would rate the Africans lowest, the Europeans highest and the Asians in an intermediate position The differences between the earnings and standards of living of the three races are so stark as to make such precise measurements superfluous.

AFRICANS

Housing Location : The great majority of African dwellings in Jinja lie towards the outskirts of the town between one and three miles from the built-up area containing commercial and administrative premises and European and Asian homes. (See Map). Although separated in this way from the other races, African dwellings are not contiguous to each other. Separate groups are clustered together within the series of African villages which lie within the township boundary and form part of the Sabawali sub-county. In contrast with the built-up sector these " village areas " are in some senses as " under-developed " as if they were deep in the rural countryside. There are paths instead of made-up roads. Weeds and grass run wild between the houses. There are no refuse disposal, drainage or sanitary services. None of these areas has a supply of electricity and only a few have a piped supply of water in the vicinity.

African concentration on the peripheries of the town is not accidental. For the European or Asian, close proximity of the African living under village conditions lowers sanitary standards, involves dangers of the spread of disease, destroys amenities and threatens his status superiority. While

(1) Sir P. Mitchell, Governor of Kenya from 1944 to June, 1952, in *The Times*, 25th September, 1952.

there is today no formal policy of racial segregation in Uganda, a separation of dwellings has resulted from the tendency of the immigrant non-Africans to build their shops, offices and houses at some distance from the various African concentrations and from the imposition within the built-up and newly cleared areas of building and sanitary standards with which few Africans can afford to comply. Of the hundreds of business sites which have been laid out only two or three have been taken up by Africans, and Africans never apply for first and second-class residential building sites which are, from time to time, offered by government for lease. So few realise that these are equally available to them and so few would be able to afford the minimum building standards if they did take them, that there is, in practice, a clear-cut *de facto* if not a *de jure* residential segregation between Africans on the one hand and non-Africans on the other.

Even if they are not wanted as neighbours, Africans are, of course, wanted as workers and themselves wish to participate in the urban economy. Some of the village dwellers have long been established in the area and have land on which they or their families may grow food and cash crops. But most of the adult males among them work in the town either regularly or intermittently. The villages also fill up with immigrants from the countryside, many of whom pay rent and go into the town daily to work. There is, therefore, a stream of workers entering the built-up sector and the new constructional sites every weekday morning from the villages within Jinja as well as from outside, leaving again, rain or sun, in the afternoon. Transport facilities are not highly developed and the majority travel on foot or cycle.

To meet the needs of the township for African labour there has been a new development during the last few years in the establishment of a government-subsidised township housing estate. This is situated in Bukesa, outside the built-up area, but near enough to it to provide relatively easy access for the worker. This was intended to accommodate both immigrants and some of the Africans displaced by the land clearances made preliminary to the industrial changes. In its siting this estate constitutes a compromise between having Africans living near to the other races and segregating them at the periphery of the town. By its higher standards of sanitation and servicing the objection is in part removed that the relative proximity of African residences represents a threat to the rest of the population. Near the housing estate, facilities have also recently been made available for Africans to construct their homes to minimum specifications on small plots leased to them at nominal rates. These have only begun to be taken up as there are so few Africans in the town possessing the necessary capital and also intending permanent settlement in the area.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the development in Bukesa is the intention to develop this area as one of African settlement. Several government departments have their staff accommodation here and space is to be leased also to private employers to provide housing for their employees.[1] While its siting at some distance from the European and Asian residential areas suggests, and, in part constitutes, a deliberate racial segregation it should be remembered on the other hand that this is an attempt to provide for Africans, at a subsidised or lower cost, accommodation of a type comparable with that of the other races. There is, moreover an inverse racial segregation here favourable to Africans in that these facilities are not allowed to be taken up by the other races.

The major deviation from the segregatory residential pattern is the accommodation of domestic servants in the back premises of their employers' homes where many have their families with them. Since almost every non-African household in the population has at least one domestic servant there is, therefore, an African fringe in the heart of the non-African sector of the town.

(1) The African survey showed that 9% of the sample population lived in Bukesa. This proportion is increasing with increased provision of housing in the area.

Building Materials and Standards : More than one-half of the African houses are small, rectangular or round one-roomed structures built of a combination of mud, grass and tin. The most frequent single type has a mud wall and grass roof. (See Table XXIX). Where tin roofs exist they are very frequently thatched with grass. Though still constructed largely of local materials, the manner of construction of African houses has been considerably affected by immigrant African and non-African influences. The earliest and simplest type of indigenous house, apparently constructed wholly of dried grass, is now in a minority. The practice of building mud walls was apparently learned from or popularised by the Arabs and the practice of building tin roofs learned from the early European and Indian immigrants who made roofs for their shops, offices and dwellings from flattened kerosene tins. The tins themselves are an imported manufactured product. The use of corrugated iron sheets for roofs is rare owing to expense, but is regarded as very desirable. No Africans have yet built houses in Jinja with tiled roofs or with glass windows. " Windows " in most cases consist merely of openings in the wall with a wooden shutter ; others have no windows, the ventilation coming from the door and cracks in the walls and roof. These structures compare unfavourably not only with Jinja's non-African houses, but also with rural African houses. When the immigrant African builds a house in the town this is generally not for his life-time use, as he proposes to return home. In the case of the older established town-dwellers many are too nervous of eventual eviction from their holdings to build other than in a makeshift manner or to make other than essential repairs.

Apart from houses which are built by Africans for themselves or rented to other Africans, further groups of dwellings are provided for Africans by governmental authorities and private employers. The township estate, King's African Rifles, and police lines consist of barrack-like rows of brick rooms with tile or corrugated asbestos roofs, while certain government departments have their African employees in a biscuit-box type of prefabricated aluminium structure. Apart from these, the Public Works Department accommodates two groups of its employees in a type of house built of grass and mud and closely resembling those found in the villages, except they are whitewashed. Domestic servants are usually accommodated in small brick and cement rooms in the backyards or back gardens of their employers.

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS[1] BY TYPE OF ROOF AND WALLS OF THEIR ACCOMMODATION

ROOF TYPE	*Wood*	*Grass*	*Tin*	*Iron*	*Mud*	*Brick*	*Aluminium*	*Reeds*	*Concrete*	*TOTAL*
Asbestos ..	—	—	—	—	—	54	—	—	—	54
Grass ..	—	95	1	—	347	57	—	6	—	506
Tin ..	1	2	7	—	118	—	—	—	—	128
Iron ..	—	—	2	3	22	49	—	—	15	91
Tiles ..	—	—	—	—	—	81	—	—	—	81
Aluminium	—	—	—	—	—	—	84	—	—	84
Concrete ..	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
TOTAL ..	1	97	10	3	488	241	84	6	15	945

It can be seen that African housing in Jinja shows the effects both of indigenous and foreign influence. The present trend is away from the indigenous type of structure towards one more durable and providing more efficient shelter and greater security and privacy. As the township grows, more of the areas containing African-type structures are being cleared

(1) See description of what constitutes a " household " in the next chapter, page 77.

and accommodation is erected for Africans which is more satisfactory by Western standards. It is only partly accurate to describe this process as the westernisation of African housing—away from mud, grass and sticks and towards bricks, mortar and iron—as the newer type of accommodation available to Africans, including both the barrack-like lines and the aluminium prefabs—is not of a type which would be offered to European immigrants or in which they would be willing to live. It is nevertheless true that the orientation is increasingly more towards Western styles of housing, even if on a modified and lower plane, and that African ambitions are increasingly directed towards obtaining this type of accommodation. Africans are beginning to judge their housing by non-African standards (especially when the housing is provided by non-Africans) and to rate their own indigenous types of structure as inferior and unsatisfactory. It is certainly rated this way by Europeans and Asians and in any comparison with non-African housing by non-African standards rates very low indeed.

Housing Tenure : Of African households in Jinja only about a third own the houses in which they live. (See Table XXX). The remainder either rent houses or, in a minority of cases, live rent free as part of their conditions of employment. Since the majority of households which do not own their accommodation consist of only one person, the proportion of persons in rented accommodation is probably rather less than two-thirds, but there is no doubt of the increasing importance of renting as a form of housing tenure in Jinja and of the developing role of the Township Authority as landlord. As immigrants rarely plan permanent settlement in the town they prefer to rent accommodation (either from a fellow-African or from the Township Authority) rather than to acquire land and build themselves. One alternative which many find attractive is to seek an employer who provides free or cheap accommodation for his workers. Others dislike the fact that this places them under the surveillance of their employer even outside working hours and that they lose their accommodation if they change their jobs.

The widespread renting of accommodation is a new phenomenon peculiar to the urban area and indicates the mobile nature of a great part of the urban African population. Many own houses and land at their home-places and the hiring of accommodation is regarded as a temporary expedient for the limited duration of work in the town. Until the town is in a position to compete with the country in the provision of home- and land-owning it is likely that the urban African population will remain unstable. In other African countries, notably South Africa, the growth of a settled urban African population has been hastened by the whittling away of African land rights and by the gradual deterioration in the quality of African land and stock, i.e. African settlement in the town has been fostered by the worsening of conditions in the Native reserves. Uganda differs in social policy and in the trend of rural land conditions, especially because of the opportunities for African peasants to supplement their incomes by growing cotton. Substantial positive attractions to Africans will be necessary if they are to be induced to make more permanent homes in the town. Most important are facilities for owning houses and growing food.

Those Africans who own houses in Jinja have generally built them themselves. House purchase is rare. The general practice for a man wishing to own a house is to secure a plot and gradually build on this as and when he has funds available.

Most African tenants in Jinja have African landlords. Of all households in Jinja which rent their accommodation, only 21% are in Bukesa and Nasuti, the two cleared areas in which government-owned has been substituted for private housing.

The increasing proportion of rent-paying households in Jinja is hastened not only by influxes of immigrants but also by the recurrent land clearances. African house-owners have already been cleared entirely from Bukesa and

TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY FORM OF TENURE AND LOCATION

	LOCATION																		
	MUMYUKA					*SABAGABBO*				*SABAWALI*				*SABADDU*					
TENURE	*Lwasuna*	*Kiriya*	*Bukesa*	*Nalufenya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Mawa I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Mawa II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kiwaka*	*Makanke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTRY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
Owned Built ..	19	32	—	7	58	—	10	4	14	38	45	83	58	40	9	50	157	312	33.0
„ Bought ..	1	4	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	2	—	—	1	3	11	1.2
Rented	14	128	146	54	342	50	36	—	86	11	32	43	117	2	11	21	151	622	65.8
TOTAL	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100.0
% of Muruka ..	8.4	40.5	36.0	15.1	100.0	50.0	46.0	4.0	100.0	38.0	62.0	100.0	56.9	13.5	6.4	23.2	100.0		
% of Total ..	3.6	17.4	15.5	6.5	42.9	5.3	4.9	6.4	10.6	5.2	8.5	13.6	18.7	4.4	2.1	7.6	32.9	100	

Nasuti and eventual evictions are planned for other areas. Even though compensation is made in each case, the threat of possible eviction hangs heavily over house-owners and discourages both building and planting.

It is naturally the Soga and Ganda with their longer history of connection with Jinja, rather than the Africans from further afield, who own houses in Jinja. Table XXXI shows that of the 830 one-tribe[1] households, Soga and Ganda together comprise more than half of those which own their own accommodation even though they constitute less than one-third of all households. The majority of households of the other tribes substantially represented in Jinja hire their accommodation.

TABLE XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY MAIN TRIBE AND FORM OF HOUSING TENURE

TENURE	*'Acholi*	*Ganda*	*Teso*	*Gishu*	*Luo*	*Samia*	*Lango*	*Nyoro*	*Nyankole*	*Rest*	*Soga*	*TOTAL*	*Percentage*
Owned Built	11	17	14	7	6	81	50	14	17	10	19	246	29.6
Owned Bought	—	—	1	—	1	2	5	—	—	—	—	10	1.2
Rented (Incl. of) ..	14	51	67	11	41	54	65	36	58	12	165	574	69.2
TOTAL	25	68	82	18	48	137	120	50	76	22	184	830	100.0

There is a great deal of sharing between households. Of the 945[2] households in the sample, 46% share their accommodation. The majority of shared households (66%) are situated in Bukesa, site of the township housing estate, in Kirinya and in Kimaka. Kirinya is entirely an area of immigrant settlements while Kimaka, though it contains many older residents, is close to the sites of the new construction works and houses a number of immigrant workers. Additionally, the large military barracks are situated in this area. There is practically no sharing in the cases of Makenke and Lwansunu, areas which retain several rural characteristics.

Many of the men who come into Jinja on their own find accommodation in the township housing estate. They often have to share with other men whom they do not know and who may be of different tribes. Although this may, in the long term, help to bridge social distinctions based on tribal membership, reactions to compulsory sharing have so far been unfavourable. Constant efforts are made by tenants to secure rooms on their own even though the rent is higher. When men share, friction and mistrust arise between room-mates, especially when they have not chosen each other. It is a grievance among some tenants that to secure accommodation they have to share in this way. One tenant voiced his resentment at " sharing like schoolboys " and others say " the Government doesn't make Europeans share."[3] Difficulties in sharing are aggravated on the occasions when occupants bring in women for short periods or are joined by their wives and have to continue living in this way until separate accommodation becomes available for them in the married quarters of the estate.

Crowding : In social surveys of Western communities the incidence of crowding is usually measured in terms of the ratio of persons to habitable rooms in each household investigated. It is assumed that persons live in houses or flats separated into rooms conforming with minimum sanitary and health requirements. This procedure is not suitable for use in connection with an African population of the type living in Jinja. This is both because of

(1) The other 115 households are made up of more than one tribe and are, therefore, not comparable with those.

(2) See Table XLVII in chapter on Household and Kinship.

(3) In fact, Europeans often do share accommodation, though this is usually in houses or flats many times larger than the African rooms provided in the housing estate.

cultural differences between Africans and Western or westernised groups and because minimum sanitary and health stipulations are not extended outside the built-up area of the town to the villages in which the majority of Africans live. One cultural variable is the fact that the traditional forms of the African homesteads consist of a number of separate structures, one of which is intended for the man and his wife, another for the children and another for cooking. If the man has more than one wife each may have a dwelling of her own as part of the group of structures. Despite the social changes taking place in the area there are still a number of households living under such conditions in Jinja to whom the Western crowding standards would be inapplicable. Under the measurements used in the Social Survey of Cape Town,[1] for instance, a household consisting of a man, wife and child under 10 years of age and living in a room in the same house would not be regarded as overcrowded, although an arrangement of this type would be regarded as unsuitable by an African household, in view of the fact that all are under one roof. In applying Western survey standards of overcrowding to an African population living under village conditions it would also have to be borne in mind that a great deal of time is spent outside the dwelling in the open air, the cleared space in front of the house being, among the Ganda and Soga for instance, the equivalent of a European dining-room and lounge.

Despite the inapplicability of the standard concept of a room to most African dwellings there is undoubtedly a tendency towards the use of such units as increasing numbers come to live in the housing estates provided by the Township Authority, Government departments and private employers, and also as African landlords erect crudely partitioned structures for letting purposes.

In the African sample survey an effort was made to relate the number of rooms to the number of persons in each household, despite the great variability in what constituted a " room ". This ranged between such extremes as a mud and grass hut and a vertical section of a brick and tile building. Table XXXII shows that three out of every ten African households and 15 out of every 100 persons had less than one complete " room " to themselves, while only a third of all households had more than one " room ".

TABLE XXXII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF ROOMS

No. of Rooms	*Percentage of Household*	*Percentage of Persons*
Less than 1	30.3	14.5
1	37.4	35.7
2	15.0	19.5
3	8.4	12.0
4	6.1	10.5
5+	2.5	7.4
Unstated	0.3	0.3
	100.0	100.0
TOTAL NUMBER IN SAMPLE	945	2,035

It is possible also to represent the relationship between persons and " rooms " in the following form. (Table XXXIII).

(1) See Report No. SS 22 : Overcrowding and Age of the Social Survey of Cape Town.

TABLE XXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ROOMS

No. of Persons in Household	*Average No. of Rooms per Household*
1 Person	0.9
2 Persons	1.7
3 ,,	2.0
4 ,,	2.3
5 ,,	2.6
6 ,,	3.0
7+ ,,	3.9
All Households	1.5

Kitchens, Water Supply & Latrines : As one index of housing standards enquiries were made during the sample survey as to whether households had separate facilities for cooking apart from accommodation used for sleeping purposes. Six out of ten (58.7%) households either had cooking facilities or had access to such facilities organised on a communal basis. The definition of " separate cooking facilities " included, however, such differing provision as a grass hut open at one side as is often found in the villages, and a brick-built room specially constructed for cooking purposes as in the township housing estate. Where no special facilities exist for cooking, people cook outside the house or, in the event of rain, inside one of the sleeping huts. It will be seen from Table XXXIV that the proportion of households with separate cooking facilities is high in the areas where the township or employers provide accommodation, i.e. in Bukesa, Nasuti and Kimaka (which includes the King's African Rifles' barracks).

Of every 100 African households within the township, 15 do not have access to latrines of any type. Many of these households are situated within a few minutes by car from the central administrative offices and the built-up area of the town in which Health authorities insist on strict sanitary measures. All dwellings in Bukesa and Nasuti, the areas of township- and employer-provided housing, have latrines, though it was found at the time of the survey that many residents were not using these because of their imperfect operation. Although the majority of households in most of the other areas were found to have one form or another of latrine, these are often of a low standard of construction, and a drive was recently begun by the authorities to improve the construction as well as to increase the number of latrines.

The majority of Africans (see Table XXXVI) have access to a water standpipe. But a large proportion, comprising just over one-third of all households, are still at the stage in which Europeans found Africans when they arrived in Jinja, i.e. they secure their water from the lake and river. The lake provides the water supply for most of the households in Lwansunu, Kirinya and Walukuba, all three of which lie close to it. Access to water is, in fact, still one of the most important considerations in determining the suitability of a dwelling site. If the house is far from the water supply, either a great deal of time has to be spent every day in fetching water or a water carrier has to be paid to bring tins of water. Even those with access to standpipes do not have this problem solved as the pipes are not widely distributed ; the individual may have to make a 15-20 minute journey to it and spend at least that time in a water queue. While nearly all Europeans and Asians take for granted a constant supply of water in their homes, ability to secure water remains a problem to the African.

Rents : It was previously mentioned that 34% of African households in the sample were found to own their dwellings. Table XXXVII shows that 22% live rent free (these are mainly persons provided with accommodation by their employers) and that most of the remainder pay up to about ten

TABLE XXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND WHETHER THEY HAVE KITCHENS

	LOCATION																		
KITCHEN	*Lwansunu*	*Kirinya*	*Bukesa*	*Naluferya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kinaka*	*Makenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTRY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
Yes	6	45	141	30	222	42	31	4	77	18	32	50	139	22	10	36	206	555	58.7
No	28	119	5	31	183	8	15	—	23	31	48	79	39	20	10	36	105	390	41.3
TOTAL	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	178	42	20	72	311	945	100

TABLE XXXV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND TYPE OF LATRINE

	LOCATION																		
	MUMYUKA					*SABAGABBO*				*SABAWALI*				*SABADDU*					
LATRINE TYPE	*Lwansunu*	*Kirinya*	*Bukesa*	*Naluferya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kinaka*	*Makenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTRY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
Pit, including Trench ..	21	105	145	44	315	47	18	1	66	43	57	100	156	35	15	54	260	741	78.4
Bucket	—	—	1	5	6	3	2	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	12	1.3
Bush	13	51	—	2	66	—	7	3	10	6	19	25	19	7	5	16	47	148	15.7
Flush	—	3	—	9	12	—	19	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	3.3
Unstated	—	5	—	1	6	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	2	—	—	1	3	13	1.4
TOTAL	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100

TABLE XXXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND SOURCE OF WATER SUPPLY

SOURCE OF WATER	*MUMYUKA*			*SABAGABBO*			*SABAWALI*				*SABADDU*									
	Lwatsumu	*Kirinya*	*Bukesa*	*Nalufenya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nawuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kimaka*	*Makenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
Lake	33	129	—	7	169	—	—	4	4	48	34	82	14	6	—	—	20	275	29.1
Lake and Water-Seller ..	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	6	0.6
River, Stream	—	—	—	5	5	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	36	4	1	5	46	52	5.5
Borehole, Wells, Pumps	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	9	14	16	1.7
Standpipe	1	28	143	40	212	49	42	—	91	—	32	32	121	21	19	52	213	548	58.0
Water-Seller	—	2	—	7	9	—	2	—	2	—	3	3	1	2	—	2	5	19	2.0
Others	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	4	4	1	1	—	1	3	8	0.8
Unstated	—	1	3	1	5	1	—	—	2	1	3	4	4	3	—	3	10	21	2.2
TOTAL	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100

shillings per month in rent. There is only a low correlation (r=0.124) between amount of rent paid and the number of rooms the household has. This is due partly to the great variability in the standards of the rooms concerned, and also to imperfections in the housing market. A tenant in the housing estate may, for instance, pay a subsidised rent of twelve shillings per month for a room, while another in the open market may pay more than this for a share of a room or for inferior accommodation.

TABLE XXXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY RENT PAID AND NUMBER OF ROOMS

No. of Rooms	*No. Rent Paid*	*Less than 5/-*	5/-	10/-	15/-	20/- +	*Not Stated*	*Owned*	*TOTAL*	*Percentage*
Less than 1	58	155	58	5	2	—	4	4	286	30.3
1 ..	111	17	90	38	12	4	1	80	353	37.4
2 ..	21	2	5	4	3	4	—	103	142	15.0
3 ..	7	—	1	2	1	—	1	67	79	8.4
4 ..	6	—	—	—	—	2	—	50	58	6.1
5 + ..	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	19	24	2.5
Unstated ..	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	0.3
TOTAL ..	209	174	154	49	19	11	6	323	945	100

Food and drink : Owing to the limited resources of the survey it was not possible to make detailed studies of the food consumption of any of the three groups.

In November 1951, a study was made in Jinja by the East African Statistical Department of the income and expenditure of 96 unskilled workers earning up to a maximum of 50 shillings per month. One of the most striking features of the results was the high proportion spent on food. The 83 workers in the sample who lived on their own spent an average of 28.39 shillings (66.9% of their total expenditure) on food during the month of the study ; workers with dependents spent 37.63 shillings (77.1% of total expenditure). Amounts spent on alcoholic drink were reported to be 2.05 shillings (4.8% of total expenditure) by the former and 1.54 shillings (3.2% of total) by the latter.

Clothing : The clothing worn by members of a social group is often one of the most conspicuous indices of their planes of living.

African men in Jinja wear a variety of clothes. These range from the completely European-style suits or sports-jackets with flannels of the high-ranking official on a visit from the Local Government headquarters into the town, to the " kanzu [1] " and barkcloth of the more isolated of the village cultivators. Clothing varies greatly with occupation and earnings. Clerks working in offices usually model their clothing on that of their European superiors and wear short-sleeved shirts, khaki or white shorts, long socks and shoes. Office-boys and messengers are usually dressed in khaki uniforms provided by their employers and embroidered with their insignia. The clothing of African artisans is somewhat like that of the clerks but is liable to be less clean and not so well cared for. Unskilled labourers (" porters ") usually wear shorts and shirts which are so tattered, torn and discoloured as to be almost unrecognisable as such by Europeans. Within the home of his employer the African domestic servant wears a white kanzu provided by the employer, over his own clothes, and elsewhere usually wears European apparel which has often been given or sold to him by his employer. Most of the villagers in Jinja own articles both of European and " traditional " clothing and the most usual attire is, perhaps, a tattered kanzu over a pair of shorts. A better kanzu or shirt, shorts and shoes may be kept for going

(1) A kanzu is a long white robe of Arab derivation.

into the shopping area. Many own barkcloths which are worn with a kanzu or some European clothes, but few wear barkcloths only.

The study carried out by the East African Statistical Department showed that the African unskilled worker spends so large a proportion of his income on food as to leave little for anything else. The workers living on their own spent, during the month of the study, an average of only 3.76 shillings (8.9%) on clothing and those with dependents only 3.68 shillings. An article of clothing can only rarely be bought and, when it is, has to be second-hand or of such a quality that it is unlikely to last long, especially in view of the hard and continuous wear it receives from the wearer and its exposure to rain.

It is common for Europeans and Asians to criticise the African's lack of care with his clothing and other personal possessions. It is undoubtedly true that it would be possible, with greater care and more frequent mending and washing, for Africans to lengthen the life of their clothing. This expresses, however, a non-African point of view of the fitting, prudent and economical, and a set of values which have not become widely accepted among local Africans. Since Africans are participating in a society organised by non-Africans, however, and are adopting European-style clothing, it is inevitable that African clothing (as well as other possessions and aspects of behaviour) comes to be judged by non-African standards. By those standards the clothing of Jinja's Africans is grossly inferior to that of the other races.

These remarks apply to African men. There are far fewer African working women whose daily activities bring them into the centre of the town. Some, including all the factory employees, wear European-style dresses, while others wear the " bodingi ", a type of robe or dress adapted from the simple cloth formerly wound round the body of the village woman and tucked in under the armpit. In general, the clothing of African women seen in the centre of the town may be said to be of a higher standard than that of the men from the point of view of being whole, clean and cared for. This may be partly because most of the working women have their earnings supplemented by gifts and by the supply of food and accommodation from men and are therefore able to afford better clothes. In the case of other women seen in the town centre or housing estates, the majority are probably the wives of better-off artisans and clerks, and therefore have money available to purchase clothing. In either case, clothing may receive a greater priority among the purchases of women, for one of the most important ways in which a woman can attract men in the town is through her appearance. Most of the village women in Jinja, lacking regular supplies of cash, generally dress less well, though they may buy clothes once or twice a year from the earnings of their husbands or from proceeds of cash crops.

Transport : While many Africans live at a greater distance from their work than Europeans or Asians, public transport facilities from their dwellings to their workplaces are few. Where they do exist, the African usually decides to walk or cycle rather than go by bus because of the expense. A 20 cent bus fare for a ride of two miles taken five days a week to work and back would cost a worker earning 40 shillings per month, about 20% of his wages. The expense and inconvenience which will be involved in the journey to and from work constitutes one of the main objections by Africans to the new dwelling sites which have been selected for them on the Walukuba hill outside the built-up area.

Domestic servants : So few Africans employ domestic servants that it was not considered worthwhile including a question on this in the sample survey. In a few cases, however, men or families bring young relatives or other persons of the same tribe to the town to undertake domestic duties and pay their living, and sometimes their school expenses, in return.

Conclusion : From the point of view of the internal social structure, the most striking feature of African standards of living is their great variation

from village cultivator, through porter, domestic servant and artisan to clerk, professional and official. These differences are already acquiring a significance for Africans which reflects the influence upon them of the standards and valuations introduced into the society by the immigrant Europeans and Asians. The better educated, better housed and clothed African regards himself as so superior to the classes of porters and domestic servants as almost to be a different type of human being, in a sense a black European.[1]

ASIANS

Housing location

More than half of Jinja's Asians live along the three or four long streets within the heart of the commercial and administrative centre of the town which contains nearly all of the shops and offices. From this nucleus an Asian residential quarter spreads out in streets parallel with or at right angles to these. Many of the Asian residences are attached to the backs of the retail shops from which the households in them derive their living. Others consist of small, closely contiguous houses or flats. While the great majority of Asian dwellings lie north of the main road leading into Jinja from Kampala, the homes of the wealthiest Indians lie on the opposite side of this road and on the fringe of the European residential quarter.

The separation of Asian from European residences is an outcome, at least in part, of deliberate administrative practice in the early years of Jinja's history. The lay-out of plots and the granting of leases and permission to build have always been in the hands of the administration. It has obviously been the general intention to confine the smaller-sized plots, which Asians would be able to afford, to the area of the town north of the Jinja-Kampala road and near the business centre. Several attempts were made between 1913 and 1920 to make this segregration more formal. Proposals were made to establish a separate Indian township at some distance from the existing built-up area, define the vicinity of the Jinja-Kampala road as a neutral zone, and prohibit Asians and Europeans from living on the zone reserved for each other. These proposals encountered the violent opposition of the local Asian population who claimed that their insanitary living conditions, to which Europeans objected and which Europeans made a ground for racial segregation, were mainly an outcome of the lack of suitable residential plots. The segregation proposals were finally dropped in 1923 on the instructions of the then Secretary of State. All races are now equally eligible to apply for residential plots in any part of the town, but there remains a tendency for the new houses built by either Asians or Europeans to be confined to the predominantly Asian or European quarter. This practice appears to be based partly on differences in ability to afford sites and minimum building covenants and partly on individual choice.

Size of plot : Sites for Asian residences, officially described by the euphemisms of " zone B " or " second-class " housing, are on standard sized plots of half an acre as compared with two-thirds of an acre for first-class residential sites. The new plots which are being laid out for approved African building measure one quarter of an acre each.

Asian families are usually considerably larger than those of Europeans and this, coupled with the closer proximity of Asian residences to each other, leads to a higher population density among Asians than among Europeans.

The closer physical proximity of the Asian than the African to the European expresses also the position of the two in relation to the social position of the European. Symbolically, as well as physically, the Asians are much closer to the Europeans.

(1) This feeling was clearly expressed one day by a Makerere student assisting on the survey who completely dissociated himself and his fellow students from the mass of the population, in the words, " We are black but we aren't Africans."

Building Materials and Standards : Nearly all Asian households live in brick-built houses or flats with corrugated iron roofs. (See Table XXXVIII). The sample figures show that 94% of Asian households have this type of accommodation. It is only a few low-grade Asian artisans who live in the thatched roof or biscuit box aluminium structures in which only Africans are otherwise accommodated. In general, the Asian is regarded as qualified for, and his earnings enable him to afford, accommodation of the Western type at a slightly lower level than the European.

TABLE XXXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY ROOF AND WALL MATERIALS

	Brick	*C.I.S.*	*Tiles*	*Concrete*	*Other*	*Unstated*	*Total House-holds*	*Per-centage*
Brick	1	227	30	2	6	1	267	94.4
C.I.S.	—	9	—	—	—	—	9	3.2
Other	—	3	—	—	3	—	6	2.1
Unstated ..	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	0.3
TOTAL ..	1	239	30	2	9	2	283	
Percentage ..	0.3	84.5	10.6	0.7	3.2	0.7	100	

Tenure : Of the Asian households investigated in the sample survey 13% owned and 87% rented their accommodation. The rented accommodation is owned either by Government, which provides subsidised or free accommodation to departmental employees, or by private Asian businessmen, a few of whom are very large property owners.

It has been mentioned in the section on Africans that 34% of African households owned their accommodation and that most of the remainder lived in accommodation rented by African landlords to immigrants. With the inevitable land clearances of privately built African houses, both owner-occupied and rented, and the planned expansion in the provision of Township Authority and employers' housing, the proportion of Jinja's African-owned houses will not keep pace with the clearances. It is possible that a smaller proportion of Africans than of Asians will one day own houses in Jinja.

Sharing : Sharing of accommodation takes one or two main forms among Asians. An elementary family unit of man, wife and children may share a residence with relatives under a " joint " family system[1], or may share their accommodation with some unrelated family unit or units. Cases of the first type were found in the Asian sample survey to comprise 16% of all households and included 20% of all persons. Cases of the second type comprise 9% of households and 12% of persons. While the incidence of cases in which families share with unrelated persons may be taken as an index of the Asian housing shortage, a certain amount of sharing between relatives arises out of a culturally determined preference. Some of the wealthiest Asians in Jinja live together in this way, and even some of the most recently constructed houses for Asian occupation have been designed for joint family use.

Crowding : Whether a household is to be regarded as crowded depends less on whether its accommodation is shared than on the relationship between the number of persons in the household and the number of rooms which they have available for use. Table XXXIX shows the number of households of different size which had different numbers of rooms at their disposal It can be seen that the number of rooms available tends to increase with size of household.

(1) Usually brothers and sons and their families. See chapter on Household and Kinship.

TABLE XXXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF ROOMS[1]

Size \ Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	Uns.	Total	%
1	1	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	3.2
2	3	7	11	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	8.5
2½	—	5	16	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	9.2
3	—	10	7	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	8.1
3½	—	7	15	6	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	31	10.9
4	1	11	14	8	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	37	13.1
4½	—	5	13	9	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	29	10.3
5	—	3	8	7	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	7.4
5½	—	—	9	6	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	18	6.4
6	—	2	8	3	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	17	6.0
6½	—	—	3	6	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	14	4.9
7	—	—	2	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	6	2.1
7½	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	1.4
8	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.4
8½	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	1.1
9	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	3	1.1
9½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	0.3
10	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.7
10½	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	0.7
11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	1.1
11½	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.4
12	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	5	1.8
13	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.3
13½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0.4
15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.3
TOTAL	5	56	111	61	18	18	3	1	4	3	3	283	100
%	1.8	19.8	39.2	21.9	6.0	6.4	1.1	0.3	1.4	1.1	1.1		

Kitchens, water supply and latrines : All except 1% of the Asian households in the sample had separate kitchens and 8% were found to have two or more kitchens. These are mainly cases of residences which are shared between two or more unrelated families, living separately from each other.

Since it is known that practically all non-African households have their own piped water supply and bucket latrines or septic tank, enquiries were not made into this in the Asian survey.

Rents : It was previously mentioned that 13% of Asian households own their accommodation. It will be seen from Table XL that a large section of the remaining households receive their accommodation rent free. Considerable variation exists in levels of rents, but in examining these figures it should be remembered that these represent the total amounts of rent for residences and not always the amounts which separate tenants actually pay. There is a fairly high correlation (r=0.52) between numbers of rooms and level of rent. Two or three rooms can usually be obtained for up to 150 shillings per month.

(1) For purposes of this table each person under ten years of age has been accounted as half a member.

TABLE XL

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN RENTED HOUSEHOLDS BY RENT AND NUMBER OF ROOMS

Rent \ Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10+	Total	%
Nil	3	4	17	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	29	11.8
Under 50/- ..	—	12	18	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	14.6
50/-	2	9	12	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	12.2
100/-	—	12	18	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	15.0
150/-	—	5	11	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	8.5
200/-	—	5	4	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	19	7.7
250/-	—	4	17	13	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	14.6
300/-	—	2	5	4	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	14	6.0
350/-	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	1.6
400/- + ..	—	—	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	—	14	5.7
Uns.	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	6	2.4
TOTAL	5	55	105	53	12	8	2	1	1	1	3	246	100

Domestic Service : An important component of the standard of living, almost completely lacking among Africans but available to nearly all non-African households, is domestic service. Of the 283 households in the sample only 5% had no servants while 30% had two or more. Three households had more servants than members.

TABLE XLI

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF SERVANTS

No. of Servants \ NO. OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11+	Total House-holds	Total Servants
None	—	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	—	13	—
One	9	18	24	21	22	31	26	16	10	4	5	186	186
Two	—	1	6	5	7	6	7	8	5	3	7	55	110
Three	—	1	1	1	2	—	3	2	2	—	7	19	57
Four	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	12
Five	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	25
Six	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	6
Uns.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
TOTAL	9	22	32	30	35	38	37	28	21	8	23	283	396
Av. No. of Servants to Households of each size	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.3	2.5	1.4	

Food : Asians spend a much smaller proportion of their earnings than Europeans on food and drink. This is due largely to the cheaper vegetarian diet of the Hindus who comprise the great majority of the Asian population and also to religious prohibitions on the consumption of alcohol by either Hindus or Muslims. It appears, nevertheless, that the consumption of meat and fish by Hindus and of alcohol by both groups is increasing.

Clothing : Most of the younger Asians wear clothes that are Western in style. These may be suits of tropical weight or long trousers and shirts. Some of the older men have retained traditional styles of clothing, wearing small caps, sandals and robes tucked between their legs. Asian women wear saris with brightly-coloured sandals but some of the younger have adopted Western patterns of living, including clothing styles, less rapidly than African women.

Transport : The great majority of Asians live very near their workplaces. The use of bicycles is, however, very widespread. Many more Asians than Africans, but fewer Asians than Europeans have their own motor cars, many of which are driven by African chauffeurs. It has previously been mentioned that some Asians are wealthier than any Europeans living in Jinja ; these own the largest and most opulent looking cars in the town.

Conclusion : The most conspicuous differences in standards of living among Asians are between the few who live on the south side of the Jinja-Kampala road and the many who live on the north side. The houses of the former group stand well apart, have gardens, are larger, roomier and are more expensively furnished. They are occupied mainly by businessmen and professionals who are also the people with the highest personal prestige and the greatest local and national political influence. Local Asians say that Jinja is the home of more millionaires than any other part of East Africa, and it is mainly to the group living south of the Jinja-Kampala road that they refer. There are also one or two relatively rich men's localities in the Asian quarter to the north of this road, but it is mainly the smaller businessmen, shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics, etc., who congregate in this sector.

EUROPEANS

Housing location

In the past the houses of both European government servants and commercial employees have been concentrated almost entirely on an attractive hillside on the lake front just outside the commercial centre. This is traditionally the " European quarter " of the town and is still referred to in this way by Indians and sometimes by Europeans. This site was apparently early chosen by Europeans for its coolness, breeziness and distance from the noise and congestion of the commercial area. The European hillside houses consist of at least four rooms, are solidly built of brick and stone with tiled or corrugated iron roofs, and stand in large gardens, bordered by hedges. Most command a fine view. Each is normally occupied by one family and sometimes by only one individual. Additional building both of houses and flats has taken place in this area in response to the recent demand for European housing, but vacant plots are few. Recourse has now been taken, both by Government and private enterprise, to building and renting accommodation in other sections of the town. Part of this expansion is taking place in an area away from the " European quarter ", but also on a slope especially cleared of African dwellings to provide an extension of the first-class zoning area. This area has been rapidly built up during 1951 but still contains relics of its former occupants in the form of a disused African military cemetery and African prison.

To some extent the need for additional accommodation for Europeans has led also to the renting of premises both for communal messes and private households within the closely built up Indian residential quarter of the town. A proportion of the Europeans of Jinja, all commercial employees, now live scattered among the Asian population at a short distance from the European quarter. Their accommodation by contrast lacks space, privacy, gardens, impressive interior and a pleasant view. Still further from the European quarter in the north-western and eastern sections of the town, lie structures housing employees of two new companies living near the sites of their work. The larger of these clusters, for Construction Company staff, is itself divided into sub-sections. One consists of blocks of brick and tile flats and two-roomed brick bungalows on small plots for professional and clerical staff. The other, housing artisans who constitute the majority of European workers on the construction project, consist of brick and corrugated iron blocks of small rooms in units of several rooms each, in which the men live two to a room. Their meals are provided in a communal dining hall and there is also a communal recreation hall and bar-lounge. This accommodation reminds

an observer of the blocks of rooms provided on the other side of the town in the African sub-economic housing estate.

Form of Tenure : Only a small proportion of Europeans in Jinja own the houses in which they live. These are mainly business and professional men who have settled in Jinja. Most European workers, both government and privately employed, live in accommodation provided free or at subsidised rents by their employers. Since few expect to remain in Jinja permanently it is not worth while for most Europeans to build or buy a separate house. As there is little private building by European businessmen for profit, housing becomes the responsibility of the employer.

As the commercial and industrial expansion of Jinja proceeds, however, it is inevitable that more independent businessmen and professional workers will become attracted to the town by the economic opportunities which are available. They are likely to wish to build their own houses and establish themselves permanently in the area and the core of European urban " settlers " will become enlarged.

Sharing : At the time of the European survey of August, 1950, 36.6% of Europeans were found to be sharing their accommodation with unrelated persons. The majority of these were in the Construction Company's " artisan camp ", with smaller groups in communal messes in various parts of the town, established by employers, or at Jinja's one hotel which caters for Europeans.

TABLE XLII

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN POPULATION BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

TYPE	*No. of Households*	*No. of Persons*	*% of Total*
Male living alone	19	19	3.5
Unrelated males living together	16	37	6.7
Female living alone	3	3	0.5
Unrelated females living together	2	4	0.7
Husband and wife	26	52	9.5
Husband and wife with child or children	66	242	44.1
Two married couples living together without children	2	8	1.5
Husband, wife, children plus other relatives	2	10	1.8
Married couple sharing with unrelated men or women	6	19	3.5
Other	6	22	4.0
Hotel, messes and hostels	7	133	24.2
TOTAL	155	549	100

Crowding : There was no inquiry into European housing conditions during the survey. But crowding is obviously rare. The Government and private firms have usually provided ample accommodation for employees and their staff—indeed this has probably been an important attraction to employees to Uganda—and it is only in the case of the artisans' camp that many persons have been housed in a relatively small space.

Kitchens, latrines, water : Every European-occupied house or flat has its own kitchen and latrine (bucket or septic tank) and its own laid on water supply. Where shared kitchens exist, as in the case of the artisans' camp and messes, communally hired servants do the cooking and the European residents eat communally.

Domestic service : Of the 148 private European households investigated in the survey only four had no servants (see Table XLIII) and over a third (35.4%) had more servants than members. Among the artisans, however, and persons living in messes, the ratio of servants to employers is much lower than among the rest of the European population. Few have exclusive use of a servant, some share servants between them and others have none.

TABLE XLIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF SERVANTS

Household Size	1	2	3	4	5	6	*Total No. of House-holds*	*Total No. of Servants*
No. of Servants								
—	2	1	1	—	—	—	4	—
1	7	8	4	2	—	—	21	21
2	8	15	12	6	1	—	42	84
3	5	8	8	10	3	1	35	115
4	—	4	7	6	3	—	20	80
5	1	3	6	7	1	—	18	90
6	—	—	1	1	—	1	3	18
7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	8
Total No. of House-holds	23	39	39	33	8	2	144	416
Average No. of Servants to households of differ-ent sizes	1.9	2.4	3.0	3.5	3.5	4.5	2.9	

Transport : The proportion of European male adults without cars was negligible before the constructional boom and the population increase. With the recent introduction of European artisans and technicians into the town this position has changed considerably and there is now a large section of the European population which uses public transport or walks.

Conclusion : The Europeans of Jinja are no longer necessarily neighbours. European groups live separated from each other in accommodation which varies strikingly in quality and in desirability of position. The artisans, foremen and technicians share accommodation, live under conditions which are crowded in comparison with those of the rest of the European population, have fewer domestic servants and motor cars. They do not maintain the standard of living regarded among Europeans as appropriate for members of their group. This has contributed to the division which has occurred among the European residents. Those in occupational roles to which a high status is automatically attributed seem to have drawn away from the artisans, foremen and technicians, feeling that their prestige is threatened by newcomers with " inferior " consumption levels and behaviour patterns.

Differences in Living Standards

An important consequence of the differences in standards of living between the racial groups is the resentment it causes on the part of the African towards the two other races and of the Asian towards the European. The people with the lower planes of living are reluctant to accept the explanations for their position usually adduced by the other groups (which are often couched in terms felt to be derogatory), and prefer to attribute this to some form of discrimination or favouritism by those in power. Paradoxically, this feeling is accentuated among Africans by Government provisions for a minimum wage which they take to be an expression by Government of the appropriate consumption level for an African. For Asians as well as Africans the previously mentioned Government practice of laying down different wages for members of different races doing work at least superficially similar provides substance for the point of view that the customary standard of living of each group determines the earnings of its members. Africans and Asians see policy as directed towards the maintenance of existing differences in standards of living. It is possible that this point of view has the further consequence that increases in output are discouraged by the impression of the

individual African or Asian that the customary standard of living of his race group determines his earnings, irrespective of the quantity or quality of his output.[1]

The European explains his position relatively to the other races, and the Asian explains his position relatively to the African in terms of his " superiority ". As in other multi-racial societies, those races in the superior status positions become accustomed to the social inferiority of the others and, opportunistically though often unconsciously, come to accept these characteristics as inevitable and inborn. The feasibility of the official social policy of promoting the development of the African comes to be regarded by the European and Asian with doubt, and this must itself inhibit efforts in this direction. A blind eye may be turned to the few cases in which members of the lower status groups do achieve higher planes of living. Or these may sometimes be interpreted as a potential threat to the status of the superior group or groups. The association with each racial group of particular cultural characteristics comes to be regarded as necessary or inevitable. Differences are at times discussed as if the members of each group choose their existing standards of living in the same way as they " prefer " their cultural habits. Consequently, Europeans and Asians sometimes say that Africans do not eat meat because their traditional culture dictates banana-eating, while Europeans say that Asians do not mind crowded conditions because they like to live close to their relatives. These assertions are only half true. The African would, in fact, like to supplement his banana diet with meat if he could afford it, and the Asian would prefer to have his relatives with him in a more spacious home.

(1) This point is discussed at length in the separate report to follow on occupational structure.

CHAPTER VIII

HOUSEHOLD AND KINSHIP UNITS

THE main unit of inquiry and observation in a social survey is usually the household, generally regarded as a group of persons who live together and whose domestic consumption is governed substantially by one budget. The members of a household may or may not be related to each other This chapter begins with a description of the households investigated in the Jinja survey, and a discussion of the most frequent household forms. It goes on to kinship aspects of household composition and to the fertility patterns revealed.

AFRICANS

The Household : As in Western societies most African households in Jinja consist, or have a nucleus, of persons related to each other by consanguineal ties or marriage. Urban African centres have the further characteristic that many men live, unaccompanied by their relatives, in communal accommodation provided either by their employers or by the local authority. These men are often housed together in small groups of two, three, or four to a room, irrespective of, and sometimes in spite of, their individual choice. Since the composition of such groups is involuntary and members do not characteristically eat and budget together, the resemblance between these and household units proper is usually only superficial. It was thus decided to classify each member of such a group as a complete household rather than to adopt the alternative procedure of defining the whole group as one household, as the former procedure reflects more accurately the conduct of domestic economies. Since other criteria are difficult to establish except by prolonged investigation, the test of whether or not a group of persons constituted a household was made their responsibility for the rent of their accommodation. If each member of the group paid a separate rent he was regarded as a separate household ; if there was a common rent paid in respect of the whole group all members were regarded as comprising one household. Regarding " households " as individuals or groups of persons in respect of whom a single rent was paid, 945 households were identified in the sample.

Size of Households : Since over a fifth (22% of the sample) of the population live in such multi-household units, a very large proportion (slightly under a half of the 945 households in the sample) of households consisted of single persons. Though classified in Table XLIV as men living on their own, most were in fact living in groups of two or three to a room, each individually responsible for his rent. There are also a few cases of women living on their own, and this brings the proportion of single-person households up to 51%.[1] As already indicated, these consist mainly of immigrant workers accommodated in housing estates provided by government departments or by private firms for their employees.

There is a sharp drop in the proportion of two-person households which constitute only 19% of all households and 17.2% of all persons. The remaining households, comprising three or more members, constituted 29.7% of all households and 58.9% of all persons.

Age and Sex Composition of the Households : Of the 945 households in the population, over half (55%) contained no adult females. (See Table

(1) The Singapore Survey found about one quarter of their households to be single-person households and thought this high, especially in comparison with English investigations. A Social Survey of Singapore, Singapore Department of Social Welfare, 1947.

TABLE XLIV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE AND SIZE

Household Type	*No. of Persons* 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10+	*Proportion (per cent.) of house-holds*	*Proportion (per cent.) of persons involved*
Male Head alone ..	457	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48.4	22.5
Male Head and wife	—	117	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.6	11.8
Male Head, wife and children	—	—	62	34	16	10	1	1	—	13.1	23.4
Male Head, wife, children and other relatives	—	—	—	8	5	3	4	2	1	2.4	6.3
Male Head, wife and other relatives ..	—	—	35	13	10	2	1	—	—	6.5	11.1
Male Head and other relatives	—	33	10	6	1	1	—	—	—	5.4	6.4
Male Head and unrelated men ..	—	11	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	1.6	1.7
Male Head and children	—	6	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	1.0	1.2
Female Head alone ..	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.4	1.6
Female Head and children	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.4	0.5
Female Head and other relatives	—	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	0.6	0.9
Others	—	3	8	8	7	7	2	4	5	4.6	12.5
Total Number in Sample	489	175	124	72	40	24	8	7	6	945	2035

XLV). Most of the households without adult females were in the predominantly immigrant areas of Bukesa, Nasuti, Kirinya and Kimaka. In each of these areas they constitute a clear majority among all households. There is naturally a correspondence not only between the absence of adult females and type of area in the town, (i.e. whether immigrant or otherwise), but also between absence of females and the tribe of the members of the households. This latter connection is brought out by Table XLVI which gives a distribution of one-tribe households by the number of adult females which they contain. It will be seen that, with the one exception of the Luo, it is mainly the immigrant households (e.g. the Teso, Samia, Gishu and Nyankole) which are without adult females. Among the 82 Luo households in the sample, however, 37 contained adult females. It may be that the Luo show a greater tendency to bring or send for their women because they contemplate a longer period of residence in the town than other immigrants. The fact that, among the sample population of adult males, Luo have a less-than-average length of stay in the town is not incompatible with an intention to stay a longer time than other immigrants, but may mean only that most Luo immigrants have arrived relatively recently. It is, in fact, a common comment among employers that their Luo workers stay in their jobs rather longer than other employees though, like the others, they eventually return to their homes.

A further feature of the age and sex distribution of the households is the fact that no less than 75% did not contain children. Of those which did contain children the great majority had one child only. This is largely explained by the immigrant labour system under which the man goes alone to the town, leaving his wife and children behind in the country, and by the practice of placing children out with relatives or at boarding schools. There is, of course, the further fact that some households have no or few children

TABLE XLV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND NUMBER OF ADULT FEMALES

No. of Females 16+	LOCATION																		SUB-COUNTY HOSPITAL	% of Households in Sample
	MUMYUKA					SABAGABBO				SABAWALI			SABADDU							
	Lwansuma	Kirinya	Bukesa	Nutyenya	PARISH TOTAL	Nauti	Magwa I	Masese I	PARISH TOTAL	Walukuba	Masese II	PARISH TOTAL	Kimaka	Makenke	Magwa II	Mpumude	PARISH TOTAL		
0	11	99	124	30	264	35	11	1	47	14	34	48	112	13	10	26	161	520	55.0
1	19	56	22	29	126	13	27	2	42	28	38	66	57	23	7	38	125	359	38.0
2	2	9	—	2	13	2	7	—	9	6	7	13	8	5	3	4	20	55	5.8
3	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	3	3	6	0.6
4	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	2	5	0.5
TOTAL ..	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100

TABLE XLVI

DISTRIBUTION OF ONE-TRIBE AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY MAIN TRIBE AND NUMBER OF ADULT FEMALES

No. of Females 16+	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*Percentage*
0	11	53	45	8	43	51	54	38	53	15	139	61.5
1	12	14	32	9	5	70	55	10	22	7	240	33.2
2	2	1	5	1	—	13	10	2	1	—	3	4.6
3	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
4 and over	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	0.3
TOTAL ..	25	68	82	18	48	137	120	50	76	22	184	100

because of the infertility of the man or woman in the house. This topic is further discussed in the sections of this chapter on family size and fertility.

Wage Earners in the Households : The great majority of households, comprising 80%, have one male or female wage-earner, generally a man supporting either himself alone or the household group of which he is a member. (See Table XLVI). A small proportion (about 3%) have no earner. This situation may arise because the usual earner is unemployed or temporarily incapacitated through illness. Since there are virtually no formal social services to cope with such loss of income, the question arises of how these households support themselves. The answer appears to lie largely in the earnings of their female members, either from cultivation or, in the case of households consisting entirely of women, from prostitution. It is notable that of the 27 households found to have no earner, 15 were found in the areas of Mpumude and Masese, both of which contain well-known centres of prostitution.

The remaining 17% of households contain two or more earners. Since few contain children of working age, or parents of the head, the extra earners, apart from the heads of the households, are more usually brothers, clansmen and unrelated tribesmen than children or parents.

The number of earners shows a tendency to increase with the size of the household, but not proportionately. In Jinja as in western and certain other colonial areas[1], the burden of poverty may thus fall very largely on the bigger households. With all households situated outside the cleared areas, however, household income may be supplemented from the subsistence cultivation carried on part-time by an employed male earner or by his wife and children.

Sharing[2] : 16% of all African households share their accommodation with other households. These consist mainly of single men or men without their relatives sharing with each other. In some areas of the town there is more sharing than in others, as can be seen in Table XLVIII. Shared households in Bukesa (site of the Township Authority housing estate) form a very high proportion of the total, while in Makenke, the most village-like of the Jinja administrative divisions, there is no sharing at all.

How does the sharing of accommodation by more than one household arise ? Since many men, particularly the married, dislike sharing their accommodation especially with persons of other tribes, it is reasonable to assume that sharing is forced on individuals. In the housing estates men who

(1) See for instance, Social Survey of Singapore, op. cit.
(2) Sharing is also discussed in the chapter on Standards of Living.

TABLE XLVII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND NUMBER OF EARNERS

	LOCATION																			
	MUMYUKA					*SABAGABBO*				*SABAWALI*			*SABADDU*							
No. of Earners	*Lwasuna*	*Kinya*	*Bukesa*	*Nalufenya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukoba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kinaka*	*Makenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
0	3	2	—	1	6	—	2	—	2	1	7	8	1	1	1	8	11	27	2.9
1	17	132	139	49	337	49	31	3	83	31	54	85	158	31	17	48	254	759	80.3
2	12	14	7	7	40	—	9	1	10	11	15	26	13	9	1	8	31	107	11.3
3	2	8	—	3	13	1	2	—	3	3	3	6	3	1	—	6	10	32	3.4
4	—	6	—	1	7	—	1	—	1	2	1	3	2	—	—	—	2	13	1.4
5+	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	2	3	7	0.7
TOTAL ..	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100

TABLE XLVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION AND WHETHER SHARED

	LOCATION																		
	MUMYUKA					*SABAGABBO*				*SABAWALI*			*SABADDU*						
Sharing	*Lwansuu*	*Kiriya*	*Bukesa*	*Nalufenya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kimaka*	*Mukenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*SUB-COUNTY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
One Household only ..	29	66	. 27	24	146	19	34	4	57	35	60	95	106	42	9	55	212	510	54.0
Shared ..	5	98	119	37	259	31	12	—	43	14	20	34	71	—	11	17	99	435	46.0
TOTAL ..	34	164	146	61	405	50	46	4	100	49	80	129	177	42	20	72	311	945	100

have no wives with them are put together in groups of two to four, and often have no choice of room-mates. Some of the sharing arises from letting, which is inevitable in urban conditions where there is shortage of accommodation and where the supply is so short that often the person seeking accommodation is forced to take what he can get, irrespective of whether he wants to share.

Tribal Composition of Households : Among the 945 households in the sample there are 830 cases in which all members belong to the same tribe. Thus the tribal composition of 115 households is mixed. Of this 115, one-quarter (29) are accounted for by Ganda-Soga intermarriages, the remainder being mainly unrelated people living together. Included among these are temporary sexual unions among persons of different tribes. Of the one-tribe households it is the Luo, Nyankole, Gishu and Samia who tend to share their accommodation more than the average, and the Acholi, Lango, Soga and Ganda who share less than the average. It is difficult to ascertain why these tribal differences occur like this—it is understandable that the " natives " of the area, i.e. Ganda and Soga, find separate homes for themselves as they are better aware of local conditions, but it is not so easy to explain why, among the immigrants, Acholi manage to keep to themselves whilst the Luo do not. This is a matter which would repay further research.

Kinship Aspects of Household Composition : The majority (61.7%) of Africans in Jinja live in households whose members are related to each other. The nature of these relationships is shown in Table XLIX which supplements Table XLIV at the beginning of this chapter. In most cases the relatives of the head of the households who are living with him consist of his wife and children. Urban wives appear seldom to be over 45 years of age, and it is rare to find children over sixteen living with their parents. This is probably due to a combination of factors—in the first instance to the relative youthfulness of the adult population, and in the second, to the setting up of separate households.

TABLE XLIX

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY RELATIONSHIP TO MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Relationship to Head	*AGE* Under 16	16–45	45+	*Total*	*Percentage of all Relatives*
1. Wife	1	355	11	367	35.3
2. Son	153	15	—	168	16.2
3. Daughter	146	4	—	150	14.4
4. Brother (same father)	14	60	1	75	7.2
5. Brother (different father)	1	7	—	8	0.8
6. Brother's Wife	—	5	—	5	0.5
7. Brother's Son	6	8	—	14	1.3
8. Brother's Daughter	2	—	—	2	0.2
9. Sister	12	25	3	40	3.8
10. Sister's Daughter	1	—	—	1	0.1
11. Mother	—	—	2	2	0.2
12. Father's Brother's Son	2	9	—	11	1.1
13. Other Relatives	10	23	1	34	3.3
14. Clan Relatives	2	14	1	17	1.6
15. Wife's Sister	8	6	—	14	1.3
16. Wife's Son	7	1	—	8	0.8
17. Wife's Daughter	2	—	—	2	0.2
18. Wife's Brother	3	11	—	14	1.3
19. Wife's other Relatives	12	11	1	24	2.3
20. Unrelated	9	56	8	73	7.0
21. Unstated	—	10	1	11	1.1
TOTAL %				1040	100.0

Those members of households other than children who are related to the male head are more usually his own relatives than those of his wife. But this is partly due to the numerical preponderance of men in the population, the ratio of adult men to relatives (other than immediate) being approximately the same as that of wives to their relatives, viz., about 5 : 1. The man's relatives are typically his brothers (by the same father, but occasionally by different mothers), and more rarely, his sisters. The children and spouses of these relatives are also sometimes present. Where relatives of the wife are in the household, these are usually her brothers or sisters. Few households stretch over more than two generations—mothers, fathers or sons' and daughters' children are rarely found together. The workers and their wives tend to be youthful, and representatives of the generation preceding them are seldom with them except in the outlying village areas of the town. In most communities old people are the repositories of tradition and the arbiters of what is " right " and " wrong ". Their absence from Jinja implies a lack of influences within the African population tending to conserve traditional African ways.

Marital Status and Forms of Marriage : Tables L and LI show the marital statuses of the population. One of the most interesting features of these Tables is the division between the various types of " married " status. These comprise marriages in Christian churches, in the Muslim mosques, marriages by tribal custom and forms of cohabitation sanctioned neither by the Church nor by tribal custom. It will be seen that the marriages by tribal custom comprised by far the most frequent of the various forms of marriage.[1] Cases in which a Christian marriage has been performed almost always involve also approval under tribal custom, so that, in a sense, this category constitutes a double rather than an alternative form of marriage. Since marriages under tribal custom nowadays occasionally include those in which no marriage payment is made by the bridegroom to the bride's family, the survey definition of a customary marriage was based on whether an introduction had been effected between one of the parties and the relatives of the other. There is probably a certain amount of distortion in the survey figures arising out of the higher prestige possessed by the Church and tribal forms of marriage over cohabitation without these formalities. A certain number of cohabiting persons (perhaps more usually women) would tend to assign themselves to one of the other categories, while some persons married by tribal custom may claim to have been married in Church.

TABLE L

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN MALES BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

AGE	*Married Church*	*Married Tribal*	*Married Living Together*	*Widowed*	*Divorced*	*Separated*	*Single*	*TOTAL*	*Percentage*
Under 1 year.. ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	19	1.4
1-5 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	73	5.5
6-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	132	132	10.0
16-45 years	104	372	23	6	11	16	468	1000	75.6
45 + years	15	37	1	11	7	10	18	99	7.5
TOTAL	119	409	24	17	18	26	710	1323	100
Proportion % ..	9.0	31.0	1.8	1.3	1.4	2.0	53.6	100	

(1) This number is probably inflated by those persons who have entered into more temporary unions, but wish to be thought of as " properly married ".

TABLE LI

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN FEMALES BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

AGE	Married Church	Married Tribal	Married Living Together	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Separated	TOTAL	Percentage
Under 1 year ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	24	3.4
1-5 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	77	77	10.8
6-15 years	—	2	—	—	—	—	97	99	13.9
16-20 years	10	45	4	—	—	—	21	80	11.2
21-25 years	12	34	1	—	1	1	7	56	7.9
26-30 years	13	26	2	—	—	2	2	45	6.3
31-35 years	2	9	2	1	1	—	3	18	2.5
36-40 years	3	5	1	—	—	1	1	11	1.5
41-45 years	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	4	0.6
16-45 years*	31	180	14	8	7	5	19	264	37.1
45 + years	5	7	—	14	2	3	3	34	4.8
TOTAL	76	311	24	24	11	12	254	712	100
Percentage	10.7	43.7	3.4	3.4	1.5	1.7	35.7	100	

* Age not further specified.

Each of these forms of marriage has its own significance in the urban context. The Christian marriage gives the parties a higher status than the other varieties and is generally associated with membership of the embryo educated upper class. While this type of union carries high prestige for both parties, it is the most binding and the most difficult from which to disengage oneself. The more common form of tribal marriage carries greater freedom for the parties concerned and easier possibilities of dissolution if required, but lacks the sanction and prestige of the Christian church marriage. Both of these types of union are common in the rural areas as well as in the town. Other forms of sexual union, specially suited to urban conditions, have arisen in the town. Under the "*mukwano mukwano*" (1) relationship, there is no formal tie on either party, but the woman will stay with the man as a temporary wife until he leaves the town or until they decide to part for some other reason in which case both may begin to cohabit with someone else. For the time the relationship lasts, she has support and he has the services of a housekeeper as well as a sexual mate. In some cases, if the two find that they are compatible and their previous commitments do not make this too difficult, they will become more permanent marital partners, engaging in a tribal or even perhaps a Christian marriage. There are also the short-term temporary wives who will stay with a man for a matter of weeks or days in return for lodgings and perhaps a gift of clothes. These should be distinguished from the prostitute who is visited at her own home by men who purchase sexual intercourse from her in return for definite sums of money.

The fact that a man is married does not, of course, necessarily mean that he is living with his wife and family. About half, for instance, of married men in the sample are living apart from their wives. It is less usual for a married woman to be in the town without her husband, unless she is on a visit to a relative or has left her husband. In the latter case she should, strictly speaking, no longer be regarded as married.

The "Single" Man in the Town : The presence of a large population of men who are either separated from their wives or are unmarried gives rise to some of the most important social problems of the township. The shifting

(1) "Mukwano" is the Luganda word for "friend".

nature of the male population, with constant coming and going between employment in the town and homes and families in the rural area, has an unsettling effect on urban life. This militates against the development of permanent bonds with the town and prevents the development of an interest in local affairs. The absence of immediate families and even more remote relatives makes for a relaxation of informal behavioural controls, encourages irresponsible social attitudes and further favours the development of an urban " anomie."

With the absence of wives and the shortage of women in the town, a class of prostitutes, semi-prostitutes and temporary wives has come into existence. For many men these women provide the only source of sexual satisfaction. Indeed, the easy access to women, the possibilities of promiscuous sex relations and the permissive nature of the urban sexual situation probably provide positive attractions to town life. But the presence of these women gives rise to individual and social problems. There is a constant risk of venereal disease for the men who associate with these women, and a male rivalry which provides one of the main causes for disputes and physical violence where groups of men are congregated in the town. The sexual outlets afforded by the promiscuous members of the female population provide a safety valve for the sexual tensions generated by the absence of stable forms of family life, but the existing pattern of sexual relations constitutes one of the main barriers to the attainment of an orderly and stable urban society.

Number of Wives : Table LII, a distribution of the adult males in the sample by the number of wives they have, includes wives living elsewhere as well as those with their men in the town. The table shows, among other things, that 8% of all adult men, and 16% of the married men, have more than one wife. Of the 88 men in the sample who were found to have more than one wife, only the minority (20 cases) had more than one wife living with them in the town. These seem to be mainly the older-established residents living in one or other of Jinja's villages, since it is often extremely difficult for the immigrant worker to find accommodation for one wife, let alone two or three. This is especially the case since under African practice each wife of a polygamist has a separate dwelling next to, or near, that of her husband. The polygamist immigrant appears either to leave both wives at home or to bring one to live with him while the other stays at home to till the land and look after the children. This is a source of family difficulties and husbands may have to arrange that their wives take turns in being with them in the town.

Marriage Payments : Very few marriages take place in the Jinja area, but the presence of a man in Jinja is often connected with his efforts to save money for a marriage payment. While for some tribes the frequency of cases in which no marriage payment is made seems to be on the increase, it can be seen from Table LIII that the great majority of the married men in the sample have made some such payment. This varies between the relatively small payments made by the Soga and Ganda and the relatively large payments made by the Luo. These payments seem extremely large, in relation to urban African earnings. but it should be remembered that they are often made largely in livestock or from receipts from livestock sales, and that at least part of the marriage payment is usually contributed by relatives of the men.

Family Size : Of all Africans in the sample 61% live in households all of whose members are related to each other in one way or another. The average size of households composed of elementary family units is 3.85.[1] It can be seen on referring back to Table XLIV that a half of these have only one child, just over a quarter have two children, and rather less than a quarter have more than two children.

(1) Standard Error=0.1.

TABLE LII

DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES BY WIVES ALIVE AND LOCATION

No. of Wives Alive	LOCATION																		*SUB-COUNTRY TOTAL*	*% of Households in Sample*
	Lwansunu	*Kirinya*	*Bukesa*	*Nalufenya*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Nasuti*	*Magwa I*	*Masese I*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Walukuba*	*Masese II*	*PARISH TOTAL*	*Kimaka*	*Makenke*	*Magwa II*	*Mpumude*	*PARISH TOTAL*		
None	20	110	93	27	250	21	21	2	44	29	42	71	85	21	18	32	156	521	47.4
One	15	78	52	26	171	28	23	2	53	34	39	73	94	22	3	41	160	457	41.6
Two	2	11	4	3	20	1	7	1	9	7	7	14	13	6	4	4	27	70	6.4
Three	—	4	2	2	8	—	1	—	1	2	1	3	—	—	1	2	3	15	1.4
Four	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	0.2
Five	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	0.1

TABLE LIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT MALES BY TRIBE AND AMOUNT OF MARRIAGE PAYMENT

MARRIAGE PAYMENT	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*TOTAL*	*Proportion (per cent.)*
None	1	7	1	—	1	17	18	7	1	3	23	79	7.2
Up to 49/-	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	2	—	—	3	9	0.8
50/- to 99/-	—	2	—	1	—	10	12	—	—	3	5	33	3.0
100/- to 199/-	2	—	1	1	4	23	35	4	—	1	13	74	6.7
200/- to 299/-	2	1	1	—	4	24	13	1	1	4	10	61	5.6
300/- to 499/-	4	2	4	1	8	15	9	11	7	2	19	82	7.5
500/- to 749/-	8	4	3	4	8	11	4	5	6	1	17	71	6.5
750/- to 999/-	2	4	5	2	3	2	1	1	5	—	3	28	2.6
1000/- to 2499/-	2	9	39	3	1	1	1	—	18	—	27	101	9.2
2500/- to 4999/-	—	2	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	14	1.3
5000/- to + ...	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	0.4
Unemployed	2	2	—	1	1	15	6	1	1	1	3	33	3.0
Not applicable (Single and 22 unstated) ..	10	49	42	11	29	80	74	31	68	13	103	510	46.4
TOTAL	33	83	99	28	60	200	174	63	107	28	234	1099	100
Proportion %	3.0	5.6	9.0	2.6	5.5	18.2	14.9	5.7	9.7	2.6	21.3	100	

The size of these family units is sometimes reduced by the absence, in certain instances, of children who are being looked after elsewhere by relatives or who are away at school. But the average number of children absent from these households is small. The relatively small size of the African family is most intimately connected with the fertility of African women, discussed below.

Fertility : Each of the three tables, Nos. LIV-LVI, shows the number of children ever born alive to the adult (16+) women in the sample. This variable is associated first with the number of years married, then with the marital status, and lastly with tribal membership. In examining these data and drawing conclusions it should be remembered that there are difficulties involved in obtaining fertility data from many African women. It was not possible, for instance, to obtain accurate enough estimates of the ages of sufficient women in the sample to make a tabulation of the number of children born to women of different age categories, though it is known that the population is a rather young one.[1] Elderly women are particularly liable not to know their ages or to give them incorrectly. They also tend to forget the number of children they have had, especially if some have died, and confuse stillbirths with miscarriages. Apart from this, fertility is often a sensitive subject on the part of African women as infertility, or even low fertility, is a reflection on a woman's status, and may be a bone of contention between herself and her husband and his relatives. It is also important to note that many of the events to which this section relates occurred outside Jinja even though persons now in Jinja are concerned ; it is not yet urban fertility that is being measured but the fertility of the women who come to the town.

One of the most interesting features of the fertility data was the statistically significant relationship found to exist between number of children born and form of marriage.[2] Women married in church exhibit a higher fertility than those women married by tribal custom. This may be due to the women married in church being a rather older group or having been married for a rather longer period. Because of the lack of accurate data concerning age, it is impossible to examine the first possibility further, but the relationship between form of marriage and number of years married can be seen below. The higher fertility of the women married in church may well be explained by the longer duration of their marriage. (See Table LVII). A part of the explanation of the higher fertility of the women married in church is also likely to lie in their membership, on the whole, of a social class better educated, less promiscuous and less diseased than the social classes to which the other women belong.

Survival and Pregnancy Wastage : While Tables LIV-LVI dealt with numbers of children ever born to women in the sample, Table LVIII shows how many of these have survived. It has been mentioned before that the average number of children ever born to the adult women was 1.58. The average number of survivors, 1.08, is considerably lower and indicates a high wastage. No significant relationship was found to exist between tribal membership and the number of children alive now.

It is evident from Table LIX that a " disproportionate " amount of wastage occurs during the first year of life. Of the deaths of their children reported by mothers in the survey, 49% had occurred before reaching the age of one year.

The births and deaths figures can be used to give a rough indication of average probability of survival to the age of one year and to the age of three

(1) An attempt was made to estimate ages by reference to a calendar of events, but even with this aid it did not prove possible to allocate the ages of more than about half the women in the sample to five-year categories. The difficulty arises, of course, largely from the tribal heterogeneity of the population for whom a whole series of calendars of events, appropriate for each tribe, would be necessary.

(2) A further association was discovered between tribal membership and number of children ever born alive. The Samia women record a significantly greater number of live births than the average for all tribes. The numbers involved are, however, small, and firm generalisations cannot be made without further investigations.

TABLE LIV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT FEMALES BY NUMBERS OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE AND YEARS MARRIED

YEARS MARRIED	No. OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE													TOTAL	Proportion (per cent.)
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	15	17	Unstated		
Under 1 year	12	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	3.3
1 year	36	13	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	57	11.1
2 years	29	20	7	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	61	11.9
3 years	18	20	11	4	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	56	10.9
4 years	10	18	12	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46	9.0
5-9 years	21	20	13	18	6	5	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	88	17.2
10-14 years	5	9	9	8	7	6	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	49	9.6
15 years + ...	3	9	2	6	2	3	1	1	3	1	—	1	—	32	6.3
N.A.	14	7	6	5	6	6	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	47	9.2
D.N.A. Single	41	4	5	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	8	59	11.5
TOTAL	189	121	72	53	26	20	6	7	6	2	1	1	8	512	100
Proportion %	36.9	23.6	14.1	10.3	5.1	3.9	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	1.6	100	

TABLE LV

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT FEMALES BY MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE

MARITAL STATUS	No. OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE													TOTAL	Proportion (per cent.)
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	15	17	Unstated		
Married Church	16	17	14	12	6	7	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	76	14.8
Married Tribal	104	92	43	35	13	7	4	4	4	1	1	1	—	309	60.4
Married Living Together ...	15	1	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	4.7
Widowed	6	2	3	2	4	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	24	4.7
Divorced	4	3	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	2.2
Separated	6	2	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	12	2.3
Single	38	4	5	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	8	56	10.9
TOTAL	189	121	72	53	26	20	6	7	6	2	1	1	8	512	100
Percentage	36.9	23.6	14.1	10.4	5.1	3.9	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	1.6	100	

TABLE LVI

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT FEMALES BY TRIBE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE

No. of Children Born Alive	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*TOTAL*	*%*
0	4	5	11	5	1	64	47	10	6	3	33	189	36.9
1	3	6	14	2	2	38	26	2	9	3	16	121	23.6
2	4	2	5	4	1	16	20	4	3	1	12	72	14.1
3	5	1	6	1	—	16	9	1	4	1	7	53	10.4
4	—	1	2	—	—	7	7	1	1	3	4	26	5.1
5	—	—	5	—	—	7	3	1	2	—	2	20	3.9
6	—	1	2	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	6	1.2
7	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	—	1	—	7	1.4
8	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	2	6	1.2
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	0.4
15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.2
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	0.2
Uns. ..	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	—	1	—	3	8	1.6
TOTAL ..	16	17	45	13	4	158	119	20	28	12	79	512	100

TABLE LVII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN "MARRIED" ADULT FEMALES BY MARITAL STATUS AND YEARS MARRIED

Marital Status	*Under 1 year*	*1 year —*	*2 years —*	*3 years —*	*4 years +*	*5-9 years*	*10-14 years*	*15 years +*	*Unstated*	*TOTAL*
Married Church ..	1	3	7	8	7	18	17	15	0	76
Married Tribal ..	8	45	53	45	39	67	31	17	4	309
Married Living Together	7	9	1	3	—	2	1	—	1	24
TOTAL	16	57	61	56	46	87	49	32	5	409

TABLE LVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN ADULT FEMALES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN ALIVE NOW AND MAIN TRIBE

No. of Children Alive Now	*Acholi*	*Teso*	*Luo*	*Lango*	*Nyankole*	*Soga*	*Ganda*	*Gishu*	*Samia*	*Nyoro*	*REST*	*TOTAL*	*Proportion (per cent.)*
0	4	8	17	6	1	78	57	11	7	4	36	229	44.7
1	4	5	16	2	3	39	29	3	10	5	19	135	26.4
2	6	1	5	4	—	17	14	3	4	1	12	67	13.1
3	2	1	6	—	—	10	13	1	3	1	5	42	8.2
4	—	1	—	1	—	9	2	—	2	1	2	18	3.5
5	—	—	1	—	—	4	1	1	1	—	1	9	1.8
7	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.4
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	0.2
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	0.2
Uns. ..	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	3	8	1.6
TOTAL ..	16	17	45	13	4	160	119	21	27	12	79	512	100

TABLE LIX

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED DEATHS OF CHILDREN BY AGE AT WHICH DEATH OCCURRED

AGE	*No. of Deaths*	*Percentage*
Under 1 year	132	49.4
1 year—3 years	68	25.5
Over 3 years	67	25.1
TOTAL DEATHS	267	100.0

years ; of all children born to the women in the sample only 84% survived the first year of life and only 75% survived the third year of life.[1]

Stillbirths : The 512 adult women in the sample reported between them a total of 50 stillbirths, nine of which are attributed to one woman. But it is suspected that there is a certain amount of under-reporting of stillbirths through forgetfulness.

Social Significance of the Fertility Pattern : The number of urban Africans who express a wish to limit the size of their families, though increasing, appears still to be small. Children are valued both by men and women and it is a matter of widespread concern in the urban area that more are not born. The wife who does not bear children is disparaged. It is always she and not the husband who is held responsible for this, and barrenness may constitute grounds for divorce. Infertility and low fertility, like prostitution, have come to be associated in the minds of Africans with town life and to reduce the desirability of the town as a permanent home for a man, his wife and family. Paradoxically, the African immigrant considers that his wife is more likely to have children and less likely to be unfaithful to him if she spends most of her time in the rural area, even though she is then away from him.

Conclusions : Where elementary familial units exist in Jinja's African population, these are generally small. The close emotional bonds of the family appear to extend less widely than in rural societies where more relatives are either in the households or live nearby. Also by contrast with rural village societies, kinship bonds are, in general, lacking between separate households. There are a few village-like communities where several households are related to each other and it is often the case that an individual in the town has one or more relatives there. But there does not exist the network of kinship relations between households on anything like the same scale as found in rural tribal societies.

Through its tribal heterogeneity, small family units and lack of kinship ties, the urban society is fragmented into smaller social units than the rural. The position of the " single " men is a rather special one. It has already been pointed out that the presence of a large proportion of these men makes for certain social tensions and instabilities. As far as their living conditions are concerned, it is possible that, to some extent, the placing of these men in shared accommodation fosters the development of closer bonds between them than might otherwise exist, but the unpopularity of such arrangements makes it clear that, in the short term at least, they make for friction between the individuals concerned.

Social forces in urban centres characteristically favour the individualisation of the population. This does not necessarily and in the long term involve a lack of social integration and cohesiveness, as special interest associations may come to provide an effective substitute for small multi-purpose communities in their integrative functions. But as will be seen in

(1) The Coloured male life table for South Africa, 1936, shows 82% surviving to age one, 76% to age two, 74% to age three.

a later chapter, such associations do not as yet exist in Jinja and there is a conspicuous lack of unifying influences derived from either quarter.

It is noteworthy that where kinship groups exist in Jinja they exhibit a lack of continuity through time. Their existing composition rarely involves more than two generations and there is generally no continuity of association of a kinship grouping or lineage with the urban area or a particular part of it. This is also the case with larger groups than kinship units which do not become associated traditionally with the area.

The presence or absence of children in a population may also have a significant influence on social integration. In Jinja the smallness of the numbers of African children militates against the formation of inter-household links through children's friendship. There are, furthermore, relatively few children in local schools assimilating a common culture. It is largely the practice for the children of town dwellers to be brought up or educated elsewhere than in the town. As far as the urban area is concerned, they may retain a certain amount of the insularity of their immigrant parents. And perhaps more important, they adopt their respective tribal values and practices rather than the values and practices which may be appropriate for all Africans who enter the urban area.

ASIANS

The Household : In many cases Asian households share accommodation which it is legally permissible for only one family to occupy. This complicated the conduct of the social survey of the Asian population. It became clear from preliminary enquiries before the main field investigation that an attempt to identify households within each residence would result in inaccurate information concerning household composition, and would also greatly prejudice the possibility of obtaining accurate answers to other questions. It was decided, in the circumstances, to record on one schedule details for all the inhabitants of each residence included in the sample inquiry.

While this procedure made possible the conduct of the field inquiries, it has the result that the term " household " in the tables which follow must be interpreted to mean all the inhabitants of a residence rather than groups of people who not only live together but whose domestic consumption is governed substantially by one budget. Since the great majority of Asian residences are, in any case, occupied by units which are households in the latter sense, the effect of this procedure on the survey results is not of great quantitative importance. Because of this, most of the " household " data if the Asian and African surveys are directly comparable despite the slight difference in definition. But it is to be borne in mind in the case of those households (as the term is used below) comprising the 12% of all Asians who live in elementary family units plus unrelated persons. Some of these consist of separate budgetary units sharing their accommodation only because housing is in short supply and rents for whole residences are high. It is also possible that a few of the households which appear from inspection of the tables to consist of extended family units operate as more than one budgetary unit.

The data below are discussed as if all the residential units are household budgetary units, and special note is made where necessary to cover the exceptional 12% of the population living under circumstances in which residential groupings and domestic budgetary units do not coincide.

Size of Households : While a large proportion of the African population live in single-person households, the comparable proportion among Asians is extremely low. Table LX shows a percentage of only 0.5% of persons in the sample population for males living alone and of only 0.2% for unrelated men living together. The combined figure of 0.75% can be taken as directly comparable with the figure of 22% of the African population in household units comprising one individual only.

TABLE LX

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE AND SIZE

Composition	*Number of Members*																			TOTAL	*Proportion % of Households*	*Proportion % of Persons*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	21			
Male head, alone ..	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	9	3.2	0.5
Male head, wife ..	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	4.6	1.5
Male head, wife & child	—	—	22	25	26	29	28	17	12	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	163	57.6	54.6
Male head, wife, child, & other members ..	—	—	—	2	5	7	2	7	—	5	1	4	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	38	13.4	18.7
Male head, wife & other relatives ..	—	—	5	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	2.5	1.6
Male head, wife & others unrelated ..	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	6	2.1	2.2
Male head, wife & child, & others unrelated ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	5	1	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	1	—	16	5.6	10.0
Male head & other relatives	—	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1.8	0.9
Male head, & unrelated members ..	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.7	0.2
Male head, children ..	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1.4	0.5
Female head & children ..	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2.8	3.2
Other.. ..	—	—	2	—	1	—	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	11	3.9	5.8
Unstated ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.4	0.5
TOTAL ..	9	22	32	30	35	38	37	28	21	8	3	4	3	5	3	2	1	1	1	283	100	100
Proportion (per cent.)..	3.2	7.8	11.3	10.6	12.4	13.4	13.1	9.9	7.4	2.8	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.8	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	100		

TABLE LXI

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF ADULT FEMALES

Number in Household	*NUMBER OF FEMALES*							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	*TOTAL*
1	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
2	9	13	—	—	—	—	—	22
3	—	27	5	—	—	—	—	32
4	—	24	6	—	—	—	—	30
5	—	29	6	—	—	—	—	35
6	—	31	6	1	—	—	—	38
7	—	27	6	3	—	1	—	37
8	1	12	12	3	—	—	—	28
9	1	13	6	1	—	—	—	21
10	—	1	6	—	1	—	—	8
11	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
12	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	4
13	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	3
14	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	5
15	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	3
16	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	2
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
18	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
21	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
TOTAL ..	20	180	59	14	7	2	1	283
Proportion (per cent.)	7.1	63.6	20.9	5.0	2.5	0.7	0.3	100

It will also be seen from Table LX that most Asian households are much larger than those of Africans. While the average size of an African household is 2.2, the average size of an Asian household is 6.2. Over half of the Asian households contain between five and nine members. These large households are not confined to those elementary units whose members are supplemented by unrelated persons constituting in reality separate budgetary units. The great majority consist of man, wife and children.

Age and Sex Composition of Households : Of the 283 households in the Asian sample, all but 7% contained at least one adult female. (See Table LXI). Nearly a third (29%) of the households contained two or more adult females and the number of adult females per household naturally tends to increase in the case of the larger households. The " extra " adult females in the households, i.e., the adult females apart from wives of heads, are accounted for by grown-up daughters, and the wives of the brothers and sons of the heads of households. Where shared households exist this also increases the number of adult women in the household.

Eight or nine out of every 10 households in the sample contained at least one child (See Table LXII). Six out of every 10 contained at least two children and four out of 10 at least three children. Asian parents have their children with them in Jinja. They go to school and grow up in the town.

Earners in the Households : While most households (66.4%) have one earner, a substantial minority, comprising 30.7%, have two or more earners. (See Table LXIII). Households often include adult sons and, in the extended families, brothers of the head, and it is generally these relatives who are the additional earners. In addition, each unit in the shared residences will tend to have its own earners. The small proportion of 2.8% have no earners ; these are almost all cases in which the adult male members of the household were unemployed, ill or absent at the time of the survey.

Table LXVIII shows also the relationship of numbers of earners to the total number of members per household. It can be seen that there is a slight tendency for the number of earners to increase with increases in the size of household, but that a very large proportion of large households have only one earner.

TABLE LXII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN											*Un-stated*	*TOTAL*
Size	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+		
1 ..	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
2 ..	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22
3 ..	5	25	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32
4 ..	5	6	18	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
5 ..	—	3	7	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35
6 ..	—	2	2	9	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38
7 ..	1	1	5	5	8	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	37
8 ..	—	—	1	6	7	3	11	—	—	—	—	—	28
9 ..	1	1	—	1	2	4	4	8	—	—	—	—	21
10 ..	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	7
11 ..	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	4
12 ..	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	4
13 ..	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
14 ..	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	5
15 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
16 ..	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
17 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
21 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
TOTAL	43	39	35	47	44	30	23	13	6	1	1	1	283
Proportion (per cent.)	15.2	13.8	12.4	16.6	15.6	10.6	8.1	4.6	2.1	0.4	0.3	0.4	100

TABLE LXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND NUMBER OF MALE EARNERS

	EMPLOYED MALES							
Size	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	14	8	—	—	—	—	—
3	3	26	3	—	—	—	—	—
4	1	25	4	—	—	—	—	—
5	1	30	3	1	—	—	—	—
6	1	31	6	—	—	—	—	—
7	—	22	11	3	1	—	—	—
8	1	16	8	3	—	—	—	—
9	1	9	6	2	1	1	—	1
10	—	4	3	—	1	—	—	—
11	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	—
12	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—
14	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—
15	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
17	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
TOTAL ..	8	187	55	15	8	4	3	1
%	2.8	66.1	19.4	5.3	3.5	1.4	1.1	0.4

Caste-Groups and Religious Composition of Households : Among the 283 households in the sample almost all are composed of persons of the same caste-group or religion. There are differences of caste-group in only 5.3% of households relating to 8.4% of persons and religious differences in only 2.1% of households (3.7% of persons). These are nearly all cases in which unrelated and separated families and separate families or individuals share the same residence. It is interesting to note that where sharing does occur, differences in religious practices evidently constitute a more formidable barrier than differences in caste and similar groupings.

Kinship Aspects of Household Composition : Table LX at the beginning of this section showed that of the 283 households in the sample, 62.2% (comprising 56.1% of all persons) consists of man and wife or man, wife and children. A further 15.9% of households (20.3% of persons) consist of extended families. When the cases of male head and other relatives, male head and children, and female head and children are also taken into account, the conclusion can be reached that 80.8% of all Asians in Jinja live in households all of whose members are related to each other. This is a minimum because it excludes the cases in which separate families share a residence and all the members in each of the separate units are related to each other.

The characteristic forms of relationships are shown in Table LXIV. The relationship of household members to household heads is most frequently that of son or daughter and, less frequently, that of brother, and sons' children, and brothers' sons. A sister of the head of the household is less frequently found in the same household. These figures indicate the manner in which the male members of Asian households—father and son, brother and brother—remain together while the female members of a family disperse to the homes of their husbands. This is indicated again by the absence of married daughters and their husbands and the presence of the wives of sons.

TABLE LXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS BY RELATIONSHIP TO MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND AGE

Relationship	*Under 15 years*	15—	20—	25—	30—	35—	40—	45+	*Un-stated*	*TOTAL*	*Proportion (per cent.)*
Wife ..	—	6	57	59	46	49	26	26	2	271	19.9
Daughter ..	359	39	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	404	29.6
Son ..	366	74	24	9	6	1	—	—	—	480	35.1
Son's son ..	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	1.4
Son's daughter	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	1.0
Brother ..	11	4	9	7	6	4	1	3	—	45	3.1
Brother's wife	—	1	4	3	1	2	1	1	—	13	1.0
Brother's son	14	3	5	—	2	1	—	—	—	25	1.8
Sister ..	12	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	17	1.2
Mother ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	12	—	13	0.9
Son's Wife	—	5	13	3	—	—	—	—	—	21	1.5
Other ..	21	7	4	4	—	2	3	3	—	44	3.2
TOTAL ..	816	140	123	86	62	60	32	45	2	1366	100

Marital Status : The distribution of Asian adults by age and marital status (see Table LXV) shows that only a small proportion of adults are unmarried. Of the 417 males of 20 years and over in the sample, 11.8% were single and of the 332 females of 20 years and over only 1.8%. In the case of Africans many men, though married, do not have their wives with them in the town, but in the case of the Asians practically every married Asian male is living with his wife in Jinja. Although polygamy is permitted by their religious beliefs to the Muslims in the population, who comprise 10% of all Asians in the sample, no case was found of a man with more than one wife.

TABLE LXV

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN ADULTS BY SEX, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

AGE GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Single	*Married*	*Widowed*	*TOTAL*	*Single*	*Married*	*Widowed*	*TOTAL*
15 years — ..	84	3	—	87	41	14	—	55
20 years — ..	30	26	—	56	6	77	—	83
25 years — ..	13	57	—	70	—	71	1	72
30 years — ..	3	60	2	65	—	48	—	48
35 years — ..	2	66	—	68	—	52	—	52
40 years — ..	1	52	1	54	—	28	1	29
45 years — ..	—	44	—	44	—	19	3	22
50 years — ..	—	27	1	28	—	4	5	9
55 years — ..	—	16	1	17	—	4	—	4
60 + years ..	—	13	2	15	—	4	5	9
Unstated ..	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	4
TOTAL ..	133	364	7	504	49	323	15	387

Family Size : The average size of households consisting of elementary family units (husband, wife and children) is 5.85 (s.e.=0.125). This figure is considerably higher than for Africans.[1] It will be seen on reference back to Table LX that the great majority of these households have more than one child, 86.5% having two or more, 71.2% having three or more, and over a half having four or more. In contrast with the Africans there are few cases in which a married couple had no children.

Fertility : While the average number of live births per adult woman in the African sample was 1.58, the corresponding figure for Asian women was 3.33, more than twice as high. The 512 adult African women in the African sample had had between them 811 children, and the 385 Asian women in the sample had 1,282 children between them. In the case of the Asian women it was possible to ascertain ages more accurately than among Africans, and a distribution can be given which combines number of live births with age.

TABLE LXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN ADULT FEMALES (15+) BY AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE

AGE	NO. OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE											*Unstated*	*Total No. of persons*	*Av. No. of live births*
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+			
15 years — ..	48	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	0.145
20 years — ..	19	26	20	13	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	1.506
25 years — ..	4	6	14	16	18	4	7	2	1	—	—	—	72	3.306
30 years — ..	1	1	5	5	9	4	12	4	5	2	—	—	48	5.000
35 years — ..	5	1	4	8	5	11	6	5	4	—	3	—	52	4.843
40 years — ..	—	1	1	1	4	7	5	3	1	3	3	—	29	5.833
45 years + ..	2	2	4	3	5	8	4	2	7	3	4	—	44	5.658
Unstated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	
TOTAL	79	43	49	46	46	34	34	10	18	8	10	2	385	3.3

Table LXVI shows a general trend for the average number of live births to increase with the age of the woman. The fertility of the older women in the population is not, however, necessarily an indication of what the fertility of the younger women will be by the time they complete the child-

(1) This leaves out of account the cases in which households include relatives of the head other than his wife and children, where the average size of households is 8.6 (standard error 0.4).

bearing period. Quite apart from variations in local Asian fertility patterns through time, it must be remembered that the older women have spent much of their lives outside Jinja, mainly in India.

Table LXVII shows the association between the number of children born alive and the number of years the women have been married. This is comparable with Table LIV for Africans.

TABLE LXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN ADULT FEMALES (15+) BY YEARS MARRIED AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE

YEARS MARRIED	*NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE*											*Unstated*	*Total No. of persons*	*Av. No. of live births*
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+			
Under 1 year ..	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	0.000
1 year —	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	0.333
2 years — ..	4	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	0.735
3 years — ..	6	6	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	0.867
4 years — ..	—	9	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	1.471
5 years — ..	3	9	18	20	8	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	59	2.441
10 years — ..	3	6	5	12	16	3	9	1	1	—	—	—	56	3.572
15 years + ..	7	4	14	12	21	30	24	13	15	7	8	—	155	5.219
Single	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	
Unstated	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	15	
TOTAL	79	43	49	46	46	34	34	16	18	8	10	2	385	3.33

Table LXVIII shows the distribution of adult Asian women by main sub-group and number of children born alive.

TABLE LXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN ADULT FEMALES (15+) BY SUB-GROUP AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE

Sub-Group	*NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE*											*Unstated*
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	
Brahmin ..	11	6	6	5	4	2	1	1	1	2	2	1
Kshatriya ..	36	19	23	20	15	18	20	11	9	5	1	—
Vaishya ..	6	6	10	5	9	7	6	3	3	—	2	—
Shudra ..	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Sikh	—	2	1	4	4	2	1	—	—	—	1	—
Muslim ..	10	1	5	3	7	2	2	1	1	—	2	1
Goan ..	9	2	2	4	3	2	2	—	1	—	—	—
Arab	3	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other	4	5	2	4	2	1	1	—	2	1	2	—
TOTAL ..	79	43	49	46	46	34	34	16	18	8	10	2

Survival and Wastage : While the average number of children ever born alive to each Asian woman in the sample was 3.33 the average number who had survived to the date of the survey was 2.86. This represents a lower proportion of " wastage " than among Africans. As in the case of Africans, the mortality occurs very largely during the first year of life. Of all the children born, 89.93% survived beyond the first year of life and 86.26% beyond the third year of life (African figures are 84% and 75% respectively.)

TABLE LXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED DEATHS OF ASIAN CHILDREN BY AGE AT DEATH

AGE	*No. of Deaths*	*Percentage*
Under 1 year	96	52.7
1 — 3 years	47	25.8
Over 3 years	39	21.4
TOTAL	182	100

Deaths during the first year of life of Asians born in Jinja are lower than the figures in the last table would suggest. During the twelve months preceding the Asian sample survey there had been 245 births to parents living in Jinja and only two deaths of children under one year of age.

Stillbirths : The 385 adult women in the sample reported a total of 26 stillbirths between them. As in the case of the African data, it is possible that there is a certain amount of under-reporting of stillbirths.

Social Aspects of the Fertility Pattern : It has been shown that the family size and fertility of the Asian population in Jinja is considerably greater than for the Africans in Jinja, though it has been emphasised that in many cases the data relate to vital events which took place in other areas. This fact and the short history of the established population in the township make it difficult to predict future fertility trends for either group. It is obvious, however, that the Asian population is at present rapidly growing through natural increase.

As in India, attempts have begun to encourage the adoption of birth control measures. Up to now there appears to have been little use of contraceptives. There has been a variety of reasons for this, including fear of sterility, ignorance of techniques, and the belief that the control of birth is sinful. As far as the rest of the population is concerned, both Africans and Europeans regard Asians as prolific and look with some apprehension upon the possible political and economic repercussions of the relatively high Asian reproductivity.

Conclusions : Asian households consist predominantly of elementary or extended family units. The great majority of persons live with their relatives. The single-person household or living unit is rare, wives seldom being away from their husbands or children from their fathers. In general, Asian households in Jinja appear to be far more complete social units than African households. But they are also undergoing important changes. There are signs, for instance, of a growing reluctance of younger members to contribute their earnings to the common budget of the joint family and of an increasing independence in choice of marital partner. But the Asian family in Jinja remains, for the present at least, a relatively closely integrated social unit.

Kinship links exist not only within households but also between them. Impressionistic observation suggests strongly that inter-household kinship links are more frequent in the Asian population than among Africans.

Nearly one-half of the Asian population consists of children under the age of 15 years, the majority of whom are being educated and brought up in the town. The second-generation Asian immigrant often knows no home except Jinja or Uganda, and it is to this area that his future is oriented.

EUROPEANS

The social survey of the small European population of Jinja was conducted with more limited objectives in mind than the African or Asian surveys and took place in August, 1950, several months before the other two studies. After that date the numbers of Europeans grew rapidly and

the age and sex composition of the population changed considerably. The findings of the European survey relating to household and kinship units are, therefore, set out only briefly.

The Household : The European survey was conducted as a census in which an investigation was made of every residence known to contain at least one European. Most of the houses and flats in which Europeans lived contained elementary family units, each of which was treated as a separate household. A separate schedule was completed for each. Where two groups of persons comprising separate budgetary units shared the residence, each was separately enumerated. On the same principle, where men or women lived in a communal mess, hostel or hotel, each was enumerated as a separate household. Though they ate in a communal dining-room and in some cases shared their sleeping accommodation, each may be regarded as constituting a separate budgetary unit.

Size of Household : At the time of the European survey the European resembled the African in the large proportion of the population (24%) which comprised single-person household units. These were mainly men living in messes, hostels and hotels, many of whom expected to be joined by their families at a later date or to return to their homeplaces after one tour of service.

Excluding the messes, hostels and hotels, the average size of a European household was 2.8. The relative smallness of this figure was due not only to the high frequency of single-person households, as defined, but also to the smallness of the elementary and extended family units. The largest household in these categories consisted of six members, while less than a third of them had more than three members.

Age and Sex Composition of Households : Largely because of the absence of the families of the married artisans only 37.5% of the households contained adult females and only 24.3% contained children.

Earners : Every household contained at least one male or female earner. In several cases both husband and wife worked, the employment of women often being part-time. There was only one case in which a household head had children in employment in Jinja.

National Composition of Households : In all but a few cases members of each household were all the same nationality.

Kinship Aspects of Household Composition : 32.1% of households consisted of elementary families, i.e., of man and wife, or man, wife and children. Where other relatives were present these were almost invariably parents of the household head or his wife. Some of these were only on a temporary visit. Of all Europeans in the population, 57.9% lived in households all of the members of which were related to each other. This figure is more similar to that for Africans (61.7%) than for Asians (80.8%).

Marital Status : 65.0% of the adult males and 89.4% of the adult females were married at the time of the survey (the remainder were single, widowed, divorced or separated). As previously mentioned, however, a large proportion, 41.5%, of the married men were in the town without their wives and families.

Family Size : Of the 69 households consisting of man, wife and children, 43.5% had one child, 46.4% had two children, 6.9% three children and 2.1% four children. The survey viewed the European elementary households at their largest since they included in August children normally absent in Kenya at boarding school. Even then, the average size of the European unit of husband, wife and children was slightly smaller (3.6) than the average for similar African units (3.9), many of which have members missing, and much smaller than the average similar Asian units (5.9).

Fertility : The average number of live births to the 134 adult women in the survey was 1 ; the average number of live births to the married women was 1.2.

TABLE LXX

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN ADULT FEMALES BY AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE (PRESENT MARRIAGE)

AGE	Single Women	NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ALIVE 0	1	2	3	4	Total Children	Total Women
15 years	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
20 years	1	5	1	6	—	—	1	7
25 years	3	6	5	7	1	—	22	22
30 years	1	6	8	11	1	1	37	28
35 years	1	4	5	8	—	—	21	18
40 years	1	2	4	4	2	—	18	13
45 years	2	6	5	1	—	1	11	15
Unstated ..	4	3	4	7	2	—	24	20

It is apparent from the comparable statistics for each race that European women have had fewer children than either African or Asian women. While the average number of births per African woman was 1.6 and for Asian women was 3.3, the average for Europeans was only 1.1.[1]

Social Aspects of the Fertility Pattern : Jinja's European families closely resembled in structure and size the typically small elementary families found today in the United Kingdom. Birth control is practised both to limit family size and to space births. There appears also to be among the members of this group a certain amount of anxiety concerning involuntary fertility, but it is impossible to say how widespread this is. Since the European survey was conducted there has been a considerable immigration of the somewhat larger families of Italian artisans who probably have different values and practices in regard to family limitation, but this topic was not studied locally.

CONCLUSIONS

The main feature of this section is the resemblance shown between European and African household and kinship units. Like the urban African population, the European population included a large proportion of men without wives and families who shared living accommodation with each other. Where family units existed, these tended in both groups to be small. As in the case of the Africans the imbalance of the sexes has led to social problems ; with the Europeans this took the form of sexual association with African women, which caused the resentment of African men and the serious concern of both African and European administrative authorities.

The African child whose parents live in Jinja generally grows up in a rural area outside. Similarly, the European child goes to school in Kenya or the United Kingdom, though he is in Jinja (or elsewhere in Uganda) until the completion of the early primary standards and visits his parents in the town during the school holidays.

(1) In the case of Europeans, however, the figures for births are slightly reduced by the fact that they refer only to those which occurred during the duration of the current marriage of the woman.

CHAPTER IX

LINKS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

THE people of Jinja do not form an isolated social unit but are part of a national and international society. The day-to-day activities of the town are closely bound up with events in the rural hinterland, in Uganda's main commercial town, Kampala, and in the capital, Entebbe. The form of Jinja's political and administrative institutions is affected by decisions taken in London, and the volume of its economic activities by world fluctuations in the price of cotton. During the course of time, the local society moves increasingly away from economic self-sufficiency towards a greater degree of specialisation. As specialisation grows, so does interdependence with other social groups, both near and distant.

Jinja is connected with the outside world not only through the impersonal mechanisms of the economic and political systems, but also through the direct personal links maintained by individuals who live in the town. It is with these links that this chapter deals.

AFRICANS

Many African men in the town live separated from their wives and children in the countryside. 42.4% of all married African men in the sample survey had wives living elsewhere and 41.9% had at least one child elsewhere. These men were asked to explain the reasons for the absence of their wives and children. It will be seen from Table LXXI that the most important single reason given was that the wife (or wives) was required to look after the land and care for the family.

TABLE LXXI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS[1] GIVEN BY AFRICAN MARRIED MEN FOR ABSENCE OF WIVES

REASONS GIVEN	*Percentage*
Wife required to look after plot and care for family	40.7
Cost of bringing wife to Jinja and cost of living in Jinja too high	14.0
Wife temporarily on home or other visit	10.3
Accommodation in Jinja inadequate	10.0
Husband does not intend to settle in Jinja	7.7
Wife to follow	5.0
Wife dislikes living conditions in Jinja	3.0
Other	8.3
Unstated	1.0
TOTAL REASONS	300

It is to be expected that members of a population with an unbalanced sex ratio and including many men who have left their wives and children at their homes, maintain strong links with their homeplaces. In the African sample survey an attempt was made to elucidate certain aspects of these urban-rural ties by asking respondents who had been in Jinja over a year on how many occasions they had visited their home places during the year previous to the survey. They were also asked whether they sent money home, and if so, to whom and for what purpose. The question on number of home

(1) These 300 reasons were given by the 234 men in the sample who had absent wives. The number of reasons exceeds the number of respondents because some men gave more than one reason for the absence of a wife.

visits was referred to a one-year period because a pilot survey had shown that, in many cases, persons could not remember the total number of visits they had paid to their homes during the whole duration of their stay in Jinja.

Of all African males who have been in Jinja over one year, 47% had not been home during the year preceding the survey, 28% had been once and 25% had been more than once. Those who visit their homes most frequently are naturally the Soga, within those district Jinja lies, and the Ganda, whose home territory begins just across the river from Jinja. While men of these tribes go home more than the average, those who come from Kenya (largely Luo and Samia) and Mbale (Gishu), pay fewer visits home than the average of all tribes. This is understandable in view of the greater distance of their homes ; Jinja is 73 miles from the Kenya border, 162 miles from Kisumu, the centre from which the numerous Luo originate, and about 60 miles from the Busoga-Mbale border. It is possible, of course, that the Luo, Samia and Gishu visit their homes no less regularly than other Africans but only less frequently.

TABLE LXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF PURPOSES FOR WHICH REMITTANCES ARE MADE BY AFRICAN MEN

PURPOSE	*No. of Instances*	*% of Purposes*
Support	397	54.9
School fees	21	2.9
Support and School fees	199	27.5
Savings	22	3.0
Support and Savings	64	8.9
Support, School fees and Savings..	14	1.9
Other reasons	6	0.8
TOTAL	723	100
	(No. of men sending money=526)	

Remittances : Of the 1,099 adult males in the sample 48% stated that they sent money home. It was not possible to measure the regularity or the amounts of such remittances. It became apparent, however, that, in most cases, remittances are irregular and also that the amount sent varies greatly from time to time. In some cases an earner will send money home whenever he has any surplus, remitting whatever amount he can spare. It seems that a man will almost always respond to an appeal from home for money for some special purpose. One arrangement sometimes made between two friends is that each will give the other his wages in alternate months, so that every second month each has a sufficiently large lump sum available to be able to send some home or use it for special purchases. The different purposes for which remittances are made are set out in Table LXXIII. In the great majority of cases, 61%, the remittances were sent for support, mainly of parents, but also for the family in general. A wife left at home does not necessarily receive remittances from her husband as he may consider that she is able to support herself from the food on the land and may secure money through the sale of cash crops. Apart from support the chief purposes for which remittances are sent appear to be for the school fees of younger relatives. In some instances, the remittance is intended as a form of saving, the recipient keeping the money for the sender or investing it in the form of land or cattle. Remittances may be made through the post or sent with persons going to a man's home-place.

TABLE LXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES OUTSIDE UGANDA BY LENGTH OF STAY AND NUMBER OF HOME VISITS

No. of Visits	*LENGTH OF STAY*										
	Under 1 year	*1—*	*2—*	*3—*	*4—*	*5—*	*10—*	*15+*	*Unstated*	*TOTAL*	*Proportion per cent.*
0 ..	18	28	25	28	13	46	20	19	—	197	50.8
1 ..	1	3	4	1	5	24	31	18	—	87	22.4
2 ..	1	—	—	1	2	4	9	31	—	48	12.4
3 ..	—	—	1	—	1	1	6	19	—	28	7.2
4 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	—	9	2.3
5+ ..	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	13	—	19	4.9
TOTAL	20	31	31	30	21	77	67	108	3	388	100

ASIANS

The numbers of the sexes in the Asian population are far more equal than among Africans and relatively few Asian men do not have their wives with them. While 65% of all Africans in Jinja are males and 42% of the married men have their wives living elsewhere, the comparable proportions for Asians are 55% and 7% respectively. Since most Asians live in self-contained elementary or extended family units there is, in a sense, less reason for them than for Africans to maintain ties with their countries of origin. Apart from this, Asians become permanent settlers in Jinja to a far greater extent than either Africans or Europeans and their countries of origin cannot be regarded as their " homeplaces " in the same sense as with the other races. Asians make their permanent homes in Jinja. Despite this fact, those able to do so do make visits to their countries of origin.

Of 388 occupied Asian males in the sample population born outside Uganda, 51% had never made a visit to their country of origin since coming to Jinja. These were largely people who had been in Jinja only a relatively short period. In most cases the visit was a long leave spent in India.[1]

TABLE LXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED ASIAN MALES BORN OUTSIDE UGANDA BY NUMBER OF HOME VISITS AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH

COUNTRY	*No. OF VISITS*							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6+	*TOTAL*
Kenya	12	4	—	2	—	—	—	18
Tanganyika	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Zanzibar	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Goa	11	4	1	—	1	2	1	20
India	154	78	47	25	8	12	1	325
Other	14	1	—	1	—	—	3	19
TOTAL	197	87	48	28	9	14	5	388

No attempt was made to collect information during the Asian survey concerning remittances to countries of origin. This is a delicate issue since Asians are often concerned to repudiate the charge made by the other races that their business profits are invested in India rather than in Uganda where they are made. While it is not possible to state to what extent these assertions are accurate, there is certainly some flow of money from Asians in Jinja at

(1) In the context of this chapter the term " India " includes " Pakistan ".

least as contributions to the support of their oversea relatives. In view of the higher levels of Asian earnings, the total amount sent by Asians to other countries probably exceeds that sent by Africans to the countryside even though there are about three times as many Africans as Asians in the population.

It appears that Asians maintain fairly close links with their places of origin, but it remains a matter for specialised research to establish precisely the nature and social significance of those links. This topic has considerable political implications in view of the uncertain future of the Asian in Uganda. It has already been indicated that nearly half (48.4%) of Jinja's Asian population is Uganda-born, that Asians tend to make permanent homes in the town and that Asians dominate the commercial life of the urban area. Social policy in Uganda is, however, oriented mainly to African political and economic development and it is envisaged that many of the political and economic functions at present performed by Asians and Europeans will eventually devolve on Africans. At the same time, the Indian living in Uganda feels that the Indian Government regards him as a Uganda citizen and may be too preoccupied with domestic affairs to take a special interest in the position of Indians abroad. In the circumstances there is much anxiety among Indian leaders and others concerning their future in Uganda.

While the European and the African tend to emphasise negative aspects of Asian participation in the economic life of the country and the diversion of incomes derived from Uganda to use elsewhere, the Asian on the other hand emphasises the value of his contribution to the economy, the importance of the commercial link he forms with the outside world, the heaviness of his local investments and the strength of his ties with Uganda. The relative merits of these points of view are not discussed here. But it is obvious that one result of the uncertainty of his political future is to hamper the integration of the Asian into the national social system and into such multi-racial societies as Jinja.

EUROPEANS

At the time of the European survey the European sex-ratio, like that of the Africans, was unbalanced, males forming 67.7% of the total population. Of the 173 married men in the population the wives of 46.3% were absent and 37.6% also had at least one child absent. Since the date of the survey, the numbers of the sexes have become less uneven.

Most respondents had not been in Jinja long enough at the time of the survey to have been home since their arrival. In the case of Government and certain business firms, it is the practice to grant a three to six months' period of home leave after about three years' service. After this the individual returns to his work in Uganda, though not necessarily to Jinja. Workers on the constructional projects have not usually been recruited into permanent posts, but come to Jinja on a short term contract which terminates either at the end of a specific number of years or at the end of the particular piece of work in hand.

In the European survey, no questions were asked concerning remittances to home-places as it can usually be assumed that where men have absent wives or children, they remain responsible for their support. In a few cases also, a man may contribute to the support of his other relatives or those of his wife.

The majority of the non-British immigrants appear to regard the excursion to Uganda as an isolated adventure. Especially now that many wives and children have arrived, they seem to form relatively self-contained communities insulated from the rest of the local Europeans and, in a sense, also from Jinja and Uganda affairs. They recreate their own culture as far as local conditions make possible, and are essentially Italians, Danes, etc., who happen to be living in a foreign country. A few seem to be prepared to settle in Uganda and one or two local firms more permanently established in the area have been approached by workers imported by the constructional

firms regarding the prospects of permanent employment when their present short-term engagements end. It is possible that more will want to do this as their contracts near expiry.

While the British Europeans also tend to recreate their own culture, modifying it to suit local conditions, they divide their activities and loyalties between " home " and Uganda. Apart from returning every two and a half to three years, most people show a great deal of interest in their home country (though not necessarily in their birthplace in that country), correspond with relatives and friends in the United Kingdom, receive British newspapers and magazines, listen to the B.B.C. news services and follow with special interest Britain's position in international affairs. There is a deep psychological attachment to " home," a word which symbolises for the absentee belongingness and security. Uganda, on the other hand, literally becomes a second home, in which the British European has his wife, house, garden, car and domestic staff. A colonial style of life and plane of living is built up which is preferred on the whole to permanent living " at home." Often transfers prevent the formation of a permanent attachment to any particular place in Uganda, but for this is substituted more general attachments formed through a variety of links to places and persons.

Europeans of this type couple a strong emotional attachment to Britain with preference for life in a colonial area. There are frequent cases of individuals looking forward to their home leave, but being only too pleased to end it once they get to Britain, and return to Uganda. It is probably only a superficial explanation, which suggests that they prefer the higher Uganda levels of living and easily become tired of the rigours of austerity England. It is perhaps more important that the European in Uganda can experience a status and a set of psychological satisfactions automatically flowing out of white racial prestige which are entirely lacking in Britain. Every European is " somebody " in the colonial area, and rises a notch in a prestige ladder by joining colonial society. And from his split orientation between two types of society he seems to derive two sets of non-conflicting, or in some way complementary, satisfactions.

CHAPTER X

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

THE process of urbanisation is sometimes seen as a shift from a system under which co-operative activities are organised on a kinship or communal basis to one under which they are organised on an associative basis. An association is, in this context, regarded as a group of people who come together voluntarily for the performance of one or a few specific activities and for these only. The specific activities may be political, economic, religious or recreational. The small number of people who compose a village population tend to act together in a relatively large range of such activities. In a town the activities are more usually performed by separately constituted groups of people uniting for each special purpose only. The membership of the various associations is not coincident though it may be overlapping. A town, furthermore, usually contains persons of so many different types that associations may spring up to perform similar functions for different groups of people. These associations are often competitive, since they may represent, especially in a racially and culturally differentiated society, mutually opposing interests.

This chapter describes the main voluntary associations which exist in Jinja and the functions which they perform ; it also indicates certain factors affecting the existence or absence of associations of different types.

In a class by themselves are the economic associations consisting of the industrial and business firms involved in Jinja's economic activities ; these are multi-racial associations co-operating in the production of goods and services. They comprise a special category both because they constitute the source of income of the urban population and because they form the chief reason for the continued existence of Jinja as a functioning unit. By drawing together into the urban area persons of different race and culture, they create the main political and social problems of the town. It is largely from the reluctance or inability of the races to co-operate in other spheres as they must do in the economic that the main problems of inter-racial solidarity stem. Individuals in the local population are prepared to sink racial and cultural differences for the sake of immediate and concrete gains. But they hesitate, in the absence of an equally compelling necessity, to come to terms with each other in dealing with longer-term (if no less fundamental) issues. This point is amply illustrated by the fact that, apart from the firms which organise Jinja's economic activities and certain of the churches, most of Jinja's associations are organised on racial and sectional lines.

AFRICANS

Economic : There are a few African business enterprises in Jinja, located on the peripheries of the township. Some are owned by one man only, others have two or three partners. In two cases, viz., the Kiira (Busoga) Trading Company, and the Busoga Cooperative Society, there is a large number of shareholders. The former is a transport firm, initiated in 1946 from capital subscribed by 75 shareholders. The Busoga Cooperative Society is a traders' cooperative whose secretary buys wholesale on behalf of African retail shopkeepers scattered throughout the District, in larger quantities than individuals would otherwise be able to afford. There is also an association, the local branch of the Uganda African Chamber of Commerce, which aims to foster participation in commercial life, the moving spirits in which are the secretary of the Cooperative Society and the manager of the Kiira (Busoga) Trading Company.

There are no African[1] trade unions in Jinja, but the local Labour Department has succeeded, in a few instances, in bringing into existence, within the larger firms and government departments, African works committees which present grievances to employers' representatives. Difficulties are encountered in maintaining works committees. There is little contact between African committee members and the workers they represent, and labour turnover is such that members are constantly leaving. As in political life, there is little effective African leadership because there is no continuing interest in the town. The development of African trade unions and effective works committees seems dependent upon the stabilisation in the town of a less impermanent body of wage-earners who will consider their economic future to be closely enough bound up with the urban economy to make institutionalised efforts to improve their conditions worthwhile.

In certain other urban African societies, tribal unions exist for the purposes of providing mutual economic assistance. Owing no doubt to the mobility of the population, only a few have so far emerged in Jinja, and the membership is small. There is, however, a considerable amount of economic assistance between clansmen and tribesmen given especially to newcomers to the town, which constitutes a major informal social service. Extending to aid in times of unemployment and illness, this informal system of help constitutes, in the absence of formal community agencies and of tightly integrated kinship groups, the basic form of " social security " locally available to the urban African.

A number of small associations exist, consisting of two to four members, often work associates, who club together to buy food or form wage-earning pools. Members take turns in giving up a share of their monthly earnings in return for the right to collect the pool when it is their turn to do so.[2] This has the advantage for members that it makes possible the purchase of capital goods or the remittance of gifts of greater value than one month's income or savings.

Political : There are no African political organisations in Jinja, although individuals may group themselves into factions in the more stable areas. There have been attempts, sponsored by the European administration, to form a standing committee to represent tenants at the Township Housing Estate, but it has not yet been found possible to maintain a committee whose members show enough interest to attend regularly.

Religious : Of the Africans investigated in the sample survey, 37% declared themselves as Protestants, 35% Catholics, 15% Muslims and 13% said they had no religion. Church membership among both Protestants and Catholics is only a fraction of the nominal strength of each religious group. The professing Christian who belongs to a local church or attends church services is exceptional. Religious associations in Jinja are racially restricted to the extent that separate facilities in the form of churches and priests exist for Protestants and Muslims. But in neither case is there any express prohibition on attendance by an African at the European church or Asian mosque. Nor is there a prohibition on the European or Asian attending an African church. This seldom occurs, however. There is only one Catholic church in the town and it is attended by Europeans, Africans, and Asian Goans.

Of particular interest is the growth of the African Protestant Balokoli (" saved ones ") movement. The Balokoli set themselves to maintain especially rigorous moral standards and to convert others to their beliefs and way of life. Though small at the moment, this group constitutes, through the energy and enthusiasm of its leaders and members, and the backing of its European sponsors, a force which may develop great strength.

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(1) Or other.

(2) This is also done in Rhodesia. See Gussman, B. W., African Life in an Urban Area (Unpublished MS.), 1952.

Recreational : In relation to the size of the urban African population there are very few African recreational associations. Several firms and government departments have their own Association Football teams, sponsored by Europeans, which meet in competitions. Football matches are followed with great interest and are attended by large crowds. It has been said with a certain amount of truth, that if all Europeans were suddenly to leave East Africa, football would remain if nothing else. There is an African dance club which meets at the African hospital during some months of the year. An attempt has recently been made to organise dances at the canteen in the Township Housing Estate. Functions are irregular. Since these are the only available facilities of this type, they have attracted a varied group of patrons. With developing class consciousness in the town this has placed the emerging educated élite in the difficult position of choosing between association with " porters and houseboys " and staying away. It seems likely that as social differentiation within the urban population increases, this will eventually result in the formation of organisations catering separately to different social classes.

ASIANS

Economic : The bulk of Jinja's commercial and small-scale industrial activities are conducted by Asian firms. Many of these consist of partnerships of family relatives. There is no Asian business association separate from the Eastern Province Chamber of Commerce, to which both Asians and Europeans belong, nor is there an association of Asian workers. The absence of trade unions or similar organisations amongst Asians is probably due largely to the fact that a considerable proportion are self-employed,[1] and to the practice of employing relatives. So close is the relationship between Asian economic life and kinship organisation that a detailed study of this subject would be more likely to lead into family than employer-employee relationships.

Political : The Indian Association, founded in 1912, formed until recently the most active and effective voluntary political body in Jinja. Uganda's Indians feel at a political disadvantage, are well enough established and have sufficiently articulate leaders to voice their grievances and to affect the course of local and national policy. In the past, the Indian Association has made itself felt through representations to government and through the informal influence of its officials, who have been men of considerable prestige in the town. But the power of the Association has been reduced by partition in India, which has cost it the effective support of Muslim members. The Indian Association has also been weakened by the rival claims to leadership of Sikh and Patel factions. The energies of Association officials are now largely absorbed by disputes with the group of influential Muslims who lead the Muslim Association, and between its own rival factions. The reduction in the power of the Indian Association reflects increasing disunity in Jinja's Asian population.

Religious : There are in Jinja several Hindu and Muslim religious bodies which provide facilities for worship and for the celebration of religious ceremonies and festivals. They perform, in addition, a certain number of welfare functions in that they organise communal charity and help persons in need, either directly from their own funds or by soliciting contributions from the wealthier persons among their members.

Recreational : The largest Asian recreational organisations in Jinja are the Indian Club and the Indian Women's Association. The Club was started in 1913, acquired large grounds and a clubhouse and became the main centre of Asian leisure-time activities. With the recent growth and economic differentiation of the Asian population, its use appears to have become confined to a narrower group of wealthier Indians. It is contended among certain Asians that the fees have been made unnecessarily high with the effect,

(1) The proportion is still in the region of 47% despite the recent influx of industrial workers.

if not the intention, of barring poorer persons from membership and from access to Club facilities.

The Indian Women's Association, an energetically led cultural and recreational group, has made great strides in membership and in expansion of its activities since its inception a few years ago. It includes members of all religions and sects. While the Indian Women's Association was formed mainly to provide leisure-time facilities, the organisation of local women under a highly educated committee comprising several University graduates, and the activities of the Association in educating its members and providing information about current affairs appears to be having the indirect effect also of hastening changes in the status of Asian women in Jinja.

EUROPEANS

There are, strictly speaking, no exclusively European economic associations, though the Co-operative Society, to be discussed among the inter-racial associations, was predominantly European-initiated and is mainly European in its membership. A significant recent development has been the formation in the township of a European Association, mentioned earlier in Chapter V, with political objectives.

Religious : As previously mentioned, all races attend the same Catholic church in Jinja, but separate European and African Protestant churches exist, each with its own minister. There are a few Indian Protestants who attend the European Protestant church regularly, but Africans rarely attend.[1]

Recreational : The European Club, whose constitution expressly excludes other races from membership, is the focus of European recreational activities. It provides a golf-course, tennis courts, billiard table and library, and members meet there after work for drinks, conversation and games before dinner. Membership is open to both sexes and the European dances, concerts and amateur dramatics take place within the clubhouse. Until the recent population influx, the great majority of Europeans were members of the club. Few similar recreational facilities existed for Europeans outside the club, and it was certainly the " done " thing to be a member.

This situation changed considerably with the increase in size and internal social differentiation of the European population. At the time of the European social survey in August, 1950, it was found that only 150 of the 297 adult males in the population were club members, the proportion being far lower than ever before. The expenses of club membership[2] would alone have constituted a serious deterrent to membership for many of the new immigrants to Jinja, who comprised a relatively low income group. But the essence of the matter was that the social characteristics of many of the newcomers rendered them " unclubbable " from the point of view of the older type of European resident. Being " clubbable " depends only partly on income and largely on being in the correct occupational categories (i.e., government servant, professional or white-collar worker in a private firm) speaking fairly good English and living in an appropriate style of life for a European. The latter includes, among other things, the employment of servants and possession of a motor car.[3]

The older-established Europeans in Jinja and those newcomers in accepted governmental and professional occupational roles have met the situation created by the differentiation and stratification of the population partly by attempting to restrict membership of the prestige-bearing European club and partly by forming exclusive cliques within the club. It is remarkable how frequently visitors who are acquainted with other European clubs in smaller Uganda towns comment on the unfriendliness and coldness of social

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(1) There have been a few incidents in which Europeans have been known to complain on the rare occasions when Africans did attend.

(2) 150 shillings entrance fee plus 25 shillings per month for married couples.

(3) See Sofer, C. and R., " Some Characteristics of an East African European Population ", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. II, No. 4.

atmosphere of the club in Jinja. A new club has more recently been formed under the auspices of the Uganda Electricity Board. This has full recreational and dining facilities. This club has attracted a considerable number of persons not only from among those socially ineligible for admittance to the European club, but also among those who had been made to feel uncomfortable within the European club.

Apart from these clubs there are small national groups which organise recreational functions.

INTER-RACIAL ASSOCIATIONS

There are few voluntary associations which include members of more than one racial group. Of these the two most active, the Eastern Province Chamber of Commerce and the Consumers' Cooperative Society, perform economic functions. As in the case of the industrial firms employing persons of all races, it seems that racial cooperation is easiest to ensure when persons envisage that it will result in relatively short-term and material benefits. There is no joint political association, and the only inter-racial association which may be said to have recreational functions is the Masonic Lodge.

Both of the economic associations are in effect confined to Europeans and Asians. The Eastern Province Chamber of Commerce, a businessman's association which illustrates the manner in which economic interest will, where necessary, cut across social divisions, was formed in 1929 with an initial membership of 41. The newly formed Chamber defined its objectives in the following terms : " . . . . to encourage a friendly feeling and unanimity among commercial men on all subjects involving their common good, to promote and protect the general mercantile interests of Uganda, to collect and classify information on all matters of general commercial interest, to obtain as far as possible the removal of all acknowledged grievances affecting merchants as a body, or mercantile interests in general." In pursuit of these interests the Chamber has allied its European and Asian members in supporting or opposing particular government measures and policies affecting commerce. Although the membership is predominantly Asian, the President and also, until 1951, the Secretary have always been Europeans, the position of Vice-President being filled by an Asian.

A retail Cooperative store was started in 1950 with the object of making household provisions available to European and Goan consumers at levels below the ruling market prices. There were previously only two stores—one Indian-owned and one owned by a Goan—which catered for European and Goan tastes and the impulse to form a Cooperative Society arose largely from the suspicion that these stores were using their semi-monopolistic position to overcharge their customers. The Cooperative was instituted in a burst of European race loyalty and was accompanied by a virtual boycott of the Asian-owned stores by former customers. But the Cooperative made a singularly inauspicious start and during its first year incurred trading losses. Members drifted slowly back to the Asian stores for at least part of their purchases and the confinement of buying to the Cooperative became less of a test of mutual loyalty between the group of European members.

The issue was raised at initial meetings as to whether Indians and Africans were to be admitted as members. General feeling was against this. Opinions were voiced that it would be difficult for the new enterprise to cater to groups with such different consumption habits, that few Africans would be able to afford the 100 shillings subscription and that " once Indians are let in they will gain control." Subsequently, a few leading Indians were asked to become members and were persuaded to invest small capital sums in shares, though they did not become consumers or active participants.

CONCLUSIONS

The outstanding features of the preceding discussion have been the poverty of African associational life in Jinja, the lack of African participation

in inter-racial associations, and the absence of voluntary inter-racial associations apart from those performing economic functions.

The small number of African associations is due mainly to the instability of the African population, to its heterogeneity, and to the orientation of the migrant labourer towards a future in his homeplace rather than in his urban workplace. At the same time, the very absence of voluntary associations helps to perpetuate urban instability by reducing the possibilities for satisfactory social life in the town. African social organisation in Jinja is at a crucial stage in which individuals who have left behind them a relatively tightly organised and well-articulated form of social life have not yet had this replaced in any satisfactory degree by the specialist associations of more stable urban societies. Although it is held by many social scientists that large urban societies can never compete with the basic emotional satisfactions provided for individuals by smaller scale community life, there is no doubt that certain substantial compensation can be offered by voluntary associations where these exist. These compensations arise not only from the provision of recreational, welfare and economic services, but also from the satisfactions of participation with other persons in cooperative group activities. At the present stage of its development, urban life in Jinja fails its African population in this " immaterial " social sense as well as in the more obviously material.

It has been mentioned that such voluntary inter-racial associations as exist have few or no African members. This situation has been brought about not only by those factors contributing to the paucity of African associations, but also by the closer identification of the non-African groups with each other than with the African. Although differences exist between Europeans and Asians, there is a sense in which both Asians and Europeans are " foreigners " in the Africans' country. The most pronounced gaps in educational achievements, income levels and consumption standards are between non-Africans on the one hand and Africans on the other. The one fraternal association, the Masons, is mainly or entirely European and Asian in its membership. There are also certain bonds between the " foreigners " arising out of the fact that both Asians and Europeans contend that if non-African enterprise was allowed a less restricted part in the current economic development, this would be for the common benefit of all races. This viewpoint has, understandably, been opposed by Africans, and it is a pointer to African sentiments that in Busoga they have their own Chamber of Commerce separate from that of the Europeans and Asians.

A real or imagined opposition of economic interests produces a situation under which separate associations perform similar functions for Africans and non-Africans. Political interests are seen as even less compatible, for in this sphere Europeans and Asians have separate associations to watch race interests and there are internal divisions also within the Asian group. Although no African political societies have yet emerged in Jinja, despite the wishes of individual Africans for political expression, it is certain that when they do, they will aim at the furtherance of African as opposed to European and Asian political interests.

It is an eloquent commentary on existing social organisation and inter-racial relations in Jinja that there is not the slightest indication as yet of any movement or desire to form a voluntary association which would pursue the interests of all the citizens of the township as a social unit.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

"MEN have long dreamt of finally realising in fact the ideal of human fraternity . . . . they can be satisfied only if all men form one society, subject to the same laws. For, just as private conflicts can be regulated only by the actions of the society in which the individuals live, so inter-social conflicts can be regulated only by a society which comprises in its scope all others. The only power which can serve to moderate individual egotism is the power of the group ; the only power which can serve to moderate the egotism of groups is that of some other group which embraces them." (Emile Durkheim.)[1]

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN JINJA

The indigenous African cultures of Uganda have now been in contact with non-African cultures for three-quarters of a century. But Jinja's miniature economic revolution is telescoping into the space of a few years processes which have occurred elsewhere only over decades. The rapid transformation of the economic structure offers exceptional opportunities to indigenous and foreign workers of all races. From the overall point of view of the social and economic " progress " of the country toward more westernised standards of living for its African inhabitants this may constitute the beginnings of major advances. These processes, however, also involve far-reaching problems of readjustments and reorganisation for the society as a whole and for the groups and individuals of which it is composed. These adjustments are greatly complicated by the speed of the transformation, by the cultural differences between the racial groups with their differential adaptation to the new circumstances, and by pressures on established institutions inevitably imposed by the new and alien forms of economic activity.

In the text of this report we have drawn attention to a wide range of social problems confronting the administration and people of Jinja.

The chapter on political and administrative structure points out the ineffectiveness of indigenous African authority in the township, the lack of informal social controls among Africans, many of whom see in town life an escape from group responsibilities, the limited participation of Africans in township administration, the unrealistic dichotomies made between day to day administration and long-term planning and between the East and the West bank of the planning area, the absence of civic consciousness among all races, and the difficulties arising out of the division of powers within Jinja between a variety of bodies exercising administrative functions.

The chapter on economic structure emphasises the division of labour on racial lines, the low standards of education, training and performance of African workers of all grades, their high rates of turnover and absenteeism, and low level of earnings.

The succeeding chapter on standards of living describes the existence of residential segregation on racial lines, the congested and primitive accommodation and inferior amenities of Africans and the striking differences between the consumption levels achieved by each race.

The chapter on household and kinship units deals largely with the problems of the African family associated with the migrant labour system and with the predominance of males in the African population. Mention is

(1) Op. cit., p. 405.

made of the high incidence of incomplete family units, the presence of classes of prostitutes and temporary wives, the tensions and instabilities generated by the shortage of women, low fertility, the absence of restraining and conserving influences of older persons and the irresponsibility and lack of control generated by the absence of children and of close relatives of the urban worker.

The chapter on links with the outside world accents the split orientations of the people of the town, especially of Africans and Europeans, between their workplace and homeplaces.

The chapter on voluntary associations attempts to answer the question of the extent to which the lack of community life and of formal township and governmental agencies for the provision of social services receives spontaneous compensation in the form of voluntary associations to satisfy these needs ; it shows a poverty of African associational life which leaves a great number of social needs unsatisfied and a grouping of persons based far more on lines of economic and political racial interest than on any general interest in community welfare.

Each of these problem situations has its private as well as its public aspects, frustrating individuals and groups in the general population as well as running counter to the aims, explicit and implicit, of national and local administration. In a similar manner, a variety of situations which constitute a source of private difficulties to the individuals and groups involved, also pose important public or social problems. Thus, the low level of efficiency of the African labourer results in low wages and unsatisfactory standards of living for himself and his dependants, but also retards the completion of development projects which would benefit everyone in the society. The disproportion of the sexes among Africans encourages prostitution and the spread of disease, and the confinement of each race to particular economic functions aggravates sectionalism and militates against inter-racial cooperation.

The report deals with all races, expressing the belief that the problems of one group are, or inevitably become, the problems of all, and that an emphasis on African, Asian, or European problems alone would evade the issue of joint social responsibility for their solution. The main theme around which the material has been organised has been the social solidarity, or potential solidarity, of the urban population. The full importance of this topic becomes apparent when we ask how efforts can be made to attempt a solution of the township's many problems.

Remedies and reforms can derive either from the people themselves, from the administration, or most effectively from the two acting in conjunction. It is difficult for the people to act themselves, for, as we have seen, members of each racial group think mainly in terms of their own interests and seldom in terms of the welfare of the society as a whole, even though the problems of each group have an inevitable impact on the others. Possibilities of inter-racial cooperation are reduced by occupational, educational, residential and political segregation, by religious differences and by informal colour bars. The races meet each other in narrowly defined roles which are always evaluated in terms of social status and are seldom interchangeable. Barriers are reinforced by the great differences which exist in incomes and styles of living. Even where differences in style of living are culturally determined, they are rated by each group as higher or lower, better or worse, and form foci of contempt, envy, or discontent. Far from being integrated with each other in a common social system allowing for cultural differences between the groups, the races are uneasily accommodated to each other.

The main effects which the industrialisation of the town will have on inter-racial solidarity may arise from the more permanent working force which the new industrial establishments will need to build up for themselves. Until now, conflict between the racial groups has perhaps been limited by the fact that only Asians have become settlers, while members of the other

races, in Jinja only for a short period, have not felt their permanent economic interest to be at stake in the town. If all three racial groups become stabilised in the town, Jinja may well become the scene of far-reaching industrial conflicts organised on a racial basis.

Each racial group is itself further divided. The development of an integrated African community has been hampered by the mobility of the population, by tribal heterogeneity, by the distinctions made between Soga and Ganda on the one hand and " foreign " Africans on the other, by educational, income, and occupational differentiation and by the embryonic social class and power divisions. Among Asians the Hindu-Muslim religious difference has, since partition in India, received added significance, and although the importance of caste and sect differences seem on the wane, there are signs that more decisive economic and class differentiation will be substituted. Among Europeans a previously existent social solidarity has been shattered by the introduction into the township of large numbers of European artisans and manual workers.[1]

It is only the Asian section of the population which may be said to have any real local stability ; it would not be inaccurate to describe Jinja at the present stage of its development as an Indian town accommodating a large number of African and a smaller number of European transients. Africans especially separate their activities between the town and their rural homeplaces and their deepest attachments are toward the latter. It is the Asians who have most at stake in the successful organisation of the township. But national policy is interpreted by the Asian population to mean that their position in Uganda is not to be a permanent one, and this is not conducive to concentration on the interests of the town as a whole. The accusation is often made about Asians that, concentrated as they are in the distributive and financial sectors of the economy, they exploit the African producer. This is not the place to discuss the justification for this point of view, or the correctness of this assessment of the role of distribution and finance in the national economy. But whatever the merits and demerits of the Asians are thought to be, it is necessary to remember, in considering the problems of the township, that an "extractive" attitude is not uncommon among the African and non-official Europeans working in Jinja. Jinja is largely regarded by its two sets of migrant labourers—the African and the non-official European—as a type of gold mine. Their interest is limited to the amount of money that can be extracted from the mine, here and now, as the futures of the individuals concerned do not lie within the township.

THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Government can help to place the urban society on a sounder basis by integrating its own administrative machinery in the township, by educating African members of official bodies in public administration and committee procedure rather than by by-passing them or presenting them with ready-made conclusions, and by exhibiting its machinery more openly to the public. But if the initiative in tackling Jinja's problems is to come from government, as seems necessary, and if such efforts are to bear fruit, it seems essential that the community be helped to realise its own problems and its own responsibility. The most useful role of the administration may be to provide stability, security and knowledge which will help the people to help themselves.

Stability. For the sake of the township's economic and political system, a substantial section of the African population must become sufficiently stabilised within or near the township to permit permanent residence. This

(1) A certain amount of evidence for these conclusions is contained in the text of this report, while more will appear in the two essays to follow. See also the previously quoted article by C. and R. Sofer, " Some Characteristics of an East African European Population " in the British Journal of Sociology, December 1951. It is possible that, with race relations as they are in Jinja, the intra-group divisions are, in one of their aspects, a benefit to the society in that they reduce the capacity of the racial groups to act against each other.

will itself facilitate a greater degree of interest in township affairs, and acquisition of a stake in the success of the urban society as a going concern. Permanent residence requires that workers bring their families with them, and this requires long-term investment by employers and/or the local authority in family-type housing. A family should be able to rent or acquire a home of its own at a price it can afford which will be consistent both with personal satisfaction and with urban sanitary requirements. This is not a matter merely of providing enough space for larger units in a subsidised African housing estate, but of providing facilities for the acquisition by some Africans of homes to which also will be attached cultivable land, so that these urban homes will provide more effective competition to those in the rural countryside. If the ends of social policy are to be attained, a working compromise must be reached between the present system of migrant labour, with all it connotes in terms of inefficiency, lack of interest, irresponsibility, an unbalanced sex ratio, and the more permanent forms of settlement on which orderly urban development is dependent. The administration does not hesitate to clear land in Jinja and its environs for the creation of buildings and housing estates directly forming part of the programme of industrial development ; it should similarly be possible to clear some land for small-scale African cultivation. Here exists a unique opportunity for " town and country " planning.

Security. A second major need relates to security. Far from being reassured by official pronouncements that present constructional and industrial projects are in their interests, Africans have reacted to the new developments with fear and mistrust. Wild rumours circulate as to the unpleasant repercussions for Africans of current changes. The disturbance of Africans from their existing land holdings in Jinja has created so much insecurity that even those villagers still with land are tending to let it go out of cultivation, thereby reducing the township supply of food, raising their own living costs, and developing an orientation towards a more permanent home elsewhere and a mistrust of the European population. Such public relations efforts as have been attempted have failed to convey where or when clearing will stop, who can or cannot expect to retain tenure of his home and land, for how long and under what conditions. Villagers let their houses fall into disrepair and new immigrants are discouraged from erecting semi-permanent structures.

Insecurity is not confined to the African population. Much of the behaviour of the Asians may be closely related to the uncertainty attendant on the status and future of the Asian population. Asians form the backbone of the country's commercial system and are the repository of skills, experience and knowledge which can be used by all races for mutual benefit. But Asians feel their future in Uganda uncertain and their political voice unheard, and it would profit them, and probably their relations with other races also, if they could understand more clearly what their future in Uganda is intended to be.

Knowledge. This need for security is closely linked with the need for knowledge. There is obviously a vital need among Africans for more formal and informal education, for night schools, libraries, lectures on careers, debating societies and discussion groups for adults to supplement their school education and for the illiterate to read and write. An important part of learning is by precept, and if Africans are to learn European ways of behaviour, they will have to be invited into European homes ; it will obviously fall to government officers to take the lead in this respect.

But the need for knowledge extends far beyond this. Broadly speaking, even the educated African does not understand the trend and meaning of the township's current economic development, the reason for the limited roles the Africans are playing, and the need for increased African social responsibility. Ignorance of these matters provides a fertile breeding ground for misleading rumours and the development of attitudes which eventually

damage all sections of the population. Economic activity and social change in Jinja at the present time is centred on the construction of the dam, yet it is doubtful if more than a handful of Africans have been given or have acquired even a rudimentary idea of the functions which it will perform. The township housing estate is coming to accommodate an increasing proportion of Jinja's African working population and the township authority will probably become the largest landlord in the area, but few tenants understand that they pay only half the rent and that Government finds the rest.

* * *

The administration appears deeply committed, for better or worse, to the effective westernisation of the African population and therefore to the inculcation of Western values and standards as well as of overt behaviour. This is not and cannot be carried out by schools alone. Far more than formal education, it is industry, commerce and administration which teach the African foreign ways. It is the behaviour of the newcomers in their ordinary interaction with others, and not what they say, which matters. Actions speak louder than words. It is little use erecting even the biggest dam in Africa for the benefit of the African if disrespect for him and his ways is implicit in the manner in which such projects are planned and executed. It is our collective responsibility to save the Jinjas of Africa for the Africans and for the other people who must live in them.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON SURVEYS AND STATISTICAL TESTS

AFRICAN Sample Survey : The boundaries of Jinja township enclose an area of 11.7 square miles, which is coincident with the African administrative unit, sub-county Sabawali. Sabawali is further divided into four *Miruka* (parishes) and thirteen *Mitala* ("villages") in the following way :

Mumyuka :	Lwansunu	Sabaddu :	Kimaka
	Bukesa		Makenke
	Nalufenya		Mpumude
	Kirinya'		Magwa II
Sabagabo :	Nasuti	Sabawali :	Walukuba
	Magwa I		Masese II
	Masese I		

Two of these *Mitala*, Bukesa and Nasuti, have been cleared of African-owned dwellings and now contain government and township housing only. The 13 *Mitala* became the basis from which a sampling frame of all African dwellings in Jinja was compiled. It was hoped, at first, that the tax lists prepared by the local chiefs would provide such a frame, but the many inaccuracies and omissions that were discovered made this impossible. It was found necessary to walk through all of the *Mitale*, mapping the location of each dwelling and noting the name of each owner. In Bukesa and Nasuti names were not noted as houses could be located by their numbers. A combined list was then prepared of all African house-owners in Jinja and of all addresses in the housing estates, and this provided the frame from which the sample was finally selected.

The sample was chosen in such a way as to make possible statistically valid inferences from it to the total African population in Jinja ; it was also internally stratified so as to represent each of the 13 *Mitala* in proportion to its size and to enable certain conclusions to be drawn about the characteristics of each area separately. Each of the 4,519 addresses in the master-list was allotted a serial number and a sample of 676 addresses, comprising 15% of all addresses and proportionately distributed between the *Mitala*, was chosen with the use of tables of random numbers. In the field, this sample yielded a total of 1,012 households of which 945 were investigated, the remainder being " no contacts " resulting from absence of a householder for a period longer than 31 days or from the abandonment or destruction of the dwelling. The number of " no contacts " was considerably inflated by the fact that at the time of the survey the military barracks were less full than usual. There were no complete refusals, though in a few cases replies to specific items were refused ; where this occurred the reply is recorded in the tables as " unstated."

In the text of this report averages and proportions have been quoted directly from the sample instead of stating the range within which the true figure for the total population can be estimated to lie. The averages and proportions in the report provide the best single estimates that can be made of the population figures. Where a population figure has been quoted, this has been obtained through multiplication of the sample total by the raising factor.

There appear below some of the more important estimated population totals and averages and their associated standard errors ; it is possible to judge from this what degree of statistical risk is run in accepting particular estimates as correct. The statistical chances that the exact figure for the

total population lies within one standard error of the figure estimated directly from the sample are 68 out of 100, and that the exact figure lies within two standard errors of the estimate, 95 out of 100.

	Population Estimate	*Standard Error*
All Males	8,844	132
All Females	4,760	132
Age Distribution (Males and Females together)		
Age : Under 1	288	40.0
1—5	1,003	72.7
6—15	1,544	88.2
16—45	9,880	124.0
45+	889	68.8
Totals for Miruka		
Sabagabo		
All Males	971	58.4
All Females	724	58.4
Mumyuka		
All Males	3,460	75.6
All Females	1,412	75.6
Sabawali		
All Males	1,409	56.0
All Females	917	56.0
Sabaddu		
All Males	3,004	78.7
All Females	1,706	78.7
Average Size of all Households consisting of man, wife and children	3.85	0.1

Asian Sample Survey : The 300 Asian households selected for investigation during the Asian survey formed a random sample of all Asian households in the population. A master-list for the sampling was compiled by inspecting every plot within Jinja on which a building had been erected and ascertaining whether Asians resided there. It has been explained in the text that the term " household " had to be defined to coincide with all the persons found living at a particular residence. Each residence was allocated a serial number and the sample selected with the aid of tables of random numbers. Below is a list of a few of the more important estimated population totals and averages and their associated standard errors.

	Population Estimate	*Standard Error*
All Males	2,821	50.2
All Females	2,356	50.2
All Hindus	3,650	46.0
All Moslems	684	34.1
All Sikhs	548	31.0
All Christians	279	22.7
Others	15	5.4
Average Size of all Households	6.17	0.160
Average Size of all Households consisting of man, wife and children only	5.85	0.125
Average Size of Households consisting of man, wife, children and other relatives only	8.61	0.435

European Survey : As a satisfactory description of Europeans would require an adequate representation of persons living in each type of domestic unit and falling within each of the chief occupational, earnings, and national groupings, and as the total numbers did not render this prohibitive, it was decided to conduct the investigation on a complete census rather than a sample basis. The character of the population and its small size made a census both desirable and practicable. This procedure ensured that no important category of persons would be omitted and would strengthen the validity of any generalisations derived from the investigation.

Shortly before our investigation the District Commissioner of Jinja had obtained from all employers in the township a statement of the Europeans they employed, how many of them were married and how many children they had. On the basis of this list of numbers of employees in each organisation we obtained from each employer the names and addresses of all his employees who lived within the township boundaries. To this list we added a few households who would otherwise have been missed as none of their members were in employment. The complete list was then checked by a number of old inhabitants of Jinja who confirmed that no European household was excluded.

To help investigators the following covering letter signed by the District Commissioner was sent :

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

As one of the first stages in the Government-sponsored social survey of Jinja, conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Sofer of the East African Institute of Social Research, a census is being taken of every European household in Jinja. The most effective way of compiling the information required would be through the completion by each householder of the attached form. While compliance with this is *entirely voluntary*, it would be greatly appreciated if you could supply all the information requested as this will add considerably to our knowledge of the present population of the township.

You will notice that names appear only on the perforated section of the form. This section will be detached after the form has been collected and the information given by you will then have no name attached and will in any case be treated as strictly confidential.

A representative of the Institute will call to collect the completed form within the next few days.

District Commissioner, Jinja.

Responses varied widely over a continuum which included a few persons who filled in the information immediately, almost without comment or questioning, some who required a long general explanation about the survey and often about the reasons for inclusion of various items, some who could be persuaded only to fill in a bare minimum, and a few who refused to discuss the investigation reasonably or to provide any information about themselves. The last category, however, amounted to only $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of persons to whom schedules were issued.

Tests of Significance : At various points in the text a difference between two averages or proportions is said to be statistically significant. It is implied by this that the difference is significant at the 5% level or, in other words, that there is only one chance out of twenty that the difference between the two figures has been caused by chance.

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