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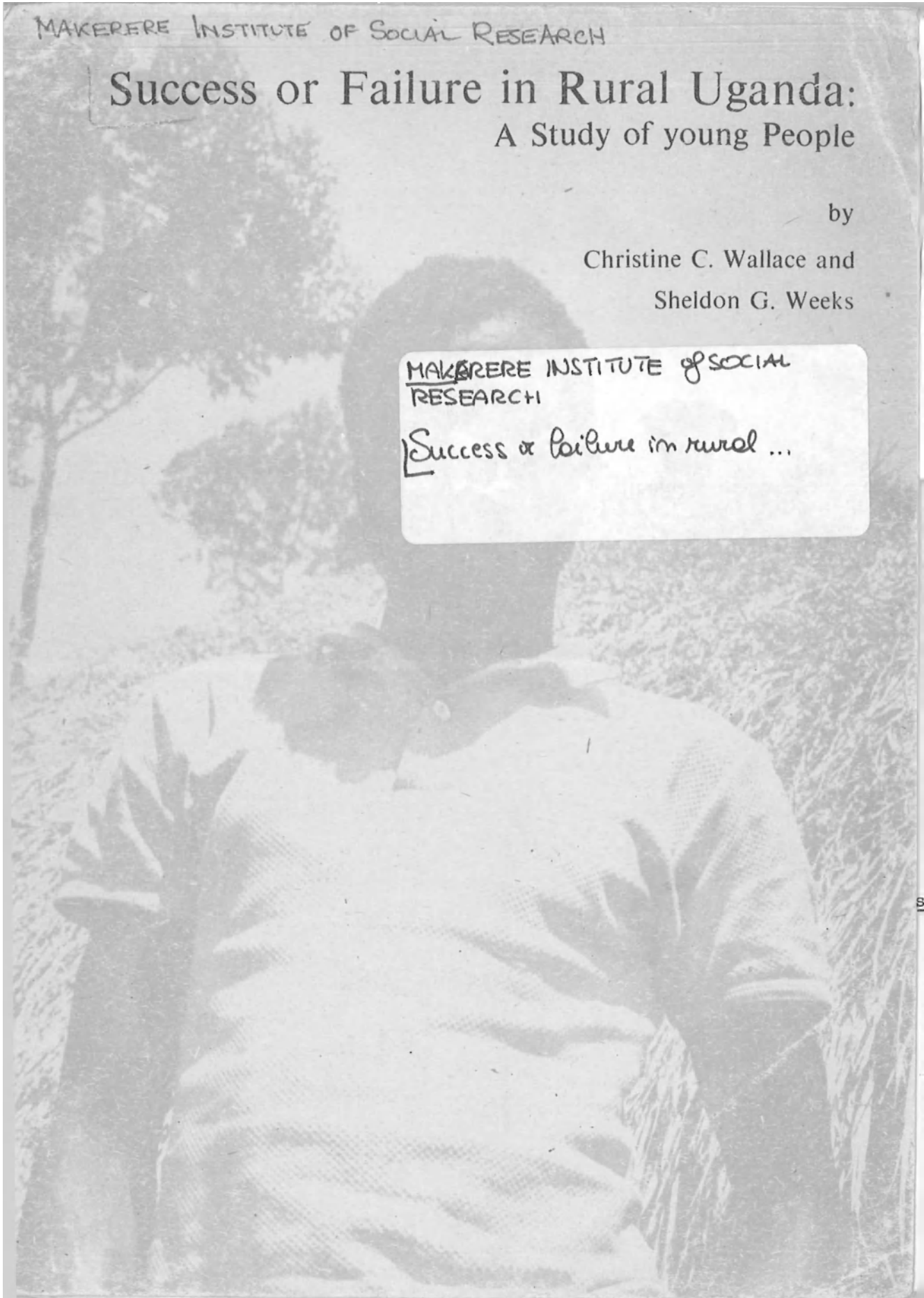
# Success or Failure in Rural Uganda: A Study of young People

by

Christine C. Wallace and  
Sheldon G. Weeks

MAKERERE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL  
RESEARCH

Success or failure in rural ...



ERRATA

AS NOTED BY Dr. Wallace and Dr. S.G. Weeks

- p. 16 middle debis not "devis"
- p. 17 line 7, later, not "latter"
- p. 17 4th line from bottom, solely not "sole"
- p. 18 6th line from bottom, sell not "well"
- p. 19, 2nd line from bottom, find them. Add them.
- p. 21 7th line from bottom, between farm and go add to.  
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- p. 31 middle stool not "stool"
- p. 35 fourth line in quotation, from, not "form"
- p. 36 fourth line from bottom, parent, not "parant"
- p. 36 12th line from bottom, date not "data"
- p. 40 last line, ? not "."
- p. 41 13th line from top, meat, not "met"
- p. 42 line 19, sell not "seel"  
line 20, omit second "it"
- p. 43 2nd line from bottom, sell not "well"  
3rd line from bottom, his not "is"  
9th line from bottom, doesn't not "doen't"
- p. 44 11th line from bottom, remunerative, not "renumerative"
- p. 46 17th line from top, desperately, not "desparate;ly"
- p. 47 2nd to last line in 3rd paragraph, her not "here"
- p. 49 21st line from top, others, not "other"
- p. 52 11th line from top, between which and economically insert - is
- p. 53 17th line from bottom, omit second "these"  
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- p. 60 5th line from bottom, they, not "the"
- p. 66 20th line from top, one, not "oen"
- p. 67 7th line from top, provide not "provides"
- p. 70 in fn. 2nd line from bottom, ceremony, not "ceremoney"

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- p. 72 16th line from bottom, of not "or"
- p. 74 5th and 6th line from bottom, three(') are lost please insert
- p. 75 2nd line from bottom, in not "on"
- p. 76 14th line from top, needed, not "need"
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- p. 79 first line fourth paragraph, others not "other"
- p. 79 third line from bottom, others not "other"
- p. 80 12th line from top insert between Kenya and or =

T. WALLACE AND S.C. WEEKS are the Joint authors of the whole book.

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|A Study of young People

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## PREFACE

This work developed from research that was done by S.G. Weeks and T. Wallace in Uganda from December 1969 until August 1972. The project was designed jointly and the research was carried out in close co-operation. S.G. Weeks concentrated mainly on the villages in Bugisu and West Nile, while T. Wallace worked in Buganda, though there was considerable amount of work done by both of them in all three areas. The follow-up work in 1971 was done separately, different questionnaires were used in the three areas because different problems had emerged and there were wide variations in the quality of the data collected in the three villages.

The data on Buganda became the interest of Tina Wallace who worked there intensively during the last eighteen months, coded and analysed the data from there. From this data a thesis for Makerere was written and many of the ideas expressed in this monograph are derived from that work. Sheldon Weeks analysed the data from the other two villages and has written articles on Bugisu.

Chapters one, two and four are mainly the work of T. Wallace, chapter three and the conclusion were written jointly, though constant discussion has been a feature of the work. Chapter four is very much a product of the work of a few of the research assistants who should be thanked personally. E.M. Asia, who wrote a most impressive journal of life in Olulu; the quotations in Bugadu are taken from the work of P. Whepukulu, J. Kaana and T. Mutenyo. J.K. Ssali was the primary documenter of life in Kalunga. Their work forms the backbone of chapter four and indeed of the whole project.

In addition, we would like to thank J. Anyaku and W.O. Alimani who assisted in the work in West Nile, and W. Masembe and P. Mulindwa, who worked hard on the coding of the data in Kampala.

The research was funded primarily by the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODA, London) from December, 1969 until June 1971. The Ford Foundation contributed towards the follow-up costs in 1971-1972 and the Gandhi Foundation gave money to finance the writing up of the work. The funds were administered through the Universities of Makerere and Dar es Salaam. We would like to thank these institutions and also the Makerere Institute of Social Research for office space and facilities and the funds for this publication, the Sociology Department at Makerere and Dar es Salaam, and the BRALUP in Dar es Salaam.

This work is the product of the efforts of many people and we would like to thank most of all those young people who gave freely of their time and information. Without them nothing could have been done.

All the names of places and people in the villages have been changed to protect the interests of the people who took part in the research. The research was carried out during a stormy period in Uganda's political history and the participants wish to remain anonymous.

The cost of data processing was paid by the Makerere University, Publications and Research Grant Committee.

Tina Wallace  
Sheldon Weeks  
July 1974  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

## INTRODUCTION

T. Wallace

Very often it is assumed that the teenager living at home is unemployed, doing nothing, frustrated, and a source of political discontent. 'Doing nothing' is an inaccurate generalisation used to cover a lack of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Ignorance about rural youth in Africa is all pervasive, the young men and women who live and work in the villages have not been the subject of study by researchers or planners. This monograph concerns itself with exactly these people; how much education do they have? What kinds of jobs do they find to do? Who succeeds and who fails to earn a reasonable living? What opportunities are open to them, and what barriers in the society block their aims? What contribution, if any, do they have to make to rural development? What *are* the young people in rural Uganda actually *doing*?

Most available studies of youth in Africa are derived from a theoretical view of change and development which discounts the necessity for studying the little educated, rurally based youth. Research has been dominated by the 'modernisation' theories. The basic theme which underlies these theories is that there are two types of social structure, the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. Development is defined as the transformation of the static, backward, rural, traditional world into the dynamic, urban, industrial modern world; the model for the modern world is Western industrial society. Modernisation theories are essentially functionalist, as one institution changes a second will alter accordingly; they are unidirectional - change or development is always from the traditional to the modern. Of course, allowances are made by many writers for deviations and stages of development, but the main emphasis is on the emergence of Western institutions and values in the Third World. This is oversimplified, almost a caricature, but these basic ideas have been so pervasive that it is important to refer to them, but they are irrelevant to our study and so they can only be dealt with very briefly. That these macro-theories have had a profound and unfortunate effect on research into young people in Africa can be clearly seen by looking more closely at specific areas of work.

Because development is defined as progress from the traditional to the modern, one central area of concern is the impact of formal education on developing societies. Most research on youth focuses on those who have been to

<sup>1</sup> John Anderson, "The adolescent in the rural community". In: J.R. Sheffield, ed., *Education, employment and rural development*. Nairobi. East African Publishing House, 1967, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of the macro-theories of development see C.C. Wallace, *Youth in rural Buganda: A study of their education and employment*. Kampala. Makerere Univ. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. 1973. Mimeographed.

school. Formal education is seen to be a key to change and modernisation, it is here that the young people in Africa learn roles appropriate to a modern world. Perceptions of the role of Western education fall into two categories, on the one hand, education is seen to be crucial for development, for teaching new ideas and attitudes; on the other hand, the school is felt to be responsible for alienating youth from their backgrounds, and education is seen as disrupting them from their rural environment and leading to urban migration and unemployment. Callcott neatly sums up this view, "(Education) being an imbibed not derived development, it produced undesirable effects that made both parents and pupils eschew the rural nature of their background."<sup>3</sup> The mass of writing about young people centres on one of these two approaches; school leavers are the centre of attention, the people with whom future development lies.

There are some studies relating to the employment of youth in Africa, though these are far fewer. Again, because of the underlying approach to developing countries (which is incidentally often unstated), the focus is on formal, wage employment. Employment is defined according to criteria derived from Western sociology and jobs which fall outside this definition tend to be ignored or briefly referred to in passing. Studies on employment largely deal with entry into and performance within enumerated, urban, wage jobs; jobs which are registered, governed by formal contracts where the minimum wage is earned.<sup>4</sup> The majority of jobs in East Africa are not covered by this approach, yet although the population is largely engaged in agriculture, rural self-employment or unenumerated jobs, these are acknowledged briefly and then ignored.

<sup>3</sup> D. Callcott, "The background and condition of unemployed school leavers in three rural towns of the Western state of Nigeria. Ibadan. Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development. 1967. Mimeographed. For a very recent statement of this viewpoint which continues to dominate thinking about youth and education in developing countries, see Philip Foster, "Dilemmas of educational development: what we might learn from the past." Papua-New Guinea. 8th Waigani Sem., Education in Melanesia. May 1974. Port Moresby, Papua-New Guinea. Mimeographed.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of the concepts of formal and informal employment, see C.C. Wallace, *op. cit.* Chapter 5. Briefly, the formal employment sector is there defined as those jobs which are registered, governed by formal employment contracts, contracts are enforceable in the courts of law. Formal employment is under Government control and supervision, the minimum wage is earned, formal jobs are counted in the Government enumeration. The typical characteristics of formal jobs are that they are predominantly urban, located in conspicuous institutions; usually they are capital intensive, protected from outside competition by tariff laws and eligible for Government credit. Formal jobs are wage jobs with regular hours, pay and holidays. Informal jobs are not registered, not enumerated, and not eligible for Government subsidies or loans. The employees do not have legal job contracts, often they are self-employed. Hours, wages and income are variable; these jobs are not regulated by Government supervision (except occasional harassment). Informal jobs tend to be labour intensive, small scale with low economic returns. The distinction is not the same as the traditional-modern dichotomy, nor is the distinction between the two sectors determined by location, rural-urban. Formal jobs may be rural, as in a Government school, dispensaries up-country, etc. Informal jobs may be modern, a photographer in the village, a repair fundi for cars in the backyard of his house are doing modern jobs. It is not the nature of the job which is crucial, but the legal and economic framework within which it is carried out.

Mafeje, in arguing strongly against this approach, explains it clearly,

In present-day underdeveloped countries there exists side by side two economic sectors, the urban-centred and surplus oriented and another lodged somewhere in the rural hinterland and subsistence oriented. The former is believed to be dynamic and modern and the latter to be static and traditional.<sup>5</sup>

Those young people who are not at school and those youth who do not find a wage job in the formal sector are lumped together in a homogeneous group under various headings - the unemployed, or more commonly in recent years, the underemployed. A whole range of definitions are given to these terms, but essentially these young people are seen to be deprived, to have little to do, to be left behind by development, restless, bored, and a potential threat to stability and progress. There has been almost no research designed to look at those young people who do not go far in school, who do not migrate to work, or who are not urban unemployed. Callaway has written about such youth in Nigeria, Anderson and Brownstein have done some work on rural youth in Kenya, Mrs. Swantz and the C.E.S.O. studies have discussed young people in Ujamaa and rural settings in Tanzania, but the overwhelming mass of literature is about schooled youth, urban employment, and the problems of urban unemployment.<sup>6</sup>

The work presented here is an attempt to break from the narrow confines imposed by modernisation theories. Our focus is on those youth who are usually excluded from study as being unimportant and part of the decaying traditional system. The main concern is to look at the young people who have stayed in the rural areas, who go to school there, who work there and who settle there. We want to give substance and meaning to the occasional throw away line found in most studies on young people in Africa, that the young people are 'unemployed', reluctantly following the patterns of their parents, eking out a living with a hoe, just sitting or strolling, left behind by Independence and development.

This discussion concerning rurally based, little educated youth is based on field work from three villages in Uganda, one in Buganda, one in Bugisu, and one in West Nile. The methodology will be discussed briefly in this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Archie Mafeje, "The fallacy of dual economies." *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1972, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> A. Callaway, "School leavers and their village setting." *ODU: Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 1, No. 1. 1969.

J. Anderson, *op. cit.*

L. Brownstein, *Education and Development in Rural Kenya: A study of Primary School Graduates*. New York. Praeger, 1972.

M.L. Swantz, "Village youth, a problem or an opportunity?" Dar es Salaam. Bureau of Resource Allocation and Land Use Planning. Univ. of Dar es Salaam. 1973. Mimeographed. Centre for the Study of Education in Changing Societies. *Primary Education in Sukuma-land: a summary report of a study made by CESO*. Groningen, Netherlands. Wolters-Noordhof. 1969.

This is followed by a detailed account of the similarities and differences between the three villages in terms of educational opportunities, the economic opportunities and limitations of the different areas, including availability of land for farming. Chapter two closes with a description of the sample, the young people who do not leave the village to work but stay and find their opportunities in the rural areas. In Chapter three there is an analysis of the data relating to what jobs the different youth find, what kinds of rewards they get, what problems they face, and what structural obstacles they meet in their rural employment. The question of who succeeds and who fails is discussed using both statistical and case study material. The fourth chapter approaches the data in a slightly different, though related, way. Given that young people do stay, study and work in their villages, what contribution do they make to rural development? If their contribution is small, why is this? This chapter also describes the leisure activities of the young people and how they view their lives in the village; both their work, rural facilities, and their recreation. The monograph closes with a chapter considering some of the implications that come from the data found in this study.

#### Methodology. The Villages

The three case studies were carried out in villages selected non-randomly within twenty miles of the urban centres of Kampala, Mbale and Arua, in Buganda, Bugisu and West Nile respectively. By choosing three villages in different regions it is possible to see the impact that the external economic situation has on the rural opportunity structure and one can counteract some of the problems encountered in a single case study. By choosing villages near to towns where the scale of economic activity is perhaps greater than in more isolated villages and the opportunities for migration are better, the possible range of opportunities and the way the youth utilize them may be clarified. It should be noted that the villages were all rural in terms of facilities and services, and that when compared to the three control villages located in remote parts of the areas, the findings were upheld.

Historically, the three areas are very different. Rural Buganda lies in the heart of Uganda, which was opened up by Arab and European penetration in the 1800's. It became economically important early in this century with the wide-scale introduction of cotton and later *robusta* coffee as cash crops. The rural peasants in Buganda were incorporated into a cash economy over sixty years ago. In contrast to this, Bugadu in southern Bugisu was not opened up to cash cropping until the late 1940's when *arabica* coffee was introduced onto the slopes of Mount Elgon on a large scale. At this time West Nile still had no cash crop and money for taxes was brought into the county by returning migrants. Young

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the case study method and the main problems involved in this, see S.G. Weeks, *An African School*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Univ. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. 1968.

With three intensive case studies it is possible to generalise with greater confidence from the data than it would be from a single case study or survey data alone.

men left West Nile to go and work for cash in other parts of Uganda, especially Buganda and Bunyoro, because they could not raise money at home. They went to work as labourers and porters for individual farmers or on large estates,<sup>8</sup> and returned after a year with savings of perhaps sixty or seventy shillings. It was not until late into the Fifties that a cash crop was brought to the area, then tobacco was introduced on an extensive scale.

Geographically the three areas are also very different. Buganda is central and contains the capital of the country. It is well endowed with roads and a railway runs through the region. Bugisu in the East lies on the cross roads from Kampala to Nairobi and the north road to Soroti. The railway also runs through Bugisu. But West Nile is geographically very remote. At the time of writing there were no tarmac roads in the district and the railway stopped at Pakwach by the Nile. Culturally the three areas are in contrast; Buganda is a former kingdom, a hierarchical society, at the other extreme West Nile is traditionally an egalitarian society, a people without rulers. All three societies have been documented in some detail by anthropologists and their work will not be duplicated here.

The relevant aspects of the three cultures will be referred to throughout the text where these affect attitudes and behaviour. The contrasts in geographical location in the way the areas were treated in colonial times and their cultural backgrounds mean that along many of the dimensions we are interested in the villages are totally different.<sup>10</sup>

#### Collecting the data

Because of the total lack of statistics concerning the rural populations, the study was begun with a demographic survey of the three villages to delineate

<sup>8</sup> John Middleton, "Trade and markets among the Lugbara of Uganda". In: P. Bohannan & G. Dalton, eds. *Markets in Africa*. Northwestern Univ. Press. 1968.

<sup>9</sup> For example on Buganda, see: L. Mair, *An African people in the Twentieth Century*. London. Routledge. 1934.  
L. Fallers, ed. *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the eve of Independence*. London. Oxford Univ. Press. 1964.  
J. Roscoe, *The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs*. London. Frank Cass. 1965, (1911).  
On Bugisu, see: J.S. La Fontaine, "Tribalism among the Gisu". In: P.H. Gulliver, ed. *Tradition and transition in East Africa*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1969., pp. 177-192.  
S. Bunker, "Making it in Bugisu." In: Nabugabo Conference. 1971, Kampala. Makerere Institute of Social Research. Mimeo.  
S. Heald, "Casualties of the social structure: a discussion of ways of failing and its consequences among the Bagisu". Kampala. Univ. of East Africa Social Science Conference 1968/9. Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971., pp. 122-130.  
On the Lugbara, see: John Middleton, *The Lugbara of Uganda*. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965.  
J. Middleton, "Trade and Markets among the Lugbara". *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> These differences will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

the population. During this demographic survey a list was compiled of all the youth between the ages of 13 and 25,<sup>11</sup> both those still living in the village and those whose families reported that their children were now resident elsewhere. The sample was defined as all youth from each of the three villages, both those living in and those living out of the village (the only exception to this was married women; all girls who had left the village to marry were not interviewed as they were felt to be balanced by the girls who had moved into the village to marry). By contacting all the youth from the villages, a cross-section of young people was interviewed, those with no education to those with senior four, boys and girls, rural and urban residents, and youth involved in a wide range of economic activities.

Once the sample was defined a questionnaire was drawn up and administered in 1970. In 1970 we interviewed 181 youth of Kalunga and 240 each for Bugadu and Olulu. The questionnaire itself was long and the process of interviewing took a great deal of time. It was relatively easy to locate the young people living in the village, but it was a tedious and lengthy task tracking down those who had migrated and were scattered in other villages, in trading centres and towns. The work was done by the authors in conjunction with several research assistants. A second questionnaire was given to the same sample one year later, partly to find answers to questions that had been raised as a result of the data from the first questionnaire and partly to look at change over time, because from observation, the population seemed very mobile and time seemed to be an important variable affecting employment and the place of residence of the youth.

Data were collected by anthropological methods in addition to the surveys. The research assistants lived in the villages they were studying. In Buganda, the assistants lived in Kalunga for a year and one of the authors spent several months living there. The researchers carried out informal interviews, group discussions, participated in the life of the school (by teaching), and of the village by attending funerals, weddings, circumcisions. Daily journals were kept. These methods proved very valuable in contributing to our understanding of the situation. The study began with a broad focus in December 1969, as there was very little data on rural youth on which to base our work, and the only hypotheses to work with at the time were derived from modernisation theories. It was only after a lot of time was spent in the rural areas that the inadequacies of these ideas became clear and slowly we<sup>12</sup> were able to redefine the problems and approach them with alternative concepts.

The data were analysed using a detailed code sheet and quantitative data were taken from the questionnaires. Case study material was then added to the statistics to give meaning to the emerging results. In this monograph, both statistical and qualitative data will be presented, and although this represents only a small fraction of the information that was gathered, it is hoped that it will throw some light on the situation facing rural youth in Uganda.

<sup>11</sup> This is the United Nations definition of youth as described in United Nations, World Situation of Youth. 1971. New York, 1971.

<sup>12</sup> For an account of the changes that occurred in the focus of the study, see T. Wallace and S.G. Weeks, "Youth in Uganda: some theoretical perspectives." *International Social Science Journal*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 1972, and C.C. Wallace, "Youth in Rural Buganda", *op. cit.* Ch. 3.



KALUNGA, BUGADU AND OLULU: THE THREE RURAL VILLAGES AND THEIR YOUNG RESIDENTS  
CHAPTER TWO

T. Wallace

The three villages differed greatly in their location, their history, and their cultural backgrounds. In this chapter, our concern is to describe in some detail how the villages compared along the main dimensions that affected the lives of the young people living in them. What opportunities were available in each of the three villages for formal education for rural employment, and for obtaining land? What attractions did the nearby towns offer the youth? In the first part of the chapter we discuss the variations in opportunity in the three areas. The second part describes the sample that concerns us, those who stay and work in the rural areas. In a later chapter we will discuss the state of rural development in the three villages and see how the rural youth benefit from these changes and in turn contribute to this development under different economic circumstances.

Education

Formal education was first introduced into Uganda through Buganda and this region is well endowed with schools. Almost every child in Buganda attends a private or a Government primary school for at least two or three years, usually four or more. This has been the case for many years now. There are many Government primary schools in the area around Kalunga; three are within walking distance of the village. As in other parts of Buganda, private schools have been built to supplement the Government system and many villages have their own privately run school which serves the children who are too young to walk three miles or more to school. The private schools also cater for children who have failed in the Government schools or whose parents cannot afford the Government school fees which are as much as 250 shillings per year in Primary Seven; private primary schools charge less. Kalunga is typical of many villages. It has its own private school attached to the Protestant church where many of the village children spend part of their school lives. There are also two primary one schools in the village and a Muslim school in the neighbouring village. All the private schools are rather poorly equipped and inadequately staffed. The examination results are generally very low, but every day one can see the children walking up the hill in their pink uniforms to spend the day in class.

Only ten per cent of the primary school leavers in Uganda get into Government secondary schools; but the proportion from the rural areas is lower. In Buganda parents have increased the opportunities for their children by con-

<sup>1</sup> Martin Southwold, "The Ganda of Uganda" in J.L.Gibbs,Jr.(ed) , *Peoples of Africa*, New York Holt Rinehart & Winston 1966

C.C. Wallace, *Youth in Rural Buganda: A Study of Their Education and Employment*, Kampala. Makerere University, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1973, Chap. 4.

tributing to the construction of private secondary schools, and there is one such school about five miles from Kalunga. Youth from Kalunga were able to attend schools in Kampala, both Government and private, but the private secondary schools are expensive with fees from 800 to 2,000 shillings per year compared to 600 shillings for Government schools, and many parents cannot afford them. About half the boys in Kalunga had been able to attend a secondary school of some kind for at least one year, but very few of them reached senior four.

In Bugadu there are many private primary schools to increase the chances of the children in formal education, but there are very few private secondary schools and those tend to recruit non-Bagisu. The parents in Bugisu have not invested in private secondary education and fewer youth from Bugadu had been to secondary school. There are several possible reasons for this: private schooling is expensive and results are often poor. Many villagers said that it was better to keep land or money and invest in a farm or a house for the young people rather than spend large amounts of money on an inadequate education. Agriculture is lucrative in Bugisu; it provides young people with a viable source of earnings and perhaps because the alternatives for employment in agriculture are good, higher education is not seen to be vital for a successful future. There are fewer opportunities for youth from Bugadu to have a secondary education, but the communities there have sufficient money that they could change that situation if it was perceived to be worthwhile.

In West Nile education is a far more recent phenomenon and there are not many Government primary schools and few secondary schools. Private schools are almost non-existent, therefore, the young people born in Olulu had less chance of attending primary or secondary school than their counterparts in Bugisu and Buganda, though the one primary school in the village was a Government school with a better reputation than the primary schools in the other two villages.

The differences in the education facilities available to the populations in the three villages can be most clearly shown by comparing the education level of the parents of the young people in each village and the educational experience of the young people themselves. By looking at the present situation and the position a generation ago it is possible to see whether the opportunities in education are altering over time and whether inequalities are becoming more pronounced.

Table 2.1: The Education Level of the Parents by the Village They Reside In.<sup>a</sup>

Father's Education	Village			
	Kalunga	Bugadu	Olulu	Total
None	23 (19%)	47 (47%)	47 (51%)	117
P1 - P4	12 (10%)	36 (36%)	21 (23%)	100
P5 - Secondary	87 (71%)	17 (17%)	25 (27%)	93
Total	122	100	93	315

KALUNGA, BUGADU AND OLULU AND THEIR YOUNG RESIDENTS

9

Table 2.1 (Cont'd)

Mother's Education	Village			
	Kalunga	Bugadu	Olulu	Total
None	36 (44%)	86 (78%)	96 (89%)	218
P1 - P4	13 (16%)	23 (21%)	11 (10%)	47
P5 - Secondary	33 (40%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	35
Total	82	110	108	300

<sup>a</sup> Not every young person knew the education level of his parents. There was no difference in the education level of the children who did know and those who did not.

In Kalunga, Buganda over two-thirds of the fathers had had more than primary four education and 14 per cent had experience of secondary education. The women in Kalunga had much less education, nevertheless, 40 per cent of the mothers had reached primary five. In the Bugisu and West Nile samples the picture is very different. Forty-seven per cent of the fathers in Bugadu and 51 per cent of those in Olulu had never been to school at all and over three-quarters of the mothers in both villages had never attended any formal school. Only 11 per cent of the women in West Nile had ever gone to school. Thus, the children in Kalunga, as in most of Buganda, are born into and brought up in a relatively educated community. This inequality of opportunity in education is still clearly evident today, in spite of the efforts to equalize education facilities since Independence. The young people in Kalunga have more education than those in Bugadu and Olulu. The main change over time is that, while inequality remains, the general level of education is rising. It is becoming increasingly the norm for every child to spend some time in school, especially for the boys. (See Table 2.2)

Table 2.2: The Education Level of the Youth by the Village They Reside In. <sup>a</sup>

Education Level of Boys	Village			
	Kalunga	Bugadu	Olulu	Total
None	6 (7%)	11 (13%)	15 (24%)	32
P1 - P4	5 (6%)	27 (31%)	24 (39%)	56
P5 - P7	31 (38%)	41 (47%)	18 (29%)	90
Secondary	41 (49%)	8 (9%)	5 (8%)	54
Total	83	87	62	232

Education Level of Girls	Village			
	Kalunga	Bugadu	Olulu	Total
None	6 (6%)	17 (32%)	58 (60%)	81
P1 - P4	20 (21%)	20 (38%)	24 (25%)	64
P5 - P7	50 (52%)	16 (30%)	10 (10%)	76
Secondary	21 (21%)	0	4 (4%)	25
Total	97	53	96	246

<sup>a</sup> Excluding those studying in Bugadu and Olulu.

Forty-nine per cent of the boys in Kalunga had had some experience of secondary education; 35 per cent more than their fathers. For the girls, 73 per cent had passed primary four, while only 40 per cent of their mothers had gone this far. Young people in both the other villages also had received more education than their parents. Fifty-six per cent of the boys in Bugadu had more than primary four education, while only 17 per cent of their fathers had done so. In Olulu 10 per cent more boys reached primary five than the previous generation; 37 per cent of the boys had more than four years experience at

school.<sup>2</sup> But the contrasts between the three areas are still clear: only 8 per cent of boys in Olulu reached secondary school, while 49 per cent of the boys from Kalunga had attended secondary school.

Boys have far greater access to education than girls; in each of the villages the girls lag behind in education. Only 21 per cent of the girls in Kalunga had reached secondary school as opposed to 49 per cent of the boys. No girls resident in Bugadu had finished secondary school. And, while four girls in Olulu had attended a secondary school, 60 per cent of the girls in that village had never been to school. Only a quarter of the boys in Olulu were in the same position.

The opportunities for going to school vary according to the areas in which the child is born. Access is more limited for girls than for boys. The implications and importance of these different levels of formal education will be discussed in the next chapter. Other factors, such as family background, affect access to schooling also. The children of men who have held jobs other than in agriculture, whose fathers and mothers have education themselves, whose parents own land, are more likely to go further in school than the children of farmers with little education. Formal education has become one aspect of socio-economic status in Uganda, thus the finding that parents with educational experience increase the chances of their children getting more education has important implications for rural class formation. In the future, formal education may be one way for the rural elite to establish itself on a permanent basis.

A note of caution should be sounded here though. What kind of education are we referring to? Rural education in Uganda is limited in scope. The majority of the children experience primary education; many stop before the Primary Leaving Examination which is given after primary seven. In all three areas the available schools are poor and overcrowded with minimum classroom facilities. The children are taught by rote mainly because of the lack of teaching materials and space which prevent the use of more sophisticated methods. Classes are often held in the open air, writing practice is done in the dust with a stick. The staff are often unqualified and turnover is high, especially in the private schools. The medium of instruction in all the schools is supposedly English, but most teachers rely heavily on the vernacular for explaining and instructing. The Government schools tend to have better teachers, but they suffer greatly from lack of supplies. Even those located within twenty miles of Kampala are often without textbooks, chalk or paper and the situation worsens the further up-country you go. The primary schools that the young people in these samples attended are not sophisticated; they mirror the poverty of the area around them. The situation closely resembles that found by Myrdal in parts of Asia:

<sup>2</sup> Those young people who received the most education were the children of the parents who had had the most education 20 years before. It is consistently the children of parents who have at least a few years of formal educational experience who reach secondary school. In Buganda it was found that the mother having formal education was a very powerful factor influencing the child's progress through school.

'With an insufficiency of trained teachers and the low competence of even those who are considered qualified, and with a scarcity of teaching aids, especially text-books and writing paper, teaching in primary schools is often reduced to an attempt to impart formal literacy and a smattering of information about a variety of subjects.'<sup>3</sup>

The secondary schools vary greatly in quality, the Government school being superior to private schools. The young men from Bugisu and West Nile who pass PLE are sent mainly to Government schools, and those who finish senior three or four receive a sound education. Half of the youth in Buganda who attend secondary school attend private schools whose educational value is dubious; they are often of a low standard, lacking resources of all kinds.

The quality of the education these young people receive is variable, but it is a far cry from the Westernised education that many people write about. The school and teachers are often an integral part of the rural scene, reflecting the values and level of material wealth of their environment. In addition to noting the quality of the schooling we were referring to, it is important to comment on the way these children attend school. Often they do not move straight through the education system, but drop out for a year or two half way through because the family is short of fees, or to allow another child to go to school for a year or two, or because they are needed to help at home. Many children do not start school until they are ten or eleven. Ill health causes many children to miss weeks of schooling every year; it causes some to drop out completely. Children frequently repeat a year on the way, either because they failed the exams or because they fear to take the primary leaving exam too soon, or they mark time in the lower grades where the fees are less until their father has more money. Fifty-four per cent of the youth in Kalunga admitted repeating at least one year in primary school. Seventy-three per cent said they had repeated in Bugadu and 36 per cent in Olulu - and these figures are probably an understatement of the case. In addition to missing years and repeating classes, children in Uganda often change schools frequently, especially in Bugisu and in Buganda, where it is still the case that parents send their children to be brought up by relatives for part of their childhood and the population has always been mobile. This changing of schools further disrupts their educational experience. Children drop out of school at all levels and many of them leave with only a brief and inadequate education. It is important to bear this in mind when discussing the role of education in class formation, in employment and success. The nature of the formal education these

<sup>3</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, Harmondsworth Penguin, 1968

<sup>4</sup> The age at which children enter school affects their progress through the education system. Those who start before age six or seven have a much greater chance of finishing primary school; children who start at ten or eleven are handicapped. The age at which a child starts school is partly related to the wealth and education level of the family he comes from, but not entirely. The factors at work here should be analysed carefully in future research, especially in light of the fact that some East African governments retarded the age of entry into school.

<sup>5</sup> See Martin Southwold for details of this mobility in "The Ganda of Uganda" *op.cit.*

young people experience is largely unsophisticated except for Government secondary education.

#### Economic Opportunity in the Three Villages<sup>6</sup>

Because of the difference in timing of the penetration of cash crops into the three areas, the wide disparities in the geographic location, in the soil conditions and climate, the economic opportunities vary greatly between Kalunga, Bugadu and Olulu.

In Buganda there has been a surplus of money wealth generated in the rural areas through cash crop farming for many years. For example, in Kalunga *robusta* coffee has been grown for sixty years, and in the coffee boom of the Fifties, the village thrived. A small amount of cotton is grown, but not very successfully. Money has been imported into the village over time from many sources: some went and earned money in the wage economy in Kampala or in the rural small towns and trading centres; some earned cash from the sale of vegetables to the city; money was brought in by the returning soldiers after the war; and recently money is being generated by the small businesses in the area, for example the bars, shops and building trade. There have been educated men in the village for two generations and many of them have experienced formal wage jobs at some point in their lives.

This surplus wealth has been used in many ways. Buganda is a stratified society and it is acceptable to spend money on material possessions and conspicuous consumption as they bring status. In Kalunga money has been put into improving housing. Some have built block houses and many have their doors and windows made by specialised carpenters. People have bought bicycles, a few have motor scooters and seven of the villagers have cars. Money has been invested in shops; since 1965 three new dukas have opened in the village, two butcheries have started and three new bars. Education is a major item of expenditure, the people of Kalunga have put their money into primary and secondary school fees and have been involved in contributing money for the local private primary school and the private secondary school five miles away. The way in which cash has been spent has stimulated the creation of new jobs in the village itself, jobs for builders and brick makers, for furniture makers, for mechanics, drivers and turnboys, for shop assistants and for local teachers to staff the private

<sup>6</sup> There are a number of ways of studying employment *opportunities* in a society. One approach is to do a survey of existing jobs and project this data into the future to predict the number of available jobs in, say, five years time. This is the manpower planning approach. Secondly, it is possible to focus on the choices individuals make, to study and to relate these to the available jobs. Our approach is different and essentially a pragmatic one. We have taken as our measure of economic opportunity the actual jobs that the young people are doing. Clearly this involves several assumptions: that young people seek out opportunity, that they are flexible and change roles when new opportunities arise. We have to assume that they are realistic and sensitive to the possibilities around them and within the confines of education, sex, age, etc., they seek out all available jobs. It is open to challenge. There are perhaps opportunities in each area which the youth ignored and we failed to identify, but it seems a far better way of analysing the job market, the possibilities and problems, than the other, more commonly used, methods.

school. Spending patterns have contributed to the creation of new rural jobs and job diversification.

In Bugadu, Bugisu, a similar scale of surplus wealth is probably generated, since the expansion of the profitable *arabica* coffee crop in the Forties and the growing of cotton in addition to large acreages of bananas. But in Bugisu there are considerable pressures on a man not to become too evidently wealthy and differentiated from the rest of the villagers. Thus money tends to be spent differently. Houses are still mud built, often with a thatched roof, and furnished very simply. The construction is done by the family and there is almost no call for specialised builders.

In Bugadu only one man had put his capital into a motor vehicle, a car, though there were obviously others living there who could have afforded one. This car owner came in for a lot of abuse and the villagers accused him of obtaining the money for the car through nefarious means - by stealing and selling cattle! Surplus cash, after the payment of primary school fees, taxes, salt, sugar, paraffin, transport, and other basic costs, is spent on drinking, especially in drinking clubs. The men spend a large amount of time sitting together in bars or private compounds around a communal beer pot, sucking beer through their straws, discussing the world. While drinking, they may buy roasted meat to eat and other cooked foods. Money is also spent on clothes. At Christmas and Easter most people buy a new item of clothing - for the men a shirt or shoes; for the ladies a new Busuti or a kikoi. Perhaps the bulk of the cash they earn is put back into agriculture. The Bagisu tend to plough their profits back into their farms or into buying more land for themselves or their children. Farming in Bugadu, which lies in the foothills of Mount Elgon, is profitable, rain is plentiful and the soil is good. It is in agriculture that many of the job opportunities lie, both for adults and the young people. In addition to agriculture there are employment opportunities to be found in the lively weekly markets in the village itself or in nearby markets. There are openings for earning money brewing and selling beer and crude waragi, dealing in cooked foods, in tailoring, and so on. But the range of jobs is more limited than it is in Buganda and the level of specialisation is lower.

In West Nile, in Olulu, the picture is different again. The range of rural opportunities are far less diverse than either Buganda or Bugisu, both because this area was incorporated into the cash economy later than the other two areas and also because there are very strong pressures on individuals who make money to share their money with relatives and not invest it in a conspicuous way. "Men who earn wages or grow a considerable surplus of food are expected to distribute much of their earnings and surplus among their closer kin."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> John Middleton, "Trade and markets among the Lugbara of Uganda." In: P. Bohannan and G. Dalton, eds., *Markets in Africa*. Evanston. Northwestern Univ. Press. 1968, p. 568.

Quite large amounts of money can now be earned from tobacco, from 400 to 3,000 shillings a year from a quarter to half an acre plot. But this is relatively recent and the scale of the money economy in West Nile is still small compared to the other two areas. After taxes have been paid, bridewealth cattle purchased (this is also a major form of spending in Bugisu but not Buganda), and the primary school fees have been paid, the amounts of money left are usually small and are spent mainly on food and drink. In the afternoons the people gather to drink together in large 'beer gardens' and can be seen sitting in groups in large numbers under the few shady trees.

There are employment opportunities for the youth in growing tobacco, if they have the land, though most tobacco growers are over twenty-five. There are jobs to be found in the markets, which, although not as widespread as in Bugisu, play an important role in the economy of the area, and they have done so since they were started in 1925. The tobacco schemes have created jobs for brick makers, builders to build the barns, water haulers, stone crushers - often they are temporary jobs but they do provide a source of cash income. The drinking groups create a demand for traders in maize for brewing the beer, for brewers, and for beer sellers. Many other jobs that are found in rural Buganda and Bugisu do not exist here. Building of houses is still the business of the clan members; transport is limited and no one in Olulu has a car. As most people do not own radios but listen to it at one of the local dukas, and few people have many 'modern' possessions, there is no call for repair fundis. The range of jobs which actually exist in Olulu is limited, and although there are some opportunities for rural employment outside agriculture, agriculture is still the most important way of earning money.

The economic environment, scale of activity, and kinds of jobs open to the rural youth are different in each of the three areas. The contrasts can be clearly seen in the following occupational pyramids.

Chart 2.1. Diagrams to Show the Frequency of Each Kind of Job in the Three Areas, Drawn According to the Percentage of the Total Job Situation They Represent.<sup>a</sup>

	<u>Kalunga</u>	<u>Bugadu</u>	<u>Olulu</u>
Driving	6%	3%	5%
Trading	8%	27%	5%
Semi-skilled	10%	6%	2.5%
Construction	13%	2%	9%
White Collar	18%	7%	4%
Home Economics	21%	15%	19%
Agriculture	26%	41%	60%

<sup>a</sup> For a list of the exact jobs in each of these seven categories see appendix 2.1. This represents both rural and urban jobs which will be discussed later in this chapter, because urban opportunities are an integral part of the picture of opportunities available to the youth in these three villages.



In all three areas most of the youth participate to some extent in agriculture, though often it is a second and not a first job, especially in Kalunga. Agriculture is a central rural economic activity which offers different incomes; rewards vary, among other things, by area, according to the availability of land and the crops that can be grown. The implications of this involvement in agriculture and consequent earnings will be discussed in the next chapter. One of the prerequisites affecting opportunity in agriculture is gaining access to land; the openings for young people to acquire land will be discussed later in this chapter.

Agriculture forms the base of the employment pyramid in all three areas, as it is important in Kalunga, Bugadu and Olulu. After that the picture immediately diversifies. In Buganda, construction, white collar jobs, and home economics provide many employment openings. In Bugisu trading is by far the most important non-agricultural job. In West Nile, where agriculture is the most dominant, home economics, especially beer brewing, and construction connected with the tobacco barns are the other relevant areas of employment opportunity.



HOUSEBUILDING IN KALUNGA

These general categories indicate that there are contrasting employment opportunities in the three villages, but they fail to give clarity and definition to exactly what kinds of jobs can be done in rural Uganda, an area where the lack of concrete information is glaring. Almost all the jobs that are carried out in the rural area are informal jobs; 80 per cent of all rural jobs in Kalunga are informal, 95 per cent in Bugadu, and nearly 100 per cent in Olulu. In Kalunga there are jobs in the formal sector in the rural areas but they are few. There are jobs, for example, on the Government farm five miles away, jobs in research, jobs for porters, and builders hired on Government terms and earning the minimum wage. Boys can find rural jobs, teaching in Government-aided primary schools, working at the Gombolola headquarters, or in the rural dispensary in the small trading centre six miles from the village. In Bugadu, the formal job openings were limited; essentially they were in teaching in Government primary schools, working as porters or clerks in one of the co-ops, plus odd jobs such as watchmen or medical assistants. But there were few such openings and most youth worked in the informal sector. This was almost a hundred per cent true in the West Nile village where the formal sector was almost entirely confined to Arua town where most of the offices, hospital, and other institutions are found.

What kind of opportunities are open to the youth in informal employment in these villages? In Kalunga, the young men are to be seen working as apprentices to the builder in the village, carrying mud for him, learning to construct a house; others can be seen early in the morning and late in the evening carrying devis of water from the spring to the different houses. A young man sits behind a table in an open doorway, weighing the coffee beans as they are brought in to the small co-operative; a group sits under a tree surrounded by spare bicycle parts and some old frames. At the cross roads where there are four dukas and a new 'modern' bar, there is a lot of activity in the evening at the pork butcher's, young boys thread pieces of meat and fat onto sticks and cook them over an open fire, roasting meat to sell to the customers in the bar. Outside one of the dukas a man sits at a sewing machine making school uniforms. In a nearby house two boys and their father sew kanzus by hand and take them every month to sell in Kampala. Much of the economic activity is not very visible, people work in their houses, in other villages, in the fields, but strolling round the village it becomes apparent that many kinds of activity are taking place and that the young men are involved serving in shops, making pancakes, weaving mats, or driving the lorry that goes to Kawempe with the coffee.

In Bugisu, the focus of informal activity is somewhat different, though there are young men serving in the bars and some boys have shops in the front of their huts, there is a fishmonger and there are meat roasters, but the major area of informal economic activity is the marketplace.

Markets in Buganda do not play nearly such a vital role, in Bugadu there is a market in the village every Friday morning and every day of the week there is a market in the area. The market starts at sunrise, people stream down the road to the marketplace, carrying bundles of bananas on their heads, chickens

and other vegetables to sell there. Lorries arrive, stalls are set up selling cloth, traditional medicine, local soap, imported tin, enamel wares and cheap plastic goods. The young men find employment in many areas of trading, there are those who actually run a stall of their own, selling meat or fish, others make money roasting chickens or meat to sell to the crowd, others work for important outside men from Tororo or even from Kenya, who buy up many bunches of bananas, load up their waiting lorries and latter drive to town or across the border to sell at a higher price. Some boys are self-employed, trading in bananas, they buy three or four bunches at the market and load them onto a bicycle and cycle twenty miles to Tororo where they make two or three shillings profit reselling in the market there.

In Olulu agriculture is far more time-consuming. People belong to work groups and often do their own digging in the morning and then join with their peers in the afternoon to go and dig for someone else, either for a few cents or a meal and a drink. One can see youth involved in other informal activities, but the most common sight is that of people bending in the hot sun in the fields. Boys are also found in the duka helping as shop assistants or working near the markets on bike repairs. When the tobacco barns are being built, they are much in evidence, making bricks, crushing stones, and helping in construction.

There is a wider range of opportunities for the youth in Buganda to find informal non-agricultural jobs; twenty-seven kinds of informal employment were recorded in Kalunga, twenty-two in Bugadu, and only twelve in Olulu. This is important because agriculture in Kalunga is not as profitable as it is in Bugadu and Olulu; the price for the *robusta* coffee grown in Buganda is low and the people do not get a good price for their vegetables in Kampala as there is more demand for those from Kigezi. In Bugisu agriculture offers good employment to the youth and there are many wealthy farmers in and around Bugadu to serve as role models. In West Nile tobacco offers the best financial return within the informal sector of rural employment. Buganda has a more diverse rural economy and this is reflected in the wider range of non-agricultural jobs available, jobs which are specialised and give a better return than agriculture and higher returns than are possible in the other two areas.

The rural opportunities for girls, in both the formal and the informal sectors, are far more limited than they are for boys. There are very few formal jobs for girls in any of these areas, one or two girls find employment in teaching in rural Government primary schools, but these jobs are usually dominated by men. The girls can find employment as cooks in rural schools, assistants in the dispensaries, as clerks at the chief's headquarters, but in fact, few actually do such jobs (for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter). Most of the girls who earn money are employed in the rural informal sector, in cash crops - especially in Bugadu. Outside of agriculture they find employment brewing beer, enguli and other spirits. In Buganda and West Nile the girls are sole responsible for brewing the beer, while in Bugisu they share this job with the boys. In all three areas they work in the bars, drinking groups, and beer gardens, serving the beer, either selling their own brew, self-employed and

paying the bar owner a small fee, or selling beer on behalf of the bar owner and earning a small wage. The young women are involved in trading also. In Bugisu they have a role to play in the markets; in Buganda they often sell their produce from a basket placed on the roadside outside their house, or more ambitiously, buy goods from town or other villagers and sell from a stall in the village. In West Nile they carry goods to the market at Arua and sell their pots, mats, and foodstuffs there. In all three areas, as the level of wealth rises and the families begin to split into smaller units, jobs are opened up for young girls to work as ayahs for individual householders, helping the wife with cooking and looking after the children. In Buganda there is a market now for handicrafts and mats. Because not every household makes its own mats, some of



HAIRDRESSING IN KALUNGA

the girls in Kalunga can earn money by selling their handwork, both in the village and in the nearby trading centre, and some even sell their goods in Kampala. In Kalunga and Bugadu there are jobs for girls in the private primary schools. They can also find employment as shop assistants. In Olulu there is a special range of jobs open to girls, again created by the introduction of tobacco. They can find temporary jobs hauling water, crushing stones and assisting with brick laying when the barns are being built.



HAULING WATER IN OLULU

The range of occupations open to rural girls in these three areas is limited, much of their time is spent in non-financial employment digging the subsistence crops, assisting on the family shamba, working in the house, cooking, caring for siblings, and if they are married, for their own children. But there are limited opportunities for them to earn cash: those that exist are important to some of the women and should not be ignored.

In painting a picture of the economic opportunities open to the young people of both sexes in these three areas it would be misleading to omit a short description of the urban opportunities in the nearby towns, which clearly influence the total employment situation and affect the career paths that the youth from these villages follow. Openings in the urban areas attract some of the rural youth. The percentage who leave from each of the villages is remarkably constant; 26 per cent of males work in urban areas at any one time from Kalunga, 21 per cent from Bugadu and 15 per cent from Olulu. There are both formal and informal job opportunities open to young men in Kampala, Mbale, Tororo and Arua, as well as in small towns and trading centres in the area. Most of the youth from Kalunga who move into formal urban employment, find their opportunities in Kampala as mechanics in large garages, builders on construction sites, drivers, clerks, porters, and other manual or semi-skilled jobs, simple white collar jobs. In Bugadu they move mainly to Mbale or Tororo, but also go as far away as Jinja, and Kampala in their search for opportunities. Some of the youth from the village find jobs in the textile mill in Mbale. There are several openings for them as mechanics in town as well. They find similar urban formal jobs as the youth from Bugadu, travelling further afield to find. In West Nile the opportunities in urban formal employment are more limited. Arua is only a

small urban centre and does not provide jobs on a scale like Kampala. Traditionally, youth from West Nile have moved south, to Kilembe mines, to the farms of the Bunyoro and Baganda, to the sugar estates of Jinja and carried out manual jobs as porters there. They still travel out to do manual work to a certain extent, but also find more openings in services like prisons and the army than before. This is an occupation which, for historical reasons, has become closed to the Baganda.

Apart from the formal opportunities which are obviously greatest in the capital and fewest in Arua, there are many informal opportunities in towns. There are a wide range of urban informal jobs open to young people, opportunities which are usually ignored in the enumeration jobs and omitted in studies of urban migration and employment. There are openings in Kampala for shop assistants in small dukas, mechanics in informal sector garages in the industrial area and around Wandegeya; hairdressing and shoe-shining, street trading, hawking, selling peanuts, taxi driving, dobi and watch repairing are among the informal jobs the youth from Kalunga have found in town. The young men in Bugadu find informal employment in towns, trading in matoke from the village markets, tin-smithing in the market, working in Asian dukas, hawking, and other odd jobs, but the diversity of informal urban jobs is far less in Mbale and Tororo than it is in Kampala. Youth from Olulu find quite a variety of urban informal employment in Arua, in brick laying, trading, working in hotels, cobbling, tailoring, milling, and other such jobs. The rewards in the urban informal sector are much lower than those found in the formal sector, but the entry requirements in terms of speaking English, education and contacts are far less demanding. Informal urban jobs are often more remunerative than similar rural jobs. At the end of this chapter we will look at who actually leaves the village to take up these urban opportunities, either formal or informal.

There are many opportunities open to the young people in rural Uganda to find employment outside of agriculture. The range of such opportunities, both formal and informal, in the villages and in the trading centres and towns vary between the three areas.

To summarise the differences in employment opportunities between the areas a chart follows showing those jobs which were unique to each of the villages at the time of the study. For a detailed list of all available jobs see chart 2.2. In the next chapter we will look at the recruitment to rural jobs, who does which job and what their rewards are from employment.

Chart 2.2: Occupations Which Are Held By Young Men In One of the Three Areas Only.

<u>KALUNGA</u>		
	<u>Formal</u>	<u>Informal</u>
<u>Urban</u>	Builders, drivers, auditors, printers, vet, telex operators, radio programmer, UEB.	Hairdresser, taxi driver, turnboy watch repairer, shoe cleaner, grass-cutter, musician.
<u>Rural</u>	drivers, builders, electricians.	Photographer, clerk, pancake maker, driver, painter, buying and selling coffee, charcoal maker, ayah, kanzu maker.
<u>BUGADU</u>		
<u>Urban</u>	Salesman, house servant, FAR points man, hoteli, askari, enumerators.	porter.
<u>Rural</u>	Pastor, sell lottery tickets, askari.	rope-maker, hotelier, ploughing, grinding, baker's assistant.
<u>OLULU</u>		
<u>Urban</u>	Dresser, steelbender, cashier, cane operator, cane cutter.	Dobi, bricklayer, cook, cobbler, hotelier, tailor, milling.
<u>Rural</u>	Dresser.	thatcher, feller of trees, bricklayer.

## Access to Land

Agriculture, though it plays a different part in each of the three areas is of key importance in each of them. One of the crucial factors affecting the opportunities of young people in agriculture is whether they have access to land, once they have land of their own or rights to use some land other factors such as age, sex, education, crops grown may account for the success or failure of the farming, but the prerequisite is to have the land. There is much talk in Africa of the drift from the land, the landless people - what is the actual situation in the three villages that we studied?

Landlessness is not a feature of Ugandan society as a whole, apart from small pockets of high density population such as Kigezi 'landlessness is not considered to be the general problem as there is no national land shortage.... It is usually assumed that everyone has some sort of farm go back to if he has to .....' Certainly in the areas under discussion landlessness was not a problem, though there is a certain land shortage in West Nile it is compensated by the small acreages needed for the small-holder tobacco.

The land distribution systems are very different in the three areas and have been described at length by other writers.<sup>8</sup> The land tenure situation is complex and all that is intended here is a brief analysis of the opportunities

<sup>8</sup> Caroline Hutton, *Reluctant farmers?* Nairobi. East African Publishing House. 1972.

<sup>9</sup> The books written about land tenure in the three areas include H.W. West, *The transformation of land tenure in Buganda since 1896*. Cambridge. African Social Research Documents. Vol. 2. 1969.

H.W. West, *Land policy in Buganda*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972.

J. Middleton; *The Lugbara of Uganda*. New York. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 1965.

J. La Fontaine; *The Gisu of Uganda*. London. International African Institute. 1959.

open to the young people (mostly the young men) in the three areas for acquiring land for cultivation.

In Buganda there is still land available for cultivation. Most people have access to a *kibanja*, land which is not owned but rented on terms whereby the tenant cannot be alienated. The owner of the land, the *mailo* land owner cannot dismiss the tenants, therefore, for practical farming *kibanja* land is important. Some young people in Kalunga (those related to land owners) have access to *mailo* land, too, though this is less common. There are several ways of getting land, they can inherit it on the death of their father or another relative who selects them to be their heir; they can receive land from close relatives on the occasion of their marriage or when they are able to build themselves a house; they can buy land in and around Kalunga, paying between two and three hundred shillings for an acre of *kibanja* land. Even if they do not have land of their own, often they can use an acre or two on land belonging to their brother or sister, or they are allowed to cultivate an acre or more on land belonging to their father or mother. There seems to be little practical problem for young people in Buganda to obtain land to use at some stage, the *mailo* land system has prevented the creation of a landless class in the region. Most people acquire land in their middle or late twenties, after marrying, so only sixteen youth in the sample actually had their own land in 1970. But over 80 per cent expected to get land later and from observation this expectation is realistic. Landlessness is not a problem in Buganda now, rather the problems facing the youth are small, fragmented plots of land, lack of cash to enlarge their small holdings, a tired soil, and a lack of capital to introduce new methods and improve productivity.

In Bugisu, in Bugadu again there appears to be land available for the young people to acquire when they want to. In Bugisu as in Buganda, it is common to receive land after marrying, so not many of the youth had land at the time of the survey - many do now. In Bugisu there is a lot of buying and selling of land; people sell land to raise school fees, to build a house, to improve agriculture on another piece of land, or to drink! There is a market in land which is privately owned, the records of the plots and ownership of them lie with the local chief. If a young man wants to buy an acre of land it is not difficult for him to do so, the prices range from one hundred shillings per acre for an isolated plot to four or five hundred shillings an acre for land adjacent to the main road. Youth in Bugisu are often given land, this used to be done when a boy was circumcised, but now they have to wait until they are older - until they have a wife and want to build a house to raise a family in because the parents fear otherwise that he will sell the land and 'drink the money'. Again, in unusual cases where a young man fails to get land, or while he is still too young to have land of his own, he can use the land belonging to a relative.

In West Nile all land used to be communally owned, individuals did not have land. It seems that over time rights to use the land have developed and are now the property of separate families who pass these rights on to their



children. Middleton talked of the pressure on the land in the Fifties and West Nile, like the other two areas, is a place of high population density and many young men used to migrate from West Nile for several years to release the pressure on the land. But with the introduction of tobacco which only requires small acreages and yields high rewards, it seems that the situation has been eased. The exact pattern of land holding is not documented since land has become inheritable, but certainly nobody in Olulu wanting to farm is denied access to land - as in the other areas if they did not have their own rights to use a piece of land they used land belonging to another member of the family or clan. In all three villages the young people had access to land if they wanted to farm and no one in the sample was denied the opportunity to do agriculture because of the lack of land. The inhibiting factors on agricultural success did not lie in being landless for any of the youth we studied.

#### Migration

In 1970 over three quarters of the youth in the samples were resident in their villages or other rural areas. In 1971 the figures were almost constant. Who leaves the villages to work and who stays and seeks out their opportunities in the rural areas? One important point should be made here before discussing who migrates, the populations are fairly mobile, those who are out of the village one year may return a year later, very few move out and stay out. Having noted that we are analysing a mobile population, which moves from the rural to the urban and very often back to the rural again, it is time to see who does leave the village to work, for long or short periods. (The 1970 out-migrant sample had essentially the same characteristics as the 1971 outmigrants, and as the returnees to the village, so the 1970 data is presented here).

The most important factor affecting whether a young person who has left school moves out to work at any time is their sex. Girls go to work in towns far less than boys, their opportunities to travel and seek employment are far more limited. Only eight per cent of the females in Kalunga were working outside the rural areas in 1970, less than five per cent were from Bugadu and Olulu, whereas 26 per cent of the boys in Kalunga were working outside the rural areas in 1970 and 21 per cent of the males from Bugadu were. The number of boys who were employed in towns in the Olulu sample was lower than this but still more significant than the figure for the girls. Age is also an important determinant - young people under sixteen rarely move into the urban job market, no one from Kalunga had found urban employment in this age group, none from Bugadu and only one boy from Olulu under 16 had got an urban job. In all three areas the majority of the outmigrants were over twenty, approximately one in every five boys in the age group 20-25 work in urban areas.

A third crucial factor which clearly affects migration is formal education: those with formal education have a higher rate of working outside the village than those who have had little formal schooling. Those who have more

education tend also to be male and over seventeen, so the three factors are closely interwoven.

Table 2.3: Formal Education by Place of Work and Residence, 1970.

	<u>Kalunga</u>		<u>Bugadu</u>		<u>Olulu</u>	
	<u>Up to P7</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Up to P4</u>	<u>P5 &amp; more</u>	<u>Up to P4</u>	<u>P5 &amp; more</u>
Rural	90%	69%	95%	78%	100%	80%
Urban	10%	31%	5%	22%	0	20%
N=	86	32	75	75	121	39

The fact that young males, over seventeen, with more than secondary education in Buganda, and more than primary five education in West Nile seek and often find urban employment, should not obscure the point that in all groups by far the majority of the youth stay and work in the rural areas. For the group most likely to leave, only a quarter or less do so, although there is a movement of the most educated from the villages, there are also many with education who stay in the village - 22 secondary school leavers were living and working in Kalunga in 1970. Many of those who do leave are not seen as a permanent loss to the rural areas; many move back when they are older, when they acquire land, and may have capital to set themselves up in self-employment.

One final point that is perhaps worth making on the subject of migration is that one of the most important single reasons for leaving the village is not to seek work. When we look at the total sample most of the young people who live outside the village are taking formal education courses, the chance to study is a major factor in drawing people from the rural villages into the towns, a point that is usually overlooked by writers on the subject.

Table 2.4: Pupil/Non-Pupil Status by the Place of Residence, by the Areas Under Study - for the Total Sample.

	<u>Kalunga</u>		<u>Bugadu</u>		<u>Olulu</u>	
	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
Pupil	34%	37%	38%	52%	30%	72%
Non-Pupil	66%	63%	62%	48%	70%	28%
N=	150	30	199	40	214	25

Many young people travel away from home to study: one third of the out-migrants from Kalunga in 1970 were students in town, attending Government and private schools, commercial colleges, tutorial classes, and private secretarial courses, and over one half of the urban residents from Bugadu and Olulu were students.

#### Conclusion

It is in the context of the previous discussion that the following material on rural employment and involvement fits. These three different villages provide the samples with a diverse range of opportunities and limitations. On the whole the level of education in all three areas is low, less than secondary

four in Kalunga, and in the other two villages less than primary seven. Access to land in these areas is not a severe problem and many young people are involved in agriculture. In the next chapter the rewards to be gained from agriculture will be discussed. There are a range of other employment opportunities in these villages, both in formal and informal employment. The majority of the youth do stay in the rural areas and seek out these opportunities, of the minority who move to town, most are older males with a fair amount of education, but they are not a permanent loss as many of them return to the village later. In the next chapter we will consider, given the opportunities and hazards, who it is that is successful in Kalunga, Bugadu and Olulu.

Chart 2.3: List of Jobs Available to the Youth in Each Area

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Agriculture</u></p> <p>Shamba boy Agricultural porter/labourer Raising/selling goats, sheep, cows Raising/selling poultry Growing cash crops - coffee, cotton, tobacco Growing vegetables Picking coffee, cotton, drying tobacco Fisherman Hunter Ploughman</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Construction</u></p> <p>Modern builder Modern builder's assistant Carpenter Brickmaker/bricklayer Stonecrusher Traditional builder Electrician Construction labourer House painter Plasterer Thatcher</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Cottage Industry</u></p> <p>Beer/crude waragi brewer Dry cleaner 'dobi' Potter Shoe repairer/cleener Blacksmith Ropemaker Miller - grinder Tanner Butcher - killing pigs, etc. Selling pancakes Cobbler Felling trees Making charcoal Baker</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Trading</u></p> <p>Shopkeeper Shop assistant Trader in non-agricultural goods Beer seller Pork roaster, chicken, meat roaster Fishmonger Butcher Trading in agriculture Transporting crops</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Home Economics</u></p> <p>Dressmaker - by hand Kanzu maker Tailor Houseboy/girl Hairdresser Ayah Needlework, sewing, handicrafts - making mats, baskets Cook Water hauler</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Driver-related</u></p> <p>Driver Taxi driver Turnboy Mechanic Bicycle repairer</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Skilled/semi-skilled</u></p> <p>Photographer Artist Barmaid, barman Factory worker Clerical worker Salesman Askari Dresser Wardmaid East African Railways worker</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>White Collar</u></p> <p>Cashier Pastor Medical assistant Teacher Typist Telex operator Army, police, prisons Technical assistants Treasurer, auditor Storekeeper Nurse Research Assistants</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Trading (cont'd)</u></p> <p>Hotelier Businessman Buying/selling coffee</p>
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## WORKING AND EARNING IN RURAL UGANDA: WHO SUCCEEDS WHO FAILS?

### CHAPTER THREE

T. WALLACE and S.G. WEEKS

#### Introduction

The rural employment opportunities that are open to any single young person in a specific village vary according to several factors, particularly age, sex and education. For some youth doors open, they progress from child to educated adolescent to employed adult without much trouble, but for many the process is far from direct or easy. In this chapter we will look at a range of variables which influence the job chances of the young people within the economic opportunity structure of these three villages. We will analyse who is making money and who is less successful, both in agriculture and in non-agricultural employment. Throughout the chapter case studies will be used to illustrate and extend the quantitative analysis of the working experiences of the young people.

Clearly many factors affect access to employment and success in a job. It is not possible to consider them all and attention in the bulk of the chapter will be focussed on age, sex, formal education, family status and ties, the place of work and the nature of the work. Other sociological and psychological influences will be referred to in the case studies though, for example the importance of friends, capital, and informal education. The part played by motivation and personality will be touched on in the individual case studies.

The measure that will be used for success is an economic one, how much do the young people earn, who earns the the least. This is a narrow definition but one which is measurable and accepted by the young people themselves. Other criteria such as contentment with work, security, and a feeling of achievement will emerge from the case studies but do not form the central definition for success that is employed here.

The chapter is divided into several sections. The first part analyses the basic sociological variables in relation to earnings, here a few case studies will be used to illustrate the findings. This is followed by more extensive case study material and a closer look at the interplay of factors that affect earnings firstly in agriculture and then in non-agricultural employment. The chapter closes with a brief section on the position of girls and a discussion concerning those youth who used to work in towns but have returned to live and work in the villages. The purpose of the chapter is to start the process of isolating factors that affect rural employment and income, a subject about which almost nothing is known, especially for people in this age group.

#### Factors affecting rural opportunities and income

The first obvious factor that affects access to jobs and earnings within jobs is that of sex. In all three areas the males resident in the village who

were working earned more than the females. This was most pronounced in Kalunga and least so in Bugadu.

Table 3.1: Earnings per Month by Sex in the Three Village Areas,<sup>a</sup>

Earnings	Kalunga (1970)			Bugadu (1971)			Olulu (1971)		
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
50/-	32%	88%	36	60%	70%	59	50%	85%	64
51/+	68%	12%	33(47%)	40%	30%	34(37%)	50%	15%	28(30%)
	44	25	69	60	33	93	40	52	92
	e = 56			e = 10			e = 35		

<sup>a</sup> In Bugisu and West Nile the figures used are for 1971, in Buganda they are for 1970 because the information gathered in the different places varied in reliability and the best data for Bugisu and West Nile was gathered on the follow-up questionnaire. In Bugadu fewer of the girls who would earn less were interviewed because few girls of 13 or 14 were interviewed, therefore the data is skewed in favour of the girls. The data we have on income are detailed and broken down into twelve income groups ranging from 5/- per month to 500 shillings plus. But after running many tables it became clear that it was meaningful to dichotomise and divide the samples into two basic income groups, those earning more than fifty shillings a month and those earning less.

From Table 3.1, it is clear that earnings differ by area. It is possible to make more money in Kalunga, Buganda, than it is in the other two villages. Forty-seven per cent of the employed youth in Kalunga earned more than fifty shillings a month, as opposed to thirty-seven per cent in Bugadu and only thirty per cent in Olulu. Within the limitations on earnings imposed by the area, the young men consistently earn more than the girls. Sixty-eight per cent of the boys in Kalunga earned more than fifty shillings a month as opposed to twelve per cent of the girls, the differences are less in the other two areas but still significant.

Age has little impact on the earnings of the girls, but in all three villages the age of the young men crucially affected how much money they were earning. Older boys earned more.

Table 3.2: Earnings per Month of the Young Men in the Three Villages According to Their Age

Earnings	Kalunga			Bugadu			Olulu		
	-20	21+		-21	22+		-21	22+	
50/=	48%	16%	14	77%	41%	36	61%	41%	20
51/+	52%	84%	23	23%	59%	24	39%	59%	20
	25	12	37	31	29	60	18	22	40
	e = 32			e = 36			e = 20		

There are a number of possible reasons why age should affect the earnings of the young men in the village. Obviously increased maturity and stamina play a part, but this difference in earnings may also reflect certain aspects of the transition to adult status. As they get older the young men begin to settle down, grow more permanent crops, acquire land and through repetition and experience improve their skills. Perhaps the single most significant factor is marriage; when a young man marries he often is given or buys land, he has a wife to help him in the fields and the arrival of children provides an impetus to increase his earnings. This point will be illustrated in later case studies.

How does formal education relate to rural earnings in the three areas?

Table 3.3: Earnings Per Month of the Young Men in the Three Villages by Their Formal Educational Level.<sup>a</sup>

Earnings	Kalunga			Bugadu			Olulu		
	P7	S S		P4	P5+		P4	P5+	
-50/=	45%	26%	14	74%	48%	36	59%	30%	20
50/=+	55%	74%	23	26%	52%	24	41%	70%	19
	22	15	37	27	33	60	29	10	39
	e = 19			e = 26			e = 29		

<sup>a</sup> The division between upper primary and secondary is the most useful in Kalunga, where almost half the working males had been to secondary school. In Bugadu and Olulu where few boys in the sample of rurally employed youth had been to secondary school this was meaningless and the division fell between P4 and P5.

In Table 3.3 formal education is seen to affect earnings in the three rural areas, those young people who have more years of formal education earn more money. But is the relationship as straightforward as that; can it be concluded that more formal education is the answer to rural poverty? Before jumping to such a conclusion it is necessary to examine some possible intervening variables such as age, the type of job the young people are doing, whether education affects earnings positively in both agriculture and non-agricultural employment, and whether having a formal or informal rural job is an intervening factor which should be taken into account.

First, what happens when the relationship between education and earnings is controlled by age? If formal education is the critical variable, age should make little or no difference, those with more education should earn more regardless of age. But as Table 3.4. shows, when the partials were run it became evident that age strongly modified this relationship and older males in each educational group earned more than the younger ones. This is particularly pronounced in Bugadu. Age is more important in influencing earnings in the rural areas for the young males than formal education. One would predict that this pattern becomes more accentuated the older the men become.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J.K. Konter, in *Socio-economic change in Rungwe*, has carefully documented this increase of income with age. He found that older heads of households have more farms, greater acreage in use, access to more labour and higher earnings. The richest men were over fifty.

Polly Hill found the same relationship in her study of inequality among the Hausa, in *Rural Housa: A village and its setting*. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press. 1972, Ch. 5.

## WORKING AND EARNING IN RURAL UGANDA:

Table 3.4: Earnings per Month of the Young Men in the Three Villages Controlling Educational Level by Age (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3)

Earnings	Kalunga			Bugadu			Olulu		
	Primary			Up to P4			Up to P4		
	-20	21+		-21	22+		-21	22+	
-50/=	47%	40%	10	81%	64%	20	71%	47%	17
51/=+	53%	60%	12	19%	36%	7	29%	53%	12
	17	5	22	16	11	27	14	15	29
	e = 7			e = 17			e = 24		

Earnings	Kalunga			Bugadu			Olulu		
	Secondary			Above P5			Above P5		
	-20	21+		-21	22+		-21	22+	
-50/=	50%	-	4	73%	28%	16	33%	29%	3
51/=+	50%	100%	11	27%	72%	17	67%	71%	7
	8	7	17	15	18	33	3	7	10
	e = 50			e = 45			e = 4		

If rural jobs are separated along the dimension of agricultural versus non-agricultural jobs, what happens to the relationship between formal education and earning? (It should be remembered that the standard of education we are talking about is generally low). Does education have an impact on agricultural earnings or not? Is education more important in boosting earnings in the non-agricultural jobs? Formal education did not seem to increase earnings significantly in agriculture for these samples. In fact in Olulu the highest incomes from farming were earned by those with no education, (see Table 3.5). In Kalunga those with primary five to seven education earned less in agriculture than those who left school before primary five. The data is inconclusive as the samples are small, but there is no support here for the hypothesis that education increases agricultural performance. The key factors that do affect earnings from the farm will be discussed in the next section.

Table 3.5: Agricultural Incomes by Levels of Education in the Three Areas. Monthly incomes for Kalunga in Bugadu and Olulu Annual Incomes from Crops for 1970; Males Only.

<u>Kalunga</u>	<u>Zero</u>	<u>P1-P4</u>	<u>P5-P7</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1 - 5/=	60%	36%	39%	19%	19 (33%)
6 - 20/=	-	9%	19%	6%	8 (14%)
21 - 40/=	40%	18%	13%	31%	11 (19%)
41 - 70/=	-	18%	6%	25%	8 (14%)
70/= +	-	18%	22%	19%	12 (20%)
n =	5	11	31	16	58
Mean	1.8	2.72	2.55	3.19	
<u>Bugadu</u>					
-20/=	33%	13%	7%	18%	11 (11%)
21 - 50/=	56%	22%	10%	-	21 (22%)
51 - 100/=	11%	22%	13%	27%	20 (21%)
101 - 200/=	-	22%	30%	36%	25 (26%)
201 - 300/=	-	9%	27%	9%	10 (10%)
301 - 400/=	-	9%	7%	-	5 (5%)
401/= +	-	4%	7%	9%	4 (4%)
n =	9	23	53	11	96
Mean	1.77	3.35	3.56	3.46	
<u>Olulu</u>					
-20/=	14%	13%	26%	-	8 (19%)
21 - 50/=	14%	33%	26%	-	11 (26%)
51 - 100/=	14%	13%	21%	-	7 (17%)
101 - 200/=	-	13%	10%	1	5 (12%)
201 - 300/=	14%	-	-	-	1 (2%)
301 - 400/=	14%	7%	5%	-	3 (7%)
401/= +	29%	20%	10%	-	7 (17%)
n =	7	15	19	1	42
Mean	4.71	3.73	3.00		

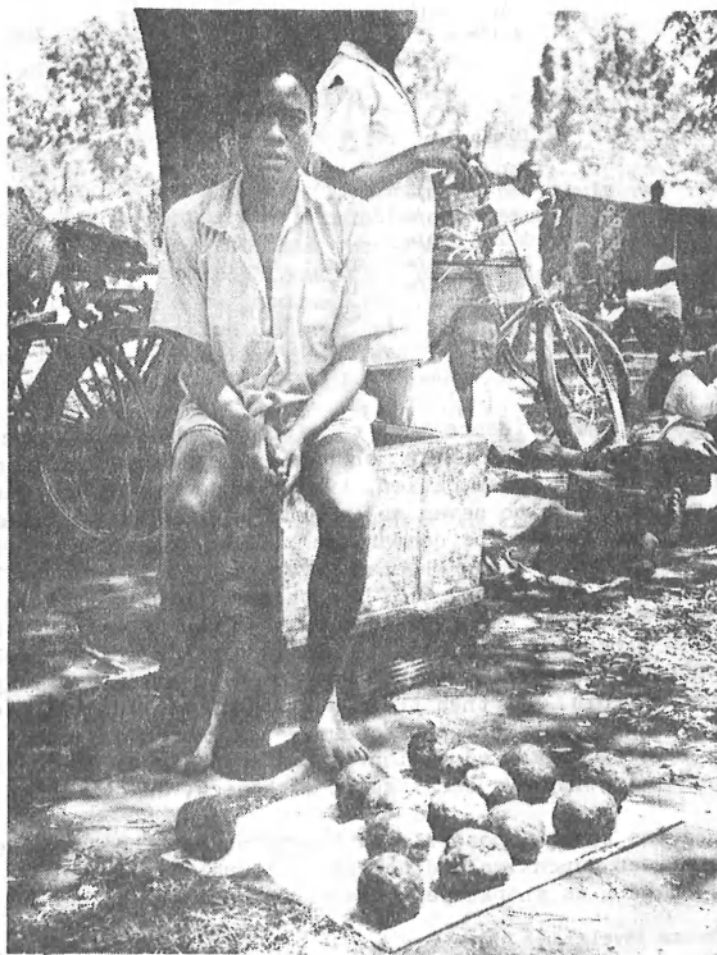
There is some evidence that education does increase incomes in rural non-agricultural jobs. For example, there were eighty-two males working as traders in Bugadu; eleven had no education, twenty-eight had up to primary four, thirty-eight had primary five to seven and eight had had some secondary education. Using mean income levels for comparison<sup>2</sup> it was found that incomes rise from a mean level of 1.63 for those who had never been to school, to 3.18 for those with up to primary four education, 3.67 for those with primary five to seven education and 4.63 for those who have been further than primary. Education does seem to have a bearing on income levels in certain non-agricultural activities in Bugadu and the same relationship was found to hold in Kalunga. It was not significant in Olulu, but then the numbers employed outside farming there are small and most wage jobs are short term. Far more work needs to be done, looking at the role of formal education in different types of rural jobs, for example does education improve earnings in mechanics, in building, in butchery?

There are several possible explanations for the positive relationship indicated between education and non-agricultural employment. For example many of these jobs such as shopkeeper, trader or taxi driver demand rudimentary book-

<sup>2</sup> Mean income levels were calculated by giving a value to each income level. In Bugadu and Olulu the calculations were made using 8 levels as these were earning more than 500 shillings in 1970 from crops. In Table 3.5 only seven levels are shown as these have been combined in the 401/= + level.



keeping, skills for filling out forms and reading them; basic numeracy and literacy. Other jobs such as school teacher or clerk clearly demand formal education and similarly these jobs have higher rewards attached to them. Secondly many non-agricultural jobs depend on building up customers and a network of contacts. Young people who have been to school perhaps have more contacts and a greater confidence in relating to strangers than those who have little or no education. This is especially true for those who have left the village to attend primary or secondary school. In Kalunga part of the relationship between formal education and higher earnings in non-agricultural rural jobs can certainly be explained by the fact that those with more education who live in the village have greater access to the available rural formal jobs. The secondary school leavers dominate the rural formal sector, they find jobs in dispensary, law courts and on the Government farm. Their education gives them access to formal jobs; these jobs in turn pay much higher wages than the informal jobs. The only formal jobs open to those with less than secondary education were portering jobs, and the wages for these were quite low.



SELLING HOMEMADE SOAP IN BUGADU

A fourth explanation related to this finding is that those youth with more education tend not to go into agriculture full time, but diversify and seek out other job opportunities. For young people rewards in agriculture are low, so if they can find jobs in trading or hairdressing or something similar they can increase their earnings.

This data is preliminary. The samples were small and only one or two youth were carrying out exactly similar jobs and it was not possible to control all other variables to test the relationship; there is a crying need for more research here. From our study the exact role of formal education is not clear, but it does seem to be relevant for those employed in non-agricultural rural jobs. This has important implications for educational planning, where the present tendency is to encourage a limiting of formal education because there are few urban wage jobs for the school leavers to fill.

Formal education is concerned essentially with skills in mathematics, reading and writing, as well as certain social skills. Many of the jobs which the young people do in the villages demand skills that are not learned in school. The acquiring and mastering of these skills are crucial in enabling someone to carry out a task; this vital education which is learnt outside school is another factor affecting access to jobs and success within a job. Informal education includes for example the art of making a stool, brewing beer, trading, building a house, sewing a kanzu, planting seeds and harvesting, photography, watch repair or carpentry. It covers all the skills required to carry out a job which are not taught in school. These skills are learnt in the community, parents are key figures in informal education; grandparents, siblings, other relatives and friends are all potential teachers. Skills are often acquired through observation, by working with someone on a specific task or by imitation. Unfortunately it is hard to study access to informal education or to measure who has learnt how many skills in the community and from whom, but from the data we were able to gather it became clear that most rural jobs can only be undertaken after a skill has been mastered and that the young people had to learn this skill in the village. Parents and relatives are important in teaching skills and those children who come from large families and whose relatives carry out several kinds of specialised jobs have more chance of acquiring a useful skill, than the children of men who only farm. Access to the techniques required for doing specific jobs affect access to rural employment and performance within a job. The role of informal education will become clearer in the case studies, but it is an area which we only touched upon and where understanding is as yet limited.<sup>3</sup>

Another factor that influences the level of earnings is access to employment opportunities outside the village in the nearby trading centres, institutions or even urban areas, while still living in the village. For males in all

<sup>3</sup> C.C. Wallace, *Youth in rural Buganda: A study of their education and employment*. Kampala, Makerere University. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1973. Ch. 4 on informal education.

three areas there is tendency for those who work outside the village to earn higher wages. This is exaggerated in Kalunga because those who worked outside the village were predominantly in formal employment, but from the data from Bugadu and Olulu it seems that even within the informal sector there is more chance of earning more than fifty shillings a month if employment is found outside the village.

Table 3.6: Earning of the Young Men Living in Bugadu and Olulu in 1971, by the Location of Their Job.

Earnings	Bugadu			Olulu		
	Village	Out		Village	Out	
-50/=	73%	54%	36	60%	37%	19
51/= +	27%	46%	24	40%	63%	20
	44	26	60	20	19	39
	e = 19			e = 23		

By living in the village the young men maintain the advantages of free housing, growing their own food and free water, while by travelling out of the village to larger villages, trading centres or even sometimes to town they are able to exploit opportunities there which are not found in the village, and earn more money in the relatively wealthier urban areas. The main expense they incur is transport, but this is usually solved by owning or borrowing a bicycle. The brief cases illustrate the potential of this pattern of work and residence.

*Wateulu* is a Bugadu youth who travels to Tororo on his bike to sell bananas. He is a young man with no education who has managed to build up a contact in town where he has a private tender to supply a hotel with bananas. In 1971 he was able to demand a fixed price of 7/85 for a large bunch of lusuku regardless of the price he had paid for it, so if he bought a bunch for 2/50 in the village (a reasonable price) he was able to make more than five shillings profit per bunch. Every trip he made he carried six bunches, thus earning up to thirty shillings or more per visit. As he often returned carrying maize for beer brewing his profit was higher than this. He made the trip three times a week, and by transporting bananas to town he was able to exploit a market in bananas which did not exist in his home area.

*Kato* leaves Kalunga daily by bicycle to go to a neighbouring village which stands on a busy cross roads where there are several 'hotelis' and dukas serving the needs of the passengers that come through on the buses and taxis. Here he can earn more than a hundred shillings a month in the dry season, hauling water for the hotelis. The demand for water in Kalunga is limited as there are no large shops or institutions, but by leaving the village he is able to find a job which substantially boosts his monthly income.

Age, sex, formal education, informal education and place of work all have an influence on employment opportunities and earnings. Two further variables should be considered in relation to earnings before turning to study the interplay of factors in agriculture and non-agricultural jobs; these are occupational pluralism and family background.

Young people who have more than one job at a time or who have a sequence of jobs over the year according to the season increase their overall incomes. For example in Bugadu (where two-thirds of the young men held more than one job) forty-five per cent of those doing two or more jobs earned over fifty shillings a month, only twenty-six per cent of those with a single job earned that much. Occupational pluralism is common in Bugadu and Kalunga where there are a wide variety of rural job opportunities, fewer youth in Olulu held a range of jobs and for the few who did it had little impact on their earnings. Occupational pluralism can take many forms, for example a young man might be involved in agriculture, beer brewing, trading what he has grown in the market and occasionally digging for others in the village for a small wage. By doing more than one job a young person can increase his income. This is an important point because many writers assume occupational monism which means underemployment and low incomes, but in areas where economic activity is diverse it seems that the young men capitalise on their opportunities and many carry out several jobs at once, thus keeping busy and making money.

*Wamanga* left school after only two years because his father refused to pay his school fees. After he left he started to work for his father's brother as a fishmonger, travelling through South Bugisu visiting the village markets. Because he was earning less than twenty shillings a month he left his job and started farming. In 1968, after his circumcision and the death of his father, he received two acres of land, here he planted food for subsistence and fifty *arabica* coffee trees. He also had an acre of cotton which yielded a small yearly income. In addition to farming, much of which is now done by his wife, he works as a ploughman for an employer who pays him 35/- a month to work the oxen in the fields. He also brews beer, a skill he learnt from his uncle and between these different jobs earns over 70 shillings a month, which satisfies him. 'It is the only work I know of and where I get my income. If I do well in agriculture life will be good.'

*Matovu* left school in 1969 after completing primary six, and was apprenticed to the local builder in the village. After he had acquired sufficient skill in plastering he left the builder as his wages were low and irrationally paid and set up his own business. In 1971 he was working as a plasterer, a job he did whenever he was called, negotiating the price for the job with each customer. He usually spent two or three days a week doing this in Kalunga and surrounding villages, when he was not engaged on this work he used to dig his shamba on his grandmother's land. As well as selling vegetables from his farm he also raised chickens and ducks for sale. He also traded from time to time when he saw a good opportunity, for example when there was a second funeral he set up a coca-cola stand for the thirsty guests!

The final factor to be discussed here concerns family background and social stratification. From two years of contact with the three villages it became clear that in each village there was a handful of influential families whose socio-economic situation enabled them to give their children certain advantages on the employment market; for example more education, more land, a wider range of contacts, and a certain amount of capital or at least credit. In the previous chapter it was seen that parents with more education give their children more chance of receiving education, here we want to show that family status and wealth influence job changes. We will illustrate this by discussing the top families in each village.

In each village there were a few families who were recognised by all to be influential, and relatively wealthy. Usually the heads of these families had held wage jobs in the 1930's and 1940's in the army, police or colonial administration. They had been able to accumulate capital from their regular income which they had used to buy land, to start businesses and educate their children. Many of them ran more than one home. There were ten such families in Kalunga, eight in Bugadu and six in Olulu. We want to show the advantages of coming from such a family by using a few case studies.

*Mr. Musoke* served in the army when he was a young man and returned home to Kalunga in the mid-forties to buy a large coffee farm in the village and build a block house. Later he purchased a lorry and in 1970 he was running a thriving transport business. All his many children go to school and when his eldest daughters failed to get a place in Government secondary school he was able to pay for them to attend elite private schools in Kampala. When one of them failed her senior four exams, he bought her a second chance, she repeated the year and managed to get a place in Higher school.

*Mr. Kyome* had primary six education and managed to get a job in an insurance company many years ago. He has been earning a regular salary for years and with the money he runs two large farms and two households, one in Kalunga and one twenty miles away. On one farm he grows matoke for sale, on the other he has chickens, pigs and a large herd of cows. All his children as they grow up go to secondary school. When the eldest son left school after senior four and failed to find the job he wanted in forestry, Mr. Kyome gave him some land and some pigs to start farming, while looking for a suitable wage job.

<sup>4</sup> The question of social stratification in relation to success has not been dealt with statistically, nor has it been analysed in great detail. The reasons for this are essentially that it was not possible to get enough details about the economic position of a man in the village. He often had more than one job which he chose not to disclose, if he had another household outside the village we were unable to assess the size of his land there or the scale of his house, he may have had wage jobs in the past which he did not report. For poll tax purposes he understates his acreage and income from coffee. A great deal of time and effort was spent trying to draw up scales of economic wealth to be used as an index, although some of them looked impressive we were aware that they suffered too many shortcomings to be of value. Rather than present inadequate data it seemed better to look at the facts about social stratification that we could see. Until an adequate index of rural wealth is developed it is not possible to measure social differentiation statistically. Polly Hill found this in her study of the Hausa, *op. cit.*

The other conspicuously wealthy and influential men in the village either owned a duka or a bar, or a transport lorry and they were all able to use their money to buy education for their children, to finance their children in self-employment and to use their influence to help them to find jobs. The children of these men have more of a chance to succeed, though of course not all of them do. Some of the men in the village who used to have capital are now poor due to political changes (e.g. the 1966 Buganda crisis), bad luck in farming or irresponsible children.

There were eight families which stood out as the rural elite of Bugadu. The heads of these families held jobs such as county chief, medical assistant and shop owner. They had all been in wage employment or lucrative self-employment for many years. For example *Mr. Lusweti* was the largest land owner in the area having thirty acres of land. He started work in the 1930's as an agricultural assistant and was able to save money to invest in his farm. His older children were busy in trading and one had a thriving business in Mbale. In 1970 he had one young son of eighteen who was in the sample and his experience illustrates well the role that a wealthy father can play in enhancing opportunities. *Takhuli* finished primary seven in 1969 and when his father refused to pay for him to repeat or to go to a private secondary school, he turned his attention to farming. His father gave him the use of some fertile land by the river which was excellent for growing crops such as sugar cane, cabbages, tomatoes, onions and peppers. With help from his father and much advice he began to farm very successfully, and in 1971 a research assistant wrote of him,

Having resorted to farming, he now works so hard that a few people around have been saying 'He will be like his father - working day and night'. Already within half a year he has got some money from the plot allotted to him. He has grown some sugar canes which are still very young. He sowed some peas which met a very high demand and consequently he has gained a lot from them already. Having uprooted all the peas for selling he planted some cabbages. At the moment his cabbages have done so well that he is very proud of them. His coffee plants of last year may do well this year as he is cleaning the garden. He proposes to plant some maize if the weather is favourable and also if his father shows him somewhere to plant.

When *Takhuli* 'wombed' a girl in 1971 and refused to accept any responsibility for this, his father decided to encourage him to "settle down" and bought him some land in a village three miles away and gave him one thousand shillings for building a house. Few youth in Bugadu can hope to have such benefits passed on to them so easily. *Lusweti* has been able to pass on his advantages to his sons, and through them to his grandchildren some of whom had already been to secondary school and were busy becoming traders.

The first girl from the village to complete secondary school came from

another of the wealthy families. She was the daughter of a man who had held a job as a trained health assistant, he had five wives and forty children and nearly all his children, most of whom are still young attend school. His eldest son also completed secondary education.

In Olulu the six heads of households who are noticeably better off have all had formal jobs: a senior medical assistant, a preacher, a county chief, a sub-county chief, a clerk, and a shopkeeper. All these men have access to good land, they own cattle, and they have been able to give their children an education. The senior medical assistant has sent four children through secondary school, and one of his daughters had completed teacher training and had a job outside the village as a well-paid primary school teacher, one of the few girls from Olulu to make it into the formal sector. One of the pastor's sons had been to university, the only person in the whole sample to reach there.

These men have larger acreages of land than others in the village and are able to help their children to get established in agriculture in a way that poorer men cannot. In West Nile a mother's brother can also help a young person to find more opportunities and so these men offer increased chances not only to their own children but also to certain of their relatives, children of their sisters.

Social differentiation is an important aspect of rural societies in Uganda. In the past it was based in particular on kinship and age; and in Buganda it was determined by one's relationship to the Kabaka. Since the colonial period new patterns of social differentiation have been introduced based on formal education and entering new kinds of employment. This process of stratification by formal education and employment continues today. The young people in the sample who have more formal education and find formal jobs tend to come from those families whose fathers had some education and a wage job. These youth can use their education to get jobs which have a steady salary, they can then accumulate capital and at a later date they may acquire land, expand their holdings, build houses and start businesses, thus continuing the patterns of inequality that already exist. They in turn will be in a position to buy education for their children and to see that they have certain advantages that other children do not have.

Older males, with more education, who do more than one job or work outside the village are more likely to earn better wages in the rural areas than those who are under 20, or female, working only in the village in one job. Children whose parents have education and money often have an advantage and are cushioned from the hardships that face most of the young people who have no access to money to finance new projects or withstand losses, who have little land or infertile land, and who cannot afford to use new methods or buy new seeds.

Those young people who have formal jobs, or who work in non-agricultural informal employment earn more than those who only farm. In the next sections

we discuss more specifically the way in which the factors referred to here and other variables affect success, firstly in farming and secondly in non-agricultural jobs, as it is clear that different skills and qualifications are needed to succeed in the two different kinds of jobs.

#### Agricultural Involvement

Earnings from agriculture for the youth in our sample are low. Approximately three-quarters of the young people whose main source of income is farming earned less than fifty shillings a month in 1970 and 1971. This was true in all three areas as can be seen in Table 3.7 where earnings in agriculture are contrasted with non-agricultural incomes.

Table 3.7: Monthly Agricultural Incomes Compared to Non-Agricultural Incomes for Kalunga (1970) and Bugadu and Olulu (1971), Males and Females for Main Job.

Earnings	Kalunga		Bugadu			Olulu			
	Agric.	Non-agric.	Agric.	Non-agric.	Agric.	Non-agric.			
-50/=	77%	40%	34	71%	56%	56	74%	50%	56
51/= +	23%	60%	31	29%	44%	34	25%	50%	27
	22	43	65	38	52	90	61	22	83

It is not our purpose to describe the problems of agriculture or agricultural development in Uganda, the interested reader can refer to *Agriculture in Uganda*.<sup>5</sup> Our concern is to look at the way in which certain factors improve or retard the farming successes of these young people. In the last chapter the importance of access to land was stressed, most youths do have the use of land, most of them can expect to own land when they are older. Those young people whose parents own a lot of land obviously have greater access to good farm land and have a distinct advantage. Apart from this key variable, there seem to be four factors which are crucial in affecting agricultural incomes for young people between the ages of 13 and 25. These are age, marriage, the type of crops that can be grown and access to cash for implementing modern methods of farming.

Labour is a vital input for farming; clearing, planting, weeding, thinning and harvesting all demand time and hard work. For many young people the effort required, especially at certain times of the year, is too great for the financial returns and they do not embark on serious farming until they have a wife to support and they start to raise a family. The impetus to do well in agriculture is much greater after they marry, especially because they have a wife to help them with the work. After marriage their agricultural incomes begin to rise.

The second factor is related to age and marriage. In rural societies where principles of gerontocracy are still important older men tend to control the more lucrative crops. For example in Olulu only seven youth were growing tobacco and the one who had the most lucrative crop was Zaa a young man whose

<sup>5</sup> J.D. Jameson, *ea.* *Agriculture in Uganda*. London. Oxford University Press. 1970.



father had died in 1968 leaving Zaa his fields. Anyaku earned the next highest income from tobacco, he was twenty-five and had already been married for seven years and had many children. Only as they get older, or if they inherit young, can the young men in Olulu expect to grow tobacco, as the number of growers and master growers is tightly controlled by the co-operative. Tobacco is the most rewarding crop in West Nile, cotton is a minor cash crop, though some of the young men have access to cotton land in Madi county, but as it is located forty miles from the village usually only older boys travel there.

In Bugadu a similar situation exists with respect to *arabica* coffee. Only twenty-eight youth had incomes from coffee in 1970 and 80 per cent of them earned less than two hundred shillings a year from their coffee. These are very small amounts compared to the incomes of the older coffee farmers in the village who can earn hundreds or even thousands of shillings a year. The young people in Bugisu do not have access to large acres of land for growing coffee, and even those young people who decide to plant small plots of coffee have to wait four or five years for the first crop, so coffee incomes do not really start until the youth are older.

The youth can grow cotton in Bugadu and eighty youth did so in 1970, but the incomes are very low, less than a hundred shillings a year for most of them. The young people often grow a little cotton to earn some cash for Christmas; but with all the work it requires they prefer to earn money by trading or wage employment until they have a wife to help them to dig.

In Kalunga the same story holds, the young men are not eligible to join the coffee co-operative, so they do not have access to cheaper fertiliser, small loans, or a share in the coffee profits. The young men do not start to plant coffee until they have married and built a house and are settled because coffee is a permanent crop and until they marry they are often mobile. Earnings from coffee become increasingly significant from the mid-twenties onwards.

It is only as a young man gets older and when he has married, that he is allowed to join the co-operative and is able to start growing important cash crops. Those three factors all influence his earnings from farming. A fourth factor is whether he has access to capital or ready cash with which to improve his stock or seeds, to hire a tractor or ox plough, to buy pesticides, or to carry him over the crisis of a drought or a poor harvest.

A few cases from Kalunga should serve to illustrate the kinds of problems these young men face, and what factors aid them to succeed or cause them to fail. No male under twenty made more than seventy shillings a month from farming, and of the five in the village who did earn this much three were married and had other jobs as well to supplement their incomes. One made kanzus, one was a night watchman and one was a part-time clerk in the coffee co-operative in the village. They all had some cash available for fertilising and spraying their crops. Although they were too young to join the co-operative they were just starting to plant coffee trees. They made their incomes from selling tomatoes, onions, ntula and other vegetables in the trading centre five miles away or in town. Their wives all spent a lot of time working on the shamba.

The two boys who were unmarried and earning over seventy shillings a month both had their own land. One lived and worked with his father, the two of them lived alone at one end of the village and worked their land, growing coffee, tomatoes and matoke. They bought fertiliser and pesticides for their coffee and tomatoes and mulched their bananas and made a good income from agriculture. The other young man was originally from Masaka district, the son of a wealthy man who had given him one-and-a-half acres of fertile land plus some chickens and two cows. He came to Kalunga to help his uncle on his farm and while he was away his mother and grandmother were tending his shamba and animals, making nearly a hundred shillings a month from selling milk and tomatoes, and a few eggs. He inherited both land and livestock which enabled him to earn money from farming, also he was helped by the labour of his relatives.

Two examples serve to demonstrate the problems involved in earning money from agriculture for youth who are less fortunate, who do not have enough capital to carry them over a crisis, or who have no one to help them dig or who find the market unfavourable to the crops they are able to grow. *Kalibbala* was a young man of twenty, the eldest in a family of thirteen. Although his grandfather owned a lot of mailo land, his father was poor, he had never been successful in his farming. *Kalibbala* left school after senior three both because there was no money for fees and because he was afraid of failing the examinations the following year. His father gave him three acres of land and *Kalibbala* borrowed some money from an aunt and started what he refers to as his 'modern farming.' He went to the agricultural officer at the trading centre to ask for advice. He was given a loan and told to hire a tractor to plough his land and plant one acre of sweet potatoes and one of beans. He spent five months planting, weeding and watching over his crops and he harvested five sacks of *lumonde* which he took to town by taxi, only to find that the 'farmers were flowing in like rain.' The market was flooded, his crop had come to maturity at the same time as everyone else's and he was forced to sell at a low price, making almost no profit. He was a little more successful with the beans, but by the time he had repaid his loan he made no money.

*Kalibbala* can clearly see that in order to make money from farming he must be able to store his crops until the price rises, or irrigate so that the crops come to fruition out of season. He does not have the capital to implement these ideas though. A third alternative for making money in agriculture seemed to him to lie in growing large acreage of coffee and matoke, but he did not have the land to try this out. He was very downcast by his failure and sought a job in the primary school to start rebuilding his financial base.

*Ssentongo* left private school after secondary two and transferred to a Government farm school where the fees were lower. He left there with certificates in farming, and other practical skills and found a job running an experimental demonstration farm about fifty miles from home. After he married, his father gave him land in Kalunga and he returned home with his wife and got a job at the Government farm. He wanted to start raising cattle but because of taxes, building a house, low income from his job and living expenses, he does not have

any money to buy good stock. Although he has six acres of land he does not have any capital to plough it by tractor and the only labour inputs are a porter, his wife, and himself in the evenings. He has purchased matoke suckers and has started growing bananas for sale, but other seeds he gets from his father and they are not of a good quality. He cannot afford to use pesticides or fertilizer, so although he is fully aware of the potential income to be made from farming his lack of capital and labour prevent him from realising a good income. In 1971 he was only able to grow enough food for home use. He did plant one hundred and fifty coffee trees that same year, in the future he should be able to earn money from his land, but less than he would like to and less than he could earn if he had more resources to put into his farming.

Another example of a youth who is deeply involved in his village, in agriculture and other activities is *Kudosi* in Bugadu. *Kudosi*'s main work is as a sub-grade teacher at one of the local parent run self-help primary schools - a job he still held after seven years in 1972. But *Kudosi* is also a farmer, and a trader. At 25 in 1971 he was not married, but admitted to having had seven "temporary wives". He had gone as far as form one at a Government day secondary school in Mbale, but had to drop out in 1965 because he could not raise the fees. That year he turned to farming "very seriously" and in 1966 he started his informal teaching job at 50/- a month. In 1970 he bought from his savings one-and-a-half acres of land. He expects some day to inherit from his father three more acres. On both parcels his "serious farming" has included (1970 incomes) 246/- from two acres of cotton, 160/- from two acres of millet (using the same land as the cotton was on), 200/- from 45 coffee trees, 70/- from bananas, 80/- from an acre of maize, and 40/- from sugar cane: a total of 796 shillings for the year from his crops. From a *guka* in his window where he traded occasionally he made an additional profit of about 20 shillings a month.

#### Non-Agricultural Activities

Access to land and good cash crops, having a wife to help on the farm, having money to improve methods, these are perhaps the most crucial elements in successful farming for the young people. Although many of them see the potential for earning money in agriculture, all too often they are hampered by a lack of labour, no advice from the agricultural experts, lack of money to implement changes or expand their farms, inefficient marketing facilities for selling their produce and an inability to store goods to get a higher price. Age is such a significant factor relating to marriage, access to land and to lucrative cash crops that few young people in these samples could earn much from farming. They found more opportunities for earning money in non-agricultural activities. What were the key factors that affected success and failure in these jobs? Which jobs were the most rewarding in the three areas.

In Bugadu there is money to be made in trading. *Lukholo* was a regular market trader. He was 22 in 1971, married, with one child. He left school

after completing primary six because his father refused to pay for him to repeat. He was circumcised in 1966 but did not receive an acre of land until he was married. Though he has been digging for pocket money since he left school when he was sixteen, farming has always been a minor activity for him, and in 1970 he earned only ten shillings from a few coffee trees and sixty shillings from cotton. Lukholo was first and foremost a trader, and a very specialized one. For five years he had been roasting and selling meat in the market. He was there every market day. During 31 separate market days for which we gathered data the least he made was 18/60. His greatest profit (above the cost of meat, charcoal, etc.) was 42/75. He also made himself available in the evening to roast chicken for the customers at the new modern bar, and he made between 8 and 20/- profit in an evening from this activity. Lukholo's success as a met roaster was well known, and when he was drunk he was heard to boast, "even if they offered me a job at 300/- shillings a month outside of Bugadu I would not accept it." He was the most experienced of the young meat roasters, and had a reputation for giving the biggest pieces, thereby maintaining a competitive edge.



MAKING PARAFFIN CANDLES AT MBALE MARKET

*Khanga* was another youth who had devoted his energies to trading. He completed primary seven in 1966 and though he was accepted at a boarding school he did not go because he could not raise the fees. He had a vivacious and outgoing personality, and was well liked in the village. His mother died in 1956 when he was eight, and he grew up independently of his father, with no siblings. His home was on the main road near the Friday weekly market, and this favourable

location benefited his various activities. He began trading in bananas when he was still in school. He also sold beer (kwete) and sugar canes, a common item for school boys to trade in. For a while he sold *mandazi* at a friend's hotel. His first major venture in trading started in 1969 when he borrowed a few hundred shillings from a wealthy brother of his deceased mother. With this he bought dried fish from Lake Victoria and sold it at the market. His profit the first market day was 50%, one hundred shillings. But after this his income slowly declined, and the number of people who had bought from him without paying increased in his account book, until his uncollected debts became greater than his capital and he was unable to continue trading. His next ventures in 1970 and 1971 were brief ones but highly lucrative. He was able to borrow again and with the money purchased a truck load of local sugar cane at a very low price from a man who had a good crop in one of the river valleys in the village. He hired a truck and transported the sugar cane to Moroto in Karamoja where he was able to turn a 100% profit above cost. Learning from this trading venture he next invested in purchasing coffee from small holders on the slopes of Mt. Elgon about a dozen miles away where during the rainy season the cloud cover and wetness made it impossible for them to dry their coffee. These farmers were happy to sell for half the value. Khanga then transported the coffee to Bugadu where he dried it on racks in front of his house, and then sold it at nearly a 100% profit to the local cooperative society. From the accumulated capital from these various activities Khanga built a new and larger house with a tin roof, and devoted a quarter of it to a duka with a proper entrance and shelves and counter - not selling out of a window like most youth. He was now in competition with the two large and well-established dukas on the cross roads not far away. His starting stock was worth about 500/-.

But he was not satisfied with this, and he began to fill a vacuum created by a shift in trading patterns at the weekly market. There had been traders who came from the towns on motorcycles to sell textiles and used clothes at the market, but when in 1971 it was discovered that these Ugandans were employed by Asians to conduct this business the local chiefs refused them access to the markets. Khanga began to trade in used clothes on market days. Through a network of friends he learned a novel way to do this, about once a fortnight or so he would take Uganda made sweets to Eldoret (Kenya) where they were sold to an Asian at a small profit and with the Kenya currency acquired he then bought used clothes at half their Uganda value and transported these back to the village. Again his profit was more than 100%.

Khanga saw his future in the village as a trader. With his first earnings he bought one acre of bananas, and he stands to inherit 8 acres from his father, this land his wife will work.

These two traders were very successful, but perhaps exceptional, not many young men made such a profit from trading. Both of these boys in addition to being male, were over twenty, had primary education and came from reasonably well-established families who were able to lend them money to start new projects and to carry them over times of failure. They both had a drive to work and a

lively imagination, they saw potential where others did not, they were able to try out their ideas and exploit the opportunities well.



LOADING BANANAS IN BUGADU

All youth have "equal access" to the Friday market at Bugadu, but few availed themselves of this opportunity on a regular basis. Lack of capital, absence of things grown or made to sell, a collapse of a network through which items were sold, the general decline and rise of "business" common to petty shilling capitalism throughout the world, are some of the factors that account for this. A young carpenter may not have his chairs and tables ready to sell every market day. A youth who sells from a tiny shop may not have the desire or stamina to pack up his wares and carry them two miles to the market to sell them every market day, or he may feel he's made enough in sales this week that he doesn't need to go to the market. Not all the young people want to expend so much energy in making money. Many of them fail to do so well for more personal reasons, they enter one economic activity only to have it fail, then they bounce back again and try another, which may fail, so they go on to something else. An example of this is *Mupalya*.

*Mupalya* had a small duka in a window of his hut in an isolated part of the village. He had a marginal business, so to augment his earnings he used to carry some of his wares to the Friday market to try and sell them there. But through mismanagement his duka and trading at the market in duka items collapsed.

His profits vanished in drinking and impressing temporary wives to such a degree that he just could not keep the business going, having consumed his capital. He then sold what was left to another trader and with the capital acquired launched into another venture as a matoke buyer and seller. But he didn't like this heavy and dirty work, so he stopped it and joined an older brother as a fishmonger. Mupalya's lot as a trader has had its ups and downs, but it is his personal life that makes it difficult for any of his operations to have more than a temporary blush of success.

Other youth struggle because they have such limited resources, the scale of their economic activity is small and they have no way of acquiring money to put into their business. For example *Nangai* a youth who "discontinued himself from school because of poor academic performance, wants to settle and start farming and marry in the near future". *Nangai* also traded, but although he has been enterprising in a variety of marginal activities, he only earned a few shillings a month. At the market he was the sugar cane seller, but his profit was usually only four or five shillings a Friday. When his crops like tomatoes or cabbages were ready he sold them at the market. In addition to these irregular activities he also has been an occasional trader in eggs, walking around the village buying up an egg here, and an egg there at fifteen cents each and then selling them for twenty cents each, making a profit of a shilling or two for his efforts. *Nangai* was given a cow on circumcision and he milks it twice daily and sells the milk at forty cents a litre. Because his cash income was so low and he came from a relatively poor family he was unable to expand any of these jobs into more viable businesses.

In Kalunga the best rural opportunities lie in formal employment, as a teacher, clerk or government labourer, and in informal jobs such as a teacher, or self-employed builder, or a driver. Young men succeed as salaried primary school teachers and by perseverance improve their skills and find promotion, others work as self-employed builders and manage to find clients and collect their debts, yet others sew kanzus for which there is a steady selling market in Kampala. Taxi driving is always remunerative, though it needs a vast capital outlay at the beginning. Older males, with education, often those who have worked outside the village, even in formal jobs and have some capital do better in self-employment than the others. Those who become self-employed earn more than those who, because they are young or have no specific skill or financial resources, have to take informal wage employment - these rural jobs such as pork roaster, ayah, beer seller carry very low wages indeed (often 20 to 40/- a month). Often the employer fails to pay their wages, or he may stop the job because of a lack of customers. Even for those who manage to break out of this very poor informal rural wage employment into self-employment some fail to survive or make very much money.

<sup>6</sup> It seemed to us from our observations that the much bemoaned fact that many people do the same job on a small scale, was not because the available market was necessarily so small, but rather because many of the youth simply could not afford to expand their business and therefore there was a need for many people to do the same job, because none of them alone could expand sufficiently to supply all the demand.

*Muhumba* left a private secondary school after failing his school certificate exam. In 1970 he studied at home and repeated the exams again, but failed a second time. He then set about looking for a job. His father allowed him to pick some of his coffee and sell it to make money for transport. He eventually found a job at the Government farm as a labourer earning 150/- per month. He started saving money and he used his savings to buy a camera and to set up a photography business in the village, using a skill he had learned in a club at school. He also planted out a bed of tomatoes which he weeded and sprayed with great care.

Unfortunately the returns from his photography were severely limited by a lack of initial capital and because the customers did not pay the bills. Although he only charged three shillings per picture the cash was rarely available and the customers always asked for credit. As many of them were older than him, or his friends or relatives he was unable to demand immediate payment. His tomatoes became infected and he quickly ran out of working capital with which to keep his activities going. In 1972 he seized a new opportunity when a friend of his started a watch-repair stall in the bus park in Kampala. He gathered up the last of his capital, less than a hundred shillings, and went to try his luck in town.

There are far fewer non-agricultural job opportunities in Olulu and earnings were even lower. The same factors seemed important for doing well, being male, older, in self-employment, having access to capital and skills. One example is *Akiki* who at 18 in 1969 had finished six years of schooling in the local primary school. He had hoped to become a policeman, but wasn't able to continue his education as he hadn't passed the leaving examination well enough and had no funds for a private school. Through a friend he got a job in 1970 as the cashier at 100/- per month at a bar at the nearby trading centre. He worked at this job for a few months but left it as it gave him no free time to cultivate the acre of land his uncle had let him use. He had saved some money to put into his agriculture and *Akiki* was more interested in the field work in the village, being self-employed, his own boss, than in the steady income of the wage job in the bar. When he applied himself to his "field work" he was able to reap an average profit of 83 shillings a month on average. In addition in 1971 he was trading in fish in Arua town, an activity which netted him an additional 40 shillings a month, giving him some cash to invest in his farm. He planned to stay in Olulu village and hoped to own a shop when he was older.

Age, sex, education, family background and access to skills and credit, the ability to collect debts, enthusiasm and drive are some of the factors that affect earnings in non-agricultural informal employment. Earnings are generally low, people employed in these jobs have no Government help, no access to loans and serve a low income market. Within the confines of this rural poverty though the youth seek out and exploit the job opportunities, some succeed and some fail. Not all the relevant factors can be measured or analysed, and before leaving this discussion it is important to note that the picture is further complicated by non-rational factors. Natural hazards, chance and bad luck play their part. In West Nile a woman's house accidentally burns down leaving



her destitute. A youth loses his job because his employer has taken on his older sister as his concubine, and when he expells the sister he also fires the youth. A youth is forced to leave school because his step-mother takes all the fees for her children. A job ends because the employer dies. Life chances are affected in what may seem to be arbitrary ways. Illness is all pervasive. A youth is crippled and has to become a cobbler. In Bugadu a blind youth does nothing, is taught nothing, and although he inherits land and acquires a wife to take care of it, poverty is their lot. A girl is impregnated by her teacher and leaves primary three never to return to school. A youth's father dies and the income of the family shrivels up. The youth can no longer go to secondary school, instead he makes ropes to sell in the local markets to help support his younger siblings and widowed mother. For some a father's death speeds an inheritance and brings wealth and the distribution of resources, for others it is premature and has disastrous effects on the youth and the family. Another youth cannot raise funds for a private secondary school in Kampala and drops out after one year, but he desparately wants to go back and for two years he works for different relatives hoping that in exchange for his labour on their farms they will pay his fees. They don't. A poor harvest, a sudden death, witchcraft, constant illness, a robbery - these and many other hazards make life far from easy in these villages and for some there is no second chance to recover from a misfortune.

#### The Returnees

There have been references in this chapter to the fact that those who work outside the village can earn more; that capital appears to be a key factor in succeeding in both farming and non-farming jobs. Do those young people who leave the village for extended periods of time to work in urban areas and then return, do better in employment? Do their experiences in town and their higher incomes increase their chances of success in the village?

Unfortunately, because of the age range of the sample this question is difficult to answer. Although many of the youth in the sample who were working in town in 1970 and 1971 expressed a desire to return home and felt that their opportunities to succeed in the village would be enhanced by the savings they could take home, very few young people had actually made this type of return to the village, it is a move that tends to take place after the age of twenty-five. From observation of older people in the villages it did seem that those who returned after working outside do often do better than others, for example the

<sup>7</sup> Witchcraft has a place in all three villages that we studied. S. Heald has described this in Bugisu, J. Middleton in Lugbara, and P. Rigby in Buganda. Conflicts between generations, between kin, between neighbours can be expressed through witchcraft which may ruin a man's crops one year, or end with his house or cattle being destroyed. These conflicts and their expression can affect success or failure within the village. See S. Bunker, "Making it in Bugisu". In Nabugabo Conference, 1971, Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971. Mimeographed; P. Rigby and F. Lule, "Divination and healing in peri-urban Kampala, Uganda". In Nabugabo Conference, 1971, Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971. Mimeographed. J. Middleton.

men in their thirties who had shops, or block houses or large farms in Kalunga had had jobs outside the village at some point. For the very few in our sample who have returned from successful employment outside the village with some cash, this has boosted their chances of doing well in rural employment.

*Nyombo* was a young man in Bugadu who returned to the village after employment in Mbale and set up a small hotel. *Nyombo* left school after failing his primary leaving examination, and started farming. Then he got a job and with the cash he opened up a small shop and returned to his agriculture. Although he made five hundred shillings from coffee and cotton in 1970 he felt he was not doing well and left to look for work in Mbale. Here he found a job as a feeder in the African Textile Mill earning two hundred shillings a month. He disliked town life, especially as his new wife was in the village, but he saw it as an easy way to make money. In late 1971 he returned to the village with his savings and reopened his hotel and married a second wife.

In Kalunga *Namatovu* had followed a similar pattern. She worked as a school cook for one year and then went to Kampala where she worked for several years as a shop assistant and later as a cook. While living in the city she had a baby, and when her son was old enough to go to school she returned to the village with her money, rented a house on the main road and used her limited capital to start trading in fish, matoke and vegetables. She earned more from here trading than the other women in the village as her capital enabled her to deal in fish, a foodstuff other ladies did not have the cash to invest in.

Another young man of twenty-five did not return to Kalunga, but to a nearby village where his mother moved after separating from her husband. He left school after Junior two and took a typing course. He passed his exams and was able to find a job typing for the Buganda Government prior to 1966. After the Buganda crisis he was out of a job temporarily, but soon found a second typing job earning about two hundred shillings a month. Every month he sent money to his mother to buy bananas, with these bananas she brewed beer which she sold at a profit. The profit was kept for her son. In this way he was able to save a lot of money and in 1970 he moved out of Kampala into the village, built a house on land given to him by his mother and bought a second-hand car to run as a taxi. In 1971 he earned more than five hundred shillings per month as a taxi driver, a job he could never have taken if he had not found a way to raise capital. It would be very difficult for a young person to save enough money by working in the village, earnings there in the informal sector for youth are too low.



AN OUTDOOR BARBERSHOP IN KAMPALA

Seven young men had returned to Olulu from employment outside. They had mostly been in formal jobs such as porter, cashier, policeman and steelbender. Three of them returned to grow tobacco and were very successful earning over one-and-a-half thousand shillings a year up to nearly four thousand, and a fourth started a dry cleaning business.

*Abura*, who has primary six education, is married and has one child. For a number of years he worked in a factory in Southern Uganda earning 150/- a month as a steel bender. He returned to Olulu to farm and to settle, and in 1969 he started a small business in Arua. He bought a bicycle with his savings and also some charcoal irons and a table. He commuted daily to Arua and worked on the porch of a duka as a dobi, "dry" cleaning" clothes. His wife continued to do the farm work.

A few youth did benefit from leaving the village, working in formal or urban jobs, accumulating capital and returning to the village to invest in land or a small business. The fact that they had cash enabled them to make the initial outlay and it often helped them over short periods of economic crisis. We suggest that more of them will follow this pattern as they get older, in 1970 seventeen out of the twenty-five employed out-migrants from Kalunga, expressed the desire to earn more money in their present job and then return home to invest this money in the village.

For others of course the return to the village is not a prelude to success. Often they return broke, having been fired from their job, having got fed up with it and left because the work was too hard, or they were underpaid or bored. Girls often come home when they separate from their husbands, and

unmarried girls return home from town to deliver their babies. Many only return because they have failed outside and they often earn very little on their return. For others the return to the village is temporary, between school and work, between jobs, on holidays or to attend village or family occasions, or to choose a husband. Leaving the village and returning does not necessarily open up opportunities in the village, but for some youth it is an important stage in getting established in the village.

### The Girls

Most of the cases that have been given in this chapter have been cases of young men. At the beginning of the chapter it was seen that girls earn less than boys, they have less education, they have fewer job opportunities, they learn fewer informal skills. Many of them do not work for a money income at all; their time is spent digging, cooking, washing, fetching water, caring for children, either for their husbands or if they are unmarried for their parents, grandparents or other relatives. Their ties are predominantly to their home, and those who do earn money tend to be married women who sell the surplus from their farms, who brew beer or make mats and handicrafts to sell. But there are a few women who have education and remunerative jobs and they should not be ignored. Girls do find opportunities to earn cash; in Bugadu seven girls earned over eighty shillings a month. One was a wardmaid at the rural dispensary, another traded successfully in the market earning one hundred shillings a month, two others earned their money making and selling beer. In Olulu five girls in the village earned over seventy shillings a month, from beer brewing and selling agricultural crops. Five girls in Kalunga also earned over seventy shillings a month in the village, one as a school teacher at the primary school, one as a school cook, two as ayahs outside the village and one in trading.

Some girls, especially those with secondary education from Kalunga, leave the village and command high salaries in towns as nurses, teachers, secretaries, barmaids and shop assistants. But for those who stay in the village employment opportunities are limited, earnings are low and most women are predominantly involved in work which is unpaid.

### Conclusion

Sex, age, formal education, access to informal skills, family background, place of work, occupational pluralism and the ability to raise or borrow capital are all factors which influence success or failure in rural employment. There is more money to be made in formal employment, but this is open mainly to young people with secondary education who live in Buganda, where the economy is more developed. There is more money to be made in non-agricultural employment at this age than there is in farming, though in West Nile and Bugisu farming does produce adequate incomes for some, especially the older males who are married, have some land and are able to grow coffee or tobacco. Although for most youth

in our sample farming is a marginal activity there is evidence that their earnings will increase as they get older, most of them will obtain their own land and grow more lucrative cash crops, they have wealthy farmers as role models and most of the youth will do farming to earn money in the future, though many of them will continue to combine it with non-agricultural employment.

The factors that seemed most relevant to earnings in non-agricultural non-formal rural employment were being male, over twenty, doing more than one job at a time, preferably moving out of the village at times to work in other rural situations, and having some formal education. Several important hypotheses emerge from these findings. If formal education is important for informal earnings outside agriculture (presumably because literacy and numeracy are important assets in business) then advisors who are at present urging the curbing of education in developing countries should stop and relook at the situation. Education may no longer "buy" a job in town for the majority of school leavers but it may enable some of them to earn more in the villages. The finding that occupational pluralism increases earnings is important for two reasons. Firstly, most researchers assume one job per person and so much research in Africa has ignored the full range of jobs an individual does, thus results concerning earnings may be distorted. Secondly findings relating to time spent working are certainly misrepresented if only one job is studied, most of the youth in these samples kept themselves busy making money by doing different jobs at different times of the day and during different seasons of the year. This finding thus has important implications for studies concerning underemployment, earnings and the number of hours worked per week.

A third finding that has wider implications concerns capital. If lack of capital is such a severe block to these young people as it seems to be, then the reason that many youth are found doing the same job should not automatically be attributed to the limited number of opportunities open to them, it may be a product of the fact that no one person can expand his business sufficiently to cater for the market demand. It may be valid to have four people selling eggs or making pancakes if each one can only afford to buy a few items to start with. Those youth who did have access to capital, either from working in town or through wealthy relatives, did seem able to expand their business, find new opportunities, and enter new fields which demanded more initial outlay.

The majority of the youth stay in the villages, they find economic opportunities there and earn a living. Their success or relative failure and consequent poverty are affected by many factors, some are non-rational. The picture is complicated and this chapter is only a beginning, but it is an attempt to draw out from the complexities of the situation an understanding of what kind of factors affect rural incomes for young people. It is a subject that has been previously ignored. There are many gaps in the data, many statements are of necessity tentative, but it has been an attempt to identify relevant relationships in a field distinguished by its lack of data.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUTH IN THEIR VILLAGES

### CHAPTER FOUR

T. WALLACE

#### Introduction

It could be said that perhaps these rural youth are unwilling rural dwellers, hankering after a better, urban life. It may be argued that they only stay and work in the rural areas because they have no choice - though clearly this statement cannot be made for those who have left and returned to the village. By filling in other aspects of the lives of these young people it is possible to present a more convincing case for their involvement in rural life. To what extent do the young people contribute towards the changes taking place in their villages? How do they spend their free time, what do they do when they are not working? Indeed, is there anything for them to do? How much time do they spend in the villages? What features of rural life, if any, positively attract the youth or have they simply never thought about it or do they feel that they have no choices? These are some of the questions to be discussed here. It is hoped that this chapter will present a picture of what life is like for rural youth, and how they involve themselves in rural living.

#### Youth and Rural Development

What are the villages like to live in? What facilities are there? Who provides them? Do the young people in the villages benefit from rural improvements? Do they in any way contribute to rural development? Are these villages in fact changing at all or are they static backwaters?

All three villages have been changing over the years, along many dimensions, though they still have no piped water or sanitation, electricity, telephones or post offices within the villages and health services are far away. Nevertheless by looking at the changes that have taken place in recent years it will be possible to visualise the world these young people live in and to see how they contribute to change. It is not the time or the place to enter into a debate on rural development versus rural transformation, in this study we will use a very specific definition of rural development which will enable us to describe change in each of the villages. Rural development, for the purposes of this monograph, is defined as improvements in the facilities, services and consumption available in the villages which raise the comfort and standard of living; it includes both the introduction of new institutions and the modification of old ones. Our main areas of concern are agriculture and improved farming methods, education and the spread of formal schooling, the communication system, the diversification of rural employment opportunities and the impact the mass media and urban influences have on the villages. We will not analyse the nature of the changes nor their implications for rural transformation; rather we want to describe them, examine who initiated them, and see how the young benefit from the

changes and in what ways they contribute to them.

There are two distinctive types of rural development: Firstly development introduced by the Government or external agencies. The ideas, equipment and staff are brought into the village from the outside and the only part the villagers play is to accept or reject the change. Secondly there is development which comes from within the village, the ideas come from local individuals, change is implemented from within the community.

#### Formal Rural Development from Above

Government projects and development schemes of external origin are more evident in the villages in West Nile than in the villages in Bugisu or Buganda. It may be that an area which economically deprived and until recently produced little cash surplus cannot generate local development because of this lack of material resources. As a rural cash economy develops and a surplus is created it is then possible to mobilise local initiative and introduce change from within the rural areas, and Government initiative assumes less significance.

The introduction of tobacco into West Nile by the Government and B.A.T. has made a great impact on that district in the past few years. The tobacco co-operatives mean that people can now earn money from their own land, they no longer have to migrate to other parts of Uganda to earn cash, or eke out a meagre existence growing a little cotton. With the coming of tobacco the opportunities for non-agricultural jobs have increased, jobs in building, commerce, transport have transformed West Nile from a 'bush' area into a place where an individual now has a choice as he can stay at home and earn a living on his land. Olulu was the only village out of the three where the agricultural advisor was clearly in evidence, in Bugadu and Kalunga he was never seen in the village and his advice rarely sought. In contrast, cash crop farming in West Nile was carefully supervised and expert help was available in the villages. The Government had also built many boreholes in the area and in 1970 was beginning to improve the poor road system, though there were still no tarmac roads in West Nile in 1972, and many of the feeder roads were still mere footpaths.

Apart from completing a main road near Bugadu, there were few signs of recent Government activity in this part of Bugisu. One or two new boreholes were in evidence, a dispensary stood half built three miles away, but much of the labour for this was voluntary. In Kalunga there were no obvious signs of recent Government inputs into the village, except for the introduction of electricity to a few houses on one side of the village, with very few connections as it was too expensive for most people.

In the past, of course, many of the major changes were introduced from above: all three villages have access to Government primary schools in the area, dispensaries were to be found within five miles of each of the villages, these

were built and are maintained by the Government or the University. All the villages are within walking distance of the county headquarters where there are police, prisons, post offices, facilities, and law courts. None of these services really reach out from the Headquarters though, and their impact is limited. Bus transport is provided by outside agencies, at least twice a day a bus passes through Kalunga, Bugadu and Olulu. The Government has built farms and estates in the rural areas which have stimulated the creation of rural jobs though only Kalunga benefits from such a scheme, as there is a Government farm four miles away.

Formal agencies have undoubtedly made an impact on these three villages, especially with regard to formal education, health and in creating more rural jobs - but there are many gaps. Co-operatives exist for the marketing of coffee, cotton, and tobacco but the sale of matooke, vegetables and other local produce has been left untouched by the Government. Some public transport reaches each of the villages, but it is inadequate for their needs, some Government schools are provided but there are proportionately far fewer places available for rural children than there are for urban children. There has been no attempt by the Government or any other outside organisation to introduce adult education in these villages, to provide staff to teach rural skills, there are no rural institutions set up for giving small loans or credit to farmers or small scale businessmen, there are no advisors on trading or business, and there has been little serious attempt outside of West Nile to introduce farming improvements in these these villages.<sup>1</sup> There appears to have been no attempt to introduce small scale industries in any of these areas. These villages lack newspapers, and a range of services such as garages, repairs and well-stocked shops.

The formal agencies have introduced changes into these villages over time; the education level of the populations and their health have improved. There are a few more formal jobs available now. These inputs have improved the life chances and certain aspects of the lives of the villagers, but expenditure on rural development is small compared with the time, money, and effort put into urban development and rural change in Uganda is consequently rather slow.

#### Informal Rural Development

In each of the three villages local initiative has contributed to rural change and compensates to some extent for the limited Government inputs.

Parents in Kalunga, Bugadu and Olulu have all contributed money and effort over the years in order to create private primary (and in Kalunga private secondary) schools in order to provide more village children with a basic education. Though the quality of the education provided may be questionable, certainly far

<sup>1</sup> This description of facilities is for the three sample villages. We are aware that there are twenty Rural Training Centres in Uganda and some areas benefit more from Government activity. By and large though, the limited impact of modern amenities on these villages is felt to be representative of rural living in Uganda.



more children experience a few years of formal schooling, especially in Buganda and Bugisu, as a direct result of this local effort.

In Buganda individuals have done much to improve the transport situation - many men have set up in business as taxi drivers and these taxis provide a much needed supplement to the public transport service. Some of these taxis pass Kalunga several times a day, and the villagers use them, especially for transporting goods to town or the trading centre. In all three areas individual initiative is important in transporting and marketing local produce such as matoke, tomatoes, cabbages, and maize for brewing. There is no formal system for distributing and disposing of these goods. In Kalunga some men and young boys from the village have set themselves up as middlemen, they move around the village buying from the women, buying surplus groundnuts, sweet potatoes, ntula. When they have collected some debis or sacks full they carry them to the road, and there catch a bus or taxi into the trading centre, sometimes into Kampala, where they take these goods to sell in the market. Alternatively larger businessmen may hire a lorry to transport the goods. Marketing of bananas and other foodstuffs is carried out in a similar way in Bugadu, though there the weekly market in the village also allows individuals to sell their goods directly to the consumers. The same pattern holds true in West Nile, though the scale of the trading activity is far smaller. Trading in all three areas is facilitated by small scale entrepreneurs, it is an area ignored by the Government.

Education, transport, marketing - these have been improved in the villages through local effort. Other services are developing as a direct result of individual initiative. As people begin to earn money from agriculture and wage employment and accumulate surplus, they can start to invest in rural enterprises. Since 1965 four new dukas have been opened in Kalunga by local men, supplying the villagers with a range of manufactured goods, and essentials such as soap, salt, paraffin, flour and grains. Three 'modern' bars have been opened by people living in the village, two pork butchers have set up permanent stalls providing fresh meat to the villagers and cooked meat for the school children and bar drinkers. A butcher now opens once a week to sell beef and in 1972 a weekly fish vendor opened a stand. Other services recently introduced into the village include a tailor, a photographer and a motor bike mechanic.

In Bugadu, NUTO recruited local youth to rebuild the main road but internal squabbling crippled their efforts and the road eventually had to be built by the District. Apart from this there have been some noticeable changes in recent years, the first motor car was introduced into the village in 1970. The weekly market has expanded and now offers a wider range of goods and services for sale and one new duka had recently been opened in the village. In 1971 the first 'modern bar' was established in Bugadu, complete with bar maids recruited from Mbale, a gramophone and warm bottled beer served over a delux counter!

In Olulu too the villagers have introduced some new developments, more people build their houses with mbati roofing, three dukas have been opened since 1967 selling matches, paraffin, etc. and one of them also provided a radio for

his customers to listen to after work. A tailor had started up in front of one of the other dukas. In little more than one generation the population in West Nile have changed their clothing from leaves and a little cloth to skirts, trousers and shirts. And of course because of tobacco they have changed many aspects of their methods of farming.

In addition to contributing towards an expansion of education, goods and services in the village, the villagers themselves play a crucial part in providing the young people with the skills and knowledge required for carrying out a rural job. It is within the village that the younger generation learn to do carpentry, building, painting, repair, run a shop or butchery, make beer, table mats and baskets. Local men who make money in agriculture or wage employment who learn a skill informally and set up a business in the village such as a bar, a shop, a transport or small construction business do a great deal towards improving the facilities available in the village. They provide jobs for other people and they teach the required skills for the job. The Government plays little part in teaching essential rural employment skills to the young people. What do the youth contribute to these changes that originate within the village?

#### The Contribution of Youth to Rural Change

Most of the jobs open to the young people in these three villages are in agriculture or in employment created by local entrepreneurs. Employees learn the required skills from other villagers and by doing the job they contribute to the range of services offered in the village. For instance their work in marketing, stimulates the flow of goods out of the village. As they grow older some of the innovative young people start their own businesses in entirely new fields, in Kalunga for example one boy has started trading in soft drinks at second funerals, one has gone into photography in the village, yet a third has opened a new shop. In general the young people build better houses than their parents, square with mbati roofs. Their standard of dress is often higher, especially for those with more formal education. They are better educated than their parents and by staying in the villages and working there they contribute their skills to the rural areas, both in the jobs they do and in other ways - for example in Bugadu they participate once a week in the communal activities of the village in building the dispensary, clearing footpaths or cleaning the springs; in Buganda they help in a similar though more haphazard way, and in Olulu they are active members of work groups.

Those young people who leave the village for higher education or work and later return, often have a lot to contribute to the village. By leaving they encounter new ideas, new stimuli, sometimes if they are successful they accumulate some capital from a wage job. Some of them return home with innovative

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the importance of informal education, see Chapter 3.

plans and some money to realise them. For example *Makafu* in Bugadu, a young boy whom we met in the market:<sup>3</sup>

In the market I got involved with two interesting characters. Both were sellers of few articles - soap, box-matches, glasses, cigarettes, plates, mugs. One of them, a young boy about twenty-one managed to show me how he has achieved capital to start this business of self-employment. He went to Kampala and was working as a house servant at 45 shillings a month. Then he resigned (he was then seventeen years old) and came home. He told his father that he had capital of 450 shillings and that he wanted a shop. The whole village of his had no shop at all - even now only his exists.<sup>4</sup> So he says he started a shop with things like paraffin and box matches and cigarettes. He sold and became successful, after one year he had accumulated nearly 2,000 shillings. He bought a few cattle, a good radio, a bicycle and improved the standard of his hut .....

In Kalunga several similar cases occurred, for example Kizza who went to town to work as a hairdresser in the bus park. He worked there after his informal apprenticeship and earned between three and four hundred shillings a month. After a few years he married and when his first child was born he returned to Kalunga bought some land and started to build an iron roofed house. When the house is finished his wife has begun the shamba he intends to move back into the village and with his capital start a wholesale business in cement, an item which is much in demand but not distributed in the rural areas efficiently. He is also hoping to start trading in spare parts for radios, and bikes, enabling the villagers to buy these locally rather than having to travel to town for them. The potential role of the returnees was discussed in the last chapter, suffice it to say here that though many of them return empty handed, some return and play an important role in opening up new businesses, improving their agriculture and using their capital to provide new services in the villages.

The girls in the villages also have a part to play in rural development. Those who have been to school are a force in educating their own children, they ensure that their children get to school.<sup>5</sup> Their contact with formal education,

<sup>3</sup> All the quotations in this chapter are taken from the journal kept by our research assistants, written while they were living in the villages. The wording has been unchanged.

<sup>4</sup> Bugadu village is actually made up of four smaller units, there were shops in the other three parts of the village.

<sup>5</sup> For empirical evidence and detailed discussion on this, see Chapter 4, Christine Wallace, *Youth in rural Buganda: A study of their education and employment*. Makerere University. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. 1973.

See also J. Heijnd, *Development and education in Mwanza District (Tanzania)*. Gronigen. Wolters-Noordhof. 1969, whose findings also support this thesis that women are key factors in the education of their children.

the radio, the dispensaries, mean that some of them are more aware of the health of their children and more readily take them for inoculations and to the doctor. Not all of them have been to school, not all of them accept new ideas and especially in the field of agriculture it would be misleading to suggest there have been many improvements. Most of the girls learn all their agricultural skills from their parents and although the methods are time-consuming and backbreaking they follow the example set by their mothers. The food they eat, the way they prepare it and grow it are the same as the previous generation, but their exposure to education does lead many of them to be more concerned with the education of their own children and in raising their standards of health and dress.

Apart from contributing to improvement by carrying out useful jobs and expanding the range of services available or by voluntary self-help work, some contribute by working hard to improve their skills and teaching others. An example of this is the headmaster of the private primary school in Kalunga, *Matovu*. He started teaching in the school in 1967 after working as a shop assistant and holding two previous teaching jobs in another village. As soon as he began teaching in Kalunga he enrolled in weekend courses run by the Infant Teachers Association attending course all over Buganda, reading books from the library, and discussing teaching with fellow teachers. He has greatly improved his ability to teach and is slowly improving the learning offered to the children of the school. As well as all the effort he puts into the school during school hours, he and his brother run a Boy Scout Troop in the village.

There are of course others who do little or nothing, who spend their time drinking or entertaining themselves when they are not working, or who prefer to get money from their parents than work. Their time is spent in gossip and personal enjoyment. Not everyone wants to work hard, to improve their situation and even for those who do, their effectiveness is often limited by the many obstacles they face in attempting to change the rural environment.

#### Blocks to Rural Development

Earnings in the villages are generally low, especially for young people under twenty-five. A sizeable proportion of what they do earn is syphoned off into the urban areas through the tax system, as every young man over 18 who is not at school must pay at least ninety shillings poll tax a year and the amount payable increases with his earnings, and owning land and a house. The Government removes a lot of money from the rural areas by direct taxation, and also by paying low prices for cash crops, and taxing items such as cloth, sugar, salt, flour, cigarettes, and paraffin. The young people in the village who are managing on small amounts of money are hit hard by this as much of their income drains away before they can utilize it.

This lack of capital and the taxes on the little money they do have are a significant block to rural development. Many of the youth know how to improve their agriculture, they have learnt some ideas at primary school, some have been to farm schools, others work on the Government farms. In West Nile

they have listened to the agricultural officer, but most of the time they cannot implement these ideas for improvement because of the severe lack of capital with which to buy new seeds, fertiliser, hire a tractor, and spray their crops. Often their land is in small plots and they cannot afford to buy more adjacent land to expand their farms. A few young men have used some modern farming methods, but they *are* few and the financial balance is precarious. This lack of working capital is similarly a problem in business, there is often no money to increase the stocks sold in the shops, to acquire better tools for building, to withstand the losses incurred when villagers demand credit rather than paying straight away for the service or the item bought. Often a small business fails because the customer cannot pay the bill immediately and the young person has no capital to enable him to wait for payment, the photographer in Kalunga and the fishmonger in Bugadu were among the casualties caused by this.<sup>6</sup>

A young man in the village cannot insist on cash from relatives or neighbours in the village who are usually older than himself and therefore demand his respect. This lack of capital is not in any way compensated for by the Government, there are no schemes open to young rural dwellers for getting credit or short-term loans. As there is no formal way for him to get credit, his only chance lies in knowing and having the trust of a wealthy relative, and not many of the young people are in that fortunate position and 'most producers cannot save enough by reducing their minimum consumption expenditures to acquire the supplies that would enable them to raise productivity.'

Apart from the lack of working cash, another problem is the absence of certain technical skills in the villages, such as accounting, bookkeeping, auditing, ordering; skills for dealing with a bank, a Government official, or a post office clerk; techniques for form filling and keeping records are lacking. There is nowhere for most rural youth to acquire these skills, and yet they are important if they are to improve the level of their farming, trading, and other businesses. This deficiency in their knowledge imposes severe limits on the size and success of their rural self-employment.

The young people do stay and participate in village life and many of them contribute to the improvement of their village, but they face several obstacles which prevent their efforts in rural development being as impressive as one might have hoped, given the rising level of health and education and job opportunities in the three areas.

<sup>6</sup> The problems facing small businessmen in Africa are discussed in great detail in P. Marris and H.C.A. Somerset, *African businessmen: a study of entrepreneurship and development in Kenya*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House. 1971. Their hypotheses are supported by the very limited results that emerged from this study on youth.

<sup>7</sup> M. Yudelman, *Africans on the Land*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1964, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> Again for a detailed analysis of the problem see P. Marris and H.C.A. Somerset, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Clearly there are other blocks deriving from Government policy which have not been analysed by us. They will be referred to briefly in the conclusion.

## Free Time in the Village

When the young people are not working, cooking, and digging, how do they spend their time? What is there for them to do? Is there indeed anything for them to do, or do they turn to town for their entertainment? Most writers refer to the boredom of rural life, the long hours of time to be passed, the fact that just living, washing, shopping, fetching water after work takes so long that there is almost no free time. Do these statements about rural life reflect the way the young people in these villages live and their attitude toward it? In order to challenge these negative views about rural leisure and also to present a picture of what there is to do in the three areas, we will describe certain aspects of the life of the young people in each of the villages, starting with Olulu, a village in an area where little has been written, then to Bugadu and finally Kalunga. By writing about the way the young people entertain themselves, many hints about the way they view their situation and the degree of their rural involvement will emerge. The descriptions will be presented largely in the words of the young people themselves or using excerpts from the journals of the research assistants who lived in the villages over a period of time.<sup>10</sup> In this way it is hoped to convey something of the feel of the three villages.

## Olulu

The most important activities which the young people are involved in in West Nile are work groups, sleeping groups, dancing, drinking, funerals, football matches, trips to Arua market, visiting friends and relatives, hunting and fishing and politics. These have to be fitted in after the day's work in the fields and at home is done.

The young people in Olulu, both boys and girls, spend some of their time in work groups, either in 'adati', a group where four or five people join together and work in rotation on each other's land; or in 'oya', where as many people as possible come together to work for one person and in return they receive drinks and a communal meal of fish or meat, sometimes they receive small wages as well.

The Lugbara in the village explain that since much work in agriculture requires human labour at their present level of development, it is wise that the traditional work groups and co-operatives be kept and modified to charge up the speed of production .... The younger youth also participate in the two systems of work groups.

Often a young man or woman will spend the early morning working alone or with the

<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately it was not possible to use the journals from Kalunga as they were not kept in Dar es Salaam where we were writing, but it is hoped to use them at a later date.

family on the shamba, then after lunch they join with their friends and peers and go off to dig together, working while talking and joking, ending the day eating and possibly drinking together, discussing local events. Most young people in Olulu were involved in a work group, except the school children who were too busy during term and could only participate during the holidays.

Many of the young people in Olulu stop sleeping in their parent's house at adolescence and spend their sleeping time with their peers, in 'sleeping groups'. (*odrojo*). In the past the custom was that when a girl reached puberty and had been initiated she moved into a sleeping hut built on the compound of a respected villager, where she slept with other girls of similar status. Here boys were allowed to come and sleep, though sexual intercourse was strictly forbidden. This process often led to courtship and marriage. Nowadays the pattern is changing, both boys and girls have their separate sleeping groups, and it is well known that the boys often bring girls back to their huts for intercourse, and vice-versa. It is not uncommon for a girl to get pregnant and to elope with the boy.<sup>11</sup>

I asked the elders and heads of households why boys form such sleeping groups. The information I gathered was various in that some boys like sleeping together because some of their parents might not have a house for such youths, especially if one is alone he is required to sleep with siblings. But when he is older than the rest of the siblings he thinks of having a house to himself so that he is free to read if he is a schoolboy and since he might not be able to build such a house he goes to his fellow peers who might have such a house. In most cases those who are not students have interests to discuss their future aspirations. Some discuss work aspirations and some discuss educational aspirations. But most of the discussion and activities centre on sex education. Those who are from 15-25 discuss how to get married. The select girls for each other and plan how to elope them, and some times during dances which are common in Olulu Community Development Centre, they plan to seduce girls to their houses for sex.

<sup>11</sup> Eloping is not exactly a new practice but it has become far more common in recent years. Officially a girl's parents choose her husband for her, a bride price is exchanged, many ceremonies take place then the girl goes to live with her new husband and becomes a part of his clan. These days girls tend to choose their husbands for themselves and just leave home one day and go and live with the boy. Later the boy approaches the girl's parents and negotiations are made for the bride price, but the amount is much lower than normally paid. There seem to be many reasons for this practice developing: previously the clan used to pay the bride price on behalf of the young men, but this is breaking down now and many young men cannot afford to pay the full amount of cows and money. Sometimes a girl is ashamed to go home if she has had intercourse with a man and 'elopes' to his house instead and later marries him. Sometimes girls elope because they are pregnant. In the past the girl and the boy would have been severely punished if this had happened but now traditional sanctions are breaking down and new patterns of behaviour are evolving.

Of the girls sleeping groups:

Like the boys the girls form sleeping groups for sex education and work group purposes. On sex education, the girls who sleep together teach each other to aspire to befriend and marry economically secure boys. They select boyfriends for their girlfriends and influence such boys during dances ... These girls sometimes bring in boys from dances and arrange for the boy and his girlfriend to sleep in a private room of their sleeping house, or some of the girls go and sleep elsewhere and allow the girl with a boyfriend to occupy the house.

Not all the young people belong to sleeping groups, but many of them do, and they spend large amounts of time with their peers, independent of their parents, sleeping, working and strolling together.

Dancing forms an important part of the life of the village for all age groups in Olulu. There are two main types of dancing in the village, Lugbara and modern. "The Lugbara dance has several varieties but the most common one is during funeral ceremonies. The songs sung (at the funeral), the tune of the drumming and the style of the dancing are very awe inspiring." Funerals last about three or four days, days spent in mourning, drinking and dancing. On the third day people put on their best clothes and go in peer groups, young men often go with their girlfriends. Then they dance together, either in single sex groupings or more often couples together, jumping up and down rhythmically to the sound of the compelling music, stopping only to drink kwete or crude enguli from the sellers under the trees. Large crowds attend the funerals, the colour, noise and activity is great.

One such funeral in Olulu was described as follows:

The dances were dominated by the youth. Girls of all ages and boys were in the dance and as spectators. The young boys and girls would be seen pairing for the runnings which are part of the dance. A girl would choose a boy and they would run out and into the centre of the dance chanting the songs - boys showing that they can lead songs as grownups and the girls acknowledging what the boys can do. At the dance every tree that was around served as 'kwete' native drinking place. Boys had their girls to go and drink - each person drinking from a calabash - the amount of beer ranging from thirty cents to any amount, even one shilling. One could observe elders buying beer for young boys and girls of all ages and I was told by the boys that mostly such drinking habits are commonly done through kinship system and among friendship networks. Very distant from the dancing some crude enguli was being sold in glasses and small bottles .... apparently there



was no incidence of fighting that evening, but I was told that fighting starts when people get drunk or at the dance when one lineage has refused to give a chance for another lineage of the same descent or ancestor. The traditional dances are arranged according to lineage rules.....

Funerals are an important part of Lugbara life, the youth are integrated into these ceremonies and there are no signs that they are less involved than their parents, even those youth who have left the village return for funerals of kin, friends and clansmen.

Modern dances are rather different, they are the preserve of the young people and especially supported by the school children. Such dances are held at the Olulu Community Development Centre, sometimes they are also held on a small scale outside the one duka with a radio and gramophone, occasionally a young person with a radio holds one for his friends outside his house.

The modern dance which the youth usually attend during school holidays and particularly at weekends is of much excitement for the youths. One sees school children who have been in the village and those who have gone to study elsewhere in the country participating. The music is usually a radiogram or record player. Boys go with their partners or girlfriend and sometimes girls go in sleeping groups to expect their boyfriends waiting for them in the dancing halls. When I asked some of the boys and girls what they drink at the dance, they told me that they were sold beer by Joseph of the trading centre. I asked if each person affords the beer which costs 3/50. They told me that during the tobacco selling period, such as now, money is available for drinks during dances. Besides the European type of beer, they sell Uganda waragi and some people bring their own crude enguli from their homes. The scene I was told can be very enjoyable.

The young people all want to go to these dances, which are seasonal and usually held during the harvest times. Their parents do not always approve, but for those who live in sleeping groups their parents have little power to stop them going. Some parents do exert control and prevent their children from attending, they demand that they entertain boys or girls at home in the proper fashion and choose a husband or wife in the traditional way, but for the majority of youth these dances are a time of flirting, drinking and dancing and seeking out suitable partners. It is not uncommon for a couple to elope after such a dance.

Drinking takes up time in West Nile, though the youth participate in this less than older people and drink usually at dances, football matches and the cinema when their elders are not in evidence. Young men who are out of school and the older youth are:

Occasionally seen drinking with people older than themselves, either in places where they make the drinks or during hired labour 'oya'. There are three drinking clubs in Olulu, places where kwete is sold in calabashes, here people gather especially after lunch and sit in the shade of the trees and drink, boys buying for their girlfriends, youth buying for their elders and nearest kin. It is important that the youth 'know' their people and they are blessed by them when they fulfill their obligations and buy them drinks, it is an important gesture of respect. People sit in lines or encircling the calabashes. The owners of the beer, usually young married women or young girls with good looking faces or breasts sell the beer. The girls selling the drink should look attractive because this will attract customers. Before beer is called, the seller of the beer brings a few drops to be tasted ... the seller must taste it first, for fear of poison which is suspected in the drink.<sup>12</sup> Some drinking groups are permanent and payment is in rotation.

Enguli is not sold in these beer clubs, but in private houses because it is illegal. A brewer indicates that he has drink ready for selling by placing a ripe pepper outside his door, and groups of people, young people included, go together to drink on his compound. The young people drink kwete and enguli, and sometimes if they have money, bottled beer. More drinking is done by those out of school, the students tend to drink only when away from the eye of their elders.

The young people spend a large part of every day in school or at work, then shopping, washing, cooking and cleaning are time-consuming activities to be done as well. But in the time they do have off, especially in the school holidays and during the slack agricultural seasons they participate in communal work groups, eat together, attend dances, drink and talk with their friends. For those who belong to sleeping groups a large part of everyday is spent with their peers. There are also other things to do. The primary school organises frequent football matches, and the young men play football in the evenings with

<sup>12</sup> The fear of poisoning is very real in West Nile. School children may fear to return to their village in case their neighbours poison them out of jealousy for their educated status, people often do not drink in certain villages for fear of being poisoned. Poisoning is a common way of taking revenge or punishing a person. It is of course not possible to know how many people do get poisoned, the important fact is that many deaths in West Nile are attributed to poisoning and this belief strongly influences where people will live, travel and who they will eat and drink with.

banana fibre footballs. They also go fishing and hunting using lines, bows and arrows made while watching the cattle. Time is spent visiting friends, talking at the duka, listening to the radio, and playing cards there. Some weekends the young people dress up and go to town to the market, occasionally to buy or sell something, but usually just to walk, meet people and observe. Some of the youth are involved in religious or political activities, and much time is spent in the village discussing local disputes, poisoning cases, the latest elopement, sickness, or the size of the harvest.

For most youth the village is the centre of their existence, both for work and free time, they are involved in 'growing crops, attending markets and dances, meeting kin, friends and neighbours, and eating, drinking and talking with them, and marriage and courtship.'<sup>13</sup> The only notable exception is the children who go away to secondary school. They are few in number and the villagers tend to be jealous of those who better themselves in this way. Some of them do not return for fear of being poisoned and thus get cut off from their village and their peers.

#### Bugadu

Many of the main features of rural living in Bugisu are reflected in the weekly market, the following excerpt captures much of the feel of life there:

As we stood a number of people began to appear on the scene. They came on bicycles or on foot, some carrying goods, some carrying none. It became interesting as the numbers increased - people of all ages. The place became flooded with children from the nearby primary school rushing for sugar cane. The market is arranged as follows. In the centre there are three traditional medicine sellers... spreading out to the south of them are two groups - one sugar cane and two banana and orange sellers. One selling sugar canes was a young boy of about 16 years, the other an old man, the third a mother ... This place was busier than any other in the market; sugar cane tends to be popular with the school children and the villagers .... the pupils chatted together as they ate. Boys and girls sat as their sexes could command them. Boys stood in small groups according to their ages, on the one corner I could see girls also struggling with their canes.... Over in the banana section I saw a woman selling bananas to some two fat men, and a third fairly short man. These men were from Tororo and were traders, so they were buying from these women who come with their children, for selling. The young boys too had bought matoke and were selling. They were sharp

<sup>13</sup> J. Middleton, *The Lugbara of Uganda*. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965 p. 43.

at selling and one of the fat men told me that it is better to buy from an adult than these youth as they tend to be very hard with their prices. Next to these banana sellers was a young boy selling oranges. To the south east of this place was a group of bun sellers, very young. A little ahead of them, near the traditional medicine sellers was a group of fish sellers, five young men. Just beside them was a youth selling soap, boxes of matches and a few other things bought in a small box. Asking him why he is not at school he told me his father refused to pay the school fees though he is rich. But one of the other boys in the market told me the boy has refused to go to school for the need of selling these small articles. In the east were people selling clothes. It seemed that very few people paid attention as one boy commented, 'They are more expensive than Mbale and they do not know how to sew well.' Most attractive was on the west side where there was a young man. He had built a small hut in which was two statues of females and male. He had a guitar in his hand. He could play any record that interested anyone and as he played the statues could dance following the rhythm from the guitar. People of all ages poured in to pay and see this wonderful chap. But the youths were more excited and some of them tended to stay there throughout the morning. Payment was fifty cents. At the extreme north were three small huts. One of them I could see a man selling meat alone. In the middle was a hoteli which seemed unpopular as few people moved into it. The last hut is a small local club selling kwete. Here I could see young girls and boys and a fair number of men. Apparently some groups of people especially the youths had come for nothing to buy or sell, but a loitering tour. This could be evidenced as one could see them standing and talking. I overhead a young man saying, 'but this is a place lacking girls.' And what tended to be most interesting is the way these youth exchange their greetings. After 'mulembe' I could hear the next query, 'where shall we drink, where is there beer around here.'

Strolling with friends, eating and talking together, consulting the traditional medicine man to ward off trouble or to encourage good luck, going to the market place to pick up girls and drink, these are some of the main activities of the males in Bugadu. Girls and drinking seem to be the most time consuming of these. Drinking is often done in drinking groups, permanent 'clubs' where members pay in rotation and meet together regularly to drink from a communal pot. Young men join these groups at a young age, very often after circumcision. Drinking is also carried on in the bars in Bugadu, and in the houses of anyone who has brewed recently. A frequently heard conversation between young men goes like this, 'Have you brewed over there? Are you going to booze me today? Where is the beer ready today?' After drinking, when they

part the leaving comment is related to where they will drink tomorrow. Conversation with many men at lunch time "consists mainly of beer plans after the meal." Drinking is an integral part of daily life and the young men are full participants. Often drinking leads to fights, usually over women, sometimes over land, or a malicious piece of gossip. Two stories serve to illustrate some of the ways that time is spent in drinking and womanising in Bugadu.

The first event happened after two new bar girls were recruited for the new modern bar in the village.

There have been so many scrambles for these girls. People are buying them drinks with the aim of taking them home. Some like John have been successful. One evening, however, Patrick bought one of them a bottle of beer, or so the story goes. The girl accepted but then later she refused to go with him. Instead she went to sleep at another youth's home. Patrick was so disappointed that the following evening when she was seated in a chair he flung himself on her and gave her several blows. The girl threw two bottles at him, both of which missed.

The second story was being discussed at length all over the village, this conversation was taken from one beer group sitting round, drinking the evening after the incident occurred. A young man of 22 had spent the previous evening drinking. Instead of returning home to his wife:

After drinking he made up his mind to go and tackle his friend's wife. The friend had also taken some drink but was in his house with his wife. Reaching there the drunkard knocked at the door and the wife who was apparently awake opened and called the boy in. The intruder entered and in no time the candle went off. The owner waking up later, found that there was a stranger in his house - he suspected robbers, he got a panga and was nearly finishing off the drunk. He cut him by the buttocks. The intruder tried to make off but could not because of the big wound, so he made an alarm, and was rescued by the neighbours from death. The neighbours helped him with first aid and took him to the muluka chief, from there he went to the hospital. The boys criticized the intruder very much and said he deserved such a blow.

The young men spend a large amount of time seeking out and eyeing girls, often they take girls home for the night, or for a few days or even a few months as 'temporary wives'. When the girls' parents come for negotiating a bride price the boys often reject the girls and move on to another one, though they may lose a goat as compensation. They may ask the girl to leave when a better option appears. Many of the girls become pregnant, yet in spite of this and the fact that the boys sometimes get taken to chief on paternity suits, and the

parents are against this kind of behaviour, this activity thrives. A great deal of time is spent sorting out entanglements with females, disengaging from past loves and seeking out new ones. These temporary relationships often lead to fights between boys and between a boy and his girlfriend.

The market provides one obvious focus for these activities, drinking groups are another. The free film shows at the county sub-headquarters once a fortnight also provides an opportunity for the youth to get together, to find girls or boys and to watch films. There is a modern bar in the village with music, bar girls and alcohol, where 'there is always music played and an appreciable amount of merry making.' Another centre of activity is the shops in the village, the trading centre. Here young people gather to talk, to eat roasted meat and to play peke.

The roasting place becomes a centre of attraction and more people gather round. They chat happily, talking of the previous days occurrences. They share quietly the meat, some having satisfied their curiosity move homewards, but others remain around.

Women come here to sell bananas and to buy meat, vegetables and soap, and often before returning home find another woman to go with to the bar to drink. The girls sit and talk outside the shops, the young men play peke with enthusiasm.

Around mid-day I decided to go to the shop-trading centre. I could see the youths playing their popular game called peke (i.e. a game where a small hole of two inches radius and two or three inches deep is made.) Young men collect to play this game. It is played by players more than two. Each player, before beginning to play decides how much each should subscribe. It may be thirty cents each. Then they begin throwing coins in the hole, each in turn. The coins near the hole are retained by the one who gets his coin in the hole. Borrowing is often involved during the process of the game. This game is very popular among the youths. They spend hours and hours on it and the little money they have tends to be spent over this same game. Almost all the time there is a party at the trading centre playing this game.

Football is also popular in Bugadu, it is usually played at the primary schools, 'both the villagers and the pupils were excited at the football match. One could hear cheers, words of encouragement, blame and scorn from both pupils, teachers and villagers.'

Women have less time for recreation than the men, chores at home keep them occupied. They do find time to go to the films though, and meet boys and stroll in the village. Everyone finds time for the most important non-work activity in Bugisu, circumcision. Every two years the circumcision ceremonies take place in Bugisu. Almost every young male undergoes circumcision when he

is in his teens, it is perhaps the most important moment of his life. The preparations of visiting relatives, dancing through the county can take up many months before the actual ceremony, and the fact that every two years the primary leaving exam results drop in Bugisu is a sign of how involved people are in this event. The young men and women spend weeks or even months beforehand, dancing, feasting and moving around the area.

This evening at around 8.30 I had the chance to see a group of about twenty youths making a noise, singing. Three of them (two of whom were students) were differently clad wearing feathery hats, bells on their legs and were stomping as they moved, making a noise which when mixed with the song being sung produced a harmonious musical ceremony for these three boys. Though the time is far off they have started.

The excitement and tension build up over this time until the day of the circumcision, when friends, relatives, neighbours all gather together in the compound where the ritual will be performed.

After standing there for about thirty minutes I saw people running to the courtyard. When I asked them they said the boy was coming. At this time many people young and old ran as fast as they could to the yard. At this time I could hear a lot of noises. So I got ready to get a nice place where I could see all parts of the body of the boy. The boy came after a short time being crowded by the people. Reaching the middle of the courtyard the boy ordered people to stop shouting ... (the circumcision took place, the cutter making two separate cuts on the penis. Everyone watches and listens in silence to see or hear if the boy, standing proud and alone, flinches). After finishing, the circumciser blows a whistle to show that he has finished his work.

The crowd then erupts into wild dancing, drinking, shouting and ululations. Much sexual licence is allowed, boys go with girls, men dress as women, obscenities are bandied around. After the ceremony the boy receives gifts and is treated with respect; he has now become a man.

There is one more aspect of village existence which should be mentioned and that is health. Life is still precarious in all three villages under study and much time is spent visiting the dispensaries up to five miles away, or going to Mbale or even Kampala to hospital. Time and money is spent at the traditional doctor to try and prevent witchcraft and poisoning: disease and violence are never far from the surface.

<sup>14</sup> For a more complete discussion of this, see: S.G. Weeks, "Youth and the Transition to Adult Status", *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 2, No. 3, September 1973, pp. 259-270.

## Kalunga

There are differences in recreation activities between the males and females in Olulu and Bugadu, and also between the schooled and the non-schooled youth. This is true in Kalunga too, the girls have less time to spend relaxing, they have to cook and wash, look after children and run households. Their parents or husbands watch them closely, they are less free to drink, to go to films, to talk at the trading centres, though they do participate to some extent and can be seen strolling in the village, visiting the markets, joining in the dances and ceremonies. The school children tend to be omitted from the drinking and more limited in their participation in the village, indeed in Bugadu many youth feel this strongly and leave school once they have been circumcised so they can join in the life of the village more fully. In Kalunga the schooled youth are also slightly different from the others in the way they spend their free time, they have a wider range of choices and as well as involving themselves in the village activities they use some of the facilities available in Kampala itself.

The most popular ways of spending free time in Kalunga are visiting friends, strolling through the village with a friend or neighbour greeting people as they move around, gathering together in small groups to listen to the radio and discuss the events of the day. In the early evening one sees young people walking around in groups, calling out to friends and relatives. They also gather round the dukas and the pork roaster to talk and joke with other villagers. If they have a shilling to spare they buy some pork on a skewer and share it among their friends. A trip to the duka for matches or soap can often take an hour or more, delays being created by gossiping and greetings at the shop and on the way. The young girls tend to gather together in the afternoons to sit and sew, or to make mats or baskets chatting in the shade of a tree. The boys visit each other for playing cards, sometimes to drink and often they join in larger groups to play football.

There are three 'modern' bars in Kalunga, one of which is especially attractive to the young people, though their parents do not encourage them and many are actively forbidden to go there. The bar that the young people frequent most is at the cross roads; it has two separate rooms, one selling bottled beer, Fanta and Coke, the other selling homebrewed *mwenge* or *omunanansi*. Sometimes crude *enguli* is also for sale. The bars are brightly painted, have concrete floors, chairs to sit on, and in the corner of one bar stands a juke box playing a selection of Congolese music, much sought after by the youth. The other two bars are more modest, located at the other side of the village, single rooms in mud houses. In one of them, though only local beer is sold, there are many customers because often they have kiganda drumming, dancing and singing late into the night. The third bar sells mainly *enguli*, it is illegal and the young people rarely go there. Saturday night is the big night at the bar, the young men and their girl friends gather to play the juke box and dance, and to drink, people come from other villages to enjoy themselves here. On public



holidays and festivals people start drinking early in the morning and drumming and dancing can be heard all day long continuing late into the night. As in the other villages, drinking often leads to fighting. The young people in Kalunga get into fights over money, over girls and when they are maliciously slandered. Sometimes fighting is fierce and the brawl may end up in the police station or dispensary four miles away. Several of the young men have cooled their heels in the jail there after a bar fight.

Funerals are again very important and most young people except those away at boarding schools follow the customs and attend the funerals of a wide range of kin, friends and neighbours. It is often necessary to travel across Buganda to attend funerals and to spend several days away from home. There are two funeral ceremonies in Buganda, the first is held to bury the dead and mourn them, the second which is held later in the year, or even in future years, is to appoint the heir and to celebrate that appointment and the life of the deceased person. The first funeral is a solemn occasion where respects are made to the dead and their family, the burial and service take place and contribution and condolences are made. The women often sit for several days talking to the relatives of the dead person, keeping them company. The second funeral is a great contrast, here there is much feasting, drinking, drumming and dancing. People gather from all over the district, often if they have come a long way they build themselves temporary grass huts to live in while the ceremonies last. The compound may be filled with over a hundred people sleeping there at night, many more coming to celebrate during the day. Meat is prepared, large amounts of matoke are cooked and there is much eating and drinking, followed by drumming and dancing. The young people are fully involved in these occasions, and often use them as an excuse for pairing up with a partner and disappearing to 'play sex' in the banana plantation, or in their small houses.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to funerals there are also twin ceremonies which are carried out in private though many<sup>16</sup> attend, and marriages though these tend to be smaller than funerals in Kalunga. There are other types of celebrations, including baptisms and confirmations which may be followed by lunch and some festivity.

From time to time more formal entertainments are available in Kalunga and eagerly attended by all age groups. For example, private companies such as the 'Uganda Cinema' visit the village with their itinerant shows. They arrive early in the morning and start setting up an enclosure in an open space in the village, one member of the troupe walks around the village drumming and

<sup>15</sup> It used to be the custom in Buganda for a child to construct his or her own house on the family compound when they reached puberty. It was forbidden for adolescents to sleep under the same roof as the parents. Nowadays this custom is not so common and only a few youth in the sample had their own house before marriage.

<sup>16</sup> Twin ceremonies were illegal in Uganda because they were deemed immoral by the missionaries. They persist in secret in a modified form, though there is still a degree of sexual licence, men dress as women, women are allowed to speak to male relatives who are usually forbidden, sexual jokes are made in public by the older women. Such ceremonies last two or three days and the centre of the ceremony is the wrapping of the umbilical cords.

announcing the show. Everyone gathers round the enclosure in the evening, those who can afford the entrance fee of one shilling for adult and fifty cents for children pay and walk inside. Those who cannot pay try to slip in unnoticed or climb trees around the outside in order to peer over the top of the temporary fence. They climb to high branches and crane their necks to see, those who feel frustrated or thwarted in their efforts resort to throwing sticks, stones and banana skins at those inside the enclosure to entertain themselves. Sometimes there is a film, at others a puppet show accompanied by Kiganda music, at others a slide show. These companies only pass through two or three times a year, but there is more frequent entertainment at the county headquarters four miles away, where they show free films every fortnight. The Government farm sometimes shows educational films, and once a year organises an open day to which many of the young people in Kalunga go. They dress up in their best clothes and walk there with their friends, groups of boys and girls separately, sometimes a man and his girlfriend together. Here they can buy refreshments, look at various stalls and see how to improve their farming methods. People come from a wide radius and it is a time for catching up on news meeting new people and flirting.

The village itself organises an annual fete at the primary school, either to raise money for the school or the church building fund. The school children perform songs and dances, the Boy Scouts put on a parade, other youngsters do gymnastics. This is followed by speeches by the chief, the religious leaders in the village and one or two elders - then the sale commences. Tea and orange juice, buns and cakes and bread are for sale in one classroom, old clothes and shoes in another, plants donated by the farm in another, old pots, crayons, books are to be found, indeed anything that the organisers could get hold of to sell. Although there is evidence that the young people (apart from the Scouts) are in any way active in organising these occasions, they are very active on the day, helping to quieten the children, buying things, talking to friends and relatives, eating buns under a tree joking, picking up boy or girlfriends.

Pairing and love-making are very important activities in Kalunga. Most girls in the village were pregnant before they married, many had more than one child while still unmarried. It is carried out more discretely than in Bugadu and the young people are reticent to talk about their love affairs, as they are carried on in secret. Once a young girl has a baby her free time is severely curtailed, though her mother often helps her to care for it.

Football, going to church, attending village gatherings, playing or watching others play *omweso* school clubs for the school children, all fill up free time. In addition to these village activities a few of the youth, mainly

<sup>17</sup> *Omweso* is a game played on a wooden board which has thirty-two scoops in it laid out in four rows of eight scoops. Each player has a set of seeds to move around his side of the board. The rules are complex but the idea is to capture all the other players seeds. It is a game that demands quick thinking and foresight. It is played a great deal in Buganda; on his coronation day the Kabaka has to play a ritual game at Budo. Variations of this game are played all over Africa.

those who have been secondary school, spend some of their time in Kampala. They go in at the weekends to attend the teenage Saturday afternoon dances at clubs like the White Nile. Hundreds of teenagers from the city and around attend these dances, they put on their short skirts (before ban), fancy shirts and bell bottoms and go to find a girl or boy friend and to dance. The atmosphere is smoky and heavy though officially no alcohol is drunk there, all the curtains were drawn to keep out the sun. Boys and girls tend to stand in separate groups, the boys making forays into the ranks of the girls from time to time to pick out a dancing partner. The music is provided by local pop groups, and is a mixture of European pop music and Congolese hits - the latter being predominant and the most popular. Some of the youth go to the cinema in town, though the high prices keep their visits infrequent, and their trips to Kampala are more commonly for shopping or window shopping. They go to buy cloth, cement, large items which are not available in the village, and also just to look, to wander around the streets watching the people, looking at the goods for sale. Apart from these trips for dancing, the cinema and occasional visits to the shops, the single most important reason that brings villagers from Kalunga to town, regardless of education is Mulago Hospital. Nearly all the young people in Kalunga had been to Kampala, many of them solely to visit Mulago, either on their own account or to visit relatives or accompany sick neighbours to the hospital.

The city does play some part in the lives of the young people in the village, but it is marginal. Kampala is mainly used for its shopping and health facilities and months go by when a young person does not go to the city; indeed a few had never been at all.

As in Olulu and Bugadu the pattern of rural life is sometimes disrupted by a theft, a fire, the beating to death of a thief. Events such as Independence Day leave little mark on the villagers though certain national religious holidays are celebrated and the young people are present at these. Otherwise time is spent strolling, drinking, gossiping, discussing major issues, with funeral ceremonies, dances and occasional trips to Kampala occurring from time to time.

#### Conclusion

The jobs that the young people engage in in the villages do contribute to the range of services available in the rural areas. Their presence as people with education raises the general education level of the village and their work contributes to the sum level of rural wealth. Many of them do play a part in the changes taking place in the villages, though these changes tend to be slow and undramatic because of the many problems facing rural development. They are involved in the villages, not only for work but for entertainment, they participate in the events of the village and create their own activities there.

The young people in the three villages took different attitudes towards their rural lives, there was a wide range of opinions expressed within each village, but predominantly their statements were positive, especially in Bugisu. There is a noticeable trend in Bugadu for young people to leave school even when they could continue, in order to start earning money in the village and to become fully involved in building a house, finding a woman and drinking. There is money to be made in Bugadu, especially in agriculture and trading and the young people see this opportunity - one comment which applies to many of the youth in Bugadu explains that 'he has a nice conception of his future. He is confident of doing well in business and farming and neither his father nor him would wish him to be in the town.' Another youth voiced the situation clearly:

He wondered why some youth stayed loitering, suffering to hunt for a job. He said there are a number of young men, older and younger than himself who have married and settled and were doing well. He cited a number of cases of young men working in Mbale and Kampala getting a fair salary who were almost worse off than they were before employment. He too cited a number of young men settled enjoying much better than those. "What is the use of going to Mbale and suffering for malaya - no, fellow young man let us settle and dig. I am decided to marry next month but one."

A University undergraduate concluded after his stay in the village, much against his original expectations, that:

the youths I have talked to seem to express a desire to remain in the rural areas. Even those who wish to be in towns - mostly educated - have no aim of staying in the urban area throughout the lives. They would rather have temporary houses in the town with permanent homes in the rural areas. These youth who opt to remain in the rural areas are confident of making their living on the land. They hope to cultivate maize, coffee, bananas and also to trade. One thing I have noticed especially is the integration of the educated and uneducated youth and the adults.....

The youth in West Nile are also involved in their village and their agriculture, and apart from secondary educated children who are afraid to live in the villages, most of the young people see that their rural opportunities are better than the urban possibilities. Many of them do not even consider the thought of going to town, 'Many say that they do not like employment and that they prefer to be young farmers or master growers.' The majority of them remain in the rural areas and are working and relaxing there. In Buganda more people do leave, especially those with secondary education. But even in this group it is the minority who leave (32% of the secondary school leavers

had gone to town), some of them only leave for a short time and their long term plans lie in the village. More of the young men in Kalunga expressed a feeling that they would like to live in town for a while but few of them expressed active resentment at living in the village. In all three villages the predominant orientation was towards settling in the village, working and building a house there. For many of them the question of moving to an urban area had never entered their calculations, their opportunities were so clearly rural. (See Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Orientation of Youth to Where They Want to Live by Area.<sup>a</sup>

<u>Place to live</u>	<u>Kalunga</u>	<u>Bugadu</u>	<u>Olulu</u>
Village	96 (51%)	153 (73%)	127 (89%)
Trading Centre or town	36 (19%)	20 (9%)	6 (4%)
City	46 (30%)	11 (5%)	6 (4%)
Village and town/city	0	29 (13%)	3 (2%)
Total	178	213	142

<sup>a</sup> These figures were drawn in different ways in the three villages; in Kalunga they were in answer to the question, "where do you prefer to live?" In Bugadu and West Nile they were in answer to, "where will you live in ten years' time?"

Their attitude towards their life and future is essentially pragmatic. They turn to the rural areas because they know how to live there, they know how to work there, their ties are there, their recreation and friends are there. It is in the village they have access to land and can do agriculture, from this they get both money and food. It is here that they can build a house at low cost, they have no problem with accommodation or rent. They acquire skills in the village which enable them to earn a living there. For many of them their only contacts and skills are rurally oriented, they have never even tried to get a job in town. They have no intention of leaving the village. A fairly representative answer about how they view the village and their life there comes from a young man in Kalunga, "I do not think about my life. I just know I must go to the garden and dig and get enough money and I will be alright." Some young people do express a desire to go and act on this move about looking for jobs, these are the youth with confidence, contacts and usually some educational qualifications. Some of them get urban jobs and earn more money, urban formal and informal earnings are higher than rural incomes. But expenses in town are high and often urban opportunities are limited by lack of sufficient qualifications and the young people may be barred from promotion - their incomes remain static. Often youth who have worked in town return to the village, either because they have exploited their opportunities and feel that they will do better using their savings to enter self-employment in the village.

These youth have the competence to live in the villages, this is where they see their future. The question of whether they like it there is perhaps irrelevant, many of them have never asked themselves that question, they do not see this as a valid choice. The question is not 'do they like it, but rather how do they live there, and this has been fully discussed in the paper. They see the flaws and problems of rural living only too well, but they do not feel that their life would necessarily be better anywhere else. To counter-balance any feeling that the case has been overstated, that the young people are euphoric about rural life, it is time to briefly give some of their

complaints. But it must be remembered that merely because they are aware of the problems of the rural areas, it does not mean they conceive of the town as a viable alternative, most of them do not. Their orientation is rural, within that framework they have much to say about the lack of facilities and amenities which would improve their lives.

'In my village we do not have any social centre where we can spend social evenings .... we do not have better roads, no electricity, not enough dispensaries and hospital. Some people die like rats in their house.' They feel strongly that the Government should contribute much more to improving the rural areas, they want more roads, better marketing facilities, hospitals, schools, more stock in their shops improved water supplies, electricity. Their great demand is for improved social services.

Table 4.2: Facilities the Young People Wanted in Their Rural Area, by the Village They Lived In.<sup>a</sup>

<u>Facilities</u>	<u>Kalunga</u>	<u>Bugadu</u>	<u>Olulu</u>
Youth clubs	19 (16%)	3 (2%)	3 (1%)
Recreation	15 (12%)	38 (27%)	2 (1%)
Government Development	48 (40%)	83 (59%)	12 (7%)
Education	16 (13%)	34 (24%)	20 (11%)
Health	36 (30%)	51 (42%)	14 (8%)
Agriculture	14 (11%)	34 (24%)	180 (over 100%)
Wealth (personal)	5 (4%)	4 (2%)	68 (40%)
Community development	39 (32%)	119 (84%)	64 (37%)
Satisfied	12 (9%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
Total	204	268	365
N =	121	141	171

<sup>a</sup> These figures are for all those youth not at school. Each person had three answers recorded. The percentages are based on N, not on the total number of answers. The facilities under each general heading include:-

Youth clubs - young farmers, scouts, drama, NUYO, football clubs;  
 Recreation - T.V., bars, social centres, cinema, hotels;  
 Government - communication, police, jobs, transport, roads  
 Education - schools, teachers, adult education, lower fees;  
 Health - water supplies, dispensary, medical staff, ambulance;  
 Agriculture - alternative cash crops, tractors, dairies, co-ops, new farm methods;  
 Community development - shops, markets, church, buildings, trade, small industries;  
 Personal - more money, better housing, a bike, a car.

In Kalunga the greatest felt needs were for improved communications and transport, mainly for the purposes of marketing goods from the village to outside. There was a concern that they needed better health facilities, a dispensary nearer the village, cleaner springs, an ambulance and a regular health visitor. They also wanted more shops carrying a wider range of consumer goods. Those young people from Kalunga who were living in town at the time of the study emphasised especially their concern over the poor health facilities and the lack of adequate transport out of the village, as well as the small range of stock on the village dukas.

Similar items caused concern in Bugadu, where they wanted more and better

shops, nicer houses, improved roads, transport and communication. Their main area of concern was markets and trading, the area in which they earn their living. They also voiced a need for more schools and more improvements in their agriculture. Only two people from Bugadu said they were satisfied with the situation as it stood, twelve in Kalunga voiced satisfaction, but they were all females with limited education. Both those living in and out of Bugadu expressed the same complaints and felt needs, though those in the village were more concerned with the lack of bars and hotels for eating and drinking and meeting in. In West Nile the overwhelming feeling that was expressed was to improve agriculture. They saw their whole lives tied to agriculture and here they saw there was great need for improvement, they wanted more equipment, more Government loans, more outside assistance to increase their productivity and thus their personal wealth, they felt strongly that they were poor and need more money to buy goods such as mbati, bicycles, more education, better clothes. They wanted better shops too, more markets, more schools and better trained teachers.

The young people are particularly aware of the deficiencies in the road system in the rural areas, in their lack of transport and communications, the limited amount of health care open to them, the lack of well stocked shops and enough schools for their children. They know that their agriculture, trading and business from which they derive their small incomes could be improved but they feel they need outside help with this and it is not forthcoming. They are aware that rural life is difficult, the work is slow and hard, that their returns are low and that the running of everyday life is time consuming. They know the problems only too well and voice them readily, but few of them see town as a viable alternative. They perceive their future to be in the village and within this framework they go to school, they work, marry and procreate, they drink and spend time with their friends. Only a small number leave and even fewer become permanent urban dwellers. In spite of the hardships the majority of the young people take a positive attitude towards their environment, they play a definite role in their villages and many of them contribute to rural development.

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

### CHAPTER FIVE

T. WALLACE and S.G. WEEKS

#### Introduction

In this monograph we have raised and explored many questions concerning the education, economic activities, productivity, and involvement of youth in three different rural areas in Uganda. We have found that in spite of differences in the history, agricultural and commercial development, provisions for schooling, and occupational opportunities between the three villages that there are fundamental similarities shared by the youth in the three areas. Is it possible to generalise from these findings?

First, if we had worked in only one area our findings might be taken with considerable reservation as it could be claimed that they were unique to that area, but having done research in three different areas on the same variables gives greater validity to the results and supports their applicability to other parts of Uganda.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, one might argue that the findings of this study are only valid for rural areas about twenty miles from a town, but it should be noted on the one hand that most areas of Uganda are near trading centres, and within 40 miles of a town (the exception is Karamoja and Acholi), and on the other that the urban influence is geographically rather limited.

We also carried out extensive demographic surveys in three villages in each area that were more isolated, situated forty or more miles from the major town, and found the same basic patterns existing.

Thirdly, because our research was conducted in three areas of exceptionally high population density the findings cannot be dismissed as applying only to places of low density where land is available. Thus we are confident that these results have implications that go beyond the confines of these three areas and may also be of relevance outside Uganda in East Africa.

What then are some of the major points of this study? The theme that youth are involved in their villages has been amply documented and supported by a variety of findings. A majority of youth up to (80%) stay in their rural areas. Some of those who leave return to their villages, and many more who were out said they *intended* to return to their villages when they were older. They find a range of employment opportunities open to them; in Olulu these are predominantly in agriculture, in Bugadu in cash crops and trading and in Kalunga in non-agricultural jobs. The options available for each individual youth vary according to several, often inter-related factors. The young people who have the best choices are male, over twenty, coming from relatively

<sup>1</sup> But this study cannot be generalized to cattle keeping areas like Ankole and Karamoja.



well off families. For those who go into agriculture seriously success seems to be affected especially by having access to good land, being older and having a wife to help with the work, being able to grow coffee, cotton or tobacco. Access to credit or 'capital' is crucial for those who wish to extend or improve their farming. Education did not appreciably affect agricultural incomes, but it was seen to be important in rural earnings outside agriculture, though here again age, sex, family background and access to capital were dominant influences. In addition to these it was seen that having formal education positively improved earnings, as did holding a multiplicity of jobs, working outside the village and having access to learning specific skills outside school.

This is just a beginning and there is a need for further research. The precise role of formal education in relation to particular rural jobs needs more study. Having suggested that education is important for obtaining access to rural formal jobs, that it boosts earnings in informal non-agricultural jobs but does not seem positively related to earnings in farming, it is time to relate formal education more precisely to performance in rural trading, building, and repair for example. Similarly informal education is obviously a key factor, the youth must learn the specific skill before he can do the job. More needs to be understood concerning who the youth learn from, and the networks of informal learning. The role of education in all aspects requires further investigation, so does the part played by family background factors. Clearly the youth who come from educated families, where the father owns land, has a steady income and a range of contacts have an advantage. As yet no adequate index of rural wealth has been developed, yet there is a need to design a sensitive tool to measure rural differentiation and then relate this to rural success for the youth. From observation it is a key variable, but it remains to be measured.

We have found that success and failure is related to a multiplicity of factors. Though we have tried to isolate and interpret a few of them, we are also aware that many others are operative, and our case studies have demonstrated this. Doors open and close for youth not only due to sex, age, education, where to work, number of jobs performed, which sector they enter, their family background, friendship networks, but also due to unpredictable factors such as illness, pregnancy, death, fear of sorcery, and drought.

Before leaving the subject of rural employment and the way we approached it, it is perhaps necessary to raise a voice of caution. The criteria used for evaluating success and failure, in terms of rural involvement, was level of income (less or more than shs 50). This criteria in itself, though it satisfies the academic formulae of a consistent dependent variable, remains an external criteria imposed on the villages. It is obvious from the other material presented in this monograph that this is a narrow view of both youths' involvement and success. It is not the only criteria used in the villages, though it is an important one. Cash incomes alone are not the only key to 'successful' employment, people also look to other factors, and they are present even though we have not operationalized and quantified them. These include for example being one's own boss, availability of land, free housing and water, cheap food, working with friends or relatives, and working in a familiar environment.

As was seen in Chapter 4, living in the village, being involved in the rural areas is more than just finding work there. The young people also spend their leisure time there and take an active role in village activities such as strolling, gossiping, drinking, dancing, work groups, sleeping groups, circumcision, and funeral ceremonies and political discussions. Youth's involvement in village life is far more than merely an economic one.

The young people in all three villages, by schooling, living and working in the rural areas contribute to rural development. In agriculture they boost the production of the village, in non-agriculture they provide services at a cost the villagers can afford, and they engage in exchanges. They are actively contributing to the diversifying of the rural economy, albeit on a small scale.

The youth are living in the villages, they work and relax there. For many of them economic existence is marginal, though the situation improves as they grow older. They face many barriers to success, taxes, non-payment of debts, limited access to essential skills and poor marketing facilities, yet within the confines of these limitations they earn a living, and some do very well. They are aware of the problems they face, the relative deprivation of the rural areas and yet many of them do not move. They do not feel they have better options elsewhere and they work to improve their rural situation. The question is not are they enjoying the village or do they prefer the town, it is rather why do they stay in the village, what do they do there and what factors block their success?

#### Recommendations

Seeing that most youth do stay in their villages, and that other return to take up agriculture, trading or cottage industries, is there anything that can be done that is not already being done to assist them in these activities? Can skill acquisition be improved? Can motivation, standards, and rewards be raised? The reader may wonder at this point why we are not asking, "what can be done to help unemployed youth?" which is meant to be the question of the decade. A few may wonder why "unemployed" youth have not been considered in the previous chapters. Certainly unemployment must be a block to development? Others will have discerned the simple answer that it was an irrelevant concept when viewing Uganda from the village out. In the villages there were no hard core unemployed. There are pupils, wives, ex-students waiting for results, who are not working, girls waiting to get married, youth resting between jobs, and others not earning money, but in the sense of being uninvolved no one is "unemployed." They are all involved - for the women their involvement is predominantly in the subsistence sector, for the other periods of resting rarely last more than a couple of months and even during that time they assist on the family farm. Only if the criteria of holding a formal enumerated job is used

<sup>2</sup> Tina Wallace, "Young and unemployed: who is and what does it mean?" In: *East Africa Journal*. Vol. 9, No. 11, 1972.

(and it must be remembered that it is by most academics) can these youth be called unemployed.<sup>3</sup>

The general response when one considers ways of assisting a group like 'youth' to develop or improve their activities is to turn to formal institutions. Yet as we have noted there already exists a proliferation of formal institutions which work with youth and other members of the community. One might say that the coverage of these formal institutions is inadequate and that all that is needed is to give them bigger budgets and more staff, a solution being sought in the multiplication of their activities. But would this do much more than create new jobs for people in these expanded organizations? Our feeling is that no amount of creating and extending or improving existing institutions or new ones like Village Polytechnics - an approach tried in Kenya or Rural Training Centres, will alter appreciably the situation.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps the most immediately relevant way to assist these young people, to allow them to increase their productivity is to remove some of the restrictions that block their development. Taxes for rural youth could be lowered, licence fees, marketing dues, bicycle taxes, fines for illegal brewing outside the formal sector could be abolished, allowing the youth to accumulate cash instead of constantly draining away their already limited resources. Taxes on essential items like cloth, sugar, salt could be reduced. As well as taking less from rural areas, it should be possible for capital inputs to be raised, to develop a system of small loans for businessmen in the villages.

Another indirect means is for planners to be aware of what is produced in villages for village consumption and not to start an urban mechanized industry that will compete unfairly with and perhaps destroy village based cottage industries. We have noted that there are rope makers in the villages. This does not mean that we should have a *course* in rope making, this is unnecessary as the skill is learned informally. But one way to develop rope making is not to block it, to favour the cottage industry over the factory made product. Factory made products may create a few jobs, but they may also eliminate other jobs. Indeed many urban jobs legislate against informal employment, for example, Uganda Waragi. A Uganda Garment Industry can easily glut the market for shirts with factory made ones at low prices - and the result is 100 workers in a factory put out of business many more tailors in villages. It is not always necessary to start a factory in town for something produced in the villages; instead market arrangements should be made to support the development of rural cottage industries. At present all loans, marketing and legislation favour the

<sup>3</sup> One of the young assistants in West Nile wrote in 1970 when describing activities in the village, "lastly those who are unemployed dig, mostly in groups in their gardens." Digging was not a formal job so he saw it as unemployment, even though they were working!

<sup>4</sup> Agencies like extension workers, co-operatives, churches, youth clubs, Y's, NUYO, Young Farmers of Uganda, Rural Training Centres, Adult education and literacy programmes, community development centres, etc.

<sup>5</sup> John Anderson has written extensively on village polytechnique, most recently in, *Organization and financing of self-help education*, Paris, UNESCO, IIEP, 1973; and in a chapter in P. Foster and J.R. Sheffield, eds. *Education and rural development, World Yearbook of Education, 1974*. London. Evans Brothers, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> Crude *enguli* to make Uganda waragi can be brewed and distilled legally, any other distilling is illegal. Yet the making of enguli continues throughout Uganda from different stock as the price is so much lower - three shillings a litre for the illegal brew compared to fifteen or more for the legal.

formal sector and discriminate against informal rural jobs.

As well as reducing the taxes and taking less resources from the village, and actively supporting the informal sector by improving market facilities and exploiting the rural potential rather than creating rural capital intensive jobs, there is a need for the Government to teach essential skills in the villages, skills such as book-keeping and accounting. Instead of trying to teach specific practical skills in school, there should be provision made to teach specialised agricultural and business skills which are not already known in the village, to those youth who have left school and have chosen to live in the village. These youth are motivated to learn because their orientation is rural and they want to maximize their earnings in the village. They would be more willing to learn than school children, whose reasons for sitting at lessons are less practical, as pupils want to learn to pass exams.

It is necessary to remove some of the structural barriers that block the youth in their rural employment, and some inputs in terms of teaching specialised skills and improving marketing could be made. These are limited recommendations perhaps, but ones which the country can afford and would enable the rural youth to improve their situation. We are aware of course on a larger scale that their poverty is tied to the total world situation of underdevelopment in East Africa and development in the northern world. Villages in Uganda are peripheral to both urban areas in Uganda and the developed world, but at the same time integrated into the world economy. As in the Colonial period wages are kept down as workers are "cushioned" by having the village meet most of their needs. Until economic transformation occurs in East Africa no amount of penny capitalism or co-operation or agricultural development will basically alter these fundamental relationships. Patterns of rural-urban inequality and of rural social differentiation are bound to continue and the local elite who 'make it' will consolidate their position and pass on their benefits to their children, and thus social inequalities will continue in the villages. But recognizing these facts does not in our view argue against taking action that will expand the opportunities and incomes for the rural youth now.

## Conclusion

Uganda is ninety percent rural. It is bound to remain a nation of villages for many decades to come because the rate of urbanization is slow and may have been slowed down further by recent events. The rural areas are important. Most of the youth are there and they are involved. Their situation demands further research and Government support. At present their existence is relatively marginal, with greater insight into rural problems and a removing of structural barriers their opportunities could be improved.

<sup>7</sup> The theoretical implications and discussion of this will be developed in a later paper by Dr. Wallace.

## Glossary of Terms

We have tried to avoid using vernacular terms and words. They only appear where there is no English equivalent, or where we are quoting directly from an informant. The following are the words that do appear in the monograph:-

Buganda	A region in central Uganda
Baganda (s. Muganda)	The name of the people who live in Buganda
Luganda	The language spoken in Buganda
Bugisu	A region in Eastern Uganda, around Mount Elgon
Bagisu (s. Mugisu)	The name of the people who live in Bugisu (also called Bamasaba)
Lugisu or Lumasaba	The language spoken in Bugisu
West Nile	A District in North West Uganda, across the Nile
Lugbara	The name of one of the groups who live in West Nile and the language spoken by the Lugbara
adati	Lugbara. A communal work group
ayah	Used in all three villages to mean a person who is paid to look after children
bati	Used in all three villages, sheets of corrugated iron for roofing a house
busuti	Dress worn by Baganda women
debi	A large tin container, often used for carrying water, beer or vegetables
dobi	A dry cleaner
duka	A shop, usually a small shop
enguli	Crude waragi, brewed in the village
fundi	An expert, craftsman
hoteli	A small shop selling cups of tea, coffee, bread, samosas, etc.

kanzu	Long cotton robe, usually white, worn especially in Buganda, or by Muslims
kibanja (pl. Bibanja)	A plot of land which is rented, not owned, in Buganda
kikoi	Cloth used as underskirt by women in Bugisu and Buganda
kwete	Used in Bugisu and West Nile. Local beer
lumond	Luganda. Sweet potatoes
ntula	Luganda. A small green vegetable
mailo	Luganda. Land which is owned
malaya	Used in all three villages, a prostitute
mandazi	Dough cooked in oil; doughnut
matoke	Luganda. Green edible bananas
mawezo	Luganda. Seed/shell game common in Africa
mulembe	Lugisu. Greeting; "how are you?"
mwenge	Luganda. Local beer made from bananas
odrojo	Lugbara. Sleeping group
omunanansi	Luganda. Beer made from pineapples
oya	Lugbara. Communal work group
peke	A throwing game with coins or bottle caps
shamba	Used in all three areas. Farm, plot of land for cultivation
waragi	Highly alcoholic distilled spirit.

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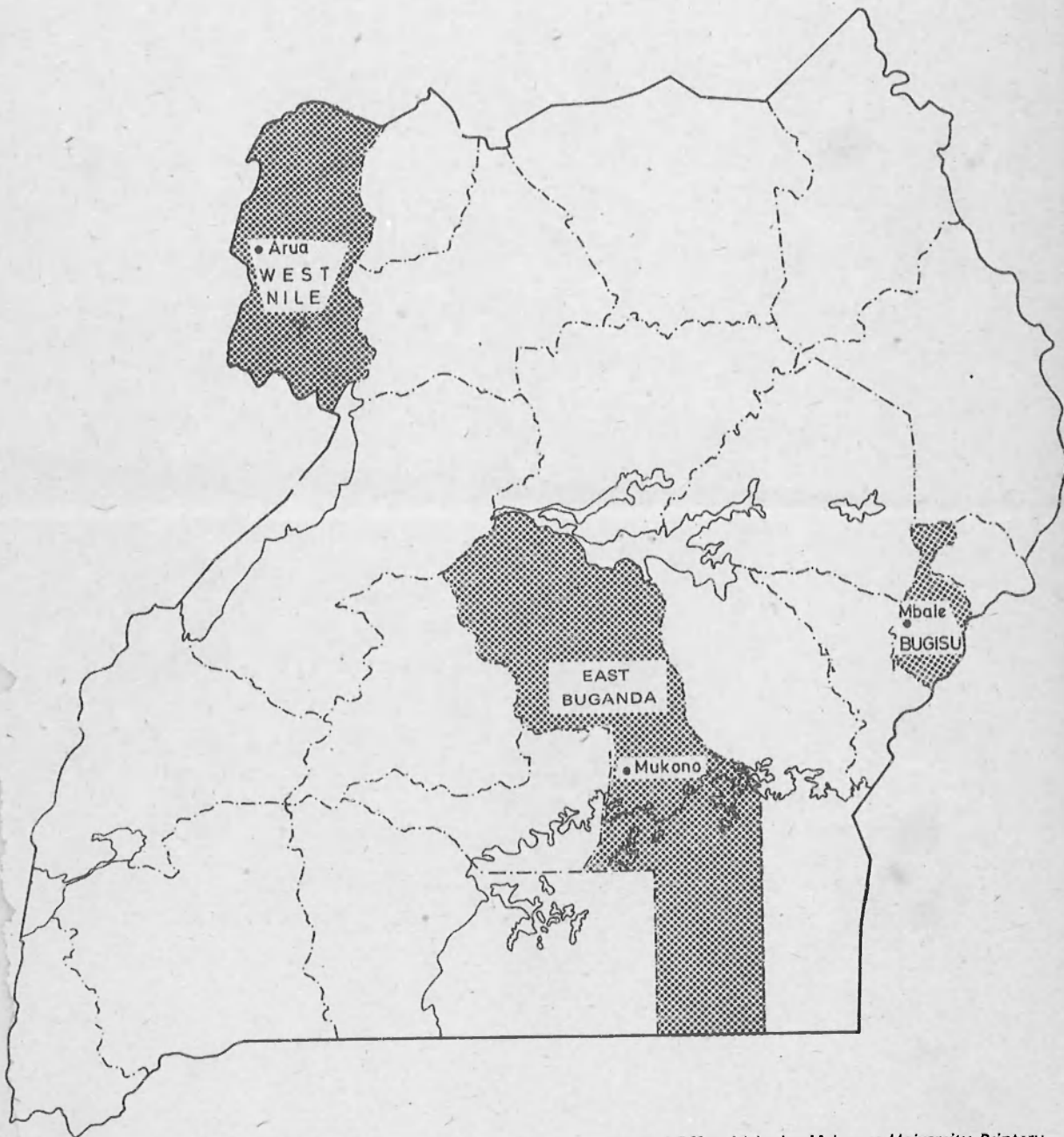
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