An analysis of the social change processes resulting from the migration of diverse tribal groups to Bugere, Buganda, Uganda.

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A thesis submitted for the degree Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh July 1967.
Musale, Bugerere, looking south.
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Amalebe go munyanja is a marching song of the small primary school attended by the children of Kamira village, composed by their headmaster. Children from 15-20 different tribes are in his classes, presenting considerable linguistic problems. Chorus singing in Luganda plays an important part in the curriculum, being both discipline and instruction. In this song the children are amalebe, noisy tin cans who, in spite of their diversity, are all go munyanja, of the Lake (Victoria) area. Tuyimba, they sing together, tusanyuka, they are all happy together. Each tribe in the class contributes a verse, abaganda, abagisu, and so on.
Preface

This project, financed by the Scottish Education Department, was commenced in August 1964. The field work was carried out between March 1965 and June 1966, during which time I was an Associate Member of the East African Institute of Social Research\(^1\) at Makerere University College. A six month intermission of the programme was arranged to permit my participation in a study of large scale farmers in Bugerere, under the aegis of the African Studies Centre, Cambridge University, and the Ministry of Overseas Development.

The historic present here is 1965, unless specifically stated to the contrary; this was part of a curious interlude in the history of Buganda, soon after Independence and immediately before the rebellion and consequent constitutional changes of May 1966. Throughout, I shall refer to the situation as I studied it, and my adherence to the usages current at that time must not be regarded as contentious.

I am concerned here with the sociological problems arising from the immigration of members of a wide range of different East African tribes into Bugerere, a county in the Kingdom of Buganda. I shall firstly lay down the bases of the problem by describing the ecology and demography of the area, and by outlining the recent history. In Chapter 4 I shall use these data to establish the propositions to be demonstrated, and in the same chapter I shall describe the methods of investigation used

1. Now the Makerere Institute of Social Research.
in the field, and discuss their effectiveness. Thereafter I shall enlarge upon the theoretical implications of immigration, introducing information gathered by myself and referring frequently to the abundant bibliography. In Chapter 7 I shall introduce the two village communities where I studied the questions of integration in depth, and subsequently I shall examine and compare various aspects of their social organisation. At the end of each chapter I shall draw as concisely as possible a set of conclusions and in Chapter 11 I shall summarise the whole exposition in retrospect, commenting in detail upon the propositions made earlier. As I wish to relate my observations as consistently as possible to real events I shall describe an important social situation in one of the villages studied and use this as an entry into my final comments.

I have attempted, wherever possible, to express data graphically in the belief that this removes from the text the burden of much detail. I may appear to have been over generous, yet I have been concerned throughout to document the situation as fully as possible because it is novel and quite ephemeral.

No attempt has been made to disguise identities and locations; all personal names and the identity of the two villages must be regarded as sacrosanct and should not be reproduced elsewhere.

I am indebted to Mr. Henry West and Dr. Martin Southwold for practical help and advice throughout the project, and to Dr. David McMaster who introduced me to Bugerere and its
problems. I am also grateful for correspondence with and assistance from Dr. I. Langdale-Brown, Mr. B. Langlands, Dr. Jean Sackur, Mr. H.B. Thomas, Mr. M. Twaddle, Mr. F. Welbourne and Professor M. Crawford Young. Messrs. J.A. Story provided me with helpful air photographs and the Uganda Government statistician with census details. I must also record here my thanks to Dr. Rainier Arnhold of Mulago Hospital, to the members of the East African Institute of Social Research and the Social Science faculty of Makerere University College. I am particularly grateful to Dr. A.I. Richards. Inevitably I owe most to the people of Bugerere themselves, for their co-operation and sympathetic help; I would single out the official chiefs, at all times efficient and concerned with the success of my work, my assistant Mr. J. Kaneene, my host Mr. Amosi Natiera, Mr. B.M. Sekasi and Mr. G. Mugalu.

CHAPTER 1. The Environment.

It seems probable that in the more recent geological history of East Africa the first stretch of the river Nile between Lake Victoria and Lake Kioga was shifted to a parallel course some 15 to 20 miles east (Hurst 1952). The old course now forms the swampland depression of the Ssezibwa and today the river flows swiftly north in a series of rapids as far as the harbour at Namagagali where it spreads out into the Kioga basin, weed-choked and prone to flooding (op.cit.:152). A strip of land 74 miles long was cut out by this shift and in 1896 it was designated the saza county of Bagerere within the Kingdom of Buganda. Its insularity is emphasised by the dense Mabira forest around its southern border and by the lake to the north. Viewing East Africa as a whole Bagerere could justly be said to lie in the centre of the populous crescent that extends from north-eastern Tanzania, around the north shores of Lake Victoria and south into Burundi.

In the south of Bagerere the acid gneisses are overlaid with rich red clay loams and the topography is the hill-ridge (mitala) pattern characteristic of south Mongo (Thomas and Spencer 1936:73). To the north there is a silting of fine yellow and sandy loams and the landscape "approximates to an alluvial plain studded with numerous low rounded hills" (Fallister 1957:26). The topographical and climatic contrast
ECOLOGICAL FEATURES - A.

ANNUAL AVERAGE RAINFALL
inches per annum,
Uganda Atlas

ANNUAL AVERAGE TEMPERATURE
degrees Centigrade.
Uganda Atlas.

SOIL TYPES
Radwanski 1960.

PHYSIOLOGICAL POTENTIAL
Langdale-Brown 1959.

LAND PRODUCTIVITY
ASSESSMENT
Radwanski 1960

% OF CULTIVATED LAND
DEVOTED TO MAIZE
Uganda Atlas

% OF CULTIVATED LAND
DEVOTED TO MILLET
Uganda Atlas.

% OF CULTIVATED LAND
DEVOTED TO BANANAS
Uganda Atlas.
between north and south is very marked (ibid) because Bugerere cuts across the range of ecological variation radiating northwards from the Lake Victoria shore. For convenience these features are summarised in figure 1.

Rainfall varies from 50 to 60 inches annually in the south to about 35 in the north, with correspondingly fewer wet days (Henderson 1949:161). 1965 in Buganda, as in many other parts of Africa, proved to be a severely dry year. At Mukono on a latitude slightly south of Bugerere only 39 inches of rain fell that year compared with an average of 69 inches for the previous nine years. The annual average temperature ranges from 27° to 35° centigrade, which provides a distinct range from cooler and moister to warmer and drier. Hydrologically the north is an "area where conditions are bad" (Worthington 1949 figure 3), and there was considerable hardship there in 1965. However, in spite of these variations, Bugerere still constitutes a very distinct territorial unit. It is also climatically very favourable and even the apparently inhospitable north is more agreeable than adjacent Busoga at the same latitude (ibid).

Human factors follow the pattern of ecological differentiation sketched above. Land productivity as assessed by Radwanski (1960) ranges from 'very high' in the southernmost sub-county, Musale, to 'low' in the north. Langdale-Brown's estimate of physiological potential (1959) rates the south as 'perennial', grading northwards into 'annual' and 'marginal'. This implies different land use and farming systems, a rotation of bananas, maize, beans &c. with coffee and cotton in
ECOLOGICAL FEATURES - B.

POLITICAL SUB-DIVISIONS
OF BUGERERE
(Gombololas)

FARMING DENSITY
% of land area
farmed.
Radvanski 1960

POPULATION DENSITY
Uganda Atlas.
Uganda census 1959.

% OF NON-GANDA IN
TOTAL POPULATION
Uganda Census 1959.

Location of Bugerere
Musale, changing to land rotation with cassava, millet, sorghum cotton and grazing in the northernmost sub-counties of Sabaddu and Sabawali. At this point cultivation is very scattered and there is a great deal of natural thicket. The well-endowed south meant that in 1960 80-100% of the land area was farmed compared with less than 20% in Sabawali, where cultivation was largely restricted to the margins by the Lake, the Sezibwa swamp and the Nile. In fact in the county as a whole the more favourable soils were probably nearer the periphery than the centre. It is worth noting at this point that over the 1950s the proportion of cultivated land increased by over 14% (Atlas of Uganda 1962). There has also been a large increase in pasture to the centre and north where most of the 25,000 head of cattle and 20,000 sheep are concentrated (ibid).

Bugere is very close to Jinja (35 miles from the centre of the county) and Kampala (60 miles), a factor that has greatly expedited economic development. A murram road cuts right through the county north to south, penetrating the Mabira forest and leading to Jinja. The largest centre, Kayunga, is at the end of a fine, fast, metalled road to Kampala to which, consequently, the interests of the county tend to orientate. The Jinja road is still quite treacherous 1 and even in the extreme south most of the commercial traffic is towards Kampala. As yet there are only ferries over the Nile to Busoga and a small motor boat crosses Lake Kioga to Lango and Teso.

1. It is, however, greatly favoured by the annual East African Safari motor rally.
Apart from Kayunga several locally important centres have sprung up (v. map 1.), notably Kangulumira, Bale, Bukoloto and Nyize. The first two of these are administrative centres for their respective sub-counties (gombololas) of which there are a total of five arranged along the north-south axis (v. fig.2). They are further divided into a total of 33 parishes (miluka).

The two gombololas with which I shall be primarily concerned are the southernmost Musale and the central Sabagabo. The two villages in which I carried out the major part of my work lie in the centre of each of these, Kamira slightly to the north-east of Kangulumira and Budada about 2½ miles south-east of Kayonza (v. map 1.)

The northern boundary of Musale follows a wide, swampy depression running across the county and on either side the land slopes down to the river and the swamp (v. map 2). The south becomes very hilly indeed and merges into the Liga and Naluvule forests, part of the larger Mabira silva. The main roadway runs down the spine of Musale and around it settlement is most dense. Higher and clear of the water, it is not plagued by insect pests as is the land nearer the periphery. Gombolola Sabagabo is probably the largest of the Bugerere sub-counties and is at least twice the size of Musale. Its flat and generally dry landscape is very different, most notably in the rather thin scattering of settlement and the wide stretches of scrubland. Towards the south of Sabagabo more favourable soils have led to an increase in cultivation over recent years,
particularly on the east and west margins.

In describing these basic ecological features I have been concerned to emphasise the range of variation from north to south which presents considerable environmental differences over short distances. I have depicted the southern part as decidedly favourable for human habitation. The centrality and accessibility of the county also indicate heavy population. What may be unexpected is the variety, denseness and novelty of this population.
CHAPTER 2  Demographic Features.

The growth, dispersion and composition of Bugerere's population are by any standards unusual, and may certainly be viewed as a response to the distinctive environment and historical events. I shall describe and discuss these three aspects of demography in detail as they constitute the main data out of which the problems I hope to circumscribe arise. I have been assisted by the comparatively generous census material available for Uganda, but I think it is only fair to note that its reliability is not absolute 1.

The most recent supposedly accurate statement of population size was for 1961, a total of 101,191 persons, 53,894 males and 47,297 females 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1959</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baganda</td>
<td>9,160</td>
<td>12,160</td>
<td>30,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyaruanda &amp; Barundi</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>9,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,141</td>
<td>7,919</td>
<td>47,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10,302</td>
<td>20,911</td>
<td>87,645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Having investigated the enumeration for Bugerere at the 1959 Census I note 4 important weaknesses: 1) Results were wholly dependent upon the integrity, ability and sheer physical capacity of the enumerators on one night in that year. 2) Permanent and temporary residents, lodgers and absenteees were not clearly defined, a matter of importance in considering immigration. 3) Age was reckoned by a visual assessment or statement. 4) Enumerators, ostensibly chosen for their local knowledge could fill in details of absenteees, &c., where necessary, and refusals or omissions in response have not been accounted for.

2. Personal comm., Saza chief Mugere, Ntenjeru, Bugerere.
The above table clearly reflects the extremely high rate of population growth in Bugerere over recent years. The abnormality of this situation may best be appreciated in a comparison with the other counties in Buganda. Here, the population change in each is expressed for the 1948 - 1959 intercensal period as a percentage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabula</td>
<td>minus 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busungazzi</td>
<td>minus 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nwokota</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buyuna</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buyaga</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sseese</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bwakula</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buruli</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaggwe</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddu</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulemezi</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butambala</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koki</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ssingo</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaddondo</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomba</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busujju</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawogola</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Bugerere</td>
<td>238%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for Buganda</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Buganda Planning Commission 1965:table 1.)

As Southwold (1959) has pointed out, high population density is a new phenomenon for rural Buganda. In 1937 Baker saw "no real signs of over-population" in Buganda (Baker 1937:46) but with densities reaching over 1,000 persons to the square mile in Musale, Bugerere, such signs are now very much apparent. The population density for Bugerere as a whole seems very unforboding, 167 to the square mile in 1959. Regarded as five separate sub-counties the picture alters radically:
This wide range of population density (v.fig.2) is at once noticeable on the ground in the isolated settlements of the north and the almost unbroken contiguity of homesteads in the south.

The most dramatic increase in density has taken place in Musale, a rise from virtually zero to now well in excess of 560 to the square mile over a matter of 17 years. Over the 1948-1959 intercensal period the Musale population increased by more than 1,000% while Sabawali in the north showed a more modest rise of 60.6%. The very lowest rate of increase was in Sabaddu, 4.3%, which suggests some population movement within the county towards the more attractive south.

In considering the general pattern of increase the birth-rate must, of course, also be taken into account. It should be noted that by no means all immigrants register births in Bugerere, but even so the apparent decline in recent years is notable:

- **Musale, 1961**: 832 live births
  - 1962 : 705
  - 1963 : 625
  - 1964 : 588
  - 1965 : 680

Even allowing for non-registration the 1961 figure is very high.
Without wishing to comment too profoundly on the subsequent decrease, I think it might be regarded as an indication of a consolidation of population, of more people with established rather than growing families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabawali</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaddu</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabagabo</td>
<td>223.0</td>
<td>175.2</td>
<td>205.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumyuka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musale</td>
<td>433.3</td>
<td>496.5</td>
<td>573.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Changes in the relative proportions of males and females and of children up to 1959 appear more specifically in the above table. In the north the growth rate for males still far exceeds that for females, whereas in the south the reverse is true. In Mumyuka and Musale the increase in under-sixteen-year-olds has been colossal and it is against this that the birth-rate figures just cited should be judged. The figures reflect the still predominantly male immigration to

1. In the 1948 census the figures for Musale and Mumyuka are not distinguished as the former area did not segment from the latter until 1953 - because of growing population pressures.

Data used here has been abstracted from the Uganda General Census - African population, 1959, Volumes I and II, and from the Report of the census of the African population of Uganda Protectorate, Nairobi 1953.
The baseline of each arrow indicates the tribal representation in Bugerere. One tenth inch equals 1,000 people.
the north while in the south the ever increasing number of
women and children is strongly indicative of family establish-
ment there.

A further comment about the age-sex structure of the pop-
ulation invokes its multi-tribal constitution. Goldthorpe
(1955 and 1958:80) has pointed out the higher fertility rate
of the immigrants to Buganda while Allan (1965:170) is one of
many commenting on the lower rates for the Baganda, recalling
Sir Harry Johnston's early statement that they were "very poor
breeders" (ibid). This is doubtless true, but the comparison
with the immigrants is an unfair one. The youthfulness of the
migrants and the point of family development at which they migrate
may exaggerate their apparent fertility. We find, for example,
that the heavy immigrant population of the southern Buganda coun-
ties has lowered the total proportion of over 45-year-olds to
just 11.6% compared with the equivalent proportion of 33.3%
in Britain (Goldthorpe 1955:469). I shall be referring to this
extremely important aspect of migration in later chapters.

I have already mentioned that the increase in the Bugerere
population is mainly attributable to an influx of non-Ganda
tribes. The Uganda Census for 1959 notes 34 different East
African tribes in Bugerere apart from those that it groups
separately under national headings. Map 3 indicates the origins
of these people and suggests the relative proportions and dist-
ances involved. The range of immigrants is remarkable, over-
stepping all adjacent national boundaries, particularly those
with Ruanda, Burundi and the Sudan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINGUISTIC GROUPING</th>
<th>TRIBE</th>
<th>Rank according to preponderance in Bugerere</th>
<th>Rank in which each is prone to come to Bugerere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 20 p.p.sq.ml.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Population density</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 50</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 100</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 200</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 and more</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good nutrition standard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fairly general cash cropping</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Settlement nucleated</td>
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<td>Settlement dispersed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kin based local groups</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age set organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puberty initiation/circumcision</td>
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**Table:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NILOTIC</th>
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<th>NILO-</th>
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<th>INTER LACUSTRINE</th>
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<td>Ruanda</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Information is not available in every category for all tribes.
With the possible exception of Kyaggwe no other Ganda county has such a substantial representation of so many different East African tribes. While only 60% of the people now in Buganda are actually Baganda, in Bugerere they are reduced to a minority of 38% and of this number the larger part are themselves immigrants. Basoga constitute just over 9% of the population, Bagisu 8%, Rundi 7.4%, Teso 6.5%, and Jopadhola (Badama) 5.2%. Indeed, as Fortt has said of the county "it seems that the (foreign) immigrants led the way and have never relinquished the lead they gained" (1953:103). In order to represent more graphically the heterogeneity of the tribes involved I have assembled some information about them in Figure 3, drawing on the available ethnography and census material. Column (a) shows the order in which the principal groups preponderate in Bugerere. Not unnaturally the more accessible Interlacustrine Bantu tribes are most numerous, the distant Nilotes being less well represented. Column (b), somewhat experimental, ranks the tribes according to their proclivity to migrate to Bugerere; by this I mean that the quota from individual tribes in Bugerere has been expressed as a proportion of the whole present population of each at 'home', i.e. of the Bagisu now resident in Bugisu, or of Bakiga now living in Kigezi. The attraction of Bugerere to easterners, the Badama, Bagwere, Basoga and Bagisu, is noteworthy.

Southall is perturbed about the use today of the expression 'tribe', finding it "equivocal" as "units of tribal awareness"
have been fundamentally altered" (1961:182). I wish to make it clear from the outset that I do not wish to capitalise on this concept or to devote analytical attention to the very wide range of tribal distinctions manifest in Bugerere. I can, however, only echo the critical Southall himself: "tribe is a rough criterion of distinction, but still the best available.... In a study of population movement tribe remains the fundamental clue to geographical origin" (op.cit.:182-3)

Figure 3, therefore, describes as a matter of interest a number of basic demographic and ethnographic differences. (c) notes the average population density in the respective areas of origin, and it will be seen that a large proportion of immigrants come from densely settled areas. The assessment of nutrition likewise suggests that it may be the less well fed people of East Africa who migrate. (e) indicates the differing economic regimes and the various staple foods preferred, also whether or not there is generalised cash-cropping. The variation from group to group should be appreciated, I think, and the lack of general opportunities for cash cropping among the northerners is worth singling out. My information on basic social organisational features is less comprehensive, yet a few distinctive points emerge. Exogamous, totemic patri-clans are ostensibly common to all but it appears that there is a strong divergence in customary settlement pattern, the Bantu tending to be dispersed the Nilotes and Nilo Hamites nucleated. The Kavirondo Bantu and the Nilo Hamites have age-sets and puberty initiation ceremonies, important aspects of organis-
ation alien to the others. That kinship is less important in local grouping among the Interlacustrine Bantu than among the others should be noted.

Considering only the foreigners, the non-Ganda, in Bugerere, an even sharper picture of population composition and change becomes apparent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB-COUNTY</th>
<th>Proportion of NON-GANDA in total population 1948</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>Proportion of NON-GANDA FEMALES in total FEMALE population 1948</th>
<th>1959</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabawali</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>44.8 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>41.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaddu</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabagabo</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumyuka</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>66.1 (62.1)</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows, very clearly, I think, that the degree of change in the tribal constitution of the northern sub-counties has been much greater than in the south during the intercensal period. While the overall increase in the north has been comparatively small it would be fair to conclude that in terms of diversity the social impact of immigration there has been greater in recent years. The proportion of foreigners in the south has remained relatively stable. Everywhere the ratio of women has increased; in the north there are still very many more male than female foreigners but the imbalance is being very swiftly adjusted. The more even quotas of foreign men and women in the south are a further indicator of a more settled population there, of a consolidation of foreign immigration in family terms.
Within this state of flux the exact position of the Baganda in Bugerere is not easy to construe. In census data the indigenous tribe of the north, the Banyala, are officially categorised Baganda, and the Baganda native to the rest of Bugerere are not differentiated from the newcomers. Allowing for natural growth and taking the 1931 proportion of 'Baganda' as a baseline, I estimate that 65% of the so-called 'Baganda' in Bugerere are first generation immigrants from other counties and that about 17% (about 5,000) are in fact Banyala. The majority of the Banyala are still confined to the three northern sub-counties, while the new Ganda immigrants very clearly preponderate in Mumyuka and Musale.

I have not said anything very specific so far about the centre of Bugerere, and Sabaddu in particular. The most important feature is a drop in the 'Ganda' population from 2,299 to 1,495 between 1948 and 1959. The 'Ganda' in Sabawali also decreased by 175. In the south, however, the 'Ganda' population has increased four-and-a-half times since 1948. This strongly suggests an indigenous movement to the more favourable south, a supposition that my own area sample material seems to confirm. Their place has been taken, as the previous table indicated, by immigrant foreigners. It could be said that the population of the centre is changing rather than simply increasing.

Given the range of environment described in the first chapter, and the heterogeneity sketched out in figure 3, it may not be surprising to discern a tendency for specific tribes to favour certain areas. As an example I shall take
five very different tribes and show for each sub-county, moving northwards, the proportion of each represented there:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>MUSALE</th>
<th>MUMYUKA</th>
<th>SABAGABO</th>
<th>SABADDU</th>
<th>SABAWALI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagisu</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baganda</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basoga</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumam</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lango</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plantain is the Gisu staple and at their home the chief cash-crop is coffee (La Fontaine 1959) therefore it is hardly surprising that they congregate in the south where the landscape is not at all dissimilar to the Elgon foothills. High population density and intensive land fragmentation are the most frequent motives in the migration of younger Bagisu, as we shall see in due course. The Lango are a very different people, Nilotic cattle herders accustomed to millet, cassava and the other crops that we have seen preponderate in the centre and north of Bugerere (Tarantino 1949, Butt 1952). The Lango explain that it is mainly the good opportunity to cultivate cotton for cash that brings them to the suitable and readily available land of the centre and north.

Different tribes also vary enormously in the degree to which they tend to congregate in certain sub-counties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>MUSALE</th>
<th>MUMYUKA</th>
<th>SABAGABO</th>
<th>SABADDU</th>
<th>SABAWALI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badama</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batoro</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banyoro</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Badama distinctly prefer the central-south area while the Samia are scattered almost bimodally from north to south.

Tribal quotas from 20 villages selected at random. (a) TRIBES and (b) VILLAGES arranged consecutively in accordance with rough geographical proximity one to another, in order to suggest the degree to which members of a tribe or tribal group tend to collocate in Musale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe/Village</th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Namirembe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bukamba</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nakakonge</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magala</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kirindi</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Budoda</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazigo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kireku</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wabirongo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kigayaza</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nakatovu</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakirubi</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkima</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyize</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabutundu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the register of births, Oct. 1964 to Oct. 1965:

| Tribe/Village | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------| | | | | | | | | |
| Namirembe     | 4   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 3   | 2   |
| Bukamba       | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   |
| Nakakonge     | 4   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   |
| Magala        | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| Kirindi       | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 2   |
| Budoda        | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 2   |
| Nazigo        | 26  | 5   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 4   | 2   | 3   |
| Kireku        | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 2   |
| Wabirongo     | 4   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 3   |
| Kigayaza      | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 4   | 1   | 1   |
| Bugiiri       | 5   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 4   | 1   |
| Kamuli        | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 1   | 1   |
| Kangulumira   | 19  | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   |
| Nakatovu      | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 4   | 1   | 1   |
| Seeta         | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 1   |
| Bukasa        | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   |
| Nakirubi      | 6   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   |
| Nkima         | 4   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| Nyize         | 4   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| Nabutundu     | 8   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 3   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
I do not mean to suggest that these broad preferences are of critical importance, on the contrary I am anxious that the intense variation and mixture of tribes at the village level should be appreciated. Drawing some evidence from the Musale birth register for two separate years offers the most accessible insight on village composition. As the birth record involves a man, woman and child I think it is fair to assume that the cases I have used are not likely to be merely transient residents of the sub-county. The 20 villages are selected at random from the 59 available in 1961 and are grouped as they occur in Musale, north to south. An effort has also been made to arrange the tribes of the migrants roughly according to their geographical proximity one to another. All the villages, however, show a very considerable degree of admixture and all the tribes are well scattered throughout the sub-county. Baganda are present in all villages, and other populous tribes such as the Basoga, Bagisu and Barundi are extensively dispersed. It is possible to discern some 'clotting', a preference among Bagisu for the Kangulumira - Bukasa area, for example, but never anything very conclusive. The only similar trait that seemed to emerge from my area sample surveys was a Ganda preference for the western side of Bugerere and a Soga preference for the east, hardly surprising in view

1. Numbers were too small for a convincing comparative display of Sabagabo sub-county figures.

2. It is worth noting that 10 new villages occurred in the Musale records for 1964, and 21 new villages in Sabagabo over the 73 that existed in 1961.
of the adjacency of their respective homelands (v. map 1.)

In this demographic outline I have been concerned to emphasise a number of distinct peculiarities about Bugerere. The increase in population is very recent and the rate is extremely high. Density also varies sharply along the north-south axis of the county and an examination of population composition suggests a recent phase of immigration to the centre and north and family consolidation in the longer-settled south. I have considered in some detail the tribal diversity of the immigrants, indicating broad preferences for certain areas, and differences in the degree to which tribes have spread out over the county. I have at the same time been anxious that the admixture of tribes at the local level should be made apparent and that all the complexity of this fertile, new and heterogeneous population should be neither disguised nor rationalised.

With the scene and the personnel now accounted for the temporal aspect must now be added for the situation in Bugerere to be fully appreciated.
"Bugerere, the pride of Buganda, began to fame seventeen years back."¹

Taking an historical perspective on an area about which so little has been written but in which so much of importance has taken place, proved no easy task. It is essential that some understanding of the past is achieved in order that the events of recent years in Bugerere may be clearly assessed. What follows here constitutes a piecing-together of fragments of oral tradition and items of documentary evidence which, incidentally, proved to be the more conflicting source of information. I have described these historical events in more detail elsewhere (Robertson 1966a) and I shall therefore only summarise here the points that bear most directly upon the problems in hand.

In the areas now being cut from the bush in Bugerere evidence of earlier generations of settlers is continually being discovered, in the north as potsherds and querns and in the south as the remains of old smeltings (called *sengele* today) and such objects as earthenware bellows pipes (*omuvubo*). Traditionally Bugerere was divided into two parts, a further reflection of the environmental differences described in the first chapter. The Banyala of the north, perhaps immigrants from Teso (Jenkins 1939:204), were a tribe under the fairly

¹. From a letter from Mr. G. Mugalu, postmaster of Kayunga, Bugerere.
pervasive leadership of the chiefs of the dominant Mupina1 clan. Their name was first noted by Gordon about 1875 as Manyara (Gray 1955:63-4) and it allegedly derives from an indiscretion committed by one of these Mupina chiefs while attending a feast at the Ganda court, okunyala meaning to urinate. It seems that a Nyala offshoot under the putative leadership of one Mwangu (Jenkins 1939:204) moved south and established sovereignty over a group of lakeside dwellers who had earlier made their way up through the Mabira forest.

In the reign of Kabaka Junju the area was sacked and pillaged by the Baganda but conquest was only pursued in the south where the territory of Bulondoganyi was marked out by the traditional planting of a line of bark-cloth trees. This area roughly corresponded to the Musale and Mumyuka sub-counties of today (map 1). It was important that the security of the territory be ascertained as it lay across the trade route to Busoga which probably passed through what are now Kayunga and Nabuganyi villages. It seems that Bulondoganyi was affiliated to Kyaggwe county as a gombolola, sub-county, ranking fourth in order of seniority, sabagabo.2 Its name, mentioned quite frequently by Speke (1863) as Urondoganyi, and by subsequent travellers such as Gordon (Gray 1965:63), derives from the word buladda, a safe place, a rather optimistic reflection of its position of troubled tutelege on the Ganda frontier. From an early date it was quite firmly under the

1. It is not clear whether this is buck or rhino. Wunga was probably regarded as the founding ancestor and sometimes Banuala is referred to by this name (e.g. Blackledge 1902:49).

2. Thomas 1939:126, also personal communication from H.B. Thomas.
Ganda political aegis with an appointed chief, Mulondo, in charge. The Mulondo used as his headquarters Magala hill near present-day Nazigo and under the fifth successive chief, Bengo, appointed from Bukeka village, the area became quite important for hunting and ironworking.

The Banyala of the north bore closer affinities to the great Ganda rival Bunyoro, although I could nowhere confirm Sir John Gray's claim that they were actually of Nyoro stock (Gray 1962:34). The confusion clearly arises from the fact that an exiled Nyoro prince, Namuyonjo, became effective chief of the area. For abusing the asylum of the Kabaka of Buganda, mainly by making illicit levies on the Ganda peasantry at his new home in Kooki county, Namuyonjo and his retinue were driven out across Buganda, with skirmishes at Mukono and Nasute hill in Kyaggwe. Spared only for his royal blood he took refuge in Bulondoganyi, only to be displaced yet again when he started interfering with the trade route to Busoga.

This time Namuyonjo fled north and sought asylum with Kojjo, head of the dominant Mupina clan of the Banyala, won his confidence and, in a series of deft manoeuvres, re-established good relations with the Omukama of Bunyoro, and seized Kondo, Kojjo's insignia of office. He then established his own hereditary chiefship, renaming Bunyala 'Namuyonjo's Country'.

Namuyonjo had always played off the Ganda against the Nyoro, pledging loyalty where and when it suited, but this

1. Sometimes referred to as Munyangira.
particular impertinence must have caused the court of the Kabaka much vexation. For long the central area of the county was perpetually embattled and therefore unpopulated. This was the situation Gordon found when he passed down the Nile in 1875, and in 1877 Emin personally experienced the beligerence of 'Namuyonjo's Land' (Thomas 1935). When Speke passed through, either Namuyonjo himself or, more probably, one of his immediate heirs, was acting as a sort of frontier agent for Bunyoro and continually harassed the explorer and his party.

The matter was resolved by the arrival in 1896\(^1\) of the celebrated and messianic Ganda general, Semei Kakungulu Lwakilense. An adopted Muganda, probably of Hima origin (Thomas 1939:125), Kakungulu was, according to Thomas, "perhaps the last of the conquistadors of Central Africa" (ibid.). As early as 1889 Kakungulu had been awarded the Mulondo chiefship for his victories as a general in the Moslem wars. A devout protestant, he established a mission at his Magala hill headquarters and for a while the only trouble was catholic-anglican rivalry (op. cit.:126). Kakungulu was very much in the ascendant in Ganda politics at this time, and with the British-supported campaign against Bunyoro under way his skills as a general were much in demand. In 1892 he was given the Ganda rank Kimbugwe and in 1894 his Bugerere interests were extended as a result of the Bunyoro campaign:

1. Mayanja (1952), after Kaggwa, would say this was 1899, surely too late when the chronology of subsequent events is considered.
"On 9th April 1894, in Mwanga's Baraza at Mengo\(^1\) in the presence of Colonel Colville, the territories south of the Kafu (river) were divided as the spoils of war. From the Kitumbi river westwards, that is roughly the present Bugangadzi and Buyaga, was allocated to the Roman Catholics; north Singo and Buruli went to the Protestants; while to Kakunguru fell the chieftainship of Namionjo, that is roughly the present Bugerere. Thus was born 'Bunyoro Irredenta'.

The position of a baron of the marches was peculiarly in tune with Kakunguru's temperament. He set off at once for his new domain and in the following month Captain Gibb, on the Mruli expedition, passed through Bugerere and reported "in Namyonja I found that the Kakungulu had already taken possession and by his wise and considerate conduct induced the Wanyoro to continue in their shambas and work in unity with his people" (Africa, no. 4 (1895):99).

Kakunguru, in fact, came into conflict with Kwambu, the paramount chief under Kabarega of the Banyala, the indigenous inhabitants of Banyoro stock, of Bugerere. Kwambu was driven to take refuge in an island on Lake Kyoga, but was later allowed to return in a subordinate position. Among his new subjects Kakunguru gained a reputation for being autocratic but not unduly oppressive." (H. Thomas 1939: 128-9).

I was informed that Kangulu's interests in the north had been prompted by his retirement from a quarrel with the then Katikkiro\(^2\) of Buganda, Apolo Kaggwa. Kakungulu disputed the rights to spoils obtained in an expedition against the errant Kabarega, Omukama of Bunyoro, and had then felt obliged to give up the office of Kimbugwe. His takeover of Bunyala from Namuyonjo's heir, Mutale,\(^3\) was apparently quite pacific; with an impressive force behind him Kakungulu sent, without comment, a cooking knife, a hoe and a spear to the Nyala chief. Mutale prudently chose the knife and the hoe, a gesture of peaceful submission, and Kakungulu proceeded north establishing fortifications, the largest of which was at Galiraya, 'Galilee', built near the Lake Kioga shore in 1895.

1. The capital of the Kabaka of Buganda.
2. The Ganda 'prime minister'.
3. Thomas (see above) calls him Kwambu.
No sooner was Bugerere unified and incorporated as a Ganda county (1896) than a new threat arose in the form of the Sudanese Mutineers:

"Thus, entirely unexpectedly, there was a serious threat to Kakunguru's own district and, on the 12th January he was sent off with a few Baganda to return to Bugerere. He had not long to wait for, on the 22nd January, the Sudanese appeared at the Kakoge ferry (a few miles south of Namasagali) and proceeded to cross the Nile. Some days were occupied by their passage, but on the 29th they advanced to Kakunguru's headquarters at Bale. Kakunguru fell back northwards on his fort at Galiraya. Confronted by an overwhelming force and with ammunition running short, on 31st January Kakunguru evacuated his fort which was thereupon occupied by the mutineers. He had first the good sense to make away with most of the canoes so as to impede the further retreat of the Sudanese and seems to have slipped by the enemy joining Major Macdonald's pursuing force which was advancing northwards. In the face of this threat the mutineers, on the 19th February, evacuated the Galiraya fort which was thereupon reoccupied by Kakunguru. They crossed the Sezibwa to Kabagambe where they were cornered on 23rd February 1898."

(Thomas 1939:130-1)

For two years, 1899-1901, there is little information about Kakungulu but I conclude that he used the time well to assemble an army and establish a unified administration for Bugerere at Bale. It might also be supposed that he gained valuable administrative experience there for his subsequent anabasis north and east, disseminating the modified Ganda political order on behalf of the British Protectorate.

For a short period Bugerere was at peace. Thomas says "it is a tribute to his leadership that many of his assistants were Banyala. The area was at peace and was beginning to export food for the Bunyoro garrisons" (1939:132). Gray comments "perhaps one of his best tributes to his popularity

1. Map 1.
was that, when he set out to carve for himself a kingdom out of Bukedi, some of his right hand men were Banyala" (1963:34).

So it was that Kakungulu set out again, this time to 'pacify' Bukede in the north at the instigation of the British. In 1898 he took, so I was informed, 5,525 Banyala men, surely the bulk of the tribe's manhood, and by 1900 had led them and their families out through Teso, Bukede and into Bugisu (Gayer 1957:3). At one sweep the north of Bugerere was depopulated.

The following notes from a contemporary mission report are worth quoting here:

"This remarkable man (Kakungulu), who is one of the most beloved and capable of Baganda chiefs, was chief of Wunga (Banyala), and while there was able to gather around him hundreds of Baganda (Banyala) and a great and important work was being done. Churches were being built throughout the district and the chief thrust the weight of his great influence and position on the side of Christianity, encouraging his own young men to go teach and preach. Then in 1900 everything was upset and disorganised by the departure of Kakungulu for Bukedi simply draining the district of Baganda and in his place we got a chief who not only brought few people, but who holding a form of godliness daily denies the power thereof...." (Blackledge 1902:49).

The county's disturbing role as a Ganda march land, so often a battlefield, and this final exodus, account for the extremely low population in the north by the beginning of this century. The situation caused concern not only to the clergy but to the authorities: "this large scale emigration was a sore point with the Native Government at Mengo for Kakungulu held out prospects of larger and better mailos1 with all the allurements of a freebooter's life" (Thomas 1939:132).

In the south the inhabitants were also under pressure, this time from a natural pest, *simulium damnosum*, the pernicious little Mbwa fly. "This little fly" writes Blackledge "is a

1. Private land estates.
means of driving away large numbers of Baganda and of course prevents the influx of others" (1902:49). Kakungulu had chosen to settle in the north, as had Namuyonjo before him, because he had been so plagued by the fly in Bulondoganyi. Early European travellers on this part of the Nile, for example Speke (1863), make reference to the pest. The medical significance of it rests in the fact that it "transmits the filarial worm onchocerca volvulua which parasitises men and produces distressing symptoms akin to elephantiasis and may also blind its hosts" (Barnley 1952:113). At best, its irritating bite causes severe local irritation and ulcers. Barnley describes the haven that southern Bugerere offered this pest:

"The rapids and falls on the Victoria Nile extending from the Ripon Falls to Mbulamuti provides a very extensive series of breeding sites and the Mabira forest gives equally excellent facilities for harbouring the adults." (op. cit.:116).

By the time of the 1900 Agreement on the future of Buganda the population of Bugerere was at its lowest ebb. Vast tracts of land were reallocated to absentee owners and to a relatively small number of residents with prior claims; thus the current nominal leader of the Mupina clan and other Nyala chiefs including the present 'Namuyonjo' are heirs to Mailo estates. The son of the last Mulondo of Bulondoganyi, now a Muluka (parish) chief, has also inherited a full square mile.

Initially there were 60 allottees in Bugerere, rising to 72 by 1905, on a total of 205 square miles (West 1966:170),

1. That is, along the river past Musale and Mumyuka sub-counties.

2. Although the title carries with it no official authority it has been retained by the present incumbent – 'Kyeswa Mulondo'.
The high proportion of public land in Bugerere.

after H. WEST.
and appendix B. herewith). I shall discuss in detail in chapter 5 the significance of these 'Mailo', private estates; just now it is sufficient to note that approximately 38% of the total area of the county was placed under this type of tenure, much less than in most other Buganda counties. Because it was pestilential, forested or simply unpopulated and unclaimed, large tracts of land were provisionally vested in the Crown and were destined to play an important part in the settlement of the many thousands of migrants arriving half a century later.

During the first three decades of this century little of significance occurred apart from the fact that several Ganda allottees arrived and took up active ownership of their Mailo estates, mainly in Mumyuka sub-county and the southern portions of Sabagabo. During this time the reserve of Crown land was apparently tapped in small quantities to satisfy a few late Mailo claims in the Kingdom, and to complete quotas allocated but unavailable elsewhere. The hostilities between north and south were, of course, resolved, although the whole county was still hotly contested by Bunyoro and was only finally settled on Buganda in 1962. Relaxation of tension was not in itself sufficient to encourage re-population, however. Besides, towards 1940 yet another disincentive to settlement was making itself felt - tsetse. Long-term residents recount

1. It is perhaps worth noting that the most celebrated of the modern Banyala rose to pre-eminence at this time, Martin Luther Nsibiirwa, who achieved the rank of Katikkiro (prime minister) of Buganda. This is cited by Banyala in support of the claim that Bugerere belongs to Buganda, not to Bunyoro. I am indebted to Mr. H.W. West for pointing this out to me.
that the herds which had been built up in the north were reduced by about 1945 to one animal that passed into local legend by stubbornly refusing to die. Many people were obliged to seek pastures elsewhere, in eastern Busoga, for example. The 1949 Development Plan (Worthington 1949) notes the tsetse invasion in Bugerere and recommends this area particularly for a disinfestation scheme (op. cit.: section 348). The 1952 Buganda Report states that control work was well under way and that in the north the density of *glossina pallidipes* was "now very light" and "should not prevent successful stock raising" (Uganda Protectorate Government 1952:23). A control officer was working there in 1952-3 and the government were soon able to contemplate a relaxation of the restrictions on agricultural settlement that had been imposed. The pest had still to be tackled in the south however.1.

In the 1940's there was a very distinct movement of people, preponderantly Baganda, into the Mumyuka area (Map 1). This seems to have been partly prompted by the boom in cotton that had been building up over previous decades in Buganda (McMaster 1962:93) but, more significantly, by the pressing need in the nearby urban centres of Kampala and Jinja for the Ganda green banana staple, *Matoke*. McMaster notes that "the Kampala market, as it expands, is being forced to draw upon areas at an increasing distance from the town" (1962:98).

The rich, underpopulated land of Bugerere proved ripe for the

1. Southwold (1959) records a similar pattern of events in adjacent east Kyaggwe at this time.
exploitation of this wholly indigenous and very rewarding cash crop. Throughout the 1940’s the supply of bananas increased enormously; McMaster says that in 1950 the supply from Bugerere was "unprecedented" (ibid.) and subsequently rose steadily to become Kampala’s chief source of food. The Baganda seem to have fallen to Matoke cropping with great facility and built up an indigenous but extremely effective farm industry (Wrigley 1964:47).

As cash cropping became more diversified, including coffee, maize, sugar and cocoa, a trading centre was built up at Kayunga around a group of adventurous Asian merchants. Popatlal Savina, the foremost of these, described the difficulties involved in transporting goods over the Sezibwa, and how it became increasingly obvious that communications had to be improved if Kampala’s food supply was to expand unimpeded. Accordingly between 1951 and 1953 a causeway was constructed and a section of wartime Thames emergency bridge put over the water of the Sezibwa river (Hawkins 1962:184n). More recently a fast, metalled road to Kampala was completed. Writing of the need to develop such communications Hawkins cites Bugerere specifically: "Bugerere is the most important example, where the impetus has not come from an export crop, but from the growing market for Matoke in the Kampala area" (op. cit.:225).

Hitherto the centre of Bugerere had been Bale where, until the mid 1950’s it appeared that the commercial heart of the county would be. A large cotton ginnery had been built there and most traffic went eastwards over the Nile to the rail-head at Namasagali. For the Banyala this meant stronger contacts with the more industrialised Busoga bank of the
river; however, soon the Kayunga - Kampala line of communication and the development of the south diverted traffic and commercial interest. The steamboat 'Mary' ceased to operate in 1958, the broad roadway to her berth from Bale became overgrown and the small villages nearby on the river bank vanished. County headquarters were established at Ntenjeru, more accessible to the commerce and services of Kayunga.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's the supply of Crown land was again tapped in southern Bugerere to establish one of three resettlement areas for Baganda ex-servicemen. "During the year" announced one report "19 of the ex-soldiers in the Bugerere settlement have been recommended for and received provisional certificates for their plots" (Uganda Protectorate Government 1952:9). These baseveni, as they are now called, have had a distinctive role in the settlement of what is now Musale sub-county. As conditions further south than Nazigo slowly improved many of them abandoned their original allotments and moved to even richer holdings which some felt were less officially circumscribed.

The report to which I have just referred notes that the resettlement scheme was being facilitated by the progressive reduction of the Mbwa fly infestation (ibid.). This was carried out between 1951 and 1952, eventually with remarkable success by the sluice control of the Nile at the Ripon Falls and the administration of D.D.T. to exterminate the larvae trailing from the banks (Barnley 1952:120n). Early residents

1. Uganda Protectorate Government, Reports, 1949 to 1952 on the Kingdom of Buganda: passim.
in the south describe how they had to build smokey fires and tie themselves in the evening into cotton pyjama-like garments, and how the plague virtually vanished within a month. Life there was also complicated by the presence of wild animals which were all but exterminated by intensive hunting in the early 1950's. Baboons and monkeys were particularly troublesome, coming out at night from the Mabira forest and rifling the banana and maize crops. Mainly by the new residents' own labour a road was put through from Kayunga southwards, progressing slowly until, by the end of the decade it had penetrated the forest and reached the tea estate at Luwala in Kyaggwe.

As conditions improved southern Bugerere became the goal of East Africa's homeless or ambitious, the speculator, the labour force and the small settler, all agents of the new bonanza. The influx constituted a rural revolution, not a second-best or a stop-gap for a preferred urban way of life.¹ By 1953 pressure of numbers had brought about the segmentation of Musale sub-county out of Mumyuka, and a new administrative and commercial centre grew up at Kangulumira. To start with the emphasis was on Matoke and on the rich new land the cash crop boom could only grow. Ganda and non-Ganda carved themselves out sizeable farms from the abundant supply of Crown land; obviously the earlier the migrant arrived the larger his property could be. As Gulliver (1958:17) has noted in recent settlement in Tanganyika, the perspicacious common

¹. Richardson and Collins (1955) speak of this in the rural hinterland of Sierra Leone Colony.
man could stake a wealthy claim before land values became fully appreciated. Among the large-scale farmers now in Bugerere there are very few who did not come in the late 1940's or very early 1950's.

The availability of public land (as the Crown land was designated after Independence) offered a unique opportunity for non-Ganda to participate freely and in their own right in the cash crop enterprise, and Basoga and Bagisu were the first to enter in substantial numbers for this purpose. Foreigners who had for many years been attracted to Buganda became particularly interested in Bugerere. Occasionally small groups of one tribe initiated settlement in particular areas and their origins are now recalled in village names, Kisoga, Kinyaruanda, etc.. This, as I have already emphasised in the preceding chapter, certainly does not mean that such communities are tribally exclusive. The availability of perennial water supplies was very important in the location of early settlements, and many of the village names reflect this. Wabiyinja, for example, refers to a rock pool at the Nile - 'water which comes out of a stone', and Nalongo is a Nile inlet notable for its abundance of water and fish, literally as bountiful as Nalongo, a mother of twins. Gawera of Kitatya village explained how he, as first parish chief (in 1949) became the nomenclator of new settlements; he used as models "places I knew in Bulemezi county", Nakivubo, Namirembe, and so on, or else coined names descriptively like Bisakabidugala, a dark, forested place.
The cash-crop boom probably reached its zenith in Musale about 1962, and at this time a settling-down of agriculture took place. Cotton production fell drastically, *Matoke* sales decreased and a new emphasis was placed on coffee, a pattern reflected in Buganda as a whole (Buganda Planning Commission 1965:53). While this change can be related to external economic factors it was also a product of the saturation point approached by Musale's population and its greater degree of establishment. The focus of immigration changed to Sabagabobo further north and over the past 5 years owners of private estates there have been besieged by Kakwa, Lango, Kuku, Bagisu and many others.

To conclude this chapter I should like to describe briefly the latest, ironic, development in the history of the country. When Kakungulu led the Banyala (with Baruli and other Baganda) out of Bugerere and through Lango, Teso, Bugisu and Bukede, many of them stopped *en route* to become chiefs under the newly imposed political order. Their children also settled there but as overlords they never became very popular and were referred to everywhere as *abakungulu*, Kakungulu's people. Thomas offers a somewhat damaging illustration of these original conquistadors establishing themselves in Bukede:

"Almost all cattle, sheep and goats had been appropriated by Kakungulu's Baganda followers, while the natives were found to be practically destitute and were being ousted from their lands or relegated to the position of serfs." (1939:133)

In recent years hostilities to these 'Ganda overlords' have increased and many have felt obliged to return to what they regard as their home, a generation or two after the exodus.
The prosperity of Bugerere and its role in the life of Kakungulu were well known, so a large group of Bakungulu united and corporately petitioned the Kabaka of Buganda for land there, pointing out that effectively they had been dispossessed by the land settlement of 1900. Fifty to sixty families were promised land on a freehold basis in the Sabagabo area, the allocation again being made out of the reserves of public land. It so happened that this land was already quite heavily populated, although an absence of registration had disguised the fact from officialdom. A furious deputation of villagers travelled by lorry in mid-1963 to counter-petition the Kabaka. The first of the Bakungulu settlers to arrive were fiercely ostracised.

The case was still under enquiry when I left and the points at issue are basic to the whole situation of immigration to Bugerere. Just how secure is public land tenancy? To whom does Bugerere really belong, who have the prior claims, if anyone? In a way the fate of being a 'Lost County' has prevailed.

In this historical sketch I have concentrated on a series of changes out of which the present situation has arisen. I have described the traditional cleavage between north and south, difference of social and political organisation in the original population of each area. For long Bugerere was a frontier, a buffer zone that offered no encouragement to the development of a stable population. Unification within the Ganda State only brought more pressure to bear, religious disputes, the struggle against the Sudanese and finally the exodus under Kakungulu. Pestilence, natural hazards and consequent
Government restrictions kept the south depopulated. However, as conditions were alleviated, a slow influx into Mumyuka sub-county began, a wholly spontaneous movement with the exception of the one resettlement scheme at Nazigo. The ever-accelerating progress in the south very rapidly turned Bugerere from an unknown wasteland into a zone of national economic and social importance and the young, varied and populous new society it is today.
In the preceding chapters the geography, demography and chronology of the unusual situation in Bugerere were briefly outlined. These particular circumstances of place, people and time offer the social scientist a rare opportunity to examine certain principles and processes less accessible in more homogeneous, longer established situations. From these circumstances I shall define the sociological problems I wish to pursue, examine the theoretical implications and then give some account of the methods employed in testing these propositions in the field.

There are five points of particular interest about the situation in Bugerere. 1) The immigration is spontaneous and without any official control. 2) The rate of population increase is very high and the influx recent in origin. 3) The population is extremely heterogeneous, composed of people of very different tribal and ethnic origin. 4) This diversity persists to the level of the local village community. 5) The ecology of the county is very varied, providing a range in population density, composition and rate of influx. Briefly, this situation provides an opportunity to enquire into the processes by which people arriving in a sudden influx from very different social backgrounds become members of new communities, and how these communities are themselves established. The prior assumption may be made that in spite of their diversity the new-comers in these new communities do not live in vaccuo but to a greater or lesser extent enjoy some mutual social life. My concern is therefore with social integration in somewhat unusual and
novel circumstances.

By integration I mean the relationship of parts within a whole and the contribution of parts towards that whole. As a theoretical category the 'whole' is finite but it may in itself constitute part of a wider comprehending whole; it also does not imply such affective connotations as efficiency or desirability. Social integration concerns the manner in which like social units co-operate within a unit of a higher rank. A person is a social unit. In the morphology of a factory a particular work group may be a social unit. In the rural immigration situation the two levels of social unit with which I am most concerned are the domestic unit and the village community. It should be made clear that the social unit is a theoretical category in which real situations are no more than exponents, specific examples; the person may be of any age or sex, the domestic unit composed of one or twenty-one persons. As a set of theoretical categories, for example, person, domestic unit, community and State, the units are mutually exclusive, but this does not disallow the improbable instance of one man constituting both domestic unit and community as well as person.

To understand why the relationship between domestic unit and community should be so important in the integration of immigrants, it is essential to make clear the sociological implications of immigration itself. It is unprofitable to consider in any detail the many intricate differences and distinctions among the immigrants and it is equally unrealistic to conceive of integration as in some way a compound of the
cultures supposedly brought in by the new-comers. The tribal and ethnic origins of the people in Bugerere will play only a small part in my discussion; the process of integration does not begin with an interplay of differences but with the similarities of interest and experience shared by all. Immigration itself, the datum from which argument must proceed, presents a common experience in two distinct ways.

Firstly, the immigrants are gathered together physically, in greater and lesser degrees of proximity, in one place. I shall refer to this basic fact of mutual presence in a particular environment as collocation. The immigrants are subject to constraints deriving from their juxtaposition with one another and from their common presence on a particular piece of territory. As well as providing a physical context for the new-comers, this may be subject to pre-existing jural sanctions. It will be seen that collocation, the assemblage of social units within a given physical context, can at once be related to the idea of the community.

The second common experience is that of the process of migration itself. Every migrant must physically move out of his home environment, pass over to the new locus and, in varying degrees, establish himself there. This is a progression of events in the life of the individual concerned. If his presence in the new locus is to endure he must have a habitat; if he stays very long the expectation of him, as a human being, is that he will either bring with him or generate there, a family. With or without a family, the establishment of a domestic unit, which in itself implies certain rights and obligations, connects the individual to the community.
It is therefore necessary to relate the experience of migration to the life of the domestic unit.

The village community is composed of domestic units, and each domestic unit attains its social significance only by virtue of its membership, in some sense, of a community. Between these two units the integration of immigrants operates; within the domestic units are couched the differences carried over from home by the immigrants and within the community rests the need for some uniformity and standardisation of behaviour. The process of integration takes place only in a secondary way between communities within the larger comprehending unit of the State, although this relationship must be accounted for in so far as it affects the collocation of domestic units in communities. Likewise it is not of immediate relevance to consider integration between persons within a domestic unit, although reference must inevitably be made to the composition of the domestic unit in any discussion of the migration experience. The morphology of the domestic unit itself affects its relationship with other domestic units; the morphology of the community is likewise affected by its relationship with other communities. Although ultimately all units are involved in a situation of immigration, an examination of integration must primarily be concerned with the specific relationship of domestic unit and community.

The village community, with which I shall be concerned in Bugerere, is in one sense a static phenomenon, but it is also a process. This process, the generation and life of the community, is a subject of investigation offered very clearly by the situation in Bugerere. Audrey Richards has said "the
village development cycle is of course as important as that of the domestic group" (1966:89). Taking the example of a Ganda village she discusses the development of cores and sub cores and movements into and away from the community with progressive generations. Peter Rigby has probably carried this dynamic approach to the local community furthest in traditional society. I quote in full this short extract from a recent paper:

".... the Gogo kinship system, in the political-jural domain, cannot simply be described as a set of formal patrilineal descent groups which provide the basis for corporate political action and local organisation. For Gogo society, local organisation in the neighbourhood must also be described in developmental terms; because no formal rules exist to relate kinship groups to local units. And the pattern of residence in turn cannot be seen outside of a consideration of the cycle of development in the domestic group, the property relations that provide its mainspring, the early fission of agnatic groups, the role of affinal relationships. Finally, the setting of these processes in the general ecological context in which they occur, and the economic system which influences them, is consistent with the structure of kinship relationships I have outlined." (Rigby 1966:13).

The form of the community may be described by the processes which generate it (Barth 1966:2); however, formal rules may not exist to relate domestic unit to local community units, either in such societies as the Gogo or in the spontaneous and heterogeneous situation of Bugerere. One is therefore obliged to examine more closely the constitution of the community and the way it develops, and this implies an examination of the domestic inter-relationships within the physical context and in terms of the internal development of each unit.

The problems experienced in defining 'a community' may largely derive from the many developmental phases through which it must pass. In a newly settled area there may be a lack of
consensus among constituent units as to which comprehending entity they belong. As I shall discuss more fully in the following chapter, the community in Buganda is quite well defined jurally as a village with its own status and name, but even so the absoluteness of this should always be questioned; such definition is an aspect of collocation but the state of the domestic units concerned must also be taken into account.

The domestic unit is, in the words of Fortes, "essentially a householding and housekeeping unit organised to provide the material and cultural resources needed to bring up its members" (1958:8). Its status in the social system, the inter-relationship of person, domestic unit and community, is also made clear by Fortes: "One might put it that the domestic unit is the system of social relations through which the reproductive nucleus is integrated with the environment and the structure of the total society" (op. cit.:9). It is through this unit that "the physical growth of the individual is embodied in the social system" (1962:1); the unit per se remains unaltered but its constituent members pass through a sequence of changes which eventually leads to the dissolution of the group and its 'replacement' by a similar unit or units. For this reason it is as well to hold distinct the domestic unit, the theoretical category, and the domestic group, the changing combination of persons which expounds this category.

The three paradigmatic phases of development applicable to all social systems are 1) expansion, the marriage of the man and woman and the growth of the family of procreation,
2) dispersion, the moving out of the children, and 3) replacement, the death of the original couple and the expansion of the children's own groups. The individual, as a member of a domestic group, will automatically affect the other members when he migrates; Fortes points out that "residence patterns are the crystallisation, at a given time, of the development process" (op. cit.:3) of the domestic group. Dispersion is the point at which a change of locus may be expected to occur, and I would propose that migration is normally coincident with this phase.

The fission of the domestic group may be regarded as a prime generative principle in any community. Through the domestic unit the individual is passed out from womb to society; he is subject to pressures from the domestic unit, as the unit itself is subject to pressures from the community. The life of the domestic group, perhaps most manifestly at the phase of dispersion, is governed by influences both internal and external to it. Fortes exemplifies this in the case of the Tallensi:

"In the dispersion phase ... a son's rights to some measure of jural, economic and ritual independence become operative, and he may set up his own dwelling group. But whether he moves out of the parental home altogether to farm on his own or remains residentially attached to his father's homestead depends on factors internal to the domestic group. If he is the only son he will be less likely to move away than if he has brothers and if he is the oldest son he will be more likely to do so than if he is a younger son." (1962:13).

Understanding fission implies understanding the inherent opposition between successive generations which operates within the domestic unit. This, however, "is legitimised and kept within bounds though being allowed customary expression in forms sanctioned by the total society" (op. cit.:6).
involves the interaction of domestic units and is the prime instigator of fission; it "leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses natal families and domestic groups, and fission in the domestic group is always translated into spatial representations in the residence arrangements" (op. cit.:4). At this point the individual may be particularly prone to migration; it would be unlikely for a child, an old man or a man who has already firmly established his family of procreation to migrate. Conversely this means that the single migrant will be, in normal circumstances, a potential new domestic unit. I maintain that it is in terms of the establishment and development of that unit in the new locus that its integration (and thereby his own) is achieved. It becomes part of the new social environment as the parental group he left behind belonged to the community at home. The process of integration in the new environment is not simply a matter of time, it is a processive social development.

Viewed subjectively there is no single morphology in the new community, there are as many morphologies as there are persons in interpret it. No new-comer has detailed prior knowledge of the social organisation; the process by which he participates in and becomes aware of this is a matter of his domestic establishment. In other words the new-comer's integration involves a progressive acquisition of the morphology, the norms of behaviour, of the community.

Integration is, of course, expounded in real relationships and coactivity between domestic units and it is this
which must be examined and interpreted in the immigrant situation itself. As a sociologist one's aim is to build up a conception of community organisation synthetically and to do this one breaks a number of norms to create premises for investigation; one becomes a full-time observer of people's behaviour, one makes intrusions into their domestic privacy with questionnaires, and demands to know the meaning and purpose of innumerable fragments of behaviour.

The following, therefore, are the propositions I shall put to the test in Bugerere:

In the immigrant situation, integration involves the transition of a person or persons from one domestic unit and the establishment of a domestic unit in the new community.

The degree to which the domestic units collectively are established determines the manner and degree in which they are integrated as a community.

The collocation of the domestic units with one another also determines the manner and degree in which they are integrated as a community.

The communities themselves, therefore, depend for their generation upon the establishment of constituent domestic units and the prevalent features of collocation.

The subsequent chapters will be concerned with demonstrating the validity of these propositions from material collected from documentary sources and in the field. I shall firstly enlarge upon and clarify both collocation and the process of migration with reference to the particular situation in Bugerere. In so doing I shall draw upon the bibliography
and my own practical investigation as well as statistical data on the migration experience of a sample of homesteads in Bugerere.

Secondly, I shall examine in detail two separate village communities in Bugerere to demonstrate in real terms the expressions of integration proposed above. I shall consider each in terms of their features of collocation and the establishment of their constituent domestic units. Having made a definitive statement about each I shall proceed to a detailed comparison and discussion of domestic relationships and co-activity in three broad spheres, family and friendship, economic organisation and leadership and social control.

The problems for investigation were largely established prior to my arrival in Africa after seven months' study of the abundant bibliography and other documentary evidence. This was continued in the facilities of Makerere University College where contacts were established with officialdom and the concentrated investigation of the problems in the field initiated. My four main intentions were 1) to become personally acquainted with as much of Bugerere county as possible. 2) to carry out some form of sample survey over a fairly wide area to learn more about migration and the current situation in the county as well as to provide a frame of reference for 3) two separate depth studies of village communities which were to provide detailed comparative material. 4) To collect in the field any other data, legal, economic, medical etc., that appeared in any way relevant.
I spent the first six weeks of my fifteen months stay in Bugerere at the county headquarters, Ntenjeru. This proved an ideal centre for initial reconnaissance, for becoming acquainted with the chiefs of various areas and for examining county records. I travelled all over Bugerere during this period, selecting possible bases for future study and discussing the situation in a variety of places with local chiefs. I also made the first of three area samples to assist me in planning, to draw up the questionnaire that was to be the basis of all future interviews, and to assist me in my efforts, never wholly successful, at learning the Luganda language. This and subsequent area samples, which I shall use in Chapter 6, were made by selecting the homesteads that lay closest to the gridline intersections on the 1:50,000 topographical maps of Uganda.1 A group of 52 homesteads covered approximately 16 square miles and, even allowing for some involuntary error in the selection of each case, provided a fair and quite extensive frame of reference. It took considerable time and patience to locate, meet and eventually interview each homestead head and the completion of three separate blocks of 52 cases in Musale, Mumyuka and Sabagabo sub-counties was as much as could be accomplished. I received altogether 4 refusals to co-operate, or responses which I felt were fictitious, and I replaced each of these with the nearest alternative homestead.

In this apparently polyglot situation I was unsure which language I ought to learn, but it soon became clear that

Luganda was the lingua franca. In all my interviews I was accompanied by an assistant, a man familiar with Bugerere who could converse reliably and fluently with almost any respondent. My first assistant, with me for the initial six weeks, proved too young and diffident but I found the relationship with my second assistant very satisfactory. A schoolmaster of mixed Ganda and Soga parentage, he was quite fluent in five languages of the lake area as well as Kiswahili, to which we were obliged to have recourse on several occasions. Although I received much informal guidance from him I did not use him directly as an informant. In interviews I normally led the discussion and asked questions, but he received and briefly translated the responses for me. I encouraged him, after careful instruction, to converse with and explain details to the respondent, leaving me free to listen and make discreet notes. After some experimentation I found this three-cornered arrangement by far the most fluent, putting the respondent more at ease. We adhered to a carefully composed schedule of questions (Appendix G) covering the main topics of migration and establishment, and attempted to preserve a standardised approach throughout. It will be understood that a very formal interview would be unsuitable in the case of the African farmer and for this reason, even in the list of precise questions, we attempted to be as flexible as possible.

1. I made the selection of a suitable assistant my first priority, and in so doing I feel vindicated by Beattie's account of his own experiences: "Though not entirely my own fault, my delay in recruiting adequate assistance was a mistake. If I were to have my time in Bunyoro over again I should set about finding one, or preferably two suitable men as a matter of urgency at the beginning of my second tour." (1965:26).
ready to follow up any topic of interest to either party. The assistant, as my full-time employee, was encouraged to write a separate report on each interview and to keep a diary of local events. He took accommodation near mine in each village and became a valuable and perceptive aid in understanding the daily life of the village and in calling my attention to local events.

For reasons I shall make clear in Chapter 7, I selected the two villages, Kamira and Budada, because they were sufficiently distinct in terms of their immigrant population to offer fruitful comparison. I chose Kamira after several visits to Musale sub-county because of its established, dense settlement. I lived in the home of a member of the community but just outside the village boundary; Natiera my host, had a farm in the centre of the village and a more substantial house at his maize mill a few yards within the boundary of adjacent Kangulumira. While I was thus involved in the life of a village family I was not obviously attached to any particular group within the community; it was made clear that I was Natiera's lodger, not his protégé. By happy coincidence the arrangement in Budada, my second field base, was almost identical. There I lived in part of a shop owned by Lubega about 150 yards outside the village boundary in Kitimbwa. In terms of their status in the community and their general circumstances, the two men were closely parallel.

In both villages I compiled a sketch map of the community and its surroundings and set about getting to know the head of every homestead. I had long and detailed discussions with
the village chief and his deputy but very little information about myself and my purpose filtered through to the people themselves. Rather than working methodically through the village I visited homesteads here and there, explaining in detail about my work in the hopes that any suspicion about me could be controlled. When at home I tried to indicate that I was pleased to chat with passers-by, of which there were many. No villager in Kamira could visit the shops in Kangulumira without passing my door. My assistant and I used to walk around the village to meet people informally, and as well as going to beer-parties at others' homes I sometimes invited guests to my own. I attempted to win co-operation and confidence by offering assistance where I could, whether with simple medical supplies or such things as transport and typing. The co-operation I received was remarkable, only one villager, in Kamira, refusing to help me as I wished. I learned subsequently that he was well-known by other villagers for his fiery disposition, but fortunately his brother, a very friendly man, was able to provide most of the details about which I was doubtful. On many occasions I gave small presents of sugar or tea, but in Budada I decided not to do this as it seemed that latterly a gift was sometimes expected of me before an interview could commence. In many ways I found work in Budada much easier, largely because my confidence and experience had increased. For example I knew to avoid stressing the confidential nature of responses as this tended to encourage rather than allay suspicion. I found that wild stories about my work spread easily and I was continually vigilant to correct mistaken impressions. An
uneasy political climate was partly responsible for this but I am certain that by the end of my stay in each village, 7 months in Kamira and 6 in Budada, nearly everyone was assured of my good faith.

A much extended version of the basic interview schedule was used in each village (Appendix G) involving at least 2 visits to each household. Records of all other visits and encounters with the household were also made. I wrote a detailed report on each interview and built up dossiers on every family in the two villages. This included a sketch of the layout of their property, a diagram of relevant interpersonal relationships and some diary material which I took over short periods from a sample of homestead heads. All other, general information I recorded on numbered duplicate slips, soon abandoning my attempt to keep a journal as I found it made information inaccessible. I also recorded each interview on hand punched cards which provided a cumulative guide to the information that was being gathered. Of other aids, aerial photographs proved very useful in understanding the terrain and locating the area sample; I used my camera sparingly and only where it could in no way offend, and I quickly abandoned the idea of using a tape recorder other than to entertain.

With the help of my assistant I obtained a good deal of information from other sources. We attended court quite frequently and always when cases involving members of the two villages were being heard. We compiled a set of abstracts from the Musale and Sabagabo sub-county legal records and from the register of births. I spent much time meeting
people conversant with the history of the county and in addition encouraged certain important or interesting people to write me letters, making small payments when it seemed appropriate. I took advantage of an invitation to take English classes occasionally at Bugerere College, Kangulumira, to run a series of essay competitions on topics relevant to my work. I read newspapers daily and tried to attend official functions, farmers' clubs meetings, community competitions and so on, although I found it essential to avoid completely all political meetings and activities. With the co-operation of the Mulago hospital Paediatric unit and Dr. Rainier Arnhold, I arranged a study of child nutrition in the two villages which proved valuable if not entirely successful. For the rest I relied on attempted participation and observation, seeking instruction of farming, magic, dispute settlement and the general functions of social life.

Needless to say shortcomings in my approach and methods emerged both in the field and in retrospect. I relied very heavily on interviews and verbal information; although I tried, both in the structure of the questionnaire and in ordinary conversation, to cross-check responses, some allowance in reliability should be made. On such topics as crop yields and incomes only intricate input-output analysis over the year could provide anything like reliable data, but as this was clearly impracticable in my case I was obliged to trust in respondents statements supported by my own assessments and the opinion of my assistant. On the whole I am satisfied that for the purposes for which I required such data the accuracy was adequate.
Inevitably one regrets topics omitted or improperly followed through. I ought to have found out more about the life of the migrants' original domestic groups at home, particularly the relationships with siblings. My understanding of the position of women, the details of the conjugal relationship and some internal operations of the domestic group is inadequate. I sometimes regret not choosing for detailed analysis communities under more radically different forms of land tenure, say a public land village and a Mailo estate village. Shortage of time was, I feel, the main deficiency, severely restricting my attention to daily records of the life of each domestic unit and participation in the recreational activities of the community. I feel that the amount of material I had to gather made me establish my own routine and discipline, not, perhaps, the best way to understand the daily life of the subjects themselves.

More time might also have allowed me to achieve greater understanding of the life of each community by my own gradual integration. I was as much an immigrant as any and by my own criteria I was far from being an established member of the community, although my attachment to a domestic unit there probably helped. I believe I should have learned more if I had owned a small farm in the village, certainly I am sure that if I had my own wife and family resident there I should have achieved a much greater measure of integration.
By virtue of the fact that they are gathered together in one place the immigrants are subject to a number of constraints which will affect the manner in which they become integrated into the new village communities. As has already been explained these attributes may be summarised in the term 'collocation' and they pertain, ipso facto, to the social unit of the community and not to the domestic group.

Whereas in the first instance I imply by collocation simply the physical juxtaposition of units, the mode of their dispersal, I have extended its significance here into the realm of jural relations. The 'collocated' social units are ever less likely in this modern world to have moved into a new area that is, as it were, a total jural vaccuum. Although that area may be untenanted it will most probably be subject to a set of jural norms readily evoked in the contingency of population entry. Such was the case in southern Bugerere, previously forest but none the less under the formal jurisdiction of the Ganda state.

Regardless of the tribal heterogeneity of the new communities they must conform to certain specifications. Regardless of his origin the individual is subject to external formal constraints that derive from his community membership. In this section I shall consider the nature and application of these formal constraints in the new communities in Bugerere, a necessary step in the understanding of community morphology. As my emphasis in the study of integration is upon the
relationship between the domestic unit and the community, my purpose will be to extract from a consideration of collocation those aspects which specifically constitute determinants of this relationship.

I shall therefore examine 'collocation' under two basic headings, the physical limitations and the formal limitations posed by community life in Bugerere.

While land and land tenure have loomed large in anthropological writing, it is perhaps less common for the physical, spatial dimensions of communities to be related to social organisation. As I feel this is particularly important in immigration I shall begin with a discussion of collocation in its most literal sense, the mode in which people are dispersed and the reasons for such dispersal. In the general context of Bugerere the first three chapters dealt with this quite thoroughly, but of the community level I have so far said little. There are three main inter-related determinants of population dispersal; the relative density, the pattern of settlement and the prevalent economic system. In Bugerere one is concerned with the attraction of individuals to the most available and most productive land in terms of the north-south pattern of differentiation described in chapter one. Any desire to isolate the domestic unit or to preserve lebensraum around it must be tempered by the availability and fertility of the land.

Taylor (1958:109) has noted the extreme difficulty in describing a typical village, ekyaal, in Buganda, and this is doubly true of Bugerere with its greatly varying ecological features and population densities. Mair (1934) found a fairly distinctive pattern which is probably the commonest, in the lake Victoria shore area at any rate. Villages lie along the tops or slopes of the small flat-topped ridges, mitala, and are bounded from one another by swampland. A main roadway threading along the ridge is the focus of the dwellings, creating a strassendorf pattern. Probably most Ganda villages are defined ecologically in this way and are distinguished by proper names. Southwold speaks of the ekyaal as "basically..... a territorial unit, a tract of land", and again, it is "a defined entity: a tract of land and a place" (1959). Depending upon population density such a village will contain anything from 30 to 100 homesteads; an average might be about 60 in a well-settled area.

This should not give the impression that settlement is close-knit; in densely settled areas there may be very close linear contiguity but never nucleation - except, of course, in the small shopping centres. The most fertile portion of the ridge is usually top to mid-slope, but the astute farmer knows that different portions of the slope may favour different crops - coffee higher up and vegetables or timber near the moist valley floor. The optimum is thus probably a farm with its main property higher up the slope but with some land near the swamp as well; hence the pattern of strips of land down-hill rather than some form of centralised or radial layout.
It should be made clear that settlement is not arranged around a node such as a chief's residence, as occurs for example among the Tanzanian Nyakyusa (Gulliver 1958). The orientation of house-sites is to the farm-land in the first instance and then to the central roadway, the line of communication. Accessibility is regarded as important and the overall settlement pattern is influenced strongly by proximity to main roadways and central places, usually the regular small townships. Roadside sites are favoured and a dwelling 'down the hill' or 'at the swamp' has inferior social connotations. Southwold (1959) notes that living out of the way has the shameful suggestion of ostracism and I in fact met several people who were unhappy about their present dwellings for this reason.

In terms of community establishment the first-come, first-served principle is reflected territorially in the light of these preferences. Earlier arrivals have more land on the richer heights of the slope whereas new-comers may only be able to find small plots on the valley-floor. A recent Ganda immigrant to Sabagabo told me: "when we first came to Bugonya we cleared the edge of the forest and made our farms in the valleys. We could not see that there was so much good, high land up here, hidden in the forest. Many of us therefore have moved again, cut roads through the trees and burned clear new farms."

The seeming publicity of a roadside dwelling is usually ameliorated by siting it behind a deep earth or grass courtyard, lujja, and surrounding it on three sides by such dense
permanent crops as bananas or coffee. A household derives a measure of security from abutment with the main road and the daily *va et vient*. On the one hand there is a very specific desire for privacy: "when the front door of the house is closed the family enjoys as much privacy as an English suburban family: and the Ganda indeed value their privacy". (Southwold 1959). On the other hand isolation is feared. One Sabagabo settler recalled the time there when the population was very thin and people were prey to animals, robbers, and sickness. "Now there are people to help one another" he explained.

The roadside situation and accessibility are practical expedients when it comes to the movement of cash-crops. The influence of cash-cropping on the form of the Bugerere community is considerable, after all this pursuit is the prime *raison d'etre* of the migrants there. Economic individualism is reflected in the siting of the house in the plot itself and with valuable permanent crops such as coffee this is as much a safety measure as anything. Looting is regular and profitable; a crippling and apparently frequent gesture of vengeance is the cutting-down of someone's established trees. Gulliver records similar separatism among Nyakyusa farmers: "in the Northern Highlands there is now a strong tendency for the tight village system to disintegrate as men seek to site their houses each in his own coffee plot" (1958:4).

Cotton evokes rather different patterns. It is common for a man to rent or borrow a plot at some distance from his own land if he requires extra cash. Until the bolls burst
there would be little point in stealing the plants. As a seasonal crop it is ideal for short-term migrants whose small and flimsy dwellings are often tucked around the edges of established villages. Its success depends on intensive care, weeding particularly, and on the July-August rains.

Crops must be chosen in accordance with long and short term intentions. Cotton is regarded as exhausting the soil and there comes a time when matoke, the banana staple, may not be cash-cropped very profitably by the small farmer as the yields fall off quite sharply after the first flush of productivity on virgin soil. Anyone intending to settle in southern Bugerere will probably cultivate coffee, which makes less intensive demands on the soil although it takes 3 - 5 years to come to fruition. As a perennial its further importance is that it increases the value of the land in a way that no seasonal crop can. A recent development undermining the pre-eminence and profitability of cotton is the national financial problem involving purchase, quality control and disposal in the world markets. In an attempt to stabilise prices the Assistance Fund was overdrawn by £2,382,000 in November 1966 (East African Standard 5/11/66). The previous year "several cotton growers in Bugerere .... sold their cotton at 30 and 40 cents a pound instead of the official price of 60 cents. This resulted after cotton stores remained closed after the official opening of the buying season when growers were anxious to get money" (Uganda Argus 21/12/65). Disputes over the transportation charges of raw cotton in the spring of 1966 further aggravated the problem.
Coffee has certainly not escaped the trend of price collapse and Government mediative measures. "Some coffee growers in Bugerere were forced to sell their coffee at 30 cents a pound" reported the Uganda Argus (5/7/65). Earlier all coffee growers were "urged to report immediately to the police or the local chief any coffee buyer offering less than the minimum of 40 cents a pound of Kiboko Robusta coffee" (23/6/65). A further threat is the Government's intention to run down Robusta cropping in Buganda and encourage the establishment of the higher grade Arabica.  

This insecurity must inevitably rebound upon the social life of the communities, if it has not already done so. The layout of the village and the use of the land are very much subject to the prevalent economy and of the three main determinants I have discussed here this is the most fickle. I have also pointed out the constraints of the geography of the area on settlement, a more stable influence played upon by varying population density. The more heavily settled communities imply smaller land-holding units and therefore a more intense juxtaposition of homesteads. In southern Bugerere the appearance is quite marshalled, with homesteads aligned in an almost western-urban sense of discipline that cries out its relevance in the social organisation. In the thinly populated north of Bugerere homesteads are by comparison sequestered and do not readily fall into visible 'communities'.

1. Statement in the Uganda Central Legislative Assembly (29/6/65).
I now want to consider the context in which the new communities in Bugerere relate to the formal organisation of the Ganda state. I shall examine the application of the Ganda authority and assess upon what factors this authority is based at the level of the community and its constituent members.

The Ganda 'bureaucratic' chiefly hierarchy has attracted much commendation, for example: "there can be no question of the relative degree of efficiency which the Baganda chiefs have shown" (Hailey 1957:481). Hailey continues,

"The Ganda system of rule exercised through what is in effect an official hierarchy, has resulted in the development of units of local administration both larger and more uniform in size than those which it has usually been possible to establish in countries where a separate Native Authority has been recognised for each tribal or clan group". (op. cit.:480)

It is sometimes assumed that this hierarchy\(^1\) with its appointive offices comes somewhere near the Weberian ideal of bureaucracy. As a system of administration it has been transmuted from the strong traditions of clientage whereby the incorporation of the individual into the political organisation was 'exchanged' for rights over resources vested in the hierarchy. The British Colonial administration found a modified form of it ideal in drawing less centralised peoples into a national state of Uganda. In this diffused form the system became one of regional administration and appointative, salaried officials, but in Buganda the persistence of a sense of clientage is inescapable today. This may be at odds with the

1. An expository summary of the hierarchy in Bugerere is given in Appendix A.
expectancies of the Government that activity initiated by them will be implemented expediently at the lower levels of the hierarchy. Nonetheless the traditional facility of the Ganda state for incorporating strangers and its insistence that chiefship is essentially appointative - that it is a "borrowed garment" (Nsimbi 1953:34) - suit the situation in Bugerere well. The system does not have to take into account the fact that a man has no ties of kinship or clanship with the area. His very existence in a community is an adequate premise for the state and even though he is not a Muganda he may actually join the lower levels of the chiefly hierarchy itself. The operation of the hierarchy is still closely dependent upon allegiance to its apex in the person of the Kabaka and upon the sense of prestige and honour, kitiibwa, that derive from him. Great pressure is often placed on the levels closest to the populace: "the efficiency of a bureaucratic system of government such as that in Buganda has to be paid for by creating severe role conflict for the lower chief" (Southwold 1964:252). It should be emphasised that the system I shall briefly describe here is the only context in which the village community 'belongs' to the state and hence the only mechanism whereby the will of the state can be imposed on the immigrants.

It is little wonder then that Apter sees the modern Batongole chiefs (s. Mutongole), those responsible for each village, as "of major importance in the basic governing of local areas" (1961:95). On the other hand J.V. Taylor takes a rather different point of view:
"The Batongole are a relic of the days when the clan system was fully operative and the landowner was the administrative head of the people on his land ... The best of them are more than tax-collectors and act as village headmen; but they are everywhere a very mixed bag". (Taylor 1958:110)

I feel that both points of view may be largely correct and that the ambivalence derives from the double role of the village chief as instrument of the State's authority and representative of the people. That they are a 'mixed bag' is indisputable; what I am proposing here is that they are 'mixed' primarily because of the various jural types of land in Buganda over which they are in control and in which their authority over the people consists.

The mutongole chief seems to have been frequently regarded as nothing more than a puppet of his immediate senior, the parish, muluka, chief. In Bugerere this would be a distinct undervaluation. The muluka chief often restricts his contact with the territorial unit of the village to a rare and brief tour in his car. It would be unwise, even impertinent of him to take his business straight to a villager without consultation with and usually in the presence of the mutongole. This is no position of mere stewardship of puppetry. In fact each rank in the hierarchy has its own steward, musigiire, a deputy who is officially appointed and paid at the higher levels, and informally selected and reimbursed at the lower. Southwold points out that on the average these deputies are "less well educated, less well connected and own less land" (1964:221) than their masters but that "at all levels of chiefship deputies tend to be more energetic, efficient and helpful than the chiefs themselves" (ibid.).
Figure 5.

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<td>Kyerima</td>
<td>Nyalá</td>
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<td>Sabagabo</td>
<td>Kitimbwa</td>
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<td>Bweramundo</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>IV Kirimampokya (1)</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>V Wabiwoko</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VI Namabuga</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VII Nakaseeta</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VIII Kalagala</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>IX Kirimampokya (2)</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>X Kakoola</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>XI Knetume</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 out of 16 chiefs

(Based on estimates by Muluka chief)

5 out of 10 chiefs

4 out of 14 chiefs

2. Villages in the Muluka Sabawali of the Gombolola Mumyuka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Chief's Tribe</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mumyuka</td>
<td>Kisombwa</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaddu</td>
<td>Malumuli</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabagabo</td>
<td>Namatagoma</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabawali</td>
<td>Kasi</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musale</td>
<td>Wabigwo</td>
<td>Soga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuba I</td>
<td>Nakaseeta</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mituba II</td>
<td>Nakaziba</td>
<td>Soga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>III Wajasi</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>IV Wankiyayira</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>V Nakaziba</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VI Nkule and Gaway</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VII Nakaseeta (1)</td>
<td>Toro</td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>VIII Nakaseeta (2)</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>IX Kiramuli</td>
<td>Toro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 out of 10 non-Ganda chiefs

3. Villages in the Muluka Mumyuka of the Gombolola Musale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Chief's Tribe</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mumyuka</td>
<td>Nakatunda (1)</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaddu</td>
<td>Kamuli</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabagabo</td>
<td>Kamira</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabawali</td>
<td>Nongo</td>
<td>Soga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musale</td>
<td>Mpumudde</td>
<td>Gisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuba I</td>
<td>Kisega</td>
<td>Gwere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mituba II</td>
<td>Lwanda</td>
<td>Ruanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>III Wabukwa</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>IV Nakatunda (2)</td>
<td>Gwere (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>V Kigayaza</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mainly middle-aged to older men
'Butongole', the area governed by the village chief and coincidental with the ekya\l, could be translated 'realm', and its prime connotation is with the administration of a piece of land. One lives, says Southwold, not "in" but "on" a Ganda ekya\l (1959b:4). Consequently where the jural definition of the land varies so too must the nature of the mutongole's role. The owner of a private 'Mailo' estate, at the discretion of the muluka chief may appoint a representative who becomes a mutongole, while being in reality no more than a steward. Where public land is concerned a senior resident may be appointed who enjoys a far more direct relationship with the people and, being unsponsored, with the muluka chief. The high proportion of public land in Bugerere makes this latter type by far the most common.

The new public land mutongole in Bugerere is co-opted by the muluka council, composed of other batongole and nominated councillors meeting regularly at the kitawulisi, muluka council house. Ideally the desires of the villagers are also taken into account. According to one muluka chief the council's main criteria were 1) good character, that is a man with no criminal record and who has been involved in little litigation, 2) industry, 3) care with money, 4) literacy and reasonable education, and 5) his reputation as a careful tenant and good villager. In addition, he said they would be prepared to listen to all representations and constructive criticism from the villagers.

It was not at all uncommon for a non-muganda to become a village chief (figure 5) but it was considered very unlikely that he could proceed to muluka chiefship and beyond.
Nevertheless, the appointment of the mutongole is still, as it were, an imposition of the Ganda state rather than a product of the community. The batongole chiefs of both villages studies actually lived outside the byalo boundaries; were the villages concerned on private land, such a situation would be virtually impossible. The Baganda are a little sceptical about the attractions of being a mutongole chief and more than one expressed the opinion to me that foreigners were welcome to the drudgery involved in this role.

I was anxious to discover in which aspects of the mutongole chief's multifaceted role personal authority is exercised over the villagers and in which aspects he acts strictly as an agent of the hierarchy, as the muluka chief's proxy. The most onerous task is the exaction of taxes, the task which brings the mutongole most into conflict with the villagers. Usually he prefers to act as policeman, sending people along to the muluka chief and avoiding contact with the cash himself. Assessments are made on the basis of a written form, checked by the muluka chief and ratified by his senior the sub-county chief. The mutongole professes not to be party to any assessment of tax but this is not quite true. Villagers are required to complete a form that generally obviates his intervention, but he is liable to be consulted by the muluka chief about its validity: "does X really only have 20 coffee trees?". Naturally he is something of an enemy in the arts of tax-

1. Okodi, the Teso mutongole of Kyato village in Sabagabo, put this sense of allegiance into words: "as I am mutongole here" he said, "I must listen to what the Baganda tell me. It is necessary that we are friendly with one another."
evasion. The mutongole is also usually reluctant to push his authority very far in such of his roles as sanitary inspector, health inspector, soil conservation supervisor etc., and what action he does take is usually in response to periodic purges organised further up the hierarchy.

A typical example of this is the administration of Bulungi bwa nsi labour, 'for the public good', the maintenance of thoroughfares, culverts and so on. I was assured that only rarely would the mutongole himself authorise work unless flooding, tree-falls or other emergencies made action essential. It was the muluka chief on his sporadic visits who was likely to demand that a section of roadway be re-dug, and then the mutongole would usually require those householders living adjacent to it to put it right.

His function of mediator between muluka chief and the people works in reverse when the mutongole is summoned in connection with some breach of the peace or quarrel. It is his duty to erect the prima facie case, and it is not uncommon for some settlement to be reached in the process of ensuing ad hoc discussions. This is not, however, his purpose and the first real level of juridical authority rests with the muluka chief to whom the case is passed. Thereafter the mutongole is not required to attend court unless, as is very common, the sub-county chief or magistrate wishes to take his version of the case into account. Throughout, the mutongole is there to see that such affairs are despatched 'properly' in the authorised Ganda manner; not to summon him would be to jeopardise the course of justice. He calls upon any
other villagers to escort an accused party to the muluka chief and ties a piece of banana fibre around him as a symbol rather than an instrument of captivity.

Meetings of the villagers held by the mutongole are rare and again only at the instigation of the muluka chief. The business of government is made a very diffuse affair by the batongole who would much prefer to cycle around from house to house than to address a meeting. This personal touch seems to minimise his role dilemma as chief and villager, and his authority rests primarily on the fact that a refusal to obey him implies the reference of the matter as a civil case to the muluka chief, whose proxy in these circumstances he usually is.

The mutongole is above all the agent responsible for a piece of territory and it is in matters concerning the allocation and tenure of land that he enjoys personal authority and receives the perquisites of what may have seemed to be a very tedious office.

The decision as to whether a piece of public land is to be officially allocated to a new-comer belongs in the first instance to the mutongole, and an immigrant without this formal ratification has no security of tenure. These points should therefore be made clear: firstly, it is the mutongole who controls formal membership of the community and who is required to instruct new villagers in the conduct expected of them. Secondly, his sole source of income derives from the semi-legal fees he obtains from land transactions. Thirdly in this sphere he is in the advantageous position of being importuned;
thus he derives much of his kitiibwa, his prestige, from the land. Finally, in newly established communities with many or costly land transactions the formal authority of the mutongole may be more apparent and pervasive than in established communities.¹

The lowest salaried official with specific executive powers, though limited, is the muluka chief. Technically it is through him, rather than through the mutongole, that land transactions and the affairs of government become official. However, while a measure of his kitiibwa derives from his being a salaried civil-servant, much of it also comes from his position of authority over the administration of public land. Audrey Richards, speaking in the private land context, is even more emphatic; the muluka chief "has no other means of enforcing law or administrative order except by his personality or by his position as a landowner in the area or as a steward (musigiire) of a big landlord". (1954:192-3)

The muluka chief has seldom more than 15, or less than 5 villages, byalo, under his aegis. As a resident he is supposedly au fait with local life, but in practice he is so

¹. In a different context, Gulliver has noted among the Nyakyusa a similar emphasis on the role of the village chief: "His position has been further strengthened by his status at the base of the administrative hierarchy in modern local government, whereby he is given executive responsibility for his village and its people. As always, disputes over land are taken before him in the first instance and here he acts not only as a judge but also as the expositor of village opinion and public knowledge. Such disputes are increasing in number giving him more work and responsibility and also more opportunity for the expression of his status". (Gulliver 1958:24)
preoccupied with attending lawcourt, county and parish council meetings and dealing with administrative paperwork, that nearly all his contact with the people will be delegated through his batongole chiefs. He is selected by the sub-county and county councils and is salaried according to the number of taxpayers in his care. Parish chiefs are exclusively Baganda (or Banyala) in Bugerere, but again the prevalence of public land means a chief is less likely to be appointed by personal influence or inheritance than he would be if he were the owner of a large private estate. Lubega of Kamusabi, Sabagabo, succeeded his father in the office of muluka chief, hardly surprising as he owned 3 square miles of land there.

Three muluka chiefs were largely in agreement in a ranked list of their duties they gave me: 1) most important, the collection of graduated tax. They emphasised that a great deal of paper-work, chivvying and finally the deployment of official sanctions were involved here. 2) The collection and issue of temporary occupation licences for public land. 3) The supervision of soil erosion measures, mainly ensuring that suitable paspalum bunds are planted, the supervision of hygiene and public health measures, of public amenity and the care of thoroughfares. 4) The maintenance of law and the administration of justice. The muluka chief may deal with

1. See Richards (1960)
2. According to the Buganda Planning Commission only about a quarter of the 100,000 public land tenants pay their annual 10 shillings to the Land Board (1965:21). I imagine that in Bugerere an even lower proportion pay.
minor troubles but may not fine or punish. He is usually a man of education and experience (the three mentioned above had been a builder in Kampala, a schoolmaster, and a Legislative Assembly member, respectively); he stands between the amateur mutongole and the gombolola, sub-county chief, a fully fledged civil servant with fixed salary scale.

In jurisdiction the gombolola chief has the authority to fine up to 50 shs. or jail for up to 30 days. All cases pass through his hands, either for settlement by himself, or if they are beyond his power, by the circuit magistrate. Ideally he meets his miluka chiefs weekly and attends county (saza) council meetings fortnightly. Gombolola chief Musale, Bugeere, has substantial offices at Kangulumira and is allocated by the Buganda Government a deputy, an administrative assistant, 3 clerks, a cashier and 5 askaris. He is liable to continual transference in the circumductions of promotion; the present incumbent is on his fourth posting, having served previously in Kyaggwe and Ssingo. His counterpart in Sabagabo is similarly experienced, a measure of the full professional status of these men.

Through this administrative hierarchy, each with its varying orders of authority, the general functions of modern government are obliged to operate. The chiefs supervise economic controls, over fixed prices or crop quality for example, and through them the agricultural and veterinary officers deal with the farmers. The chiefs also act as returning-officers at elections, their only direct involvement with Government party-political affairs.
The question of party politics merits special attention in that it brings into focus some of the functions of the official hierarchy. The investigator in Bugerere is made instantly aware of the fervour of political activities in the county and at one noisy meeting he is liable to be branded a communist infiltrator and at the next an imperialist lackey (often both simultaneously, in the spirit of East-African non-alignment). Also immediately apparent is that hardly an element of political activity exists at the village level or, ostensibly, in the administrative hierarchy. Party headquarters are in the townships and centres of population, discrete from the administrative centres. One never hears for example, of the 'Musale, Bugerere Democratic Party Branch', but always something like 'Kangulumira Branch, D.P.'

In 1958, prior to Independence, Taylor wrote of the local representatives of the central political parties: "these have so little grasp of political realities that the majority of the peasants, while always glad of the excitement of wild talk, remained privately sceptical" (Taylor 1958:120). Today in Bugerere a great deal of energy and time are devoted to meetings from which, it could be asserted, precious little other than a sense of esprit de corps emerges. I think these get-togethers provide a community of ideals among the immigrant populace that in no way relates to the units of village or county etc., and in no direct way whatever affects the organ-

1. This is prohibited under section 60 of the Buganda Kingdom Government Staff Regulations.
isation or well-being of the local community.

There are a number of national constructivist movements under way in Bugerere: the National Union of Youth Organisation's 'Youth Mobilisation Campaign', Community Development schemes with affiliated projects in child welfare, adult literacy and 'Village and Home Improvement'. The officers in charge of these are avowedly, one might even say demonstratively, non-political. They, like the Government and the anthropologist, can only reach the people through the chiefly hierarchy. The community development officer, speaking of the problems encountered in his work emphasised the need for painstaking liaison with the chiefs. Dedicated to community improvement he made this pungent comment: "People here do not know what a community is. They learn by the example given out by their chiefs". Any authorised effort to implement change must cleave to the hierarchy and it seems that for this reason their efforts are as much doomed to failure as the politicians, free of such restrictions, are guaranteed success. The reason is the 'authority gap' between muluka chief and villager, a gap delicately bridged by the mutongole.

The effectiveness of all these exercises implies the co-operation of lower chiefs. At this point I must presuppose somewhat and add that the chief's authority in the community depends not only upon his control over land but upon the degree to which the individuals are thereby prepared to acknowledge his authority, a function of their relative domestic integration. I would reiterate that in
the formation of new communities formal authority plays only a part. There are therefore areas in which the construct-
ivist schemes are superfluous and are criticised for being so. The new-comer does not, and cannot be expected to look absolutely to the State for his integration into the new villages.

The land and its tenure has already emerged as the most vital aspect of collocation, and I propose now to examine the situation in Buganda, and Bugerere, in greater detail.

Prior to 1900 there were four kinds of rights-over-land in Buganda; obutongole, the rights of the Kabaka and his chiefs, obutaka, the rights of the clans, ebibanja, the peasant rights of occupation and obwesengese, certain individual hereditary rights (Mukwaya 1953:7). When, in 1899 Sir Harry Johnston was appointed special commissioner in the Protectorate he was resolved to achieve an effective land-settlement as the basis of ordered civil administration. After a period of extremely confused negotiation (West 1966: 8-10) the assessed area of Buganda, 19,600 square miles, was allocated: 958 square miles went to the Kabaka, his family and his county chiefs; 8,000 square miles to "1,000 chiefs and private landowners", the estates that were already supposed to be in their possession being computed at 8 square miles each. 1,500 square miles were allocated as forest reserves, 92 to the three missionary societies and 50 for Government stations. The remaining area, about 9,000 square miles of waste and uncultivated land was vested in the British Crown.
The obutaka claims were all but swept aside as fortunate new landowners staked their claims. The rights of other long-term hereditary residents were reduced to tenancies with little ceremony. However, the system proceeded to settle down with a surprising degree of acquiescence, although the circumscriptio of abuses and counter-claims resulted in a procession of further Laws and Ordinances over the ensuing decade (West 1966:App.A). Although "by a stroke of the pen full proprietary rights of a quasi-freehold nature were introduced to a country in which they had not previously existed" the settlement "was on the whole surprisingly successful" (op. cit.:2).

It might seem that the British Crown had carved out for itself an extremely generous piece of territory, but in fact its express purpose initially was to hold a reserve in trust to allow for future discrepancies between private land allocated and actually available surveyed territory. Originally part of the Crown Land was held aside in trusteeship for the benefit of natives, the rest for free disposal by the Crown. In 1916 all sales in freehold were suspended by the Secretary of State and eventually in 1950 the Governor clarified the status of Crown Land more fully. It was "being held in trust for the use of the African population", he said. The Protectorate Government would not apportion the land for public use without consulting the Buganda Kingdom Government, and it was not intended for development as non-African farming property (Mukwaya 1953:16-7). The existence of Crown Land as leeway between available territory and individual claims meant that precisely what, or where it was, was for long a matter of confusion. Small patches of it were dotted about
here and there, interstices among private estates or tracts of undesirable land away from the populous south. Wrigley says "by 1919 only about 60,000 acres of Crown Land had been definitely located; most of this was in the distant county of Bugerere, and most of it was poor land" (1959): (map 4).

In 1961 the Uganda Constitutional Conference clarified the transition of Crown Land to Public Land in the new independent Uganda:

"There will be a land board for Uganda in which will be vested all public land of the Buganda Government. The vesting of land in the Buganda Land Board will be entirely without prejudice to all existing freehold and leasehold titles, and the constitution will make it clear that the transfers to the Board are subject to existing interests. When the Land Board has been established, all Crown Land in Buganda will be transferred to the Board except Crown Land in Njeru and Crown Land occupied by the Uganda Government" (Colonial Office 1961 section 149:25-6).

I have concentrated on the status of Public land here as the bibliography deals copiously with Private land (called 'Mailo' as the allocations were originally made in multiples of a square mile). The social differences between Mailo and public land implied by the 1900 settlement are considerable, and as little attention to date has been paid to the latter, these differences have not been made clear. It may appear to a student of Buganda that much of what I say about Bugerere is quite alien; it seems important therefore that the fundamental jural distinctions deriving from the large quantities of public land in the county be made clear.

Because the land allocated as 'Mailo' property in 1900 was virtually all the settled and farmed parts of Buganda and land which was hitherto under butaka, clan control, the public land settlements of today are preponderantly more
recent and less subject to traditional sanctions. It is very
easy to think of public land villages as transient aggregations
of squatters, but in fact there is no real reason why they
should be less permanent than any other form of settlement.
Speaking of Crown (public) land, Audrey Richards says that
people there "lived in something like villages" (1966:97).
I am not sure whether she means by this 'something like con-
ventional Ganda private estate villages' or 'something like
separate, identifiable communities'. She lists 4 basic types
of village in Buganda (op. cit.:97-105) and one may assume
that public land belongs in the category "villages with no
land-owners" (op. cit.:97), although no specific mention is
made of it. Within the sphere of Mailo land itself Audrey
Richards has noted a number of clear distinctions in community
morphology caused by differing modes of tenure, for example
villages with single and with multiple landowners. It would
follow, then, that the public land communities, hitherto un-
accounted for, would have their own very distinct morphological
patterns when compared with villages in Mailo and other forms
of tenure.

With public land no one has legally any prior claims,
occupation is at the discretion of the Land Board and ideally
favours nobody. While Mailo is technically more secure,
"the possibility of occupants of Crown (public) land being
removed in the rural areas is very remote" (Mukwaya 1953:70).
Five acres is technically all that is tenable under one Public
Land Temporary Occupation Licence but in fact the only con-
trolling feature of any importance is availability. Very
little is surveyed, none that I know of in Bugerere. Even where land is scarce there is nothing to prevent a man taking out more than one licence so long as he uses what he has claimed. There is one farmer with 88 public acres in densely settled Musale; whether he actually pays 17 licences is another matter (Buganda Planning Commission 1965:21). It is therefore fair to assume that relative precedence will basically determine how much land a man holds. On private land the large estates will be held by Mailo allottees and their heirs. In reality, one is ever less likely to encounter large public land units and the sameness of farms is immediately striking. It would be very hard to find patterns such as that caused by Mailo fragmentation which "normally takes place by cutting off quite small portions from an estate so that there remains a core of substantial size..." (Southwold 1959).

There are also differences in the respective selection of chiefs, frequently a matter of heredity on Mailo and of appointment on public land. However it must be pointed out that although land tends to fall into substantial blocks of a type it is far from uncommon to find different sorts of land within one ekvalo under the aegis of one mutongole. In such cases the allocation of Mailo land remains the prerogative of the owner who, if his property is extensive, is in any case likely to be selected as mutongole of the whole ekvalo. It is worth noting that much of the idiom of private and clan estate tenure has been carried over to the public land village context; plots are described as ebibanja (s. kibanja), the occupation licence is called busulu, rent, and so on. It is
also significant that much of the proprietary interest and responsibility of the more conventional Mailo mutungole has been apparently carried over into the public context.

In Bugerere the current condition of Mailo land probably differs a great deal from that in the Ganda 'Home Counties' such as Kyaddondo, Busiro or even Kyaggwe. Clanship has no influence (Nsimi 1956:89 and frontispiece) and apparently a very large proportion of owners are absentees, their property either let out to tenants, operated extensively as cattle ranches or else lying empty. Absentee ownership may generally be very common in Buganda, Southwold suggests, "since the landowner now has no political duties to carry out in his own person and is under no necessity to maintain a large following" (1959).

By 1905 when the first main Mailo allocation was completed 72 people in Bugerere had been granted a total of 205 square miles, but this does not mean that all their property was necessarily in Bugerere or that the Mailo property in Bugerere was issued strictly to residents. Because the Mailo land in the county has been untenanted for so long it has not been fragmented to anything like the same extent as other parts of Buganda, where the massive backlog in registration of dealings and subdivisions constitutes a severe problem (West 1964:4, 1966:passim). West, reckoning 7,077 deceased Ganda landowners' property at the time of death has calculated an average of 1.6 separate plots per head.¹ Only in Mumyuka sub-county, the

¹ Personal communication. H.W. West Esq.
longest settled since 1900, has fragmentation in Bugerere proceeded very far. Another hazard, dealings in 'paper acres', has not yet become problematic. Both as units of private ownership and as tenancies Mailo land seems to have been involved only very secondarily in the mass influx to Bugerere. It is worth considering why this should be so.

The Buganda Possession of Land Law, 15th June 1908, specifically states "the owner of a Mailo will be permitted to sell his land to another man of Uganda or give it to him as a gift, or will it to him in writing, or to hand it to him in any other manner not in conflict with this law or any other law" (West 1966:App.A). In effect this is broadly interpreted by the Baganda owners to mean '... another man of Buganda...'. In my Bugerere area samples there were 16 Mailo owners out of 156 cases, and of these 16 only 2 were non-Ganda (Basoga). Not one of a group of 27 largescale Mailo owners interviewed in Musale were prepared to entertain the possibility of a sale to a non-Ganda, even at the temptation of a higher price (Robertson, A.F. in preparation). Audrey Richards points out that "the sale of land to non-Ganda is comparatively rare", and that there is "considerable feeling against a foreigner becoming a landowner .... in his own right" (1954:132-3).

I have encountered only a very few foreigners with Mailo land in Bugerere, and all were very long-established Basoga. One had as much as 20 acres. Taylor is more assured that such sales are practicable: "if a sale is contemplated then another

1. Land units bought and sold without inspection of the territory concerned or its precise surveyal.
problem arises, should it be to a stranger or even to a non-
Muganda and the highest price extorted, or should it be kept
in the family? The probability is that they will sell to
strangers" (1958:113). One should not under-estimate the
national sentiments of the Baganda. Preservation of their
territorial sovereignty is one of the most obvious manifesta-
tions of this. In the urban and per-urban setting, in
situations of high population density, Southall and Gutkind
say that among Baganda "the most widely prevalent suspicion
is that concerning the general security of Mailo land" (1957:
215). One might postulate that where people are thickest on
the land the strongest are such fears. For reasons that I
shall try to make clear, the Baganda in Bugerere have not
noticeably exploited their apparent land monopoly, in spite
of the economic advantages that would seem to be involved.
As immigrants the Baganda themselves seem to join the multi-
tribal throng in a preference for public land tenancies.

Eighteen out of the 156 area sample cases held Mailo
tenancies. Seven of these were Baganda, all of them quite
recent arrivals, perhaps a substantiation of the generally
voiced opinion that Mailo tenancies are disliked. There is
one good reason why they should be shunned, the pressure of
the dues required of tenants under the provision of the Buganda
Busulu and Envujo law of January 1928, which, paradoxically,
sought to stabilise the legal status of the tenant. Busulu
is a standard annual rent of 10 shs., and Envujo, an additional
commission on produce. While this was originally specified
as 4 shs. an acre or produce (usually banana beer) in lieu,
today it seems to be a matter for negotiation between land-
lord and tenant. Another common criticism of Mailo tenancy in Bugerere is that it involves a personal relationship with the landlord and perhaps thereby a feeling of serfdom. There is the fear that one's own success may provoke his jealousy, or that he may oust one for personal reasons. This would certainly be hard to justify legally, as Mukwaya is at pains to emphasise (1953:48-70). On the other hand the modern Mailo owner is becoming increasingly aware of the capital value of his property and is extremely reluctant to encourage tenancy as this implies the exchange of strong, heritable rights for a comparatively small annual increment. Busulu and Envuyo have often been adversely criticised and not without reason: they are "out of date ... obviously completely anachronistic" (Parsons 1960:15-6), are "hampering progress" and are "an anachronism under present day conditions" (West 1966:55, 120). Perhaps the most blunt comment on Mailo tenancy comes from Southall and Gutkind: "to judge from past experience the peasantry have more to fear from landlords of their own tribe than from Europeans as far as the security of their land is concerned" (1957:215).

Only fairly recently have Mailo owners, usually in the centre and north of Bugerere, been besieged by would-be tenants. It is, as the sub-county chief of Sabagabo reminded me, after all the privilege of any man to present himself to an owner, indicate a piece of empty land and request the use of it.

1. The demand for a premium beyond the restricted rental was noted by Haydon in Bugerere in 1948 (Haydon, E.S., Law and Justice in Buganda, London 1960).
Lubega of Kamusabi, Sabagabo, an old man with no direct heirs, has found his 4 square miles suddenly inundated by the creeping tide of recent immigrants. In four years he has allocated nearly 400 tenancies of 5-7 acres each out of his abundant wasteland, and although he allows new-comers two years' grace before charging rent, he relishes the prospect of a handsome income of about £700 a year. It is to such increasingly rare gestures as this that Belshaw refers in commending Buganda's spontaneous capacity for absorbing immigrants (1963a: 14). Apart from the ordinary tenancies, ebibanja, there are short-term leases of a seasonal nature, abapangissa. These do not carry the same formal rights as ebibanja, being "based on purely commercial considerations on each side" (Richards 1954:130). They are associated with the cultivation of seasonal crops, usually cotton, and do not connote permanence of migration, although full settlers may occasionally rent such a plot as an auxiliary. In Bugereere it may well be the way a new-comer finds a foothold in the community, but the abuses of the system are notorious and what with avaricious landowners and insolvent tenants, generate much ill-feeling.

The most commonly stated advantages of public land (usually referred to as ettake lyagovumenti) are its cheapness of rental and the fact that it is free from the influence of a 'master'. A Sudanese discussed the matter with me at length. None of his countrymen, he assured me, would take a Mailo tenancy where there was public land available. "When we first came here we were Mailo tenants, and always it was Envujo, and threats, and the shortening of our boundaries. Then we found the
Officially a prospective public tenant applies to the mutongole and miluka chiefs and if a plot is available its boundaries are clearly shown to him and an occupation licence issued. The bargain is a remarkable one for ten shillings. Recently the Buganda Government reckoned it was losing a potential source of revenue to the tune of over £225,000 a year (Buganda Planning Commission 1965), and complained that "Shs. 10 was probably an economic rent in 1928 but it is certainly not today, and rents should be charged at so much per acre according to different land values..." (op. cit.:21).

As I have already mentioned less than a quarter actually pay their dues (ibid.) and the situation seems to defy all efforts at control and clarification. Three Land Board officers were appointed for Bugerere, all local men with long experience of the county, but they all agree that nothing short of a costly, comprehensive survey could order the situation.

Among the cognoscenti the particular value of public land is the possibility of later buying Freehold Grants or obtaining 49 year leases. At the moment the confused situation means that the former are given with increasing reluctance and the latter only with caution (ibid.). Some of the 'irregularities' that have emerged are excessively high exchange-prices, informal sub-letting, oversized claims, and unlicenced occupation.

1. I asked him if he could purchase a Mailo title, but he laughed, "that is for Beganda only, they know each other".
2. I understand that in the constitutional changes of 1966 even the 10 shs. charge has been abolished.
Given this apparent anarchy it is vital that some attempt be made to characterise the allocation, valuation and security of public land, if the emplacement of the immigrant is to be understood.

Once the new-comer has located a plot that is either vacant or about to be vacated, he contacts the mutongole of the ekyało in question to seek tenure. In a populous area it is extremely difficult to retain for long a piece of uncultivated property, one good reason why one would never expect to find 'common' fallow land with grazing and fuel rights enjoyed by all villagers, the ensiko y'omwami, that Mair found in Mailo villages (Mair 1933). I was told that one artifice was to cultivate around the perimeter of a claim larger than one could cope with in order to retain possession of it all. It is the mutongole's prerogative to insist that untilled land be made available to a new-comer, although in practice he might be reluctant to alienate any established residents in this way.

After a price has been negotiated with the previous occupier, often a protracted business involving a number of visits and perhaps discussion over a pot of beer, the buyer visits the mutongole. The latter vets him, checks that he has not been in trouble, ensures that he has money in his pocket, and explains to him what his obligations as a villager will be.\(^1\) Whether or not the price is made known to the

\(^1\) Usually only a reminder that he will have to pay tax and do public labour when required.
chief is not clear from such evidence as I have: at any rate actual or deduced, it is of relevance when the mutongole meets the muluka chief to discuss the issue of the occupation licence. It has long been the custom in Buganda for any new tenant to offer his landlord a gift, metaphorically a kanzu or nkoko, chicken, nowadays almost invariably rendered in cash. On public land at any rate the nkoko no longer has the attributes of a gratuity, rather those of a levy, and now constitutes the only income, semi-legitimate, of the mutongole. The Mailo mutongole, it should be understood, would also have his rents or the retainer of his master on whose behalf he acted. The amount required may be as little as 50 shillings, but I suspect an average would be nearer 200. I was assured that 500 shs. was not regarded as excessive in Musale. About 25% of the nkoko goes to the mutongole, rather more if he has to pay his deputy, and the rest to the muluka chief. The varying charge may well mean that the chief of a new village with a steady flow of settlers onto cheaper land will gain much the same as one in charge of a populous and quite stable community.

Before considering values I mention in passing a rider to the question of jural type in land acquisition. Immediately to the south of Kangulumira there is a patch of forest that stands out in aerial photographs from the very intense cultivation around it. It is mission land, and the people of

1. Speke (1863:239) noted this usage: he was surprised when the "chickens" offered him turned out to be goats. In the land-exchange context the kanzu, the arabic night-shirt-like garment adopted as national dress by the Baganda, was explained to me as being necessary for a mutongole when he presented himself to the Kabaka, a smart delegate for his people.
Price paid for separate units of ○ private Mailo land and ◯ public land by farmers in Musale who cultivate more than 20 acres.
Kangulumira say that it is difficult to get permission to farm there. It is apparently beyond the realm of the local chiefs and so far only a church school has been established there.

There is no specific ruling, but public land ought not to be bought and sold. Presumably again taking the Mailo cue where a tenant is entitled to compensation for standing crops and improvements, a departing public landholder will couch the value of his property in similar terms if officially challenged. In fact the traffic in public tenancies behaves more directly like the traffic in Mailo titles, and it is specifically land that is being evaluated. One case where 9 acres were purchased for the colossal sum of 12,000 shs. may serve to demonstrate this. The land was under coffee but the new buyer declared his intention of selling the right to strip the trees for about 800 shs., and then cutting them down to make way for cattle pasture. An even clearer indication that valuation of the land itself is becoming a more open affair is the tendency for an additional charge to be made for standing crops.

Generally speaking, population density is the most decisive influence in land-value (West 1966 App. B no.6), certainly it is in Bugerere. As figure 6 indicates with reference to a group of large-scale farmers in Musale,

1. Personal communication, H.W. West Esq.
2. Public land prices were not unnaturally a delicate subject, and I have relied more on a few trustworthy informants rather than attempting systematic interviewing.
3. Taken as those men cultivating 20 and more acres.
public land prices now far outstrip Mailo prices. In 1950
Mukasa, farming near Nazigo, paid 60 shillings an acre for
15 acres and in 1963 paid 250 shs. for land which belonged
to the same seller and lay adjacent. If Mailo prices have
risen arithmetically public land prices have done so geomet-
rically. More than this, the areas transferred continually
diminish in size. A seller today may find it more economic
to break up his property when he sells it; for example one
Kangulumira farmer recently found three separate buyers for
his 10 acre plot. The attitude to public land is particularly
mercenary, doubtless attributable to the absence of controls
of kinship and clanship and to less clearly defined rights of
tenure. I have noted cases where very high charges were made
between quite close relatives, the odd justification being
that the land 'is not really ours anyway'. This contrasts
with the situation on Mailo property as Mukwaya describes
it:

"One interesting factor in the land transactions,
is the part the clan organisation plays in the determination
of the price paid for any piece of land. This factor
complicates the calculation of the average price paid, but
it is interesting in that it shows the pervasive nature of
a traditional institution which has persisted through both
social and economic change. The prices paid range from
the price paid by a complete stranger ... the price
disappears altogether when it comes to the relationships of
a brother or son". (1953:37).

Public landholders in Musale seem to have very fixed
conceptions of the value of their plots, and few would condemn
them for selling to the highest bidder.\(^1\) For example at a

\(^1\) The restricted history of migration meant that I was
unable to assess fully the implications of inheritance
here.
drinking party one Kigayaza farmer volunteered the information that for the 8 acres that had cost him 1,500 shs. in 1955 he would expect no less than 6,000 shs. today.

Demand, of course, controls this escalation. In the untenanted wastes of Sabagabo one may still pick up a large farm for nothing more than a minimal nkoko to the chiefs. In Kangulumira Sekamere told me "if I came here now instead of 12 years ago I could not buy as much as a quarter of the land I have now. But at Kayonza (Sabagabo) they are still giving away bibanja this size". The situation now threatens where land may become concentrated into the hands of the successful and wealthy, in which case the vacant lands of the north may become the focus of migrants from Bugerere itself. However for the people of the south today the soaring values of reasonably productive land actually restrain movement rather than encourage it.

I have tried to make clear that the public land system stands greatly in favour of foreign immigrants, that it bears considerable differences, hitherto undocumented, to the Mailo system, and that it provides a very distinctive basis for community membership and co-existence. I want therefore to return briefly to evaluate the position of the Baganda; it is, after all, ostensibly their land and their system.

Mailo land, where they might perhaps have become a strong coterie or effected a monopoly, is in a minority in Bugerere, and certainly does not preponderate in the fertile,

1. This situation has arisen in Kigezi province where it is a substantial cause of emigration (Turyagyenda 1964:132)
densely populated south (map 4). Mailo tenancies are not regarded as advantageous by either landlord or tenant, yet the demands of immigration have meant that the most suitable Mailo land is now cut up into hundreds of small ebibanja. As tenants' rights are so very persistent, purchase of an estate so fragmented would be "one of the least attractive ways of investing savings". (Southwold 1959). Moreover where there is no great urge to sell up land, the 'protected' price enjoyed by Mailo would not be particularly rewarding and "there is no compensation for a permanent withdrawal from the countryside" (Elkan 1961:302).

On a more personal level Bugerere is not the heart of Buganda; it is a new frontier, a marchland, to the many Baganda who migrate there with the other foreigners. Within Bugerere 'Baganda' break up into a number of very distinct categories; natives, immigrants, Banyala, Bakungulu and so on. As I discovered when I investigated Big farmers in Bugerere most of the largest landowners are absenteees with negligible local interests or influence. However, the fact that the very largest farms are on Mailo land, free of the pressure of public tenancy, and are owned mainly by Baganda, should not pass without comment. They are very scattered and diffuse, but it is just possible that they may be a rudimentary status group, maybe even the emergent "native

1. Southwold says: "In 1954 land (Mailo) was fetching as much as Shs. 200/- per acre (in Kyaggwe) on the open market, so that the 5 acres given as a plot had a value of Shs. 1,000/-; of which a rental of Shs. 25/- amounts to a return of 2½%. If the same 5 acres had been cultivated as a coffee farm the income would have been at least Shs. 5,000/- p.a. and when labour costs have been deducted the profit would probably have amounted to 100%." (Southwold 1959).
middle class set above an immigrant proletariat" (Fallers 1964a:149) so tentatively forecast by Fallers.

I have attempted to define here the most relevant aspects of collocation in Buganda and Bugerere, the physical and jural constraints upon the domestic units as they assemble in new communities. Invariably one is drawn back to the same theme, their disposition, their tenure and their utilisation of the land. Having outlined the physical context of the new communities and the forms to be expected, I examined the influence of the Ganda formal organisation, paying considerable attention to the administrative hierarchy and the operation of National politics, Government institutions etc. The all-important subject of land tenure was then investigated and its influence upon the immigrant and the community were proposed.

From this I have extracted four definitive topics of which account must be rendered when considering collocation in a specific Bugerere community:

1) Population density, with reference to land fertility and availability.
2) The layout of settlement.
3) The prevalent economic system - the influence of certain types of cropping.
4) The jural circumscription of land tenure, here basically either public or Mailo, and taking cognisance of a) the administration of resources (here the role of the village chief) b) the priority of claims over resources, actual or supposed, including chronological precedence, and c) the value of the land.
It is my postulate here that the very experience of migration is one of the prime generative influences in the morphology of the new communities, an influence carried into every community by the immigrants and with reference to which their integration is achieved.

The perspective taken here is of migration as an individual human experience, not as a mass phenomenon. An individual may at one point in his life be an 'urban migrant' and at another a 'rural migrant'. However, it is necessary to understand the very distinct form of population movement that has affected Bu-gerere and this may best be done by distinguishing the various contexts of migration, with particular reference to East Africa.

The most obvious distinction that can be made about migration in modern Africa is its orientation, rural or urban. My preoccupation in Bu-gerere is with the former; about the latter I do not wish to say much as it has been examined both extensively and intensively. In Uganda the most notable feature is a turning of the tide, a flow from the towns to the country in recent years as a result of the cash-crop boom (Wrigley 1964:51).

To be distinguished at once is labour migration. Van Velsen helpfully characterises this as "the movement of people who leave one system of economic relationships to work for a longer or shorter period (or periods) in another, but who, intentionally or not, ultimately return to the former"
(1963:34). The expression may be taken at face value; primarily it is the individual's labour, his economic functioning, that is migrating, rather than a set of social relationships. In the town it may involve labour in a factory, in public transport, etc., in the country, work on a plantation or estate. Buganda has a very strong and somewhat unusual rural labour force;¹ there is an apparently inexhaustible demand for wage labour among African farmers which, although not well paid, does not involve the migrant in much personal insecurity.² The singular role of the Baganda as habitual labour employers follows, says Powesland (1954:17) a tradition of their earlier dominance over the neighbouring peoples. Probably the first tribes to supply them with paid labour were the Basoga, the Banyoro, the Batoro and the Baziba, but now the range is far more extensive, including Kenyans, Sudanese, Congolese and, in an overwhelming majority, the Banyaruanda and Barundi (Richards 1954:App.B). Audrey Richards sees a tripartite typology in the immigrant labour force in rural Buganda: jobbing labourers, intermittent workers (often only for payment in food) and regular contractual 'portering', this last constituting the great majority. If the labour migrant is impermanent it is likely that his movements will be seasonal, a regular coming and going according to the regime of the recipient area and the demands of work at home.

¹. It is not absolutely unique. The creoles of Sierra Leone have enjoyed a similar position to the Baganda as employers to the tribes of the (then) Protectorate. (Richardson and Collins 1955:72-3).
². "It would probably be true to say that there are few parts of Africa where the voluntary migrant takes less risks of permanent exile or unemployment" (Richards 1954:212).
Among the forms of migration that definitely imply settlement rather than impermanence, implemented moves such as resettlement schemes\(^1\), and the plight of the refugees loom large in Uganda. There are experiments with group farming in Bunyoro (Charsley 1966), resettlement schemes in Ankole and Toro (Apthorpe 1966), and colossal influxes to Buganda of political refugees from Ruanda and Burundi and more recently from the conflict ridden Southern Sudan (Belshaw 1963). It is spontaneous migration that particularly applies to Bugerere, a prime characteristic of urban migration that is perhaps less common in the rural setting\(^2\). In Buganda there is no shortage of advocates for greater control in the countryside, whether to alleviate the depressed wages and conditions of labour (Powersland 1954) or to organise the resettlement of recent immigrants (Richards 1954:223), but as yet little has been done. In the unplanned form of migration one might further distinguish habitual mobility and novel movements away from the homeland. The former may range from the transhumance noted by Gulliver among the Jie and Turkana\(^3\), to the less specific but pervasive movement so perceptively recounted by Southwold (1959) for the Baganda themselves. It was an historical prerogative of the Muganda commoner to transfer allegiance to a chief, okusenguka, within the kingdom, a restless movement which persists today.

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1. Defined by Belshaw as "projects involving the planned and controlled transfer of population from one area to another" (1963a:1).
2. "The fact of immigrant labour, which is perhaps the most striking feature of African industrial life and which distinguishes it from the European experience, is something over which the tobacco factory or any other firm has relatively little control" (Elkan 1956:10)
and which is not exceptional to my hypothesis about migration.

It seems that particular kinds of migration are favoured by different tribes, although it would be dangerous to be dogmatic. In general, people from northern Tanzania, Ban-yaruanda and Barundi are 'labour migrants' judging by their pursuit of wage employment in Buganda and their frequent commutation (Richards 1954:App.B). Adam (1963) says that the migrants from Ihanzu, Central Tanzania, prefer estate labour in the northern province, and in Uganda, Turyagyenda (1964) notes a similar proclivity among the Bakiga. The main reason for this in the Kiga case seems to have been historical with the dominance of such institutions as the Kigezi Recruiting Agency which detailed men for the Kilembe mines in Toro, the Lugazi sugar estate and the Mityana tea estate in Buganda.

When the migrant is considered as an individual his categorisation as 'migrant labourer' or refugee is only partially relevant. Moreover his expressed intention (e.g. established resident) is often belied by his performance (short term wage earner). His performance may, however, be described in a more processive way that does not involve such considerations as when a refugee ceases to be a refugee. Three basic statements may be made about his career as a migrant; firstly his migration is bilocal (or multi-local) since it implies movement from one place to another and, unless he is totally isolated, his move is to a greater or lesser degree subtractive from his first social environment.

1. Now the Kigezi Voluntary Employment Bureau - a nice distinction.
and likewise additive to his second. Secondly, in terms of human motivation it may be concluded that there was a reason for his setting out from home and a reason for choosing the new locus. Finally, his migration varies temporally from short-term absence to permanent settlement.

This will appear very simplistic but I would maintain that these basic facts contain the social premises on which one must concentrate. Accordingly I shall now elaborate the discussion under the four basic headings that characterise the experience of migration: motivation, transition, establishment and commitment. I shall be obliged to start beyond the context of most of my own material and for this reason I shall draw on the observations of others in the abundant bibliography in considering the first two of these headings. When, as it were, the hypothetical migrant arrives in Bugerere my own material\(^1\) becomes fully relevant. While I am primarily concerned with the patterns of emigration in East Africa, and with immigration to Buganda and to Bugerere, I shall occasionally introduce examples from further afield.

I shall suggest that migration may be seen to involve the domestic unit in four ways parallel to the four ideal phases in migration just mentioned. Motivation relates to the pressures within the parental domestic group, transition to the resolution of this pressure by fission, by migration from it. Establishment in the new area implies the establishment of the migrant's nuclear family there as a domestic unit; commitment involves what I have called the compounding of the

1. Principally the area sample interviews.
domestic unit, by which I imply the ensuing changes in size and personnel that ultimately lead to its dissolution and replacement as a functioning part of the social environment.

a) Motivation

In 1958 Mitchell put together a number of accounts of migration from rural areas in Africa to suggest how varied the motivation for departure had been interpreted to be: (1) for Schapera in South Africa it was an escape from dullness, a rite of passage. Among Southall's Alur it was a consequence of increased economic development and the stimulation of new wants. (2) Gulliver had seen the Ngoni migration as the search for money and goods not obtainable at home. and (3) the Nykyusa migration as the need for cash to further social obligations and prestige. (4) Prothero had demonstrated straightforward economic pressures in N.W. Nigeria whereas (5) Winter emphasised internal social pressures, witchcraft, domestic conflict and so on among the Baamba. (6) Richards' interpretation was again the need to find money "to satisfy social obligations and aspirations" (Mitchell 1958:13).

The list could be extended but the basic economic motive is usually inescapable. Powesland says: "from the standpoint of economics, human migration may be regarded as an attempt to substitute one geographical environment for another, temporarily or permanently, in pursuit of a higher level of

1. When I use the expression 'home' I refer to the area from which the person or persons concerned has migrated.
2. e.g. Goldthorpe (1958:159) who suggests it is an escape from traditional kinship and marriage obligations.
real income, or, more precisely, of a new equilibrium between economic activity and the enjoyment of leisure" (1957:1). The motive of migration, he states, is "economic" (ibid.). I feel such generalised statements must be approached with caution, particularly when they are reduced to even more specific causes. Powesland proceeds to point out that the spreading adoption of money is responsible for "most of the distinctive features that characterise East African migration in the twentieth century", (ibid.) and that furthermore "migration is in a sense dependent upon the existence of money as a unit of account or a measure of value" (op. cit.: 10), in effect a mode of evaluating the move to a particular locus.

It is clear that the most immediate causes of emigration are economic but, as the variety of other reasons gathered by Mitchell would suggest, a more general and comprehensive explanation of the motivation of individuals has yet to be put forward. In the area surveys in Bugerere I was careful to ascertain as fully as possible why each respondent left home, discussing the subject with him for a little in the hope of hearing some important secondary causes. The most popular reason was indeed the desire for cash (50 cases); there was none available at home, or it was required for the education of children, for better food, and for a multiplicity of reasons. 37 cases claimed that their previous farms were infertile and 28 made specific complaints about the restricted amount of land they could obtain at home. An impressive 34 said that they had left home specifically
to join a relative either in Bugerere or elsewhere; some younger men had originally been sent to stay with brothers while they attended schools in Buganda and three women originally came to join their husbands. Further probing frequently revealed domestic pressures that necessitated this seeking-out of kinsmen; land shortage, disagreements with a parent, and so on. Eleven cases were natives of the Kampala and Jinja areas, men who were either unable to find an industrial job or enough peri-urban land to sustain them. Nine people cited social troubles for their moves; twice clans had refused apparently legitimate claims for land, and there were two widows who had been dispossessed after their husbands' death. There was a case of persecution by sorcery and a couple of unspecific paranoid sagas. Two men confided¹ that they had quarrelled bitterly with their fathers and three cases involved dispossession by forestry and public utility schemes. Twelve people offered a variety of odd reasons, from redundancy in schoolteaching to gout.

Quite explicitly money and land dominate the list and in the sphere of rural migration the two are usually inseparable. In labour migration it is strictly cash, particularly in the town, but for the rural labourer the equation of cash and land may soon prompt him to look for a plot of his own². Land is certainly not an immediate concern of the urban labourer and in the countryside it is more the concern of the long-term resident than the seasonal visitor. They all want money and in that sense land is secondary.

1. I use this word advisedly; if I had received more confidences I am sure I would have recorded more reasons similar to this.
2. Goldthorpe writes: "though they come as labourers to the country . the ambition of many of the immigrants is to get land in Buganda".
A modern, state-imposed rite de passage into manhood is the liability for taxation; suddenly there comes a time when every young man is under pressure to find money, at least 65 shillings in Uganda, to be paid all at once. It is at this time particularly that the capacity of the parental domain to sustain him economically, beyond the level of subsistence, will be challenged; hence the likelihood of migration to areas where money is available. If the young man plans to stay at home a number of factors may conspire against him, particularly the availability of land, the infertility of the soil and the restricted opportunities for cash-cropping. Tax or no tax, these factors will bear down on anyone who must break off and establish his own domestic unit.

Direct deprivation of land in East Africa has been relatively uncommon (Goldthorpe 1958:160), but population pressure is all too frequent. Speaking of Nyanza province, Kenya, Ominde notes that "the key to the problem of rural exodus lies in the size of the population, the growing failure of an economy geared to meet the needs and the impact of economic development" (1963:31). Introducing the idea of 'critical population density' Allan takes the example of Ruanda and Burundi where densities well in excess of an average of 200 persons to the square mile mean that "anywhere from 50,000 to 70,000 natives have to migrate every year to work from two to six months in the rich Uganda natives' coffee plantations and cotton fields" (1965:184). It is very interesting to note that in Lugbara Middleton found a
direct correlation between counties with the highest population density and the greatest percentage of men absent. Maraca with 160 persons per square mile has 26.5% away, Aringa with 16 p.p. square mile just 12.4% (Middleton 1952:12). In the east, Bugisu has severe problems:

"The large numbers of Gisu immigrants to be found in other districts in Uganda and Kenya, as well as the fact, plainly visible to the casual observer, that there is virtually no land left uncultivated, supports the contention that there is acute pressure on the land in this area" (La Fontaine 1959:10-11).

Turyagyenda has documented a good example of a similar problem in Kigezi (Buhera Gombolola):

"The problem of overpopulation has brought about far-reaching effects on both the people and the land. It has led to official and unofficial migrations" which have in turn "led to a clear distortion of the population structure; females over 16 years of age are in a great majority over males of the same age group". (Turyagyenda 1964:129).

Soil fertility is another major restriction on population; Allan (1965) paints a gloomy but quite credible picture of land fertility being matched with the breeding capacity of the women and an inevitable progression of land degeneration, population pressure, subdivision and fragmentation and soil erosion. A Soga informant very vividly described his farm at home as being naku, an expression indicating fatigue and dolour. A Muganda told me how his small tenancy in Kyaddondon county had been overworked for so long that all he could grow there with any success were cassava and sweet potatoes. Such migrants usually spoke of their land as being 'too dry'.

1. Southall (Richards 1954:151) describes the Alur attraction to Buganda "because the actual working of the soil is so much easier". Root infestation and very heavy clays are a major impediment to cultivation at home.
The rigours of land-fragmentation are again very significant in understanding migration. A Mugisu in Bugerere told me that his allotments at home were scattered all over the place in minute portions. Discussing excessive fragmentation of the land in Bugisu, Gayer (1957) notes that "in some cases they have approached near the danger line. They have overcome the difficulty" he continues "by temporary emigration; younger sons for whom there is no or insufficient land travel to Kenya, to Buganda..." (op. cit.:13). Byagagaire and Lawrance (1957) give a splendid account of fragmentation in Kigezi. After splitting up his farm among his wives, not necessarily in separate blocks, the sub-division of the Mukiga's farm has hardly begun:

"So far it is only cultivatory rights which have been subdivided and fragmented in this way, and the whole holding is still regarded as belonging to one man. But as soon as his sons by his four wives become of age and marry he must allot them land for their own use. It is customary for sons to have land from the portions cultivated by their mothers. As has been explained, these portions are already fragmented into separate parcels and the process of fragmentation is thus aggravated". (Byagagaire and Lawrance 1957:19-20).

When the young Mukiga's very residuary allotment is made he may have no alternative but to quit.

Bugisu yields an even more specific economic sanction for migration, cash-crop monoculture. There in the hills Arabica coffee is king and anyone unable to produce grade one cherries can expect only diminutive returns. I have notes of three Bagisu who mentioned this and who currently revelled in the liberal polyculture of Bugerere:

1. I was surprised at the venom with which many Bagisu could castigate the land and clan systems of home.
Bugerere offers the panacea for all these disabilities and migrants assure me that the fame of the county has been diffused through the migrant grapevine all over East Africa. Said one established immigrant: "the Burgerere owners here are few, they leave room for new-comers". Said another: "where else can a man grow more than he needs of food and of cotton and coffee?" and a third: "If only I had land such as this in Busoga I should never be in Burgerere".

It is tempting to parcel off as 'social causes' certain kinds of motivation, but almost certainly a 'social cause' underlies every case of emigration. Middleton has documented this well in the instance of the Lugbara in a way that relates directly to my earlier comments about domestic fission:

"Labour migration has a direct affect on the structure of the domestic group; it is bringing about change in the traditional property system and changes in the pattern of family authority". (1952:20).

"The need for money and the use made of earnings can only be understood from consideration of the local kin group as the unit concerned in the migration complex. The individual goes south, in most cases as member of a residential and economic group rather than as a single individual in isolation. He does not usually leave his family group with(out) consultations within it and the head of an extended family will see not too many of his dependents are away simultaneously. The dilemma here, expressing a conflict between the need for money and the desire to prevent the disruption of family life through the absence of too many men, is an insoluble one within the framework of traditional Lugbara organisation and values" (op. cit.:14).

In a later publication Middleton (1965) takes the same theme further:

"By migrating outside their own country Lugbara are able to borrow and use the soil fertility and land of southern Uganda, and also lessen the land pressure in their own areas. By migrating temporarily the migrants
do not break their ties with family and community, but get over the immediate problem of land scarcity; as they grow more senior in the lineage they can acquire land and send their juniors in their turn". (Middleton 1965:13).

This excellent statement of domestic organisation in the face of migration offers much of interest to my immediate discussion. Middleton devotes some attention to the many 'social motives' incidental to such a situation. Migration becomes almost arbitrary for the young man requiring bridewealth for marriage; and by corollary "a family with many daughters and few sons rarely sends its sons south: the necessary wealth will accrue from the bridewealth received for the daughters" (1965:16). Migration also functioned as an "escape route" (op. cit.:15) particularly in the traditional conflict between half-brothers. This clash of the interests of siblings and half-siblings is encountered repeatedly in migration, for example Southwold on the Baganda:

"One man said it was necessary to migrate to avoid quarrelling with one's father or one's brothers over land; several people told me that they had themselves migrated from their father's village because of the difficulty of getting an adequate plot of land there. Others pointed to the inevitability of tension between son and father and brother and brother over inheritance" (Southwold 1959).

I heard more than once in Bugerere, from Baganda and Basoga particularly, that it was the custom, the duty, of an elder son to move away from his father's property - "so that our brothers may live well" as one put it to me.

In Buganda and among many other East African peoples a boy at puberty is expected to move from his father's house, an occasion symbolic of domestic fission that may precipitate migration. There is the insistence that offspring no longer virgin may not sleep under the same roof as their parents,
and this in its most rigorous form implies separate outhouses, latrines, water-gathering arrangements and so on. It is sanctioned by the fear of disease and ritual impurity, obuko. Children thus move out and live with relatives, and Bennett points out that "many Buganda say this concept of obuko helps their children to break away from the family and gives them an ability to stand on their own feet at an early age" (1966:12).

In Bugerere I noted that many migrants had left home shortly after the death of their fathers, not all because they were dissatisfied with their inheritances. If a boy's father dies when he is young and he lodges with a relative he may well find himself dispossessed of property rights when he requires them. Where inheritance is among full siblings before descending to sons, as in Bugisu, a young man may have to wait long for full property rights and eventually face the rivalry of his own brothers, particularly if resources are scarce. Middleton notes that "another result of land-pressure is that people say that it leads to an increase in witchcraft. Lugbara witchcraft is regarded as the result of envy or covetousness of another man's possessions or success" (1952:13). Southwold says that "several immigrants told me that sorcery (bulogo) was the principal reason for leaving a village" (1959). Probably an examination of these manifestations of malaise would bring to light much the same sorts of domestic pressures as I have mentioned.

When Bugerere informants said that a main attraction of life in the county was dDEMbe mnVo, 'great freedom', I sensed a release from a strong but perhaps inexpressible set of
social pressures. A remarkable feature of the Lugbara migration described by Middleton is the familial control over the freedom allowed to young men. The migrant abroad is denied integration abroad while his domestic unit remains assertively intact at home. Men with permanent economic ties with the south (Buganda) take their elementary families with them, says Middleton (1952:18) and there is a consequent social breakdown at home. A man who has thus severed his ties and dies abroad is a source of considerable distress, for his spirit, significantly, is 'lost' (op. cit.:22).

The story told me by Ngobi, one of the villagers I came to know well in Kamira village, provides an interesting personal account of emigration that will lead me to the next section dealing with the transition itself. Ngobi lived in Busoga on his father's land with two full brothers and two brothers by another of his father's wives. Land was not plentiful and when Ngobi and his elder brother married they were given small subsistence plots, but the family continued to cash-crop corporately. Ngobi had married at 17 and for long the arrangement appeared quite agreeable until four of the brothers were married and competition over the distribution of resources became more apparent, notably in the cash-crop sphere.

One day in 1952 the five sons were taking the cotton crop in a hired truck to the ginnery when it crashed, injuring the youngest, unmarried brother. That evening their father detailed one brother to pick him up from hospital next day; Ngobi was to go and fetch the boy's mother who now lived apart and the rest were to see about the cotton. As he was about
to leave in the morning Ngobi noticed that there were no men about the farm and so he waited for three hours until his father returned. The situation was ripe for a quarrel; the father's first charge was disobedience and unfilial behaviour and as the argument became more heated Ngobi was accused of jealousy of the youngest brother. Scotched, Ngobi withdrew to his own plot and for the next few days ignored his parent, who promptly instructed the others to reciprocate. Then, without warning he was making ostentatious arrangements to sell Ngobi's plot.

Ngobi went to his father in a fury (so I construe) and his father violently disrobed himself and grasping his genitals assured Ngobi histrionically that he was no son of his.

For Ngobi a rapid departure was arbitrary after this awful scene, but he was honest enough to appreciate that there was more to the dispute than just that. "I knew I could never be a real man if I stayed at home" he told me, "I wanted many things, money, another wife..." He thought at first that he should go to Nairobi but his wife had a brother in Bugerere so they went to stay with him, finding their present 2 acres in Kamira not long after. I asked him about his father; "he was our first visitor" Ngobi smiled. The pressure had been released.

b) Transition

The youthfulness of the new immigrants is abundantly clear; Richards presents the following table obtained from two rest-camps on the migrant routes through south-western Uganda:
La Fontaine notes that it is overwhelmingly the "adolescent youths and young unmarried men" (1957:17) who migrate, and Turyagyenda speaks of the Kiga emigration as "exclusively comprising young men" (1964:131), providing a demographic table that "shows that young men of working age are under-represented, largely due to short-term migrations" (ibid.). Another of many possible examples concerns the Ngoni migration in Tanganyka: "about two-thirds of those who migrate to work are under the age of 30" (Gulliver 1955:5). Concerned with a very well-established pattern of seasonal migration there he points out that "men normally make their first journey before the age of 25, and it is unusual for a man over 45 to go away again" (op. cit.:7).

The age-structure of my Bugereere sample (figure 7) reflects this emphasis on youth among new arrivals, 78% of those resident up to one year being under 34.

Speaking mainly of the labour movements from the southwest, Richards says "this immigration is a movement of individuals, not of large groups, such as extended families or lineages which used to detach themselves from parent stems and seek new lands or allegiances in the old days" (1954:221).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Kabale</th>
<th>Kyaka ferry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16 yrs.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20 yrs.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30 yrs.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40 yrs.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 40 yrs.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of men UNMARRIED</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Richards 1954, App. B)
Figure 7. Age of the homestead head.

Figure 8. Size of household.

Bugere area sample surveys.
This is perhaps a fairly general truth, and it is probably only among refugees that one would find spontaneous moves of families *en bloc*. There is the well-known adage 'he travels the faster who travels alone', and taking a family into a situation of economic insecurity, no matter how heavy the expulsive pressure, is a gamble that few migrants seem prepared to take. Taylor (1958:114) describes the Dama immigration to Buganda in the light of village studies there, and notes that it tends to be familial1*. He attributes this to the distance between Budama and Kyaggwe, Buganda (ibid.), but I cannot believe that this is an adequate explanation; one might then suppose that migrants from Ruanda, Burundi and Tanzania, very much farther away, would come in families, which they decidedly do not:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kabale</th>
<th>Kyaka ferry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% travelling alone or in a party of men:</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% travelling with woman and/or children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Based on Richards 1954, App.B:263)

The real explanation probably lies in the intention of the migrant: wage labourer or agricultural settler. Elkan (1960:33-41) has an interesting thesis that lower wages attract labourers from further afield2 whereas those living close to employment centres have a relatively high labour supply price. There is therefore more insecurity for the labourer who has travelled furthest and he is less likely to bring his family

1. An observation corroborated by Miss Ann Sharman (personal communication).
2. The case of commonwealth immigrants to Britain would seem to be an interesting and more familiar example.
with him. Even so I doubt very much indeed that any migrant would voluntarily commit his family to the new locus without a solo reconnaissance visit. Middleton mentions the infrequent movement of Lugbara family groups, noting that this only occurs "when emigrating as permanent settlers to Bunyoro and Buganda" (1965:33). The operative word is 'permanent', and reading back one finds that such moves most usually imply the pre-existence of some substantial social ties, usually with close agnates, in the new area (op. cit.:32-33).

Migration seldom involves women travelling on their own initiative, they are almost invariably en route to join a settled husband or other relatives who are established cultivators (Richards, App.B:267). In a survey of people living alone in a Ganda community, Bennett (1966) found many immigrant men but "apart from one immigrant bread seller, there were no known immigrant women living alone". The separate woman householder is far from uncommon in Buganda and has a title of her own - nakyeyombekadde; the interviews in Bugerere indicated strongly that such isolation is a product of long residence, of terminated marriage, or of sickness:

Bugerere sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women resident 1 yr.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16+ yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of total householders:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is of great interest to note that migration among many African peoples has taken on the attributes of a rite of passage into manhood, an occasion almost synonymous with fission in the parental domestic group. For the Lugbara 'going south'
is regarded almost as an initiation (Middleton 1952:16), and for most young men, seeking one's fortune implies passing through the straits of privation, heavy travel and hard-won experience. The Alur youth goes home with a sense of accomplishment: "this is exemplified clearly by the tremendous swagger of bearing adopted by returned migrant youths in front of the girls at home" (Southall in Richards 1954:150).

Discussing transition many migrants told me that they had expressly sought paternal permission to quit. Lango patriarchs seem to consider for several days before, almost ceremonially, allowing a young man to leave home. Schapera has recorded a similar tendency in Bechuanaland: "it has long been the rule that any man wishing to go outside his own tribal area should seek the permission of his chief or local headman" (1947:90).

For the young men there, migration was a "conspicuous landmark in their lives" that "has come to be widely regarded as a form of initiation into manhood" (op. cit.:116). The most explicit example of the fusion of a customary rite of passage with migration is reported by Reader:

"Red young men ... combine with the adult's necessity for making a living in town the long-standing rural custom of circumcision. The procedure of 'changing clothes' ... necessitates travel to work in an urban centre as soon as possible after circumcision". (Reader 1961:71)

Reader takes note of a further suggestion that "going to the mines to 'change clothes' was coming to take the place of circumcision, and that girls were beginning to accept uncircumcised lovers who had had work experience in Johannesburg" (op. cit.:71n.)
The routes taken by the travellers into Buganda are apparently quite well-established (e.g. Richards 1954:53ff. and Middleton 1952:6) but to this day they can constitute a rigorous test of staying-power (Powesland 1954:39; 1957:68). Of the actual transition itself I have little personal knowledge but this has been well documented by Audrey Richards (1954). What is worth pointing out is that many migrants reaching Bugerere are not absolute new-comers, but have spent some time in town or working in other rural areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16+ yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% who have worked in town:</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% who have lived elsewhere†</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(† i.e. between leaving home and arriving in Bugerere)

A surprisingly large proportion of immigrants appear to have had experience of work (usually unsuccessful) in town; 30% of the Sabagabo sub-county sample, 15% in Mumyuka and 31% in Musale. The centrifugal influence of the towns noted already by Wrigley (1964:51) seems to have been a relatively recent affair. This again draws attention to the fact that for the individual there may be no neat typology of 'rural' and 'urban' migrant. While the two may be held distinct as social phenomena there is in fact considerable flow between them in terms of individual case-histories.

There are stories of protracted journeys to Buganda from Sudanese and West-Nilers particularly. One Kuku tribesman
from southern Sudan left home in 1942 and walked to Masindi for a 5 shs. a month labouring job. He moved on to Buganda after several months ("they paid better wages - 10 shs. a month") and after a year on the estate at Kaolo, Kyaggwe, he went to Mumyuka in Bugerere as a 'porter' for a Muganda farmer. By 1949 he had saved enough money to set up his present farm in Kamira village. There are also migrants from immigrant families, Banyankole whose parents had migrated to Buganda and Bateso who were born in Busoga. For all these there were the indisputable advantages of abraded naivety and experience of the Ganda way of life including some of its more devious expectancies of foreigners.

For the would-be settler, kinsmen already resident are the greatest asset. "Ganda say they value kin connections because they facilitate migration" says Southwold (1959). "Active relations with a kinsman who lives at some distance are kept up, if this is desired, by going to visit him, and by the rather common custom of sending children to a kinsman to be brought up, which is recognised to have the purpose of linking together dispersed kinsmen" (ibid.). Twelve of the 34 immigrants in my sample who came to Bugerere as dependents of other settlers were youngsters of this sort who subsequently stayed on. As much as a quarter of the sample had siblings living in the same Bugerere sub-county:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 + yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% with siblings in same sub-county:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+A drop clearly attributable to the increasing age of the respondents).

1. Bune (Ke27)
The role of kin in the emplacement of new immigrants may perhaps best be described with reference to a few specific cases. Maweerere, a young Musoga, had firstly been sent to live with his father's younger brother and after an argument, again about cotton, he came to stay at his father's sister's home in Bugerere. Three years later in 1962 she was able to obtain for him very cheaply a public land plot in Sabagabo.

Lutaya and his 9 brothers and sisters were left heir to their father's small farm and so, to alleviate the land shortage he moved to Bugerere, working as a housebuilder until he could buy a plot in Sabagabo. He brought his mother to live there and soon after an unmarried brother came to join them. When this brother took a wife Lutaya volunteered to find himself another small farm and take a token payment for the first. Now his other siblings were showing interest in coming to Bugerere.

After he passed through secondary school, Sekasi came to Mumyuka to join his father, himself an immigrant from Bulemezi county. Because funds were short his father declared that Sekasi should start to farm rather than proceed to Agricultural College, allowing his other brothers to complete their schooling. Two years later Sekasi parted company with his father and cleared a new farm at Kamusabi in Sabagabo; he had married and wanted to establish himself independently.

Having arrived in the new area, often assisted by kinship ties there, the migrant will become aware of the cleavage of his social interests; the question will surely arise, where

1. This was a common and quite respectable occupation for Ganda and Soga immigrants.
is his development as a social being to be perpetuated, at home or here?

c) Establishment

"I came here because I could not become an established man unless I had my own farm". This Bugerere immigrant of 12 year's standing was one of many informants who used the expression ssemaka to characterise the ideal of an established man with family and property. It is a word denoting social process and it is also evaluative, registering completeness in male adulthood. Here is how one recent Ganda migrant interpreted the word for me in a letter:

"A man with a fine big family and his kibanja is not the only full-grown one. The difference is; a full-grown one with a fine big family and his kibanja is ssemaka. And, a full-grown man without family and kibanja is atuludde, he is just a big aged one."

To be atuludde is a sad fate indeed and one which the new immigrant, without family and resources, must face up to and counteract.

Pertaining to every domestic unit are the resources from which it effects its subsistence, the two being in a sense complementary. Hence Stenning's statement - "a domestic unit is viable when the labour it can provide is suitable for the exploitation of its means of subsistence, while the latter is adequate for the support of the members of the domestic unit" (Goody 1958:92). In the agricultural community the prime resource is, of course, land. I have suggested that the migrant may in an important sense be regarded as an embryonic domestic unit and I wish to show now how the establishment of that unit depends in the first instance on his
acquisition of land. In town the equivalent would be the acquisition of a job and in this a fundamental difference between urban and rural migration may be perceived; in the former establishment and commitment may be hindered by the migrant's inability to attain a secure hold in the economy of the town whereas in the latter the tenure of a plot of land constitutes a tangible claim to the economic resources of the village.

Van Velsen, speaking of the insecurity of the African urban migrant, points out that "there is ... a conscious desire to keep lines of retreat to the village open" (1963:38). The same is certainly true for the new-comer in the rural context too; he is unlikely to want to stay permanently until he has spent enough time in the new locus to become familiar with it. If he cannot stay with a relative he must seek work as a labourer, a less dignified status although it may in effect be much the same. Ngobi in Kamira had a kinsman of his wife staying with him who undertook paid labour in the coffee-shamba of a neighbour. I inadvertently used the term mupakasa, 'porter', and was crisply reminded by Ngobi that this could not be true, the man was a relation. The protection of an established domestic unit is invaluable to the new-comer, doubly so if the host can spare a little land for a cotton crop that will raise some capital. A great many Bugerere residents seem to have started off this way; Nadiope came to live with his brother in 1964 and a year later managed to buy a small

1. I am addressing myself here to rural immigration. In the town the requisite stake in resources would probably be the finding of a job.
adjacent plot of land. A fairly even proportion of today's landholders were obliged to wait some time before taking possession:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% who waited up to 2 years:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 4 years:</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years plus:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All those who had to wait:</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar picture emerges when we consider those who have at some time laboured for wages in Bugerere:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1 yrs.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% working now:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked, for up to 1 yr:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over a year:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All those who have worked:</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The active labourers are the most recent arrivals; in the earlier days of settlement in Bugerere more land was immediately available and there would be less scope for labouring.

After obtaining a piece of land a man may have to continue working, as establishing a farm requires not only patience and initial privation but also ready cash. He will have ranged all over the district looking for a suitable plot; "he asks everyone" the Kangulumira mutongole chief told me "everywhere he goes he asks until the price, the nkoko and the land suit him". In Musale he will need money in hand as today only
Figure 9. Size of farm.

Figure 10. Householders with their own land at home: the possibility of inheriting land there.

Bugerere area sample surveys.
vacated established farms are available.¹

The 'line of retreat' home must usually imply some rights of ownership or usufruct in property there, yet less than half of the new arrivals in Bugerere claimed to have any such rights, as figure 10 records. If a migrant could return home and be provided at once with a plot, this was regarded as an existing right. The longer a migrant spends away from home the greater is the likelihood that his share, potential or actual, will be redistributed; moreover, the less likely will he be to inherit any land there. Usufruct passed over to a brother will be regarded as ownership within a year or two, particularly if the brother has himself become domestically reliant upon that property. A Muganda tenant without a proxy loses his land rights "by non-occupation or neglect for more than a reasonable time. The law limits the reasonable time to six months but it is generally longer" (Mukwaya 1953:61).²

It would be wrong to assume that the land rights are torn away from all migrants. The more established the migrant becomes the more willing he may be to see his share at home reallocated. Nsubuga of Kasembya, Musale, formally passed up his share of his father's land in order that it could be freely divided among his four younger brothers. Six years after leaving home, Kigongo of Nazigo gave his small farm

¹. Southwold (1959) mentions a similar situation in south Kyaggwe, adjacent to Bugerere.

². In Northern Rhodesia Watson notes that "when a man leaves the village and goes to live elsewhere he forfeits all rights to the land he works, save that he can continue to cultivate his fields until harvest, when they revert to the headman" (1958:98). Hellman (in Social Implications of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Africa South of the Sahara, U.N.E.S.C.O. 1956) uses the relinquishing of land rights at home as an index of urban permanence.
in Kyaddondo to his brother's son, whose prospects were otherwise poor and whom Kigongo regarded with affection.

The relinquishing of rights at home is probably both a reflection of and a stimulus to settlement on land in Bugerere. The new-comer is faced with no exclusive barriers to tenancy, particularly on public land. In this context I do not find it surprising that the African urban labour force is so frequently criticised for its impermanence (e.g. East Africa Royal Commission Report 1955:153-4). It is extremely difficult for the urban migrant even remotely to secure control over the resources that provide domestic sustenance, in the way that a rural migrant can invest in land. One must therefore anticipate that economically and socially the consequences of transition to the town, the establishment and commitment of the migrant, are very different from the consequences of transition to a rural environment.

Even on Mailo land it appeared that as tenants, complete strangers from the north and Kenya were sometimes actually preferred to Baganda and Basoga who could be a little too conversant with their own rights and privileges. The clientage of a territorial chief was curtailed by the 1900 agreement (Chapter 5), in Buganda otherwise it is possible that immigration would have had additional stimulus and consequently such overcrowding as Gulliver has described in the politically centripetal Nyakyusa village-chiefdoms (1958:25-6). As it is, the arrival of a new-comer in no way surprises or

1. This is discussed by Southwold (1959b:7) and mentioned also by Belshaw (1963a:14).
embarrasses his new neighbours. Scrupulous formality is observed initially, couched in the protracted Ganda greetings which provide stereotyped conversation, with set *entrees* and *conges* that avoid fabrications about the weather. It seems to be regarded now as customary behaviour for neighbours to visit the new-comer with a small gift (the metaphorical *nkoko* again). They may repeat the Ganda saw *abamunno akuwatono*, perhaps 'it's a friend who gives you something small' best understood in juxtaposition with *atali munno tako*, 'someone who isn't your friend doesn't give you anything'. Thereafter what everyone wants to know, one recent immigrant to Musale recalled, is what tribe the new-comer belongs to and what family he has. In such a variegated community as Bugerere it would be absurd to try to conceal one's origins, a matter with which Taylor, speaking of Kyaggwe county, concurs: "a man who pretends to be a Muganda and is afterwards found out is covered with shame" (1958:114).

In his survey of people living alone in a Ganda community Bennett draws attention to the high proportion of immigrant men in this category (1966:7). In Bugerere the highest proportion of isolates were among the new-comers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of people living alone:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is more likely that a man with his own land will require the services and the company of a wife, hence the higher proportion of new-comers with households of two (figure 8).
The proposition might well run: 'if land is the key to rural settlement, marriage clinches it'. Here I must invoke again the question of domestic viability. It was hardly surprising to discover that the smallest holdings belonged to new-comers and the largest to the earlier settlers (figure 9). Speaking of the Ganda-Soga lake shore area, Wrigley states that "less than 2 acres of bananas, with less than an acre of annual crops suffice to feed a simple family unit of four to five persons" (1959:7). The ease with which the problems of subsistence in establishing a home may be met are described by the same author:

"In Buganda and Busoga, a young man, on reaching marriageable age, would clear an acre or two of vacant land and set out banana cuttings. On the edge of the grove he built a hut in which he installed his bride, and then in the ordinary course of events, he was set up for life. After a year or a little longer the first bunches of fruit came to maturity. The stem was then cut down and the fruit steamed and eaten as a starchy mash or, if it belonged to the sweet variety, was converted into beer. Meanwhile the stem had put forth fresh suckers, so that, when fully developed, the grove contained clusters of up to twenty stems in varying stages of maturity and, taken as a whole, could normally provide food at any season of the year ... This kind of tropical gardening is in many ways the most satisfactory form of subsistence economy that man has evolved."

(1959:7)

It may well be understood that migrants from less well-endowed areas in fact need little persuasion to settle. Nevertheless there are two important hazards facing the Bugerere immigrant, the unfamiliarity of many with the southern agricultural regime and the intrusion of cash-cropping into the realm of subsistence.

"Sibamanyi okulya" said one Ganda informant of new migrants from Sudan and West Nile, "they don't know how to eat". It is possible that this was something of a pun, th
Figure 11. Amount of cash cropping.
Small) up to about £15 per annum.
Medium) from £15 to about £50 per annum.
Large) more than £50 per annum.

![Bar chart showing the amount of cash cropping for different durations of settlement.]

Figure 12. Number of homestead heads using labourers.

![Bar chart showing the number of homestead heads using labourers for different durations of settlement.]

Bugerere area sample surveys.
verb okulya, to eat, having extensive metaphoric significance,1 but the basic reference is still dietary. There is a lack of savoir faire about spacing of plants, the thinning out of seedlings and such economical devices as the sowing of beans among cotton plants. People accustomed to a millet or cassava diet retain their staple, an uneconomic use of the fertility of a great part of Bugerere. Matoke, the Ganda banana staple, is eaten as an occasional dish by many newcomers, but is readily adopted as every day fare by more permanent settlers (McMaster 1963:174).

With between 50 and 59% of the cultivated land of Mengo district (which includes Bugerere) devoted to cash-crops, McMaster asks if this concentration will be "to the detriment of standards of agriculture, of land fertility or of subsistence" (1962a:93). The new migrant will probably plant cotton, which makes intensive demands on land and labour, food taking very much a second place. Here a wife is perhaps a help but children are a liability. On the other hand coffee has several advantages for the established settler. It is "economical in its land requirements, though it makes sustained demands on labour" (McMaster 1962a:92). As a perennial it states active tenure on public land and is a capital asset. It provides a source of income dispersed throughout the year, the main pickings being June, August and November. A sudden need for, say, medicine may be met by picking a tinful of berries. Figure 11, a histogram of cash-cropping, suggests that it takes some time for use of resources to be maximised in this sphere.

1. Perhaps 'they don't know our way of life..."
As the coffee trees become established extra labour will be called in to supplement the manpower of the domestic unit. While no-one resident for under a year hires labour, 60% of those settled more than 11 years do. As well as 25-35 shillings a month for wages having to be budgeted for, food (seldom of the best) and some rough accommodation have to be provided. Figure 12 records the use of labour in Bugerere and notes the steadily increasing proportion of farmers who have their men living on the homestead.

The consolidation of the farm is a concomitant of domestic establishment both from the point of view of viability and the provision of cash. "Nonya sente" runs a Ganda proverb on many lips nowadays "... omukazi ali kunonya": "find money and a wife will find you". Richards notes that 98% of the women passing through Kyaka ferry intended settling in Buganda and that 84% were accompanying their husbands (Richards 1954 App.B). This was a dramatic reversal of the comparative figures for men: 18% intending settlers and just 13% en route to stay with relatives of some sort (ibid.). In addition to economic security cash is usually required for bride-payments and it is chiefly to this that the proverb just quoted refers. To the new settler a wife is a matter of necessity as well as dignity and if he has any intentions of staying in the new community he will probably fetch his wife from home or arrange marriage with a woman there. In modern Buganda, and perhaps East Africa generally, cash-cropping is very much a male activity whereas the subsistence sector of the domestic economy has remained very firmly in the hands of the women.
It is notable that among those peoples where a temporary form of migration seems to be the rule there is little movement of women, e.g. the Igbara (Middleton 1952), the Bakiga (Turyagyenda 1964). The migration of the wife from home is particularly significant in that any hold over property that she may be perpetuating will be affected, and the 'escape route' weakened. It also implies that the locus of the migrant's nuclear family has shifted to the new area.

In this circumstance marriage has a distinct peculiarity. Let us refer to a recent statement by Fortes:

"My argument implies that the conjugal relationship derives from the marital status of the spouses, that is from the rights and duties, claims and capacities that are conferred on them from the outside, so to speak, I mean from the politico-jural domain. I stress this because it is easy to fall into the error of regarding marriage as a purely domestic matter" (Fortes 1962:9).

In the case of the young married immigrant, to which 'politico-jural domain' does the 'marital status' belong, at home or in the new society? Clearly, regardless of where and how he was married, he will enjoy a distinctive status in the community, if only that of a 'married man'. He would expect the community to acknowledge his sexual monopoly over the woman, for example, and the community might reciprocally expect him to guarantee her good conduct. It is helpful in discussing migration to distinguish between the act and the state of marriage. The former implies the selection of a mate and the

1. Of Ngoni migrants in Tanganyka Gulliver writes: "The majority of long-term, married absenteees have their wives with them, but nevertheless one quarter of such absenteees have left their wives behind" (1955:14). Gulliver continues to point out the corollary: "It may be seriously suggested that a bachelor or accompanied married migrant is more likely to become a long-term absentee than the married man who leaves his wife at home and who has t! incentive to return to his family" (op. cit.:15).
rite of passage, the latter the set of relationships centred on the conjugal pair subsequently. In migration the act may belong at home while the state endures in the new locus. This is important in understanding the degree to which the 'rights and duties, claims and capacities' are conferred from the politico-jural domain outside. When the community plays no role in the selection of the mate and the performance of the nuptials, so it will have less influence in the conjugal relationship that subsequently endures. Thus the new migrant may well contract his marriage at home or seek to ensure its perpetuation there in order to relate his domestic unit to the home society. Alternatively he may marry locally and involve his domestic unit more directly with the new community.

The relevance of marriage in mixed or multi-tribal situations does not seem to have been very clearly appreciated. Southwold (1959), studying in depth a village of 262 persons, 125 of whom were non-Ganda felt that while "many of the Gisu and other foreigners are related to one another by kinship and marriage ... these ties do not concern us". Primarily involved with the Ganda core group who own nearly all the land in the village he argues that "almost all the conjugal unions between outsiders and members of his group took place within the village after settlement. Certainly these unions now serve to link some of the members of the present community, but ..." (ibid.) and he proceeds to dismiss their importance. On the contrary the deep significance of affinal relationships in mixed communities such as Southwold's Kyaggwe county and Bogerere has been signalled by Audrey Richards: - unless, she says, foreigners can marry into the new communities they wil
TRIBAL INTERMARRIAGE IN MUSALE SUB-COUNTY, BUGERERE.

Figure 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyala</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>168 7 22 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soga</td>
<td>1922 1 1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kede</td>
<td>1 11 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwere</td>
<td>2 7 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisu</td>
<td>5 2 95 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyoli</td>
<td>1 5 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samia</td>
<td>1 1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dama</td>
<td>1 25 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankole</td>
<td>3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiga</td>
<td>1 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruanda</td>
<td>1 1 2 15 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rundi</td>
<td>1 1 3 81 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acholi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teso</td>
<td>1 1 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lugbara</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakwa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinza</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangaza</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zima</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intermarriage in Musale sub-county Bugerere. Based on an assumption of birth records for 1961-2 and 1964-4. Tribes have been arranged roughly in accordance to their proximity to one another, women along the horizontal axis and men down the vertical axis. It should be noted that by no means all births have been registered in Musale but that those appearing above probably constitute the more committed immigrants.
remain "on the outskirts of social life" (1954:174).

In integration ties of kinship are static phenomena. They cannot be selected, contracted and broken off at will as can the relationship by marriage. Their manipulation has surely always been a function of social strategy, be it a Hapsburg princess or the boss's daughter. In Buganda the issue is too easily clouded by tribal intermarriage. As Southwold (1959) is at pains to emphasise and as Appendix D here would seem to confirm the proportion of Ganda not native to the various villages is consistently very high. Regarding all as immigrants and not tribesmen the extent of community intermarriage can be more profitably appraised. Richards has commented that "from figures collected in Buganda it does seem that actual intermarriages are very rare considering the length of time there has been tribal admixture" (1954:177). However intermarriage among foreign tribes is seldom taken into account, only that between Muganda and foreigner. This is an inevitable result of concentrating upon the "assimilation" and "structural incorporation" of foreigners (Richards 1954 Ch.VII). Where Ganda cease to be in a majority one's viewpoint must necessarily change. Taylor, faced with a 62% preponderance of foreigners in his Makindu village, Kyaggwe, speaks automatically of "integration" (1958:115). This viewpoint accommodates a more comprehensive appreciation of intermarriage which, he notes, occurs "freely" (ibid.).

Figure 13 suggests that tribes present in any great quantity in Musale, Bugerere, intermarry a great deal. 14.6 of all unions were intertribal and some tribes, notably the Basoga, showed a very strong proclivity for 'exogamy'.
TRIBE | MEN married outside tribe as % of total married men of that tribe | WOMEN married outside tribe as % of total married women of that tribe
--- | --- | ---
Ganda | 7.2 | 15.0
Soga | 51.0 | 31.1
Kede | 26.7 | 21.2
Gwere | 30.0 | 30.0
Gisu | 8.7 | 3.0
Samia | 22.0 | 38.5
Dama | 7.4 | 7.4
Ruanda | 35.0 | 21.0
Rundi | 6.9 | 10.0
Teso | 16.7 | 16.7

(Figures based on those of figure 13)

Twice as many Ganda women have married outside the tribe than have men, a tendency that has also been recorded by Richards\(^1\) (1954:178). There is an implicit suggestion that there may be advantages for a foreign man to marry a Ganda woman, more so then for a Muganda to take a foreign wife. The not unduly surprising fact that there are certain broad areas of preference in tribal intermarriage is clear in figure 13, however a closer examination of this would be out of place here. It is sufficient to note that there is a considerable deviation from the diagonal line of endogamy.

Fortes has pled for an examination of marriage in the light of Game theory (1962:4, 12), and this would certainly be an interesting approach in Bugerere. La Fontaine has described in detail "the choice of a wife in a society (Bugisu) which has no rules of preferential or prescribed marriage" (1962:88), pointing out the Gisu distinction between "acquiring a wife and acquiring affines" (op. cit.:89).

---

1. She mentions current opinion - "there are many Ganda women who wander about and do not want to get married. They are often 'friends' to the foreign men" (Richards 1954:178)
Economic and political considerations dominate mate selection there. In the multi-tribal situation certain groups may find it very difficult to exercise free choice, there may be stringent prescriptive pressures that oblige a young man to seek his wife at home. La Fontaine draws attention to the fact that Gisu men "choose wives from their own or neighbouring villages, since in this way they make affinal ties which are useful to them politically" (op. cit.:108). The advantages of intra-village marrying are more appropriate to my discussion of Kamira and Budada villages, but the practicability of it should be made clear now.

In the first place there is the unusual premise of life in a newly-settled area in that no first-generation immigrant has, ipso facto, been born there. There is, for example, no strong localised descent-group demanding the contracting of unions beyond its bounds. Clanship is irrelevant although the chance meeting of a couple of the same clan would be unlikely to proceed to marriage. For anyone for whom marriage is neither prescribed nor preferred, the new Bugerere village offers either directly or by mediation a wide selection of very accessible potential mates. A man may recommend to a friend or neighbour a suitable kinswoman – frequently a sister – and a new relationship of affinity will develop between the two men. Establishing and collecting the bride-payment will fall on the woman's local sponsor, adding further weight to the in-law relationship.

I have so far referred to 'marriage' without qualification. The Commission on Marriage, Divorce and the Status of Women (1965) claims that the Baganda have "about 8 different types
of customary law marriage" (op. cit.:10)\(^1\), probably more a list of marital circumstance than a jural classification.

Perhaps a 'proper Ganda marriage' should be *wampeta*, 'with a ring' (Richards 1954:176) and with a religious ceremony. Conventionally, however, this is no more than an ideal:

"marriage was a secular and non-romantic institution in Buganda" (M.C. Fallers 1960:55), and the Commission report points out that the most common form of union is by "consent". It adds by way of clarification:

"We put the word 'consent' in quotation marks, simply because normally sexual intercourse is a consensual act; it requires the consenting minds and bodies of both parties" (1965:10).

That such mutuality may necessarily be *de jure* can well be doubted, yet certainly it seems to be sufficient for a couple to cohabit and make explicit their union. Extra ratification seems to be brought to most unions by the transfer of a cash payment, the amount of which is subject to protracted negotiation and into which the many conventional dues of spears, goats, beer etc. may conveniently be translated.

Perhaps because jural sanctions are not very specific, marriage is notoriously unstable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% separated from one or more spouse:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the majority of these figures involved 2 or 3 departed wives I encountered quite often cases of 15 and more. While

1. Nine are in fact listed.
migration may in itself effect a breach, instability is no less an inveterate trait in these parts. "The Kisozi (village) figures for broken marriages in 1953 were 18% for women and 30% for men", writes Audrey Richards, "and these figures are certainly underestimated. Instability of marriage was probably also a feature of Ganda marriage in the past" (1966:21). Southwold comments similarly on the situation and adds a structural explanation:

"Descent is reckoned principally in the male line but always through the genitor; even an adulterer can claim the child he has begotten is his own. With such a rule, the stability of marriage is less important than in truly patrilineal societies" (1959).

A further explanation comes from Margaret Fallers, who says the low fertility of the Ganda women and their rejection for nulliparity causes divorces (1960:55). However I am not concerned here to seek reasons, only to point out that this high turnover can only facilitate the contracting of a union or subsequent unions in the new locus.

The migration situation normally implies that a marriage will be neolocal and virilocal, a situation by no means alien to the peoples of the lake area. Southwold cites a Ganda explanation: "you don't like to marry a girl with whom you have grown up and who knows all your secrets" (1959). "Marriage is always virilocal but it was, and generally is normal for a young couple to set up a house in a village other than those of their fathers" (ibid.). Under such conditions the young man usually finds the place first and the wife second, and if his preferences preclude taking a girl from his home village, as a migrant it will be not at
all unlikely that he will strike up a suitable relationship in his new-found home.

The final factor increasing the likelihood of an intra-village marriage in Bugerere is the custom of polygyny. Speaking of Buganda Southwold comments: "polygyny is unusual; in general a man has to be rather rich if he is to induce a wife to share her home with another" (ibid.). Figure 14 shows that polygyny very clearly follows a period of settlement, doubtless contemporaneous with the accruing of wealth, but it could hardly be regarded as uncommon. Twenty per cent of the 156 respondents had more than one wife.

The principle of affinity within the community is of great interest in understanding the establishment of the domestic unit in the new village. Fortes reminds us that marriage is "the bridge between the kinship side and the affinal side of the dichotomy that is of necessity built into the total genealogically defined domain of social relations which we find in every social system" (1962:2). What should be appreciated here is that the bridge for the immigrant may span not only immediate relationships but territorially separate groups; depending upon where he chooses his mate the bridge may extend into the community or back to his homeland. In the former eventuality the cognatic group to which he belongs may be denied active implication in the liason whereas the group contributing the woman may be substantially represented in the new community.

I have, however, tried to show here the effect of cognatic ties at home and in the new locus. It is as well to recall Richard's statement that there is a "network of kinship con-
nexions spread wide over Uganda by which they (the migrants) pass news and get help in difficulties, secure jobs and land and get information from their home country ..." (1954:185).

I have shown that settlement implies marriage and that where the contract and the state of marriage both pertain to the new community, as will be increasingly likely, the immigrant becomes involved in a set of local affinal relationships. Summarily, the establishment of the migrant in the new locus implies the establishment of his nuclear family as a domestic unit there.

d) Commitment

The final phase in the migration process, as I see it, is the commitment of the migrant to his new social environment. In Kamira village I came to know one man, Gizaza1 well. He was in every way a senior and respected member of the community and he had assured me that he and his family would spend the rest of their days in Bugerere. Just before I left, however, he had sold his farm to return to his native Bugisu where, in absentia, he had achieved the status of chief of an important sub-clan. This was a practical demonstration for me of the divergence of social ideals and realities.

In the way I am discussing integration and the new communities personal ideals and orientations are of secondary importance. To be acceptable, 'commitment' must be an actual social condition, not a mere statement. I seek its manifestations among those who have been settled for some time,

1. (Ke8)
hence the histograms that accompany this chapter. In the fifth column of these a consolidation of certain characteristics and a tapering-off of others will be noticed. These longest-settled residents hold the most property, they have relinquished most fully their rights at home and yet more are unmarried, their cash-crop output has fallen and they employ less labour than the group settled 11 - 15 years. These and other characteristics are of course part of the process of growing old. However the figures, concerned primarily with the first 16 years of settlement, describe a progressive change in the domestic unit according to its establishment. Sixteen years, it will be realised, is just sufficient time for children to reach adulthood and for the phase of domestic dispersion to commence again (Fortes 1958:5). In these 16 years a set of developments occur which I can only call the compounding of the domestic unit.

Individual volition cannot, of course, be ruled out as a force contributing to the integration process: "many foreigners are trying to get incorporated into Ganda society by every means in their power" writes Audrey Richards (1954:184), "including the adoption of Ganda names, the wearing of Ganda dress and sometimes by attempting to pass themselves off as members of Ganda clans". This places much stress on the viewpoint of 'assimilation' that belongs in those strong Ganda village structures "largely based on kinship in a system of political authority closely associated with descent and land ownership" (op. cit.:222) so alien in Bugerere. In Musale where the new-comer is not faced with a long-term
periperal status vis a vis an established group, such protestations of corporate identity are superfluous. Commitment to the community rather implies the living out of one's life there in the fullest structural sense, centring the life of one's domestic unit there.

Sentiments expressed indicated a growing attachment to the new environment; complete new-comers responded sceptically to my question as to whether they envisaged spending the rest of their lives in Bugerere. Opinion thereafter changed to enthusiasm for the economic opportunities and current success, and after prolonged settlement older men scoffed at the likelihood of leaving the county at so late a stage. Said Yo, a Mukede who had been living alone for 10 months on his Sabagabo plot: "I am no-one here, if tomorrow is not good, I go tomorrow". Mozi, who came from the Sudan in 1952 and is now settled on a 10 acre plot not far from Yo's, regarded the prospect of a move as laughable. "Here my children stay alive because there is food. I use my hoe well and there is money for clothes".

The egocentricity of responses to my question seeking an opinion of life in Bugerere was very interesting; the health and economic strength of the household always came first and in terms of its welfare the benignity of Bugerere was assessed. It seemed that the settler's evaluation of the new community and his commitment to it derived from an evaluation of his own domestic viability and prosperity.
It is wrong to expect the new migrant to be instantly committed. Some writers documenting the areas of exodus seem reluctant to admit that large numbers of 'their' people may have gone for good. For Middleton the migration of the Lugbara means that "a balance has been established between the effective population and the availability of farmland - by migration outside their own country Lugbara are able to borrow and use the soil fertility and land of southern Uganda and also lessen the land pressure in their own areas" (1965:13). The impression given is that for the Lugbara the rich south is simply a distant outfield. However Middleton later admits that "a few migrants remain in the south and become 'lost' to their kin" (op. cit.:90). There are a great many 'lost' Lugbara in Bugerere.

La Fontaine sees the migration of Bagisu to Buganda as a more permanent affair:

"..... it is the ambition of most men to return to their own village, buy more land and become prosperous householders. This ambition does not seem to be often realised, however, and every village has its complement of men who are intermittent residents and who take little part in the continuing life of the village" (1962:115).

Collectively these irreversible migrants build up the settled population and, according to Powesland are constantly increasing in proportion to the retroverts (1954:50).

Audrey Richards envisages commitment primarily in terms
of "length of contact with Buganda" (1954:136). Length of sojourn is clearly a condition of commitment but only in so far as it carries with it a change in the social status of the individual. Viewed thus, visits and relationships with home are only of secondary significance. Probably the most distinctive change over time is in the size of the domestic group (figure 8). Of those resident up to a year there were none consisting of more than 5 persons. Of those resident 6 to 10 years, 59% had more than 5 members. In the longer established groups domestic dispersion has reduced numbers once more to couples in several cases. On the other hand it is among those resident for more than 16 years that the greatest proportion of the very largest families occur.

The steady expansion of the domestic unit is made visible in the increase of more permanent buildings in the compound. It may be necessary for a parent living with an established immigrant to be accommodated separately to avoid in-law or obuko prohibitions. Houses will have to be kept ready for visitors; they may not take kindly to having to sleep out in the kitchen. In modern Buganda separate dwellings have for long been yielding in favour of rooms all together in one

1. There are 1) constant short-term visitors — such she calls "the perpetual porter" (ibid.); this includes people who "do not want to live in Buganda but who cannot get the money they need for tax and consumption goods locally and who come to get it in Buganda ...... the target workers in other words" (ibid.). Then there are 2) long-term visitors. "Other foreigners tend to make a long initial visit before returning home, probably to get a wife in order to settle permanently in Buganda" (op. cit.:137). 3) "Immigrants who never return home or at least remain many years in Buganda without a visit to their people" (op. cit.:138). 4) Second-generation immigrants.
Figure 14. Number of wives.

Figure 15. Number of children.

Bugerere area sample surveys.
European-style, square-built house (Mair 1934:14). Single huts for each wife are vanishing fast but the bedrooms they are allotted in the single dwelling have a territorial inviolability very reminiscent of the old segregation. The permanence and quality of the house vary noticeably according to length of sojourn. Figure 24 splits the sample into three categories as follows: A) includes block or brick-built homes with tin roofing or mud and wattle houses plastered inside and out with cement. B) refers to more permanent mud and wattle structures with tin roofing, very prevalent in central and southern Bugerere as aerial photographs testify. C) includes all poor temporary structures and those made of mud and wattles with thatched roofs.

The change in the size of the domestic group and the constituent change in personnel are what I refer to as its 'compounding'. This also implies increase in resources (figure 9) and cropping (figure 11). Changes in marital state (figure 14) are certainly closely related to changes in the use of resources; I heard several times the maxim that if you have two plots you need two wives. The increase in personnel is, of course, mainly attributable to children (figure 15). There seems to be no greater source of commitment in migration than procreation; to quote Fortes again "it is this (the domestic) group which must remain in operation over a stretch of time long enough to rear offspring to the stage of physical and social reproductivity if a society is to maintain itself" (1958:2). With younger children the viability of the household is put to the test and its sub-
Figure 16. Dispersion of the children of the homestead head.

Figure 17. Education of the eldest child.

Bugere area sample surveys.
sistence resources are most taxed. Speaking of his present situation, Kigozi of Kamira said "it is not easy now to move from one place to another. Where could I put this one" - he puts his hand on the head of the nearest of his 11 children - "if I were to leave here? There is no land for me now in Bulemezi...".

Having children means keeping an eye on the future as well as the present. One can encounter a very strong sense of disgrace in a father who cannot offer some form of resource, land particularly, to his sons when they mature. Today, however, there is the even greater sanction of education for the children, pressing on the cash resources of the farm for many years past the puberty of each child.

Speaking of South African urbanisation, Wilson puts forward two conditions for permanence: "1) the possibility of keeping children in the town and 2) the possibility of spending old-age there" (1941:55). The same is true of the rural setting. 83% of the immediate new-comers (figure 15) have no more than one child whereas the really large families belong to the longest-settled migrants, 17% of whom have more than 9 children. Figure 16 shows the dispersion of the children of the homestead heads, and it will be noted that those settled 6 to 10 years have a very large proportion of children of their own living with them. Among the new-comers the greater proportion are still at home, while in the longest established group there is evidence of children moving away from the parental home, often to other parts of Bugerere.
Other relatives, beyond the range of the nuclear family resident in the homestead.

![Figure 18](image1)

Duration of settlement, in years.

![Figure 19](image2)

Duration of settlement, in years.

Bugerere area sample survey.
Figure 17 suggests the varying pressures brought to bear on the establishing domestic groups by education; over 60% of those settled 6 to 10 years are finding school fees, and in the 16-year-plus group 22% are paying the much higher secondary education fees. After fifth grade an ordinary school will charge anything above £10 per child per annum and even the local uncertificated primary school will charge over £2.

A further important aspect of the compounding of the domestic unit is its capacity to offer long term hospitality to relatives beyond the range of the nuclear family. This I have summarised in tables 18 and 19, and again it will be noted that it is a function of length of establishment. The Bugerere migrant is likely to come under pressure from relatives at home to provide accommodation and assistance in the process of emplacement in the county. The exchange of children may also be a means of sustaining ties with home.

A consideration of commitment must inevitably devote some attention to the question of relations with home. Commitment, it should be understood, need not imply a cessation of visits or other perpetuated relations, but what must be investigated is the nature and frequency of these relations.

1. I must point out that this table should be treated with some reserve as it concerns only the eldest child in each household. I consider, however, that this is the most suitable method of presenting data on education concisely.

2. The available figures suggest that cognates of the household head preponderate, but even so the proportion with affines of the householder as guests is quite large. A combination which occurs very rarely is adult relatives of the man and his wife.
Figure 20. Number of times per annum that the homestead head visits home.

Figure 21. Length of time spent at home on normal visits.

Bugerere area sample surveys.
Travel is not very complicated in the Lake area if you have money. In Buganda there are frequent bus services and a great many taxis which may be a little more expensive but are certainly more speedy. From Musale, a 15 mile trip takes the traveller to Jinja within easy reach of eastern and north-eastern Uganda and Kenya. A 20 mile boat trip from Galiraya in Sabawali takes Lango and Bateso to Kaberamaido on the north shore of Kioga. The Nile ferries are kept busy with the va et vient of the Basoga. The most popular times for visiting are in January and February, when the cotton crop is harvested, and in August and September when maize and coffee are sold. Southwold (1959) notes that the Baganda are keen visitors and in Bugerere one soon appreciates the excitement an excursion home generates. A fellow-tribesman will be commissioned to pass on letters, gifts and messages. Radio Uganda broadcasts daily 'personal announcements' of great importance to the present mobile population and anyone who is able will travel to a funeral or answer a call for help.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% with parents at home:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings:</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After an initial drop the proportion with siblings at home remains fairly even, and it is primarily with brothers and sisters that contact is maintained. Predictably the number with parents alive at home drops off, as does the number with full spouses (not divorcees) there. This tends
Figures 22 and 23. Giving and receiving presents.

Figure 22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of settlement, in years</th>
<th>Giving presents</th>
<th>Giving cash</th>
<th>Giving food</th>
<th>Neither giving nor receiving presents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total giving presents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither giving nor receiving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 24. Type of accommodation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of settlement, in years</th>
<th>Home grade A</th>
<th>Grade B</th>
<th>Grade C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home grade A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bugerere area sample surveys.
to confirm my earlier statement that the new migrant will probably leave his wife and children at home, if he is married, until he has established a foothold.

The drop in established residents who visit home (figure 20) may be seen to accord with the decrease in close kin living there. It is interesting to note a shift in the mode of visiting; the new-comers' visits are less frequent but last longer, while established settlers, probably with more cash to hand, make frequent shorter trips. There is a good deal of reciprocal visiting, too complex a subject to enter into here. Many outsiders regard Bugerere as the land of plenty, much to the chagrin of their kinsfolk there. One villager wryly told me "if I do not send home presents to my family they will all come here. 'Ah, your coffee is so rich' they say 'and your brothers at home have nothing to eat'. I give them money." Bugerere people would appear to give more than they receive (figure 23), and new-comers send home proportionately the most money - doubtless to their wives and children. Subsequently token gifts of food become more important and constitute the great majority of presents received. For an average farmer amounts seldom in excess of 30 shs. are given to specific relatives, or else some commitment like the education of a young nephew may be undertaken. Foodstuffs are usually such easily portable items as beans or groundnuts, a particularly good cutting of coffee or some Pepsi-Cola. Occasionally some family crisis may involve very substantial sums, 500 shs. for a 'decent' burial or a brother's hospitalisation.
Distance certainly diminishes the chance of regular visiting, for Barundi or Kuku for example. Older people come to rely more on the postal services\(^1\) and joint letters home may be drafted at beer parties\(^2\) by the most literate of a group of tribesmen.

I would not attempt to claim that establishment in Bugerere cuts out all the vital functions of the home environment, although it certainly goes a very long way in this direction. The Lango elders subject migrant youths to considerable pressure to marry at home, as much to preserve the flow of heavy bridewealth payments as anything. The commitment of many migrants would seem to waver on the subject of burial, some making specific testamentary provision that their bodies be taken home. Nor would I try to postulate that the spirit of tribal identity dies with commitment to the new community. Gizaza of Kamira assured me that many Bagisu he knew in Bugerere were more Gisu than the Bagisu of Elgon\(^3\). There is a strong insistence that their circumcision ceremonies, imbalu, be carried out, and licenced operators

1. The first postal agency was established at Kayunga in 1955, and later one at Kangulumira. Dwelling on the revolutionary prospect of a promised telephone line to Kayunga, the postmaster there wrote to me: "I think every inhabitant in Bugerere and all our communicants outside will be exceedingly happy to learn that in 1967/70 we will be able to communicate with our distant friends in three minutes time only!"

2. One Sunday I met a group of Kuku composing a letter over a bottle of waragi spirit: "Point two, tell Zeno, father of Modi that the child Namu is sickly..." slowly written with a ball-point refill on a blue airletter form.

3. Apparently the most fervent St. Patrick’s day celebrations take place in New York.
come biennially to Buganda to do this. What I find relevant is that the ritual is modified out of deference to others like the Baganda, for whom such affairs are very strange. A party-like spirit prevails and the community is encouraged to join in if they wish. It is important to add that sometimes the expectancies of home and of the new community can involve the migrant in considerable personal conflict, most notably when he marries.

A corollary to commitment is the case one encounters from time to time of apparently settled immigrants with two domestic groups, one here and one at home. The schism is a difficult one to maintain and, as I shall make clear later with reference to specific cases, militates against integration. Most simply, their economic resources are not all vested in the new community and it is essentially in terms of land that community membership is expressed and domestic commitment becomes substantiated.1

I should like to conclude this chapter with a short table that expresses what Fortes would call the "phase of replacement" (1958:5) among the immigrant families:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2-5 yrs.</th>
<th>6-10 yrs.</th>
<th>11-15 yrs.</th>
<th>16 yrs.+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% with married children:</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% who have been widowed:</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% either divorced or widowed and now unmarried:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. "People point out that it takes four years to establish a coffee garden after which it becomes a source of wealth not lightly abandoned". (Southwold 1959).
With the children marrying and moving out and the conjugal pair growing old there is a return to the points of domestic fission and dissolution in which the migration process itself had its inception.

In this chapter I have attempted to analyse the experience of migration in the rural setting under four headings; motivation, transition, establishment and commitment. I have shown that the degree to which a migrant becomes permanently attached to the new community is in terms of rights in land, both those he assumes in the new locus and those he relinquishes at home. I have related the migration experience to the life of the domestic unit, noting that its establishment in the new community involves a set of processive changes which increase reliance upon and involvement in the social and spatial environment. While pointing out that length of residence relates directly to domestic establishment in the new community I must reiterate that integration is not determined by precedence alone but by the changing form of the constituent domestic units.
(67) plot belonging to another villager

KAMIRA VILLAGE

A.F.R. 1967

For numbers please refer to chapter 6
In this section I introduce and discuss the two villages I selected in Bugerere as case studies for the demonstration of my argument. They are Kamira in the centre of Musale sub-county and Budada in the centre of Sabagabo. Following the criteria established in the two preceding chapters I start with an examination of the collocation of the domestic units, the physical and formal constraints on settlement, and then proceed to a discussion of the constituent domestic units themselves, describing their relative establishment.

"Kamira", its mutongole chief informed me, "is full-up". In the sense that there is now no land whatever that is not tenanted and cultivated, this is certainly true. As far as I can ascertain the last piece of virgin land was cleared 7 years ago and all subsequent arrivals have taken up plots that had already been cultivated. The village stands on an L-shaped ridge, the short leg just under half a mile, the long leg just over a mile (Map 5). Kamira thus falls into two fairly distinct portions, a higher more level 'plateau' abutting on Kangulumira and a long strip stretching down towards Kigayaza. Apart from where it adjoins these two villages, Kamira is bounded by swampland which is passable only in the long dry season. It is a fairly typical southern Buganda Mutala, ridge-village.

Calculated on the map\(^1\), the cultivated area of Kamira is rather more than one half square mile, and a summation of all

\(^1\) Scale 1:50,000. ref.no. L.S.D. 1957 Ser. Y732.
the separate land-holding units within the village yields 351.5 acres or 0.552 of a square mile. Resident within Kamira in 1965 were 552 people which indicates a density of 1,004.8 persons per square mile. Sixty-two of this number were labourers, temporary residents, and if they are excluded the density falls to 889.6. By any standards Kamira is very densely populated, perhaps even 'overpopulated'.

According to the detailed topographical map based on aerial photographs made in 1955 there were 37 homesteads in the village, probably an understatement. In 1965 there were 83, which means an average of 5.9 persons per household, the range being from one to 21. The average holding size was 4.3 acres, ranging from a half to about 19.

I am in no position to make scientific pronouncements about the soil but the people themselves say that originally Kamira was very well endowed. In 1962, however, the area was subjected to severe leaching by heavy rains and the farms, all too often unprotected by the requisite paspalum grass bunds, suffered considerably. Farmers date heavy drops in yields from this time and it seems that the increased reliance on available resources has now quite firmly stemmed the influx of migrants. Land holdings were smaller than those in the Musale area sample, clearly a function of the longer-than-average settlement of the village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUSALE SAMPLE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% holding up to 2 acres:</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% holding 2-4 acres:</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% holding 4-10 acres:</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% holding 11-20 acres:</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% holding over 20 acres:</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The bulk of the population consists of small-scale farmers but there are several with 15 or more acres, a 'large' farm by local standards.

Map 5 records the present layout of settlement; the tendency to favour the higher land at either end of the village and the roadside sites along the ridge will be noted. With a very few exceptions (e.g. Kd25 and Kd291) each home is situated within its own entire property. The main roadway, often scarcely passable in rainy weather, leads down to Kigayaza and other villages on the Nile bank. On both sides of the ridge holes have been dug at the edge of the swamps to provide an intermittent and murky supply of water. Only three villagers have permanent rain-water tanks and in such droughts as 1965 nearly all housewives have to trek to the Nile 2 miles away. Firewood is no longer plentiful within the village but may be collected in abundance from the forestland beside the river.

The economy of the village conforms very much to the south Buganda banana-coffee regime described in earlier chapters. Cotton is not extensively grown; Kigozi (Kb81) told me that when he first arrived five years earlier he...

1. Reference numbers: In this and subsequent sections I shall use reference numbers in addition to names for convenience in identifying householders in the two villages. The initial letter indicates the village, K = Kamira, B = Budada. The following lower case letter indicates the period for which the householder has been a resident:
   a = one year
   b = 2-5 years
   c = 6-10 years
   d = 11-15 years
   e = over 16 years
The final number, e.g. 35, indicates the location of the homestead on the map of the village in question.
could expect twice his present yield. An anxious appreciation of declining soil fertility has given added encouragement to coffee growing, not immediately very rewarding but less damaging on the land. An average of 18 bags per homestead were picked in 1964, representing a value of about 500 shillings. An average of 4.5 bags of maize per household were sold, with a fairly small proportion being reserved for domestic consumption. Only an average of 3.7 bags of cotton were grown, and while 49 households cropped it in small amounts, 70 showed a marked preference for coffee. Acres of this obscure any general view of the village and it presses around the houses, allowing the lujja, courtyard, rather grudging dimensions.

Houses are sited only a few yards from the roadway and the visitor cannot but be impressed by the close contiguity of holdings, made more apparent by the strips of property running off at right-angles to the thoroughfare. There is a certain candour about the way the houses face the road and the odd house tucked out of sight in the farm, like Nabiirye's (Kd60), a fey old Musoga woman, is considered unnecessarily furtive. With the swamp behind and (trusted) neighbours to either side, one's house stands sentinel over the coffee plantation. Between each plot runs a pathway, sometimes a well-trodden route to a water hole, often a narrow cleared line whose terminal points are marked with the conventional nsambya trees.

All land in Kamira is public apart from a strip of Mailo running along the north-west side of the shorter leg of the village (Map 5). Formerly it belonged to Nsibiirwa,
(a) Pre 1950
average size of holding 6.12 acres

(b) 1950 to 1954
average size of holding 4.64 acres

(c) 1955 to 1959
average size of holding 3.23 acres

(d) 1960 to 1964
average size of holding 2.59 acres

→ subsequent moves within the village

one half mile
an erstwhile Katikkiro\(^1\) of Buganda, but it has subsequently been sold to several separate owners, none of whom live in Kamira. There are only five village homesteads on this land; Mubiru (Kd3) and Manyala (Kel2) have 8 acres each, Salongo (Kel5) shares 8 with his son Waibi (Kb16), and Kafuko (Kel3) holds 2. All these are customary tenants and the rest of the Mailo is rented out on a seasonal basis (obupangissa) to people outside Kamira, to Kangulumira townsfolk particularly.

On map 5 an unevenness in plot size may be noted, a greater frequency of smaller farms around the centre of the village and much larger units at the two extremities. The order in which tenancies were taken up goes far to account for this. Map 7 summarizes the settlement of present householders in five year periods dating effectively from 1947. Map 7 (a) shows how first arrivals preferred the 'plateau' near Kangulumira. Wanyela (Ke35) was the earliest of the present settlers and originally owned the land now occupied by Natiera (Ke39) and Nampa (Kd1). He was offered a fine price for this prime site and later moved further down the ridge. Manyala (Kel2) was the second to arrive, renting 8 Mailo acres but later crossing the road to live on his present 3 public acres. Salongo (Kel5) a Musoga, took a Mailo tenancy next to Manyala and the next to come was Mazaki (Kel8) who opened up an adjacent strip of public land. Gizaza (Ke8) followed in 1949 and took about 12 acres of public land in a superb position in the heart of the 'plateau'. When clearing back the forest and bush he left one massive tree at the entrance to his home which now towers over the intense cultivation of the village as a local

\(^1\) Prime-minister.
landmark, and which seems to symbolise the priority and seniority of its owner. After Gizaza came Bune (Ke27), a Sudanese labourer, who made his farm next to Mazaki's, and so settlement proceeded, to extend along the ridge.

Map 7 (b) shows the change in the focus of settlement after 1950 towards the Kigayaza end of the village. On the northern side of the roadway the swamp recedes, permitting a widening belt of cultivable land on which some large farms were established. Wamubireggwe (Kd71), arriving in 1953, claimed 15 acres and next to him Tabula (Kd68) took 20. 1955 saw a return of interest to the 'plateau', with people filling up empty spaces here and there as well as along new secondary roadways on the Kalagala slopes of the ridge. Several of these 'spaces' were in fact parts of pre-existing claims either allotted or sold on the basis of kinship ties. Thus Mazaki (Ke18) sold half of his kibanja in 1950 to his half-brother Mulengule (Kd17). There was also a division of property held by close agnates; Dongo (Kc21) and his brother Kapiya (Kc11) split their 7 acres after a quarrel, Salongo (Ke15), Tabula (Kd68) and Nasaka (Ke41) each gave separate plots to immigrant sons.

There are many examples of settled villagers finding pieces of land for relatives. Bune (Ke27) bought small plots for his three destitute Kuku relations Abuddu (Kc62), Kibojo (Kc61) and Modi (Kc63). Gizaza (Ke8) found land in 1949 for Wadulo (Ke36) and in 1963 negotiated a tenancy for his sister's son Madoyi (Kb9). After staying 7 years with his brother Nalyanyi (Kd52), Wamembi (Kb54) was able to buy 2 acres of the land held by Mukasa (Ke51).
Top: Homestead of Wane (Kd58), a Kuku tribesman in Kamira.

Centre: Homestead of Giza (Ks8), Kamira.

Left: Wide pathway between two farms in Kamira, leading to a water hole at the swamp.
A few residents have already gone quite far in fragmenting their original claims for the benefit of new-comers. Wirige (Ke74) has sold 4 acres to Lameka Kigozi (Kd72), ½ to Livingstone Kigozi (Kb81), and ½ to his brother's son Waguma (Kb76) and has given his son Mutenywa (Kc80) half an acre. Makabala (Ke6) sold Manyala (Kel2) his present 3 public acres in 1961. Both Wirige and Makabala were thoroughly established residents whose families were dispersing and it is worth observing now that the consequent diminished pressure on resources clearly facilitates the (rewarding) disposal of land that in turn enables the recruitment of new-comers. I could not obtain adequate information about previous tenants who have left, but I do not think there were many. Kigozi (Kd72) purchased most of his land from a prior settler in 1958; a comparatively recent exit I have indicated X on Map 7 (d). Four people moved onto small sections of this property, one of them Wanyala (Kd25) who left his first house to Samale (Kc42) his mother. Kafifi (Ka28), the most recent arrival in Kamira, also lives there on a tiny house plot sub-let from Wanyala, but for his crops he rents half an acre beside the Nakatundu swamp. Other new-comers like Dumba (Kb75) have also had to content themselves with land separate from their houses down by the swamps.

Map 7 also notes the progressive drop in the average size of plots acquired in each of the 5-year periods, but although holdings may have become smaller the prices paid have soared enormously. In 1965 Mubiru (Kd3) set the village talking with his record purchase of Gizaza's farm for 1,333 shillings.
an acre. At the Kigayaza end of the village estimates of land value varied a little around 750 shillings. Discussing sales with several villagers it was generally agreed that the most profitable method was to break the property up into as many small units as possible. One may well wonder why the soaring values do not drive out the poorer farmers and lead to a concentration of land in the hands of the wealthy.¹

This is not clearly manifest yet, perhaps because the marginal utility of land is greater to a man with a growing family than is ready cash. However Kigozi's (Kd72) progressive accretion of land at the expense of Weboya (Kd20), Lwangwa (Kd64) and Wirige (Kd74) may presage this. The ordinary farmer is probably content with the prospect that his capital investment is not exactly diminishing.

In summary, settlement is close knit, very dense and geographically well defined. There is a very distinct core of prior settlers at what I have called the 'plateau' end of the village around which the greater part of the community has developed, and there is a less important second focus of settlement at the northern end. Farm size relates very closely to this geographical distribution and to priority, and as settlement now implies fragmentation of larger units newcomers tend to be scattered in small groups throughout the village.

Kamira ranks Sabagabo in the muluka Mumyuka of gombolola Musale; more explicitly the village ranks third in its parish

¹. Turyagyenda has described this situation in overcrowded Kigezi province, where it is instrumental in the emigration of the poorer people (1964:132).
which is the most senior in the sub-county Musale which is in turn the most junior in Bugerere. This provides a valuable clue to the age of Kamira. According to the history of political segmentation it implies that the village was one of the earliest settled in a recently settled area. New communities being opened up today along the banks of the Nile rank very junior in junior parishes. (Appendix A).

Erika Musoke is the mutongole chief of Kamira and is about 70 years old. A native of Mawokota county he came to Mummyka, Bugerere in 1942, moving a few years later to Kamuli village in Musale. He befriended Nsibiirwa who allowed him a generous Mailo tenancy on his Kamira property near Kangulumira. Musoke was clearly one of the very early arrivals in the village but left in 1948 when Nsibiirwa agreed to sell him 10 acres of an adjacent section of his estate at Nakatundu. Musoke had succeeded one Kafifi as mutongole to the few settlers of Kamira and continued in this capacity although later he had no rights in village land.

As Musoke aged and the population grew, a deputy was appointed from among the early settlers. Wasozi (Ke30) was chosen, a Mugisu who had come to the village in 1949. Musoke perseveres as mutongole ostensibly as a service to the Kabaka and the Kingdom and also, doubtless, for the perquisites of office, but nearly all his work is carried out for him by Wasozi. One does not need to converse long with Musoke to discover that he does not know much of village affairs and it is Wasozi who attends court, who cycles round issuing tax-assessment forms, and is the general factotum of the administration. Musoke, however, deals with particular formalities
like land transactions, the interviewing of litigants and the issuing of summonses. He and Wasozi are good friends and may often be seen together indulging a mutual passion for the board game mweso.

To understand why Wasozi holds the position of musigiire to the mutongole one must appreciate that a ssemaka, a mature and established man, is required but that the honour and the small perquisites may not be regarded as worth the trouble of the most senior and wealthy residents of the village. Wasozi described to me the rigours of his job, being roused in the night to deal with a fight and being subject to some of the status dilemmas noted in Chapter 5. During the period in October 1965 that he recorded his diary for me he was hard at work coaxing taxes from the villagers and preparing drainage ditches for the approaching rainy season. I noticed that he always referred to himself as 'mutongole' in the magistrate's court and I suspect he will be given full authority quite soon. He is literate but, being an older pupil, confessed that he did not have long in school "because of the need to fornicate". He served in the King's African Rifles from 1944 to 1949 when he came to Kamira on the advice of his agnate Manyala (Kel2). As a chief he was popular, being both authoritative and very patient and as good a drinker as any other. He was in the very interesting position of being able to opt out of delicate situations and allow Musoke to take any unpleasant initiative from the vantage of an outsider to the community.1

1. As we shall see in Chapter 9 it was Musoke who came to issue the summons to Mukasa (Kd26), not Wasozi.
relationship between the two chiefs was in many ways symbiotic, a successful but flimsy bridge from the Ganda state to the preponderantly foreign village by the joint operation of a Muganda and a Mugisu.

Budada village, my second case-study, was selected on a territorial and demographic basis to offer an effective comparison with Kamira while remaining firmly within the context of rural immigration. The most important distinctions were in the physical environment and the history of settlement. I also took into account different ethnic composition and administrative status. After some consideration I chose another public land village, although I feel some regret now that I did not investigate a Mailo community.¹

Unlike Kamira, Budada is not 'full-up' though still quite populous. It is a little over 300 acres in size, 50 - 60 acres of which are uncultivated, mainly in the low-lying northern areas subject to seasonal flooding (Map 6). There are still patches of bush and heavy undergrowth and parts of the property claimed are not actually cultivated. The village is centered on one wide, pear-shaped hill and a shoulder curving north and west from it. Territorially it lacks the precise definition of Kamira and with its various ridges and valleys breaks the community up into patches of settlement. After my experience of the regimental layout of Kamira, my first notebook entry for Budada expresses surprise at the way so many dwellings

¹. My main justification was that this might obscure the main argument and that comparison with Mailo communities could be made with reference to an abundant bibliography - something I have briefly attempted in Chapter 5.
are sequestered. A matter that called for comment later was my difficulty in establishing boundaries, both of the village and of some plots within it, suggesting strongly a lack of community self-awareness.

The population of Budada was 191 plus 10 labourers, yielding an overall density of 429 persons to the square mile. The 43 homesteads held rather fewer persons, on average, than Kamira, 4.45 as opposed to 5.9, and the range was from one to 16. The average size of holding is 1.4 acres more at 5.7, clearly a function of greater land availability. Five farmers have 15 acres and the smallest plot is half an acre, tenanted by Mulindwa (Ba35) a middle-aged Munyaruanda who is the very inactive caretaker of an absentee Ganda woman's small farm nearby. 1.

The soils of Budada are perceptibly lighter and not so well watered. Domestic water supplies are a major hazard and in the drought of 1965 the borehole at Kyerima five miles away became the sole source of supply for several thousand people. Farmers know that the land is less fertile than the rich, hilly south and that crops must be situated with care to make the best of prevailing conditions. Millet, cassava and sweet potatoes grow well in these drier conditions, to the advantage of the many peoples in this area not accustomed to the Ganda banana staple.

Figure 25 is a summary of the tribal content and chronology of settlement of Kamira and Budada. In each case the relative

1. 8 acres, indicated on Map 6, belong to Serunjoji, the only absentee landholder in either of the two villages. He lives in Mumyuka, Bugerere, and says he plans soon to move to Budada. I interviewed him in detail but as a non-resident he was only of marginal interest.
Figure 25.

PRESENT-DAY POPULATION OF BUDADA - arrival date (householders)

TRIBAL KEY:
A ankole
GA ganda
GI gisu
GW gwere
KE kede
KI kiga
K kuku
L lango
LU lugbara
N nyala
NY nyoro
RA ruanda
RU rundi
S soga
TA tanganyika
TE teso
preponderance of one tribe is notable, the Bagisu in Kamira and the Banyala in Budada, both constituting 42% of their respective populations. Both villages were selected for their newness, in that they were overwhelmingly composed of first-generation immigrants. Kamira is truly new, there was only jungle before 1945, and while Budada is also new, settlement there has proceeded very slowly and sporadically over a longer time. Kadada, whose family left the village about 15 years ago after his death, gave Budada its name. He appears to have lived at about 26 on Map 6ap. Lukhoza (Be7) is unique in that he was born on and has inherited his present farm, but even he has, as it were, 're-migrated' after an absence in Busoga of 19 years. The Banyala who constitute the indigenous core are themselves all immigrants from Sabaddu and Sabawali in the north and from other parts of Sabagabo.

Figure 25 indicates that the annual tribal intake for each village was very mixed, and Maps 5 and 6 show that homesteads are generally very well intermingled. None the less, the Kamira immigration has been spatially and temporally far more heterogeneous; in Budada a very large proportion of the Banyala constituted the earliest settlers and are concentrated into the central area of the village. This 'core' group is far less varied in tribal composition than the 'core' group on the 'plateau' section of Kamira. The same figure (25) also shows two phases of settlement in Budada, a slow preponderantly Nyala trickle until 1960 and then a rapid acceleration over the following five years, during which 63% of the present homesteads were established. In the same period only 19% of the present householders of
FOUR PHASES OF SETTLEMENT IN BUDADA.  MAP 8.

- **Pre 1950**: average size of holding 7.2 acres
- **1950 to 1954**: 10.5 acres
- **1955 to 1959**: 6.9 acres
- **1960 to 1963**: 4.3 acres
- **During 1964**: 3.1 acres

Sons moving away from the parental home.
Kamira arrived, the greatest influx there being between 1950 and 1954.

The two phases in Budada have a very distinct territorial expression, as Map 8 makes clear. The first of the present population arrived in 1935, Kazoba (Bel9), who apparently came because he knew the founder of the village, Kadada. Mutagasa (Bel3) came south from Sabaddu in 1943 to grow cotton; he spent nearly a year in adjacent Kitimbwa and then moved into the heart of Budada to find a larger and richer piece of land. The Muganda Nsamba (Be8) was the third arrival and in 1945 came the Lango Ayonge (Bel0) who claimed well over 20 acres on the lower slopes to the north-west of the village. His friend and fellow-tribesman Ochati (Bel) arrived 3 years later and also settled to the north, well away from the growing cluster of Banyala who were arranging themselves along the central roadway. One of these was the father of Lubega (Be5) who came about 1948, followed a year later by his brother Dawakuta (Be3). He died in 1954 and his son Lubega inherited ten acres to add to the five he himself already held. As in Kamira such agnatic links proved very important in settlement. Lukhoza (Be7) bought 4½ acres for his brother Sensugusa (Bb17), where he now lives alone in a wretched little hut. In 1952 Kadula (Bd25) and his father left their tsetse blighted farm in Sabaddu and took separate 14 acre plots in Budada. A year later Kadula's brother Gawedde (Bd12) arrived, at their recommendation, and staked a 15 acre claim a third of a mile away. Sentongo (Bcl4), their younger brother, moved to stay with his father
in 1955 and ten years later inherited the farm; today the three men preserve their family sentiment while enjoying spatially separate existences.

The southern roadway became the focus of post-1960 settlement (Map 8 (b)). Namayanja (Bb39) left her husband in Mumyuka after she had contracted a skin disease and made her own 4 acre farm in Budada in 1960. Most of the village's foreign settlers now live along this road, the Mukiga Mugawula (Bb32), the Munyoro Babulabasa (Bb38) and Sudanese like Sula (Bb37) and Lamene (Bb42). Those living on the north side of the road were usually obliged to purchase land from its putative Nyala owners, a dramatisation of the influence of their priority. Dungo (Ba31) bought 2½ acres from Kazoba (Be19) in 1965, and in 1962 Sula (Bb37) bought 5 acres from Mutagasa (Be13). In 1961 Lamene (Bb42) took 4 acres of Mwereza's land and persuaded Waibi (Bc20) to sell 1½ acres to his friend Dema (Bb21) the following year. In all four cases the sellers were Banyala and the buyers were 3 Sudanese Kuku and one Lugbara. This is a practical example of the influence a pre-established 'core' group may wield.

Very recent settlers have found land to the north and east of the core group. Mawanda (Bb4) is an interesting case; although the 15 acres found for him by his friend Mukasa of adjacent Wabiinyinja village were apparently untenanted, he was obliged to negotiate their purchase with Lubega (Be5), who appeared to have assumed custodianship of the area. The price demanded was not high and as a Muganda, Mawanda was probably regarded as an acceptable neighbour. A less welcome immigrant was the Mukungulu Luwano (Ba6) whose allocation of 15 acres to
the north of Budada was, as I shall describe in due course, hotly contested.

The overall figures for cash cropping in Budada are much less than those for Kamira:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average number of bags per homestead of:</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COFFEE</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COTTON</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAIZE</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Budada does not yet produce coffee in any great quantity; cotton, with maize a close second, is the principal crop. The relative absence of coffee trees gives Budada a more wide-open look than Kamira and the houses of earlier settlers like Lubega (Be5) and Dawakuta (Be3) are well-removed from the road ways and hidden in copses of uncleared woodland. One soon appreciates the importance of cotton in Sabagabo, both from such visible signs as the ubiquitous corrugated iron stores and from the gearing of domestic life to the annual marketing of the crop.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of residence:</th>
<th>Average size of holding:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to one year:</td>
<td>KAMIRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 years:</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years:</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years:</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The villagers of Budada hold almost twice as much land as those in Kamira. There is now not very much that is unclaimed and probably Gandu (Bb22) in 1960 was the last to clear his own plot from the bush, paying only an nkoko of 30 shillings to Nsubuga the mutongole chief. Subsequently
Top left: Bulungi bwa nsi, labour for the public good in Kamira.

Top right: Mweso game in progress in Kamira. The mutongole chief Musoke, 2nd left, plays with Mazaki (Ke18) and the deputy, Wasozi (Ke30), 1st and 2nd right.

Lower: Munyaruanda clearing a new farm in Sabagabo, Bugeere.
however, land has had to be purchased - for example:

1961, Mwereza (Bb40) sold 4 acres to Lamene (Bb42) @ 63 shillings per acre.

1961, A prior Lango owner sold 4 acres to Motidienga (Bb43) @ 108 shillings per acre.

1965, Kazoba (Be19) sold 2½ acres to Dungo (Ba31) @ 58 shillings per acre.

1965, Dawakuta (Be3) sold 5 acres to Byakika (Ba2) @ 50 shillings per acre.

It is impossible to see any trend in these figures, but it is clear that some fairly even idea of land value is emerging - witness Dawakuta's statement that "land around here fetches a good price". Unfortunately there is not yet enough evidence to ascertain whether the prices paid between tribes are greater than those paid within the same tribe, but it is possible that the Banyala may put up the price a little for foreigners.

At any rate the Budada prices are vastly lower than the present Kamira range and so too, without any doubt, is the nkoko fee paid to the mutongole. I could obtain no recent verifiable example for Kamira, but I was assured that Musoke would charge anywhere between 200 and 500 shillings on the basis of a 4 acre plot. In Budada Gandu (Bb22) paid 30 shillings on 1½ acres in 1960, and a year later Motidienga (Bb43) paid 50 shillings on his 5.

In passing I must make a point about land value and the permanence of settlement. It seems more than plausible that the very high prices of Kamira will tend to exclude those migrants who do not intend to spend some time in the village; more and more it is the migrant who has 'served his time' as a labourer accruing capital who is purchasing land there.
It is probable that the advent of cash valuation in Budada will start to have a similar effect. In Kamira there is now no opportunity for someone to grow cotton for a season and then quit.

The political status of Budada is characteristically imprecise. With Kyato, Wabiynja and Kitimbwa it is one of four villages referred to collectively as Kyetume, one butongole under the chiefship of Edwardi Nsubuga. Kyato and Wabiynja have their own ebitongole chiefs; it is not absolutely clear if they are in fact stewards, abasigiire, because they both regard Nsubuga as their senior. The village group ranks Sabagabo in the parish Sabagabo of the sub-county Sabagabo, a medial position in the history of segmentation. At the same time it is clear that the administrative system has not yet adjusted itself to the very recent influx into the Kyetume area. Nsubuga is in charge of 6 square miles and 150 to 200 homesteads, a very large realm. Until 6 years ago Lubega (Be5) operated as steward for Budada but relinquished this office when he made plans to open his shop at Kitimbwa. Since then no other suitable candidate has presented himself and so Nsubuga deals with the affairs of Budada. His home is close to the village boundary which enables him to keep in fairly close contact with the community. He is a strong advocate of the sustained liason of the 4 villages oriented towards the expanding market and service centre of Kitimbwa, but this interstratum is certainly at odds with the political principles of the State.
### Figure 26

**PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF COLLOCATION IN KAMIRA AND BUDADA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL AREA, in acres</strong></td>
<td>351</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL CULTIVATED AREA, in acres</strong></td>
<td>351</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resident POPULATION</strong></td>
<td>490</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL POPULATION</strong></td>
<td>552</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POPULATION DENSITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, persons per sq.mile</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residents only</td>
<td>889.6</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>density to cultivated land</td>
<td>889.6</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NUMBER OF HOMESTEADS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average of persons per homestead</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AVERAGE SIZE OF LAND HOLDING, in acres</strong></td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of CHILDREN in population</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of MEN in population</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of WOMEN in population</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOLDING SIZE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% holding under 2 acres</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.. 2 - 4 acres</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.. 5 - 10 acres</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.. over 11 acres</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOIL FERTILITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fairly good but diminishing.</td>
<td></td>
<td>lighter, drier soils.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SETTLEMENT LAYOUT</strong></td>
<td>compact street-village type.</td>
<td>scattered, two main patches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CORE GROUPS and PRIOR CLAIMS</strong></td>
<td>Early-settled 'plateau', heterogenous but with Gisu emphasis.</td>
<td>Strong, semi-indigenous Nyala core.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC SYSTEM</strong></td>
<td>Much cash-cropping, coffee bias.</td>
<td>Less cash cropping, cotton bias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LAND TYPE</strong></td>
<td>public, section of Mailo land.</td>
<td>all public.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land value</td>
<td>Very high - e.g. 1,000 shs. per acre</td>
<td>Low, e.g. 50-100 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOUNDARIES AND POLITICAL STATUS</strong></td>
<td>Well defined</td>
<td>Imprecise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AUTHORITY OF CHIEF</strong></td>
<td>Delegated, active.</td>
<td>External. Active but limited.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It took some time to establish to everyone's satisfaction the boundaries of Budada. I would use this imprecision to vindicate my transgression of the eastern boundary to include two homesteads actually lying in Wabiyinja, that of Bakissula (Bdl5) and Fanatya (Bb23). Their homesteads confronted the Budada village pathways, they were isolated from the rest of Wabiyinja, and both regarded themselves as effectively members of Budada. Fanatya, a comparative new-comer, was in fact surprised to learn that he was not, technically, a member of Budada.

Nsubuga is an energetic 34-year-old who migrated from Ssese with his father to Makerere village, Kampala, in 1946. In 1952 he came to settle in Kitimbwa, and with 3 years' schooling and experience of city life he considered himself no bumpkin. He is a popular figure, a keen advocate of "Kitimbwa town", as he always calls it, envisaging its eventual rivalry with such established centres as Kayunga or Kasawo in Kyaggwe. Much of his popularity is attributable to his regular functions as a host and his sponsoring of musical sessions with drums and the mediator xylophone. A much-applauded manifestation of his sense of fair play came when, after striking one of his wives in a quarrel, he 'tried' himself and imposed a fine of a new dress for the lady. While he was an authoritative figure and dealt effectively with basic administrative matters, it was quite obvious that he regarded the Banyala residents with considerable circumspection and sought to gain their friendship rather than impose his will. Like Musoke in Kamira he was an outsider, but he had no official mediator to assist him in the village
Figure 27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th></th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DURATION OF</strong></td>
<td>a. 1 year</td>
<td>b. 2-5 years</td>
<td>c. 6-10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RESIDENCE</strong></td>
<td>e. 1 year</td>
<td>b. 2-5 years</td>
<td>c. 6-10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Householder living alone.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ax. Living alone with other relatives * or friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. New conjugal pair.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bx. Conjugal pair with other relatives or friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nuclear family: husband, wife &amp; unmarried children.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cx. Nuclear family with other relatives or friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Compounded family: usually polygynous &amp; with other relatives and friends.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As above, but children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE. marrying and leaving the parental home.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Dispersion well advanced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA. Single widowed or separated person living alone.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Second-generation villagers. All of these have a spouse at at least 1 child.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 'Other relatives' here refers to all cognates and affines beyond the range of the homestead head's own nuclear family.
However, in charge of an area currently the focus of many immigrants, his control over public land won for him considerable dominion over newer arrivals.

For convenience I have summarised the most relevant features of collocation in the two communities in Figure 26, emphasising the points that distinguish them. Bearing in mind all that I have just said I shall now proceed to an examination of the constituent domestic units in each community. In terms of their experience of migration, their domestic establishment, I shall add the other half of a statement about Kamira and Budada in the light of which the social life of each community may be interpreted and compared.

In Figure 27 I have categorised all the domestic units in Kamira and Budada according to the length of residence in either village and the composition of each. In Kamira there is a progressive change from the small groups of relative new-comers to the compounded and dispersing families of fifteen and more years' settlement. A similar picture emerges for Budada where the two distinct phases of settlement emphasises the difference between new-comers and established villagers. It may be seen that of the 17 immigrants to arrive in Kamira since 1960 (Figure 27 (a) and (b)) only 3 have entered the realm of 'commitment', having compounded families. For the group of earliest settlers (Figure 27(e)) there are only 6 out of 21 cases not yet compounded.

I have, of course, only grouped the domestic units according to their relative duration of settlement as a matter of convenience; as I have made clear in the preceding chapter
it is their composition that is of interest. What may be regarded as deviations in the progressive change in composition over time provide interesting test cases in the question of integration. I shall take, in passing, an obvious example, the person living alone in line d) of the Kamira figures, the Munyankole Kigate (Kd34). He lived in a small thatched hut on 2 acres that he bought in 1951 from his Ruandan neighbour, Kabugo (Kd33). So much about him emphasised his lack of sympathy with, and participation in, community life. He had been married, very unsuccessfully, for a few years in Ankole before he emigrated to Buganda. The reasons that he gave for this move were many and oppressive; his parents had died, he had no money and the land was poor. His cattle had been killed by rinderpest and he had fallen out of favour with his clansmen. They were, he said, persecuting him with witchcraft and so, for his own safety, he felt obliged to distance himself. His was quite the longest catalogue of woes given to me in Kamira; he accused his father of not allowing him to go to school and of not providing him with adequate land. Speaking of his life in the village he said that living alone was very dangerous and that his flimsy hut had twice been burgled. He had little expressed commitment to the village, but he might as well stay here now he had come, he said, land was just land whether here or in Ankole. He did want to marry again, but would seek another wife at home. He never went to beer parties in Kamira and there was no-one in the village in whom he felt he could confide.

Namunaga (Kd65), a Mugisu, arrived about the same time as Kigate and is approximately the same age, but his attitudes
to Kamira were as effusive as Kigate's were noncommittal. Life in the village was fine, he would spend the rest of his days there and certainly be buried there. Beer drinking was his favourite relaxation and he regarded his neighbour Nabirwa (Kd70) as his friend and counsellor. On his "large, open kibanja with two well-kept tin roofed buildings" (as my field notes put it) he lived with his two wives, one of whom he met at her parents' home in adjacent Kalagala village, and two of his children. His daughter by an earlier broken union is now the wife of Mutenywa (Kc80) who lives two houses away. In addition to his immediate family Namunaga has living with him on his 4 acre plot a half brother, his sister's child and a child of his second wife's sister.

The relationship between priority of settlement, homestead location and the composition of the domestic unit is most distinct in Budada; there the dominantly Nyala core at the village centre is mainly composed of well-established domestic units like Lubega's (Be5) graded 'D' on Figure 27, Mutagasa (Be13) graded 'D' and Dawakuta (Be3) graded 'E'. They contrast with the array of recent arrivals on the southern roadway through Budada where most are either new nuclear families like Motidienga's (Bb43) or isolates like Pata (Bb34).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons given for emigration</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Came to earn money</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As dependent of relative</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No land available at home</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land at home too poor</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital and sibling disputes</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispute with parent</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to find work in town</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100% 100%
This table repeats much the same points made about motivation in Chapter 6. The poverty of land at home was a common complaint of the Banyala migrants from the north of Bugerere. The urge for cash (okufuna sente) is certainly again the most specific reason offered, but fission of the parental group emerged more frequently as a reason in my intensive village interviews than in the shorter area sample ones. Madoyi (Kb9) came to Kamira from a large Gisu family and his father was unable to provide all his sons with land. Sibling fission at home in Bukede prompted Mukasa (Ke51) to migrate to Bugerere. After army service he returned to live with his brothers but as arguments were frequent he came to Musale to set up on his own. He was so successful that his father Tabula (Kd68) decided to return to his native Buganda and in 1952 took up a large farm quite close to Mukasa in Kamira.

The story of Natiera's (Ke39) move to Kamira provides an interesting illustration of a young migrant's transition and also the strong affective ties he may develop towards his new-found home. Natiera asked me to record as a matter of importance a dream he had had as a youth about a strange land full of trees and lush crops far from his native Bugisu. When his father died his father's brother was unable, or unwilling, to support Natiera, his mother and his brother and sister, so he ran away twice, working as a clothes washer for an Asian shopkeeper in Teso and as a trainee bus-conductor in Jinja. In 1949 his mother Nasaka (Ke41) decided the family should make a fresh start in Musale, Bugerere, where several of her clansmen were reportedly flourishing. As they travelled
up through the Mabira forest from Jinja Natiera identified his 'promised land', and assured me that thereafter he knew it was here that his fortunes lay.

The actual process of finding land and setting up house was most vividly described to me by some of Budada's recent settlers. Erusami (Bb30) had left his native Kyaggwe county because his father had died without making any provision for his inheritance. A close friend in Kirimampokya, Sabagabo, helped him find a suitable plot in Budada and Erusami made a number of preliminary visits to ratify his tenancy with Nsubuga the mutongole chief. The previous occupier had simply quit in preference to paying his occupation licence so only an nkoko was required to confirm the claim. As there was no permanent house Erusami had to wait while gathering enough cash for building and for a tin roof. His first major task was to plant matoke, and then in 1964 he moved in with his new wife. "In the beginning many people came to visit me" he recalled. "My neighbour Mukasa - (Bb28 from Tanzania) was the first".

Following my argument it would appear that a man with a ready-established family moving onto a ready-established and well-situated farm would have instantaneous integration. I hope I have made clear that such a situation would be exceptional, and in neither village was there anyone who came very close to it. Fanatya (Bb23) is the nearest example. He had been working very profitably as a block-maker in his native Busoga, had two wives and several children and was apparently quite settled. However, his farm was badly infested with ants and so his friend Bakissula (Bdl5) arranged
for Fanatya to buy all 15 acres of the land adjacent to his own that a fellow Musoga wished to sell. Two years later Fanatya with his present wife, two children and an entourage of other relatives including his wife's brothers and sisters, moved in.

In fact, in the two years of his settlement, he has become a very active community member. He reckons he is here to stay and will be buried in his farm. He likes Budada but is suspicious of the Banyala, having quarreled with Lubega (Be5); he has, however, become a good friend of the Muganda Mawanda (Bb4). He operates as a fish dealer in the area and as a staunch Moslem he helped to organise the Id celebrations at Kitimbwa. When compared with almost any contemporary settler, for example the Mukiga Mugawula (Bb32) or the Munyala Sensugusa (Bb17), it seems as if he was a resident of at least ten years standing.

Walking through Kamira and Budada one encounters considerable variation in house style, large circular huts characteristic of southern Sudan, the square tin roofed dwellings of the Baganda, Bagisu and Basoga, and the occasional grass beehives of temporary labourers from the west. Dietary differences are manifest in the presence of absence of granaries, tall thin structures of daubed basketwork for the Kuku housewife's cassava and heavy squat mud and wattle containers for the Gisu beer millet.1. After becoming familiar with the personnel of the villages one realises that the greatest differences pertain to the comparative new-comers and that people established over 10 or 15 years have dwellings that

1. McMaster 1962b describes the varieties of food-containers in Uganda.
approximate to a standard southern Uganda modern type, regardless of tribal origin. Use of cement and cast blocks (the expressed ambition of many) promotes standardisation and the more established, prosperous farmer will have a neat, square, bungalow-style home.

**TYPE OF HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of residence</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 year</td>
<td>A 1 B 7 C 2</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 years</td>
<td>10 7 1</td>
<td>16 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>5 19 4</td>
<td>3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
<td>15 6</td>
<td>5 6 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+A = Temporary structures, also mud, wattle and thatched roof.  
B = Permanent mud and wattle with tin roofing.  
C = Cemented or block built houses with tin roofing.

A brief digression must inevitably be made to consider tribal interrelations. If it seems that I am underrating this in villages where tribal admixture is very great (Figure 25) it is perhaps because the villagers themselves play down their differences, particularly in Kamira. Luganda is the community language, no great novelty for a large number of residents, but an interesting acknowledgement of collocation within the kingdom. Everyone in Kamira conversed with me in Luganda but in Budada it was apparent that several of the northerners were very maladroit, Kayuga (Bb29) and Dema (Bb21) preferring to answer my questions in Kiswahili. Generally speaking the mother tongue is the medium in the domestic unit and Luganda the medium of the community.¹.

¹ An interesting linguistic accommodation must of course be made in the case of tribal intermarriage; while most of those inter-marrying have some linguistic affinity already (Fig.13), in the few very discrete cases I know of, the language of the community became the language of the domestic unit. I am thinking, for example, of Bune's (Ke27) marriage to a Mugisu.
When I was inquiring about tribal attitudes and partialities in Kamira I often found that some persuasion was required in extracting an opinion. Initially such responses as "I quarrel with no-one" or "these differences do not trouble me" side-stepped the issue. Linguistic affinity was the main reason offered for preferences, the Baganda for the Basoga or the Kuku for the Lugbara. Very often purely personal experience prompted opinions: "I had a very good Muhangaza friend" explained Gawedde (Bd12). Stereotyped impressions emerged repeatedly, such likeable attributes as the good-humour of the Bakedi or the industriousness of the Barundi. "I prefer the Banyole" Waibi (Bo20) informed me. "They are all faithful Moslems".

Far fewer villagers were ready to state outright antipathy for a particular tribe. I feel, however, that it is relevant that the people of Budada were more outspoken; three times the Banyala were castigated and in each case direct reference was made to quarrels with members of the core group of the village.

My questions 'who are you? ... what are you?', never very productive, were partially intended to see whether tribalism would be invoked in identification, but this came very rarely among the tedious repetition of personal name and muntu, 'a person'. It is fairly significant that when tribal identity was mentioned it was by those in a minority; 4 people responded thus in Budada; the ostracised Mukungulu Luwano (Ba6), the Munyaruanda labourer Mulindwa (Ba35), the Lango Opio (Be16), and Pata (Bb34), the single and foot-loose Musoga.
### Composition of Domestic Units in Kamira and Budada

#### Kamira

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With no children</th>
<th>1 child</th>
<th>2-4 children</th>
<th>5-8 children</th>
<th>9 and more children</th>
<th>Homestead head</th>
<th>1 person only in the home</th>
<th>2 persons</th>
<th>3-5 persons</th>
<th>6-10 persons</th>
<th>11 and more persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident-</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2-5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 6-10</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 11-15</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 16+</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Budada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With no children</th>
<th>1 child</th>
<th>2-4 children</th>
<th>5-8 children</th>
<th>9 and more children</th>
<th>Homestead head</th>
<th>1 person only in the home</th>
<th>2 persons</th>
<th>3-5 persons</th>
<th>6-10 persons</th>
<th>11 and more persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident-</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2-5 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 6-10</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 11-15</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 16+</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From outside the homestead head's own nuclear family.*
I have summarised on Figure 28 some of the important aspects of the domestic unit that relate to commitment in the new community. While it is difficult to express concisely changes in emphasis, a number of points indicative of the compounding of the domestic unit over time may be noted, particularly in the case of Kamira. The size of the household substantially increases and among those settled the longest, there are the most children. Polygyny likewise increases as does the proportion of homes accommodating relatives from beyond the range of the nuclear family. Particularly significant is the way in which wives are latterly chosen from within the community or its immediate environs.

Turning for a moment from my own imputations about commitment, the expressed opinions of the people themselves present a very similar picture:

Length of residence:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Will Stay (KAMIRA)</th>
<th>Undecided (KAMIRA)</th>
<th>Will Probably Go (KAMIRA)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 year</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BUDADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Will Stay (BUDADA)</th>
<th>Undecided (BUDADA)</th>
<th>Will Probably Go (BUDADA)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feeling that villagers, particularly in Budada, were a little too willing to enthuse about their desire to remain I sought an alternative index of attachment in whether they expected
to be buried on their Bugerere land or at home. Here answers were more restrained, several people adding, almost apologetically, that their clansmen would expect the latter. A car would be hired for the purpose or the corpse might be transported anonymously in the boot of a taxi. Whereas in Budada 21 out of the 23 people who have arrived in the past 5 years claimed they intended to live out their lives in the village only 5 reckoned on being buried there. All those resident more than 5 years were committed to their new home and all said they would be buried there. The subject promoted much valuable discussion about affective ties with Bugerere. One's land was indeed that much more important to one if a child or an aged parent had been buried there. The difficulty of transporting a body home was sadly discussed by a group of Barundi labourers. A common reaction was to shrug off the question and say that the soil of Bugerere was as kind to a corpse as the soil of home.

Two of the 19 householders in Kamira who were in some doubt about their permanence in the village merit special comment. Waibi (Kbl6) had been given 5 acres by his father Salongo (Kel5) and paid him a nominal rent of about 15 shillings annually. He had a wife and two children and said that at the earliest opportunity he would buy land in his native Busoga and spend his life there. Kasozi (Kc67) was also on land allotted to him by his father Tabula (Kd68), to whom he also paid rent. He said that he would be prepared to move his two wives and four children to another farm, probably in Bugerere, if he could find a suitable one. Here were two well established households, Salongo's and Tabula's, wher
domestic dispersion had been met by land fragmentation but where proximity to the parental domestic unit and subservience to it, acknowledged by the payment of rent, made the sons wish to re-locate their own families.

Diriisa Salongo (Kd77), who came to Kamira 15 years ago, would be very reluctant to leave the village. It would be fine, he said, to own some land in Busoga and live there, but even if he could afford it the moving of his family (a wife and 5 children) would be onerous and risky. He is anxious that his children attending the local Moslem school should persevere with their education, and this necessitates an uninterrupted cash income from his farm.

A further illuminating comment on integration was the response to my question about how each householder felt about village life. Allocating opinions into two groups, those straightforwardly positive and those either negative (few) or expressing reservations, a growing affection for the community may be perceived:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of residence:</th>
<th>KAMIRA positive</th>
<th>KAMIRA not positive</th>
<th>BUDADA positive</th>
<th>BUDADA not positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 1 year:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5 years:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years:</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years:</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +:</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90% of the Kamira villagers were content compared with only 56% in Budada. The comparative disaffection in Budada emerged in specific comments. Of Kamira, Livingstone Salongo (Kb73) recited "abantu batabagamo eruda ne ruda", idiomatically
perhaps, 'everyone around here pulls together'. Kapiya (Kcll) felt that "everyone here is friendly", and several people spoke long and appreciatively about neighbourliness. Nsimbi (1956b) has lamented the decline of traditional norms of neighbourliness in Buganda (what were they, one wonders?) and Southwold (1959) has commented on the low degree of cooperation between households. The people of Kamira go out of their way to express mutual sentiment and I hope that subsequent chapters will show that there is a great deal of domestic co-activity there. Weboya (Kd20) marvelled that he had so many trusted friends of different tribes in Kamira. Tebagalika (Kd56) could not recall a single difference of opinion with anyone in the 14 years she had lived in the village; Nabirwa (Kd70) felt his neighbours were ideal, if he needed help they came at once but otherwise they did not interfere. Nabirwa was one of many Bagisu to speak of the advantages of being removed from the influences of clanship. Nabagodi (Kcl9) observed that "at home there is always fighting, and the leaders there break the people apart". "There is plenty of trouble there at Mount Elgon" Mazaki (Kel8) told me, "and if we were all Bagisu here it would be the same".

The safety of Kamira was the most widely-invoked epithet, particularly among the most established residents. The impression given was that the social heterogeneity demanded tact and circumspection in daily intercourse but that this was to everyone's advantage. "Nothing bad happens here" Serwadda (Ke47) assured me. New-comers were less relaxed about the prospect of difficulties: "I keep myself to myself"
said Madoyi (Kb9); "since I came to Kamira there has been no trouble for me" Jafa (Kb24) told me "no one has beaten me, no one has burned my house ..." The sense of freedom and egalitarianism extended to the women, some of whom had migrated to seek independence after a period in marriage (e.g. Nasaka (Ke41) and Nampa (Kdl)). For widows or other women owning their own farms there is no prior authority of kinship or clanship seeking to confine or diminish their claims to tenure. "Here" said Nambozo (Kc46) "no-one can interfere with me or my kibanja".

The greater sense of insecurity in Budada was sometimes attributed to physical facts, climate or the difficulty with cropping, and several times it was related to a malaise over tenancy. Lukambaga (Bc18) felt that everyone ought to guard his property carefully and Erusami (Ba30) said he was continually on the watch for petty thieves. A month before, he pointed out, someone had stolen several stems of matoke, and only recently Fanatya (Bb23) had had his coffee cut down. Criticism of the Banyala core group was made explicit several times, although not always as bluntly as Agwechi's (Bb27) comment "The owners of this country do not speak to us as brothers, and when they are angry they tell us we (Lango) are as wicked as our tribesman Obote". ¹

In both villages the equation between expressed approbation for the community and domestic establishment there was very noticeable. The deputy mutongole chief Wasozi (Ke30) who could hardly have been more enthusiastic about Kamira; he had

¹. The present President of Uganda.
2 wives and 6 children as well as several visitors from Bugisu living on his 3½ acre farm. Kalisti Mukasa (Kd26) came in 1954 but his inability to have children had restricted his domestic development. He was content with village life, but his responses were coloured by statements like "no-one tries to harm me here ..." The first time I visited him he surprised me by announcing that I was the first caller he had had for a very long time. Nandawulira (Kc48), a Mugisu immigrant of 9 years standing lived in a rather squalid thatched hut in the centre of the village with his two small sons. He was over 40 and his wife had quit in 1960. His attitude to Kamira was "I do not worry ... even if people here do hate me". Later I asked his neighbour Serwadda (Ke47) about this and was informed that Nandawulira was certainly withdrawn but it was unlikely that anyone had grounds to hate him; he went to beer parties but spoke little. Perhaps a further measure of his relative isolation was his inability to name anyone to whom he would turn in time of trouble.

Two notable malcontents in Budada were Dawakuta (Be3) and Kikumeko (Be33). The former was ageing and childless living with his wife in an isolated corner of the village. The prime reason for his unhappiness came in response to a question about his future hopes: "what I wish above all else is a son and heir". This among other things would resolve his suspicions that his nephew Lubega (Be5) coveted his property. Kikumeko lived with his new wife on 1¾ acres of his father Kazoba's (Bel9) land. It was essential, he felt, that he should move out soon and find a bigger and better
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE OF ORIGIN:</th>
<th>MUSALE SAMPLE %</th>
<th>KAMIRA %</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE %</th>
<th>BUDADA %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in this sub-county</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere in Bugerere</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere in Buganda</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELSEWHERE IN UGANDA</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73 a</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>26 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda/Burundi</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER:</th>
<th>MUSALE SAMPLE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>20 - 35</td>
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<td>36 - 50</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>over 51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28 c</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27 c</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX OF HOUSEHOLDER:</th>
<th>MUSALE SAMPLE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
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<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>female</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<th>RELIGION OF HOUSEHOLDER:</th>
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<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF LAND HELD:</th>
<th>MUSALE SAMPLE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>public</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailo - owned</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailo - rented</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owning no land</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<thead>
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<th>MUSALE SAMPLE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to 2 acres</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33 e</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 4 acres</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 - 10 acres</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 - 20 acres</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 20 acres</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<th>CASH-CROPPING:</th>
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<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not cash-cropping</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45 f</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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<th>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE:</th>
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<th>SABAGABO SAMPLE</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to one year</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12 e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 years and longer</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35 e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born here</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSEHOLD SIZE:</td>
<td>MUSALE SAMPLE</td>
<td>KAMIRA</td>
<td>SABAGABO SAMPLE</td>
<td>BUDADA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 persons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 persons</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 and more persons</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| MARRIAGE:               |               |        |                 |        |
| unmarried               | 12            | 21     | 15              | 23     |
| one spouse              | 56            | 49     | 75              | 56     |
| 2 wives                 | 17            | 19     | 6               | 11     |
| 3 and more wives        | 15            | 11     | 4               | 9      |

| NUMBER OF CHILDREN:     |               |        |                 |        |
| those without children  | 25            | 20     | 32              | 34     |
| with one child          | 13            | 19     | 36              | 28     |
| 2 - 4 children          | 29            | 34     | 21              | 27     |
| 5 - 8 children          | 29            | 21     | 9               | 4      |

| WITH MARRIED CHILDREN:  |               |        |                 |        |
| 18                      | 30            | 1      | 13              | 26     |

Householders who have lived somewhere other than home or Bugerere: 46 45 34 47

Householder who have lived and worked in town: 31 29 30 37
kibanja of his own.

To conclude this chapter I shall briefly place the villages and their personnel in the context of their respective sub-counties. For convenience I have tabulated the most relevant subjects in Figure 29 and shall comment on the most important distinctions, underscored on the table.

(a) The Musale sub-county appears to contain a far greater proportion of Baganda than the quota present in Kamira, where Bagisu and Basoga preponderate. (b) Conversely the balance is in favour of Banyala in Budada. (c) The population of both villages is longer established than the surrounding areas, but Sabagabo is more youthful than Musale being a more recent focus of immigration. (d) In Budada everyone has land and it is all public. (e) Kamira plots are smaller than in the Musale sample - a further reflection of its longer establishment - and (f) cash cropping is not so great. (g) The two phases of settlement and the distinctive Nyala core appears clearly here, and (h) in the higher proportion of larger households. (i) and (j) reflect longer establishment in the greater proportion of married children. (k) is of interest in that many Banyala now settled in the Kyetume area have worked in Namasagali on the opposite bank of the Nile.

Kamira is a more established village than Budada. It is more integrated in that its constituent domestic units are more committed and in that settlement has grown quite evenly around a large heterogeneous core. There is a steady progression from large established families to newer arrivals.
interspersed through the village. As an immigrant community it is near saturation, but it is territorially and administratively well defined, its economy is settled and very productive and it offers security in land tenure, reinforced by high prices.

In Budada established and unestablished domestic units are somewhat juxtaposed, there is territorial and administratively imprecision and a sense of insecurity in membership and tenure. The village is still subject to migrant influx and will probably remain so for some time to come. For the new domestic unit there is no strong settled nucleus to which it may orient itself in establishment; in a sense the new-comer in Kamira is recruited to a settled community while in Budada he is recruited to a clique of new-comers.
Akabi kuunsi bwaavu nabugumba - 'The worst things of all are poverty and childlessness'.

In this chapter I examine more closely the life of the domestic units in Kamira and Budada, tracing the ties of kinship, affinity and friendship which interrelate them. Showing how the formation and perpetuation of these relationships are closely determined by the dual aspects of land tenure and domestic establishment will involve comparison both of the two communities and the constituent domestic units themselves.

It is quite clear, both from my own observations and the opinions of the people I talked with, that clanship is an insignificant principle in community organisation. Among the many people agnatically related it was explicit kinship, 'my father's brother', rather than clanship that was considered relevant. Where clanship was referred to I felt obliged to proceed with caution as it transpired that sometimes 'my clansman' was in fact a matrilateral kinsman.

For many, clanship is something left at home on emigration. On my short visit to Bugisu I was impressed by the influence the clans there appeared to wield, an influence from which several in Kamira were glad to escape. It seemed that the possessive sentiments of the clan extended as far as local schools and churches as well as to the land itself where, for the individual, ownership could never be absolute.
Wadwaya (Kd40) and Nandundu (Ke5) made the interesting suggestion that public land in Bugerere was in many ways safer than the troubled tenancy of clan lands at home.

Kigozi (Kd72), a Muganda, regarded his clan in a quasi-religious sense but the only clan function that he could personally recall was that he visited his father in Bulomezi at the birth of every child to select a suitable Fumbe, civet-cat, name. Apart from this, he said, all they did was run big offices in Kampala and organise football league matches. In Kamira, Mubiru (Kd3) and Wadwaya (Kd40) were minor office holders in Ganda and Gisu clans but neither actually did anything. Gizaza (Ke8) was the only active clan leader I encountered, but even his authority was only invoked at the biennial Gisu circumcision ceremonies. It is possible, however, to undervalue the power of clanship; in 1966 Gizaza abandoned Kamira to return to Bugisu and assume leadership of his Buteza subclan. It also seemed that among new-comers whose relations with home were more active, clanship was considered more important. Again, it must be acknowledged that among some peoples the authority of the clans is far more pervasive than in Buganda and Busoga. To the migrant who wishes to become established in Bugerere this may eventually become an embarrassment. Ayonge's (Be10) son Olwal felt very keenly the conflict between the demands of the Lango Otenghoroo clan chiefs and his new way of life in Budada. He had been summoned home three times to commence the cycle of marriage negotiations which, because his family now had few cattle, would involve him in a long period of labour for his future father-in-law. His brother Opio (Be16)
now ignores the clan entirely. He has 13 acres, a wife he met at nearby Kitimbwa, and two children, and he reckons on spending the rest of his life in Budada.

I collected assiduously details of clanship in the two villages but this did not prove of very great value. It was useful as a check; for example—would two people asserting agnatic relationship also give the same clan name? Once or twice respondents said they could not remember their clans, their mothers had brought them up away from their father's homes. For Mawanda (Bb4) this was no loss, but Salongo (Kd77) provisionally adopted a Musoga neighbour's clan for the purpose of naming his children.

Ten different clans were represented among the 33 Gisu households in Kamira. The largest Lutzekhe clan had 15 representatives and included such important established men as Gizaza (Ke8), Manyala (Ke12), Mazaki (Ke18) and Wasozi (Ke30). I did not obtain comprehensive data for the "minimal lineage" (La Fontaine 1959:25) but I am satisfied that there is a good assortment among these Lutzekhe clansmen. There were groups of men in fairly close agnatic relationship, for example Mazaki, Manyala, Mulengule (Kd17) and Wanyele (Ke35), and it is clear that these ties were important in recruitment to the village. However I must repeat here that common clanship or sub-clanship is an insufficient pretext in its own right for moving in to live with an established settler. What matters is a close personal relationship. The 18 Nyala householders in Budada represented

1. La Fontaine would call these "maximal lineages" (1959:24ff).
Figure 30.
A. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN KAMIRA RESIDENT FOR ONE YEAR ONLY.

Figure 31.
B. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN KAMIRA RESIDENT BETWEEN 2 AND 5 YEARS.

UNRELATED:

- Ke12
- Ke59
- Kb76
- Kb16
- Kb60
- Kb54
- D52
- Ke74

KEY

- Relation of wardship
- Relation 'illegitimate'
- Relation imprecise
- Men
- Women
- Persons not resident in the village
- Persons who have married locally but outside the village
- Marriage broken
- Marriage contracted within the village
Figure 32. C. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN KAMIRA RESIDENT BETWEEN 6 AND 10 YEARS.

UNRELATED:

△ Ke19
○ Ke32
△ Ke44
○ Ke46
△ Ke48
Figure 33. D. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN KAMIRA RESIDENT BETWEEN 11 AND 15 YEARS.

UNRELATED:

\[ \triangle Kd_{26} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{33} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{34} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{37} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{38} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{40} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{45} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{57} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{58} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{60} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{70} \]
\[ \triangle Kd_{82} \]
Figure 34. E. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN KAMIRA RESIDENT MORE THAN 16 YEARS.
Figure 37. C. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN BUDADA RESIDENT BETWEEN 6 AND 10 YEARS.

Figure 36. B. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN BUDADA RESIDENT BETWEEN 2 AND 5 YEARS.

Figure 35. A. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN BUDADA RESIDENT FOR ONE YEAR ONLY.
Figure 39. E. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS IN BUDADA
RESIDENT MORE THAN 16 YEARS.

Figure 38. D. INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF HOMESTEAD HEADS RESIDENT BETWEEN 11 AND 15 YEARS.
9 clans and once more demonstrated the importance of family groups in settlement rather than any kind of corporate lineal activity. There is nothing in Bugerere to parallel the migrant "company" matrilineages of Ghanaian cocoa farmers (Hill 1963).

I should like at this point to introduce the kinship diagrams appended to this chapter to which I shall be referring from now on. They record immediate relationships between homestead heads but exclude all other personnel not immediately involved in each link. It will, of course, be realised that all the people in such large clusters as in Figure 34 (Kamira group (e)) may not necessarily be aware of their relationships through all the devious stages. Kibojo (Kc61) was certainly aware that his kinsman Bune (Ke27) had married the sister of Manyala (Ke12), but one could hardly expect him to know of his eventual remote connection with Kawoya (Kc2). What I must make clear is that the primary relationships claimed are theirs, the ramifications are mine.

Scanning the two sets of charts the first obvious observation is that the longest-settled groups manifest the most 'clotting' of relationships. In Kamira one group (e) ramification (Figure 34) embraces 19 households, nearly a quarter of the village. Only two of the 21 cases in group (e) do not have a relationship with another domestic unit. The perspective of the relative new-comers of groups (b) and (c) (Figures 31 and 32) is far more fragmented and the list of unrelated householders greatly increases. The parallel situation in Budada is even more vivid. Only Ochati (Bel) is unrelated in group (e) (Figure 39) while as yet all 5 in
group (a) have no local relationships.

I did not always get first-time confirmation of a claimed dyadic relationship, and several times revisiting and some discussion were required to establish the precise nature of the link. While I was staying in each village, I kept a cumulative chart indicating who claimed what relationships, and it soon became apparent that where a one-sided claim was made it was almost invariably by the newer arrival of the pair. Thus Manyala (Kel2) claimed as relatives Mazaki (Kel8) and Wasozi (Ke30) and both spontaneously concurred. However Wadule (Kbl0) who arrived in 1963 said that his mother and Manyala's were sisters but in a subsequent conversation Manyala was unable to ratify this. He did, however agree that Madoyi (Kb9) who also arrived in 1963 was, as he had claimed, his half-sister's-daughter's-husband, only he 'had not thought to mention it' at our first meeting. Madoyi was also anxious to trace a relationship with Wadulo (Ke36), another established villager, but floundered while attempting to describe it.

Sensugusa (Bbl7) is an interesting case from this point of view. He came five years ago to Budada and now lives alone in a tumble-down hut. Not content with claiming his rather loose agnatic tie with Kazoba (Bel9), a very thoroughly committed settler, he proceeded to trace out a relationship with Segujja (Bell) and Lubega (Be5). These he ranked together as full brothers of his own father, which they most assuredly were not, along with two other 'householders' of whom neither I nor anyone else had heard. The claims were transparently fictitious and provoked some rather cruel mirth from Lubega.
As a bachelor living alone it seemed to be indicative of a frustrated urge for community involvement.

Sensugusa did not claim any affinal ties; his two wives had left him, childless. However, among the others in both villages relationships by marriage constitute a heavy proportion of claimed links. What must strike the eye inescapably on these charts is the repetition of double lines connecting spouses, indicating unions contracted within the village, usually by agency of the householder to whom the woman is related. This does not, of course, diminish the importance of cognatic ties originating from beyond the village context; however, as I have indicated earlier (Chapter 6) these are secondary in that they are not contractual and can only develop within the community as filiation from established domestic units.

A general comparison of Kamira and Budada suggests the lower degree of interrelationship, particularly among the more recent arrivals. Moreover the major ramification in group (e) (Figure 39) in Budada comprises Banyala householders alone, 11 of them. The parallel group in Kamira (Figure 34) is by no means exclusively Gisu. It is, of course, marriage that creates this admixture: Bune (Ke27) the Kuku married the Gisu Manyala's (Ke12) daughter; Gizaza (Ke8), another Mugisu married the daughter of Tabula (Kd68), a Muganda, and so on.

Within its own compound, the newly arrived nuclear family probably conducts itself in Bugerere very much as it would at home and, somehow symbolic of these distinctions carried over from home, the native tongue is used. For any incorporation in the community, for such simple expedients
as selling crops, proficiency in the lingua franca, Luganda, must soon be achieved. As Wadwaya (Kd40) put it "first you must learn Luganda, after that life can not be difficult". I anticipated that Lunyala might be the lingua franca in Budada, but this proved not to be the case. Banyala tend to assert their affinity to Buganda (rather than Bunyoro) and many say that their dialect will die out before long.

The new-comer sustains relationships with home more actively. In Kamira 73% make visits home, much in accordance with the general pattern noted in Chapter 6, compared with only 49% in Budada. The numbers of Sudanese refugees there partially accounts for this, but the fact that 10 out of the 18 Banyala householders do not visit home is interesting. It may be assumed that their longer establishment in the village and the fact that Bugerere is 'home' to them anyway, largely explains this.

People whose parents were still alive usually stayed with them while visiting, and nearly all the others stayed with siblings or half-siblings. Very few (4 in Kamira and 2 in Budada) said that they did not usually stay with a specific relative; it seems that contact with home is sustained primarily through one family group there. These associations, reinforced with exchanges of money and small presents, clearly consist of affective choices and often by-pass closer, more obvious kinsmen. Jafa (Kb24) always stayed with his father's brother in Busoga and although he saw his mother he seldom visited his full brother there. I discussed relatives with many villagers and some very categorical likes and dislikes were apparent. Half brothers, it was often said, could be
closer than full brothers. Kigozi (Kd72), on the other hand, said that one's full brother was one's most important relative excluding the nuclear family. "Your father will die sooner, you can not put faith in him for ever. Your brother must always help you when you are in need. But", he added cannily, "if he is a thief or a rogue, have nothing to do with him!"

I was able to accompany Natiera (Ke39) on a two-day visit home and a brief account of this journey may exemplify the relationships a very long established settler may sustain with home (Figure 45). We travelled very early one Saturday morning in Natiera's ruined Landrover carrying Wadwaya (Kd40) and six bags of maize meal which he hoped to sell advantageously in Mbale. I had been advised not to discuss our plans to avoid the embarrassment of every Mugisu in Kamira demanding a ride. In Bugisu we stopped twice on the way to Buluchek gombolola where Natiera was born, once to arrange to pick up Weboya's (Kd20) son when we left, and again to join a noisy marwa party at the home of a fairly distant agnate. Conversation there in rapid, uvular Lugisu apparently covered the death of a kinsman and crop prices in Bugerere. A third brief pause was made to deliver a parcel of food to a relative of Gizaza (Ke8). Our first long stop was at Busano village where the family of Natiera's most recent wife lived; he had met her 3 years before in Kamira through a friend from adjacent Nakatundu village. Nabusano¹ had written to her people earlier to inform them of our intended visit and Natiera now gave her father a generous money gift, 60 shillings

¹. Natiera's wife is referred to by her clan place name, 'she-of-Busano', as is the custom.
I believe. He was reluctant to confirm my suspicion that he had designs on his wife's extremely attractive sister. Soon we were again involved in a drinking party.

In the evening we drove to a valley where Natiera's mother's family belonged. Her brother was absent when we arrived but his wives came to greet us and a gloomy conversation developed about the poverty of life in Bugisu and the sickness of the younger children. Before we left Natiera scooped some maize for them from one of his sacks and pulling out his loose change appeared to give them all his money. Driving off, he told me that he always kept small amounts of money in one pocket on such occasions, as pulling five shillings out of a wad of banknotes would appear tightfisted and gauche.

We spent the night with a maternal kinsman, a very important man in the area much admired by Natiera. He bought the maize for a good price, his wife brought us roast meat and tea and the best bedroom was vacated for us. Early next morning Natiera climbed into the nearby hills to visit the grave of his father and look at the land to which he himself had once been entitled. With our host and Natiera's mother's brother we drove to the top of Manjiya valley where more maternal kin lived. After an energetic inspection of two family farms we met people returning from church and were soon sitting around the marwa pot again. Once more Bugerere was discussed, friends here and there inquired about, and greetings passed on. On the way back down the valley Natiera left me in the care of his maternal uncle and made off on a private assignation amid banter from his relatives. "He has gone to see a beautiful girl who lives there" I was told. "He
remembers her from another visit. We Bagisu know well the beauty of women.

Before we left Bugisu we returned for a meal to Busano where gifts of vegetables were loaded onto the truck by Natiera's in-laws, amid reproaches for the brevity of our visit. Throughout the visit I was amused how lyrical about Bugisu he was to me and how lyrical about Bugerere to his kinsmen. He was genuinely affected by his homeland but clearly had no intention of returning to live there, having come to Kamira with his mother Nasaka (Ke41) as a youth. His visit home had been partly trade mission, partly a sentimental journey, and partly a pursuit of affairs matrimonial. It was notable that his contact with agnates was small and as his father had died when he was young and no provision had been made for the widow. His visits were mainly to maternal kin and during the course of my stay in Kamira they were twice reciprocated.

In considering domestic establishment it is most important to examine any division of the nuclear family between home and the new locus. I think it would be unusual and worthy of comment if, for example, all pre-pubescent children lived away from their parents' homestead in Kamira or Budada. However the most critical division of the domestic unit must be at the conjugal level. It is a rider to my proposition that domestic units so disposed are debilitated in integration in the new community; an examination of the relevant cases in the two communities may best account for this.
Figure 40.

**GIZAZA**: a split compound family.

1 in Bugisu
2 on GIZAZA's farm in Bugisu
3 in Kamira Keb

Figure 41.

**NANDUNDU**: the exchange of children

1 in Bugisu
2 in Kyaggwe, Buganda
3 Kamira Ke5
4 Kamira Keb
Gizaza (Ke8) has, as I have just mentioned, recently inherited a sub-clan chiefship in his native Bugisu and with it some additional land. For a long time he has owned a house there where his second wife and varying numbers of his children live. Over the past two years Gizaza has spent more than half his time there and, as I shall explain in Chapter 10, this continual absence had severely weakened his position as an informal leader in Kamira. In spite of earlier protestations of commitment to the village he had sold up just before I left. (Figure 40).

Wamubireggwe (Kd71) resident since 1953 had 15 acres in Kamira and about 20, with cattle, in his native Bukede. He spent every alternate month there, facilitated by his ownership of a taxi plying between Kangulumira and Mbale. One, sometimes two, of his 3 wives lived there with one of his children; he was the only man settled so long in Kamira who positively stated that he intended quitting soon, to ranch cattle seriously at home. Living well away from the 'plateau' core of Kamira and being a prosperous and busy man, Wamubireggwe had little contact with the village, his closest relationship being one of friendship with Kigozi (Kd72), Kamira's largest landholder.

Mulengule (Kdl7) (see Figure 42) also spent more than half his time away from Kamira, superintending his 15 small plots in Bugisu. He only came to Bugerere for the cotton and coffee cropping, he said, and because when he was absent his half-brother Mazaki (Ke18) was able to watch over his land and his 3 labourers. Both of his wives lived in Bugisu and on his Kamira kibanja an odd assortment of relatives, mainly
Figure 42.

A at Kd17
B at home in Bugisu

MULENGULE: a split family with various other kinsfolk resident in the Kamira homestead.
female, were living.

Kitente (Kb53) also lived in Kamira with a few relatives and one wife, his other two wives and 7 children all living at home in Bukede. In 1964 he spent barely 5 months in the village and had no local relations; his knowledge of the community was erratic, he thought the southern portion of Kamira was part of Kangulumira and he was under the impression that his neighbour Mukasa (Ke51) was assistant mutongole chief. I think it is particularly interesting that after my first interview with Kitente he brought up the subject of his bilocal family, seeking my opinion. It was particularly his ownership of land, 3 acres in Kamira and 5 in Bukede that troubled him. Family occupation of both was necessary if tenure was to be assured, yet prospects of extending resources in either place to support the compound family were limited. He seemed inclined to opt for Kamira to resolve the predicament of bilocality.

Kutosi (Kd66) I mention here both as an example of a split family and to show how land exerts a powerful influence on domestic organisation. In addition to his three acres in Kamira he had recently bought one acre in adjacent Kigayaza where one of his three wives and a child live. In spite of its proximity, a few hundred yards, his integration into Kamira is slightly affected in that his domestic focus is now partially in Kigayaza. He has already sold three acres of his original plot there and says he will probably abandon it altogether when his children are educated. He is very much a committed migrant, married to local girls, one of them Waguma's (Kb76) daughter. However, as a migrant to the
second focus of settlement at the northern end of the village
his position indicates a slight imprecision of the social
boundary between Kigayaza and Kamira.

Byakika (Ba2) regarded his stay in Budada as little
more than a real estate venture. While working casually
as a tailor in Kitimbwa he hoped to improve the 5 acres he
bought from Dawakuta (Be3) and sell at a profit. He spent
every alternate week in Busoga where he owned about 8 acres
and where his wife usually stayed. To him Budada meant little;
"I go where the money is" he told me.

These cases exemplify the distracting influence of wife
and land at home and suggest again that length of residence
alone does not determine integration. One particular case of
a bilocal family that sheds much light on integration is Luwano
(Ba6). His Munyala grandfather followed Kakungulu as far as
Busoga and it was there that Luwano was brought up. He was
allocated 15 acres of land in Budada, Mailo, he asserts, under
the abortive scheme to resettle the abakungulu.¹. The plot
he now occupies consists of three acres of public land, origi-

1. See Chapter 3.

2. It was initially suspected that my purpose in Budada
was to resolve this question.
ed by the community. Luwano had been ostracised to the extent that he was denied access to his farm except by crossing the swamp; every time he attempted to establish a pathway it was at once obliterated. He complained bitterly to me of injustice but felt that soon his claims would be officially upheld and he would then be accepted. In the meantime he maintained 4 acres of property in Lango where he had served as a county clerk, and two of his five wives lived there with 3 married children. The other 3 wives and 7 younger children lived in Budada in conditions of considerable hardship. "I cannot build a permanent house" Luwano told me, "the people here would burn it down". Here was a manifestly established family whose rights in land were strenuously disavowed by the community, who were consequently split between two places and were rejected wholesale by the rest of the village.

In Kamira 54% of the homesteads contain kinsfolk from beyond the nuclear family range. As might be expected there is a preference for cognates of the homestead head rather than those of the spouse, 33 cases as opposed to 16, and there are no homesteads containing adult relatives of both the husband and wife. Forty-nine percent of the Budada homesteads were host to other relatives but while 18 contained cognates of the householder, only 5 had relatives of the wife. Two, Fanatya (Bb23) and Opio (Be16) in fact had a mixture of the two on their land, separately accommodated. There are a good many wry comments made about visitors from home who tend to regard Bugerere as the land of Cockaigne and take far more than they give. However it would be regarded as immoral
not to offer as generous a welcome as possible, to kill a chicken or goat, to buy beer and to meet the visitor's financial needs. The sending of small gifts is partly to keep guests at bay; Salongo (Kb73) spoke of the need for an establishing family to restrain these visitations: "you tell them that you are poor, that you have children to feed ..." The pressures of a troubled homeland make the Kuku particularly prone to large variegated households. Sula (Bb37) is host to a family of six, distant kin, and a single unrelated man. Lamene (Bb42) has the divorced wives of his mother's brother and two small children living with him; like Sula he found the extra personnel a strain on his limited resources. Sometimes, however, the visitor is distinctly welcome; Wane (Kd58) had living with him his wife's sister with whom he hoped to finalise marriage soon.

Children are an index of domestic establishment, a liability that tends to stabilise the family in one place, and they are also agents in the interrelationships of the domestic units.

It was unusual, I was assured, for a woman to return home to her kin for parturition. Normally she would seek the assistance of a qualified midwife; one lived near Kamira at Kangulumira and one near Budada at Kitimbwa. I was also informed that on many occasions the husband attended his wife at child-birth. This one may well expect of the newly arrived married couple and it emphasises the interdependence imposed on conjugal relationships by migration. In Kamira the wives of Natiera (Ke39) and Gizaza (Ke8) said that a
Figure 45.

NATIERA: village inter-relationships by kinship and affinity.

x - persons visited on journey home - v.ch. 8

Figure 46.

KAPIYA and LUTALO: village intermarriage and the exchange of children.
woman in difficulty would certainly count on the prompt assistance of any neighbour's wife. In Budada Lubega's wife told me that such assistance was usually given by a kinswoman or a co-wife, but of neighbours one was necessarily cautious. Younger children are used in sustaining relationships with home, particularly with parents. Kigozi (Kd72) viewed this almost mechanically. "My mother and father now have no children at home. Three of mine, as I have many, always stay with them. If one of the children gets sick it comes back here and we send another". Nandundu's (Ke5) husband died early in 1965 and the relationship between her and her husband's family was sustained by an 'interchange' of children (Figure 41). Kapiya's (Kc11) eldest daughter had married Lutalo (Ke49), whose only child by an earlier marriage was now a wife in Kyaggwe county. Kapiya, with 7 children remaining, could well spare two for her to look after. Another two were already despatched home to his sisters in Bukede (Figure 46).

Children pertain very much to the mother - or perhaps it is the father that stands separate from the rest of the domestic group. A child eats with the women and sleeps in its mother's room. What evidence I have suggests that a child aged under 8 or 10 will accompany its mother home should she separate from her husband. The bond between mother and son seems to be very strong; I repeatedly heard of women finding school fees for their children and many migrants now supported their mothers on their Kamira and Budada land. 1.

1. e.g. Nalyanyi (Kd52), Ngobi (Kb78), Wadule (Kb10), Dongo (Kc21) and Mayoni (Kc44) in Kamira; Babulabasa (Bb58), Waibi (Bc20), Bakissula (Bd15), Mutagasa (Be13) and Segujja (Bell) in Budada.
Maturity brings a son very much more under the aegis of his father, but it should not be thought that the father-child relationship is devoid of affection. This, in Kamira at any rate, was far from the case; for the new-comer his home is his castle and his family allies in a strange environment.

In Kamira there seems to be children everywhere, while in Budada the few one notices seem to be infants. On my visits to Kamira homesteads I always seemed to encounter other people's children and at my own home with Natiera (Ke39) quite a regular group of small neighbours used to gather. They are taught to respect domestic privacy but it was not uncommon to see mixed groups of children being fed at someone's home. The children are, as it were, a fifth column in the village, a subversion of domestic seclusion that is, by comparison, lacking in Budada.

The relationship between the number of children and available resources is keenly felt. Waguma (Kb76), a new-comer who lived with his wife and six children on 1½ acres in conditions of distinct poverty had, in his own words, "too many children". There is a reluctance among older men to state an optimum number of children; so long as emeere mma 'I have enough food', any number will suffice. Mawanda (Bb4) would speak for many younger men with his claim that 4 children were the most an ordinary man could hope to feed and educate reasonably well.

The pressure placed by children on the domestic financial resources will obviously be determined chiefly by their age, a function of the relative establishment of the respective domestic groups.
## CHILDREN IN KAMIRA AND BUDADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kamira</th>
<th></th>
<th>Budada</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homes containing children</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>(80%)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes containing children of</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>(68%)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>(49%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the householder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes containing children not</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(32%)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the householder's own</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of resident children</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of householders</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of children not the</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>householders' own</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of all resident children</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of children in</td>
<td>(48%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(36%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total population</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per household of resident children who are not the householders' own:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident one year:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years:</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years:</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years:</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +:</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most new-comers have children too young yet for school, while children of the most established residents are often educated, married and living elsewhere. The burden of education probably hangs most heavily on those settled between 5 and 15 years. Assessing the true educational level of children who have not sat official examinations is very hard, but certainly Bugerere children have far more opportunities than their parents.
TABULA - the dispersion of a migrant family

1 at Kd68
2 bukeddi
3 kampala
4 busoga
5 nazigo, bugerere
6 kyaggwe
7 bulemezi
8 at Ke51
9 Kc67
10 Kc69
had. Fifty-two percent of the children in Kamira have been educated in grades up to primary 5, compared with just 33% of their fathers. Only 25% of the Budada children have been, or are being educated to the same level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamira</th>
<th>Age of Eldest Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident:</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budada</th>
<th>Age of Eldest Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years +</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the phase of domestic dispersal many children settle in other parts of Bugerere, some return to the homeland and a few head for the towns. In neither village are there many families fully dispersed (Figure 27) but the case of Tabula (Figure 44) suggests the geographical range that may be involved. His children are scattered between Bukede, Busoga, Kampala, two other counties in Buganda and nearby in Bugerere.

The two most important things in life, in the opinion of Gandu (Bb22), are money and marriage. A wife was the most important thing in life Kigozi (Kd72) opined, and two were better

1. An additional complication is that a great many 'schools' in Bugerere are fly-by-night profit making concerns. With a lack of almost any qualification among teachers the claim 'primary 5 grade' may bear little relationship to academic attainment.
2. He was certainly speaking from a deprived point of view on both counts; he was a bachelor and a recent hand injury limited his capability as a farmer.
Family establishment in Kamira.
Top left: Kigate (Kd34), long resident but unestablished; poor housing and meagre crops.

Top right: A new family, Wamembi (Kb54).

Lower right: Ngobi (Kd45), the committed villager.

Lower left: Gizaza (Ke8); compounded family with growing children, extensive property and permanent homestead.
than one, an extra assurance in family welfare. Wives, he said, mattered more than one's mother, only they, for example, could wash your body if you were sick. In Chapter 6 I noted the distinction between the contract and the state of marriage in migration. I propose now to show how the state of marriage involves the householder in community relationships and how this coactivity is greatly intensified when marriage has also been contracted there.

To the men in the village the relationship between land, women and children was too obvious to need much stressing. One found land to get married, one got married to have children, one had children to be 'wealthy'; wealth in any one of these ideally implied wealth in the others, although the modern *sine qua non* of cash must feature in such an equation with increasing insistence. Sekalala's (Kb83) predicament was that his 1½ acres were borrowed from his friend Luninze (Kd82). The future was not safe for his children, he told me, he wanted to own land very much indeed.

Peoples with intricate marriage customs may insist that a migrant return home to make the arrangements. Opio (Be16) met his wife in Bugerere but both of them returned to Lango for several months to solemnise the union. He was obliged to pay 800 shillings, 22 cows and 23 goats as well as various other objects like hoes and cooking utensils. The couple returned to Bugerere after the wedding feast, Opio armed with an officially stamped receipt to hold as surety against his wife's fertility. Lamene (Bb42), a Kuku tribesman, took a year's vacation from his labouring job in 1953 to marry at home. Two years were in fact required but he was given
dispensation to earn the requisite 500 shillings bride-payment.

Marriage in Budada seemed much more onerous and subject to intrigue than the apparently functional arrangements in Kamira. I once had an argument there with Natiera (Ke39) in which he asserted bluntly "I bought my wives for 1,500 shs. each". What he had bought was evaluated for me: beauty, sexual satisfaction, children and secondary school education (his wife Nabusano kept the maize mill accounts). In both villages only the Moslems had had some form of religious ceremony. Attempting to evaluate impressionistically the conjugal relationship in both villages it seemed that in Kamira practical effectiveness was always put first, the ability of the woman to help run the farm, her value as a mother and a hostess. In Budada, among the Banyala particularly, it seemed that the 'properness' of marriage was what mattered most. Lukambaga (Bc18) was unable to call the woman living with him his 'wife' as the marriage payment was not yet concluded. In Kamira one would surely never encounter such ritual as the formal presentation of a goat to the Nyala father-in-law if his daughter proved a virgin on the wedding night.

In both villages some form of bride-payment was usually made. Comparing only the Banyala, Baganda and Basoga of each community it was unquestionable that the amounts putatively paid in Kamira were far in excess of those paid in Budada. Kadula (Bd25) paid 600 shs., the highest price quoted to me in Budada. This would be nearer the norm in Kamira where men often paid between 1,000 and 2,000 shs. (e.g. Kigozi (Kd72) and Mubiru (Kd3)). Banyala usually
required pots of beer as part of the payment whereas in Kamira a cash standardisation was the rule. This even applied to the Kuku who customarily exchange a wide range of goods, spears, hoes, pots, livestock, etc.; Namuriya (Kd57) for example simply paid 300 shs. It will be appreciated that this greatly facilitates tribal intermarriage. Reasons for making the payment could seldom be offered - "I found it here already made" ... "we Africans do this, that is all...". Mawanda (Bb4) suggested that if money was paid one could expect greater obedience in one's wife, and several others concurred; but many like Dongo (Kc21) ridiculed the idea that one needed to pay to ensure a woman's fidelity. It was interesting to note an apparent increase in the price paid by polygynists for successive wives; Sentongo (Bc14) paid 320 shs. for his first wife and 410 shs. for his second. Kadula (Bd25) progressed 120, 400, 600 shs. for his brîdes.

Polygyny is viewed partly as a necessity and partly as a difficult relationship out of keeping with modern ideals. Lubega (Be5) has an 'extra' wife to live in, and look after his new shop at Kitimbwa. Natiera (Ke39) likes to have one wife to look after his farm in the village and one to attend to the maize mill. As I have already said the segregation and independence of co-wives is yielding somewhat, no less among such exotic tribes as the Kuku. Bune (Ke27), Abuddu (Kc62) and Namuriya (Kd57) all worked their farms as one economic unit and housed their wives under one roof. Bune explained this in the memorable statement "we change because the land here is different". By this he meant the novelty of proprietary rights and the need for compact, intensive
husbandry.

The schisms of polygyny are well exemplified in this Bugereere College girl's essay:

"In my family my mother was the first to be married to my father and they received the blessed from the church. The second mother married to my father unblindly, she did not know what to do, so what she did was to take my mother's property. But I am sure there is not any man who can have more than one woman. When she came my father told her to share the house with my mummy, but the woman was also cheek and refused. What my father did was to make for her a house of grass because she was still a newcomer in our home. And moreover she saw difficult things in the home."

Polygyny necessarily implies role segregation in the conjugal set, no husband could afford to become too preoccupied with one wife only. Mubiru told me one device for preserving harmony:

"Today I say to one wife 'you are a very fine and faithful woman, you, especially, please me. Here, take these ten shillings for yourself, but on no account tell your fellow wives of this or they will be jealous of you!' Tomorrow I shall go to the second wife and say 'you are a very fine and faithful woman, you, especially, please me ...'"

Polygyny seems necessarily to involve duty-rotas, but not unnaturally discussion of the subject was restrained as it belongs at the heart of the domestic sphere. Turns at cooking and sleeping seemed to be combined and the idea of a rota was also involved in childbirth. Natiera (Ke39) told me a man did not sleep with his wife for six months around his wife's parturition and thus a second wife was a necessary deputy. Understandably, this arrangement is not unpopular with women as there is always someone who can cope with housework when she is unable. While I was staying with Natiera one wife was unwell and the second ran the home for several weeks.
She told me that this did not trouble her as she would expect her co-wife to do the same for her.

In Kamira 26 (35%) of the male householders have more than one wife, in Budada 9, (21%). Scanning through the 26 Kamira cases I am at once reminded of men whom it proved hard to contact and interview because of their persistent absence from home, men like Mazaki (Ke18), Wirige (Ke74) and Weboya (Kd20). Without wishing to be too categorical, it seems that the greater conjugal segregation in the polygynous household turns the husband out into the community more. This is particularly evident when the preferred recreation of monogamists and polygynists are compared.

A woman's place is certainly ideally in the home and it was clear that the omwami, the homestead head, was the family's principal agent of contact with the community. Men had quite a clear concept of a woman's main duties; cooking, fetching water, cleaning and being the impeccable hostess. The role of the husband was less explicit; he provided the farm, he made the decisions and he dealt with the cash crops. In Budada my impression that women are a liability, involving a somewhat negative mutual respect among the men of the community, was reinforced by a reputation among the Banyala there as jealous husbands. I was once an innocent party to a marital 'scene' in the village. While visiting Erusami (Ba30) the younger wife of Sentongo (Bcl4) came running over

1. e.g. in my diary of visits I note: '2/9/65, Wirige, first visit accompanied by Waguma (Kb76). Mariea party in progress, discussion impossible.' Also '10/9/65, Wadulo (Ke36). Fourth visit, first time he has been at home...'
to join the discussion, interrupting a journey to fetch water. A moment later Sentongo himself came cycling along the pathway and hearing a peal of laughter from his wife dismounted angrily and hurled his bicycle to the ground. He called her and picking up her empty water tin proceeded to bang her about the head with it. Erusami and the rest of us watched with embarrassment. As the couple departed shouting abuse at one another Erusami commented "that was not good. The sensible husband would do all that in his home, not out here". His neighbour Mukasa (Bb28) sighed "I wonder at these Banyala..."

Domestic interrelationships are greatly fostered among the women themselves by considerable coming and going between one another's homes. A woman in the home enables a man to go out and tambula, stroll about meeting people (sometimes used in a mildly perjorative sense). However, during the afternoon if she is sure the home is well attended, a wife will take her baby and her embroidery to a neighbour's house and sit chatting and perhaps drinking tea. If she has older children to look after her home she will doubtless be able to do this more often. It seems that there are small groups of women who meet regularly in this way at each other's houses. The older a woman becomes, the more children she has had, the more she demands respect from her husband and others, and expects to join in such recreations as beer-drinking. Here I noticed an interesting distinction between Kamira and Budada; in the former the men and women sat in mixed groups while in the latter they always sat separately.
Living in close contact with the families of Natiera (Ke39) and Lubega (Be5) I came to realise that the apparent deference of the woman, her kneeling to greet men, for example, disguised her ability to show spirited independence within the domestic confines. Natiera often battled vigorously with his wives although most evenings they relaxed informally together with tea, chatter and the radio-gram. Twice, however, he was unceremoniously locked out after a long evening session of drinking with Manyala (Kel2), Mazaki (Kel8) and the others, and was kept waiting outside for half an hour, hissing his curses through the shutters. Lubega was much more master in his own house and I doubt very much that he could have brooked such treatment.

Inevitably both husband and wife could use the community as weapons against one another and in Kamira there was always a ready supply of gossip in circulation. Harassed husbands could often be heard over the beer pot complaining of their wives' intractability; reciprocally, no man could be sure what kept the tongues so busy at these small afternoon gatherings of ladies. In a severe domestic rift no wife would scruple about returning home to her parents; in the normal course of events she will make as many visits home as her husband.

My first assistant, a young and rather conservative Muganda, while recording his impressions of Bugerere, marvelled at the independence of women, particularly single women there:

"When they lose their husbands they don't want to be married again. They just build their houses and live with their children. Well, as for the widows in Bulemezi (county) they want to be married again".
No one in Kamira or Budada would dispute that a woman's claim in land tenure is in any way inferior to a man's. With their independence on their own property goes a marked change in attitude, an assumption of the role of *omwami*, 'master' of the homestead. In Kamira I was intrigued to discover how much the landed lady had become the focus of attention for resourceless men. Such women offered, to follow out the theme of my thesis, a ready-made domestic unit, particularly if they had children.

Nampa (Kdl) was a woman of about 55 who had been divorced for about 20 years. After 2 years cotton planting in Kyaggwe county she came to Musale in 1953 and was able to buy from Wanyela (Ke35) 8 acres of land in a prime situation at the 'plateau' end of the village. Her home, a collection of well-built cemented buildings, was a centre of attraction for the village as she brewed liquor, *munanasi* (pineapple) beer particularly, and operated as a small-time merchant. She kept two Mukiga labourers who worked as often as tapsters as in the fields, and with a good coffee crop she was a very prosperous woman. Three years previously Kyeyune had moved to stay with his brother in Kangulumira, abandoning his wife in Kyaggwe but taking his two small sons with him. He struck up a friendship with Nampa and quite soon moved into her homestead. As a close neighbour I saw a good deal of him and found him a very wilful man; he spoke of Nampa as "my wife" and her land as "my farm" but did not go so far as to claim homestead headship. Nampa herself called him her friend, *mukwano gwange*, and he deferred to her very much when they were together.
Namwandu (Kc32) was in much the same position. She had been a widow for 2 years and her husband, who came to Kamira in 1956 from Busiiro county, left her 7 acres. With fine, tin-roofed buildings and a very large cash-crop yield the farm was indeed covetable, but she was explicit that she was unmarried. On my first visit I noticed a well-dressed man about the house whom Namwandu described as her 'head labourer'. She told me that he was from Burundi, was unmarried and in fact had a little land of his own in Kyaggwe county. I enquired cautiously about the situation while interviewing neighbours and was assured by Mukasa's (Kd26) wife (in whom Namwandu claimed she confided) that the latest of her 6 children was fathered by this man. The situation had the flavour of a minor scandal, an opportunist labourer and a landholder jeopardising her rights.

I shall discuss in a later chapter the case of Kafuko (Kc13) and Mebulo (Kc14), a young labourer anxious to be the former's full husband but restrained by the community. There was an atmosphere of community censure about all these cases that seemed to say 'this is too easy a way of winning a family and a farm, of gaining complete community membership'. The women were quite shrewdly possessive about their property and refused to acknowledge the men as their spouses. Access to the woman implies access to her resources and thereby to the community. What I wish to emphasise, particularly in the case of Kafuko and Mebulo, is that this is a matter of active concern to committed community members.
Figure 47.

**LUNINZE**: children brought to a marriage by the wife.

**MUTAGASA**: cognatic and affinal interrelations, sterility and multiple divorce resolved by marriage of woman with own child.

Figure 48.
Masanga (Kb7) was the unique case of a man who had fairly successfully 'married into' the community. Nandundu (Ke5) came with her husband to Kamira late in 1947 and several years later her younger sister came to stay, eventually being given a small plot of her own by her brother-in-law. In 1961 Masanga, a man they knew well from home in Bugisu, came to live with Nandundu's sister; he was careful to rent from Wagama (Ke4) a plot of his own where he grew cotton, a gesture that seemed to mitigate his apparent intrusion. In early 1965 Nandundu's husband died and Masanga made himself indispensible as the man about both households. Nandundu's sister was adamant that he was now her husband and homestead head although Masanga himself was still diffident, continuing to speak of 'my wife's land'.

A woman with her own children, widowed or deserted, may be as much in demand as a woman with land of her own. A man with no children, or too few, may favour marriage with such a woman to strengthen his own domestic unit. Such was the case with Luninze (Kd82); his first wife had left him after having a child by another man (not from Kamira) and as he felt he was probably sterile he took the precaution of seeking a woman with two children of her own (Figure 47). Wanyala (Kd25) had been married twice unsuccessfully and his third wife brought her own child into the marriage. This proved a good omen as they had a son of their own shortly afterwards. A similar case in Budada was Mutagasa (Bel3) who after six childless unions married a woman with a small son who had been deserted by her husband (Figure 48).
Sensugusa (Bbl7), twice divorced, sadly confessed his impotence to me and added "when a woman does not conceive she waits for a quarrel and then flees from her husband; each, they blame the other". Examining the marriage-histories in both villages suggests that the men most frequently separated are, by and large, those who have been childless.\textsuperscript{1} Mayoni (Kc44) has no children and has had a succession of five wives. It is interesting to note that he has a reputation for irascibility and once while I was living in the village he became involved in a beer-party fight. He proved difficult to interview. Mukasa (Kd26) had also had four wives and still had no children, and Mukama (Kd3) had been married six times before he fathered his two sons.

The often expressed desire for a large, flourishing family is probably largely responsible for the turnover in wives. More than half the married men in Kamira, 53\%, have at some time been separated, 44\% in Budada. Taking all unions, past and present, the average number of wives per male householder is 3.1 for Kamira and 2.7 for Budada. As may be anticipated the turnover in women increases markedly with establishment and compounding of the domestic unit:

\textsuperscript{1} Salongo (Kel5) was one of a few cases prolific in both marriage and progeny. He produced records in a notebook of 21 broken unions ("there was no more loving") beside his present one. He had long since ceased to record the birth of children. Other similar cases were 'big' men both in terms of family and economy; Manyala (Kel2), Natiera (Ke39), Bakissula (Bdl5) and Lubega (Be5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>Now married and never divorced.</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TIMES DIVORCED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one year</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years plus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUDADA</th>
<th>Resident</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years plus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fairly even proportions of immigrants to Kamira and Budada were married before arrival in the village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Householder married before arrival:</td>
<td>55 (66%)</td>
<td>24 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First married approximately on arrival:</td>
<td>11 (13%)</td>
<td>6 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First married after arrival:</td>
<td>10 (12%)</td>
<td>7 (16%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This tends to disguise the striking fact that very many men, in Kamira more than in Budada, have made subsequent marriages within the village or its immediate vicinity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Householder has married - within context of village:</td>
<td>18 (23%)</td>
<td>4 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- within the vicinity of the village:</td>
<td>36 (43%)</td>
<td>13 (30%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The true relevance of this should be seen in the light of the 36 families interrelated in Kamira and the 8 in Budada, details of which are given in Figures 30 to 39.
A number of interesting observations may be made about intra-village marriages. Overwhelmingly the tendency is for men to marry the women relatives of more established villagers. In Kamira only Lutalo (Ke49) has married into a family arriving appreciably later, taking Kapiya's (Kcl1) daughter as his wife (Figure 46). The most established groups in the two communities were, it could be said, for marrying into and the men from these groups usually had found their wives at home or elsewhere. Manyala (Kel2) denied that his ten marriages to women from home in Bugisu were a matter of policy; his brother, he explained, kept him posted on likely girls there. Gizaza was the only clear exception to this, having taken Tabula's (Kd68) daughter in one of his six marriages. Bune's (Ke27) marriage to Manyala's (Kel2) sister is notable in that he was a Sudanese marrying into one of the early settled Gisu families. That such a union was even practicable is significant; the core-group was proving itself to be tribally un-exclusive in a most forthright way. The union, like many, did not endure but characteristically the newly forged relationship between Bune and Manyala remained intact; the latter once spoke to me very warmly of his Sudanese friend's agreeable disposition. Manyala's daughter had married another villager, Wagama (Ke4), and that marriage too had lapsed, although it did not prevent Wagama from citing his former father-in-law as his most trusted village friend.

The tendency for new-comers to marry into the established group was repeated, to a lesser extent, in Budada. It seems quite amazing that Lubega (Be5) could have married 15 women and never once turned his attention into the community. It
was, however, through his agency that Sentongo (Bc14) came to marry the sister of one of his wives. The nearest that Mutagasa (Bel3) had come to marrying within Budada in the course of 8 unions was Namatagonya village, some 8 miles away, yet it was he who arranged the marriage of his sister to Kyeyune (Bb41), a recent arrival.

Informal contacts, at beer parties or on casual visits, are a frequent prelude to such unions. Kyeyune first met his wife while pausing to greet Mugagasa one day on his way to Kitimbwa. Some days later he sounded Mutagasa out on the prospect of marriage and a meeting with her parents was arranged. Eventually a bride payment of 500 shs. was agreed on and the marriage planned. "I prepared my home for the next two months" Kyeyune told me, "buying a bed and household things that were necessary". On the appointed day he built a shelter over his courtyard and there were drums, dancing and plenty of marwa beer. The neighbours from the village all attended and the celebrations continued for a day and a night.

A very similar marriage in Kamira was between Wamembi (Kb54) and the half-sister of Wirige (Ke74). There were the same sort of celebrations and in addition to the immediate kinsmen invoked by the union (most clearly shown on Figure 33) a large proportion of the community also joined in. On such occasions one may understand most clearly the importance to the community of a marriage contracted within the village.
In Kamira 14 marriages (21%) are cross-tribal, in Budada 10 (23%), and the pattern evoked is similar to that for Musale sub-county as a whole (Figure 13). Few people spoke out against tribal intermarriage although many were prepared to list preferences; Sekalala (Kb83), a Musoga who envisaged a local marriage soon, told me he would take a Muganda, Mugwere, Mukede or a Munyala woman but not a Mugisu because "they are disobedient and bring harm to their husbands". It seems that most of the intra-community and cross-tribal marriages are second or subsequent unions, a tendency that is facilitated by the high frequency of divorce already noted.

Among homestead heads it was the relationship of brother-in-law that was most frequently invoked by intra-village marrying (Figures 30 to 39), parents-in-law in the majority of cases were still resident at home. Partly for this reason the customary avoidances of affinal relationship do not play a very important part in the community life of Kamira. In any case these avoidances are on the wane, as I was once reminded while lunching with a group of friends in Musale. As we began to eat one of the party laughed and pointed out that as the brother of our host's wife his presence there would have seemed most reprehensible to their grandparents. In the ensuing discussion all agreed that no-one bothered much about

1. I have reckoned Baganda and Banyala separately. Considering these two supposedly indigenous tribes alone, the Baganda of Kamira and the Banyala of Budada, it is notable that 55% of the men in the former are married to foreign women (6 cases out of 11) compared with 22% (5 cases out of 23) in the latter. Referring to Appendix D, it might not be unreasonable to propose that where the Baganda (or Banyala) are more in a minority in tribally mixed villages the more prone they are to intermarry.
these restrictions nowadays. In everyday relationships between brothers-in-law a certain effusive bonhomie is apparent, perhaps bordering on what has been designated "joking behaviour". While it would be incorrect to suppose that there is great intimacy between brothers-in-law I was assured that they would feel that they could rely on one another's support in time of trouble and might well cooperate in certain aspects of farmwork. The precise mode of relationships by marriage is, of course, what matters most. A woman whose full brother was another householder in the village would doubtless expect his support in any quarrel with her husband. The most comradely relationships belonged to the situation (of which there were several instances) (Figures 30 to 39) where two householders had married two sisters. I recall particularly the relaxed amity between Natiera (Ke39) and Kigozi (Kd72), between Koko (Kd29) and Wadulo (Ke36), and to a lesser extent between Lubega (Be5) and Sentongo (Bcl4) in Budada. The domestic links between these couples were naturally reinforced by regular contact between the sisters themselves.

The relative youthfulness of the population of Sabagabo and Musale means that funerals occur more rarely than in other parts of Buganda. It is the legal expectation that members of the village attend the interment, and this is another occasion at which the community assembles, gives small gifts to the relatives of the deceased and by its presence expresses sympathy. Purposely not to attend would be interpreted as
a severe rebuff but as so many burials at the moment involve infants or young children the pressure to attend is somewhat diminished. I attended the burial of the 7 year old son of Dungo (Ba31) and there were certainly far more of his Lugbara fellow tribesmen from distant villages that there were people from Budada. Ayonge's (Be10) son made the rather bitter comment "these Banyala, they never come, they think nothing of their brothers here".

Burial now tends to be carried out in the conventional Christian or Moslem manner, but even so, points of distinct tribal custom emerge. Baganda I spoke to found the Nilotic and Sudanic burials in the compound of the home distasteful and somewhat alarming. I did not ascertain how many adults had been buried in each village, but I estimate 14 in Kamira and 8 in Budada. Agwechi's (Bb27) mother rests beside his hut and Namwandu's (Kc32) husband lies out in the matoke plantation. The most permanent memorial I found was in Gizaza's (Ke8) coffee plantation, a cement tomb over the grave of his 17 year old son. When Gizaza first showed me around his farm it seemed to symbolise his ideal of 'family lands in Kamira', an ideal apparently belied by his departure in 1965. I asked Mubiru (Kd3), the grave's new proprietor, what he would do with it, and he confessed his perplexity. Later a Musoga

1. Southwold has noted this in other Ganda communities (personal communication).

2. It is only expected that parents and immediate kin will mourn the death of an infant and attend its burial.

3. It is possible that this elaborate grave was used in the biennial Gisu circumcision rituals that Gizaza organised, but I did not think then to ask him. J.S. La Fontaine (personal communication) tells me that the absence of ancestral graves in Buganda is the major disadvantage in the ritual there.
expressions of inter-reliance within the community.

individual expressing reliance

individual on whom reliance is placed

reliance placed outside the community
BUDADA: expressions of inter-reliance within the community.
who had shared the conversation informed me quietly "he will wait, then he will break it up and it will grow crops as God wished".

To conclude this chapter I should like to discuss briefly friendship and mutual reliance in the two villages. The figures here relate to question N on my interview schedule: 'say that you were in some sort of private trouble or difficulty, or needed some special sort of help quickly, to whom would you go?'

Responses again reflected domestic establishment, with an orientation of reliance upwards towards the core groups. The readiness to place trust increased gradually, new arrivals like Kafifi (Ka28) or Agwechi (Bb27) saying "I do not know the people here yet". Among the most established villagers there was a certain reluctance to take family troubles out into the community; as Natiera put it "I talk to Manyala (Ke12), Gizaza (Ke8) and the others, but I never tell them what I think deeply." The Budada core group was particularly prone to this. Reliance on others was greeted with scepticism by Dawakuta (Be3): "I make you my friend, we are friends for a year, maybe two, then we quarrel and you become my enemy. No, I trust no-one". As Figure 49 and Map 10 indicate, trust was placed within the community much less readily in Budada than in Kamira, a fact I feel relates directly to the characteristics of the two communities summed up at the end of the last chapter.

Maps 9 and 10 indicate territorially expressed inter-reliance among the homestead heads. The greater density of relationships in Kamira may clearly be seen; more important,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</th>
<th>KAMIRA</th>
<th>BUDADA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IN YEARS</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>a 2-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>householders:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reliance on a fellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>villager:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those on whom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other villagers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place reliance:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of those in each</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group who are relied</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upon, the average of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reliances held:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:** In Kamira, Mazaki (Ke18) is relied upon by 8 villagers, 5 in group e, and 3 in group d.
Gizaza (Ke8) is relied upon by 5 villagers, 2 in group e, and one each in b, c, & d.
Salongo (Ke15) is relied upon by 4 villagers, 2 in group e, and one each in d, & b.
In Budada, Lukhoza (Be7) is relied upon by 3 villagers, 2 in group e, and one in group d.

* The absolute figures here, it should be understood, are very small.
with one exception\textsuperscript{1}. Reliances expressed by villagers were directed into the community, surely a relevant comment on the sense of corporate identity. In addition to the 6 cases in Budada where reliances were directed out to nearby villages there were 5 people who would only confide in people living much further away.

It was common for immediate neighbours to express reliance, less common for this to be mutual. Although the newer settlers at the northern end of Kamira are less prone to commit themselves to other villagers in this way, the wide-ranging relationships would seem to diminish any claim that the village was factional. However, there is an unmistakable orientation of reliance towards the 'plateau', and towards a specific number of people. Overall there was a tendency for members of one tribe to rely on one another, but this was far from absolute.\textsuperscript{2}

What might have been tribal solidarity was sometimes broken by enmity; the Lango Ayonge (Be10) and Ochati (Be1) were not on speaking terms after a quarrel 8 years ago. Quite obviously one of the prime determinants of community friendship was the pattern of kinship and affinity within the village that I have just described.

Mazaki (Ke18) emerged as a king pin in terms of personal reliance, cited by 8 householders, all villagers established for more than 10 years. It is worth pointing out here that while he was so frequently trusted as a friend he was only

1. Kawoya (Kc2) who relied on his father nearby in Kangulumira.

2. e.g. Kapiya (Kc11) a Mugwere, and Lutalo (Ke49) a Muganda; Bune (Ke27) a Kuku and Mazaki (Ke18) a Mugisu; Nabugwere (Ke59) a Mugisu and Tebagalika (Kd56) a Muganda.
once proposed (in response to my question) as a leader in the village. However Gizaza (Ke8), generally nominated leader, was trusted by 5 villagers, all at different levels of establishment. In Budada Lukhoza (Be7) was cited as a friend in need three times although he himself, like Gizaza in Kamira, would express trust in no one. What was so distinctive about Mazaki and Lukhoza? Most notable was their thorough establishment in the community in all the senses I have described. Mazaki had two wives and six children of his own living on his farm. His sister and her child and two other young kinsmen lived with him on his 4 acre kibanja and he had several agnatic kinsmen elsewhere in the village. Lukhoza had two wives, two children and his father's elderly brother living with him on his 6 acre farm, and as the only native of the village his expression of attachment to the community was particularly strong. Beyond their similar statuses of commitment the two men were attractive personalities. Mazaki quiet but witty, Lukhoza reserved but concerned to help. Neither had the brash economic drive of Natiera (Ke39) who was neither relied upon nor relying, nor did they have any pretensions to local leadership in spite of their apparent eligibility.

These two cases are very different from the many newcomers who are, as yet, unwilling to place confidence in any neighbour, or from such long-settled but uncommitted villagers as Mukasa (Kd26) or Kutosi (Kd66), neither trusted nor trusting. There are other interesting points that might be raised; does the reliance placed on Babulabasa (Bb38) by his fellow newcomers relate to his notably established position among them and his marriage to the Munyala Mwereza's (Bb40) daughter?
Again, is the readiness to place confidence in unrelated neighbours a further manifestation of diminishing clan authority in migration?

In this chapter I have discussed the relationships of kinship and friendship within the two communities. I attempted to show the extent of relationships beyond the community confines, principally clanship and ties with home. I have shown the increased interrelationships of the most established villagers, pointing out that this derives from developments within each domestic unit. I emphasised the importance of cognatic ties in achieving community membership and the subsequent role of affinity in drawing groups together. Throughout, the differences between the villages, viewed as wholes, were referred to the circumstances of land and family establishment defined in the last chapter.

Considering the manner in which the morphology of the domestic unit itself affects its relationships with other units I took the example of split, 'bilocal' families. I suggested that children stimulate domestic stability and economic effort and are agents in domestic interrelationships. I discussed marriage and the conflicting ideals of conjugal mutuality that draw the husband and wife towards one another or out into the community. I drew attention to the independent role of wives in active intra-community relationships and to the great importance of marriage within the village context. In the pattern of friendship and inter-reliance the determining influence of land and domestic establishment was shown to persist, and in this as in kinship and affinity professed relationships in Budada were less community orientated than in Kamira.
The general economic characteristics of Kamira and Budada were given in Chapter 7. I wish to pursue here in detail the economic life of the two communities showing how domestic activity and co-activity are determined by the circumstances of land-tenure and the progressive establishment of domestic units. The intense economic individualism of each domestic unit is eroded by its own internal pressures as it develops within the community. Accordingly, I shall begin in the domestic sphere and continue to community co-activity.

Land is, of course, the prime capital resource and at the same time it is the means whereby community membership is assumed. Capital may be transferred in cash from home or acquired in labour and reinvested in Bugerere land. It may therefore be construed that differing values in land tenure will affect economic activity and the social status of community members.

As public land overwhelmingly preponderates in both villages it would be difficult to confirm that there was a differing economic orientation towards Private and Public tenure. In examining large-scale farmers in Musale a very clear tendency emerged for public land to be more intensively exploited, a fact I felt was attributable to the comparative insecurity of tenure. In the same study, private land tenants were discussed and while it appeared that they shared
much in common with public tenants their position of direct fealty to their landowner made for a greater sense of legal permanence. 1. Of the four Mailo occupiers in Kamira none were owners, all were tenants. Furthermore two of them, Mubiru (Kd3) and Manyala (Kel2) now had additional public land farms in the village. Had there been a substantial resident Mailo owner in Kamira I am convinced that the entire premise of social life there would have been different; leadership, factionalism, everything. While the Mailo tenants did not play on their differences it seemed they were aware of a certain ambiguity, that perhaps true comity in the village implied public land tenure.

A more thorough examination of the case of Mubiru (Kd3) may best account for this ambiguity and for the different sorts of allegiance invoked by the two types of tenancy – one to a landlord, the other to the village. Mubiru was a thoroughly established resident with three wives, nine children and several others living in his homestead. He came from Kyaddondo county in 1954 where he had been working unsuccessfully as a bicycle mechanic, and on a number of preliminary visits he negotiated his tenancy with Mutumba. He paid an annual 8.50 shs. for his busulu title and for the first two years he was excused envujo, rent, until his farm was established. He claimed he paid Mutumba £20 a year, not without grumbling, but Mutumba assured me he only took 4 to 6 shillings an acre and was at pains to point out that

1. Chapter 6
Mubiru was doing very nicely. Mubiru told me that in 1965 he sold 80 bags of coffee, modest amounts of cotton and maize, a little matooke and 50 bags of potatoes under a regular hospital contract. It seemed clear that his \textit{envujo} (legally based on a crop-assessment) was under continual review. Mutumba maintained that he never pressed for excessive payments and felt amicably disposed to Mubiru whom he found industrious and agreeable, although they met infrequently. In 1966 Mubiru had bought for an astonishing £600 the nine acres vacated by Gizaza (Ke8), which he said he would clear for cattle.

The purchase of this land invoked an interesting response from the community. Mubiru was a big man now, a large-scale farmer; he had bought Gizaza's land, a community leader's land, right there in the heart of the "plateau" end of the village where the big tree stood. It was economically expensive and socially expensive. Muribu was the talking-point,\textsuperscript{1} his attitude was of pride, and perhaps a little bashfulness. He hoped to consolidate his new claim by taking out a 49-year lease, an interesting situation when it arises. He would, however, continue to live on his present farm. Mutumba was quite prepared to sell it and while pontificating on the advantages of being a tenant pointed out that a progressive man like Mubiru was in the favourable position of being able to negotiate a purchase. Furthermore, as a Muganda buying from a Muganda, the price would probably have been much less than what he had paid for the public land farm.

\textsuperscript{1}. Even after my departure, letters from villagers echo the event.
Mubiru, while perhaps not viewing the implications as I am now, specifically did not want to become a Maipo landowner. He explained that as long as he stood by the letter of the law Mutumba could not evict him and he would sooner have the tenancy and his new nine public acres than absolute ownership of his present farm. I rule out financial considerations as obstructing purchase in view of the £600 he paid for Gizaza's farm. He grossed well over £500 a year from his present land and lived in a smart new cement-block house. Viewing his choices one sees that Mubiru opted to invest in a prime section of village land, following the accepted mechanisms of transfer invoking the local chiefs, rather than consolidate his own position as a private landowner and become an anomaly within the community.

Security of tenure quite definitely affects utilisation of the land resources. Sub-let land, a phenomenon emerging now in Kamira, is invariably used for impermanent crops. Kafifi (Ka28) grew cotton and beans on his rented plot; Masanga (Kb7) had for four years planted maize and cotton on the small plot he rented from Wagama (Ke5). On the land he still tended to regard as his wife's, they had a small stand of coffee. Those villagers who worked borrowed land grew no coffee either, for example Kibojo (Kc61) who was lent less than an acre by Bune (Ke27) and Sekalala (Kb83) who used Luninze's (Kd82) land.

If security of tenure is indispensable to effective permanent cropping and if the charter of public land is rather doubtful, then it appears that in a village like
Kamira the community must conspire to ensure domestic sovereignty over its resources – a subject to be dealt with more fully in the following chapter. The high land prices and the mechanisms of allocation are all a part of this. The establishment of the family requires consolidation of cropping and this requires a sense of security. Any violation of land is thus a violation of the family.

In Budada such assurances were lacking. The fears of a Bakungulu incursion had gripped everyone and the popular repugnance had been directed against the scapegoat Luwano (Ba6). The Banyala are probably very possessive although their claims legally supersede no one else’s; they express some disdain for the tribally mixed newcomers although they are quite prepared to sell them pieces of land. The experiences of Sula (Bb37) give some illustration of the situation in Budada.

Sula was a labourer at Bukoloto, Mumyuka sub-county, for five years before a friend advised him that Mutagasa (Be13) wished to sell part of his land. In 1962 he accordingly bought about five acres quite cheaply and moved in with his wife and child. Early in 1964 Sula was obliged to provide a refugee family, neighbours from home in the Sudan, with accommodation, so he extended his area of cultivation to what he understood was his boundary. Mutagasa objected violently and cut off a generous portion of land which he asserted was still his. Sula sought the assistance of Lamene (Bb42) and went to confront Mutagasa. In the heated discussion Mutagasa reportedly said "Back
there in the Sudan no one owns bibanja, you walk about here and there. Why should you own land here?" A case was taken to Nsubuga the mutongole chief but in spite of several reminders he procrastinated until all prospects of justice dwindled.

Two other instances of land insecurity are worthy of note here. Sensugusa (Bb17) had lived very briefly on his Budada land and had then gone to take up a labouring job in Busoga. When he returned nearly three years later the mutongole, he discovered, had given a large part of his land to Lukambaga (Bc18). Mugawula (Bb32) was a very sick man. He had been in Bugerere since 1948 having left home, he said, to avoid the humiliation of being tied with a banana-fibre and led to prison for being unable to pay his tax. His accumulation of money to buy land had been long and painful and in 1962 he had at last bought land in Budada. Soon after, he had visited Mulago Hospital, Kampala, and a stomach disorder requiring fairly protracted treatment was diagnosed. He could not, he emphasised, sell his land and live for a while near Kampala and he was even afraid of leaving his farm while he went into hospital, in case it was reallocated while he was away.

I returned to Kamira from Budada anxious to trace evidence of similar malaise, but was unable to do so. Bune (Ke27) said he felt advantage was sometimes taken of his fellow Kuku tribesmen but in fact stated that public land was the solution to their problem as it was secure. Only one case of dispossession emerged; a Murundi eccentric who had
abandoned his (private land) tenancy for many years and then hopefully returned. The core group in Kamira were not as possessive, although their authority over land was appreciable. I was puzzled about the tenancy of a plot (at 18 and 19 on Map 5) which did not seem to belong directly to the adjacent farms. It transpired that it was shared by Gizaza (Ke8) and Mazaki (Ke18) for growing seasonal crops and that they were simply 'taking care of it temporarily'. It was quite certain that no new-comer could have 'taken care' of it and that the established position of the two men would discourage any complaints. In fact it was a marginal swampside plot and I suspect that Gizaza's use of it may have been regarded (by those who noticed) as a just perquisite of his informal leadership.

The growth of the family among newer arrivals in Kamira must usually take place by intensifying cultivation, perhaps by cutting the margin devoted to cash-crops, but at any rate by utilising all available soil. The lower population in Budada has not yet caused similar pressure to maximise use of resources. Mawanda (Bb4) most certainly did not utilise all 15 acres of his property, not did Fanatya (Bb23) his equivalent quota. In Kamira the outlet for increasing domestic pressures, the need for food and cash, may be satisfied by accretion. Mubiru (Kd3) is a good example of this, his family of fourteen clearly having outgrown his present 8 acres; likewise Lameka Kigozi (Kd72) who had built up nearly 20 acres to sustain a family of three wives and seven children. Livingstone Kigozi (Kb81) a newer arrival,
had acquired 1½ acres from Wirige (Ke74) to supplement the needs of his growing family.

Expansion of this kind takes place by other villagers diminishing their own resources and these are invariably cases where the demands of the family are small or have decreased with domestic dispersion. Weboya’s (Kd20) sons have moved out to neighbouring villages and he now lives more than adequately on his 7 – 8 acres with his two wives and two nephews; several years ago he sold profitably 3½ acres to Kigozi (Kd72). Similarly Makabala (Ke6), elderly and with a dispersed family, sold 3½ of his 7 acres to Manyala (Ke12) who had an expanding family.

Similar sellers in Budada were Mwereza (Bb40), Mutagasa (Be13) and Dawakuta (Be3), all with dispersed domestic groups. With plot sizes quite generous and families still growing, the sort of accretion noted in Kamira is not yet under way. Mukasa (Ke51) rather regretted a sale he made out of his quite substantial reserves of land because of another emergent restriction – the deterioration of soil fertility. While I estimate it takes a new immigrant family at least four years to use available resources optimally, there is an accompanying decline in land productivity that is accelerated if the land was previously tenanted. Mukasa reckoned that every acre of his land which yielded 10 – 14 bags of coffee in 1959 now yields 8 bags. Thus the longer a migrant stays and the more established his domestic unit becomes, the more valuable his resources are for him and the more effort and good husbandry are required. An example of a necessary alteration in technique caused by decreasing fertility was given to me by
Mukasa. He was obliged to plant his cotton crop early in May rather than July or August and had to thin out the seedlings more carefully.

The most important aspect of life, in the opinion of Luwano (Ba6), was careful use of the land. Cash cropping and concerns for modern techniques in agriculture have drawn men very much into the realm of farming. Certainly care of the matoke crop is still in women's hands. The division, never very absolute, may be seen from the perspective of this Bugerere schoolboy:

"Our farm is approximately five acres. About two acres are the coffee estate, one and a half acres for plantains and the rest part is for other crops, e.g. nuts, cotton and beans. The mother takes great care of the plantains garden so that it may produce satisfactory food for the family. The father also does the same and keeps his coffee estate clean throughout the year."

In fact the whole family is expected to look after the farm, even schooling does not excuse the children:

"When we wake up early in the morning we go into our farm, we children and start digging or picking coffee. In our farm we do not grow coffee only but we also grow cotton, bananas, potatoes, maize and other kinds of food and vegetables. In our farm we also have some cows, goats and hens and those animals are looked after by our mother. The work of the father is to check and see whether everything is clear..."

There only seems to be sub-allocation of some cash-cropping to wives in polygynous households with ample resources, where its purpose is to allow them their own pocket-money. Such was the case with Mubiru (Kd3) where three wives each had small separate coffee plots as well as their own matoke gardens. However, a major part of the farm was superintended by Mubiru himself, the principal cash-crops and certain food crops like maize, beans and groundnuts. In most other home-
steads, including the polygynous Kigozi's (Kd72), the wife certainly supervised cultivation of the staple but the ownership of the land was reckoned as unitary and the application of labour was not selective. For many Bagisu this is probably novel and a very different situation from that described in their homeland: "Each wife should have land of different kinds and her fields should be an equal share of the total amount of land her husband owns". (La Fontaine 1959:16) Bune (Ke27) accounted for the Kuku adoption of a unitary system with the explanation, quoted already, "we change because the land here is different".

The work-patterns and the application of domestic labour in both Kamira and to a lesser extent in Budada bore little relationship to the 3 - 5 hour routine noted by Mair (1934) in the Buganda of the 1930's. I would attribute this to the intensification of cash-cropping and to the common attitude of migrants to Bugerere "we are here to make money". The busiest parts of the bimodal year are the two wet seasons when the working day is very full indeed.

Taking two consecutive days from the diary of Ngobi (Kd45) will show the organisation of labour in a moderately busy period and the ways in which an established family may co-operate with others. Ngobi lived with his wife, four children and brother-in-law on a little over two acres in the centre of Kamira.

7/10/65. Rose 6.00 a.m. Family - including his 11-year son - hoed in the coffee plantation until after 10 o'clock. At 8.00 a.m. his son and little daughter went to primary school. At 10.00 a.m. the others washed and had a cup
of tea, then brought out two bags of coffee cherries and spread them out to dry. At midday rain threatened so his wife superintended the gathering of it in while Ngobi left for Bagole's (Ke3l) house where a few men had assembled to build an olujjo, cement drying-area. Bagole rewarded them with a chicken lunch later in the afternoon. At 6.00 p.m. he returned home and planted out a few new coffee cuttings that Salongo (Kd77) had given him, with the latter's help. He then picked a little ripe coffee, bathed, drank some tea and after supper of matoke and groundnut relish which his wife had spent most of the afternoon preparing, he retired to bed about 10.00 p.m.

8/10/65. Rose 6.00 a.m. Hoeing until 8.00 a.m. Cup of tea. Coffee spread out to dry then beans pulled until midday. Bathed - then lunch of matoke and groundnuts. Afternoon: picked half a tin of coffee, gathered in drying cherries because of showers. Sat in shelter sorting dried and undried fruit. Helped Waibi (Kbl6) mend his bike. Supper - bed about 9 o'clock.

By no means all days are so active as Ngobi's first and an afternoon idling around the house was not uncommon. Daily stalls to Kangulumira, ostensibly to visit the shops were quite frequent. The Sabbath and the Jomma are days of rest, the Christians enjoying a late rise, a main meal with meat and afternoon radio music programmes. Daily work will be cancelled in very heavy rain, in honour of visitors, for special occasions such as court attendance and for funerals.
A working day was full but flexible, as Harmsworth (1962) has observed on the opposite bank of the Nile in Busoga. The strong economic independence of each domestic unit is broken down with reluctance only as establishment in the new community increases. The newer the arrival the more introverted the daily routine, a characteristic that persisted in long-resident but unestablished units like Kigate's (Kd34) and Mukasa's (Kd26). The dairy for Manyala (Kel2) on the other hand, shows him outside his homestead most afternoons or busy entertaining visitors from the village and beyond. Likewise Budada's new-comers kept themselves to themselves. Sula (Bb37) worked slowly but steadily, his relaxation being to sit after meals and greet familiar passers-by. Like many he could not afford a lamp and his day ended not long after 7.00 p.m. The established Lukhoza (Be17) and the new-comer Erusami (Ba30) merit brief comparison. Erusami had told me "making a farm is difficult - you must work hard". He rose at 5.30 a.m., about first light and worked until midmorning. Unconventionally, his visits to nearby Kitimbwa were brief and purposeful: "I was there just ten minutes, to buy soap". In the evenings he stayed at home listening to his radio. On the other hand Lukhoza never seemed to work for more than two hours at a stretch. He liked to go to Kitimbwa and listen to the news, spending three hours and more there. He was an official licence collector at the market-place, which involved him in regular convivial discussions in the township. His two wives ran the farm and were always there it seemed, with his meals cooked and his bath water ready.
Thirty seven householders in Kamira (45%) employ labourers on their farms, rather less than the sub-county sample figure of 60%, but far greater than the nine (21%) in Budada. Generally the Kamira farmers were more prone to engage labour temporarily, that is by a day, week or month at a time as required, but there is a tendency, increasing with settlement, to prefer permanent workers. There is also a growing preference for labour to be resident, 6 of the 21 longest established villagers having workers who are both permanent
and resident. This is very similar to the area sample pattern (Fig. 12). The employment of labour becomes economically desirable and practicable only with the establishment and compounding of the domestic unit.

The desire for cash (that key motive in migration) creates a powerful rivalry between subsistence cropping and cash cropping in the domestic economy. For most farmers turning over all the land to food would permit far more rapid family growth but yet would be unthinkable today, as cash is almost as indispensable for domestic welfare as simple nourishment. In the progressive domestic establishment that I discuss here there is an increasing tendency for cash crops to win over food crops, an odd contradiction that is partly explicable by an increase in efficiency. Even I, unschooled in agriculture, could see that Sula (Bb37) was not making the best use of his resources. Plants were very widely spaced and such measures as soil conservation bunds were lacking.

I had no means of assessing subsistence quotas, but it would appear that human needs are not excessive nor do they put much strain on available resources, particularly in Kamira. *Matoke* (*musa paradisiaca*) is the prime staple with cassava (*manihot utilissima*) and some sweet potatoes (*ipomoea batatas*) as important reserves. *Maize* (*zea mays*) is, I think, increasing in importance as a food reserve cum cash-crop, a buffer between the need to guard against starvation and the desire to sell. Of the most common crops it is particularly
subject to market fluctuation, not enjoying the official stabilization of coffee and cotton. Maize may be stored and sold when required and is eaten as a porridge or cake very much as a last resort. Examination of the diaries collected suggests a very monotonous diet, the staple being mitigated by sauces of groundnuts (arachis hypogaea) or beans (phaseolus vulgaris) usually cooked with edible oil sometimes with onions or tomatoes added. In Budada sorghum (sorghum spp.) and finger-millet (eleusine coracana) appear frequently and are mainly used for porridges and beer making. Very little of these are grown in Kamira, beer makers normally buying millet for merwa from dealers. In both villages oranges and pineapples (ananas comosus) are the most prevalent fruits.

A family may have meat twice weekly if they are well-off; if they are poorer, an occasional chicken. Meat is bought from the many butchers, some who doubtless work without official blessing. Eggs are still very much a male perogative, the widespread prohibition for women still prevailing. Termites (microtermes) and grasshoppers (homococoryrhis) are a great delicacy and protein supplement. Feeding is generally equated with physical and mental power yet only Byakika (Ba2) proposed that good food was the most important concern of the family head. Europeans eat well, it is said, hence their energy and authority.

I co-operated with the Mulago Hospital paediatric unit and Dr. Rainier Arnhold in a child nutrition study in the two

1. e.g. 28/6/65 - 27.5 cents per lb.
   27/9/65 - 18.5 cents per lb.
   13/12/65 - 16.5 cents per lb. (Uganda Argus)
villages, a main purpose of which was to relate cases of deficiency to particular aspects of domestic organisation in migration. The many difficulties encountered (notably in obtaining accurate ages) limited the reliability of results obtained, nevertheless I shall take up some points that emerged as a prelude to a consideration of the inter-relationship of subsistence and cash cropping. In Kamira 52 children out of an estimated 94 probable cases were brought for examination (c. 55%), whereas an estimated 90% of probable cases were brought in Budada.

In Kamira, children of Koko (Kd29), Gizaza (Ke8), Manyala (Kd12) 2 cases , Mubiru (Kd3) 2 cases , Natiera (Ke39), Bune (Ke27) and Wanyala (Kd25) were rated 'low' by Arnhold, primarily on a weight:height ratio. These strong indications of undernourishment come as a shock because apart from the fact that all are well established, I would have rated all these householders among the most prosperous in Kamira. Taking a family that seems to be struggling to make ends meet, say Wane (Kd58) with seven children and two wives on less than 3 acres, one finds his young ones are all above average; Modi (Ko63) another Kuku tribesman with a growing family, has one of the few children rated 'high' on the weight:height ratio.

Admittedly several of the villagers with undernourished children also have some well-nourished, but it is particularly puzzling that two of Mubiru's (Kd3) children were apparently the most undernourished in the sample, and that Manyala (Kd12)

1. Children under approximately 5 years of age.
also had two children rated 'very low'. He has the highest overall farm income in Kamira, an estimated 8,920 shs. in 1964 and Mubiru ranks third, earning 6,570 shs. Kigozi (Kd72), second with 6,850 shs., regrettably could not bring his children for examination.

What I feared might be a high frequency of malnutrition in Budada, possibly a reflection of the newness of settlement, prompted me to initiate the project. Mulago Hospital was perturbed at the apparently high incidence of Kwashiorkor\(^1\) (locally omusana) from Bugerere and I was interested in relating this to immigration. Remarkably there were only four children rated 'low' in Budada and while none was particularly high I found the apparent good health unexpected in view of a number of infant and child deaths of which I knew. Two of the Mukungulu Luwano's (Ba6) children were apparently undernourished, a fact that must be attributed to a family of eleven living on an undersized plot and subject to the intense social pressures described in Chapter 8. One of Sula's (Bb37) children was in a similar condition as I should have expected but it was a surprise to find one of Kadula's malnourished, as his cash income of nearly 2,050 shs. a year was fourth highest in the village.

The most obvious common factor among the 7 Kamira householders with low weight-status children was that per acre of the entire farm the cash-crop output was vastly in excess of the average:

1. One of the main protein calorie malnutrition diseases.
Those settled over 16 years  Cash yield per cultivated acre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Yield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natiera</td>
<td>750 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gizaza</td>
<td>720 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyala</td>
<td>680 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bune</td>
<td>600 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average for all villagers settled over 16 years</strong></td>
<td><strong>241 shs.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those settled 11-15 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Yield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mubiru</td>
<td>810 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koko</td>
<td>800 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanyala</td>
<td>230 shs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average for all villagers settled 11-15 years</strong></td>
<td><strong>268 shs.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems very likely that while efficiency and intensive methods may partially explain these high yields, the desire for cash has detracted from the resources and effort devoted to food. Mubiru is under contract to provide his 50 bags of potatoes and it seems more than probable that his urge to fulfil this quota through two difficult dry seasons has been to the detriment of his family's own nourishment.

Bennett has said that "unfortunately a lot of the varieties of food crops which used to grow in large quantities in Buganda have now been displaced by cash-crops" (1965:53). A further threat brought by cash-prosperity is that the application of labour may favour the cash crop and virtually ignore food growing (Kennedy 1963:8).

The following table suggests the ever increasing importance of cash-cropping, the most established villagers in Kamira earning about three times that of recent arrivals. Per acre yields also increase sharply and then drop again, doubtless attributable to decreasing domestic pressures and land fertility and the greater acreages available. (see Map 7).
KAMIRA
Resident:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average income</th>
<th>Average yield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shs. per homestead</td>
<td>Shs. per acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(one case)</td>
<td>(one case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Up to 1 yr.</td>
<td>574.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2 - 5 yrs.</td>
<td>900.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 6 - 10 yrs.</td>
<td>1244.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 11 - 15 yrs.</td>
<td>1705.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 16 yrs. +</td>
<td>211.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>1160.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BUDADA
Resident:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average income</th>
<th>Average yield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shs. per homestead</td>
<td>Shs. per acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(one case)</td>
<td>(one case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Up to 1 yr.</td>
<td>251.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2 - 5 yrs.</td>
<td>568.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 6 - 10 yrs.</td>
<td>727.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 11 - 15 yrs.</td>
<td>1902.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 16 yrs. +</td>
<td>937.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>780.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sheer size of land is not everything, however, as the generally larger Budada farms will attest (Map 8). Cash yields per cultivated acre were almost half the overall figure for Kamira and the average cash income per homestead was also much less. This is symptomatic of the differing environments and settlement histories of Musale and Sabagabo, and on a general basis is reflected in the two different sub-county graduated tax assessment figures (Appendix E) gauged particularly on cash earning potential.

Men like Gizaza (Ke8) with a farm income of £325 per annum and Manyala (Kel2) with £445 are clearly wealthy men but certainly do not typify the village. Wrigley (1964:56) reckons as 'poor' in Buganda those earning £10 and under a year. There are 12 such cases in Kamira and 10 (a higher

1. For current crop prices see Appendix C.
rate) in Budada. They consist of new-comers and single women but I would suggest that my conception of economic and social establishment accounts more accurately for this 'poverty' than Wrigley's generalisation:

"The majority of the poor are immigrants who have not troubled to conform to Ganda norms or who have settled too recently or too late in life". (op.cit.:53)

Wrigley suggests the 'ordinary peasant' earns about £35 a year (ibid.) but the higher average for Kamira is, I feel, indicative only of the celebrated greater wealth of southern Bugerere. Between a quarter and a fifth of the Buganda population earn from £50 - £300 says Wrigley (ibid.), a proportion roughly matched in Kamira and Budada.

Relative prosperity, as I have indicated, correlates with establishment and is an attribute of more committed village membership. I sense very strongly that greater wealth such as Kigozi's (Kd72) and Natiera's (Ke39), who earn £350 and over £1,000 respectively, may restrain relationships with the community somewhat. This was very noticeable in Kigozi's case and I would suggest his increasing labours on the farm made for greater domestic introversion. Kigozi felt and discussed his isolation saying that a wealthier man must learn to put up with his neighbours' jealousy.

Kennedy has examined the motivation in cotton cropping in Uganda and has noted that it is not concerned with "pursuing the end of acquiring recognition within the peasant's own society" but that "a cash income until recently has only been important in that it was necessary for taxes and school fees"
It seems that school fees particularly, as well as the desire for modern domestic accessories, stimulate cash-cropping, an aspect of domestic establishment reflected in the above figures. I dealt with this more exhaustively in my consideration of Bugerere Big Farmers and will quote a relevant section here.

The differing yields can clearly be related to differing phases in the cycle of domestic development and to the varying economic pressures on the productive unit at different points in the cycle. In terms of cash the most demanding phase today is where children are of secondary school age, the least demanding when the domestic group is reduced after family dispersion to the ageing conjugal pair. Kawesa and Kikuyo are both about 63 and both cultivate approximately 22 acres. The yield each achieves differs dramatically; Kawesa gets 446 shs. per acre and Kikuyo just 52. Their farms are vastly different, the former's thriving and businesslike, and latter's muddled and ill-kempt, crops competing with weeds for survival. Kawesa's expressed motive in farming was to seek security for his family. He had 13 children, 4 at good schools in Kampala, 4 at school in Musale and 5 married elsewhere. Apart from his own children he was caring for 2 of his father's brother's young daughters and had two elderly paternal relatives living with him. The pressure for cash seemed to underlie his enthusiastic discussion of farm techniques, his assiduous book-keeping (his 1965 gross income was cited down to the last cent) and his ambitious plans. If I were to offer him a bonus, he volunteered that he would use it to educate his children, which he rated the prime duty of a father these days. Kikuyo's case was antithetical; his wife was sick and had returned to her father who was paying for the education of the 2 of his 9 children who were still at school. Only one small son and an unrelated old man lived with him. He complained of failing health - and almost everything else - and all this was amply reflected in his scanty yield. (Robertson, A.F. In preparation).

The choice of crop is clearly important in determining how much a farmer earns and is primarily a matter of environment, as I have made clear in Chapters 5 and 7. Commenting on individual cases some preferences emerge, Mubiru's (Kd3) potato contract, for example. Wamubireggwe (Kd71), the bilocal migrant, only grows coffee, harvesting over 45 bags
Top: Kampala-bound lorry loaded with Matoko from Sabagabo, Bugerere. Above: Labourers picking coffee in Kamira.
Left: Lubega (Be5) outside his shop at Kitimbwa.
Below: Sula (Bb37) in Budada. Foreground, millet and cassava, the Kuku staples. Middleground, the recent grave of Sula's son. Background, huts of other refugee families to whom Sula is host.
a year. More committed migrants seem reluctant to invest in a single crop even though coffee is the dominant interest of all the wealthiest men. Kigozi harvests 120 bags of coffee a year and just 6 of maize and 7 of cotton. Several farmers have odd specialities; Koko (Kd29) has been endowed with a stand of timber which he is slowly selling. Several, like Wamembi (Kb54) sell groundnuts, and others specialise in tomatoes, pineapples, etc. Mukasa (Kc51), in a conscious policy of diversification, reckoned to sell over 50 bags of cassava in 1965. Only small amounts of matoke were sold in Kamira; Namwandu (Kc32), a newer settler with land to spare, sold by far the most, about 40 stems a month.

On his newly cleared 15 acre farm in Budada, Mawanda (Bb4) took advantage of this quick-growing and very rewarding crop to earn about £100 a year. Even so he regarded this as a stopgap until his coffee was mature. Lukhoza (Be16) had recently started to sell about 20 stems a month, explaining that decreasing production in the south had sent the dealers north to Sabagabo in the past year and as they undertook the cutting and carrying of the fruit, several local farmers were regarding matoke as an easy way of making untilled land pay.¹

Kigozi (Kd72) was the only farmer in either village who owned cattle. He was enormously proud of his 'herd' of one imported Kenyan Jersey and two Nganda cows, to which he had devoted about two acres of scrupulously fenced land. He is experimenting, with the Veterinary Officer's assistance, on

¹. Collection is extremely well organised; cutters receive 10 cents a bunch, porters 5 cents and the carrier a fixed percentage of the market value, which varies by size and demand from 2 - 6 shillings a bunch. It is a fraught subject in Buganda, particularly the loading of vehicles.
suitable grasses and in 1965 his Jersey cow was artificially inseminated, rewarding him in due course with a fine calf. He has installed a capacious water tank for their benefit and has plans to improve his stock further; at the moment the milk yield is only sufficient for his own large family. Cattle husbandry is being encouraged in Buganda (Buganda Planning Commission 1965:56-8), principally to make the country less dependent upon Kenyan milk and carcases. A new prestige is surrounding cattle husbandry, something quite different from the almost mystic social significance invested in cattle in many parts of East Africa. "To Baganda cattle are simply meat" (Fallers 1964b:125) even in traditional times, and today they are a potential source of wealth. In Musale especially, the pasture required (seemingly an extravagant use of rich arable land) and the heavy outlay for exotic beasts discourage all but the most affluent farmers.

More modestly, goats and sometimes sheep are kept by many villagers, mainly for meat and skins. Those able to buy and rear kids are usually the more established householders as these figures will confirm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owning Goats or Sheep</th>
<th>Kamira</th>
<th>Budada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1 year</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 2-5 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 6-10 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 11-16 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 16 years +</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kasajja (Kd38) in Kamira had the largest herd of goats, 8 animals, which he bred for resale and for food for his family. Nearly everyone kept chickens and a few had Muscovy ducks.
Twenty-three householders in Kamira (28%) had some regular alternative source of income other than farming, 8 (19%) in Budada. In Kamira earning of this kind seemed to fall into two types. Of those villagers resident less than five years, 7 out of a total of 16 had some other income ranging from less than £10 a year like Ngobi (Kb78) a small-time coffee-buyer, to sizeable entrepreneurs like Dumba (Kb75) who earned over £300 as a housebuilder. It seems that during the initial years of farm establishment when cash-cropping is low, other forms of income are sought. Of the rest of the 7, two dealt in crops, two worked as builders, (a profitable occupation in an area where so many people are setting up homes) and one, Wamembi (Kb54) relied heavily on the £20-£30 he earned as a baker and vendor of Kabalagala cakes.

Among longer established residents a lower proportion were so involved, although there was a notable consolidation of non-agricultural enterprise marked by capital investment and regular salaried employment. The latter category would include Isiko (Kd55) and Dongo (Kc21), each earning nearly £100 per annum as schoolteachers in Musale. Wasaba (Ke43) and Wamubireggwe (Kd71) operated taxis, the former driving himself, the latter employing a driver. Overheads were high and profit-margins extremely erratic, but Wasaba reckoned he could earn over £200 by concentrating on long runs to Mbale. Kamira's big businessman was Natiera (Ke39), a truly remarkable man, fiery, inexhaustible, eternally on a knife-edge of financial risk but grossing well over £1,000 a

1. Made of sweet bananas and flour, fried, a popular snack.
year. He operated as a private crop-buyer, concerned chiefly with coffee and maize and in 1965 installed an electric maize-mill which at one point was running day and night. Manyala (Kel2) was also a buyer, but on a smaller scale, taking only £50 net profit a year. He nevertheless had the storehouse, weighing machine, cashbox and other paraphernalia of the professional trader.

This form of entrepreneurship, differing from cropping and the minor sources of income of newer arrivals, seems to demand local establishment and concomitant assurance of domestic viability. The four main obstacles noted by Katzin (1964) must be met: the accumulation of capital, competent administration, security of the socio-political sense and adaptability to local conditions. Lubega (Be5) was meeting these problems and finding the administration of his new shop at Kitimbwa particularly challenging; his concern with trading licences, stock-buying and so on was a world away from that of the many villagers whose entrepreneurship extended no further than earning 40 shs. from an occasional beer brew-up.

Bakissula's (Bd15) business was unusual but certainly required local incorporation and a shrewd knowledge of market conditions. He earned about £50 he told me \(^1\) from the sale of magic and the performance of certain rites. I shall say more about this in Chapter 10. His other fellow-villagers earned cash in more humdrum ways and ways that did not call for as much capital outlay as Lubega's. Kyeyune (Bb41)

1. Here, of course, I lay no great claim to reliability.
butchered cattle, Kyenkyaa (Ba36) made monthly trips to the Lake Kioga shore to buy fish which he sold in local villages.

The question of income not actually deriving from the farm in Kamira or Budada leads me again to the question of land-rights at home. As I have already emphasised, unless the domestic unit is split these resources exist only as potentialities and even then I very much doubt whether re-assumption of exploitation would be practicable, as almost invariably there is a 'caretaker' currently in possession. Examining claims to resources at home always brings the same sort of answer; Madoyi's (Kb33) rights existed as an option, he said his brothers would be obliged to make room for him, but one can envisage the ill-feeling which that would generate. Wamembi's (Kb54) 7 acres in Bugisu were 'taken care of' by a brother; Dumba's (Kb75) parents had repossessed - 'temporarily' - his 5½ acre plot in Bulemezi county. The embarrassment of a return clearly reinforces establishment in Bugerere and the tendency for newer arrivals¹ to protect rights at home is perhaps an ideal that seeks to counterbalance the initial economic insecurity of immigration.

For a modern country's labour force to be so heavily concentrated in the hands of native farmers as in the case of

¹ In Kamira more than in Budada.
Buganda, is unusual if not exactly unique. On selected farms in Buddu county Parsons, citing Humphrys, notes that farms up to 3 acres in size have an average of 1.8 labourers. In the most prolific 8 to 9 acre category there are 3.2 labourers, and in the over 20 acre group 6.3 - the average of a range from 3 to 15 (Parsons 1960:11). I am sure that a more extensive survey would indicate that in Bugerere farmers as a whole employ less labour than farmers in adjacent counties. As cash-cropping has become more widespread the modest wages of the available workers have increased with demand and their proportion per farm correspondingly decreased. The ideal of up to 5 labourers for every acre of cotton that Mair noted in the 1930's (1934:127) would be regarded as absurd in present day Bugerere.

The labourer seeks out the farmer - not usually the other way round - and employment is negotiated often amid protracted haggling about the amount of payment and when it should be made. Officially, if not always in actuality, engagement is on the basis of a monthly ticket. Strictly speaking an enterprising labourer can take out two, even three concurrently (Parsons 1960:10-11), but I found very few actually doing this. I feel tempted to attribute much of the repression and

1. e.g. in Sierra Leone: "In the past the Creoles employed tribal people a great deal as what were termed 'month boys'. These were housed and fed and did whatever household or farming work that there was to be done. They were paid at a monthly rete, though very often their wages would be saved up for the year so that they could receive a lump sum. They would then frequently terminate the service and return to the (Sierra Leone) Protectorate with the capital thus acquired." (Richardson and Collins, 1955:75).
inefficiency\textsuperscript{1} to those little printed employment tickets one sees everywhere, which few people seem to use as they were intended\textsuperscript{2}. At the moment a monthly ticket is worth anywhere between 25 and 35 shs., most usually 30. Smaller farmers usually pay their men in a lump sum prior to their periodic exodus back home. Payment is a painful matter and in an unproductive year a promised rate of 35 shs. may slide down towards 25, or else the labourer will linger on hopefully.\textsuperscript{3} The most common virtue farmers may accredit a favoured servant with is patience on the subject of wages.

The larger the labour-force and the greater the amount of cash-cropping the more specialised the duties of the labourer appear to become. The largest farmers like Kigozi (Kd72) were quite specific about the particular tasks their men performed; someone to look after the cattle, someone allocated to the care of a plot of coffee. The fewer men working on the smaller farm will do everything from cotton-picking to baby-sitting. "They even help my wives in the banana gardens" remarked one such farmer of that traditional wifely preserve.

1. \textsuperscript{v.} especially Elkan (1956 and 1961); East Africa Royal Commission (1955:153-4); Powesland (1954) and Richards Ed. (1954).
2. Who holds the card is often a matter of confusion. It strikes some employees as odd to learn that it is their record.
3. The financial plight of the labourer increases when he is pressed for tax: 30-46 shs. p.a. for up to 100 shs. per month earned if in residence over four months in Buganda.
When speaking of permanence this is not meant to suggest that labourers never return to their homes. All but a very few go home at least once yearly and stay for roughly 3 months. Several return every 6 months and often a sort of rota supply of labour sets up. Beyond the fact that the long dry season of June to September is the period of lowest agricultural activity I could obtain nothing like a consensus as to when men went off home. Banyankole appear to be the most frequent commuters, going four or five times a year - 'even if I have not paid them' marvelled one farmer.¹ Banyaruanda and Barundi leave annually between November and February or alternatively between May and August, perhaps to put in some work on their own farms at home. In the course of my general work I was often surprised to discover that many labourers may have substantial property of their own, often in excess of their Ganda masters'.

I have described the position of the labourer in some depth here because their role in the two communities is at once an important permanent part of the social organisation and an instructive corollary for my thesis.

¹. Not only may the commutation of the labourers be related to farm regime, it is also significantly influenced by the various tax regulations. Non-Ugandans become officially liable for tax after 4 months residence in the country, other Ugandans in Buganda are likewise reassessed after this period and any deficit from what they should normally pay is claimed. Enforcement of these regulations is very strenuous and it does seem that many men quit before the periods when tax is demanded of them. (v. Statement of the Omuwanika of Buganda, S. Lubega, reported in Uganda Argus 19/8/65.)
The 62 labourers in Kamira stood out distinctly as a group apart, in terms of numbers alone far more so than the mere 10 in Budada. In Kamira the distinction between villagers and labourers was clear-cut, the latter constituting a sort of fifth column in the eyes of the community, an inferior status group in opposition to which bona fide community members could express coherence regardless of their own tribal origins. Labourers were blamed for all the ills of the village, thefts, disease, mysterious pregnancies and so on. One would earn derision if one suggested that they were in any sense community members. In Budada the distinction between labourer and villager was far less effective, other scapegoats were sought and never did I hear the suggestion that they were a threat to community life.

One may seek an explanation in the fact that Sabagabo is a suitable home for labourers who have acquired the capital to settle on land of their own and that 18 householders in Budada, 42%, are one-time labourers, compared with only 14, 17%, in Kamira. But this explanation in itself is inadequate and I refer again to the two premises of village integration to account for the differences. The labourer enjoys no rights in land and as a single man usually living with other single men he does not manifest the commitment of an established domestic unit. Quite simply my argument is that this debases him more in the Kamira situation than in Budada.
Labourers are an unpleasant necessity in Kamira, at once identifiable in their rags; yet employment of them is probably a matter of prestige, an index of economic success, of command over resources and of domestic establishment. Kigozi (Kd72) requires 5 men to farm his approximately 20 acres of land which he does intensively, immaculately and profitably. One is apt to meet Kigozi leading his men in Indian file through the village between two parcels of land, hoes over their shoulders. They live on one section of his property in a respectable tin-roofed house with its own kitchen. Bune (Ke27) is an interesting case in that he accommodates 9 labourers in his homestead, some of whom he employs from time to time, the rest serving as a valuable pool of men for the rest of the village. Mulengule (Kd17) accommodates 3 labourers and Salongo (Ke15) regards one of these as 'his'.

Only one Kamira villager came anywhere near to professing that he was a labourer. Sekalala (Kb83) told me that if he wanted money for drinking he would go along to a neighbour's for a morning and "help him with the digging". The arrangement, Sekalala appeared to imply, was quite gentlemanly, yet this circumstance was undesirable and clearly related to the fact that his small family subsisted on a tiny plot borrowed from Luninze (Kd82).

The labourers of Kamira are a group apart, meeting together to talk, to make music (usually on the small hand-piano) and occasionally to drink. They seldom attend ordinary village drinking-parties and seem to perpetuate their distinctness with a certain amused arrogance. The
most notable manifestation of this is their reluctance to greet people in the protracted Ganda fashion, preferring the brisk and alien Kiswahili "Jambo... aberi...".

Mulindwa (Ba35) personifies the fusion of the idea of labourer and villager in Budada. He cultivates cotton on a nearby plot for his absentee Ganda employer and he has a half acre of his own. Pata (Bb34) works casually and "when he has the strength" (i.e. when he is sober) for farmers in Kitimbwa. Significantly Gewedde's (Bdl2) man has just brought his wife and three children from Tanzania and is staying with his master with whom he is on cordial terms, until he finds suitable land of his own in Sabagabo.

In production there is no organised co-operative effort. There is no crop in either village that requires mutual assistance between domestic units in cultivation or harvest. Coffee, cotton, maize, are all crops that prove ideal in the strong economic individualism of each domestic unit. Co-operation would be difficult to assess adequately without detailed diary material over the full year, but I am satisfied from the material at my disposal that it does take place frequently. As for assistance in time of trouble, the informal leadership in the village (discussed in the following chapter) would ensure against cases of hardship in Kamiraj-in Budada, I am doubtful.

In Kamiraj coffee-cuttings may be exchanged; someone in difficulty will be given matoke plants. Large jobs like house-building or the cementing of the drying-area described earlier, may be carried out by groups of friends and neighbours
and are usually 'paid for' in meals and beer. Such things hardly merit the title 'economic co-operation', they are perhaps 'mutual aid'. Significantly, invited assistance in cropping is paid for in cash, when, say, a man requires coffee picked quickly or is ill. This is rare, as economic assistance is obtained from the pool of labour resident in the village. What mutual economic assistance there is, I am at pains to point out, is secondary to the ties that result from establishment in the community.

Individualism extends to marketing. In both villages the overwhelming majority sold their crops to private buyers. Although in the main crops there are strenuous Government efforts to sustain price-fixity there is still much competitive buying by private dealers, or, to be more accurate, competitive selling, as the farmer's problem is to try to find a dealer whose prices most closely approximate to the official one.

Ten farmers in Kamira said they were Co-operative Society members and all of them were residents of more than eleven years' standing. The movement in Buganda and in East Mengo particularly has fallen on hard times, largely because of insecurity and internal fission. Recent ventures such as the take-over of Nazigo ginnery have proved only marginally successful. Complaints centre on poor dividends, the temporary voucher payments, inefficiency and above all, unsound leadership. Members might seem to have some justification for malaise if they knew that of the 6 large scale farmers in Musale who hold office in the Movement, there are
four doing the bulk of their selling privately and one not using the Co-operative at all.

So much of the Co-operative life is extremely local in character; Musale offers such organisations as the Nazigo Kawonawo (established by the ex-servicemen at Nazigo); the Kikwanya akwiyisa enkya (loosely 'with an eye to the future'), and the Kisawula Co-operative, established by the founder of Kisawula village, Fesito Musawula. The largest, the central Co-operative in Musale, is at Kangulumira.

Nsiimbi (1956:29) has lamented the demise of the traditional Ganda co-operative spirit but I would maintain that in Musale it has surprising strength in spite of the human diversity there and it is very active in Sabagabo. There are embryo Co-operatives everywhere, centred on small coffee-cleaning plants, crop buying and transportation and so on. Their function is so strictly economic (the meetings are pure business, no drinking, great gravity) that they have little extraneous pressure to persist beyond their immediate commercial functions and are utterly different from the 'compins' of West and Central Africa (v. Banton 1957, Mitchell 1956, and Little 1966). For many years there seems to have been a pattern of low-level genesis of Co-operatives, which are often regarded by their originators as a stepping-stone to the Union offices in Kampala; some have petered out, some remained local and some achieved nominal incorporation into the National Movement.
The Kangulumira Wa Masaba Co-operative Society Limited, to give it its full title, had its inception in Kamira village but soon spread very selectively to adjacent Kalagala, Kigayaza and Nakatundu. It was established on February 29th 1956, by Manyala (Kel2), Gizaza (Ke8), Mazaki (Ke18) and a friend from Kigayaza village. As they were all Bagisu and as they were initially advised by the Bugisu Growers Co-operative, they named it after Mount Elgon, Masaba to them. It is certainly not tribally exclusive and today's president is a Muganda. Natiera (Ke39) is vice-chairman, the treasurer is Manyala and the committee of five includes Gizaza, Mazaki and Wanyala (Kd25).

The Society, affiliated to the Buganda Co-operative Union claims over 300 members, male and female, and more shareholders in Kamira than I could trace. Shares cost 22 shillings and there are two stores at the southern corner of Kamira, looked after by a young Mugisu. Cotton, coffee and maize are the main commodities dealt in, with some beans and groundnuts. The Society envisages expansion and the establishment of a wholesale depot or shop. At the moment capital is slow to accumulate and dividends are very sporadic, all blamed by the Committee on the poor seasons and low crop prices. Meetings are twice yearly with very rare extraordinary meetings called by members.

One may well wonder how both Natiera (Ke39) and Manyala (Kel2), can be simultaneously Co-operative officials and substantial private dealers. This I take as another example of diverging ideals and actions in co-operation, certainly...
flaw in the Movement. In Kamira Wadulo (Ke36) told me he had resigned from the Society because he reckoned he never got a fair return for his investment. Weboya (Kd20) felt he might yet do so for the same reason. Its limited effectiveness is just comment on the strength of economic individualism but the fact remains that a Co-operative exists, that it germinated in the core-group of Kamira and that its members are established villagers. Typically, no such organisation existed in Budada and the Kitimbwa branch had only five members from the village, Mutagasa (Bel3), Lukhoza (Be7), Gawedde (Bdl2), Kadula (Bd25) and Sentongo (Bcl4), all men resident for more than ten years. In an area with a bias towards cotton, the major commodity dealt with by the Union, I would have expected more members, at least among the core-group. Their participation is minimal, concerned only with the marketing of cotton and there is nothing of the scheduled meetings, bureaucratic structure and community identity of the Kamira Masaba Society.

In this chapter I have suggested the ways in which different modes of land tenure can affect economic activities, both in the choice of crops and the selection and deployment of resources. I have drawn attention to the urge for security of tenure in Kamira and the apparent insecurity in Budada, showing the distinctive ways that the 'core-group' behaves in each. Drawing attention to the relinquishing of economic ties with home I have considered the family pressures urging maximisation of the use of domestic resources, the uneasy competition of cash and subsistence cropping and the
need for other, non-agricultural sources of income. I have related these pressures of domestic development to the accretion and diminution of land resources and have shown that their effect is far more pervasive in Kamira than in Budada.

Accounting for the strong economic individualism of the domestic unit among new-comers particularly, I have pointed to the decreasing likelihood of internal division of resources and labour, and to the modest increase of co-operation within the village as establishment progresses. Parallel with this go changes in technique, the employment of labour, crop diversification and the keeping of livestock. I have shown the greater extent of these developments in Kamira, notably the organised co-operation in marketing. Dwelling on the question of labourers I have shown how, unestablished and without land, they are separate and contrastive in the economic and social life of Kamira, a faction against which community sentiment may be expressed.
'Weekume owolugambo musiwamaka' -
'Take care of gossip about harm to your home'.

In this chapter I consider the last of the three broad spheres of social organisation in the two villages, that involving leadership and, most significant from the community integration aspect, social control. Much less susceptible to measurement, these topics will be considered frequently with reference to specific social situations derived from my own observations and experiences.

The problems of finding out about leadership in Bugerere were considerable. My questions presented in themselves a contingency and the wording of them could so easily direct the response where, from the new immigrant's point of view, the situation was anything but precise. It was this very imprecision I was anxious to understand and my general query as to the "omuntu omukulu" - "senior man" - in the village may semantically have been inadequate. Significantly, however, my questions drew out attitudes that progressively changed the more established the migrant was. In both villages new-comers most usually names the mutongole chief by whose agency they had officially become land-holders. In Kamira responses changed progressively until certain ordinary villagers were cited as leaders by the longest-established residents. While there was some variation, one name was repeatedly offered, Gizaza (Ke8). Furthermore his authority was expressed as a role with its own title -
Mutaka. This progressive shift in the conception of semi-formal community leadership offers rare insights into the whole question of integration and bears some detailed discussion.

Having pursued the matter with inadequate care in Kamira I was more methodical in Budada. Twenty three responses (54%) favoured the mutongole chief as the most important man, far more than in Kamira, even though Nsubuga lived outside the community boundaries. Among those who had come within the last five years, ten mentioned Nsubuga, six Lubega (Be5) and one Dawakuta (Be3). Of the remaining six, Erusami (Ba30) was most forthrightly critical, saying that everyone in Budada thought himself a king but he knew them for the poseurs they were. Kyenkyo (Bb36) and Gandu (Bb22) could not offer an opinion as they felt they had not been long enough in the village to know. Mugawula (Bb32) said with assurance "Augustine - the mutongole" indicating a rather limited acquaintance with Edward Nsubuga. Mukasa (Bb28) also produced an unidentifiable name. One or two new-comers like Kayuga (Bb29) had briefly some difficulty in recalling the mutongole's name and pronounced it with an alien clumsiness - "N-chubuga". Dema (Bb21) replied simply "If you want to know who is the leader here then you must ask the Banyala".

The preference for Nsubuga, the formal authority, persevered through to the most established residents, just four of them citing Lubega. In so doing Sentongo (Bc14), Waibi (Bc20) and Mutagasa (Be13) used the expression mutaka, yet as Dawakuta (Be3), Lukhoza (Ke7) and Kazoba (Ke19) were
also mentioned in this capacity, the role very clearly lacked precision. In answer to my question Dawakuta said bluntly "I used to be the Mutaka. Now the people dispute among themselves and they fear me". Lubega himself did not profess to be Mutaka, giving Nsubuga as the most important man in the village.

Gizaza (Ke8) said with authority that he was the Mutaka of Kamira. The word was used repeatedly but there was some doubt as to the incumbent of the office. Gizaza, Tabula (Ke68), Manyala (Ke12), Mukasa (Ke51) and Kigozi (Kd72) were named, all thoroughly committed men as were those proposed in Budada, but with Gizaza claiming most nominations. Those feeling that the mutongole, Musoke, was the most important man were overwhelmingly the newer arrivals. Unestablished, they looked to the official chiefly hierarchy. On the other hand, while there was a tendency for long-established people to prefer an ordinary villager, there was some criticism of the virtues of Gizaza and even a renewed tendency to favour the official chief Musoke in the face of this doubt, for example the attitude of Wanyela (Be35).

Southwold (1959) has considered deeply the meaning and modern implications of this Ganda expression, Mutaka. I quote here a passage in which he described a triple application of the word:

"The word "mutaka" in its strict sense means a clan-officer: the officer who rules (okufuga) a recognised segment of a clan.... But there are other shades of meaning which are extremely relevant. The stem - taka - means "soil" or "land": ettaka means both "soil" in the agricultural sense, and "land" as something which can be
owned: mnannya ina ttaka is "landowner". From the same stem comes butaka a clan estate and mutaka, a clan officer and owner of the butaka. Mutaka can be used simply in the sense of "landowner": people who are mailo owners without any assumption of clan seniority are commonly referred to as bataka .... hence a mailo owner is not simply a mutaka because he is owner of the ettaka: his position tends to be given by the other attributes of those who were owners of the ettaka in the past, the bataka, the clan officers.

"Finally, the word mutaka is sometimes used of people who have lived a long time in one village. One peasant, for example, told me that if you have lived in a place for about 15 years and have buried relatives there, then you become a mutaka in that place - irrespective of whether you were born there or own land there or have any formal position of power in the community."

Briefly, the three streams of meaning imply (1) clanship, (2) land tenure, and (3) seniority. In Kamira and Budada the bases of clanship and private estate ownership are lacking as a principle of local organisation; why, then, is the expression used?

That it is a question of seniority alone I do not for a moment believe. In the first place the mutaka must be ssemaka, a man with an established domestic unit, as all my informants agreed. The mutaka in Kamira, moreover, performed a function and it is in this that the implications are best revealed.

I was most forcibly enlightened as to Gizaza's role when I left Kamira to start work in Budada. He asked if he might accompany me to ensure that I would settle well in my new home. After our journey he went outside my room in Lubega's (Be5) house and told the curious crowd that had gathered that he wanted to address them. He was, he said, Mutaka in Kamira and had known me as his own son in that village. There followed an extremely valuable commendation and the villagers were exhorted to welcome me. Natiere (Ke39) and the son of
Weboya (Kd20) were also present and greatly approved of this gesture.

I think it will become apparent that the action of the mutaka is largely situational; the case of Mebulo and Kafuko to be described in the final chapter should make this clear. The role, however, was invariably defined in two specific ways, the supervision of all aspects of land tenure and the organisation of burials. It is fascinating to note that probably the functions of the conventional Ganda clan/landowner mutaka could also be reduced to this; they are concerned with such affairs as boundaries and supervision of inheritance and with the funerals of clansmen. More than this, the Kamira mutaka is custodian of what is deemed proper, is expected to have patience and wisdom and to arbitrate as a father in village life. His authority is informal in that it depends upon those people who are prepared to acknowledge its rightfulness, people who are established and committed community members. It is this informality of acceptance that makes his role invisible to the new-comer and to the anthropologist. That so-important 'take me to your leader' took me initially to Musoki the mutongole chief and only much later to this secondary source of authority.

Gizaza was invariably consulted by Musoke and Wasozi (Ks30) his deputy, when a piece of land was turned over to a new settler; he knew all the boundaries by heart, his word was accepted. When a villager died he organised a house-to-house collection, and expected 50 cents from each to buy cloth for the corpse. For those without kinsfolk at hand, for an aged widow or single new-comer, he would superintend
all arrangements. One may begin to understand why the clan-
ship title of **mutaka** is re-invoked here; his explicit functions
are pseudo-clanship in character.

Gizaza's status as **mutaka** was seriously in doubt now
because of his continual absence and his split domestic group
in Bugisu. Mulengule (Kd17) preferred to regard Manyala (Kel2)
as **mutaka** for this reason, although he acknowledged (n.b.)
that Gizaza had served the community well. There was
absolutely no such sense of service in Budada. I have already
described the insecurity in land tenure and the poor community
response at funerals and this may be justifiably related to
the absence of someone like Gizaza. Lubega (Be5) and Dawakuta
(Be3) were both the foci of considerable fear and suspicion
as well as being respected as leaders by some. Between the
two ran the deepest enmity. Dawakuta said he believed that
Lubega, his brother's son and his heir, was intent on destroying
him. He had attempted to burn his house, and had
poisoned a small herd of cows he used to own. Lubega, he
said, prowled about at night with his henchmen armed with guns
and were he not careful he, Dawakuta, would soon be a corpse.
Partly to forestall his nephew's covetousness Dawakuta had
sold 5 acres of his land to Byakika (Be2) in July 1965.

The cleavage between the two strongest candidates for
**mutaka**-ship in Budada is interesting in that it belongs to the
pattern of agnatic relatedness at the core of the village,
with its concomitant stresses. It was this sort of dispute
that Wadwaya (Kd40), Waguma (Kb76) and the others in Kamira
said they were glad to have left behind in Bugisu. It is
also of interest in that Lubega had prevailed as the nominee;
he is indeed a ssemaka, established man, with his five wives, ten children, 15 acre farm and shop at Kitimbwa. Dawakuta lived very much apart with one wife, his only daughter married and living several miles away; he was unfulfilled, desperately wanted an heir and indicated that this trouble too might have more than a little to do with his nephew.

Panatya (Bb23) also suspected Lubega of unreasonable jealousy and of prowling armed at night. Having served a term in Luzira Central Prison for a motoring offence Panatya returned home to find his new coffee plantation cut down and his motor-car burned out. He held "Lubega and his friends" responsible, which in the absence of evidence played more on Lubega's splenetic reputation than anything. As a new-comer Pantya had a disproportionately large farm - nearly 15 acres - and a large established household of ten; his awareness of and involvement in community affairs was considerable but he readily acknowledged that Budada had a mutaka of sorts. An index of his trust in the office was that he regarded as its incumbent none other than the much despised Lubega.

The succession to the mutaka-ship in Kamira highlights some aspects of the role. Gizaza, whose imminent departure meant relinquishing his office, told me that Bune (Ke27) would be the next mutaka. He would, he said, have a drinking-party before he left and would tell everyone there that Bune was a fine, equable man who had been a man of Kamira for a long time and who was liked by all. The decision was startling because Bune was a soft-spoken, jet-black Sudanese Kuku tribesman with alien-looking facial scarifications. He settled sixteen years ago after long service as a labourer
in Buganda and one might say he was more 'mugerere' than a native if that did not imply passive assimilation. More precisely he is intensely circumspect and more aware of the formal and informal organisation of community life than most. He was enormously accommodating and patient and I learned a very great deal from him directly about how I should, and should not, go about my work in Kamira. Bune never wore the traditional Ganda kanzu and was not in the least reticent about his tribal identity. I feel sure that Gizaza chose him because he was committed to Kamira, and not to the Ganda way of life nor, for that matter, to any other tribal group.

The mutaka in Kamira is an agent of social control, emergent, as it were, in accordance with domestic establishment. In time of trouble, it appeared, new-comers would turn to the official authority of the mutongole chief, whereas committed migrants would seek out the informal mechanisms. The labourers in Kamira proved an excellent case in point. Not only were they the most indicted people in the village but they were also the most ready to present claims of maltreatment to the mutongole.

Multitribalism can readily be blamed for crime, most notably it seems, in town life. Stenning (1961) provides a table for Kampala that seems to vindicate "the police dictum that 'if all migrants were taken away from Kampala crime would decrease appreciably'" (op. cit.:44). Southall and Gutkind attribute this partly to weakness in the formal organisation: "The Africans of the tribes who constitute the majority of the urban population, do not recognise the
Buganda Government as having any full political control over them." (1957:212). Stenning notes that high imprisonment figures relate to "tribes with strongly migrant features such as a high proportion of males to females" (1961:44) and I would take this in support of my view that domestic establishment, be it urban or rural, diminishes the likelihood of acts or accusations of crime.

Bugerere has some notoriety in Buganda for its crime-rate and the circuit magistrate is kept very busy. The Uganda Argus newspaper regularly reports the more serious offences: "Petro Lulanda (70) of Kiteredde, Musale, Bugerere, died at the spot after he had been hit with a stick on the head. A man has been detained." (9/9/65). Repeatedly labourers are involved though seldom such inveterate criminals as one Pastora Kitita (50) of Magala, Bugerere, whose twenty second conviction was for stealing an employment record book (ibid. 28/9/65). It is accepted that the village vents extreme corporate wrath upon anyone who outrages it, inevitably errant labourers: "Yowana Kakwaya (porter) of Mpumudde Village, Gombolola Musale, Bugerere, was beaten to death by villagers after he had been caught with a stolen cock." (ibid. 12/2/66). This was far from unusual and on several occasions I have seen such sights as a hungry labourer, with the remains of a purloined chicken still clutched to his breast, feigning death as he was dragged before the chief. At Kitimbwa a light-fingered visitor to the market-place was caught behind my house and beaten until he coughed blood. The prisoners who sit on the floor in the centre of the magistrate's courtroom are
Law Cases in Musale and Sabagabo sub-counties, Bugerere, between 1:4:64 and 31:3:65.

Number of individuals indicted and convicted.

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<tr>
<td>Jail-breaking</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Tax default</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>possession of Offensive weapon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Breach of peace</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offences</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land disputes</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other offences</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>133</td>
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</table>
labourers to a man. Doubtless one of their main satisfactions is the occasion when they successfully dun an employer for wages due. They are not over-obsequious and on one occasion the ragged crew hooted with mirth as two successful Ganda plaintiffs prostrated themselves before the patient magistrate.

Mair (1934:184) records that litigation is extremely popular with the Baganda. My own impression in Bugarere is that actual participation is very unpopular although there is always someone eager to look on. Gulliver (1958:28-9) argues very plausibly that litigiousness is a function of high population density among the Nyakyusa, but more precise explanations would be hard to devise. During the year following March 1964, 266 people were indicted in Musale magistrate's court, about 0.18% of the population. Fig. 51 gives an account of the process of cases brought to the gombolola chief and of the offences and disputes involved. Civil and criminal litigation were not distinguished in the records until very recently, so I have not attempted to differentiate. Tax defaulting caused the sabagabo chief much work but the most common offences involved theft and, implicitly, the labourers.

For the ordinary farmer the main hazards were offences involving the illicit distillation of Nubian gin - waragi, health regulations such as improperly constructed latrines and kitchens and failure to observe quarantine precautions. However, what really stands out from this table is the absolutely minimal litigation on all matters concerned with the tenure of land. One of the three cases dealt with that year by the Musale chief involved Modi (Kc63) of Kamira.
He had trouble paying his temporary occupation licence and was served with an eviction order. He managed to pay in time.

Looking again at the useful parallels among the Nyakyusa one finds a similar paucity of land cases in the most densely settled parts - just 5% of all civil cases. Gilliver sets this against the 25% and 29% of the less crowded Moshi and Ngara districts (1958:28-9). Furthermore "boundary disputes are few" he says (op. cit.:27), as they most certainly are in Bugerere, in contrast to Mukwaya's observations for Buganda as a whole (1954:64). Surprised, I asked several people about this in Musale and they agreed it was strange without being able to account for it. With Bagisu it tended to lead to animated discussions of intricate land feuds at home. Gizaza (Ke8) was under pressure to return home to his clan-ship duties specifically because he had twelve land cases awaiting his attention. He discussed this matter at length with me, pointing out that in longer-settled Mumyuka (Bugerere) there were more cases than in Musale.

Again, I am sure that population density alone is not a complete explanation; Gulliver too was concerned with an immigrant situation. I feel that in Musale the reluctance to litigate formally on the subject of land relates to a common jural insecurity among public land-holders. The single case in Musale (Fig. 51) concerned a private-land tenancy. On the other hand disputes unquestionably arise but in the public interest they are resolved informally, hence the function of the mutaka.
There were only three land disputes known in Kamira, all of them had involved established villagers and all were resolved by the agency of Gizaza. In about 1957 Natiera (Ke39) claimed that he had been given an unfair share of his mother Nasaka's (Ke41) land compared with his brother Wasaba (Ke43). After some discussion Nasaka was prevailed upon to make an adjustment, but the case still evokes some censure against Natiera. The second case involved Makabala (Ke6) and a previous settler named Wanenya who had apparently planted crops over the former's boundary. The dispute was a difficult one, said Gizaza, but Makabala's rights were upheld. Wanenya was still dissatisfied, but did not seek arbitration at a higher level and quite soon after moved out of the village. The impeachment of his rights in land was in impeachment of his rights to village membership.

Important land boundaries are extremely well known and clearly defined, another trait shared by the Nyakyusa (Gulliver 1958: 27), which obviates a good deal of argument. The third land dispute was between Mazaki (Ke18) and Mulengule (Kd17) and was very gentlemanly in conduct. Mazaki protested that his half-brother Mulengule had taken over more of his land than he had originally allotted; but after Musoke, the mutongole, and Gizaza had paced around the land, Mulengule confessed he had erred and apologised. It is interesting that two of these disputes (I am unsure about the third) involved Bagisu who were closely related agnatically. No-one could recall a serious land dispute involving people who were unrelated.
Natiera's (Ke39) fight (see Chapter 10). Natiera puts his case to the mutongole chief of Kangulumira (Top picture: 5th from the left). Unable to resolve the trouble the chief swings round to take the matter to his senior, the muluka chief.

Below: Mutongole chief Nsubuga of Budada settling a dispute outside his house.
Gizaza accounted for the reluctance to litigate with the expression *siribannyannini ettaka* - "they don't own the land" and by explaining that official discussion might jeopardise one's claim. More generally there was a reluctance to carry any dispute to the chiefs if it could not otherwise be resolved. Saying that hoeing time is when land disputes are likely to occur among the Nyakyusa, Gulliver adds "if minor disagreements do arise at that season they can be immediately settled - by appeal to neighbours working nearby if necessary - and the headman or his assistant may well not be called in at all" (1958:27-8). Thus in Kamira one may find *ad hoc* groups of neighbours discussing some issue and as beer parties are the venue of most fights, fellow-drinkers regard the exercise of restraint as the first essential.

The fight of which I have included 2 photographs reveals some relevant attitudes to such disturbances. A visitor had parked his car outside the Wa Masaba Co-operative Store, immediately over the Kamira Boundary in Kangulumira. Natiera (Ke39) on whose plot the store stood, told a man from another village to stop leaning against the car and was ignored. Natiera started to fight and, despite several efforts to part them, he and his opponent refused to quit. Soon the mutongole chief of Kangulumira arrived and Kawoya (Kc2) who had seen the whole fight gave an account of what had happened. The chief shrugged disdainfully and said he would arrange to bring the parish chief to the scene, he could see no sense in it. When he had cooled down Natiera persuaded his opponent to accept 60 shs. and sent a message to the chief to say the matter was resolved. "I did not
want to get a reputation as a troublemaker" he said. The desire for a quick resolution, the intercession of an established villager, and the mutongole's reluctance to arbitrate, all appear in this case.

If restraint is valued, so too is clemency. Shortly after this sequence a villager from Kangulumira stole a ball of twine from Natieru who earned some praise by dropping charges against him. It is interesting that, apart from labourers, troublemakers are normally identified as people from other villages. One of the most marked demonstrations of community esprit de corps I witnessed was after an obnoxious inebriate had been driven back into his own village.

Of the three cases from Kamira, all presented by the deputy chief Wasozi, at the magistrate's court during my stay, two involved petty theft and one an obscure charge against Kawoya (Kc2) which was dismissed after the plaintiff failed to appear. Manyala (Kel2) was witness to a case in which a visitor to his home had allegedly been robbed by a labourer. The case brought by Mayoni (Kc44) was more complex. Living temporarily in a very rough hut on Waguma's (Kb76) farm was a woman called Aisa, supposedly an indigent relative. Staying with her was a man of very dubious status, a Mugisu who worked as a casual labourer outside the village. Mayoni accused him of stealing a half bag of maize and Waguma gave evidence for the prosecution. I understand the accused was jailed and Aisa packed her suitcase and left the village in tears. Again it was two rootless village residents who bore the brunt of the trouble.
The only established villager I encountered actually accused of an offence was Mukasa (Kd26). His case was dismissed at the level of the Gombolola chief's hearing but it nevertheless caused Mukasa considerable anguish. During the whole episode he did no farm work and was plainly upset by the trouble. He had given hospitality to his wife's sister and her son and had been visited by the angry ex-husband who accused the son of theft and was seeking a warrant for his arrest. Musoke, the mutongole chief, was duly despatched with an askari but Mukasa refused to allow the boy to go on account of his youthfulness. It was for this obstruction he was summoned. His neighbour Namwandu (Kc32) stood surety on his behalf. "I was afraid" Mukasa explained, "that they might lead me through the village tied up with a rope". I think it notable that while the deputy Wasozi (Ke30) usually did most of the official donkey work it was the chief himself, Musoke, who dealt with this delicate affair, very deferentially, according to Mukasa. His troubles brought him considerable local sympathy, passers-by usually stopping to hear the news.

In Budada it seemed that appeals and disputes were far more readily carried to the mutongole chief Nsubuga, who consequently was a far more authoritative figure than his Kamira counterparts. After a patient hearing he dismissed as lacking in sound evidence a complaint from one Kitimbwa woman that she had been raped on the way home from a beer party. So positive an action in so serious a case would have been unimaginable in Musale where disputes were quickly
passed up the hierarchy. Sula's land dispute with Mutagasa (v. Chap. 9) was taken to him but was not referred to the parish chief as it ought to have been. Living opposite Nsubuga's home I had ready access to the frequent disputes, minor and major, to which he devoted much of his time.

A question I frequently asked in both villages was how people would react to some hostile intervention into their homes. Whereas the contingency seemed readily acceptable in Budada I often had difficulty in devising likely examples to counteract the ready assertion that this seldom occurred in Kamira. It was Nabugodi (Kc19) who made the pungent observation: "Here in Kamira even brothers do not fight". Cases of theft were the most anticipated breach of the peace and all agreed that the first reaction was to give the whooping signal nduulu. This call is official and legal action may be taken against those ignoring or abusing it. It brings out the surrounding neighbours, usually with sticks at the ready, and whatever is amiss receives its first official enquiry. It concerns not only crime, but fire, sudden illness or any emergency. Thus one old woman in a malarial fit was restrained and escorted home by Natiera (Ke39), Kawoya (Kc2) and others. Usually great circumspection in dealing with trouble was advocated. If a drunk man came to his house at night, Joseph Mukasa (Ke51) would lock his door and leave him alone, raising the alarm only in extremis. People are very punctilious about friendly

1. For example in Bugerere a man was fined 30 shs. for failing to answer a call at Kayunga (Uganda Argus 13/9/65). Three men fined 20 shs. each for the same offence at Namatagonya (ibid. 6/12/65).
greetings, imperative if one has to move around at night. Waguma's (Kb76) definition of himself at the beginning of an interview was "I am just a poor peasant (mukopi) who lives at peace with his neighbours".

In Budada expressions of mutual security were harder to come by, yet I do not wish to give the impression that everyone lived in fear and mistrust. There were much the same mutual desires for peaceable economic and domestic development, but at the same time there were more manifestations of insecurity.

One of these was the fad for mottoes. I encountered these first in Dawakuta's (Be3) home after seven months in Kamira. Hitherto I had only seen the occasional brightly painted clan emblems, but Dawakuta had eight cartoon mottoes in a similar style hanging on the walls of his main room. All were little moral homilies on good behaviour and common decency and three were specifically directed against errant guests. It was rude, one of them pointed out, to eat food in a man's home and then make eyes at his wife. The display took on extra meaning as Dawakuta proceeded to voice his suspicions of his nephew Lubega and to complain of unfaithful friends and persecution by the village. In the Kitimbwa market I found an artist who carried on a brisk trade in mottoes, and I commissioned him to paint me some. I showed these to people in Kamira on my return and they were regarded with interest and amusement but were not coveted. I think it interesting that the artist at Kangulumira market could supply me with clan emblems but said there was no demand for
mottoes in the area.

One of the most powerful constraints in both communities was the latent fear of supernatural intervention and the general use of magical prophylaxis. To put this subject in perspective I think it is necessary to appreciate the weakness of organised religion in either village and in Bugerere as a whole. Although many are baptised many more seem to profess to a faith as a matter of expediency and the figures estimated for Buganda are widely discrepant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Moslem</th>
<th>Indigenous and others</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Taylor (1959:124)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Buganda Planning Commission (1965:29)</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
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<td>3. Southwold (1959)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>c.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. My Bugerere area samples</td>
<td>33.3⁺</td>
<td>33.3⁺</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Kamira</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Budada</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
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(*) sie,

There is a Church of Uganda chapel on the hill in Kangulumira but the Sunday turnout from Kamira is very small indeed.¹ In Budada Christian worship must be nearly nil. Moslems are supposedly more devout but Wamubiraggwe (Kd71) assured me that this did not make for particular fellowship among the

¹. Nabiirwa (Kd70) and Mukasa (Kd26) were both lay preachers prior to their arrival in Bugerere. Now both are inactive.
faithful of Kamira. Unfortunately I did not discover enough about their drinking habits to know if this excludes them from conviviality within the village. Ostensibly the taboo on alcohol is upheld, but I have drunk lager beer with Moslems on the assurance that this "does not count". Besides, there is nothing to prevent one from taking one's own drink to a party even if it is only the ubiquitous Pepsi-Cola.

The most visible signs of the importance of medicines is their prevalence in the market place, which suggests that Bugerere offers a particularly good market; the range of medicines available in Kampala and Mukono seemed scant by comparison. The whole subject was far too intricate and suppressed to examine satisfactorily and I know that the heterogenous practices in Bugerere probably translate inaccurately into Lugenda. What I did learn was that the efficacy of magic depends on its community: in brief, if you want to use a swear you have to be confident that those against whom it is placed are aware of and respect its significance.

I gained many valuable insights by discussing the commerce of magic with vendors and practitioners and by buying my own. Overwhelmingly the greatest trade was in medicines that guaranteed the welfare of the domestic unit. On an elementary level one may purchase aphrodisiac roots or tobacco to induce an errant wife to return. Protective swears - nsiriba - stitched into barkcloth or cotton pouches are very important, seen everywhere around the necks of young children or tucked into the rafters of houses. The efficacy of these varies directly according to price; an expensive one contained a
part of a small bird's nest, a shaving of a root, small strips of lion and leopard skin, a lion's claw, some scrapings of rhino horn and a piece of herb, to be buried under the threshold. I noticed that several prescriptions were 'personalised' with a portion of the buyer's fingernail or hair. One costly constituent for family protection was shavings from three vines symmetrically and inextricably intertwined; man, wife and child.

These medicines are called edogo in Luganda and while most are purchased as a general assurance, the expensive ones may be given a name to seek out, thus merging with the conscious, manipulative arts of sorcery. The man on the market-place, more akin to the herbalist and doctor, sometimes musawo, would not be regarded as a sorcerer; one would contact the true bamandwa more privately. Someone believing himself wronged might seek out one of these practitioners and, essentially at night, the spirits of mayembe would be ritually invoked. However "the most common method is to plant some malignant 'medicine' secretly in the house or garden of the victim and ensure that he learns in some indirect way, that he is being bewitched". (Taylor 1958:194-5). This was the most discussed form of retribution in Kamira and Budada, the forces of true mayembe being more specifically associated with the Baganda and more devious in effect. I was told, for example, that the mayembe spirits would go in a huge invisible landrover and flatten an enemy's house.

1. Sometimes mulogo, with which Taylor (1958:194) would appear to concur.
Top left: scene of the rite performed by Bakissula (Bd15) for Lubega's (Be5) sister in Budada. Left: Vendor of medicines, edore, at Kitimbwa market. Above: Kikumeko’s (Be35) essabo shrine, beside his homestead.

Below: Beer party group in Kamira; men and women drinking together from the same marwa pot.
not be confused with another form of Ganda evil, the obusezi, witches who depart at night from the bodies of sleepers, usually unwittingly, and wreak harm against another by bitambo, their evil power. One hears little of this in Bugerere; it is sorcery that most people fear, an art which ranges from obscure indirect applications of medicines to straightforward poisoning.

In the face of this sorcery, divination assumes considerable importance. Older people who know the correct interpretation may throw bones or other objects, an activity not usually secretive or scorned. I am not sure of the name for a diviner of this sort - I imagine people in Bugerere would use mulaguzi mentioned by Taylor (1958:216) and Kaggwa and Welbourn (1964). Again in the strictly Ganda context the balubaale, ancestral spirits, may be summoned by a gifted priest-operator, omusamize, for verdict or prediction, but it was only Baganda and Banyala who mentioned this to me.

In Kamira and Budada the most frequently encountered terms are mayembe, apparently referring to harmful magic in general, and bamandwa, the practitioners of this harm. It is distinguishable as sorcery and its three main targets are the well-being of one's children, the prosperity of one's crops and the fertility, fidelity and good health of one's wife. The action most likely to invite sorcery is adultery. "If I had done this, I should fear greatly." said Ngobi (Kd45). "There are supposed to be abamandwa in Kamira." The ambiguity of the situation came out in Ngobi's proposed course of action were he to believe someone had made love to his wife. "I should catch him and take him to the mutongole
chief where he would be fined." If provoked too far he would kill the offender with his own hands. Sorcery is something that is done to one, not something one does.

It is very easy to relate Middleton and Winters' (1963) thesis on East African Witchcraft and Sorcery to this situation where close unilineal ties between homesteads are minimal and where affinity plays an important part in community inter-relations. One would anticipate sorcery rather than witchcraft and this indeed seems to be the case. In Kamira magic belongs in the domestic unit, a negative charge ready to meet ill will from the community. It is not apparent unless one looks for it; there were no intrigues, people were reticent about it. Perhaps Nabugodi (Kcl9) put it best when he said: "There is magic here, but it is private". More important, it belongs in those established domestic units where there is more to protect - wives, children and crops. Remarkably, new-comers and labourers seem to enjoy immunity from magic and there is a very general belief that other people's magic is harmless to oneself. As one informant explained: "You see medicine in the road, you step around it but you do not fear. It is not in your village, it cannot trouble you." I witnessed an interesting scene while interviewing outside Kamira. A group of people had gathered outside the home of a farmer who was pointing in extreme agitation at what he took to be medicines scattered in his compound.

1. Magic between members of the domestic group was, of course, much harder to find out about. Modi (Ko63) lamented that his four years of illness had been caused by his vengeful and unfaithful wife and that much of his money had been spent on cures.
The danger was removed by one of his own labourers who, hands in pockets, casually kicked the offending twigs and leaves off down the roadway while his master trembled in the distance. Bune (Ke27) describing the attitudes of new migrants from the Sudan told me "They fear the laws of Buganda but the magic of this country is nothing to them".

When I tried to discover how much sixteen years settlement in Kamira had changed his own attitudes he wryly declined to answer. His small daughter wore a nsiriba charm.

If magic was repressed in Kamira it had a more active role to play in the community life of Budada. Even unestablished new-comers were aware of it although they were not much involved. Erusami (Ba30) related this at once to lawlessness in the community, recounting a nocturnal theft of matoke from his plot. The ostracised Iuwano (Ba6) was conscious of being ensorcelled but from his indifferent attitude I would be tempted to suggest that his very excommunication diminished the power of the magic over him.

A particular situation that developed during my stay in Budada brought to light the operation of magic in the village. Lubega's (Ke5) sister had broken off an affair with a man whose identity and home I could not ascertain but who certainly lived outside Budada. She argued that he was a thief but he was persistent in his attempts to take her back from Lubega's farm where she had sought refuge. One night we (at Lubega's second house in Kitimbwa) were roused by excited knocking and incomprehensible conversations in the Lunyala tongue. Later I learned that his sister had had a sudden seizure which was plainly attributable to mayembe.
sorcery dispatched by her frustrated lover.

Bakissula (Bd15) a young Musoga well established and closely involved in community affairs, was called out. He was well known locally for his powers as a muganga and told me he reckoned to make up to 1000 shs. a year with the sale of medicines.¹ He was a good friend of Lubega's and ordered him next day to buy a goat, hens and barkcloth in preparation for a nocturnal rite. All this was kept most secret and the delirious woman was hidden away in Lubega's house. Next day people were talking of a dance of exorcism and the implantation of strong medicines at a quiet spot in the east of the village (marked X on Map 6). Although everyone, including my assistant, preferred to keep clear, I was able quickly to photograph the site and note the large quantity of blood scattered and scraps of burned flesh, intestines and herbs in the hole.

The next disturbance came that afternoon from Sentongo (Bc14) who we met in a rage heading for the house of the mutongole chief, Nsubuga. Luckily he chose to unburden himself to us in no uncertain terms about the events of the night and the medicines on the pathway so close to his home. It was provocative, foolish, people might suspect him, he had no quarrel with Lubega, etc. etc. He proceeded to Nsubuga's house where his objections were sustained and Bakissula promptly obliterated the traces, explaining that its job was done.

I gathered that harm was not intended against Sentongo. His wife and Lubega's were sisters and the men knew each other

¹. He offered to make one for me for £7
well but perhaps this only increased Sentongo's fears. Mutagasa (Bc13), a longer-established villager, made no comment nor did Waibi (Bc20), Lubega's brother, although I suspect they both attended the rite. Shortly afterwards I tentatively asked Dema (Bb21) about the matter but he quite clearly knew nothing whatever of the whole business. There was much that I, another new-comer, and my assistant simply could not fathom, such as the locating of the rite or precisely what effect was intended. Gossip said that the pathway carried the magic to the offender's home and that Bakissula had successfully trapped the vengeful mayembe. Lubega's sister, slowly recovering, was installed in our house at Kitimbwa, where my proximity to the family had given me a greater insight than most others.

I note here that a corporate ritual act was performed within the village and that while it aroused intense and rather fearful interest among some it passed almost unnoticed by newer settlers to the south of the village. Secondly, the protagonists were from the core group, all thoroughly committed villagers with the locally controversial figure of Lubega at the centre.

In addition to the people who actually told me that there was a lot of magical activity in Budada there were other visible signs of the importance of traditional belief, the occasional essabo shrine to the balubaale, ancestral spirits. Kikumeko (Ke33) during a bout of sickness had been instructed by a lubaale spirit to make a small house for it and bring it food and offerings. There is a popular Ganda gramophone
record at the moment which tells of the use of *mayembe* in a love affair. In the closing verse the singer suggests that the new generation is casting aside such superstitions. In Budada, however, more than in Kamira, one senses that they can not be cast aside, with no other formal or rational constraints ready to fill the breach.

The only important corporate ritual in Kamira was the biennial Gisu circumcision and characteristically this has been altered out of deference to other tribes. Most notably the very noisy inaugural dances with bells (*inembe*) were usually omitted. Gizaza actually protested that Ganda, Soga and others enjoyed the fuss and the drinking as much as the Bagisu.

Recreation provides an opportunity for domestic unit to meet community and for specific forms of social control to become manifest. New-comers very frequently protested that they had neither the time nor the money to enjoy themselves, whereas a very large proportion of men (and women) in both villages escaped from the domestic confines and spent regular afternoons or even full days drinking with friends in the village and nearby.

The following table suggests the ascendency of drinking as the professed favourite form of relaxation according to length of establishment in the village. There were more radio sets in Kamira than in Budada which doubtless encouraged more people there to relax at home. Going to town (Kitimbwa, about a mile from the centre of Budada) was quite a favourite pursuit among Budada's new-comers. The enjoyment
started with bathing carefully, putting on one's best clothes and walking or cycling to the shops where one could talk if one wished, hear the news and drink beer or Pepsi-Cola. In town one could relax impersonally and obviate contact with the community. Much the same preliminaries were involved for those 'more sociable' who chose to walk around the village and visit friends, staying for a cup of tea if that was available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECREATION</th>
<th>Does Nothing at home (No time, money)</th>
<th>Relaxes at home (With tea, radio, etc.)</th>
<th>Goes to Township</th>
<th>Visits Friends Locally</th>
<th>Drinks</th>
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<td>Years resident</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Up to 1</td>
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<td>e. 16 +</td>
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<td><strong>BUDADA</strong></td>
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<td>Years resident</td>
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<td>e. 16 +</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Apart from those occasions when a man entertained a friend privately at home with a pot of beer, parties were surprisingly well organised and commercialised. In Kamira there were indications that parties were particularly well attended by Bagisu but these occasions were by no means exclusive. A villager would buy millet for marwa beer, or, less commonly collect mbidde bananas for the Ganda mwenge, and having made it known that he was brewing would sell it at a shilling a bowlful to the people who came flocking with their pots and
drinking tubes to his home. Natiera (Ke39) my host, regularly brewed up two oil-drumfuls of marwa which he sold at a handsome profit. Other people preferring to bring their own drink were not excluded and Gizaza (Ke8) claimed he attended many parties but took no alcohol as it disagreed with him. Minor commerce flourished, women selling cigarettes, or someone collecting coppers by playing an endingidde fiddle.

In Budada drinking lacked the same community orientation and tended to be far more tribally exclusive. The Kuku tribesmen there usually gathered weekly or at ceremonies all over Sabagabo and drank their own kwete, maize beer, or illicit waragi spirit. In Kamira drinking is the occasion par excellence when established community members meet, discuss politics, cropping and one another. It is here that the joking relationship (if it is correct so to categorise this behaviour) distinctly emerges; (Hey, John, do you not love your brothers? Drunkard, buy us beer!). The atmosphere can become quite taut as liquor diminishes restraint; a man may talk slightly, censoriously to his neighbour under the pretext that he is in his cups. It is to this that people preferring to relax at home object. As a forum, a constraint and an important social institution it would have merited more attention than I was able to give it.

In this chapter I have discussed leadership in the two communities noting the superordination of the official village chief in the eyes of the new-comer and the emergence of

1. Even football matches at Kitimbwa tended to line up Banyala versus the rest.
important informal leadership among committed settlers. Describing the mutaka I noted the fairly precise concepts and functions in Kamira and the imprecision in Budada that was marked by rivalry and fission between the two main candidates. The Kamira mutaka is concerned with the tenure of land and the welfare of those who rely on him, a striking simile of parenthood. The suggested succession of a Sudanese immigrant was used to underline the qualifications for this role.

Discussing crime, the unestablished condition of the labourers was related to their heavy involvement in litigation in Musale, and the reluctance of committed villagers to become involved in cases was stressed. Parallels were drawn with the Tanzanian Nyakyusa migration and the singular lack of land cases accounted for. The restraint manifest in Kamira was lacking in Budada, where there was much explicit and implicit insecurity. The involvement of magic further demonstrated this, more a domestic safeguard in Kamira but spilling out into the community in dramatic form in Budada, where it was equated with lawlessness by some. At all levels the use and efficiency of medicines in the community was related to the needs of the establishing domestic units. Different forms of recreation were matched with the degree of commitment to the community, and the importance of the beer party in social control was briefly commented upon.

In sum, a comparison was offered between the two villages, Budada lacking any clearly definable informal leadership, relying much more on official authority and such metaphysical sanctions as sorcery. These were related to the differences of land tenure and domestic establishment defined earlier.
CHAPTER 11  Kafuko and Mebulo: conclusion

Shortly before my arrival there was a minor crisis in Kamira that brought into play the social processes which I have been trying to describe. In essence it involved four consecutive events: 1) the death of a villager who had no kinsfolk at hand to make provision for his burial. 2) His young daughter was left an orphan in charge of the farm. 3) The land was claimed by a relative of her father, in very dubious circumstances. 4) The girl took as her lover a labourer in the village who, it seemed, was intent upon becoming the master of the house.

These events were, in fact, matters internal to one domestic unit. If it were assumed that Kamira consisted of a collection of domestic units bearing no relationship to or interest in one another, then doubtless the problems would have been resolved or somehow swept aside without involving the neighbours. The fact that a series of very intricate responses were made by the community draws attention to the degree of integration in the village, the expressions of which I have been examining. There was active concern, in the first place, about the security and welfare of one of the domestic units in the community. There was concern about the tenure of a plot of land within the village boundary, regardless of the fact that it was a private, Mailo, tenancy and technically beyond the jurisdiction of any authority within Kamira. There was also concern as to who might become a village member and the manner in which membership was
acquired. Finally, this concern was shown by other established community members regardless of tribal origin; it was truly a response originating from and pertaining to the village as a distinct social entity.

Before I discuss this case in more detail let me re-state the propositions made in Chapter 4 and summarise the conclusions subsequently reached:

In the immigrant situation, integration involves the transition of a person or persons from one domestic unit and the establishment of a domestic unit in the new community.

The degree to which the domestic units collectively are established determines the manner and degree in which they are integrated as a community.

The collocation of the domestic units with one another also determines the manner and degree in which they are integrated as a community.

The communities themselves, therefore, depend for their generation upon the establishment of constituent domestic units and the prevalent features of collocation.

These inter-related propositions were formulated with reference to the situation in Bugerere outlined in the first three chapters. Demonstrating their validity I discussed first in some detail the implications of the collocation of domestic units; in both the physical and the jural senses one was inevitably drawn back to the same theme, their disposition on and their tenure and use of the available land. Turning to the other, complementary theme, the experience of
migration and the establishment of the domestic unit, I suggested that the migrant becomes permanently attached to the new community in terms of rights in land, both those assumed in the new environment and those relinquished at home. I showed how the experience of migration was related to the life of the domestic unit in four ideal phases: motivation, transition, establishment and commitment. These were a set of progressive changes which increase reliance upon and involvement in the social and spatial environment. Time alone does not cause integration; what matters is the social process of establishment.

Introducing the two village communities I discussed the features of collocation and the pattern of domestic establishment in each, pointing out that Kamira was more integrated in that its constituent domestic units were more committed and in that settlement had grown up quite evenly around a large, heterogeneous core. There was a steady progression from large, established families to newer arrivals, interspersed throughout the village. As an immigrant community it was near saturation but it was territorially and administratively well defined, its economy was settled and very productive and it offered security in land tenure, reinforced by high prices.

Budada, on the whole newer and less established, was not so integrated a community, as much about its organisation indicated. Established and unestablished domestic units were somewhat juxtaposed; territorially and administratively the bounds of the village were imprecise and there was a
sense of insecurity in community membership and land tenure. There was no mixed, settled nucleus towards which the persisting influx of migrants might orient itself. Not only were the new-comers unestablished, there was a basic cleavage, reflected territorially, between prior and subsequent arrivals.

These basic distinctions between Kamira and Budada were expressed in the various spheres of community organisation examined in the ensuing chapters. Taking kinship first, I noted the increased interrelationships of the most established domestic units, pointing out that this derives from processive developments in each. The involvement of new-comers was still dominantly with home, and while the cognatic ties were shown to be valuable in achieving community membership, affinity was an important principle in drawing groups together subsequently. The example of the split domestic unit was used to show the need, in integration, for a domestic life fully committed to the new community, both in resources and personnel. Again comparing Kamira and Budada, I pointed out the role of children, women and the marital relationship in stimulating commitment to and involvement in the community. This was further reflected in the patterns of friendship and inter-reliance within each village, strong and community-orientated in Kamira, weak and outward-directed in Budada.

In the sphere of economic activity I stressed the importance of modes of land tenure in cropping and the utilisation of resources. The greater degree of domestic establishment in Kamira had promoted the need for security and a measure of co-operation in land tenure and economy;
the relinquishing of economic ties with home and the increasing pressures of an expanding family urged the maximisation of use of available resources, creating an uneasy competition between the need for cash and for food. Co-operation between domestic units manifested itself among the committed villagers, ultimately expressed in Kamira in the organised Co-operative Society. Parallel with the process of establishment there were also changes in organisation and technique; diversification in cropping, an increase in livestock husbandry, and the employment of labour, all indicative of a greater sense of economic permanence. I considered the status of the labourers in some detail as a corollary to my argument; without family and land they were not regarded as community members and were separate and contrastive in Kamira, a group against which the sentiments of village membership could be expressed. The relative absence of labourers in Budada was used to make the point more clearly, and throughout, the marked differences in economic organisation in either village were related to the basic distinctions laid down in Chapter 7.

These distinctions were also used to account for the expressions of leadership and social control in Kamira and Budada. In the former there was a strong reliance among established community members upon informal organisation, while in Budada formal agencies and sanctions were most usually evoked. The office of mutaka, a leader concerned with the tenure of community land and, in a parental way, with community welfare, was far more manifest as a specific, active role in Kamira, readily acknowledged by the more established villagers. Those unestablished, particularly the labourers
almost invariably had recourse to the formal agency of the official mutongole chief. The acknowledgement of an informal leader, like so many other aspects of community organisation, completely ignored differences of tribal origin.

In crime the unestablished labourers usually bore the brunt of accusations, committed villagers being reluctant to become involved in disputes and litigation; while the surprising absence of land disputes was remarked upon there was the suggestion that where trouble arose it was within the context of cognatic relationship, the same sort of events that instigated migration in the first place. The atmosphere of restraint in Kamira was reflected in the attitudes to magic, something of a domestic insurance. In the divided and less secure ethos of Budada it was more manifest, spilling out into community activity. Recreation, more home orientated among new-comers, was an important agency of social control among the established members of Kamira and, to a lesser extent, Budada.

I have tried throughout to avoid reducing the life of Kamira and Budada and the situation in Bugerere as a whole, to stasis; yet it is inevitable that much of my description should be in terms of still, apparently completed pictures. Development has been my theme, the continuing process of social life; ultimately this is no abstraction, it is a series of events, the endless action and reaction that both creates and is governed by social norms. The affair of Kafuko and Mebulo is just one such series of events, a situation in which norms are evoked and social precedents set.
A little over 16 years ago a Murundi who had for long worked as a labourer in Buganda brought his wife to Kamira and rented 2½ acres of Mailo land to the south west of the village. His plot, next to Manyala's (Kel2) was rich and rewarding, and while his coffee trees matured he cropped cotton. They had a daughter, Kafuko, but when she was still very young her mother died. Her father did not remarry as he felt he was too old and in 1964, when Kafuko was nearly 16, he himself died.

There were no relatives to hand and no-one but the villagers to assist the new orphan. It was Gizaza (Ke8) and her neighbour Manyala who stepped in and arranged for the burial of her father in his banana garden. Operating in the capacity of mutaka, Gizaza went through the village, accompanied by the deputy chief Wasozi (Ke30), eliciting contributions towards the cost of a simple ceremony. At the same time one of Gizaza's wives moved in temporarily with Kafuko. Shortly after the interment a Murundi called Kalimanzira arrived in the village, stayed at Kafuko's house and let it be known that he was the dead man's brother and heir. He said he formerly held a plot of Mailo land in the village near Kangulumira, but there was no-one who could vouch for this. It was clear that he was unacceptable to Kafuko and to the community and so an informal meeting of neighbours was convened, again by Manyala and Gizaza, to consider his claims. Two decisions were made, firstly that Kalimanzira's rights were to be bluntly denied and secondly that Salongo (Kel5), Kafuko's other neighbour, was to act in loco parentis until further notice. Salongo was a Musoga who had been
settled for nearly 18 years, held a large and well situated Mailo farm and had a prosperous compounded household. He had known Kafuko and her family for long and the choice was a very suitable one.

Kalimanzira, very much an eccentric, has continued to live around the village, but is obliged to degrade himself by working as a labourer. Very early in my stay he sought me out and invited me down to 'his' farm where we went through an entirely nonsensical interview. It was later suggested that this was an effort to persuade me to arbitrate on his behalf. He was not regarded as a serious menace and Kafuko herself explained that as a clansman (not, in fact, full brother) of her father she was obliged to show him some hospitality and tolerance.

Not long after it transpired that Kafuko was having an affair with the Murundi labourer of Manyala, and that while he usually only slept with her he had designs on becoming more permanently the master of the house. Marriage to Kafuko would give him, as it might have given Kalimanzira, a ready-made family and an established farm with a strong newly built house. He would be turned, almost instantaneously, from an unintegrated labourer to a committed member of the community.

Quite soon Salongo, Manyala and Gizaza met again informally to consider the matter. Manyala pointed out that Mebulo, the labourer, seemed a sound enough man, that he had been in Bugerere about 8 years and now had no land of his own in Burundi. Furthermore Kafuko was about to have his child. No-one, it was clear, was against Mebulo per se; it was his
acquisition of community membership that was considered abnormal. It was decided that Manyala would give him a tiny plot of land on which he could build his hut and grow a little food (Map 5, Kc14). At the same time Gizaza used his good offices to arrange a job for him at the coffee processing plant in nearby Seta village. This arrangement was to last for a probationary period; intermediate provision had been made for the two main obstacles to his membership of the community, the fact that he served as a labourer within the village and the fact that he held no land there. Kafuko was now the ward of Salongo, and Mebulo effectively the ward of Manyala.

To Mebulo the situation was a rather tedious interference by officious neighbours that should be tolerated for the sake of future harmony. He pointed out that Kafuko had now had her baby and was pregnant again. The birth of this second child, he felt, would probably mark his acceptance as paterfamilias.

To Gizaza and the others their intervention was explicitly out of consideration for Kafuko's minority; 'we must know this man better' they had said. For them it was an organised and reasoned response to an anomalous situation. By winning Kafuko and starting a family Mebulo had claimed the right of community membership, but it was she who held, and would be expected to yield, the complementary rights in land.

This case brings to life the conditions of membership and acceptance into the community and shows the concern of committed members for constituent domestic units. The
location and operation of informal authority and the exercise of mutual assistance in time of need were also shown. Tribal identity was of negligible importance; the Bagisu showed concern for the welfare of the Barundi and a Musoga was appointed in wardship. What was at stake was the security of village land tenure and the security of a domestic unit.

Just 17 years ago Kamira was nothing, without people and without norms of behaviour, yet within that time a community has emerged capable of making as mature and 'normal' a response as this. It would be inadequate to attribute this to accident or some psychological urge for coherence. It is above all a response to a series of practical circumstances, fundamentally, the very mutual presence of the domestic units and their family development.
APPENDIX A

POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS OF BUGERERE

BUGERERE

Saza, county. Chief non-hereditary called Mugerere. Official deputy, offices at saza headquarters with clerks, courtroom, land office, prison, etc. Divided into....

Mumyuka 1
Sabaddu 2
Sabagabo 3
Sabawali 4
Musale 5

.... 5 Gombololas, sub-counties, ranked thus. Each under the chiefship of an Owogombolola, full-time civil servant. Official deputy, offices at Gombolola headquarters with clerks, courtroom, prison, birth registry, etc. Divided into a number of Miluka, parishes, for example....

Musale:

Centre Rank
Kisega Mumyuka
Nateta Sabaddu
Nagigo Sabagabo
Nyige Sabawali
Kangulumira Musale
Gayaza Mutuba I
Kikwanya Mituba II
Kavomya Mituba III
Nsiima Mituba IV

Each Muluka is under the chiefship of the owomuluka, a salaried, resident civil servant with deputy (musigiire). Usually each Muluka has its own council-house where regular council meetings, composed mainly of village chiefs, are held. Each Muluka is divided into a number of Muluko, villages, for example....

Musale:

Village Rank
Kalagala Mumyuka
Kangulumira (1) Sabaddu
Kitabaza Sabagabo
Kangulumira (2) Sabawali
Soona Musale
Kanyogoga Matuba I
Kangulumira (3) Matuba II
Kasambya Matuba III
Kangulumira (4) Matuba IV

(Note: Kangulumira is the populous centre of the sub-county)

Each Muluko is under the chiefship of an omutongole, unsalaried and selected by the Muluka chief and his council, unless the land concerned is mailo, private, in which case the owner is automatically Mutongole. He usually appoints his own deputy, Musigiire. The Mutongole is responsible for all liaison between the official hierarchy and the common man.

Musale in Gombolola Musale

.... the Bulalo (s. skvalo) of Muluka

Musale in Gombolola Musale

(Kalagala
Kangulumira (1) Sabaddu
Kitabaza Sabagabo
Kangulumira (2) Sabawali
Soona Musale
Kanyogoga Matuba I
Kangulumira (3) Matuba II
Kasambya Matuba III
Kangulumira (4) Matuba IV

(Note: Kangulumira is the populous centre of the sub-county)

The system is hierarchical, e.g. authority is delegated downwards; appeals, etc. proceed upwards. As the units in the hierarchy relate directly to population, densely settled areas contain more subdivisions than areas less populous.
MAILLO ALLOCATION IN BUGANDA: The proportion of land area allocated at the time of the Agreement of 1900. Compiled from West 1966:Appendix B, tables 2 and 6. Although there are heavy distortions arising from the fact that the original allocations were based on estimates the ratio between the counties is probably roughly correct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>Sq. MILES ALLOCATED</th>
<th>AREA OF COUNTY in Sq. MILES</th>
<th>AREA ALLOCATED as % of TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buvuma</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busujju</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>149.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaddondo</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butambala</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ssese</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawokota</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>83.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaggwe</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1124</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busangazzi</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulemozi</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>2134</td>
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<td>Kabula</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buutu</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>45.8</td>
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<td>Gomba</td>
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<td>596</td>
<td>45.6</td>
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<td>1089</td>
<td>2582</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buwakula</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buyaga</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buserere</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buruli</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koki</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawogola</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>8122</strong></td>
<td><strong>16138</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPROXIMATE CROP PRICES, November-January 1965-6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CROP</th>
<th>WEIGHT PER BAG (pounds)</th>
<th>PRICE PER POUND (cents)</th>
<th>APPROXIMATE PRICE PER BAG (shillings)</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>180 - 200</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coffee</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dried Robusta</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Most coffee in Bugerere is Robusta. Usually it is sun-dried, although mechanical cleaning is becoming more common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undried</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>18 - 20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cotton</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade B.P. 52</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Grade B.P. 52 is the main crop in Bugerere. It is ginned locally and usually marketed Co-operatively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade S. 47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Groundnuts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dried and unshelled</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>Mostly sold dried but unshelled. Fetches much more per lb. shelled. Rarely sold undried.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undried</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>12?</td>
<td>12?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried and shelled</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Maize</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Matoke (bananas)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet (Eleusine coracana)</td>
<td>200?</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>From centre and north of Bugerere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>200?</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>From centre and north of Bugerere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME OF VILLAGE</td>
<td>COUNTY IN BUGANDA</td>
<td>% OF NON-GANDA IN POPULATION</td>
<td>% OF GANDA* IMMIGRANTS</td>
<td>% OF FOREIGNERS WHO SAY THEY INTEND TO REMAIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamira</td>
<td>Bugerere</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Musisi</td>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyangabawekere</td>
<td>Buddu</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyengerera</td>
<td>Bugerere</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Nabanga</td>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>63.2</td>
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<td>Makindu</td>
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<td>Luwoko</td>
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<td>60.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Budala&quot;</td>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>&quot;Guyinze&quot;</td>
<td>Mawokota</td>
<td>49.5</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Lugala</td>
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<td>48.8</td>
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<td>Seseriba</td>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>58.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Budada</td>
<td>Bugerere</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugaju</td>
<td>Buddu</td>
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<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kisozi</td>
<td>Busiro</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Biswa&quot;</td>
<td>Mawokota</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including Banyala.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RATE OF TAXATION (shillings)</th>
<th>ANNUAL INCOME LEVEL FROM WHICH THIS IS CALCULATED</th>
<th>1965 MUSALE TAXPAYERS</th>
<th>1965 SABAGABO TAXPAYERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>% of total taxpayers.</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>12,000 &amp; more</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>up to 12,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>9,600</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>7,200</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>5.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>1,047</td>
<td>11.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>21.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,200 &amp; less</td>
<td>5,313</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS:**

9,302 | 100.0 |

4,160 | 100.0 |
Reference numbers: The initial letter indicates the village of the householder, K = Kamira, B = Budada. The following lower case letter indicates the period during which the householder arrived in the village:

b. - between 1961 and 1964
c. - between 1956 and 1960
d. - between 1950 and 1955
e. - before 1949.

The final number, e.g. 35, refers to the location of the homestead on the map (5 or 6) of the village in question.

### BUDADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference Numbers</th>
<th>Village Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fanatya. Soga.</td>
<td>Bb23 Ochati. Lango. Be1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lukambaga. Ganda.</td>
<td>Be5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lukhoza. Nyala.</td>
<td>Bc18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luwano. Nyala.</td>
<td>Be7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ba6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) indicates female householder.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference Number</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Household Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dongo. Gweru.</td>
<td>Kc31</td>
<td>Nabirye. Soga.</td>
<td>(f)  Ke60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabugo. Ruanda.</td>
<td>Kd33</td>
<td>Nampa. Ganda.</td>
<td>(f)  Kd1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafifi. Soga.</td>
<td>Ka28</td>
<td>Namugosa. Soga.</td>
<td>(f)  Ke79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasajja. Soga.</td>
<td>Kd38</td>
<td>Namwanda. Ganda.</td>
<td>(f)  Kc32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lwangwa. Soga.</td>
<td>Kd64</td>
<td>Serwadda. Soga.</td>
<td>Kc47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wasozzi. Gisu.</td>
<td>Kc30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weboyu. Gisu.</td>
<td>Kd20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wirige. Gisu.</td>
<td>Ke74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) indicates female householder.
1. What is your name?
Erinyalyo gwani?

2. Are you married?
Oli mufumbo?

3. How long have you been married?
Bukya obera mufumbo omaze mu kisera ki?

4. Is this your first wife? How many do you have now? How many are living on this farm here? Where are the others living?
Ono ye mukyala wo eyasoka? Kati olina abakyala bammeka? Era abakyala bammeka bolina wano mwakagogano? Ate abalala babeera wa?

5. How many wives have you had altogether?
Kasoka ofuna bakyala bona bammeka okutwalira amwamu?

6. What is your religion?
Oli waddini ki?

7. Do you hold any political, religious or social offices?
Wano mukitundukyo okolagana nebintu byangeri mmeka, nga ne ddini ogi twaliddemu?
(This question to be carefully explained, giving examples, mutongole chief, club secretary, etc.)

8. How many children do you have?
Oliina abaana bammeka?
(In village questionnaires, sexes noted, and how many to each wife, present and absent.)

9. Were you born in Bugerere?
Wazalibwa wano mu Bugerere?

10. Where were you born?
Wazalibwa wa?

11. When did you come to Bugerere?
Wajja ddi e Bugerere?

12. Why did you come to Bugerere?
Lwaki wajja mu Bugerere?
(Usually extensively probed.)

13. How is your land held? How did you obtain your land?
Ekibanja kyo kiri koki? Wafuna otya ettaka eryo?

14. When did you get this land?
Era walifunaddi ettaka lino?

15. Have you ever worked as a labourer?
Wali okuseko nga omupakasi?
16. How much land do you hold? How many acres?  
Buneneki obwekibanjakyo? Olina ylika mmeka?

17. How much *busulu* and/or *envu* do you pay?  
Osasula otya busulu nenvujo buli mwaka?

18. Do you still have land of your own at home? How much?  
Walina ekibanja gyewava? Acres mmeka?

19. Is it possible that you will inherit any land there, at home?  
Ekiirisoboka okufunayo ekibanja kyona ekyobusika mukifo eyo gyewazalirwa?

20. Do you have any relations (immediate) there at home? (Details.)  
Olina abantubo gyewava?

21. How often do you return home?  
Emirundi emmeka gyodayo mukifo gyewazalirwa mubuli mwaka?

22. How long do you spend there?  
Omalayo kisera ki?

23. Do you send money or presents home? (details) Do they send money  
or presents to you here?  
Obawerezako kubu sente nga ekiribo eri abantubo gyewava? Oba bbo bbali bakuwerezako kusente nga ekiribo gyali?

24. Have you ever worked in town? (Dates, occupation and reasons for leaving  
Wali okuzeko mubibuga?)

25. Have you lived anywhere else, other than the places you have mentioned?  
(Details of place, duration of stay, reasons for moving, occupation  
involved or land held.)  
Wali obaddeko mubitundu ebyo byoyogeddako?

26. How much education have you had? (grade achieved, etc.)  
Obuyigirizebwo bwakibiina kyakumeka?

27. What are the ages of your children? (If there are many, how old is the  
eldest?)  
Abaana bo balina emyaka emmeka?

28. Are any of your children married? How many?  
Olina owana omufumbo? Olina bammeka?

29. Where do each of your children live?  
Abaanabo kati babeera wa?

30. What education have your children received? (Distinguish those with  
education completed and those still at school. Grades achieved.

31. Do you have any brothers and sisters? (Details)  
Olina bagandabo ne banyoko?
32. How many of these are full brothers by your own mother?
Bano bona bagandabo ddala kunyoko oyo bammeka?

33. Have any of your brothers and sisters died? How many?
Walwao eyafa kubanyoko oba kubagandabo? Bali bammeka?

34. Are any of your brothers and sisters married? How many?
Bagandabo ne banyoko waliwo abali mu mufumbo? Bali bammeka?

35. Where are each of your brothers and sisters living?
Bagandabo ne banyoko babeera wa?

36. Are both of your parents still alive?
Bakaddebo bbombi bakyali balumu?

37. Where are they living?
Babeera wa?

38. Have your parents separated and remarried?
Bakaddebo bakyalimu mubufumbo bwabwe?

39. Where do the family of your wife come from? (details for each wife)
Banyoko ne kitawo wa mukyalawo, babeera wa?

40. Was your wife born there? Where was she born? (In village interviews, how she was met and whereabouts).
Mukyalawo yazalibwa eyo? Wa?

41. Do you employ labourers to work on your farm?
Olina abapakasi bukoza?

42. Do you have permanent workers or do you employ them casually, when you need them?
Olina abapakasi abakola abatali balejja lejja oba olina na balejja lejja?

43. At what time(s) of the year do you employ labourers?
Emirundi emmeka gyokogesamu abapakasi?

44. How many labourers do you employ
Olina abapakasi bammeka?

45. Where do they come from? (In village interviews, how long has each been working for you?)
Baava wa abapakasi abo?

46. Where do they live just now?
Kati babeera wa?

47. Do they cultivate any of their own land here? If so, whereabouts? (Details as to quantity, whether they have families with them, etc.)
"Alima ebibanja ebyabwe kubwabwe byebalina mu? Biri ludda wa?

48. How long has each been in Bugerere?
Mu Bugerere bamazemu kisera ki?
49. How many times has each visited Bugerere?
   Bajja mu Bugerere emirundi emmeka okuva swabwe?

50. What are their duties here?
   Emilimu gyaabwe miлимuki?

51. Do you keep cattle? How many?
   Olundako ente? Mmeka?

52. Do you keep sheep or goats? How many?
   Olundako nembuzi ne ndiga? Zolina?

53. Do you grow crops for sale? What are they?
   Olimako nebisimbe ebyo kotunda? Eysibiriwa?

54. How much of each crop do you sell? (figures as for 1964, if possible)
   Otunda ensawo mmeka kubuli kiriime?

55. Do you have any other sources of income?
   Ofuna otya enyingisa endala?

56. Can you tell me, one by one, all the people who live here on your
    kibanja? (Expressed in terms of relationship to informant.)
    Oyinza okutegeza amanya gabantu abo abali wano mu kinaja kyo?

57. What do you do when you want to enjoy yourself?
    Okolo ki bwoba oyagala okwessanyuaamu weeka?

58. In Bugerere, as you know, there are many different tribes. Of all
    the tribes around here which do you yourself find the easiest people
    to live and deal with?
    Mu Bugerere nga bwomanyi nti mulimu amaawanga mmangi aggali mu
    wanga ggano abalimu gwangaki lyosanga nga lyangu okukolaganaalyo?

59. If I were to ask you suddenly 'what are you?' - what is the first answer
    that you would think of making?
    Singa nga nkubuza iswa mutwangujiti 'gwani' abo 'miiki'? Kuddamuki
    okusoka kwe awa ndisannidde gwe kwewandiiro wozsezanti kweko
    okusaanira?

60. Please tell me about how you find the condition of Bugerere?
    Oyinza okumbuliirako kumbera yaBugerere nga bweeri?

61. Will you tell me your age?
    Onnombulira emmyakagyo?

ALSO TO BE RECORDED:
A. The age of informant, estimated if not given precisely in question 60
B. An assessment of the respondent's response.
C. Description of farm and property, condition of buildings, etc.
D. Account of any questions or conversation arising during or after the
   interview.
E. Notes on any other persons present, their relationship with the respondent,
   what they said and what their attitude was.
1. What was the age of this person?
2. Describe his appearance: what clothes was he wearing?
3. How was his response: was he willing or ill-at-ease, did he need much explanation, was he too talkative, etc.?
4. Describe the whereabouts of his farm, the nature of the land, how near to the other farms it was, and what condition the crops were in.
5. How big was the farm? If he did not state the size, make a guess, in acres.
6. a. Was the house roofed with thatch, tin sheets, or what?
   b. Was it cemented or simply of mud?
   c. Was there a water-takn or barrel?
   d. Did you notice a radio set?
   e. Did you see a car?
   f. Did you see any animals about the house premises?
7. After the interview, what did we talk about?
8. Who else was present during the interview? What was their attitude?
9. Do you think that this man told the truth all the time? About which questions do you think he may have lied?
10. Do you, personally, happen to know anything about the respondent?
12. Tell me anything else about this person that you feel I ought to know.

Supplementary questions used in the village surveys:

A. What is your clan? (In respondent's own language, with an explanation where possible, and rendered into Luganda.)
Ekiikakyo oliwaakiikaki?

B. When you return home on a visit, is there any particular relative that you stay with? Who? What is his relationship with you?
Bwobwa ogenze okulabako abweesamwe olina ablala omuntu asingga okualiriza okukutwalayo yeeyani? Yeemuli omuyiita otyanaawe?

C. Does any particular relative come here to visit you? (Relationship to respondent)
Nneri eriyo omuntu ddala atera okujja okukulabako? Oyoye omyita olyanaawe?

D. Were you married by your church?
Obofumbobwo bufumbo butukuvu obandda?

E. Do you own land elsewhere in Bugerere, or anywhere else, separately, in this village?
Olina ekibanja ekirala waana mu Bugerere oba avantu awalala woona okujakko kukyalo kino kwoli?
F. Have you broken up or sold, or given away any part of the land that you first obtained here, or is your land for any reason less? Waali okutuddemuko mukébanjakyo, era nokitundako, oba nobagako ekitundu kivaaalina okusoka, oba kyokyalina ateenga kumaala?

G. Have you bought or been given, or in any way added to the land that you first got here, or is your land for any reason more? (In both these questions dates and quantities were recorded, together with reasons for accretion or diminution) Waali uguzeyo ekibanja ekirala, oba waawebyo ekibanja ekirala, n’oyong-erako kukiino eyasoka? Oba kyolina kaati wakyongerako nnyo?

H. When a boy in your family becomes a man, do you have any special ceremonies? Tell me about them. Sings ngu omulenai atuka okubu orauaajJa omu koleerawo akaabaga kona?

I. Do you yourself have any relatives in this village, or in any of the villages nearby? Tell me where they live and how they are related to you. (Careful probing on this question) Oyiinza okumbulirako obanga kukyala kuno engundaze, oba kubyalo bino ebibali okumpi? Kale beebsiika?

J. Does your wife (or wives) have any relatives in this village or in any of the villages nearby? Tell me about them. Mukyalawo naye alimako kuno engandaza, oba kubyalo bino ebibali okumpi? Kale beebsiika?

K. Do you wish to stay here on this farm until you die? Okayagala nnyo okubeera waa ookuusaa okufakwo?

L. Say you were to die suddenly, would you be buried here? Where? Mbulira singa nga ofudee mangu bayinza waano okukuzika? Oba wa?

M. Who would you say is the most important man in this village? (If the respondent says the village chief, probe for a second choice.) Anni ggwomanyi nga yeemuntu omukulu kukyala kuno abakuleebera?

N. Say that you were in some sort of private trouble or difficulty, or needed some special sort of help quickly, to whom would you go? Mbulira omuntu oweekiyama ennyo ggwo yinsa okugenda okunyaomyola obuzibuo obweykama, oba singa nga oguddeko omutaawana jjewandigenze akuyambe obuzibuo obwo?

Supplementary topics used in informal discussion with the informant:

Particularly relevant, the full story behind emigration and the way in which settlement in the present village came about. Wishes for the future, personal ambitions and ambitions for children. Projects in mind for the expansion of the farm or house. Likelihood of marrying more wives and opinions of polygyny. Some hypothetical questions:- what would you do if someone stole something of yours? ...or interfered with your wife? ...or if a drunk made trouble at your house? Do people here use magic? what for? Would you use it? When and how?
Where is water for the household usually obtained? Firewood? Does the farm include a grove of trees? Are women here in Bugere more difficult to deal with here than at home? Why?
Please tell me the bride-payments you made on your wife/wives? What do you think about such payments - are they necessary? Why?
What are the main duties of a good wife? What are the main duties of a good husband? ...of a good child?

Other questions, mainly experimental were tried from time to time on such topics as the social significance of colours, tribal behaviour, use of money and so on.
Where it was possible to converse with the wives of villagers (normally regarded with suspicion) details about her share in the farm economy were discussed as well as marital attitudes and questions of child rearing.
I also enquired about her relations with home and her rights and obligations there.

A sketch of the farm and homestead layout was made, enquiries about any oddity, an extra dwelling or kitchen, for example, also being made.
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