

ASPECTS OF URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT IN UGANDA

By

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From the early years of this century, a periodic problem besetting development in Uganda has been shortage of labour, a shortage which was shared by the Baganda farmers who came to depend on hired labour. From the 1920s this shortage was met by increasing immigration of labour from countries bordering on Uganda, notably Ruanda-Urundi, by recruiting agencies and by a growing flow of immigrants from West Nile, Kigezi and Ankole and later from other areas of Uganda. (Powersland 1954)

From the middle 1950s the annual reports of the Labour Department begin to mention periodic surpluses of unskilled labour in towns, co-existing with shortages of labour elsewhere. The last reports of 1959 and 1960 speak of a general surplus of all labour in towns, except the most highly skilled, and of growing numbers of school leavers coming onto the labour market with inadequate qualifications for the rising standards expected by employers. The reports qualify this by adding that unemployment was not a serious urban problem because the unemployed were able to return to their homes when they failed to find work.

Over the last ten years, for a number of reasons, employment in Uganda had been increasing at a slower rate than the growth of production. In addition to a general trend away from labour intensive industries, there has been some reduction in the labour required per unit of output, substitution of capital for labour, which together with increases in minimum wages and the employment of better trained labour have resulted in a narrowed wage structure at a time when there has been rapid increase in population, and a growing number of boys leaving school with no particular skills. (Clark, Baryaraha, Rado and Vam Arkadie 1965)

In view of the existence of a body of surplus unskilled labour, a form of unemployment can be said to exist, at least in the major towns. Unemployment in Uganda, however, must be set in the context of a predominately agricultural economy, and there is some danger of imposing industrial Western concepts onto a situation in which they are not entirely appropriate. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the forms of unemployment which exist, and the levels on which they are found.

Lack of employment in Uganda takes the following forms:-

- a) Urban unemployment: a man in town is unemployed if he is willing to work, actively seeking employment and has abandoned all alternative forms of occupation in order to look for work, even though he may not have left his home.
- b) Underemployment: this is both a rural and an urban phenomenon, and may take two forms (following I.L.O. usage)
 - i. Visible underemployment: this covers any form of involuntary short-time or part-time working, including seasonal unemployment which is due to insufficient economic opportunity.
 - ii. Disguised underemployment: this may or may not be short time working, but productive capacity is underutilised, and both earnings and productivity are low. In this form it can apply particularly to family cultivation where a growing population

is being absorbed by the
agricultural sector.

By this definition a farmer who has left his land to look for work, and who is therefore not strictly dependent on wage earning, can be considered unemployed if he fails to get work until such time as he returns to farming. Urban unemployment is likely to become a problem, either when boys come from school to look for work, and are unwilling to become farmers, or when numbers of farmers are continually moving into the town and being replaced by others as they return, so that there is a permanent stratum of unemployed in the town although its composition changes.

There is little doubt that urban unemployment in these terms does exist in Uganda, but there is little or no information on the nature and length of the periods of unemployment experienced, the capacity of the men for the work they are seeking, their alternative prospects for obtaining incomes outside the towns, and the means by which they survive while they are unemployed. A Survey was therefore carried out which provided information on these points from unemployed men in Kampala and Jinja.

In the absence of any datum that could serve as a sampling frame, it was not thought possible to base the survey on a random sample, neither was quota sampling practicable owing to the lack of information about the unemployed as a population. A household survey which would cover the unemployed was beyond the resources of the present survey, but it is doubtful whether this would be a very fruitful way of studying unemployment in Uganda as the unemployed tend to be mobile and elusive, besides which numbers of them live in the peri-urban areas where food is easier to come by, rather than in the towns themselves.

There have been two recent surveys of unemployed men in African Cities, one in Dakar, and the other in Brazzaville. Y. Mersadier (1963) had constructed a household frame of 4,000 families in Dakar for use in a family budget survey, and he used this three months later to follow up the unemployed in these households. This time lag had the disadvantage of causing the omission of those who had moved or had found employment, and those who had since become unemployed, but a final group of 400 men was found. In Brazzaville, R. Devauges (1963) invited unemployed men in the Poto-Poto township of Brazzaville to be interviewed. He used a short questionnaire for 486 interviews, and a more detailed one for 141 men selected on the basis of the larger group, stratified by age, education, occupation and tribe.

The present survey was limited to the two main towns of Kampala and Jinja where it was known that numbers of work seekers could be found, and was aimed at locating unemployed men who were actively seeking work and interviewing them on the spot. On this basis a pilot study of 54 men was carried out in the Kampala Labour Exchange, and then 100 men waiting for work outside the Nyanza Textile Industries Ltd factory in Jinja, and 100 men waiting outside the BAT Uganda Ltd factory in Kampala were interviewed inside these factories.* The men chosen were selected from the factory gate as systematically as possible; where there was a queue the man at the head was chosen, where there was no ordered queue,

* I am very grateful to these two firms for their co-operation in this survey.

the man at the middle point of the double gate was taken. If the selected man had been interviewed before, the man next to him was taken. Different interpreters were used for each of the surveys, and interviews were carried out in English, Luganda or Swahili.

The tribal, age and educational distribution of the men who were interviewed are discussed briefly here to give a general picture of the groups as a whole, before going on to the categories of unemployed who were found. The two groups of men from the factories in Kampala and Jinja showed some variation in their general characteristics, but these seemed to derive chiefly from differences in their tribal distribution.

Table One - Tribal Distribution

Tribal group	Kampala	Jinja	Total%	Total No
Baganda	32	25	28.5	57.5
Basoga	3	11	7.0	14
Banyankole	15	2	8.5	17
Bakiga	10	6	8.0	16
Other W. Province	3	2	2.5	5
Iteso	2	11	6.6	13
Other E. Province	7	17	12.0	24
N. Province	5	13	9.0	18
Kenyans	11	6	8.5	17
Banyarwanda	9	4	6.5	13
Other foreigners	3	3	3.0	6
Total	100	100	100.0	200

The Jinja group drew more heavily on the tribes of the Eastern and Northern Provinces, notably Basoga and Iteso, while the Kampala group had larger proportions from Western Province, particularly from Ankole and Kigezi, and also from Kenya and Rwanda. It was striking in both groups that there was a large range of tribes from both inside and outside Uganda, but that the Baganda were the largest single group. All the major tribes of Uganda were represented with the exception of the Karamojong and the Lango neither of whom migrate to the towns in large numbers.

Taken together, the two groups were characterised by their youth, which was related to limited experience of previous employment and some education.

Table Two - Age Distribution

Tribal Groups	Age Groups %				Total %
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30 & Over	
Baganda	37	39	17	7	100
W. Province	21	53	16	10	100
Other Ugandans	32	32	22	14	100
Foreigners	19	45	19	17	100
Total	29	40	19	12	100

The men from outside Uganda, together with the Banyankole and Bakiga tended to be a little older than the remaining groups, but in all tribal groups the great majority were under 25, and relatively few were over 30. There were few very young boys, and those under 20 were mostly 18 or 19.

With this relatively small age range the differences in the age distribution between tribes do not appear particularly significant.

Table Three - Level of Education

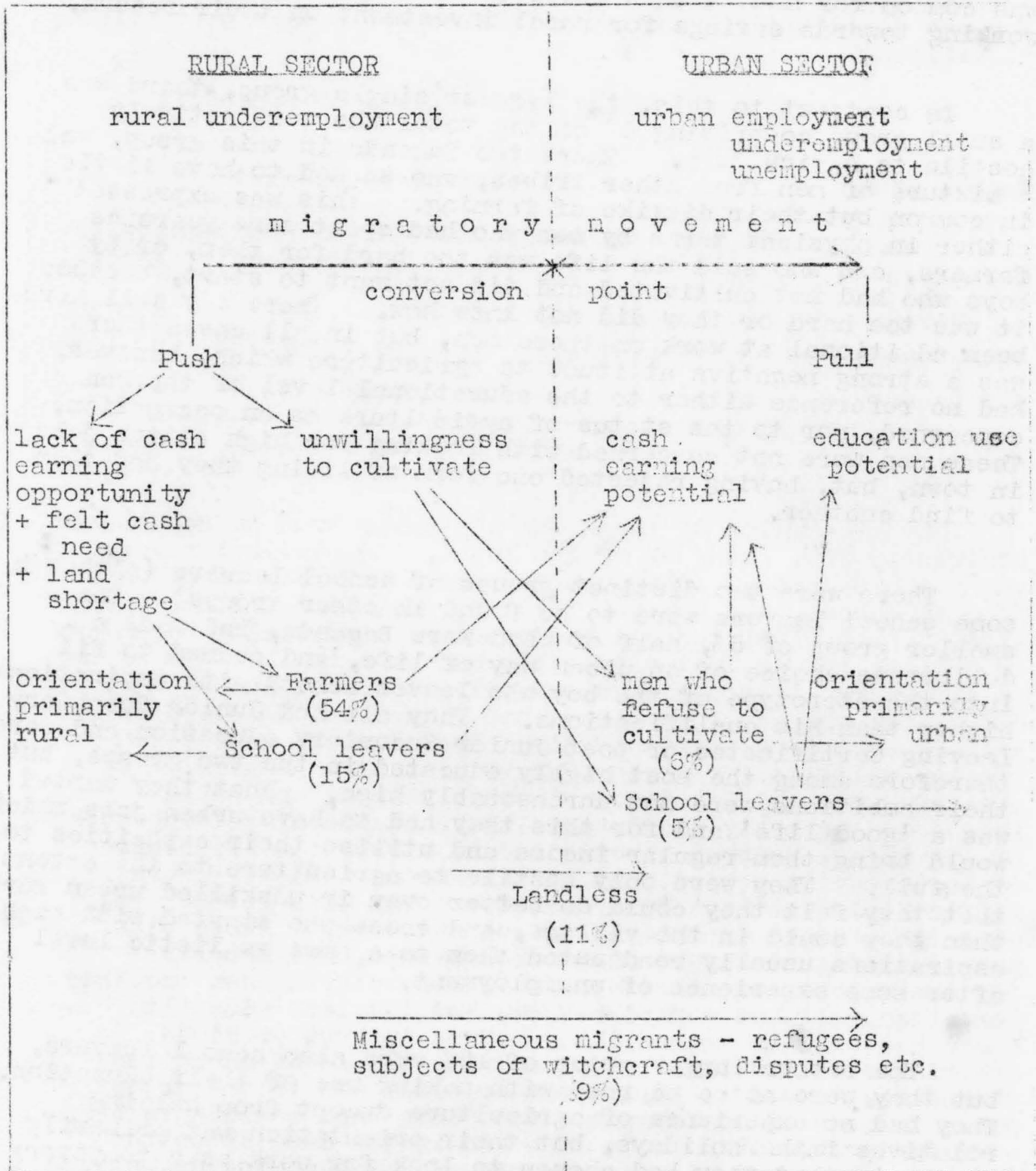
Tribal Group	Highest class reached							Senior T.%
	None	P1-P3	P4-P5	P6	J1-J2	J2 with cert	Senior	
Baganda	4	9	18	19	33	12	5	100
W. Province	10	19	29	16	5	13	8	100
Other Ugandans	10	13	13	21	19	14	10	100
Foreigners	17	17	25	5	17	19	-	100
Total	9	14	20	17	20	14	6	100

The proportion of those who had never been to school was strikingly low, being 9% of the total, and particularly low among the Baganda. Although the great majority of men had been to school, the general level of education was not very high. Only 6% of the men had received post-Junior Secondary education, and in most cases this had been in the form of one or two years at an unrecognised private school in Buganda. 60% of all the men interviewed had either no education or primary education only, and might therefore be considered poorly qualified for employment by present standards. Of this 60%, one third had never worked before, and would therefore probably stand very little chance of getting work at all in the present circumstances. From the experience of these men it seemed that it has become annually more difficult in the last few years for a boy with little education and no experience to get any work. Those with poor qualifications who had worked before, had usually got their jobs some time ago. Taking all the men together more than half had worked before, but the less education a man had had, the more likely he was to have previous experience of working. The men with the least education therefore, tended to be the rather older men in the group whose chances of employment a few years back would have been more favourable than those of a man in the same situation today. There was little evidence of men becoming unemployed after years of working in town.

It was clear from the material collected that unemployment must be considered as one aspect of the movement between town and country which is continually bringing waves of work seekers into the town. It is therefore important to discover not only why A is employed rather than B, but also the point at which both A and B decide to leave home in order to look for work; in other words, the point at which rural underemployment is converted into urban employment, underemployment or unemployment. It is known that the number of workseekers actually in the towns can vary with the amount of publicity given to employment prospects, so that the announcement of a new factory will bring people looking for jobs before the factory is built. An unemployed man who

has the means is likely to return home and wait for news of new employment before returning to the town, so that the number of men in town without work at any one time does not give the full picture of the extent of potential unemployment which is existing as disguised rural underemployment. The following diagram expresses in simplified form the factors which operate in bringing these men to town.

Diagram One



The movement of labour between town and country operates in both directions, but the diagram here is only concerned with the rural-urban movement, to illustrate both the categories of men found in the survey, and the pressure or attractions which work on them. The percentages given in the diagram are taken from the proportions of men in each group found in Kampala and Jinja together. These groups were classified on the basis of the explanations given by the men of how they came to leave home, or why they stayed on in town after leaving school, together with their experience or lack of experience of farming. From this it seemed that there were three main groups coming to the town; a small group who made a specific urban choice of life, a substantial group whose first choice lay in a rural way of life, and an intermediate group.

The farmers were all men with experience of agriculture (though in some cases this experience was rather limited) who had rejected farming temporarily as a source of adequate income in the hope of finding higher rewards in the town. They were men who thought of themselves primarily as farmers who were being denied opportunities in their home areas, but they had

no hostility to agriculture as such, and would have preferred to have stayed at home if their returns had been greater. It was common for men in this group to be thinking in terms of working towards savings for rural investment on their return.

In contrast to this, the largest single group, there was a small group comprising 6% of the total who were actively hostile to agriculture. There two Baganda in this group, and a mixture of men from other tribes, who seemed to have little in common but their dislike of farming. This was expressed either in physical terms by men who had spent some years as farmers, and who said the life was too hard for them, or by boys who had not cultivated and did not want to start, because it was too hard or they did not know how. There may well have been additional at work on these men, but in all cases there was a strong negative attitude to agriculture which, however, had no reference either to the educational level of the man concerned, nor to the status of agriculture as an occupation. These men were not concerned with looking for high status jobs in town, but, having rejected one form of living they had then to find another.

There were two distinct groups of school leavers (although some school leavers were to be found in other groups) The smaller group of 5%, half of whom were Baganda, had made a deliberate choice of an urban way of life, and seemed to fit into the stereotype of the boy who leaves school with aspirations higher than his qualifications. They all had Junior Secondary Leaving Certificates or post Junior Secondary education and were therefore among the most highly educated in the two groups, but their ambitions were not unreasonably high. What they wanted was a 'good life' and for this they had to have urban jobs which would bring them regular income and utilise their capacities to the full. They were only hostile to agriculture to the extent that they felt they could do better even in unskilled urban work than they could in the village, and those who started with high aspirations usually readjusted them to a more realistic level after some experience of unemployment.

The rather larger group of 15% were also school leavers, but they were not concerned with making use of their education. They had no experience of agriculture except from helping relatives in the holidays, but their orientation was primarily rural, in that they had chosen to look for work as a temporary expedient resulting from inadequate opportunities at home, and it was their perception of these opportunities that largely governed their decision to leave home. This group included boys who had not yet been allotted land, and those who had no source of income at home, because they had no cash crops, or could not cultivate on their own account. They differed from the farmers in that they had not had experience of trying to make a living at home since leaving school.

The small proportion of those who scorn agriculture on educational grounds is at variance with the opinion prevalent in Uganda that unemployment is largely due to school leavers seeking white collar work for which they are not qualified, and regarding agriculture as an inferior occupation. The majority were looking for any kind of unskilled work, setting their ambition no higher than manual work or such jobs as office boy, emphasising that their level of education gave them no greater expectations than this in a time of severe competition for jobs. A study of Nigerian school leavers shows very much the same attitudes, "It is noteworthy that these school leavers are not opposed to farming per se. The determining factor in their attitudes towards farming is whether it is in

the traditional or modern mode, the former being considered highly desirable by only 23.4% and the latter by a much larger 67.3%. These young men may be enticed back to the land if the conditions of work and income are favourable. Thus far from being blindly and stubbornly committed to lofty, unobtainable occupational goals, these school leavers evidence much realism and flexibility in setting their occupational goals and adjusting them to conditions." (McQueen 1965) In Uganda the primary factor determining attitudes to agriculture lies in the income to be derived from it, and where it is evident that a reasonable living can be made from farming, the great majority would prefer to cultivate rather than migrate to the towns.

There remain two intermediate groups who do not make their choices in the same context as either the farmers or the school leavers; the first of these are those classified as landless. One of the chief disadvantages of surveying men from such widely differing backgrounds lies in the difficulty of evaluating the circumstances from which they have come. This is particularly so with regard to patterns of land tenure, where there are differences in traditional systems, and, because of population and other pressures, divergencies between customary and current practices. A very broad distinction in Uganda may be drawn between areas where there is adequate land for the population, and areas where there is some pressure on land. Except in Buganda the sale of land is not legally possible, but where these men came from areas where land is not plentiful they generally spoke in terms of buying and selling and absolute ownership, partly in a context of de facto freehold, and partly in order to simplify language problems. It was generally accepted that in areas of pressure a man who does not receive land through his father or other close relatives needs money in order to acquire access to land, though the forms of payment and the nature of his rights vary.

In view of the youth of the groups and the numbers who had no experience of farming, it was not surprising to find that 53% had no land of their own at the time of the survey, and 40% had neither land of their own nor the use of land. Of these 40% just under half expected to be allotted land by their fathers or other relatives, or came from areas where land was plentiful. Of the remainder, several had fathers who were alive and farming, leaving a final group of 25 men with no land, no expectations of getting access to land and either no father, or a father who was not a farmer. Three of these men were refugees from Rwanda, and if these are excluded 22 men or 11% of the total might be considered strictly landless.

Three of these men were Kenyans, a Kikuyu, a Muluyia and a Jaluo all from areas of land shortage; five were from areas of Uganda outside Buganda, and were all men whose fathers were dead, and who had lost their rights to land, either by leaving the district, but their father having no land, or, in one case, by a number of brothers occupying it. The remaining 14 men were all Baganda (including 1 Rwandan brought up in Buganda) that is, almost a quarter of all the Baganda interviewed were without land, or any prospect of access to land unless they had money. In the same way as for the other Ugandans, either their fathers had no land, or it had been lost on the death of the father, or shared out among other brothers. It was therefore of great importance to these boys that they should have some income from which they could provide themselves with land, without which they could have no home and no economic security. Some of them expressed the intention of staying in town for long periods if they could get work, but their concern with purchasing rights to land was still strong. As the men

who were interviewed were not randomly selected it is not possible to judge how general this type of landlessness is among the Baganda. Where boys had lost their fathers, they might have lost the chance to have land rights purchased for them which they would otherwise have received, but if increasing numbers of Baganda School leavers living near the main urban centres additionally have no land, the chances of a chronically unemployed class of youth appearing and growing are considerable.

There remains a group of miscellaneous migrants. In this category are placed refugees and those who, though economic factors may enter into their decisions are not primarily motivated by reference either to cash earning opportunities or educational opportunities. It is obvious from much of the literature on the causes of labour migration, that migration can be made to serve different functions within different societies, but it is necessary to distinguish the phenomenon of migration from the ends it can be made to serve. Once migration has become customary from an area, men only marginally in a state of need to migrate may be drawn into the general stream, or the road to town may be used as a means of escape by men who would formerly have used other means.

In general contact of Western societies with formerly non-money economies brings about a gradual increase in the use and appreciation of cash, accompanied by a rising scale of cash needs. Whenever these cash needs cannot be satisfied by local earnings, labour will be exported either into wage earning, or into cash crop growing. In a country like Uganda where there is a great mixture of tribes, and a proportion of the labour force drawn from outside the country, both the opportunities in the home area, and the levels of felt cash need will vary considerably, but ultimately the rate of labour migration is dependent on the relation between expectations, felt cash need and local cash earning opportunity. For example an area such as Karamoja shows a very low migration rate (1.6% of male away from Karamoja in 1959) in association with low felt cash need and low cash earning opportunities. Buganda with high felt cash need and high cash earning opportunities shows a rather higher rate but is still low (4.0% of males away in 1959) Ankole is an area of relatively low cash earning opportunity with rising felt cash needs, and has a high rate of emigration, both rural-urban and rural-rural, (24.9% of males away in 1959).

Winter (1955) points out that the Baamba have little economic motive for migration as their wants can be supplied as well by income from their cash crops as from urban labour. Migration is therefore largely restricted to those who would formerly have moved to another village, for example to avoid witchcraft or family disputes or simply to find adventure. In any group of migrants therefore a certain proportion could be anticipated for whom the economic choice between the rewards of town and country is subordinate to more specific social considerations. Apart from refugees, men driven to leave home in this way are those who are least likely to want to return though they may aim at acquiring land in some other area.

In spite of the flexibility of their expectations, by seeking urban work, the unemployed men in the town have chosen a certain level at which to seek work. There is a considerable volume of rural-rural migration in Uganda either to work for cash crop farmers, or to grow cash crops where income earning opportunities in the home areas are low. The continued employment of large numbers of immigrants from outside Uganda in low paid agricultural labour or in plantation work is

associated with the unwillingness of most Uganda farmers to undertake such work. Where a farmer has land which provides him with subsistence and some cash, he needs the anticipation of a certain level of income before it will be worth his while to abandon agriculture in the hope of getting work. A few of the men who were interviewed were prepared to work as porters for other farmers, or to look for plantation work, but this was usually as a last resort after experience of unemployment.

The economic point at which rural underemployment is converted into urban unemployment therefore lies at that point at which a man's opportunities at home fall below his felt cash need to a level where expectations of urban earnings are high enough to satisfy the need.

While the causes of urban unemployment must be seen to lie within the context of the factors which operate to bring men to town, the persistence of urban unemployment is governed by the length of time men will stay in town without work and how they can survive while they are there. The periods spent in town varied considerably between the groups, and were undoubtedly affected by the timing of the survey in relation to the end of the school year, news of new factories and similar factors which affect the time at which a boy or man actually comes to look for work.

Table Four - Time Spent in Looking for Work

Tribal Group	Under 3 months	3 & under 6 months	6 mths & Under 1 year	1 and under 2 yrs	2 yrs and over	Total %
Baganda	45	21	18	5	11	100
W. Province	32	21	23	16	8	100
Other Ugandans	34	14	25	9	18	100
Foreigners	44	17	14	17	8	100
Total	39	18	21	10	12	100

Although the majority had been in the town looking for work continuously for less than 6 months, nearly a quarter of the group had been looking for more than a year. It was not always possible to get very clear estimates of time from these men, and there is probably underestimation at one end of the scale, and exaggeration at the other. It is possible that this group is biased towards those who stay longest in town as those who can return to their homes without difficulty are perhaps less likely to be found.

There seemed to be fairly limited geographical mobility among these men, partly as a result of physical limitations, partly from a refusal to consider walking as a means of long distance transport, and partly from the necessity of remaining near a food supply. The unwillingness to walk seemed to come less from an appraisal of the distances involved than from attitudes which excluded walking as a possible means of travel over long distances. Over shorter distances men were prepared to walk several miles a day in order to look for work. On the whole the Baganda and Basoga were within easiest reach of home, and though some stayed for long periods from determination to find work, others could return home in between periods of job seeking. The majority of men thought they would return home eventually if they could not find work, but

only 11% said they would give up hope of finding work and would never come back to the town.

Once a man has come to the town and has failed to find work, there are a limited number of ways in which he can survive, if he cannot find someone to provide him with food and shelter he must have income from home from the sale of crops or livestock or from gifts, or he can resort to begging or stealing. Although little information was gained (or asked for) on the last point, data was collected on the ways in which men managed to live while they were in town. From this data it was not possible to state the relationship between increasing unemployment and increasing crime, but a man with no prospects in town, with difficulties in getting food and no money for his bus fare home is likely to be strongly motivated towards crime. A very few of the men mentioned ways in which they obtained food without paying for it, and a greater number stated that they were trying to raise their bus fares home because they did not want to become thieves, and they could not see any alternative if they stayed on in the town.

African labour in both Kampala and Jinja is housed in three main areas, municipal housing estates, company quarters or servants housing, and the many peri-urban villages. Round Kampala there is also private provision in the housing areas of Mengo where urban building restrictions do not apply. These areas are scattered in both towns, and there was a tendency for the majority of workseekers to be living in the areas nearest the factories where they were interviewed. The notable exceptions were the Baganda and Basoga living at home or with relatives in outlying villages.

Table Five - Areas of Residence

Tribal Group	Est	Qrs	Mgo	Vill w/in 5 m.	Vill 5+m.	Sleep- ing out	Other	Total %
Baganda	5	2	14	45	22	-	2	100
W. Province	32	13	26	21	8	-	-	100
Other Ugandans	23	7	13	37	13	2	5	100
Foreigners	17	13	46	25	6	3	-	100
Total	19	8	20	54	15	2	3	100

Even though the majority of the Baganda were living away from home, they were staying in the villages or Mengo rather than in company quarters or housing estates. It can be seen that only 27% of the total men were staying in this provided housing, and almost half the total were living in villages round the towns.

The available evidence on the migration of rural Africans to towns indicates that they come to towns where they have relatives or tribesmen who will support them until they become independent. "To a foreigner alone and stranded, every fellow tribesman becomes a friend, and a distant member of his own clan or lineage is greeted with the warmth of a close relative. In this way travellers who come without the certainty of a particular job, yet have the knowledge of a particular house from which they will be able to seek a job or a piece of land." (Richards 1954.) In Kampala and Jinja this situation is still general, but by no means all the men who come to town have

anyone to whom they know they can go. In some cases villagers in the peri-urban areas were more willing to take in strangers who could perform odd jobs for them, than were townsmen to take in their own tribesmen. The men who came without knowing who to go to would first try to find some friend or tribesman in the town, and failing that would go from village to village, sleeping out if necessary, until they found someone who would take them in, usually in return for some services. On the whole those who were staying with relatives knew before they came that these relatives were in town, and in these cases the relatives felt obliged to take them in. The hospitality offered is not necessarily inexhaustible, but it is difficult to get rid of an unemployed relative except by paying his fare home. The obligations are strongly felt, not only with regard to food and shelter, but also to some extent with clothes, small sums of money, soap and other small articles, as well as the prevailing obligation of those with jobs to find work for their unemployed kin by using all the available informal channels of recruitment.

Table Six - Relationship to Host

	Tribal Group				Total %
	Baganda	Western Province	Other Ugandans	Foreigners	
At home	23	-	3	-	8
Brother or sister	11	24	22	17	18
Father's or mother's brother	19	11	14	8	14
Other relative	12	11	22	33	19
Total with relatives	65	46	61	58	59
Employed friend	19	37	28	23	27
Unemployed friend	-	7	4	3	3
Alone	16	7	7	11	10
Other	-	3	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Nearly a quarter of the Baganda and a few of the Basoga were living at home, and these tribes had the lowest proportion of men staying with non-relatives. The relatives in question were most usually a man's full brother or sister, or brothers of his parents. Other relatives included grandparents, sister's husband, parent's brother's sons, and other more distant relatives. Where men were staying with friends, these included tribesmen encountered in the town, friends from school, ex-workmates and men from other tribes. Where men were staying with unemployed friends, they had either come together to look for work, and had been given rooms in return for services, or the friend had lost his job after the unemployed man had come to stay. A relatively large proportion were not staying with anyone, and these were either younger boys who had been given rooms in return for services men who had kept their houses after losing their jobs, still having some money for rent, or men who had been allowed to build small huts on someone else's land. Five of these men who had been working had their families with them.

In the majority of cases food was provided by the person with whom the unemployed man was staying, but where men were not staying with relatives they did not always have a certain source of food, and to get one meal a day had recourse to theft, begging, casual labour, or the use of savings from home or former employment. Those staying in the villages found it easier to get food from neighbours or by casual labour than those in the towns.

To the extent that friends and relatives can offer support, a man's unemployment in town can be prolonged indefinitely. A man who has been unemployed for some time, even if he is supported by close relatives, will have dispelled the 'money illusion' and be well aware of the value of 'free' food and housing in the rural areas, but he will weigh this consideration against the lack of cash income at home, and will probably aim to stay in town for as long as he can find support. Even without relatives, men will do their best to stay in the town, but their conditions of life may well be harder, and their discouragement therefore greater. Their chief source of help lies in casual labour, either in the town or the village. Other sources of income from gifts or sales of property are important in individual cases, but do not affect the majority.

Even from casual labour income was usually small and irregular, but about half of each group had found some work. In Jinja this was most often in the form of a days work at the Nyanza Textiles factory or work in the villages, while in Kampala it was predominately work in the town. Very few men had sufficient cash to start any form of trading or self-employment, and where they had done so, they usually operated on such a small margin that the slightest set back could put them out of business. There is much more scope for casual work in Kampala than there is in Jinja, and more opportunity for small scale trading, but in both towns the most common work was either at factories, or loading or unloading lorries for shopkeepers in the town. Men working in the village earned very much smaller sums, but could often find work more frequently, especially when they were paid in food. The most regularly employed were those who worked for their landlords, but there was work for others in carry water, assisting local builders and casual cultivation. Except where there was rent to be paid, income from casual work was usually used for food. In a very few cases men were trying to accumulate money towards a bribe or their bus fare home.

It is not possible in a nonrandom study of this nature to derive more than very conclusions from the figures obtained, or to judge which categories of unemployed may have been omitted from the survey, for example through the selective distribution of tribes between industries, or the movement of short-term unemployed back to their home areas. However it seems that Uganda's employment problem does not lie primarily in the attraction exercised by the town, but in the inability of the rural areas to support their present populations at their present levels of expectation. As these expectations are likely to continue to rise, and as increasing numbers will be leaving school after seven years primary education, this position is likely to become worse in the future.

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