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**TOWNSMEN
IN THE MAKING**
KAMPALA AND ITS SUBURBS

A.W. SOUTHALL

and

P.C.W. GUTKIND

With a Foreword by

A. KALULE SEMPA

Minister of Health, Kabaka's Government

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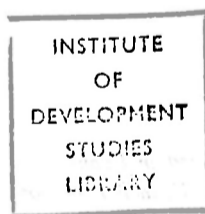
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TOWNSMEN IN THE MAKING
KAMPALA AND ITS SUBURBS

by
AIDAN W. SOUTHALL
and
PETER C. W. GUTKIND



EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, KAMPALA, UGANDA

1957

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FOREWORD

Africa as we know it to-day is in the process of transfiguration caused by the impact of Western civilisation, when the old order is changing, yielding place to the new. But the old is not yielding its place without resistance, and this is just as might be expected, for quite often the old order of things has been going on through many centuries of hard trials and has stood the test, and because of this some of us would not like to see a disappearance of it altogether, but an infusion of the best in both the old and the new. The pace at which the new makes its onslaught on the old is so terrific that it is easier for the old to yield than to resist this overwhelming force of attack exerted by the new. In order to withstand the attack, the old, if it should not completely disappear, must be backed by very strong reasons advanced by various individuals, each in his own way perhaps, so as to enable the disinterested observer to arrive at valuable conclusions by means of cumulative evidence.

The work of sifting this evidence requires an approach to it by a mind imbued with a very high degree of detachment; in other words it is a scientific approach. It can therefore be regarded as fortunate that the East African Institute of Social Research is carrying out this valuable work, the findings of which will be of great benefit to the administrator, whether white or black, and to any other person occupying a position of leadership in this country; and apart from the kind of benefit explained above, the work itself makes very good reading and provides food for thought. We are therefore indebted to the men and women engaged in this work.

A. KALULE SEMPA

Minister of Health

MENGO.

KABAKA'S GOVERNMENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The authors wish to thank all those who have made this work possible and who for one reason or another cannot be mentioned by name. They are especially grateful to the people of Kisenyi and Mulago who suffered their lives to be used as a laboratory for research. The parish chiefs and ward headmen deserve particular thanks for their time and patience in answering our questions, showing us round and interpreting our work in a favourable light to many people who might otherwise have misunderstood and obstructed it. The several Ganda research assistants who worked with us and who necessarily themselves did a great part of the field work, are to be highly congratulated on carrying out their difficult and often unpopular task most faithfully.

The Uganda Government made this work possible through its financial assistance. The Director of Town Planning and his staff have helped us greatly, especially with the production of maps, for the printing of which we are indebted to Major R.J. Redman M.B.E. of the Department of Lands and Surveys. Mr. S. N. Okova was generous in the exchange of information while he was investigating the population statistics of Greater Kampala. Enthusiastic help and encouragement was received from Mr. A. H. Russell, of the Department of African Housing, and Mr. N.D. Oram, of the Resident's Office, Buganda, has clarified our thought through frequent discussion of common problems. Both they and Dr. A. I. Richards, Dr. L. A. Fallers, Mr. C. C. Wrigley and Mrs. Barbara Morris read the manuscript at various stages and made detailed criticisms which have done much to improve it.

Thanks are due to the Buganda Government and its officials who gave permission for our work and assistance in winning the co-operation of the people. Lest anything in what follows should be taken as undeserved criticism of their work, we must record the fact that circumstances have brought the Buganda Government face to face with an unprecedented task of urban administration without the appropriate finance or administrative organisation.

Ideally, a rapidly growing modern town requires heavy expenditure and a large staff of well trained specialists for its orderly development, but the Buganda Government has had to carry on without either. In the past, the Buganda Government has demonstrated its flexibility and its capacity for adjustment to change. It is to be hoped that it will show the same qualities in meeting the new challenge of urban development. If the impartial description and interpretation of current conditions can assist the necessary process of adjustment and contribute to the smooth running of the Buganda Government and the welfare of its people, these researches will have been amply justified.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is right to draw attention to certain changes which have occurred since the publication of the first edition some five months ago. In Kisenyi a tarmac road has been most skilfully put through the densest commercial area, with the least possible disturbance of existing property rights. Standard lamps have accompanied this and a number of other new roads in the Kibuga. They will doubtless be a deterrent to violent crime and other illicit activities formerly enjoying the friendly cover of darkness. Provision is also made for laying sewers in Kisenyi and Katwe. This means that in these areas property owners can be linked to main drainage and water-borne sanitation at a minimum standard charge, irrespective of the precise position of their property. Similarly, piped water and electricity are available to all those who can afford the moderate installation charges and the running costs. Material conditions have therefore been markedly improved.

Although the people were clamouring for the kind of services which have now been brought within their reach, reports at present indicate that the effective demand in response to their provision has been surprisingly low.

The authors hold to their original contention that material conditions, while doubtless aiding and abetting, are not responsible for the kind of life led in these suburbs. The causes lie deeper and these people, the product of changes in the countryside as well as in the town, are as they are in large measure because they like to be that way.

We must also report that the most recent attempt to reorganise and reform the local government of the Kibuga, to which we have referred hopefully in this book, has once again been regrettably delayed.

A.W. Southall

P.C.W. Gutkind

March, 1957.

KAMPALA

PREFACE

The present publication arises out of two reports¹ produced as part of a general survey of African life in the urban area of Greater Kampala, planned by the East African Institute of Social Research and assisted by funds from the Government of Uganda. The reports aimed at giving an accurate and vivid description of social conditions in the largely uncontrolled areas of dense African settlement which have grown up round the town of Kampala and also at outlining some of the general problems posed by these conditions. An unusual number of concrete examples from case histories were included because, although somewhat lengthy, they convey a direct impression which may mean more to the ordinary reader in this form than in that of abstract statements. All personal names occurring in these excerpts are fictitious.

The two reports stimulated a considerable demand, which could not be satisfied by the numbers originally produced. As much of the material is highly topical it seems appropriate to reproduce it in this manner, thus avoiding the delays of complete re-writing and more formal publication, saving funds required for further publications on the rest of the Kampala Survey material and bringing the price within reach of the pockets of many of the local population, who are at least indirectly implicated in the situation described and who have a vital part to play in influencing future policy. These considerations have prevented the two accounts from being brought into full consistency with one another and the reader's indulgence is craved for this. Furthermore, the interpretation of facts by the two authors is not at all points identical and such relatively minor divergences have been left as there are no fundamental contradictions in the main conclusions reached. It is hoped that the rather full and concrete representation of suburban life may interest and inform readers who would not wish to read a more analytical account dressed up in professional jargon.

Parts II and III represent the bulk of the original Kisenyi and Mulago reports. A new introductory chapter has been written to explain the general local background necessary for the understanding of both reports alike, and a new final chapter incorporating the material on parish administration which depends on similar factors in both cases. A brief account of the development of African housing policy in relation to the problems discussed has also been added.

Another volume is in course of preparation which will give a general description of the peoples of the Kampala urban area as a whole and the changing relationship between them over the past half century.

The main field work in Kisenyi was carried out between January 1953 and March 1954 and that in Mulago between August 1953 and July 1955. However, information upon a number of critical factors for which greater time depth was especially valuable has been brought up to date by intermittent investigation since.

The method pursued in both studies was experimental. The two areas were chosen to represent, in the case of Kisenyi, the densest type of uncontrolled and primarily African settlement in the Kampala area, and in the case of Mulago an intermediate situation representing

1. *A Preliminary Report of Kisenyi, Mengo, Kampala*, by A.W. Southall, June, 1954 and *A Preliminary Report of Mulago, Kampala*, by P.C.W. Gutkind, December, 1954, both produced by the East African Institute of Social Research in mimeographed form.

the transition towards these conditions from a previously rural community. In both areas every household was interviewed. The reason for this unusual and laborious procedure was the conviction that uncharted territory was being explored. The Labour Commissioner of Uganda phrased this vividly as the need to produce a picture of the everyday life of the people "behind the bananas." Few penetrating studies have yet been made of the social organisation of African towns characterised by high mobility of residence and extreme heterogeneity of tribal and racial origin. At the start the critical diagnostic factors in the social life of such a community were taken to be unknown or at most hypothetical. The research could not therefore be planned on the basis of precision as to the factors to be investigated or the hypotheses to be tested. Although the authors had naturally formulated certain ideas in planning the investigation, the essence of the task was held to be the keeping of these ideas flexible and allowing them to be modified in the course of field work.

The authors remain convinced that the 100% interviewing sample of type areas was the only practicable initial means to their end. They consider that the studies of Kisenyi and Mulago revealed to them the main diagnostic features and the most important hypotheses to be tested in other areas of the town and in other categories of the population. This was because the interviewing of every household gave a continuous and intimate insight into basic social relationships in a manner which a random sample, with its subjects scattered about haphazardly, out of contact with one another, could not have done. Armed with the confidence thus gained, that no important factors of which the investigators might have been initially unaware had been excluded from consideration through adherence to an over rigid framework, it was possible to narrow down subsequent studies to a more normal basis of random sampling. The initial 100% samples and the subsequent random samples were mutually illuminating. The significance of certain complex interrelations of factors was revealed in the close quarters study of the 100% samples, and the lack of statistical representativeness of the urban area as a whole, which resulted from the restriction of the first samples to two small areas, was supplied by the subsequent random samples on a more extensive area basis. These further samples covered African employees in the area of Kampala Municipality, householders in the Municipality, of whatever race and including their domestic servants, chiefs and ward headmen in urban or suburban parishes other than Mengo or Mulago, one of the Government African Housing Estates and wealthy African householders in an area reputed to be occupied largely by persons of high status. The process of intercalibration between intensive and extensive samples may be a necessary modification of the normal technique of pilot studies where there is a general lack of basic information about the community concerned.

Since the original reports on Kisenyi and Mulago were first written, awareness of the conditions described has become much more widespread, partly as a result of the circulation of the two original reports, limited though this was. The emphasis of social policy has also shifted, while political developments of great moment have occurred in Buganda. Yet, despite some valiant efforts, it cannot be said that the basic situation has changed. The conditions described hereafter still not only exist but are spreading, while the administrative and organisational difficulties which hinder effective action have still not been solved.

A. W. Southall.

P. C. W. Gutkind.

August, 1956.

KAMPALA.

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PART ONE — KAMPALA AND THE KIBUGA

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

1. BUGANDA AND ITS CAPITALS.

The town of Kampala owes its siting and origin to a long and tangled skein of historical events, the main thread in which was the interest which the indigenous kingdom of Buganda acquired as the dominant focus of attraction for the outside world throughout the East African hinterland. The Ganda tribe had a long history of centralised government under its kings with their increasingly bureaucratic cadres of chiefs. Formerly the tribe had a loose and flexible political structure, in which local jurisdictions under hereditary clan authorities had considerable power, though recognising the suzerainty of the *kabaka*, or king. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the *kabakas* engaged in a successful series of aggressive wars against neighbouring territories, most of which until then had been tributary to Bunyoro. This process not only enlarged the dominions of the Ganda kings but contributed to the consolidation of their internal power. Favourites of the *kabaka* and successful war leaders were granted local jurisdictions to govern in the *kabaka's* name, thus encroaching progressively on the authority of hereditary leaders of clans and their subdivisions. The political system therefore gradually changed, from one resting on the heads of unilineal descent groups deriving authority partly from the allegiance of their kin and partly on additional powers of a more specifically political kind conferred upon them by the *kabaka*, to one based on individual leaders depending directly on the *kabaka's* favour rather than on traditional or hereditary rights. When, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Arab trade in slaves, ivory and firearms penetrated from the East Coast of Africa to Buganda, the Ganda king was able to monopolise this new source of economic and technological power to increase the absoluteness of his despotism. So it came about that historical events reinforced special elements in the Buganda social system, to transform it from a loose organisation, similar to many others in the Interlacustrine region of East Central Africa, into an autocratic state which impressed all outsiders as one of the most efficient and powerful political units in tropical Africa.

The corollary of increasing political centralisation in nineteenth century Buganda was the importance attaching to the capital of the Ganda king. The capital was moved from hilltop to hilltop every few years, and was invariably changed at the death of one *kabaka* and the accession of another. But during the last half century of Ganda political independence the capital always remained somewhere within a small area of central Buganda not more than ten miles wide and less than that distance from the northern shores of Lake Victoria on Murchison Bay. From the death of *Kabaka Suna* in 1859 till the arrival of Lugard in 1890 the capital was changed at least ten times. When Burton was at Tabora in 1858¹ the Arabs told him about "Kibuga, the capital of Uganda."² *Kibuga* is the Luganda word for capital and we shall have frequ-

1. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, London, 1860, vol. II, pp. 175, 188.

2. All early writers use the Swahili form *Uganda*. But we shall always use the correct Luganda version *Buganda* when speaking of the traditional kingdom and the province which now represents it, retaining *Uganda* for the British Protectorate which includes many tribes other than the Ganda, in an area more than four times the size of the Kingdom of Buganda.

occasion to use it. On whatever hill the capital happened to be, there was the centre of Buganda. Ahmed bin Ibrahim El Ameri was the first known Arab to reach the court of Buganda and claimed to have visited Kabaka Suna three times, first in about 1844.¹ Speke found Kabaka Mutesa I at Banda-balogo in 1862, and Stanley found him at Rubaga in 1875. He was also there at Wilson's arrival in 1877 but had another palace on Nabulagala (Kasubi) hill as well. All visitors before Lugard were kept under very close supervision by the Kabaka, obliged to live near the capital more or less where he directed them and given little opportunity for travelling about the country. The interest of the outside world, aroused by the international incidents of the seventies and eighties in which Buganda was involved,² was therefore also focused upon the Kibuga.

2. THE FOUNDING OF KAMPALA.

Lugard altered the whole position when, in December 1890, he crossed the Nile without waiting for the permission of Kabaka Mwanga, as previous visitors had done, made a forced march to the Kibuga, then at Mengo, insisted upon camping on a hill of his own choice irrespective of Mwanga's wishes and fortified it in defiance of Mwanga's sovereignty.³ The justification for this was that Mwanga had formally asked for British protection.⁴ Though the King's mind kept changing, he found himself in a position which made it impossible for him to avoid signing a treaty which marked the end of autonomous Ganda sovereignty.⁵

Lugard's choice of Kampala hill for his fort introduced the dual aspect to the capital which it has retained ever since. For more than a decade the whole embryonic urban agglomeration continued to be called Mengo after the hill on which the King's palace stood. For Colvile, writing in 1895 of his experiences two years before, "the capital of Uganda is built on four hills, Mengo, Rubaga, Namirembe and Kampala, the first three being occupied by the King and the Catholic and Protestant missions respectively, while the last was selected by the officers of the (Imperial British East Africa) Company as the site for their fort".⁶ By 1902 Johnston was already propounding the Roman analogy. The capital was sometimes called Mengo, he

1. Sir J. M. Gray, *Uganda Journal*, vol. XI, 1947, pp. 80ff.
2. The dispute between the Englishmen, Speke and Burton, as to whether Speke was right in claiming Lake Victoria as the Nile source, first drew international attention to the Lake itself and to Buganda, the dominant power on its shores, in 1859 and again from 1862 onwards after Speke's second expedition. The interest was fanned into flame by the Americans, Chaille Long and Stanley, and the Frenchman Linant de Bellefonds who visited Buganda in 1874 and 1875. After 1879 British and French diplomatic circles became embroiled in the adventures and rivalries of the British and French Christian Missions in Buganda. The wanderings of the Germans, Emin Pasha and Carl Peters, of the Russian Wilhelm Junker and the Italian Gaetano Casati threw intermittent light on the story while international relations were focused upon it from time to time in the Anglo-German Agreements of 1886 and 1890 and the Anglo-Belgian Agreement of 1894.
3. See Captain F. D. (later Lord) Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire*, London, 1893, vol. I, pp. 373-377.
4. He had sent three letters to Jackson asking for the protection of the Imperial British East Africa Company. See Lugard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 9-12.
5. Lugard, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 35-40.
6. Colonel Sir Henry Colvile, *The Land of the Nile Springs*, London and New York, 1895, p. 48.

said, previously Rubaga, sometimes Kampala, but Mengo was the best name. "Mengo is like ancient Rome— only much more so — a city of seven hills..... Each suburb or portion of the straggling town of some 77,000 souls is a hill or a hillock in itself."¹ Later writers perpetuated the analogy, though the actual hills selected as the basis for it constantly differ.² Johnston illustrates the early settlement with the caption "Kampala (a suburb of Mengo)."³ Whereas in 1890 the little fort on Kampala hill and the houses of the missionaries on Namirembe and Rubaga were insignificant by comparison with the great concentration of the King's capital on Mengo, by 1906 the position was reversed by the rapid development of the British administrative post and the Asian bazaar which sprang up beside it, so that Commissioner George Wilson could write "so strong and wide-spreading has been the influence of Kampala that its name is superseding that of Mengo especially in outlying countries, and it will be simpler...to retain it ... as referring to the native Capital as a whole ... Its complete ascendancy in importance over all other centres, due to its being a long established Capital of the dominant tribe, is accepted by the natives of the Protectorate without dispute and its affairs are matters of universal interest."⁴

3. POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL CAPITALS.

Despite this rapid growth Kampala was not made the political capital of the Uganda Protectorate. For this purpose Sir Gerald Portal had in 1893 selected Entebbe, a peninsula jutting into Lake Victoria some twenty miles from Mengo and Kampala, known for a few years by Portal's new name of Port Alice, which referred more particularly to the steamer landing than to the settlement on the hill above.⁵ Entebbe was chosen partly for its beauty, partly for its supposed superiority over Kampala in conditions of health, partly also for strategic reasons⁶ and because of its convenience on the lakeshore for communication by boat with Kisumu on Kavirondo Gulf, for many years the railhead from the East African coast port of Mombasa and the outside world. Another reason given in favour of Entebbe was its very aloofness from the vortex of Uganda affairs at Mengo and Kampala. Controversy over the desirability of transferring the political capital to Kampala continued for several decades, especially around the years 1905 and 1906 when the sleeping

1. Sir H.H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, p. 104.
2. E.g. *A Handbook of the Uganda Protectorate*, I.D. 1217, H.M.S.O., 1918, p. 287; Julian Huxley, *Africa View*, London, 1931, p. 279.
3. Johnston, *op. cit.* p. 102.
4. Entebbe Secretariat file 986/06, George Wilson to Sir Hesketh Bell.
5. Sir Gerald Portal, *The British Mission to Uganda in 1893*, London 1894, p. 231 fn. "This name (Port Alice) was given by Sir Gerald Portal to the new settlements or, more strictly speaking, to the port at the foot of the Ntebe Hills". But (*ibid* p. 253) "the name of the whole settlement is Port Alice".
6. Lugard expressed himself as very pleased with his own selection of Kampala hill as the site for the administrative station (*Reports of Captain F.D. Lugard, Imperial British East Africa Co., on his Expedition to Uganda*, p. 24, also in *British East Africa and Uganda*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1892, p. 12). Lugard definitely turned down Williams' suggestion of Entebbe as a more desirable site, in March, 1892 (*Rise of our East African Empire*, vol. II. p. 410). But Portal (*The British Mission to Uganda in 1893*, London, 1894, pp. 147, 208, 212) and Colvile (*loc cit.*) who came after Lugard were far less complimentary. "I moved the headquarters" (says Portal, *op. cit.* p. 252-3) "from that close, unhealthy and altogether hateful spot Kampala to a lovely place on the Lake; two great grassy hills, like the Kingsclere Downs, rising almost straight out of the water." He refers to Entebbe on his departure a few weeks later as "a neat town of about 1,000 inhabitants".

sickness epidemic of the lakeshore regions raged very near Entebbe. But Entebbe has remained the political capital of the Uganda Protectorate, and Kampala has remained its chief city. The Kingdom of Buganda has become one of the four provinces in the Protectorate, Mengo is still the capital of the Kingdom and the Protectorate government departments have their provincial offices for Buganda at Kampala.

4. THE DIFFERENTIATION OF KAMPALA AND THE KIBUGA.

The agglomeration of native capital, government station, Christian Missions' headquarters and commercial bazaar was thus for some time considered as a whole although the name Kampala superseded Mengo for it. But the special administrative, sanitary, financial and other measures necessary to deal with the rapidly growing foreign town of European and Asian officials and merchants soon distinguished it sharply from the Ganda capital, whose character changed more slowly. The foreign dominated town of Kampala began to dwarf the African capital of the Kibuga centred upon Mengo and this continued tendency has produced tensions which constitute one of the important political problems of the moment.

The Uganda Agreement of 1900¹ finalised ten years of negotiation between the British authorities and the leaders of the Ganda tribe. It confirmed the allegiance of the Ganda King to the British Crown and the power of the British Representative to tender advice to the King and, in the last resort, to have it accepted and followed. It modified and crystallised Buganda political structure. The Kabaka himself was a minor and for nearly three decades the effective power lay in the hands of the three chief ministers of the Kingdom, the *Katikiro* (prime minister), *Omulamuzi* (chief justice) and *Omuwanika* (treasurer), who also acted as Regents. They were advised by the Great Council (*lukiko*), whose composition was for the first time defined, and which was dominated by the great chiefs who in their other capacity were the administrative staff of the Kabaka and his Regents throughout Buganda. This treaty provided the framework of security within which the urban centre of Kampala grew, and its main provisions remained unaltered until a new agreement was concluded in 1955 as a preliminary to the return of the Kabaka from his two years of exile.²

The legal framework for orderly urban growth was laid down in the Uganda Townships Ordinance of 1903, which gave power to the Governor to define the boundaries of towns, to make rules and to levy rates. The original Township Rules of 1903 were very simple and have been amended and re consolidated many times since.³

Kampala was gazetted as a Township in 1906, administered by officials of the Protectorate Government and financed directly out of Protectorate Government funds. In 1949 it was raised to the more independent status of a municipality, and in the following year the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Municipal Council were dignified by the titles of Mayor and Deputy Mayor.

1. Uganda Laws, 1935 Edition, vol. VI, pp. 1373-87.

2. See Draft Buganda Agreements, 1955, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1955.

3. As, for example, in 1910, 1912, 1916, 1924 and 1939. The Townships Ordinance itself was repealed and re consolidated in 1938 and special provision was made for municipalities in the Local Government (Municipalities) Ordinance of 1947. Further powers accrued to urban authorities under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1948. The relevant provisions of this legislation will be dealt with in more detail where necessary.

Thus the small seed planted by Lugard grew into a township and then into a municipality, by a process of orderly constitutional evolution inspired by British models. For several decades it was treated as a town catering almost exclusively for European and Asian interests. Although Africans were probably always in the majority numerically their low and transient status allowed them little or no influence in the policy of the town. Influential Africans lived outside the boundaries of the town in the Kibuga round the Kabaka's Palace and the seat of the Ganda Native Government on Mengo hill. Though this area was becoming unobtrusively urbanised, it was long before any special measures were taken to deal with it and, in accordance with the spirit of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, it was regarded as the proper concern of the Buganda Native Government and left to be administered under the same modified traditional system as rural Buganda.

The Baganda Township Sanitary Law of 1931¹ may be taken as the first official sign of recognition by the Buganda Government of the existence of modern urban problems. Baganda Township referred to "all that area lying immediately adjacent to the Kampala Township boundary comprising and including all those parts which are generally known to be within the boundaries of the Gombolola (sub-county) of the Omukulu we Kibuga (the Ganda chief of the Kibuga) but excluding the Township of Namirembe".²

This law constituted a Baganda Township Sanitary Board under the chairmanship of the Omukulu we Kibuga having as members the Provincial Luwalo Inspector (the Buganda Government official responsible for public works), the Sentala (chief market master of the Buganda Government), an executive officer and two unofficial members appointed by the Kabaka. This body bears a superficial resemblance to the old sanitary board of Kampala Township, which evolved successfully from a township authority into a municipal council. But the Baganda Township Board lacked the powers necessary to enable it to work effectively and it failed to implement even those which it had. It was rendered nugatory from the start by clause three, which states that "every decision of the Board shall be communicated to the Katikiro, and no decision of the Board shall be carried into effect until the Board shall have received a notification that such decision has been approved by the Katikiro, the Omulamuzi and the Omuwaniika or any two of them." The making of all decisions subject in this way to the concurrence of many different officials not merely ensured delay, but in so doing unnecessarily increased the exposure of decisions which were bound to be controversial to powerful vested interests well placed for nullifying them. As time went on, the profits to be gained from evasion of control by this law became very high, yet the maximum penalty provided for was a fine of 150/- or two months imprisonment in default. The law may have led to some improvement in market control and refuse collection, but it avoided fundamental issues. In particular, the reference of the law, like the jurisdiction of the Buganda Government itself, was restricted to persons legally classified as natives.³

In 1947 the Buganda Town Planning Law was passed. An apparent improvement over the previous law on paper, it led to no improvement in practice. Under it, a Town Planning Board was set up for

1. Uganda Laws, 1935 edition, vol. VI, pp. 1509 - 11.

2. *Loc. cit.* For Namirembe Township see below, p. 12.

3. *Loc. cit.*, clause 2.

the Kibuga, with a slightly different membership from the Baganda Township Sanitary Board. The most important provision of this law was the requirement of the Board's permission in writing for the construction of any new building. However, this provision has never been effectively enforced. The only penalty was forfeiture of compensation in the event of an unapproved building having to be removed, but this has never occurred. Neither of the bodies set up under these two laws has succeeded either in meeting regularly or in exercising any control over development in the Kibuga.

The Kibuga has therefore fallen further and further behind the Municipality in the provision of public services, the control of sanitation, the safeguarding of health and in general standards of administration. It is referred to in a derogatory manner as the "septic fringe" of Kampala.¹ This situation leads to constant recrimination and suspicion between the Buganda Government authorities and the Municipal Council, which is still dominated by Europeans and Asians. This is a fundamental contributory factor to racial tension in a place which influences thought and feeling throughout Uganda and at a time which is critical for the successful political evolution of the Protectorate.

5. POPULATION GROWTH.

Population growth has been particularly rapid during the last few years, but it has not been confined to the area of the Municipality alone. The population of Mengo and the Kibuga as a whole has also risen strikingly, partly in response to the economic and political evolution of the Buganda Kingdom under British Protection, but much more as a result of its proximity to Kampala, much of whose ever increasing surplus population of all races, white, brown and black, has spilt over into the Kibuga in defiance of whatever laws and regulations have been aimed from time to time at the prevention of this process.

Johnston's estimate of the population of the Kibuga at the beginning of this century as 77,000² must have been an exaggeration and George Wilson's figure of 60,000 in 1906³ seems hardly less excessive. The census of 1904 gave a total population of only 65,652 for the whole county of Kyadondo, of which the Kibuga forms only one sub-county. While this early census was no doubt far from accurate or complete, there is no reason to suppose that either Johnston or Wilson were able to draw upon any more reliable source. In the census of 1911 the figure for Kyadondo was 105,401. The 1911 census also gives the figure of 32,441 for the Kibuga, or about half the estimates of Johnston and Wilson, and the figure of 2,953 for the total population of Nakasero, which at that time corresponded roughly with the Township of Kampala. There were at this time only 147 Europeans in the whole county of Kyadondo and doubtless nearly all of these were resident in Kampala. The Asian population was only 680 in the whole of Mengo District, the majority of whom were probably also Kampala residents.

The native and non-native populations have always been estimated separately and neither figure has yet been related to the areas that

1. Municipal Council of Kampala. Sixth Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1954, p. 3. "The insanitary conditions prevailing in the Kibuga are beyond our control but are of the greatest public health importance to the residents of Kampala. The problem increases daily with the rapid uncontrolled building which is taking place in the immediate environs of Kampala, and this septic fringe constitutes a serious threat to the health of the citizens of Kampala."
2. Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
3. Commissioner George Wilson in Entebbe Secretariat file 986/06.

are meaningful from the point of view of urban growth. It is most important to distinguish between increases in population which result from a rise in density within the same area and those which only reflect the inclusion of new areas within the boundaries of a town.

The boundaries of the Kibuga have varied slightly from time to time since 1900, but not sufficiently to falsify the comparison of its population over the years. On the other hand, the area of the Township and present Municipality has been greatly increased by periodic extensions. When the Township was first officially gazetted in 1906 its boundary was defined as a three mile radius of the "present Nakasero Fort",¹ but in June 1910 this was amended to a one mile radius of the District Commissioner's office.² Both of these definitions were, of course, quite arbitrary, in default of surveyed boundary marks. The actual settlement at that time only occupied a very small tract in the centre of the area defined. In August 1910 the boundary was redefined by natural features and, in effect, the town was made to consist of Old Kampala and Nakasero hills.³ In 1916 Kololo Hill was added, thus nearly doubling the previous area.⁴ But, apart from cemeteries, labour camps and other temporary settlements on its southern slopes, Kololo was not in fact developed as a built up part of the town until after World War II. The next important extension was in 1938 when the Crown land areas on Makerere and Mulago hills, occupied by Makerere College and Mulago Hospital respectively, were brought within the Township.⁵ Finally, in April 1956, the boundary was extended east, beyond the extension of 1916, to include an important area in which Government African Housing Estates had been built up since the War, as well as privately developed residential plots.⁶

The European population of Kampala remained a mere handful for the first decade of the century and by the end of the first World War only amounted to a few hundred. The Township estimate for 1926 gave it as 359 and for 1928 as 400. In 1930 the Water Supply Authority estimated very roughly a total European population of 500 including the suburbs of Makerere and Mulago which were not then within the Township boundary. This estimate was confirmed by the figure of 505 Europeans for the same area in the 1931 census. It was only after the Second World War that the European population began to rise more rapidly, and the 1948 census gave a figure of 1,297.

The Asian population of the town quickly rose above the European and was estimated at 800 in 1914. According to the Township estimates for 1926 to 1929 the Asian population rose from about 1,700 to 2,000 during that period. But representatives of the various Asian castes and sects considered these estimates low and put the figure at nearly double. However, at the 1931 census 2,755 Indians and 351 Goans were returned. The Asian population also rose rapidly after the Second World War and totalled 10,824 at the census of 1948.

Figures for the African population are even more vague and unsatisfactory. This is not only because of actual inaccuracies, but because the figure for the African population of the Township throughout this period has very little meaning in view of the fact that the main African urban concentration lay in Mengo and the Kibuga and it is impossible to give even a rough outline of population development in this

1. Uganda Gazette, Proclamation of 26th June, 1906.
 2. Uganda Gazette, 9th June, 1910.
 3. Uganda Gazette, 12th August, 1910.
 4. Uganda Gazette, 15th and 28th January and 29th July, 1916.
 5. Supplement to Uganda Gazette, Legal Notice No. 136 of 15th October 1938.
 6. Supplement to Uganda Gazette, Legal Notice No. 76 of 5th April, 1956.
- For the implications of this extension see below, p. 16 ff.

area with any accuracy. Within the Township boundary the resident African population has always consisted of rather unrepresentative categories such as domestic servants, police, hospital patients, railway employees and a highly fluctuating number of squatters and unskilled labourers. In the earliest days, the Nubis of Lugard's army and the Swahilis from the caravans formed the most numerous, though the least influential, element in the population. The Swahilis gradually dwindled or disappeared in the rest of the population and the Nubis were gradually displaced from the town proper. But others took their place and from the beginning of the century there must always have been a floating population of two or three thousand Africans in the town. The figure seems to have risen from five or six thousand in 1930 to 11,905 at the 1948 census.

Meanwhile the population of the Kibuga and of other areas round the boundaries of the town was growing more and more dense. In 1948 the Kibuga population was 34,337. This is remarkable in relation to the 1911 census figure of 32,441. Whether the population of the Kibuga during this period remained as numerically stable as these figures would suggest is now impossible to prove. The next most urbanised sub-county to the Kibuga in 1948 was that of Nakawa, with a population of 13,150 according to the census. No reliable count has been made of these areas since then, but the annual estimates of the chiefs show a very rapid upward trend which cannot be entirely misleading. According to these figures, the population of the Kibuga and Nakawa sub-counties trebled between 1948 and 1955. While the total population within the official Township boundary was 24,203 at the 1948 census, it is probably at least 40,000 to-day, and the population of the urban area as defined by ecological criteria is likely to be over 100,000.¹

6. THE INFLUENCE OF LAND TENURE.

The population pressure which led to an overspill of non-Africans from the Township into the surrounding areas made it increasingly unrealistic to regard the Kibuga as an area of solely African concern in which the Protectorate Government need take no detailed interest. The demand from large numbers of Asians and smaller numbers of Europeans for property and land in the Kibuga represented to the Ganda people and their leaders a political threat and an economic temptation. The same individuals were in danger of voting in the Great Council of Buganda to keep the foreigners out, while at the same time concluding lucrative private deals with them for the leasing of property at a high premium. The result of this understandable ambivalence has been a confused and vacillating policy towards non-African rights in the Kibuga.

Nearly all land in the Kibuga is owned by Africans, the vast majority of whom are Ganda, under the *mailo* system of tenure, which gives African owners full powers of disposal, subject to certain safeguards for tenants, but does not allow them to sell land to non-Africans without special permission.²

1. There is no absolute standard. The most objective criterion is density. The average density of Nairobi City was given in 1948 as only 4.8 per acre (see below, p. 21). By the standards of more developed countries this is certainly low, but may be a relevant comparison for East African conditions. The Kibuga and Nakawa sub-counties would both appear now to have higher densities than this. There must, of course, be an intermediate zone between what is town and what is country. After a study of the economy of rural Buganda, C.C. Wrigley, a former Fellow of the East African Institute of Social Research, expressed the view that one and a half persons to the acre is the maximum in a genuinely rural area. In 1948 the density of population in the six square miles of Kampala and the nineteen square miles of the Kibuga was six and just under three to the acre respectively. By 1955 it seems likely that these densities had risen to ten in Kampala and seven in the Kibuga.

2. See below, p. 31 ff., also the Buganda Land Law, *Uganda Laws*, 1935 edition, vol. VI. p. 1443.

On the other hand, virtually all the area of the Municipality consists of Crown land¹ under leasehold. The original Township was surrounded on the south and west by the *mailo* land of the Kibuga, while the Crown land area extended beyond it to the north-east and east. It is this fact which has conditioned the main direction of the Township's growth. The acquisition of *mailo* land by the Crown, or the inclusion of *mailo* areas within the jurisdiction of the Township, is felt by the Buganda Government as a threat to its power and a reduction of its territory and tends to precipitate a political crisis. For this reason, also, the power to declare a Planning Area under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1948, in order to exercise beneficial control over development in areas affected by rapid change, has been exercised in relation to the Crown land on the east of the town,² but not in relation to the Kibuga, where beneficial control is far more urgent.

Under the Buganda Land Law³ county chiefs were empowered to permit leases of *mailo* land to non-natives for periods of not more than one year. For several decades there was no great land pressure in the Kibuga such as to justify any special regulations. But by 1942 the demand for land in the Kibuga by non-natives, mainly Asians, was provoking Ganda hostility and the fear that Ganda would be gradually pushed out of their own capital. Besides this the Buganda Government was faced with practical problems such as the increasing difficulty of Buganda Government officials in obtaining housing in the capital. In response to this situation the Buganda Lukiko passed an amendment to the Land Law, excluding the Kibuga from the power of county chiefs to permit annual leases. This meant that non-native occupation of land or property in the Kibuga legally required the special permission of the Buganda Ministers and the Governor of Uganda. Economic pressure continued to grow and in 1944 there were 66 non-native applications for leases in the Kibuga, none of which was approved by the Ministers or legalised. The process continued in a non-legal twilight and in 1948 the Resident, Buganda, enquired of the Buganda Government what its policy was. No satisfactory answer was received and in 1951 there was another switch when the Buganda Government passed a resolution to amend its 1942 amendment in order to permit non-African occupation in the Kibuga freely. At this point, however, the Protectorate Government refused to confirm the resolution until an adequate Buganda Planning Law was passed and in operation, on the ground that without such control an undesirable type of development would inevitably occur, bringing difficulties and unnecessary expenditure in the future. From this time the present administrative system of controlling leases to non-Africans in the Kibuga came into operation. The would-be lessor applies

1. This Crown land dates back to Lugard's acquisition of land from Kabaka Mwanga for his force and settlement. "He (Mwanga) gave me the little knoll on which my camp was pitched - named Kampala - also the plantation at the foot of the shortest slope, which I greatly desired to acquire, as it was owned by a very rowdy set belonging to the *Fransa* faction, who were continually creating a disturbance." (Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire*, vol. II, p. 48). This and other such transactions were regularised under clause 15 of the Uganda Agreement, 1900 (*loc. cit.*) where an area of 50 square miles appears as "Land taken up by the Government for Government stations prior to the present settlement (at Kampala, Entebbe, Masaka, etc., etc.)" The management of Crown lands was dealt with by the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1903 (*Uganda Laws*, 1935 edition vol. I, p. 616). Note especially clauses 20, 21, 22 and 30, which have governed native occupation of such land.

2. Uganda Gazette, General Notice No. 763 of 1950.

3. *Loc. cit.*

to the Uganda Government Town Planner, who draws up a paper scheme of parcellation for the land in question. The lessor then seeks the approval of the Buganda Lukiko Land Officer, after which he goes to the Resident, Buganda, who must be satisfied that no sitting tenants are being disturbed as a result of the transaction. After this the lessor goes to the Protectorate Land Officer to get the plot surveyed. Only when this is complete can he get the final approval of the Governor, which is now conveyed through the Minister of Land Tenure. This vexatious system naturally leads to a large number of illicit deals in which economic pressure cannot wait for the operation of such cumbersome machinery.

7. THE CONFUSION OF BOUNDARIES AND FUNCTIONS.

The result of the independent development of the Kampala Municipality and the Kibuga is a complex overlapping and confusion of different aspects of Government. It is essential for the reader to grasp as far as possible the nature of this complexity, for it is both a contributory cause of political tension and a major factor operating against the rule of law in this area.

It reigns in respect of territorial boundaries and also in respect of the division of Governmental functions. Economic events have caught up on and tended to overwhelm political planning and arrangements. A whole series of inconsistent and anomalous relationships has arisen between the central government administration of the Uganda Protectorate, the local government of the Buganda Kingdom, and again the local government of the Kampala Municipality; between Protectorate Police and Buganda Police, Protectorate Courts and Buganda Courts, native rights in land and property and non-native rights, and so on.

The territorial aspect is as follows. Buganda Kingdom is divided successively into counties, sub-counties and parishes. Mengo proper is a parish, and the sub-county of which it is a part is known for reasons made plain above, as Kibuga, or Capital. Kampala Municipality is now administered by its own local government system modelled on the British municipal pattern of Mayor, Deputy Mayor and Councillors, with a Town Clerk and other full time officials. Yet the Municipality remains territorially part of the Buganda Kingdom, situated mainly in the sub-county of the Kibuga. The Kibuga contains eleven parishes of which Mengo, Rubaga, Namirembe and Nsambya (headquarters of the Mill Hill Fathers) each form one. Two more of these parishes, formed by the hills of Old Kampala and Nakasero, lie within the boundary of the Kampala Municipality and roughly represent the original area of the Town. Makerere Hill constitutes another parish of the Kibuga, and lies half inside and half outside the Municipality, the part which lies inside corresponding with the site of the University College of East Africa. A similar situation obtains on Mulago Hill, another Kibuga parish lying partly inside and partly outside the Municipality, the former part corresponding with the site of Mulago Hospital, the chief teaching hospital in East Africa. The 1956 extension of the Municipality to the east involved the absorption of parts of two parishes outside the Kibuga in a different sub-county.

To sum up, from the point of view of the urban area as a whole, judged by the criterion of density, there is no correspondence at all with the boundaries of local government units. As far as the Buganda Government is concerned, the urban area includes a number of

parishes and parts of parishes, belonging mainly to the sub-county of the Kibuga and to one other sub-county but also including small parts of at least two other sub-counties. It is true that all these sub-counties are contained in one of the counties which form the main sub-divisions of the Buganda Kingdom. But this county is rural over most of its area, its headquarters lie some ten miles out of Kampala, and it is therefore fair to say that there is no unity of urban administration as far as the Buganda Government is concerned and, in fact, as yet no specifically urban administration at all.

On the other hand, the organization of the Municipality of Kampala is a specifically urban administration, but refers only to an arbitrary part of the urban area as defined by density, to an area which was designed to provide for and did in fact for several decades provide for the residential and commercial needs of the non-African population of Europeans and Asians.

Furthermore, as already indicated, there is overlapping and confusion in respect of many vital functions. Kampala Municipality has evolved its own system of rating and its own utility services of roads, sewerage, storm drainage, street lighting, water supply, electricity, parks and open spaces, swamp reclamation and mosquito control. But the health control and water supply, originally developed for the Municipality, have been extended to other suburban areas which have no means of providing their own services. Such areas, though outside the Municipality, inevitably become in some sense dependent upon it. The overwhelming superiority of the Municipality in wealth and the provision of services over Mengo and the Kibuga or any other part of the densely settled surrounding areas, is becoming a major source of friction. The municipal authorities object to the unregulated type of development taking place all round the boundary, and make something of a bogey out of the possibility of epidemics spreading into the Municipality from such areas, an event which can rarely, if ever, be proved to have occurred. On the other hand, the Buganda Government resents the presence in its territory of such a powerful rival authority and fears its tendency to spread and absorb an ever larger area.

The Kibuga sub-county still retains a nominal administrative responsibility for all the municipal population legally classified as native. The parish chiefs whose areas fall within the Municipal boundary are able to fulfil very few of their normal functions there. But they are responsible for collecting tax from the African population. In most other respects their jurisdiction is rendered redundant by the far more detailed and specialised municipal rules and regulations. For many years the Protectorate police force endeavoured to restrict itself to the maintenance of order within the Municipality and to such cases arising outside it as involved non-natives. However, the phrase in clause 9 of the 1900 Uganda Agreement which reads: "When arrangements have been made by Her Majesty's Government for the organisation of a police force in the province of Uganda, a certain number of police will be placed at the disposal of each chief of a county to assist him in maintaining order", has never been implemented as intended. Consequently the relatively untrained native police of the Buganda Government have found themselves less and less able to cope with the problems of order in the highly mixed urban population around the municipal area. Sub-county and parish chiefs have got into the habit of calling in the Protectorate police to investigate and deal with cases of crime in this area with which it was intended that the Kabaka's Government should deal.

An assurance was given by the Governor of Uganda in connection with the new Buganda Agreement of 1955, that this clause of the 1900 Agreement would be implemented as soon as possible.¹ Some progress has already been made in this direction, but in view of the fact that the assistance is to county headquarters, and since the county headquarters for the Kibuga is distant from Kampala as already noted, the increased assistance is of no direct benefit to the Kibuga sub-county.

The municipal authorities, regarding themselves as the only competent urban administration available, have tended to see the incorporation of more and more areas around the town as the only means of effective urban progress. In recent years it has become plain that such a solution is impracticable. The fear of it has made the Buganda Government more evasive and recalcitrant. The personnel of the Buganda Government have found themselves torn between the desire to maintain control over the capital of their Kingdom, if necessary by excluding non-Africans from it altogether, and the realisation of the enormous economic advantages open to them by leasing land and renting accommodation to non-Africans. The uncertainty with regard to the use of land in the Kibuga has over a long period caused a tremendous inflation in municipal land values, while, immediately outside the municipal boundary, although the prices paid for land rose spectacularly above its rural value, they yet remained far below the open market value as long as non-Africans were prevented by law from entering the market.

The piecemeal approach to the problem is illustrated by the creation of Namirembe and Kawempe Townships, both within the urban area of Greater Kampala but outside the municipal boundary. The small but concentrated Asian bazaar which sprang up south west of Kampala on the slope of Namirembe hill below the headquarters of the Church Missionary Society was the earliest growth of its kind in the Kibuga outside the Municipality. It was to establish sanitary control over it that Namirembe Township was gazetted in 1920. It was realised at the time that other such concentrations were likely to spring up elsewhere in the Kibuga and consequently it was suggested that in order to control them, a large area, including the parish of Namirembe, most of that of Mengo and part of that of Rubaga, should be brought within the Kampala boundary. The Buganda Government took fright at this and countered with the proposal that no other plots should be leased to Indians in the Kibuga. So only a small area, with a radius of 220 yards, was gazetted as a small township to include Namirembe Bazaar itself. Little further leasing to Asians took place for the next two decades, after which, in response to increasing economic pressure, it began again on the basis of an official policy too vacillating to exercise effective control.

After World War II another concentration of both Asian and African business sprang up around Kawempe to the north-west of Kampala. Kawempe lies not only outside the municipal boundary, but outside the Kibuga, in a different sub-county even less well equipped than the Kibuga, both administratively and legally, to deal with urban problems.

The proposal to bring Kawempe under control by declaring it a township was approved by the County Council of Kyadondo and was passed by the Kabaka and Ministers of Buganda in 1950. The township was gazetted in 1955. Over a year later a mass meeting of more than 700 Africans protested against this. Their legal grounds of objection,

1. The Draft Buganda Agreements, 1955, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1955, p. 80.

that the Buganda Agreement of 1955 stated that townships in Buganda should come under the jurisdiction of the Buganda Government, were false. But their fears were those perennial in Buganda, that land rights were being taken away from them and that the Protectorate Government was again insidiously encroaching on the power and jurisdiction of the Buganda Government. They feared "the introduction of building rules which would mean that all the African houses in the area would be knocked down while Asian houses, which it was said were of better quality, would remain." "The real criticism that can be made is not that Kawempe has been declared a township but that a year after the event there was no visible evidence of the fact, and the inhabitants were not aware of it. If the Protectorate Government agrees to the declaration of townships it should be ready to spend money on them."¹

8. FINANCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Municipality is an incorporated local authority, with autonomous financial structure, whereas the Kibuga is simply a part of the Buganda Government organisation, without any corporate legal existence of its own. Detailed comparison of finance is difficult both because of this and because of accounting changes in both the Kibuga and the Municipality over the years. Furthermore, although the Kibuga population has always been greater than that of the Municipality, it is less wealthy and should not be expected to raise a comparable revenue by its own efforts. In spite of these differences, an instructive picture emerges from tracing the recent financial history of the two units.

The total funds devoted to the Kibuga by the Buganda Government, according to published estimates, remained almost stagnant from the figure of £3,960 in 1928 to that of £4,597 in 1947. After that there was a steep rise to £7,337 in 1952 and an actual expenditure of £14,432 in 1953. The estimate for 1955 was £17,619, made up of £4,987 for personal emoluments, £6,376 for other charges (of which road maintenance and improvement took £5,881) and another £5,900 for the running cost and labour of refuse loaders, labour for clearing the Kibuga and maintenance of anti-malarial drains. Even these figures are something of an over-estimate of funds available for local government purposes, because the Kibuga organisation still has to carry out functions which are properly of a central government character but not separately financed. Besides this, the Kibuga is subsidised in certain ways by the Municipality which, for example, carries out extensive anti-malarial works within the Kibuga.

Before the Second World War the expenditure of Kampala Township Authority was also low, totalling only just over £23,000 in 1937. Responsibility for this was borne by the Protectorate Government, which also absorbed all the revenue from township rates into its general funds. After the war both revenue and expenditure began to rise fast in Kampala and were running at over £400,000 in 1954 and 1955. The 1956 budget envisaged recurrent expenditure of £563,355 and capital of £471,200.² Relative financial independence has also strengthened steadily to match the administrative independence achieved in the creation of the Municipality in 1949. The percentage of the municipal budget met from rates and local income rose from 68.5 in 1951 to 74.8 in 1955. Actual income from rates rose from only £10,000 in 1939 to £382,129 in 1955. However, in the latter year grants totalling £128,582 were received from the central government, and although the proportion

1. Uganda Argus, February 15th 1956, and also February 13th and 20th 1956.
2. Uganda Argus, October 1st 1955.

of expenditure met from local revenue has increased, the absolute amount of central government grants has also risen. A major factor in raising the revenue producing capacity of the town has clearly been the heavy investment of capital in development. This capital has been provided almost entirely by the central government, which made available a sum of £1,333,244 from 1951 to 1954 alone.

The financial weakness of the Kibuga must be attributed, not to the poverty of the African urban community, but to the legal and administrative incapacity of the Kibuga, either to raise or to hold funds available for investment in development. This springs from several causes, and reasons for suspicion and vacillation in policy have already been mentioned. There is opposition from the Ganda ruling class to any reasonable level of taxation or urban rating. The emergent middle class of skilled, clerical, business and professional workers is as yet too small and lacking in solidarity, and the unskilled working class too heterogeneous and unstable to exert any effective pressure on this issue. Nonetheless, such signs of popular interest and initiative as have so far appeared have been stifled and not favoured by the Buganda Government.¹ The highest level of direct taxation to which the wealthiest Africans are liable is the graduated tax of 120/- per annum. Moreover, the collection of the poll and graduated tax reaches a peak of incompetence in the urban area, where some parishes raise no more than a quarter of their assessments. The imposition of an urban rate is as yet unthinkable. Since the Kibuga is not incorporated, its funds are not differentiated from those of the Buganda Government. The misapplication of funds by the latter in recent years does not encourage trust in its ability to apply funds to urban development in the absence of more effective control than is at present available either from within or from without.² The Kibuga is therefore neither in a position to exploit potential sources of revenue itself, nor to receive and use the extensive funds which are at present available from the Protectorate Government for its assistance.

1. As, for example, in the case of the "Katwe Town Council", See Uganda Argus, June 4th, 8th, 22nd, 29th and 30th and August 8th, 1955. Katwe is the next door parish to Mengo in the Kibuga and is the leading centre of African business in Uganda. This unofficial popular movement represented the interests of Katwe tenants. It was opposed by the local landlords. One of the latter said he had never before heard of tenants wanting to improve the conditions of the area in which they worked or lived "by themselves". It was the duty of landlords to improve Katwe and if the tenants had any complaints they should tell them and they would do the job. If tenants wanted better houses and conditions they should go to Kampala, where they would get anything they want, he suggested. Another landowner remarked that they did not want to be "sold to Kampala" and did not want roads and flowers such as those in Kampala, which would reduce the size of their land. The Ministers of the Buganda Government objected to the use of the name Katwe Town Council because it was the prerogative of the Kabaka's Government to adopt such a title. They expressed sympathy and interest, suggesting that members of the council should meet the Buganda Government Town Planning Board, a body which, as already explained, has proved ineffective.

2. See Uganda Argus, November 18th, 1955, comment on the Report of the Director of Audit on Buganda Kingdom Government Accounts. The Director of Audit reported that money "is not being spent in the way envisaged in the estimates" and that "financial control is weak." For example, part of the expenses of the Kabaka's Coronation visit to Europe were charged to "office furniture", while expenditure on provisions for the Nabagereka was charged to "miscellaneous". Both items should have been met from the Kabaka's Privy Purse (*nkuluze*) and not from Buganda Government funds at all. "Errors are evidently multiplying as the accounts increase in size and complexity", the Report continues, and the delay in submitting accounts has now increased to eleven months.

9. THE PRESENT SITUATION.

The anomalies of a situation in which political regulations, aimed at safeguarding African interests, cut Africans off from sources of finance and from the stimulus of competition, as well as accentuating the racial division of the economy, have been strikingly exposed by the East African Royal Commission 1953-55 Report.¹ Cogent arguments are there presented for the reassessment of the safeguards in such a manner as to encourage private and small scale investment, and to enable Africans to realise their land assets in the acquisition of capital for trade and building development. General commerce would be fostered by closing the gap between the scale and efficiency of African and non-African business operations, instead of confining African commerce within a framework of restrictive regulations which, in attempting to provide for their political security, remove them from both the capital and the incentives for further economic development without which their income and standard of living cannot be raised.

In relation to the Kibuga, this would presumably mean the adoption of a policy which, while making provision for the future needs of the poorer income groups for land and housing in the urban area, would facilitate the combination of African land and non-African capital in development on the basis of adequate legal security for all parties. At present, political policy towards this matter vacillates, and economic pressure encourages a stream of illicit deals which not only contravene the law and bring it further into contempt, but involve great wastage of resources as a result of the unnecessary risks involved. There is thus an artificial element in land and property values and in interest rates which constitutes an unnecessary charge on an under-developed economy. If economic improvement requires the relaxation of certain political restrictions on the movement of factors of production, it also depends essentially on the design of an appropriate new political framework of administration and representation for the Kibuga. This question was of sufficient importance to be included in the search for a general settlement of issues outstanding between the Buganda Government and the British Government made by the Namirembe Conference under the chairmanship of Sir Keith Hancock as a preliminary to the return of the Kabaka from his two years exile. This Conference recommended that "a committee including local residents and representatives of the Buganda Government shall be set up to consider as a question of urgency, the establishment of a new local authority, under the Buganda Government, for the administration of the Kibuga. This committee will be instructed to explore means by which such an authority may include representatives of all sections of the community resident in the Kibuga and may have jurisdiction, for local government purposes, over all sections of the community resident in the Kibuga." In the "agreed text of letters between the Governor and the Buganda Ministers,"² the Governor of Uganda expressed anxiety that the proposed committee should be set up as soon as possible. The text of the Ministers' reply reads: "We shall be prepared to take the action proposed in your letter in so far as the Kabaka's Government is concerned". The committee was at last established on March 6th, 1956.³ Its chairman is the Uganda Government's Commissioner

1. Cmd. 9475, H.M.S.O., London, 1955, *passim* and especially Part IV.

2. *The Draft Buganda Agreements 1955*, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1955, pp. 79-81.

3. Uganda Gazette, 8th March 1956, General Notice No. 304 of 1956.

for Local Government and the Vice-Chairman is the Buganda Government's Minister of Health. The Secretary is an officer on the staff of the Resident, Buganda, with special experience of the problems of urban administration. The seven other members are all Ganda two being senior county chiefs; one the Deputy Speaker of the Buganda Lukiko; one a former Chamberlain of the Kabaka's palace, at present a Kabaka's nominee on the Lukiko and member of the new Buganda Appointments Board; two are prominent businessmen and another is editor of one of the chief Luganda vernacular newspapers.

Another significant recent development was the extension of the boundary of Kampala Municipality to the east, already referred to, which brought within it a corridor of Crown land from the Planning Area. This corridor includes the Government Housing Estates of Naguru and Nakawa but not the new experimental estate of Ntinda. It also includes an area to be developed for high grade housing which for economic reasons is likely for the present to be chiefly occupied by Europeans and Asians. The rest of the corridor contains some thousands of African squatters whose basis of tenure has not yet been regularised. The implications of this extension are very important. By it the Municipality has for the first time committed itself to a responsibility for the poorest element in the urban population, who are at present the African wage earners. Areas of African residence, such as Wandegeya and Kagugube, had been in the Municipality for some years, but the problems posed by them had never been tackled. They were neither brought up to the standard of housing and services enforced in the rest of the Municipality, nor were the relevant regulations modified in order to legalise conditions in these areas. But in the new extension the African squatters are to be granted a clearly defined tenure of greater security than in the past, they will be provided with roads and gradually improved services and their housing, though of temporary materials, has been legalised by the modification of the municipal building rules.¹ The previous strict building rules were, in effect, the means of preserving the Municipality as a European and Asian extra-territorial settlement in which the local African population could have no stake and which aroused their increasing hostility. The handful of senior African Government servants who now occupy within the Municipality what were previously regarded as European quarters, indicate another significant trend, but their numbers are too small for them to exercise any appreciable influence as yet. None of the African nominated members of the Municipal Council has so far been resident within the municipal boundary. Here too the recent extension means an important change, in that it has been announced that three more African members will be nominated to represent it on the Municipal Council. Not only will the Council have African members with a residential stake in the Municipality for the first time, but they represent a strengthening of the trend towards ward representation, the logical end of which would be the election of ward councillors by vote of the residents in them.

Until this extension was made, the Government African Housing Estates appeared to be developing into a third element in the composition of the urban area. With the Municipality an almost exclusively

1. These rules are passed under the Public Health Ordinance and can be applied to any township or municipality. See the Grade Housing Areas Building Rules, 1956, Uganda Gazette, Legal Notice No. 81 of 12th April, 1956, and also The Temporary Housing Areas Building Rules, 1956, Uganda Gazette, Legal Notice No. 80 of 12th April, 1956.

European and Asian administrative, commercial and communications centre, domestic servants being the only numerous body of Africans residing within it, and the Kibuga still retaining predominantly the character of the traditional Ganda capital, in which foreigners are ambivalently tolerated for economic gain, or reviled for the political menace they betoken, the growing cluster of housing estates represented a specifically urban and specifically African community. Although it attracted quite considerable numbers of Ganda, it catered especially for the ever increasing body of immigrants from foreign tribes, the unskilled and very temporary at Nakawa Estate, the more skilled, better educated, higher paid at Naguru and Ntinda Estates. Hitherto, the latter category in particular has been effectively disfranchised, alike in the Municipality and the Kibuga. To acquire any recognised status in the Municipality was economically impossible for them, and to do so in the Kibuga necessitated "becoming a Ganda" which was not only distasteful to many of them but was an informal yet exacting process requiring a period of time longer than most of them had to give. Structurally, this was a potentially disaffected group, but because of the extreme heterogeneity of its tribal composition and the very temporary nature of its members' stake in town, it has never become organised and has never given any trouble. It is a group which contains the seeds of a future middle class, whose interests centre more on personal security and adequate provision of social services for themselves and their families than on current political issues. Its importance is bound to increase, and the present move to integrate it with the Municipality increases the disparity between the latter and the Kibuga.

The municipal extension took place without the approval of the Buganda Government, and in spite of its significant implications it can be criticised on a number of grounds. It was essentially a half measure pleasing no one. It does nothing to rationalise the chaotic interlocking and contradiction of territorial and functional powers. The Planning Area remains half inside, half outside the Municipality. Even on the basis of present forecasts, the extension does not provide enough space for the residential needs of either Africans or non-Africans in the town. Ntinda Estate is left as an anomalous unit outside the Municipality and the Kibuga. Either a whole series of satellite townships will later have to be gazetted, none of them constituting a viable urban unit, or else further extensions of the municipal boundary will be necessary. Each time this issue arises, relations with the Buganda Government are needlessly exacerbated. It would seem, therefore, as though future difficulties might have been avoided if one or other of two more radical courses had been adopted. The whole of the Planning Area and the additional Crown land immediately further east could have been brought into the Municipality at once. This would have included Ntinda Estate and would have given the Municipality a really significant weighting of African urban population able to play its part in municipal affairs in the not too distant future on a basis of undifferentiated equality with the other races involved. Alternatively, the whole eastern area, including Naguru, Nakawa and Ntinda estates, and areas of present or future European and Asian residence, should have been consolidated into a township on its own. Such a unit would have had the advantage of some participation by all races, but Africans would have been predominant. In area and population it would have been a viable unit of urban administration and services. In composition it would have been essentially complementary both to the Municipality and the Kibuga, in giving special

opportunities and experience of running their own affairs as an urban community to an increasingly important category of town Africans who are less well provided for in this respect by any of the other units. Now, however, the Ntinda Estate remains in a most anomalous position. Its purpose is essentially urban, yet it is cut off from the organisation of the rest of the urban area. It remains in law the responsibility of the rural administration of the Buganda Government, while in fact it is administered direct by the central government Department of African Housing. If it is declared a township, as has already been mooted, it will add to the confusion of small units like Namirembe and Kawempe, none of which can properly stand on its own feet as independent urban local authorities.

The rest of this book is devoted to only one general aspect of life in Greater Kampala. It endeavours to portray the activities and problems of the African population in areas which are becoming rapidly urbanised in terms of density, areas which, lying outside the Municipality, have sprung up in chaotic spontaneity, at the full mercy of the confusion, overlapping and ambiguity of territorial units, jurisdictions and specialised functions resulting from the peculiar history of the town.

PART TWO — KISENYI

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE REASONS FOR THE STUDY.

The area of Mengo-Kisenyi was selected for intensive investigation as that part of Greater Kampala which represents relatively free urban development in its most extreme form. Free here means free from any fully effective regulation of building and settlement. The orderly system of Buganda rural administration is here seen at the mercy of new forces to which its structure has not yet been systematically adjusted.

The extent to which conditions of the kind revealed in Kisenyi are typical cannot be stated until some of the other Kampala studies, not yet completed, are available for comparison. What is claimed here is that Kisenyi conditions indicate some of the most urgent problems which will inevitably have to be dealt with if a satisfactory community life is to be secured for the poorer sections of the town community. Granted that Kisenyi has some special characteristics of its own, similar conditions may be taken to prevail in the neighbouring area of Katwe and in numerous smaller suburban pockets all round the boundary of the Municipality. They will tend to prevail in wider and wider areas if building and settlement continues at its present rate.

The wealthier and more educated Africans of Kampala regard Kisenyi as a slum, and the attention devoted to it by the Kampala Survey has evoked their adverse criticism. They fear that it is an attempt to show up Africans in their worst light in order to discredit them. Western nations, they say, do not permit their own sore spots to be publicised in this way. A long reading list can be cited to disprove this accusation and to enlighten those who are of this opinion with the lurid details of slum life in other parts of the world.¹ However, some Africans in positions of authority are clearly worried about the development of such places as Kisenyi, anxious to have more accurate information about them, and open to advice as to future policy. The object of a study such as this is not to discredit the unfortunate, but to reveal the unhealthy features of urban development at their growing points before they become too widespread.

In this study I speak only of the urban masses as they are living in one of the densest areas of settlement. It is characteristic of Kampala that most of the wealthier, higher paid and better educated Africans who work in the town live right outside the urban area of Greater Kampala. Obviously, therefore, what is said here cannot be taken to refer to them, except those who, although not residents, do use the facilities which Kisenyi has to offer as also do many visitors to Kampala from the more distant countryside.

1. See, for example, Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 8 vols. London, 1902. *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* directed by Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, 9 vols., London, 1930-35: *The Social Survey of Merseyside*, ed. D. Caradog Jones, 3 vols. London, 1934: B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London, 1901: *Poverty and Progress, A Second Social Survey of York*, London, 1941.

This study, then, is primarily intended as a straightforward description of the life led in Kisenyi and its organisational background. It is an incomplete picture, to be amplified by other complementary studies already made or in progress. The study carried out in the parish of Mulago will indicate what differences are to be expected in suburban areas somewhat less densely settled than Kisenyi. The Kisenyi and Mulago studies, together with those made of Africans living in the Government Housing Estate at Naguru, and of samples of different categories of the employed population working within Kampala Municipality, will form an adequate basis for a general account of African life in Greater Kampala.

The material presented here already suggests a number of conclusions, but they will carry more weight when based on a comparative assessment of all the contributory studies referred to above. It has not been possible to restrict the present description entirely to Kisenyi, because at some points its significance can only be seen against a slightly wider background. Thus, the description of land tenure must be seen in contrast to the system of land tenure in rural Buganda from which the new urban economic forces have transformed it. The description of marriage and family life must be set in the context of traditional tribal marriage and of the changes already wrought in it even in rural areas. The description of local government processes in Kisenyi must likewise be seen against the background of the traditional Ganda political system, the modifications of half a century of protectorate government, and the strains imposed by urban conditions on a system primarily designed to meet the needs of a rural peasantry.

2. THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF KISENYI

The Luganda word Kisenyi means a swamp, and the most congested area of Kisenyi was in fact partly reclaimed by drainage from the swampy margin of the Nakivubo River. Most of this reclaimed land is now within the Municipality of Kampala and remains largely undeveloped.¹ Mengo-Kisenyi stands on the land which slopes up gently from this former swamp towards the Kabaka's palace. The area studied is defined on the north-east by the municipal boundary and on all other sides by roads.² In the *mailo* land settlement of 1900 most of this area fell to the Kabaka personally, and the rest to five other landowners, one a senior prince and the others Ganda of high rank. A process of fragmentation began after 1930, and gathered momentum from 1940 onwards, increasing the number of titles to 59 by 1952.

Of the land transfers through which this fragmentation occurred, over half were transactions of sale, all the rest being cases of inheritance with the exception of two instances of gift. What had been part of a royal estate together with the plots of a few Ganda chiefs was transformed by this process into a series of much smaller holdings distributed among a very varied group of title holders. The biggest factor in this change was the death of the Kabaka, H.H. Sir Daudi Chwa II, in 1939, and the division of the land in the area formerly held by him among ten of his children, many of whom speedily disposed of it. The average size of the holdings is now 1½ acres. But one holding of 20 acres and another of 10 stand out above the rest, half of which are of less than 1 acre in extent.

1. In 1954 a new Asian school was being built on it in temporary materials.

2. See map.

Kisenyi forms part of the parish¹ (*muluka*) of Mengo, which is the capital of Buganda, containing the palace of the Kabaka, the Lukiko or Parliament Hall and all the Buganda Government offices. The official residence of the Katikiro, and the town houses of many of the prominent Ganda families, are also in Mengo. The parish chief and several of the ward heads (*batongole*) of the parish happen to live in the part of Kisenyi chosen for study. It is divided into two fairly distinct halves. One half is formed by the flat land partly drained from the swamp and lying next to the municipal boundary. This half is all very densely settled. The other half is formed by the sloping ground leading up to the Kabaka's palace. It is less densely settled, and some food crops are still grown, mainly sweet potatoes and cassava, but new buildings are springing up very rapidly. All over Kisenyi much building is going on all the time, both of permanent structures, many of which are intended by African owners or their Asian lessees for renting to Asians, and mud and wattle buildings consisting mainly of rows of rooms for letting, singly or in pairs, to African lodgers. This development will inevitably raise the density of the whole area to that of the congested settlement at the bottom of the hill.

There are now many Asians living in Kisenyi, almost all of them belonging to the lower income groups. Although there are a few Asian occupied dwellings scattered here and there among those of the Africans, the marked concentration of Indian occupation lies along the road frontages, which they are in fact beginning to monopolise. At the upper end of the slope there are also a number of plots leased for European occupation.

The whole area of eighty acres² is occupied at a density of about 23,000 per square mile or 35.9 per acre.³ This is far above the lower limit usually taken as a standard of urban conditions. The United States Bureau of the Census has adopted the standard of 2,000 persons and 500 dwelling units per square mile for the purpose of estimating the 'urban fringe' of cities.⁴ Kisenyi is the part of Mengo parish nearest the central part of Kampala Municipality and thus lies between the two foci of potential concentration, the capital of the Buganda Kingdom on the one side and the commercial capital of the Uganda Protectorate on the other.

When people speak of Kisenyi it is the low lying congested area which they have particularly in mind. This is somewhat reminiscent, on a small scale, of other African urban areas in which the building has been carried out by private initiative, for example, the African locations at Nakuru in Kenya, Bukavu in the Belgian Congo, Dar-es-Salaam, or the Ngambo quarter at Zanzibar. But there is one fundamental difference. In all these other places building plots have

1. Although the term "parish" is in some ways unsuitable, it is probably not more so than any other English term, and I adopt it in conformity with the 1948 Census usage. The term "village" now often used in popular speech is even more inappropriate to describe divisions within an urban agglomeration.
2. The area of the whole parish is 670 acres, but this includes the Kabaka's *lubiri*, or palace enclosure, of several hundred acres, most of which is not built up.
3. In 1948 the 32.4 square miles of Nairobi City were occupied at an average density of 4.8 persons per acre. *Nairobi Master Plan for a Colonial Capital*, L.W. Thornton-White, L. Silberman and P.R. Anderson, London, 1948, p. 44. In Singapore Inner City, ward densities ranged from 164 down to 116 persons per acre, and in the Outer City averaged 19 per acre. *A Social Survey of Singapore*. The Singapore Department of Social Welfare, Singapore, 1947, p. 24. It is estimated that certain areas of Hong-Kong contain more than 2,000 per acre.
4. Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Reader in Urban Sociology*, Glencoe, 1951, p. 61.

been planned and allotted in a regular manner by some sort of parcellation process, and, although native builders have been permitted to erect their own dwellings with local materials, this has been within the framework of certain minimum building standards laid down by authority. Such minimum standards are absent in Kisenyi. The actual system of regulation will be dealt with in more detail later, but it will suffice to say here that it has not been sufficiently systematic to impose any visible order on the scene.

The common services, such as roads, drainage and water supply, normally reckoned as justifiably the responsibility of some local government authority, are lacking. Such roads as exist are deeply ravined stretches of ground with intervening hillocks, standing pools of water and trickling drains, across which a few lorries and cars bump crazily. The digging of deep pit latrines is enforced at the erection of each building, but each has usually to be shared by many families, and their siting in relation to dwelling houses causes constant offence to the nostrils.¹ There is no drainage system, and waste water of all kinds is left to trickle away towards the lowest ground causing morasses of mud. Water is obtained from three or four natural springs. Some householders fetch it themselves in debes or pots, but most buy at ten cents² a debe from water sellers who transport it, five or six debes at a time, in specially constructed wheelbarrows. There are eleven rubbish dumps in the area, at which all kinds of garbage are heaped up in the open, to be collected on most days by the recently acquired refuse lorry of the Buganda Kingdom.

At most times of the day Kisenyi gives the impression of throbbing social activity. Large groups gather to sit outside the rooms of the numerous sellers of every kind of beer:- banana beer, maize beer, millet beer and pineapple beer. Laundrymen, tailors, cobblers, carpenters, barbers, butchers, poultry sellers, vegetable sellers, charcoal sellers and all the general retailers ply their trade, many of them out in the open, or at least in the open doorways of their shops. Kisenyi is the biggest centre of petty trade of all kinds in the whole Kampala area. Equally active, but less obtrusive, are the thieves, prostitutes and 'waragi' (illegal distilled spirit) brewers for which Kisenyi is also famous.

It certainly cannot be said here, as is so often said of Africans in town, that they are all dependent, whether as skilled or unskilled labourers or clerks, on a framework of business and government activity created for them by others, and without which they would remain incapable of rising above their former bare subsistence level. In spite of the various features of a distinctly discreditable kind which have to be noted, the main emphasis should be on the degree of initiative which is being displayed in this area, even if too often in undesirable directions. It is surely this spirit which needs to be fostered, and directed out of perverse channels towards more desirable ends by the creation of conditions in which it will operate for the benefit of the community.

3. THE DAILY SCENE IN KISENYI

The general character of life in Kisenyi may become clearer with a few quotations from the notebooks in which observations were recorded. As in every residential neighbourhood, much of the ordinary life of every day takes place behind the scenes.

1. In Naguru Government Housing Estate one of the chief causes of complaint has always been the sharing of communal latrines. But it is far more aggravating to be under compulsion by a human agency than by the inexorability of physical circumstances.
2. The price was raised to 15 cents per debe during 1953.

In the morning Kisenyi is quiet, some people are outside and some inside their rooms, drinking tea, eating food, and drinking beer. Other people go from house to house looking for plantains and meat. Some women, and young boys and girls, are busy cleaning out their rooms.

However there is usually considerable activity going on in the eyes of all. Especially at weekends crowds of people flock into Kisenyi for diversion.

It was about five o'clock on Saturday, and this was a good time for all people who were after beer to be in Kisenyi. Everywhere people were moving hither and thither. It was very interesting to watch their movements — sitting down, eating outside their rooms, dancing and singing. Some were houseboys of Europeans, and some were thieves. Some were hawking clothes, soap, knives, brushes, bread rolls and washing blue. One man exchanged a bar of yellow soap for a bottle of pineapple beer. Another exchanged two cakes of Sunlight soap for a small water pot full of millet beer. Many houseboys of Europeans had their lovers in the Kisenyi area. Police askaris of the Buganda Government were there, and also constables of the Protectorate police. After their beer some went to the Haya women, and some were allowed to enter their rooms and some found their doors closed. When they saw men leaving these rooms then other men got in.

I went there to see if there was any change on Sunday from Saturday evening. It was the same picture. This time two Toro men were fighting. Many people surrounded them, and after a few minutes some other Toro separated them. After a while the two who had been fighting sat together and started drinking, each buying a bottle of Ganda beer and drinking it together.

Earlier in the day on Sundays Kisenyi is quieter, and this is the time in the week when most people are at home. A lodging house keeper said that all his tenants were at home on Sunday mornings, and after eleven o'clock they go out for beer and return at night.

On another Sunday morning it was observed:

Kisenyi today was not crowded with many people. I think this was because most of them took much beer last night, and they will come from about three o'clock onwards. Every kind of job is done for few people in Kisenyi rest on Sundays. At one o'clock about twenty Indian women and children came down from Mengo hill. They were buying many things, plantains, sweet potatoes, etc., and they went on towards Kampala. People of all kinds began to visit Kisenyi, especially at the Nakivubo end.

Even on weekdays, in the evening, the scene is similar.

At about five o'clock nearly every house had a group of many people who were drinking beer of every kind. The whole of Kisenyi was crowded with people. Most are not Ganda, though there are many Ganda there. Women, men, boys and girls were all drinking together.

Another striking daily scene is formed by the arrival of the plantain,¹ lorries.

1. Cooked plantains (*matoke*) are the food *par excellence* of the Ganda.

Two lorries brought plantains from outside Kampala. When they arrived in Kisenyi many women ran to them, and each woman started choosing plantain bunches off the lorries. There was a fight because there were many women and anyone who had no way tried to force herself through the rest. There were also many men. The owner was very busy all this time. He sold to many people, and all the lorries of plantains were finished in a short time. I asked if they were all buying for their own use, and they said "some for their own use and some for sale".

On another occasion it was observed that in the confusion of such a crowd some women were clever at edging bunches of plantains off the lorry without paying for them. On other occasions there may be a glut of plantains, and lorries which have failed to dispose of their load pass on elsewhere from Kisenyi.

People in Kisenyi are always eager for any diversion to relieve, one supposes, the monotony of their life. The most frequent source of diversion is certainly the many disputes which usually arise from some kind of cheating or theft, and often result in fights. These occasions show interesting community reactions towards violence and general disorder, which will be further analysed in a later section. In every case the sight of violence draws a large crowd within a few seconds, and the general reaction seems to be one of pleasurable excitement in lives which can contain few stimulating interests of a more sophisticated kind.

A drunken Luo abused a cyclist who was carrying another man on the back "wewe waganda onejevuna bure" (you Ganda are proud for nothing). They began to fight but were separated.

A crowd of people came running from the direction of the Omuwanika's house, chasing a man who had committed some theft. He was arrested, and many people surrounded him and each of them hit him with a stick. He was bleeding from his mouth. The askaris of the Buganda Government also hit him.

There was a lot of shouting coming from a room. A man was pushing a woman out of it and struggling with her. They went on abusing one another until the man broke off a stout stick from a nearby pile and came at her menacingly. Some others tried to catch his arm and stop him, and he threw the stick down laughing. The abuse continued and he got hold of the stick again. This time the woman raised the ululating alarm. The man threw down the stick once more, and people began to swarm out from all directions and the buzz of talk swelled to a crescendo. The two continued to abuse one another from time to time, with others separating them. The crowd appeared to have come out of sheer curiosity and did nothing except comment and chatter enthusiastically and laugh. One buffoon, holding a calabash of beer in his hand, himself raised an alarm to make the crowd laugh, and then swaggered off highly pleased with himself. No ward headmen (*batongole*) appeared, nor any police askaris, though some were drinking just round the corner.

We found a fight going on between a card gambler and three police askaris, two of whom were in plain clothes. Everyone within earshot had crowded round as usual. The four men wrestled on ineffectually, the three police proving quite unable to overpower the gambler. This was difficult to understand, since the gambler did not appear to be particularly strong. The crowd seemed to regard the whole scene impartially, finding it excellent amusement. Eventually there was a great shout, and we saw that the gambler had broken loose and run clean away, the crowd opening to let him pass through and escape.

I met Petero running down the hill. He said he was chasing a thief, and asked me whether I had seen one running down the hill with a bottle of *waragi* (illegal spirit). Petero said he was very distressed because X, his master, had given him a bottle of *waragi* and someone had stolen it. Just then he saw the man holding a bottle in his left hand, and he raised an alarm. Many people answered it, and a Buganda Government askari came up and arrested the man with the bottle. Petero said to the askari "This was X's *waragi* and this man stole it. If he agrees to give it to me you will release him." The prisoner was then asked whether he had stolen the bottle and he admitted it. "Where did you steal it from?" "From X." "No, no" interrupted Petero, "He stole this 'beer' from me and he must return it to me." The askari gripped the bottle and wrenched it out of the man's grasp and gave it to Petero. Petero said "Well, I will take it to X." All the people laughed, and then Petero started to drink it openly. He went away with it and the askari followed him. When Petero saw the askari following him he stopped and called him. The two of them talked for a few moments and then both entered a woman's room and asked for a glass and started to drink. Petero had a bottle of soda and mixed it with his *waragi*. The thief had run away.

Kisenyi gives many African immigrants their first taste of Kampala life. It acts as a rendezvous to which new arrivals come in search of relatives or friends. Many cases were recorded of the unfortunate experiences of those whose wits were not yet tuned to the tempo of this urban life.

Five boys arrived from Kisumu and came to Kisenyi. They were looking for their brother Paulo. They spoke to me in Swahili asking where Paulo's home was. Before I answered a Luo came to them and they greeted one another and he took them to Nsambya where he said Paulo's house was.

There were about 12 people standing on the road gambling with playing cards. A Luo approached them and gave them two shillings and won another two shillings. Then he put five shillings on a card and lost it. He put another five shillings on and lost that, and finally he put on two shillings which he first won back and then lost. When he saw that he had no more money he started crying and wanted to fight with the man who took his twelve shillings. When the latter saw that he was being attacked he pulled out his knife and shouted to the Luo, "If you are a man come near me". The Luo did not go near him, but left the place crying.

People who are always to be seen drinking and walking about Kisenyi during working hours are taken to be either thieves or detectives.

4. RACIAL MIXTURE

It has been stated that there are Africans, Asians and Europeans living in this area. It would be wrong, however, to think of them living 'together' in any other than a geographical sense. Geographical mixing is bound to occur in any town in this part of the world, unless segregation has been accepted as the main objective of a determined policy, regardless of its economic and social consequences. Such a policy has been specifically rejected in the planning of Kampala. However, the Europeans who live in the Kisenyi area do so unwillingly and with complaint. Forced by the acute shortage of housing to live here, they keep their relations with their other neighbours down to a minimum.

Many of the Asians in Kisenyi also assert that they are there through force of circumstances only. They live there because there is nowhere else for them to live. But they are not in a position to insulate themselves from their immediate social environment so effectively as the Europeans. The typical Asian dwelling in this area is, indeed, a series of living rooms, stores, latrines and bathrooms, facing inwards and surrounded by a high wall, not unlike a fortress. But even within the house, the poorer Asian family is forced to spend its time in close physical proximity with its African servants, and the gulf in general ways of living, in domestic comfort, and even in standards of clothing and food, seems less here than between the African and the European.¹ It is a comment on the small proportion of artisans and manual workers in the European population to note also that in the work situation the Kisenyi Asians, as craftsmen and skilled labourers, are much closer to their African fellows, and so cannot avoid considerable social interaction with them. Nevertheless this has not so far led to any great feelings of solidarity between them.

A small but significant number of Indian Moslems and Goans are married to African women. Though these unions are often not marriages in the strict sense either by African custom, Indian custom or in civil law, some show considerable durability. This is no doubt attributable to the solid economic motives which may underlie them. Owing to the virtual impossibility of non-natives owning *mailo* land, coupled with the restrictions which the Buganda Government has attempted to place on the residence of non-natives in the Kibuga,² or their ownership of property there, an Asian can acquire more stable housing accommodation by relatively permanent cohabitation with an African woman than in any other way. In her name he can acquire a plot of land without any intricate legal formalities, and in her name he can erect a house for himself. In this way he can rent accommodation to other Asians, and even put up mud and wattle dwellings for renting to Africans. The African

1. In their ways of cooking and eating, their foods and their mealtimes, the informality of their dress, their illiteracy, their squatting posture, their bathing habits, the type of their latrines and the furnishing of their houses—in all these characteristics these poorer Indians are nearer to their African neighbours than either are to Europeans.
2. The Kibuga, meaning capital in Luganda, is the subcounty (*gombolola*) which contains most of the urban area. In the Buganda administrative system it is a subdivision of the county (*ssaza*) of Kyadondo, and is itself subdivided into parishes (*miruka*) of which Mengo is one.

wife of such an Asian is in a very strong position, with a comfortable income permanently assured. Evidently such partnerships are often so advantageous to both parties that neither can afford to break them up. However, most Kisenyi Asians regard the predominantly African environment as an unpleasant necessity.

By contrast, many of the Africans who live in Kisenyi tend to look upon it as an African oasis in a town dominated by foreigners, and they resent the appearance of Europeans there. Many African visitors to Kampala frequent Kisenyi for the varied facilities which it offers, but most of those in the upper income groups regard it as a disreputable place and would not dream of actually residing there.

5. THE COMPOSITION OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION.

Some forty tribes are represented in the Kisenyi African population of 2154.¹ The Ganda are by far the largest group, but only form about 41% of the whole. The next largest tribal group is the Luo forming 16.8%, followed by the Toro and the Haya, each of which make up 7.7%. The Rwanda make 3.9%, followed by the Teso (2.03%), the Nubis (1.98%) and the Nyoro (1.91%). Kikuyu form 1.33%, Kiga .97% and Gishu and Halfcastes .81% each. All the rest are small groups represented by less than ten persons each. Such are the Swahilis from the Coast, Acholi, Congolese of various unspecified tribes, Lango, Nkole, Chagga, Lugbara, Kakwa, Nyema, Karamojong, Sudanese of unspecified tribe, Sukuma, Alur, Zanake, Gweri, Tuku, Lugi, Logo, Somali and Abyssinian.

In the 1952 enumeration of employees within Kampala Municipality, the tribal distribution is rather different. The numerical order of the first twelve tribes in Kampala is Ganda, Nkole, Toro, Rwanda and Rundi, Kenya (presumably mainly Luo, but also the fairly large Luyia and Kikuyu groups), Acholi, Kiga, Nyoro, Lugbara, Teso, Sudanese and Congolese.

The Nkole are probably mainly unskilled labourers, and therefore not represented in Kisenyi in their full proportion because of the large numbers of skilled or independent workers concentrated there. The Haya of Kisenyi seem out of all proportion to their numbers elsewhere in Greater Kampala, and this can only be attributed to the attractions of the charcoal trade for men and of prostitution for women, as we shall see below. The proportion of Luo is again higher in Kisenyi than in the Kampala employee figures, possibly because of the number of Luo attracted to cobbling, carpentry, chicken selling and other characteristic Kisenyi occupations.

Another comparison may be made with the tribal breakdown of the population of the sub-county (*ggombolola*) of the Kibuga as a whole at the time of the 1948 census. This would, of course, be more meaningful if brought down to the parish (*muluka*) level, but such an analysis has evidently not been carried out. The total African population of the Kibuga in 1948 was 34,337. Of this the Ganda formed 66%, the Toro 8%, and the Rwanda and Nyoro each 4%. The approximate tribal percentages in the sub-county of Mumyuka, which is almost equally urbanised and contains all the Government Housing Estates, were as follows: Ganda 42, Nkole 8, Haya 6, Rwanda 6, Sudanese (Nubi) 5.5, Acholi 5, Nyoro 3.5, Luo 3, Congo 3.

The chief characteristics of the Kisenyi population from the tribal point of view may be summed up as follows. The proportion of

1. The number in households successfully interviewed in the area already defined.

'foreigners' is extremely high, forming 59% to the Ganda 41%. The Luo and the Haya seem to be attracted in particularly large numbers to Kisenyi, while the Nkole are less in evidence there than elsewhere in the Kampala area.

The proportions of the sexes, and of children to adults, indicate some important characteristics. Again we are faced with the lack of census information for Kampala as a whole. Of the adult population of the Kibuga, men form 62% and women 38%. In the sub-county of Mumyuka men make up 72% and women only 28%. It is, in fact, certain that, in the urban population as a whole, men far outnumber women. In Kisenyi women are 40% of the adult population, which probably is a higher proportion of women than is to be found anywhere else in the urban area. This is due to the large number of single women living in Kisenyi. These are nearly all Ganda, Rwanda or Haya people. The Ganda women are actually more numerous by one-fifth than the Ganda men, the only tribe in which the men are outnumbered in this way. Rwanda women almost equal the numbers of Rwanda men, and Haya women are only one-fifth less than Haya men. In nearly all other tribes the number of women is well below half that of the men.

All over the urban area the proportion of children to adults in the African population is low. In the Kibuga children form a quarter of the total, in the sub-county of Mumyuka they form a fifth, and in Kisenyi only one-eighth. This very low proportion of children, coupled with the relatively balanced proportion of the sexes in adults, is interesting. The average fertility of women in Kisenyi is extremely low, and in addition to this many of the children whose parents live there have themselves been left with other relatives in the country. The unstable nature of family life in African towns is often blamed upon the disproportion of the sexes. In Kisenyi it must be blamed more upon the type of relations existing between men and women than upon the mere disproportion in their numbers.

The population of Kisenyi is very mobile. As an indication of this, it was found that only 20% of the taxpayers in the area studied had paid tax in Mengo parish two years running. This, however, gives a somewhat exaggerated impression, because it is possible for people who have more than one place of residence, or who came to Kisenyi early in the year having paid tax elsewhere, not to appear on the Mengo parish tax register although resident in Kisenyi.

The number of persons actually recorded as living in the eighty-acre area of investigation at one time or another during the fourteen-month period was 2906. But this is an underestimate, because it took a considerable time to visit all the houses and every room in them, and many people could have left the area during this period but before they were actually visited. Other households which occupied rooms for only one or two months, in between the various occasions on which their particular rooms were visited by the survey team, would have escaped record. It often took more than a dozen visits to a room to find the occupants at home, or to establish beyond doubt that the room was really empty. Of those recorded as residents on the first visit to their rooms, 1130 were still there when the final check was made, between November 1953 and March 1954. Another 967, originally recorded as residents, had left by the time this check was made, 672 new residents were found to have come, and 137 were actually recorded as having come and gone during the interval between the first visit to their rooms and the final check.

The actual population simultaneously resident in the area was 2914. This figure is based on the number of residents in each room and the average number of rooms left empty. The average length of residence of all this simultaneously resident population is given in the table at the end.

6. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

People's statements of their religious affiliation were taken at their face value, without any objective test. Clearly many nominal adherents must have been included, but the results are probably a safe guide to the direction of a person's allegiance. 44% were found to be Roman Catholic, 26% Protestant, 24% Moslem and 5% Pagan. In the Ganda group, Protestants and Catholics are almost exactly equal. The Nubis are, of course, all Moslems. Among the Ganda, Moslems are slightly less than a quarter of the whole, a very much higher proportion than in the general Ganda population. Somewhat surprisingly, Moslems predominate in the Rwanda group where they form more than half the total.¹

The most significant feature of Kisenyi religion is certainly this high proportion of Moslems, which is doubtless associated with the emphasis on retail trading. African Moslems appear to be more successful traders than their fellows in the sense that, like many Indians, they train their children in the family firm, so that a certain minimum of commercial acumen becomes an element of their traditional culture. They seem to care relatively little about formal school education, except for that of their own Koran schools which are not usually attended for very long. Their children therefore tend to remain idle at home. But when their parents' shop or business forms their home environment, their lack of schooling gives them all the better chance of acquiring informal commercial training and experience.

The African Moslems of Kisenyi are reinforced by the Arabs, of whom there are several dozens. They, perhaps, fit into the African scene more harmoniously than any other non-African group. The same is true to a less extent of the Indian Moslems, of whom as has already been mentioned, a number have married African Moslem women, or even non-Moslem women, who seem easily to adopt the outward signs of Moslem culture for the sake of such unions. Islam is the only religion represented in Kisenyi by any place of worship, as there is a small Sunni mosque, not easily distinguishable from an ordinary house.² However most Indian Moslems belong to sects other than the Sunni in which most of these African and Arab Moslems are to be found.

Though their numbers are small, the presence of the Pagan group is perhaps significant. They form more than 14% among the Luo, 17% among the Teso and 8% among the Toro. All are illiterate pagans, who have not yet fallen into the net of any religious mission; they are not sophisticated pagan agnostics of a type which is beginning to appear among the highly educated class.

1. Many of these must, one supposes, be immigrants from the towns of Ruanda Urundi where they are actually known as Swahili.

2. This mosque was erected mainly through the efforts of one Arab living nearby assisted by contributions from his Moslem neighbours. It is regularly used as a Koran school but, except during Ramadan, Moslems usually go to worship at one of the larger mosques. There is another Koran school just outside the area of study, on the other side of the road which forms its boundary.

7. EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS¹

Out of every ten people in Kisenyi, of school age or over, four are illiterate; five have only a bare literacy, not extending as far as full primary education, and perhaps only amounting to a course of religious instruction for baptism, which does not confer permanent literacy without further practice or training; and one has had full primary education. Less than one in a hundred has passed through Junior Secondary, or its equivalent in years of schooling.

In spite of the great development of education in Buganda, the Ganda group in Kisenyi do not show up much better than the rest. This is partly because the group contains a larger proportion of women than other tribal groups, and most of these are illiterate. It is also clear that Kisenyi now attracts mainly the poorly educated, low status Ganda. This is not so true of other tribes. Lacking the special position of the Ganda in relation to the land and to Buganda society, members of other tribes do not risk the same loss of status as Ganda do by living there.

1. Readers unfamiliar with the local educational system may note that it consists of six years' primary and six years' secondary schooling, the latter divided into the first three of junior and the second three of senior secondary.

CHAPTER III.

LAND AND HOUSING

1. THE LAND SITUATION

The land situation in Kisenyi was briefly referred to earlier in this report. Titles to ownership have increased from an original 7 to 59. Less than a sixth of these landowners live in Kisenyi, and, of those who do, more than half are women. If all those who have owned land in the area during the last fifty years are taken into consideration, most of them have been wealthy men, possessing a number of estates in various parts of Buganda. Thirteen of them have had more than ten different estates, fifteen of them have had between five and ten estates, thirty-two have had from one to five and twenty-two have had one only. Among the present-day owners such big hereditary estate holders remain equally strongly represented, although a number of *nouveaux riches* have pushed their way in, mainly on land inherited and disposed of by younger members of the royal family. A third and almost entirely different group of property owners consists of those who own the actual houses and other buildings in the area. They number 241 at present, 145 of them being resident in Kisenyi.

The *mailo* system of land tenure in Buganda grew up on the basis of two classes of land holders, the former being the landowners, with their secure documentary title deeds, and the latter the customary tenants, or *kibanja* holders. This was the system which grew up after 1900 in Kisenyi, as elsewhere throughout Buganda.¹ In Kisenyi today, the class of landowners remains, but the class of customary tenants has virtually disappeared. This process is clearly due to the fact that land in Kisenyi is now put to quite different uses from those originally envisaged. Its main value now is not for the subsistence cultivation of peasants, nor even for the planting of cash crops but for commercial and residential building sites. Following a common usage, I shall refer to these building sites as plots to distinguish them from the customary holdings (*kibanja*).

There are now only about half a dozen customary tenants left in Kisenyi but there are several hundred holders of plots. The question arises as to how this transition has occurred. A plot differs from a customary holding not only in the purpose for which it is granted but principally in its size and the fee which is paid for it. The practice of a landowner granting small temporary residential plots to immigrants grew up long ago in Buganda, presumably at the time when immigrants first began to flow in and to require accommodation. This type of land right was not covered by the Busulu and Envuje Law of 1928 which defined the rights of customary tenants. However, decisions of the court have established the plot holder's right to undisturbed occupation as long as he pays the fee agreed upon, though if he attempts to use part of such a plot for the growing of food crops he is liable to eviction. Both the actual size of the plot, and the fee to be paid, remain a matter for informal agreement between landlord and tenant, but it has become customary for landlords to charge a fee for each plot of from 50 cents to one shilling a month.

1. For a general account of the *mailo* system and recent changes in it, see A.B. Mukwaya, *Land Tenure in Buganda*, East African Studies No. 1, Nairobi, 1953.

Residential and commercial plots in Kisenyi resemble in status these temporary residential plots of immigrants rather than customary peasant holdings. The commonest fee charged for them is now ten shillings a month, but plot holders who have shops, or whose plots have good frontages, are paying from 300 shillings to 1,000 shillings a year.

The few remaining customary tenants in Kisenyi still pay ten shillings a year to the landlord as in the past and have the right to cultivate food crops as well as to erect a building and to live in it themselves or rent it to others. There is a wide difference between these customary tenants and the plot holders, who must pay at least fourteen times as much in fees for about a tenth the amount in land. It is no wonder that urban landowners prefer to allot plots rather than customary holdings, and are anxious to get rid of such customary tenants as remain.

No doubt the decline in numbers of customary tenants has been partly because some of them realised that Kisenyi was becoming too crowded for agricultural purposes and moved further away from the town. Other customary holdings may have lapsed. No landowner would dream of granting a new customary tenancy in Kisenyi today and all those few that remain have been whittled down to a small part of their original size. Most of the problems which arise in relation to these holdings under urban conditions are not covered by the Busulu and Envujo Law, which under rural conditions is the charter of the customary tenant's rights. His security of tenure is certainly guaranteed by law, but this protection is by no means complete, and many other debatable questions have arisen. It is clearly uneconomic for a customary tenant to occupy an area of land in Kisenyi equal to that of the usual customary holding in rural Buganda, and to use it for growing plantains and other subsistence crops. The tenant could multiply his income many times by erecting mud and wattle buildings to let as lodging houses. This was obviously not the purpose envisaged for customary holdings by the Busulu and Envujo Law, and the tenant cannot use his holding in this way without the landowner's permission. Landowners are understandably reluctant to see land which they themselves have no legal power to develop, and on which they receive only ten shillings a year, used by the tenant for the erection of rooms to let which can bring in an income of many hundred shillings. It is certainly arguable, when the use to which the land is put has diverged so far from that envisaged in the Busulu and Envujo Law, whether the tenant can still claim the protection of that law. This point has not yet been clearly established in the courts.

In rural Buganda customary peasants pay the landowner two shillings each time they brew beer, four shillings annually for each plot of cotton or coffee under one acre in extent and eight shillings for plots of from one to three acres.¹ Needless to say, in Kisenyi cotton and coffee are not grown and so landowners derive no dues from this source. But it seems strange that in such a centre of beer brewing and selling, landowners have no regular system of levying dues upon it. The Busulu and Envujo Law envisaged the traditional situation in which beer was brewed by a family to be drunk on the spot. The Ganda beer (*omvenge omuganda*) sold in Kisenyi is not brewed there so no dues are paid on it by the seller. Other types of beer which are brewed in Kisenyi, such as *kwete*, *malwa* and *munanansi*, have only recently been introduced there. Since these are not recognised as traditional Ganda beers, the dues provided for by law have not been applied to them either.

1. Busulu and Envujo Law, 1928. Mukwaya, *op. cit.* p. 74.

Only one landowner in the area of Kisenyi studied, was found to be collecting regular fees from the beer sellers on his land. This was a very new development and was based on a system quite different from that laid down in the Busulu and Envujo Law. This landowner's agent was collecting two shillings a month from every beer seller who was also a houseowner on this estate, and five shillings a month from beer sellers who were only renting rooms there. This agent was not the landowner's steward who collected the rents, but was himself a beer seller and also a ward headman (*mutongole*),¹ renting two rooms in a house on the estate and closely related to the owner of the next estate. It is said that some landowners in the Greater Kampala area where beer selling is so profitable demand occasional payments of a few hundred shillings from beer sellers on their land. They are able to enforce such demands because nearly all beer sellers are contravening the law in one way or another and can therefore be blackmailed by the landowner. Landowners derive further benefit from the sale of beer on their land because they are apparently able to buy beer permits and resell them at a profit to those who would otherwise be unable to obtain them. This matter will be dealt with further in connection with the beer trade.²

In this situation of conflict between legal provisions and economic realities, evictions from customary holdings are not altogether unusual. A tenant who pays his dues cannot rightfully be evicted even with compensation. It seems however that a powerful landlord may in fact threaten a tenant in order to induce him to accept compensation and to move. If the tenant fails to take the hint, the landlord threatens to turn him out by force. In some cases he actually does so, sending along a number of his servants, who throw all the tenant's property out of his house, and, if necessary, are prepared to break up the building itself. The tenant has an obvious means of redress in applying to the courts. He usually does not do this. Some tenants are afraid to take action against a powerful landlord. Many people are still not very clear as to the distinction between economic and political power, which did not exist before the Uganda Agreement.³ Faced with determined bullying by a man of wealth and high status, it is difficult for such people to believe that there is an independently functioning political and judicial structure to which they can effectively apply. Besides, it must be remembered that the forcibly dispossessed tenant may be in a difficult position, unable to live in the area any longer, perhaps having lost his means of livelihood, and lacking resources to enable him to endure the delays which application to the courts is bound to involve. All these disadvantages apply with special force to women tenants, of whom there are a large number in Kisenyi.

Ganda informants ridicule the idea that it would be possible for certain influential persons to be successfully prosecuted by an aggrieved tenant of no importance. In fact, so far from fearing prosecution,

1. See below, p. 185 ff.

2. See below, p. 57

3. The Uganda Agreement gave land to those who were considered to hold the main political power at the time. By the terms of the Agreement it was possible for them to keep this land, and the economic power which it conferred, within their families on an hereditary basis. But their political powers were not hereditary. Those who came thus to possess land and wield economic power, without holding any political office, were still regarded as chiefs by the Ganda people and popularly accredited with political powers. The Uganda Agreement led to a distinction between economic and political power at the constitutional level which had not previously existed, but the attitudes of the Ganda people in this matter, derived from the former traditional arrangements, have been slow to change.

Ganda landlords themselves file cases against customary tenants whom they are trying to evict, or whose rent they are endeavouring to raise. As has already been said, the legal position is by no means clear. On the one hand, landlords openly demand illegal rents from customary tenants; on the other, customary tenants put their plots to uses which are certainly not provided for in the law which protects them. Several evictions actually occurred during the period of the investigation, and a number of court cases are pending.

The character of some customary tenancies tends gradually to approximate to that of the new type of plot. First of all, the landowner may get the tenant's permission to cut successive portions off the original holding so that he may allot new plots to other applicants. The original holding is thus brought down to a size little or no larger than a plot. Secondly, the customary tenant may wish to build himself a permanent house, or to extend his building for renting purposes. For such changes he must get his landlord's permission, in return for which he may agree to increase the rent he pays for his holding from the customary ten shillings per year to something nearer the ten shillings a month frequently paid for residential plots. By this process the customary holding is transformed in character and purpose, and falls progressively outside the scope of the Busulu and Envujo Law.

All these developments may be summed up by saying that a form of residential lease is growing up in densely occupied areas, based on informal and purely verbal agreements between landlord and tenant, and lacking any kind of legal definition or documentary ratification.

Formal leases have also become increasingly common during the last two or three years. These usually begin with an informal written agreement signed before witnesses. Some of these are then drawn up in legal terms, approved by the Land Authority of the Buganda Lukiko and registered at the Land Office of the Protectorate Government. However this process sometimes takes many years to complete. Delays occur through inheritance disputes, unwillingness to pay legal fees, and fear of being tied by complex legal documents to unintended concessions. Such formal leases probably fall into two main categories. The first comprises those taken up by non-Africans, mainly Asians and a lesser number of Europeans, in order to get secure tenure (usually for residential purposes consequent upon the housing shortage) of land which the *mailo* system forbids them to own. The second category is composed of leases taken up by Ganda who wish to invest in real property, and, being unwilling to pay an inflated price for the outright purchase of land, lease small plots for the erection of permanent buildings again to rent to non-Africans.

The outstanding feature of the *mailo* land system in its application to densely occupied areas, and perhaps elsewhere under modern conditions, is the contrast between the very low return on mere ownership and the high return accruing to the developer. This is true in spite of the much higher rents paid for plots than for customary holdings, which has been noted above. The land settlement of the Uganda Agreement translated the existing land situation into new terms without altering the basic roles of those involved in it. Land was used for subsistence, and was worked by peasants. The landowner derived economic benefit from his peasants' dues in cash and kind, and political power from his continuing, if unofficial, role in the administrative system. His tenants remained his folk, in his eyes and theirs, and he represented them in the parish (*muluka*) council. He was still

called a chief, and he still acted as a chief in relation to the community of peasants on his land. Cash-cropping, the employment of immigrant labour by both landlords and tenants, and the growth of urban areas, have all changed this situation. But the traditional role of the Ganda landowner made him slow to develop his land himself and even those who woke up to its possibilities were often obstructed by the continued presence of tenants with their customary rights.

The development of *mailo* land in urban areas probably yields a higher rate of profit together with a higher degree of security than any other form of investment in Uganda at the present time. In many instances such investments can be capitalised at 50%. Yet this is partly due to the fact that comparatively few Ganda landlords have developed their land, and property values are for this reason unnecessarily inflated. Some who are fortunate enough to own areas of land near the town, which are unencumbered by tenants, are holding them empty and unused until such time as they are in a position to undertake permanent development themselves. Tenants of *mailo* plots near the town can also make very high profits in relation to their investment, by building shops or lodging houses to rent. But their limited resources usually restrict them to a type of building which leads rapidly to slum conditions. The owner of *mailo* land near the town, which is already occupied by tenants, must look on helplessly while they make money out of his property by a type of development which is much less beneficial in the long run than that which he might himself be induced to undertake. The *mailo* system as it has evolved, puts development into the hands of those with least capital to undertake it, and often obstructs those with more adequate resources.

Despite all the valid criticisms which can be made of it, the low standard of accommodation put up by tenants of plots in areas like Kisenyi has done much to alleviate a chronic housing shortage, providing cheap shelter for thousands of urban Africans who have none elsewhere. On the other hand, the more highly capitalised development of buildings of a permanent type, so much more desirable from the general point of view, almost invariably serves Indians or Europeans, who alone can afford to pay the rents required for it. This difference between the living standards of the different racial groups increases the problems to be solved by a development policy for these areas.

It is difficult to demonstrate the general trend of land values with data from an area as small as the one with which this study is concerned. The recorded prices of sales often do not reflect the true economic value of land as between a willing buyer and a willing seller. Land may be sold cheap to a friend or relative, or it may go cheap because the seller is in financial difficulties and has to dispose of it in a hurry. The officially recorded price may not include all the considerations which passed between the parties to the transaction. Small plots which are advantageously sited may sell at very high prices per acre. In 1946 a plot of only 0.115 acres was sold for 5,000 shillings (43,478 shillings per acre) and in 1949 a plot of 0.146 acres was sold for 2,000 shillings (13,699 shillings per acre). The lowest price at which land changed hands between 1950 and 1952 was 2,500 shillings for two acres or 1,250 shillings per acre. The average for this period was 3,494 shillings per acre, but this is based on only six cases. Many other transactions may have occurred during the same period, without as yet finding their way into the records of the Land Office.

2. HOUSING AND OVERCROWDING

Buildings in Kisenyi are constructed of many different materials. Roofing may be of tiles, corrugated iron, paraffin tins, grass thatch, papyrus thatch or matting. Sometimes several of these are combined. Walls may be of brick, corrugated iron, paraffin tins, wood or mud. Mud construction and its finish is of very variable quality. It may be left unplastered in its raw, cracked state; it may be plastered with the traditional mixture of mud and cow dung; or it may receive a hard finish containing a certain quantity of cement, in which case it is difficult to distinguish from the plastered brick wall of a permanent house. Floors are usually of bare earth, as in a rural African dwelling. Occasionally they are of cement on a proper foundation. Between these two extremes lie many variations in which some mixture of earth, sand and cement is used to prepare a smooth hard surface. Only one in twenty of the African population of Kisenyi lives in a building with brick walls and a concrete floor. The rest dwell in structures of mud or other rapidly deteriorating materials.

More than 90% of the African households are housed in one or two rooms each, indeed more than 75% are housed in a single room only. However, this must be seen in conjunction with the fact that about a quarter of all households consist of a single individual.

The Ganda, as the local people, might be expected to be less overcrowded than other tribes. In fact they do form 80% of the households which occupy three rooms or more each. Moreover, these comparatively well accommodated Ganda households contain small numbers of individuals: 66% of Ganda households occupying three rooms consist of one or two persons only, and of Ganda households occupying four rooms each only half contain three or more persons. The Ganda, however, present a wider variety of housing conditions than any other tribe. Although very few non-Ganda households contrive to have more than two rooms, yet at the same time the Ganda also show the greatest frequency of overcrowding, in an absolute though not in a relative sense.

The relative frequency of overcrowded conditions is far the highest among the Luo. More than a quarter of Luo households live three or more to a room, with as many as six men sharing together in this way. One tenth of Luo households live four or more to a room, whereas only one hundredth of Ganda households do so, and in the Luo group one man in three is sharing a single room with another adult male.

If children are given half the weight of adults for purposes of reckoning overcrowding, and the standard of sixty square feet per person is adopted, as in the health regulations, it is certain that those living three to a room are subject to overcrowding, and those living four to a room are subject to severe overcrowding. The former group includes one in seven of the Kisenyi population, the latter group one in twenty six. Overcrowding of both kinds, taken together, affects about one in five people in Kisenyi. But this is clearly an underestimate, because some rooms are so small that they would be overcrowded if occupied by only two adults, or two adults and a child, or one adult and two or three children. It has not been possible to count the incidence of this form of overcrowding. In addition there is an important element of concealed overcrowding resulting from the fact that many households renting two or more rooms are actually all sleeping in one. This occurs quite frequently when one of the rented rooms

is used as a shop, tea room, beer bar or sitting room. But habits are too flexible for it to be possible to quantify this source of overcrowding,

In any case, it is doubtful whether quantitative standards of overcrowding, such as are commonly used in poverty studies, indicate the really significant factors in the health situation of Kisenyi. Most people naturally spend the daylight hours out of doors, or, if inside their rooms, open doors and windows provide adequate ventilation. On the other hand, even those who are not overcrowded by the above standard, sleep in the unhealthy conditions created by the ubiquitous practice of closing all possible sources of ventilation at night. Diet, standards of cleanliness in food preparation, washing and personal hygiene are probably more important health factors than overcrowding itself.

Crowded conditions are, however, of importance in relation to family life and sexual behaviour. Most, and probably all, the tribes concerned have customary rules in relation to this question which are still normally observed in the rural context, but are of necessity broken in the conditions of Kisenyi. According to these tribal rules, more than one couple may never have sexual intercourse in the same room, nor in the same room as any other adults, related or otherwise, or even children over the age of three or four. All these standards must regularly be broken by many households in Kisenyi, because they cannot afford to rent more than a single room.

At one time the District Medical Office intended to carry out a survey of overcrowding in this area. But the view is now held that the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the true number of occupants of a room, in the short time available for such a survey, would render it valueless. However, if quantitative information could be collected on the average size of rooms in different types of house it would add to the value of the information given here with regard to household size.

Some will probably consider that the information collected in the course of this investigation on household size, and the number of occupants to a room, is likely to have little reliability. While not claiming complete accuracy, I feel that the long time spent in the area, and the intimate knowledge gained of many of the people in it and their habits, renders it unlikely that the results are very far out. I have sometimes heard that, in the course of police raids on this area, very large numbers of adults are found in a single room. One instance was reported to me of six Luo men found in one room with a woman. There can be little doubt that this type of situation is exceptional and cannot be taken to represent general housing conditions. It is true that nocturnal beer parties, the visits of lovers and mistresses, and of prostitutes to their clients and *vice versa*, may frequently lead to the occurrence of such situations as those noted. But these social occasions must not be confused with genuine residence in a room, for however short a period. Prostitutes usually take their clients one by one, but in the case of Luo men closely related to one another it is quite possible that three or four of them could be found in a woman's room together.¹ Moreover, relatives from home are liable to arrive without warning, and they would not be denied sleeping space for a day or two while finding their own lodgings.

3. RENT

The average rent per room paid by Africans in Kisenyi is 15/-, and the average rent per household 21/50, both per month. Rent varies

1. Cf. the case described on p. 82 below.

according to the use to which premises are put, and also according to length of occupation by a particular lodger, but it does not vary according to the size of the household. That is to say, a houseowner does not attempt to charge more simply because a very large family has crowded into a single room. But when premises are used for commercial purposes, for selling beer, or as a butcher's shop, a higher rent may be imposed. It also appears that some households which have occupied the same room for several years pay less than the average rent, and that a new lodger would find the rent raised. Beersellers, shopkeepers or washermen in the commercial area of Kisenyi were found paying 40/- per month rent per room if they had started business recently. Such rooms would never be rented for more than 25/- or 30/- for residential purposes only, and if a residential tenant had been in occupation for about two years or more the rent was usually not more than 15/- or 20/-.

The relationship between lodger and houseowner varies considerably. It is natural that a houseowner who lets out one or two rooms in the building in which he or she is living, takes more care in the choice of lodgers than does an absentee houseowner. A houseowner dwelling in the same house with his tenants sometimes refers to the other occupants of the house as 'my children' (*abana bange*), and this seems to be more than an attempt to evade giving further information; but when, as frequently happens, a Ganda owns a row of rooms behind the main building in which he or she lives, and rents these out to members of 'foreign' tribes, the relationship seems to be very impersonal. The various tenants may then only be known by sight, or simply as men of a certain tribe, or at most by Christian names. As most of these latter are extremely common they provide a most inadequate means of identification. Lodgers who only stay a month or two and then leave are quickly forgotten by the houseowner, who is usually quite unable to remember the order in which such birds of passage succeeded one another.

Some absentee houseowners come to Kisenyi every month to collect their rents, others have stewards (*musigire*) to do this for them. These stewards are often relatives of the owner, or, failing this, one of the owner's tenants whom he considers sufficiently reliable to act for him. A steward is usually recognised as one who has various opportunities of making money on the side, and he receives no fixed salary. The steward of a large property owner is in a strong position. The changeover of lodgers is often so rapid that it would be impossible for the property owner to check up on them unless he had nothing else to do. A steward may therefore report a room as empty after the departure of a lodger and then conceal the arrival of a new lodger for some time, meanwhile pocketing the rent himself.

4. TYPES OF HOUSEHOLD.

The household is here defined as a group of people sharing a common menage. Sometimes they are all relatives and sometimes not. There are all sorts of borderline cases, but normally the members of the group share the rent and eat together. In some cases three or four men occupy a single room, contributing equal shares of the rent, yet each cooks separately for himself. The members of such male groups are not always of the same tribe, and their common residence is doubtless chiefly due to economic pressure. For convenience these groups are treated as single households. More usually such groups consist of brothers or classificatory brothers, and they are found in all the

main tribes, though most frequently among the Luo and perhaps the non-Bantu generally. Other instances occur in which brothers and sisters, or other close relatives, are living in adjacent rooms, and eating together, although they each pay rent independently. These too are classified as households.

About a quarter of all households consist of single¹ adults and another quarter of two adults, whether brothers, sisters, brother and sister, husband and wife, or simply friends. Other households display every variety of composition.

Some very young Ganda and Toro boys are found working in the houses of Indians, Goans, Arabs and Half-castes. Sometimes Indians coming to Kampala from the countryside have persuaded Ganda whom they knew to let their children go to town and work for them.

A Ganda boy of 14, who had never been to school and was earning 20/- a month in this way said, 'My father did not send me to school before he died, and my mother cannot do so because now she has no husband and no job. I cannot save money because my wages are too low, but I buy some clothes. Later I shall give some money to my mother to keep for me.' Another Ganda boy of 13, earning the same wage, also said he came because his father could not send him to school, he was growing cotton, but not much, and had no other income. 'I am not saving money because of my low pay. I spend my leisure time here. I would rather be at Bombo² where I get enough food at my father's. I spend nearly 20/- a month on food. I think I am working here for food only, because I never bought any clothes since I came.' A Toro boy of 12, earning 40/- a month as houseboy to an Indian, said 'My father died when I was a baby, and my mother came to Buganda, leaving me with my father's brother. He did not send me to school, but only to church for baptismal training. After that I was at home serving him. Last year my mother wrote and called me to come to Buganda. She sent me 20/- for my bus fare, and my father's brother allowed me to come. I live and eat with my mother in the kitchen where she cooks for an Indian at Namirembe. She found this job for me. I give her all my wages to keep and she has bought me clothes to wear and bed clothes. I come to work at 6.30 a.m. and leave at 6 p.m. Sometimes I bring cold food from my mother to eat here, and sometimes my master gives me lunch, when his wife has cooked enough.'

Two brothers with their sister and both their wives were found all sharing a small room rented for 12/-. The sister sold sweet potatoes and plantains in Kampala market. One of the brothers was a porter in the Public Works Department, and seemed to have eloped with his wife, a young Toro girl of fifteen belonging to the same village as himself, with whom he was living in concubinage. In another room of the same house were four Alur boys, all brothers, ranging in age from twelve to twenty five years old. The eldest was a porter in the Public Works Department, earning 68/62 per month, and paying 15/- for their room. All the other three were in school

1. In the sense of having no spouse with them.
2. Twenty miles out of Kampala.

at Nsambya, their elder brother having written home to them to come for education. He was supporting them entirely, but their father was sending the money for their school fees. In a third room of the same house were a brother and sister from Toro, aged 20 and 18 respectively. The girl saw that she was not going to school at home, so she persuaded her brother to come to Kampala with her. This was two years ago. She got a job as ayah to an Indian at 35/- a month, and he as houseboy to another Indian at 66/- a month. After a year the girl was ill and her brother stopped her working. From then she did nothing except cooking and housekeeping for her brother.

In the next door house a Rwanda headman in the Bus Company, earning 120/- a month, was renting one room for 15/- and occupying it with his wife and four sons and three daughters, of ages ranging from three months to ten years. This was the most overcrowded family encountered in Kisenyi and one of the most fertile. There were two wooden beds, one occupied by the husband, the other by the wife and baby. The other six children slept two by two in blankets on the floor. The husband had been working in Kampala for fourteen years and his wife with him here for nine. They had been in three different rooms in Kisenyi. In another room of this house were two girls from Toro, aged fifteen and eighteen, both illiterate, who had recently come from home and were both working as ayahs in Indian families, for wages of 35/- and 45/- respectively. Next to these was a Lango driver to an Indian, living in concubinage with a Toro girl, and next to them again was a Ganda household of a man, his wife, his mother's brother, and a fellow clansman of his sister's husband. The first two men were working in the building business of the sister's husband and the third was a boy of thirteen acting as a houseboy to this same builder.

In a permanent house built by an Indian in the name of an illiterate Toro woman of 35 with whom he had been living in concubinage for seven years, we found a Toro boy of fifteen and a Toro girl of twelve, unrelated to one another, both living free on a verandah, working as houseboy and ayah for a Goan family in the house. They were sharing wages and living expenses, and the girl was cooking for them both. This girl came from Toro with her mother's sister, who lived in Mengo with a Teso man. This woman's brother found the job for the young girl.

A Nyoro builder of mud houses, living in a single room at ten shillings a month, first began to live with a Ganda woman in concubinage and had a son by her. Two years later he took another Ganda concubine after she had separated from a ten year's tribal marriage. At the time of interview the first woman's child was three years old, and staying with his mother's mother at Entebbe, while the man and the two women were all together in the single room. A few months later the first woman was getting tired of this arrangement and went to stay with her mother at Entebbe, where the man proceeded to visit her once a week.

Sometimes urban contacts are made by the younger for the older generation, instead of the other way round.

An illiterate Toro girl of twenty, working as ayah to a European family in this area, and living on the premises, hired a ten shilling room nearby for her mother to come and look for a job. The girl's father was a houseboy who met her mother in Entebbe and after two years left her and went eventually to Mombasa. The parents of the mother were also separated, and she had begun work as an ayah in Mbarara when she was still a young girl. After living with a houseboy in Entebbe she returned to Toro, lived for five years with another man in Mityana, returned to Toro once more and was now back again in town. Another Toro ayah was sharing a 15/- room with two brothers, both porters in the Public Works Department, and yet another Toro ayah was living free with her brother in the garage where he was a nightwatchman.

A Nyoro hotel boy, a Gwere garage hand and their two Ganda concubines were sharing a single room, one couple sleeping on a bed and the other on the floor. A Ganda woman of about 37, working as an assistant in a Ganda owned hotel nearby, was sharing her room with an eleven year old schoolboy. She had never been married, but had lovers who gave her clothes and money for food. The schoolboy came to live with his elder brother in the next door room, in order to continue his schooling in Mengo, but his brother allowed him to sleep in the woman's room at her request, because she was afraid of being alone.

A Half-caste brother and sister, children of an Indian father and Ganda mother, were living in next door rooms. The sister had herself married an Indian Moslem garage mechanic seven years before, and had two children by him. They had been in this room for two years. The brother and his mother's brother's son, a pure Ganda, had just come to the next door room, and all ate together. The brother was a clerk in the Kampala office of his father's firm, and his mother's brother's son was an office boy.

It was often difficult to decide who were the exact occupants of a room because of constantly fluctuating marital arrangements, and also because a number of people keep two houses going at the same time.

A Ganda shop boy to an Indian was interviewed at a room in which he claimed to live, but it was also occupied by two Ganda women, both separated from their husbands, regarded as prostitutes by their neighbours and without any other occupation. They denied that the man lived there and said he lived in Katwe. A Ganda woman occupied a room together with her son by a former husband, and her mother's sister's daughter, but the latter was sometimes living there and sometimes elsewhere with a lover.

Over a period of a few months some of these women were found living with different men in a succession of two or three different rooms all within the same small area.

A number of urban workers have secondary wives in the country, with whom they spend the weekends, and business men often have wives at different places which they regularly visit in the course of their work.

A Ganda driver working in Butambala, some 30 miles out of Kampala, had one wife living there and another running a hotel in Kisenyi with the assistance of her co-wife's daughter.

The husband was said to spend alternate weeks with the two wives. Another Ganda hotelkeeper lived with his wife ten miles out of town, but had two brothers assisting him and living in the hotel, while he himself came in to it every day. A Ganda jailer of Mengo Prison had one wife living with him there, and rented a room in Kisenyi for a second. This woman had left her previous husband because he took another wife, and she had her new husband's sister sharing her room because this woman had also left her husband and was looking for a job. Later on, the jailer's wife left him, and the second wife was hoping to move into his room in the jail.

It is naturally the land or property owning residents of Kisenyi who provide the less mobile core of the population. Those who simply run shops in rented rooms are not so stable, for these businesses rise, fall, and vanish or change hands, with kaleidoscopic rapidity.

Two Ganda sisters and their father's brother's daughter all inherited small *mailo* plots adjacent to one another, on which they now all live. One has been there since 1928 when she left her first husband. Her second husband lived with her there but died four years ago. The other has been there since 1940 when she separated from her husband, and the third claims never to have married, and to have lived on this land in different houses since she was born some forty years ago. She built herself a new house in 1953. All three have several mud houses with many rooms, from the rents of which they derive a comfortable but not excessive living, and two of them add to this by selling beer. None of the three have any children of their own, but they have the children of relatives and also various older kin staying with them.

A Ganda widow owns a house in Kisenyi, and pays 60/- annual plot rent to the landowner. She has lived there for 17 years. Her three sons of 11, 17 and 18 years, live with her and are all still in school. She sells plantains and sweet potatoes in front of her house. Her daughter built a house next door three years ago and rents out part of it and sells beer there.

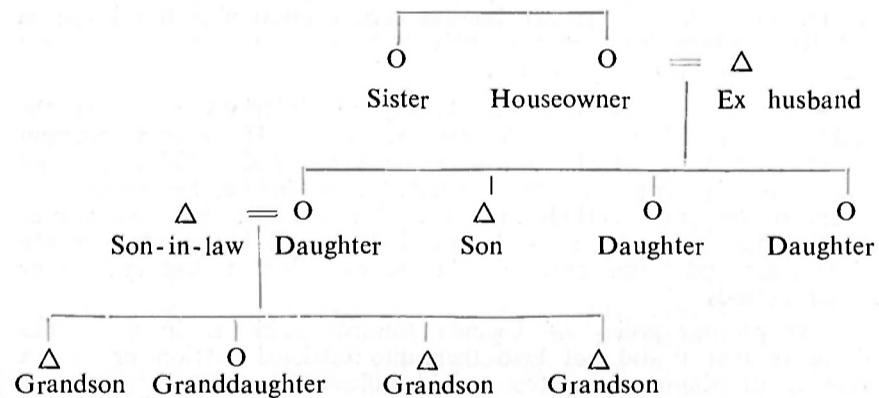
Another Ganda woman has lived on the same plot since 1940 when she left her husband in the first year of her marriage. She still pays only ten shillings annual plot rent, but has built three mud houses and has many tenants from whom she receives over 200 shillings every month in rent. She comes of a very notable and wealthy family but owns no land herself. She is childless but has two daughters of her brother living with her.

A Ganda Moslem, with a Moslem wife from his own village and their seven sons, all under the age of nine, occupies a building of five main rooms, erected by himself. He rents one room to a lodger, and in the front of the building keeps one of the best shops in Kisenyi. He started his business twelve years ago, soon after leaving school in Secondary II. Since then, besides putting up this building, he has bought one and a half acres of land near Kampala for 1200/-. For his shop site he pays 500/- a year in rent.

One of the most popular Ganda beer bars is run by a woman of 36, who has been in Kisenyi for at least ten years. She has a Ganda porter living with her and owns her own

house, occupying two rooms for her own residence and beer selling, and renting three other rooms to lodgers. Her old mother was occupying the remaining room.

An old Ganda woman of about 50 had been living in a Kisenyi customary holding for 20 years. The *mailo* title to the land had changed hands, and the new landowner was trying to turn her out. She had three mud houses on this plot, mainly occupied by her family, but some rooms also rented to lodgers. She said she had previously sold beer, but had her permit confiscated. She was now mainly supported by the children and relatives she had living with her. She had been married in church, but separated from her husband 20 years ago, at the time when she settled in Kisenyi. She had three grandsons and one granddaughter, all children of her daughter, living with her in her own house. One grandson and the granddaughter were still in school, in Primary III and II respectively. Of the other two grandsons, one was a carpenter and the other a clerk. A daughter was living in the next house weaving and selling baskets, having left her husband a year before when he ceased to love her after marrying other women. Another daughter was also living in this house. She was just cooking and doing domestic work for her mother. She claimed never to have been married and refused to say whether she had lovers. An elder sister of the house owner was also living with her, and making baskets to sell. She had come five years before, because her husband had taken a wife in Christian marriage and he failed to prevent this woman from being unpleasant to her. The houseowner's son was



renting a room elsewhere in Kisenyi and working as a painter. Her son-in-law also had a customary holding in Kisenyi, with four mud houses on it. He and her daughter lived in one of them, and received a large monthly income in rent from the others, which were let out to lodgers room by room.

5. KISENYI AND THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF AFRICAN HOUSING

Kisenyi is regarded by both European and African outsiders as a disgraceful slum in which profiteering landlords extort excessive rents for substandard accommodation. Superficially this judgement is correct, yet in some respects it is wide of the mark. Kisenyi property owners

charge economic rents, as do their counterparts in every other part of the world. Rents can only be called high in relation to capacity to pay. The level of rent depends upon the availability of alternative accommodation, and criteria adopted by urban Africans in choosing one type of accommodation rather than another. The lack of alternative accommodation can only be blamed upon the Protectorate Government which is at present the only authority with resources adequate to the task of providing for the needs of urban populations. To sweep away Kisenyi under present circumstances could only lead to disaster, depriving some thousands of people of accommodation and forcing rents still further up elsewhere.

At present a single room built in permanent materials can be rented in a Government Housing Estate for the same amount that most people have to pay for a room in a mud built house in Kisenyi. To an outsider tenants appear to be materially better off in the housing estate, yet in Kisenyi they themselves feel freer. There is in fact less interference in their domestic affairs and family life, a pleasurable sense of the absence of control by government or any other non-African authority and additional opportunities of casual income earning. There are also other appreciated facilities that do not exist in the housing estates. Furthermore, it must be remembered that, in other suburbs round the municipal boundary, rents are somewhat lower than in Kisenyi, and living is in these places actually cheaper than in the housing estates.

Until after World War II government policy did not encourage African urban development and made no specific provision for it. The Government only took responsibility for housing its own employees. The Uganda Employment Ordinance of 1946 imposed on employers the obligation of providing their lower paid workers with housing or paying the rental of "proper housing accommodation".¹ But Kampala and Jinja, where the need was greatest, were specifically excluded from the operation of this provision.

Town life was regarded as having an injurious effect on the traditional ways of life of the African population. However, government development policy itself, as well as economic and social forces not wholly within government control, attracted increasing numbers of Africans to spend temporary periods in town. This led not only to a rise in the floating population in and around Kampala, but to the growth of a larger and larger core of Africans who were staying in town for longer periods.

The pre-war policy of Uganda towards Africans in town was liberal in that it did not herd them into restricted locations or subject them to discriminatory systems of identification and pass-laws, as was being done at that time in next door Kenya, in the Belgian Congo to the west and in the Union of South Africa, but allowed them to come and go at will and to make their own housing arrangements in suburban areas where both land and property were in African hands. After the Second World War this liberal policy began to look more and more negative, an abrogation of government responsibility for a problem of crucial concern rather than a guarantee of freedom. None the less, the Uganda Government deserves some credit for its pre-war policy. In Uganda, as elsewhere there, were not lacking advocates of much more stringent control of the African for his own good, and there were those who stood out against this on principle, though another

1. Uganda Laws, 1951 edition, cap. 83, section 32.

potent factor was always lack of the finance and staff which a different policy would have required. It is, then, the changed conditions resulting from a long period of inflation and economic development which have made a policy, which formerly had something to commend it, look increasingly bankrupt.

It is also true that before the war there appeared to be little or no urban problem in Uganda because of the small numbers involved and the small size of such urban concentrations as then existed. But this situation was itself in part a product of the policy pursued. Urban employees constituted no problem and were unobtrusive not only because they were few, but precisely because they were allowed to disperse themselves freely round the towns, making their own housing arrangements and finding their own adjustment to the demands of urban employment. Where the policy of the state is one of strict identification and control of urban and migrant workers, the state immediately presents itself with the necessity of positive action and of practical decisions on where and how much land to allocate and what financial provision to make for the housing of its detribalised population. Where urban workers are herded into locations in the absence of a positive housing policy, slums and shanty towns inevitably spring up and, being the result of government action, precipitate political problems which urgently demand solution. Where no such overall control is attempted, comparatively large numbers of migrants may be able to fit themselves into the pre-existing African society round the outskirts of towns. Even benevolent attempts to improve and adjust them to urban life by the provision of housing and other amenities frequently appear to the unskilled migrant worker simply as restrictions on his personal freedom and interference by foreigners who do not understand his needs. The extent to which migrants can be absorbed into pre-existing local society in this informal manner depends on the structure of that society. Here, too, Kampala enjoyed specially favourable conditions. The structure of Ganda society, with its bureaucratic hierarchy of chiefs, its traditional familiarity with the incorporation of slaves, strangers or foreigners and its positive attitude towards "turning them into good Ganda" – albeit at a low status level – offered an unusually high absorptive capacity to the demands of the modern migrant labour situation. Even with these advantages, however, there is a limit to the numbers which can be absorbed without deliberate planning. This limit was clearly reached in the case of Kampala during the inflationary period which followed World War II, with expectation of industrial development and with a marked actual expansion of business activity and concomitant urban growth. This coincided with the growth of international sensitivity towards social problems in underdeveloped territories and the heightened efforts of colonial powers to formulate policies to deal with them. The British Colonial Office issued a Memorandum on Housing in British African Territories in 1954,¹ while in the same year the Uganda Government itself issued its Statement of Policy on African Urban Housing² and the new African Housing Department came into existence.³ The Department is charged with direct responsibility for housing projects in Greater Kampala and four other main urban centres in Uganda. It took over the housing estates built near Kampala since the war and was given general responsibility "to

1. London, H.M.S.O., Colonial No. 303.

2. Government Printer, Entebbe, 1954.

3. See Annual Report of the African Housing Department for the year ended 31st December, 1954, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1955.

promote the growth of organic urban communities in housing estates by the provision of the basic services such as roads and water; by the addition of further amenities such as markets, shops, public buildings, playing fields, street lighting; and by encouraging the development of community life."¹

There are now three general housing estates for Africans in Greater Kampala: Naguru, Nakawa and Ntinda. The development plan for the area is based on a special investigation originally commissioned by the Uganda Government in 1945.² All three are situated on Crown land east of the Municipality. Naguru and Nakawa were brought within the municipal boundary by the extension of April, 1956, but Ntinda remains outside it. Occupation began at Naguru and Nakawa during 1950. The intention was that Nakawa should serve the lower wage groups, the most unskilled and temporary workers, and Naguru the higher paid and more skilled categories. At Nakawa, 136 houses are each divided into four "bed-spaces", most of which are rented to single men. This is the poorest and cheapest accommodation provided, the monthly rent for a bed-space being five shillings. Besides this there are 484 one-living-room houses at Nakawa, renting at from ten to sixteen shillings a month, two houses of two living rooms and two of three. At Naguru there are 162 one - room, 166 two - room, 34 three - room and 3 five - room houses. The two-room houses rent at thirty shillings a month and the three - room houses at fifty-one shillings.

It is reckoned that, when all charges for loan repayment, land rent, operating cost, maintenance and insurance are included the sixteen shilling rent of the one - room houses represents a subsidy of 26.1%. Costs vary from time to time and also according to the numbers of standardised houses included in a single contract, thus, subsidy in the rent of two - room houses varies from 24.5% to 8.5%, while the subsidy in the rent of three - room houses is nil. This means that well over 90% of the accommodation, reckoning in units of a room, is let at a high subsidy. The subsidy is highest for the poorest accommodation, catering for the largest numbers of the urban population. To judge from experience elsewhere it is perfectly normal to find subsidies unavoidable in housing the poorer sections of an urban population. However, were it the objective of Uganda Government policy to house the whole unskilled working populace of Kampala in this way, the subsidy bill would amount to several million pounds and might be beyond the economic resources of the country. In any case there is at present no intention of devoting the necessary funds to this purpose. The more fundamental question is how many people in Greater Kampala would be prepared to live in this type of housing even if it were provided, and how many would prefer to find their own accommodation privately.

The estates have received much criticism, but those who say that they are unpopular have to explain away the waiting list of 681 households at Naguru and 693 at Nakawa in December, 1955. Popularity is relative. Much careful consideration has been given to improving designs and meeting the tastes of the occupants in order to combine maximum satisfaction with minimum outlay. The most unpopular feature of the original design was the communal sanitation blocks which served the needs of squares of houses facing in upon them: The system

1. Statement of Policy, paragraph 21.

2. E. May, Report on the Kampala Extension Scheme Kololo-Naguru, September, 1947.

aroused magical fears as well as mutual disgust between ethnic, religious and other groups of differing sanitary habits and standards. The communal design has now been abandoned and the old sanitary blocks are in process of replacement by individual pit latrines for each house. Though the capital cost of this is higher, it is partly offset by the fact that the regular cleansing of the communal blocks was extremely costly and the increased expenditure is fully justified by the removal of so damaging a cause of discontent.

Experiments have also been made with the provision of water and electric light. For example, both water and light can be laid on for an extra monthly payment of three or four shillings, which brings the total rent to eighteen shillings for one - room accommodation, thirty-six shillings for two - room and fifty-six shillings for three - room accommodation.

Ntinda estate is more recent than Naguru and Nakawa. Its object is to provide for much greater flexibility in both house designs and in systems of occupation and ownership. The first scheme there was for owner-occupiers, who would borrow 80% of the building capital they needed from the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank, to be repayed with interest over a period of 20 years. The owner-occupier only had to make an initial deposit of 20%. But even this proved to be prohibitive to the vast majority of urban workers whom it was desired to provide with housing. This scheme, launched early in 1954, must be considered a failure so far, since only three houses have been acquired under it during its first two years. Later in 1954 a tenant-purchase scheme was worked out whereby no deposit was called for and the house was purchased by monthly instalments over 30 years. No title to land or house is given until the loan is repaid. Twenty-six agreements were signed under this scheme during its first nine months and the waiting list has grown. The difficulty is that all housing has to be built out of African Housing Departmental funds, which are limited, instead of being able to draw on the Credit and Savings Bank as in the owner-occupier scheme. Ntinda was further supplemented by the building of houses to rent, as at Naguru, and the establishment of a low cost housing area where tenants are permitted to erect houses of mud and wattle or other temporary materials according to certain easily fulfilled requirements. By the end of 1955 there were altogether 60 houses occupied at Ntinda. Throughout the estate the basic services and layout such as roads and drainage, water and light as required and the surveying of plots and aligning of houses are all completed before occupation. The contradiction remains that the smaller the resources of the tenant the less financial help he receives. The man who can afford a 20% deposit on the cost of a permanent house receives 80% of its cost in loan which he has 20 years to repay. He who can afford to rent a permanent house can acquire it in 30 years under the tenant-purchase scheme. But the poor man who can only afford to put up his own hut in temporary materials can get no financial help at all.

It was remarked that these estates are for Africans. This resulted from the policy decision that Africans constituted the neediest ethnic group as well as having special political claims above those of immigrant Europeans or Asians. What is in fact preferential treatment is sometimes criticised by Africans as discrimination in the reverse sense of keeping Africans apart. However, large numbers of Asians in Greater Kampala are at present forced to pay more for worse accommodation than Africans can get in the housing estates. There is at present

no satisfactory answer to the claim of those Africans and others most closely connected with the allocation of housing that the funds voted for it would not suffice for the poor Asian as well. There is room for a more imaginative policy here.

The housing estates were well established by 1953, and the trends observable since then are worth careful consideration. The most noticeable trend is the steadily increasing numerical preponderance of non-Ganda. The numbers of Ganda have remained almost stationary from 67 households at Naguru and 69 at Nakawa in August 1953 to 78 at Naguru and 62 at Nakawa in December 1955. It is only the Grade I housing at the new estate of Ntinda which has attracted an increased number of Ganda. Some find it profitable to live there while letting their own houses at a much higher rent. There were 40 Ganda tenants out of 62 at Ntinda at the end of 1955. It remains to be seen whether the relative position of the Ganda will be maintained as Ntinda develops from its present small beginnings.

In the Nakawa bed-spaces, for which reliable data are not regularly available, there were 330 Ganda, 125 Luo and 89 others in February 1955. The Ganda thus formed 60.66% of the total. These bed-spaces are the only accommodation in the estates which genuinely caters for unskilled migrant labour. It is interesting that the Ganda, with their reputation for skilled and white collar occupations, appear at the estates in large numbers only among the most unskilled and transient group. It is the uneducated and consequently low paid Ganda who come to Kampala from the more distant parts of Buganda, whose position approximates most closely to that of unskilled migrants of, foreign tribes in Kampala, and it is only this category of Ganda who are represented in the estates in numbers which actually exceed their proportion of the general population.

The key group in the estates as a whole is that of the Kenya Luo. Not only are they the largest group, with 225 households, but they are closely linked to two other important clusters. They are linked to their tribal neighbours of the Bantu Luyia sub-tribes from North Nyanza District in Kenya because, as immigrants to Uganda, all of them are faced with similar difficulties in becoming closely incorporated into local Ganda society. Though Bantu, their uncentralised and egalitarian traditional social system gives most Luyia peoples little understanding of the hierarchical society of Buganda. This is also true of the Gisu who though resident in Uganda are more closely linked ethnically to the Yugusu (Kitosh) and other Luyia groups than to Uganda peoples. The Luo are also linked to the Nilotic Acholi, Lango, Alur and Dama (Padhola) whose languages and customs are very similar to their own. Most of these latter come from North-west Uganda and in the strange and potentially hostile environment of the town they are naturally especially friendly with their tribal neighbours such as Lugbara, Madi and Kakwa. At home many of these peoples regard one another with mutual contempt and hostility, but in Kampala a certain solidarity is almost forced upon them by the fact that the Ganda and other Interlacustrine Bantu lump them indiscriminately together as barbarians and despise them as such. All of these groups together form about two-thirds of the population in the estates, but less than a quarter of the enumerated labour force

1. The Nakawa figures are exclusive of the bed-spaces, for which the information is inadequate.

of Kampala.¹ By contrast, the Interlacustrine Bantu tribes, other than the Ganda, while they far outnumber the tribes considered above in the enumerated labour force of Kampala, are a very small minority in the housing estates.

From the point of view of economic class, Nakawa estate does not cater primarily for the poorer unskilled migrant workers as the policy statements imply.² In occupation only a minority are in typical unskilled jobs such as porter or office boy. At the end of 1955 porters formed only 16.73% of Nakawa householders, whereas the comparable category of labourers forms 52.38% of the enumerated labour force of Kampala. This may be demonstrated again from the point of view of income level. In the 1955 enumeration of the Kampala labour force 65.57% were earning 100 shillings a month or less, but at Nakawa this income group formed only 37.7% of the total and at Naguru only 4.23%. The combined figure for both estates was 23.66%. The inescapable conclusion is that in spite of all efforts to the contrary the estates cater for a category of people who are far above the average in income and skill. The masses of the poorest and most transient workers of the town are housed elsewhere by their own efforts.

Official policy towards the housing of Africans in Greater Kampala has undergone several changes of emphasis. From the pre-war *laissez faire* attitude there was the rather hectic effort to make up for lost time by providing considerable funds for government built estates. It became clear that the problem was financially impossible on this basis because of the subsidy required. Much valuable research was then carried out in establishing the most economical methods of producing housing of a good constructional standard. At the same time it was realised that home ownership was a social objective of great importance and schemes were modified to encourage this. The final stage was the acceptance of the fact that government schemes would never do more than scratch the surface of the problem until the efforts of the Africans themselves in home building could somehow be incorporated and improved. The adoption of lower building standards makes this technically possible and is matched by a complementary shift in the direction of social policy.

Slum clearance by wholesale eviction of occupants and bulldozing of buildings is not only very costly and politically unwise but in direct conflict with declared social objectives. The present emphasis is rather on accepting existing settlements and developing them by enlisting the interest of the residents themselves who stand to benefit from the advantages of better roads, water supplies, electric light, drainage and health control. Once co-operation is secured the further planning objectives of ordering plot sizes and building densities, realigning building frontages and generally raising standards of construction and design can be approached by gradual encouragement and financial assistance. There can be little doubt that this is the only line of policy which can have any effect on the vast majority of those concerned.

At the most optimistic estimate, the proportion of the African population of Greater Kampala which can be accommodated in the Government Housing Estates will not exceed 10% for many years to come. The writer's hypothesis is that the estates will in the long run cater principally for the non-Ganda whose skill and income is above the average level and who appreciate a more secure and

1. Labour Department, Labour Enumeration, 1955.

2. E. May, *op. cit.*, African Housing Department Annual Report, 1954, paras. 41, 45.

conventionally respectable existence than is at present possible for those who rent rooms in suburbs such as Kisenyi or Mulago. In this case, the major long term problem of Greater Kampala will still be the relationship of the Municipality to the Kibuga, and the solution of the pressing problems of social life in the latter. The justification of this study is to present these problems in the context of two suburbs which must be considered, not anomalous as many would like to think, but representative of what the majority of the large African population of Greater Kampala will have to face.

CHAPTER IV ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

1. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

31% of the employed African population of Kisenyi is engaged in independent retail trade. A further 8% is composed of assistants to these retailers, such as shop boys and hotel boys. The independent retailers are divided up as follows: beer sellers form 25%, charcoal sellers 19%, shopkeepers 16%, plantain sellers 12%, hotel keepers,¹ launderers and open-air stall sellers each 9% and butchers 5%.

Another important category are the skilled self-employed: tailors, barbers, cobblers, carpenters, matmakers, tinkers and builders, who make up 11% of the employed population.

It may be noted in passing that none of those so far mentioned fall into the definition of an employee as used in the East African Statistical Department's enumeration. In Kisenyi these independent workers and their employees impart to the local community its predominant characteristics.

Unskilled employees such as houseboys, porters, office boys, night-watchmen, ayahs and turnboys make up 19% of the employed population. There are also some skilled employees such as mechanics, drivers, clerks, carpenters and builders. Hawkers and water sellers fall into the small category of unskilled workers on their own account.

Some men and women live entirely on the rents from rooms which they let, but most combine this with some other occupation, especially the women, who often brew beer. Many of the house owners and nearly all the landowners actually reside outside the area.

It may be asked what sort of income these various groups enjoy. Income data were collected by the survey, but a number of difficulties have to be borne in mind. The responses given to questions on actual wages received were probably fairly accurate. They would not, however, include the additional real income earned by performing odd spare time jobs, whether for cash, or in return for supplies of food. They also tend to omit variable additions such as bonuses and overtime pay. Some data on the spare time earnings of unskilled labourers are given in the East African Statistical Department's budget survey of Kampala labourers². But, as already noted, a large number of people in Kisenyi are not receiving fixed wages. Those who work on their own account are always more reticent about their earnings than those who depend on a fixed wage. Many wish to conceal their profits, while a few set out to exaggerate their achievements. A more intrinsic difficulty is the genuine lack of knowledge of their exact earnings by many independent workers. Many keep no accounts, and spend their money on living expenses as it comes in. It is therefore impossible for them to give an accurate assessment of either their gross or nett

1. For the African population "hotel" means a place where meals can be bought, i.e., a cafe or restaurant, it never means a place where a bed can be had for the night.

2. The Pattern of Income, Expenditure and Consumption of African Unskilled Labourers in Kampala, September, 1953, p. 15, where the average cash wages of the sample are given as 47/20 and their other income as 13/10.

takings during a particular period, say, a month. The difficulty is even greater with petty dealers in foodstuffs such as retail plantain sellers, for they cannot remember what part of their sales goods they have consumed themselves.

All these independent earners were asked to estimate their nett profit over the course of a month. These estimates almost inevitably involved a concealed element, where part of the month's takings had been spent on day to day living expenses without any accounting being done, and this element was likely to be the greater, the higher the standard of living of the person concerned. However, the more prosperous tend to have a better idea of the flow of cash passing through their hands and they are usually those who keep the best accounts.

For all these reasons the data on incomes of independent earners have to be treated with caution. There can be no doubt that they are an underestimate, but, granting this fact, the relative proportions of the groups are of some interest and probably reliable.

		%
Wage group	A : 0 - 49/- per month	25
	B : 50 - 99/- " "	26
	C : 100 - 199/- " "	9
	D : 200 - 399/- " "	3
	E : 400 - 999/- " "	1.5
Profit group	A : 0 - 49/- " "	17
	B : 50 - 99/- " "	9.5
	C : 100 - 199/- " "	6
	D : 200 - 399/- " "	2
	E : 400 - 999/- " "	1.5
		<u>100.5</u>

Those whose total earnings are less than 50/- must be living very near to the subsistence minimum. Very few rooms in Kisenyi, even in the worst hovels, can be rented for less than 10/- a month and it is difficult for a bachelor to keep his expenses on food, light and fuel below 40/- a month, even if nothing is allowed for other contingencies and recurrent necessities such as clothing¹. At 25% the group of wage earners below this level is fairly large. On the other hand, the 17% earning less than 50/- in the profit group are probably somewhat more comfortably off, and less pressed for their bare subsistence expenditure. The Uganda Enumeration of Employees, 1952, gives 78% earning less than 50/- in the Protectorate as a whole, but this is obviously not comparable, and a figure for Kampala alone is not available. In the Protectorate figures, again, only 1.04% were earning over 200/- a month in 1952, and the figure of 3% in Kisenyi earning over 400/- is therefore surprisingly high. These figures will be more meaningful when closely related to the breakdown by sex, tribe and occupation in the final survey results.

1. See The Pattern of Income, Expenditure and Consumption of African Unskilled Labourers in Kampala, September, 1953, p. 15, where the average distribution of expenditure is given as Food 35/80, Alcoholic Drink and Tobacco 4/18, Clothing 4/48, Rent 4/48 and Other Expenditure 5/94. It is to be noted that the figure for rent is the average for the whole sample, including those who paid no rent at all because they were able to live free with relatives or in accommodation provided by their employers. It does not give a true picture of rent actually paid by those who were not lucky enough to find free accommodation.

2. TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

Although, as in other suburbs, a majority of Kisenyi residents are working elsewhere, in European or Asian wage employment, using Kisenyi mainly as a dormitory, yet, the proportion of Africans here who have their own businesses of various kinds is much larger than anywhere else. There are more shops run by Ganda than by any other tribe, but a few members of many other tribes have also started them. However low the efficiency of many of these small enterprises may be, this is surely the kind of development which is most strongly to be encouraged.

Some shops seem to be little more than a desultory spare time hobby, in which the proprietor makes no serious effort to achieve a reasonable income from his sales profits; indeed, he may be away all day leaving the shop in the hands of a wife with no business ability. The smallest shops are housed in single rooms which also serve as living and sleeping quarters for the household of the proprietor. There may be shutter-like doors opening right across the external wall of the room, with a couple of shelves built across as a counter, or goods may be sold through the open windows only. Bedding is unrolled on to the floor at night when business is over. More usually, the establishment consists of two rooms, the shop in front and the living and sleeping room behind, containing one bed at least.

A representative shop contained several brands of bottled beer, Pepsi Cola, soap, shoe polish and shoe laces, buttons, matches, brushes, pencils, washing blue, safety pins, handkerchiefs, curry powder, cakes, biscuits and sweets in three glass jars, bread and buns in a wire netting safe. There were six shelves across the back wall and the counter was formed by a long narrow table with a shelf under it and wire netting nailed across from the shelf to the table top at the front. The proprietor kept a daily record of his cash receipts, but little else in the way of accounts. His monthly turnover ranged between 200/- and 400/-.

Another similar shop was selling cigarettes, matches, buttons, old paraffin tins and bottles, baking powder, ink, curry powder, tea, coffee, fizzy drinks, salt, and aluminium cooking pans. There were also beans, groundnuts, maize flour and other bulk foodstuffs in sacks lying in front. The proprietor had a sewing machine, charcoal iron and gramophone. His last month's gross takings were 270/-. A third shop had tinned milk, tea, coffee, matches, soda water, soap, tin lamps, loaves of bread, sugar, groundnuts and four sacks of flour. The proprietor also bought clothes from an Indian shopkeeper and hawked them round on his bicycle outside Kampala. In one of the best shops the chief items additional to this general range of wares were onions, English potatoes, eggs, stationery, torch batteries, padlocks and Yardley's talcum powder. Paraffin, razor blades, simsim oil, ghee, glass tumblers, spoons, Aspro, washing soda, rice, plates and cups, are also commonly found.

Butchers' shops take a similar form, with the shop in front and the living and sleeping room behind. Besides many Ganda, there are Nubi, Arab, Nyoro and Ciga butchers. Butchers do a thriving trade and make good profits. There is rarely any lack of meat in Kisenyi, although it is often difficult to get in any of the Kampala shops or in the market. A great deal of goat meat, and some mutton is sold as well as beef. Butchers admit to profits of over 400/- a month.

The main basis of tailoring businesses is the possession of a sewing machine. The cost of a sewing machine is about 700/-; it thus

represents a considerable investment. The ability to use one is regarded as a valuable skill, and apprentices are prepared to pay down 200/- to a tailor who is willing to teach them. Some tailors, having acquired their machine, hire space on the verandah of a shop as their work place. This saves them the expense of building or acquiring any proper shop of their own, as well as putting them in a strategic position in relation to clients if the shop is well patronised. Others build flimsy shelters of poles and thatch, or of papyrus matting, in which they sit working during the day time, often almost in the public path. At night they remove their machines to the safety of their sleeping rooms. But a number of the larger tailoring businesses have their own shops in which they stock the materials most commonly required for khaki shorts and trousers, shirts and women's dress lengths.

The basis of a cobbling business is similar, for it depends on the acquisition of the tools and the skill to use them, though neither involves such heavy expenditure as for tailoring. Many cobblers simply hire verandah space under the eaves of ordinary houses, though some hire rooms in which to work. Hairdressing, again, is similar in all these respects, and carpentering also. There are many Luo cobblers, tailors, and carpenters. In some cases three or four Luo are living together and running such businesses. Apprentices are usually young relatives or friends of theirs who live with them free and work for no pay while learning, instead of paying an apprenticeship fee. Some have also worked for Indian shoemakers at wages of about 35/- while gaining experience. Some do little more than botch up old shoes for a few shillings a patch, while others are ambitious enough to make the high heeled shoes which the local women like when dressed for walking out. They claim to make a profit of several hundred shillings a month.

Hotels are kept by many Ganda and by a wide selection of others: Arab, Half-caste, Luyia, Nyamwezi, Kikuyu, Haya, Rwanda, and Indian. Naturally they vary greatly in popularity and those which are well frequented make good profits¹. Some have a big clientele of clerks whose homes are distant and who buy lunch in town every day. The dishes offered are based on the usual foods eaten by Africans, served in different combinations. Milk, tea, bread and buns can also be had in various forms.²

1. See A. B. Mukwaya, unpublished Ms. at E. A. I. S. R.
Report on the African Garden Restaurant.

2. Listed below are the menus advertised in three representative hotels, one run by an Arab, the other two by Ganda.

	Arab	Ganda	Ganda
Tea with milk, per cup	/20	/20	small /15
Tea without milk, per cup	/10	-	/10
Weak tea, per cup	-	/15	.15
Milky tea, per cup	-	-	/30
Tea with cream	/25	/30	/35
Milk, per bottle	-	1/-	1/-
Milk, per glass	-	/50	/50
Bread, half loaf	/30	-	-
Bread, whole loaf	/60	-	-
Toast	/10	/10	/10
Toast with butter	-	-	/30
Chapati	/50	/40	small /30
	1/-	-	big /60
Sweet rolls (<i>mandazi</i>)	/10	-	/10
Curry rolls (<i>sumbusa</i>)	/10	-	/10
Cake (half a bun)	/10	-	-
Soup	/20	-	-

A Hima woman from Mawogola county of Buganda described how she entered this business on a small scale. She left her husband childless in 1948 and lived with a brother for three years just outside Kampala. Then she came to Kisenyi with 20/- which he gave her, and rented a room. She noticed that many men there had no women to cook for them and she bought an old paraffin tin for 50 cents, three shillings worth of firewood and a two shilling bunch of plantains. She began cooking plantains to sell by the plate to poor porters when they came back from work at six o'clock. She charged from 30 to 40 cents for each plate of food, and the customers brought their own meat, fish or relish to eat with it, as she had not enough money to buy this as well. Her clientele contained many regulars and many Hima or Nkole like herself.

Many people in Kisenyi have come to rely on laundries instead of washing and ironing their own clothes. These are run by men who have usually acquired their skill through previous experience as houseboys. They use charcoal irons and take in most kinds of garment.¹

Hawking involves less capital outlay than any of the other independent occupations, not even requiring any fixed base of operations. It is practised by both men and women, with many different wares. Some of them seem to be persons incapable of any more regular or highly organised occupation, who prefer their freedom to higher earnings. Others have begun their trading experience in this way and have successfully established regular businesses on the basis of their savings in it. Very young boys are found in this profession. Roasted groundnuts, popcorn, *mandazi*,² *sumbusa*,³ coffee berries, old tins and old clothes, are all sold in this way. Some of those who sell small quantities of charcoal, tomatoes and other vegetables are hardly to be distinguished from hawkers since they sit anywhere on the roadside with their goods. Others have regular, if flimsy, stalls to which they go every

	Arab	Ganda	Ganda
Maize gruel (<i>buggi</i>), per glass	-	-	/10
Rice gruel ("")	-	-	/20
Plantains, per plate	/60	/75	/70
Rice, per plate	/60	/75	large 1/-
		half/35	-
Sweet potatoes, per plate	/30	-	-
Vegetables (cabbage, etc.), per plate	/40	-	/40
Beans (<i>bijanjal</i>), per plate	-	-	/30
Meat	-	-	/30
Fish (<i>ngege</i>), half fish	/60	per plate	/75
		/75	-
Special meat (with ghee, tomato and onion)	/60	/75	/75
Meat and rice	-	-	/90
Special meat and rice	-	-	1/35
Special meat and plantains	-	-	1/45
English potato and vegetable rissole	/30	-	-
Soda (fizzy drink), per bottle	/35	-	-

1. A Luo launderer was charging as follows: man's flannel suit (jacket and long trousers) 4/50, khaki suit ditto 1/20, white cotton suit 1/60, shirt /50, shorts /50, long khaki trousers /60, thick jacket 1/50, dress (Ganda style) /60, dress (European style) /80, petticoat or vest /30 each.

2. Rolls made of wheat flour and sugar mixed with water and cooked in deep simsim oil.

3. Curry rolls made of flour, meat, onions and curry powder.

day. No doubt the elusive and mobile army of awkers, with its personnel and their places of residence constantly changing, forms an excellent channel for the disposal of stolen goods. Hawking itself is illegal within the boundaries of the Municipality, but the boundary seems an artificial one for some purposes, and the ban on hawkers crossing it is not strictly enforced.

A Lango who came to Kisenyi 20 years ago as a boy of about 20, began by selling roasted groundnuts. He worked very hard cooking them every night to sell the next morning. After two years he had saved enough to begin building a house of his own in Kisenyi. He made a free marriage with a Haya girl who has borne him three sons and stayed with him ever since. She sells *malwa* beer in this house and her bar is very popular among Teso and Lango people. Other rooms were rented to lodgers, and in 1939 this man started a general shop here. In 1947 he married a Lango girl. He brought her to live here too and has a son and daughter by her.

The Half-caste wife of a Half-caste mechanic was cooking *mandazi* for sale. They had a Rwanda boy living with them free and were paying him 30/- a month both to work as houseboy and to hawk *mandazi* round the town. He was selling five or six shillings worth a day. A monthly profit of 60/- was claimed by an Arab selling *mandazi* and *sumbusa*, and of 70/- by a Ganda man of 45 who was hawking roasted coffee berries in the town.

Goats, fowls, dried fish and pots are regularly brought from considerable distances for sale in Kisenyi. Luo from Kisumu engage in all these activities, and goats are also brought from Kigezi and Teso.

A group of seven Luo have an informal syndicate in this goat trade. All are from the Seme county of Central Nyanza District. One of them is an ex-chief there and is the licence holder for goat trading at the Kenya end, assisting the others in buying goats there. Another member of the group owns a house in Kisenyi, one room of which is used as a goat house, each member paying rent according to the number of goats he keeps there awaiting sale. They bring their goats by train from Kisumu to Kampala. They claim to pay from 70/- to 80/- for goats in Kenya and to sell them for about 20/- more here. The freight on each goat works out at a little over two shillings. They travel up and down on alternate trains. Two who were interviewed after their arrival in Kisenyi from one of these trips had brought 12 and 24 goats respectively. One member of the syndicate has now started a tailoring shop in Kisenyi and leaves his brother in charge while he is travelling to and fro with goats.

In another room of the house where these goats are kept lives another Luo with his wife and daughter. He is houseboy to an Indian clerk in Kampala. His wife's sister travels to and from Kisumu by boat with pots which his wife sells here. Some dozens of pots are brought on each trip, and a gross profit of from 1/50 to two shillings made on each pot. The Luo trade in fowls is similarly organised.

The charcoal trade is mainly run by Haya, with some Ganda, Rwanda and Toro. These people have established two stands in Kisenyi for the sale of charcoal, one at the Nakivubo end and one on the Katwe side. Here the charcoal is stacked in bags of about a hundredweight and scales are hung up for weighing. The charcoal is burnt in the forests of Kyagwe and Busiro counties, and brought in by lorry. The charcoal burners are also mostly Haya. When a charcoal

burner has collected a whole load of charcoal he hires a lorry to bring it into Kisenyi. He sells it as far as possible wholesale. This usually takes two or three days, during which he stays in Kisenyi. There are several Ganda-owned houses the rooms of which are always let to these people, who pay ten shillings rent for each spell. The retailers live more permanently in Kisenyi. A number of these Haya men were living in the same house. Some had their own rooms and some were sharing. They shared the cooking, each taking turn to cook for all the rest for a day. The wholesale price of a bag of charcoal is eight shillings, and it is retailed for about eleven. The retailers buy as their working capital permits, varying from those who buy only ten bags to those who buy a whole lorry load for 800/- or 900/-. They retail direct to the consumer at ten cents a pound, but there are also subsidiary retailers. Unemployed men buy single bags to hawk round the town on their heads for the sake of the slightly higher price they can get by delivering it at the doors of Indian and European houses. Women also buy retail in order to resell in very small heaps outside their houses for a few cents each heap. The nett profits claimed by the primary retailers vary from about 35/- to 300/- a month, the difference reflecting their energy and the scale on which they are able to operate.

3. BEER

The sale of many varieties of alcoholic drink consumed by the African population, and to some extent by the poorer Indians-mainly Moslems and Sikhs - is more concentrated in Kisenyi than in any other part of the urban area. The traditional Ganda banana beer *omwenge omuganda* is still by far the most popular brand, partly, of course, because the Ganda are much the largest tribal group, but also because it is a favourite with the members of many other tribes as well. It is not brewed in Kisenyi, but is brought in from the countryside in large calabashes holding about five gallons. Vast numbers of cyclists bring it into town in these calabashes on the backs of their bicycles, very often at night, but the trade is now so far commercialised that pick-up trucks deliver full loads of these calabashes to Kisenyi every day. Certain parts of the country specialise in the production of the *mbidde* bananas used for brewing, one such area being Bujuku, some 16 miles out of Kampala along the Mubende road.

Malwa beer is brewed in Kisenyi from germinated eleusine (*obulo*), which may often be seen lying out to dry in the sun in front of the brewers' huts. It is most popular among the Teso, Lango, Luo and other non-Bantu people. The final stage of brewing consists of mixing the dry, fermented flour with hot water. *Malwa* is always drunk hot, and is sucked through long straining tubes (*nseke*) made of reeds with small wicker strainers attached at the lower end.

Kwete beer is brewed from maize with a small amount of eleusine used as a fermenting agent. The beer is strained before serving, so no straining tubes are used, and it is drunk cold. It is very similar to the traditional beer of the Luo, and some say that it was introduced to Kampala by them. The dregs strained from *kwete* beer are used either by the original brewer or by others who buy from him, to make a second brew. The beer so produced is called *Kidongo*. Naturally, it is weaker than *Kwete*, and is the cheapest beer on sale. *Munanansi* beer is made by boiling and fermenting pineapples.

The legal position of native beer brewing is somewhat anomalous. The permits issued by the office of the subcounty chief (*Omukulu*

We Kibuga) appear to apply to brewing and drinking, but not to selling beer. They were designed to cover ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals, at which beer is required, and also the ordinary drinking of beer with family and friends. But in Kisenyi these permits are used as if they legalised the sale of beer. The holder is entitled to buy one calabash of beer each week, and must renew the permit each month for a fee of two shillings. Beersellers who have such permits certainly seem to feel that they are acting according to the law. Actually, the Buganda Native Liquor Law¹ states quite clearly that it is illegal to sell or buy beer in the Kibuga except in a licensed beer shop (*Kirabo*). There are seven such large beer shops or clubs in the whole Kibuga, but none of them are in Kisenyi.

There would seem to be several shades of illegality in the activities of Kisenyi beersellers. First of all, every one of them is breaking the Native Liquor Law. Then, many of them, though holders of the permits which are erroneously taken to legalise their business, sell several calabashes of beer every day, instead of the maximum of one a week specified in the permit. Finally, some beersellers have no permit at all. It is the completely unrealistic and muddled nature of the regulations that should be blamed, rather than the lawlessness of the people who are supposed to be controlled by them. Most of the popular beersellers are holders of permits, but none of them could possibly operate on the basis of one calabash per week, since even the daily rate of consumption in their bars is usually more than this. At the same time there are very many minor beersellers who hold no permit at all, because the attempt is made to restrict the total number issued. However, members of the royal family can buy an almost unlimited number of permits at the official fee of two shillings each. Several of these personages pay women to act as beersellers on their behalf, and also re-sell the surplus permits which they do not themselves require at fifteen shillings each, thus realising a clear monthly profit of thirteen shillings on each one.

It is this sort of situation which throws into relief the closely interlocking nature of the present administrative and social system. The law is broken chiefly by and in the interests of those who are constitutionally responsible for its enforcement. Furthermore, the worst evils of the situation have arisen from the imperceptibly gradual commercialisation of stable and traditional relationships based on the exchange of gifts and privileges between patron and client. Not only the system of social status but the administrative system itself was based on this in traditional Buganda, and the constitutional changes of the present century have only very partially superseded it. It would be grossly unfair to penalise particular persons who at any moment operate as cogs in this machine. Until a new machine is designed which commands the assent of the ruling classes and the respect and understanding of the masses, it is almost useless to attempt changes in particular aspects of the system which may now appear objectionable.

Some women are able to brew illegal spirit (*waragi*) in complete immunity because of their close relationship to the royal family of Buganda. It would be tantamount to treason for members of the Buganda Government police force to raid these premises. The significance of this is not that most brewers of illegal spirit are related to the royal family, for this is not the case, but that the immunity which some enjoy spreads subtly out to all.

A Half-caste came and joined a party of Ganda men and women in one of the Kisenyi beer bars. They offered him a drink of Ganda beer, but he said he was looking for *waragi*. One of the others told him that if he would give him six shillings he would go and get him a bottle of *waragi* at once. The money was given and he went off. After he had gone, the Half-caste became anxious in case the other would just run away with his money. The others reassured him that they knew the man well and he would not do this. The man came back and said he would have to have another shilling to deposit on the bottle, otherwise the woman selling *waragi* would not trust him with it. He was given the extra shilling and soon brought the bottle of *waragi*. Another member of the party then bought a bottle of Bell beer and they mixed the two together. While they were drinking, a chief was seen approaching the bar. One of the men stood in the doorway while the others hid their drinks. The chief came in and sat down. 'Are you drinking *waragi*?' asked the chief. 'No, sir,' they all replied. 'I saw that man bring a bottle of *waragi* into this house.' 'Yes, you saw me bringing a bottle but it was water.' 'I know that it was *waragi*,' said the chief. 'but I have not come here to search you and I do not want to arrest you. But it is a very bad thing to bring *waragi* when everybody can see you. Here is your bag, why did you not bring it in your bag? There are many detectives here and one of them can arrest you, and when he brings you to me I shall have to send you to the police at once.'

While this conversation was going on, a retainer of X came in and said to the chief: 'These people were drinking *waragi*, but do not arrest them.' - 'Who told you that they were drinking *waragi*?' - 'Can't you smell it?' - 'Yes, I can, but I did not come here to arrest them. But if I wish to arrest people for *waragi* I can do so because I know all the places where *waragi* is sold and I know everyone who drinks *waragi*, and you yourself drink it.' - 'Yes, I do, but X gives it to me, and if you want to arrest him you had better go and arrest all the princes, and all the chiefs too.' - 'Will you please go away from here?' said the chief. 'I want to drink these people's *waragi*,' said the other, 'and that is why I asked you not to arrest them.' - 'We have no *waragi*,' said the others again. The chief then left the place, and the others asked X's man to go too. But he objected that he had come specially to prevent their arrest, knowing that the chief was there. The Half-caste supported him and invited him to join the party. The party of Nyoro who were drinking separately outside commented that if a chief had caught them drinking *waragi* they would not, as foreigners, have received privileged treatment, but would have been arrested.

It is doubtful whether a *waragi* brewer is ever arrested except as a result of information given by an enemy seeking for revenge.

Maliamu, a *waragi* brewer, was telling those present in her bar the story of how she had been arrested by the detectives the previous day. They came accompanied by a ward head (*mutongole*) and, finding her in possession of *waragi*, wanted to take her to the sub-county (*gombolola*) headquarters. The ward chief asked Maliamu whether she had some money

1. Uganda Laws, 1951 Edition, vol. VII, p. 1251.

to give to these detectives so that they could leave her alone. 'How much money must I give them?' asked Maliamu. The ward head talked to the detectives and they said they would drop the matter if they were given one hundred shillings. Maliamu only had fifty shillings, so they agreed to take that and one bottle of *waragi*, and left her. 'Who reported you to them?' asked the others. 'Yowana and Petero reported me to these detectives,' said Maliamu, 'because yesterday they came here and Petero wanted *waragi*, but I refused to sell it to him because he was very drunk.'

In a neighbouring bar an officer of the Buganda Government police and a clerk working in Mengo jail were drinking *waragi* with other Ganda, and the owner of the bar was recounting Maliamu's experience to them, attributing her arrest to the fact that the detectives wanted money. 'Yes,' said the police officer, 'all detectives do like that when they find they have no money. They go out and blackmail people for money without any authorisation from the Kabaka's police. They never told us that they were in need of money. I never sent them to Kisenyi to arrest *waragi* brewers. They just came on their own.'

Sometimes much the same thing happens to those who sell beer without a permit. A beerseller tried to turn away a party of Kabaka's police who had come to drink in her bar. 'You people, you come and drink here and then you go and report people who have no beer permit, and we are arrested.' 'Can you tell us whether there is anyone among us who has reported anyone in Kisenyi?' asked one of the police. 'I cannot tell exactly which of you have done it, but I remember one of the Kabaka's police loved me and I did not love him, and he went to the police officer at Mengo and reported that I had no beer permit. I was arrested and I only got out of the case because I paid them some money.' - 'To whom did you pay the money?' asked one of the police. 'Why should I tell you? Get out of here all you! Go and report me, or anyone in Kisenyi, for there are plenty of people without permits!' But the police insisted that they were in a public bar and had the right to stay and drink. A fight developed between one of them and this woman. She abused him obscenely, he caught her by the arm, then she ran and fetched her stick to beat him and when he offered to fight her she finally raised the alarm and the usual expectant crowd gathered. Her sister, the real owner of the bar, managed to smooth things over, explained that the other woman was drunk, and served the police with their beer.

Another type of blackmail also frequently occurs. A Ganda had his bicycle stolen by an Acoli, but he managed to catch him in the act, the crowd surrounded him and began to beat him up. The Acoli then offered 100/- to the Ganda not to take him to the police. The Ganda refused this and demanded 200/-. They finally compounded for 175/-. The Ganda then bought ten shillings worth of beer for all those in the bar where he had been, and, in his access of enthusiasm, gave another ten shillings to the owner of the bar.

There are at least five or six dozen beersellers, three quarters of them women, concentrated here in an area of not more than 50

acres, and beersellers are scattered in large numbers everywhere throughout the Greater Kampala area, although at a slightly lower density than this. Beer is important not so much as an example of regulations honoured in the breach, but in the general contribution which it makes to the economic and social life of Africans living in this area. The fact that beer brewing by urban Africans is permitted, and that it is carried out on a considerable scale, is characteristic of the relatively free conditions in which the urban area has developed, and of the important difference between the situation in Kisenyi and in the urban areas of Kenya and the whole of Central and South Africa. In these latter places, although illicit brewing takes place on a large scale, brewing for African consumption is usually controlled by a municipal monopoly, from which a large income is derived. Such funds are normally earmarked for expenditure in connection with the welfare of urban Africans, but municipalities are under constant temptation to widen this definition. In Nairobi the Brewery Fund has been used for expenditure on lighting, water supply, sanitation and lodging houses, any of which might be considered an everyday necessity, and hence a proper responsibility of the municipality, rather than an additional welfare service¹.

Bulawayo is one of the few towns in Africa for which there is any detailed information on this point². Natives in Bulawayo were forbidden to possess or to manufacture any form of alcoholic beverage, and could only drink legally in the municipal beer hall which was, in some cases, as much as fifteen miles from their place of residence. Since 1949 subsidiary beer halls have been erected in the hope that this would reduce illegal brewing. They failed to do this because 'the main reason for illegal brewing is that it enables the brewers themselves to subsidise their wages to subsistence levels or else to maintain the standard of living to which they have been taught to aspire.'³ The same conclusion was reached in Pretoria, where the Manager of the Native Affairs Department has said: 'I am quite satisfied after nearly twenty years of observation of the illicit liquor evil among the urban Bantu.....that over 90% of the evil is carried out by the absolute necessity on the part of the Bantu housewife to augment her husband's wages in some way or other.'⁴

While there can be no doubt that the same principle operates in Kampala, the fact that private brewing and drinking is not an entirely illegal and *sub rosa* activity has some further implications. Together with prostitution in its varied forms, beer selling is one of the main foundations of the new-found economic independence of African women. Many Ganda women have this independence more solidly based in the plots of *mailo* land which they inherit. Beer selling may provide them with useful additional income. But the much larger number of landless women divorced from their husbands, and of girls who fail to marry and who see no tolerable future for

1. See Mary Parker, *Political and Social Aspects of the Development of Municipal Government in Kenya*, Colonial Office, (no date), pp. 93-4.
2. See B.W. Gussman, *African Life in an Urban Area*, Bulawayo, 1952, pp. 101-3. Also Godfrey Wilson, *Economics of Detribalization*, Part II, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 6, 1942, pp. 31-4, and Ellen Hellmann, *Rooivard*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 13, 1948, p.p. 39-53.
3. Gussman, *loc. cit.* There were 582 drinking prosecutions in Bulawayo in 1950. 'In a normal year the police reckon to spill fifty thousand gallons of *skokiaan* (illegal spirit) (worth £20,000 to the brewers at 1/- a pint) and fifteen thousand gallons of kaffir beer (worth £1,500 at 3d a pint).'
4. Quoted in Gussman, *loc. cit.*

themselves in their rural homes, rely more vitally on beer selling to maintain their independence. The Ganda are most strongly represented in this group, but the Toro and Haya are also particularly numerous. Predisposing factors vary in these different tribes, but common to all is probably the desire to escape from the domestic and agricultural drudgery of the ordinary African rural household and from the social inferiority normally accorded to wives in all recognised forms of African marriage. These women aim at a kind of life to which it is, at the moment, economically impossible for most of them to attain. At the same time, most African men refuse to adjust themselves either in town or country to a new conception of the female role in the home which would make a compromise possible. As we shall see below, this situation favours a sequence of temporary marriages, with rights jealously guarded and few commitments made on either side, rather than any more permanent type of union.

Women beersellers are often able, out of their profits, to build houses of their own, thus strengthening their position still further, and securing a reliable addition to their income in the letting of rooms to lodgers. Such women are attractive propositions in temporary marriage, at least from the economic point of view. Those who marry employed men, and so combine two professions in a single household, sometimes realise a standard of living which for urban Africans is relatively very high.

Other women weave mats, act as assistants in African owned shops, hotels or bars, and sell plantains, buns or charcoal, but none of these occupations can rival the attractions of beer selling, either in the ease with which money can be made or in the pleasure to be had while doing so.

Even in Kisenyi business life is not without its worries, and resort to magic seems to be common where the proprietor of a business feels that he is not getting the volume of custom which he or she deserves. The cause is usually diagnosed as the jealousy of a friend or neighbour, operating through the spirits (*balubale* in Luganda). The remedy is to consult a diviner and the cure usually takes the form of exorcism. Magical objects are buried outside the house, or placed in pots herds just inside the threshold, and medicine is smoked in a pipe by the patient. Love magic may take a similar form and, of course, in the case of prostitutes this and the promotion of business coincide.

A Ganda beerseller went to consult a diviner some miles out of town. The diviner took her behind the house and began to smoke a pipe. Then she gave nine pipes to her client, asking her to smoke them and speak into them whatever she wanted to say. 'O *lubale* Muwanga,' prayed the diviner, 'come and help this child of yours who has come to me.' She asked the client to pay two shillings, which she did. Then the diviner examined the pipes and said, 'I see that you have got many enemies who are after you and do not want you to be rich.' - 'Yes, that is true, but I want you to help me.' - 'Muwanga will help you, but you will have to pay a large sum of money to be cured of this trouble, and if you do so you will have no more. Tell me all your trouble.' - 'I am a beer seller and I do not get customers like others in our area.' The diviner examined the pipes again for nearly half an hour. 'I have found out why you do not get customers. One big black girl whom you call your friend brought medicine to your house

and planted it there, but you cannot see it and this medicine stops people coming to your house to buy beer from you. Is it true that you have such a friend?' - 'Yes, I have got one woman who is my friend; she is also a beer seller and she was my good friend before I started selling beer, but when I started to sell it like her she became my enemy.' - 'Now I will give you some medicine to plant under a beer pot, and some for smoking in a pipe. This medicine will help you, but you will pay me 39/09.' The money was paid. The diviner called a young girl and told her to bring a big bag of medicines. She took out a dry root and told her client to plant it under a beer pot at three in the morning when all the people in her house were asleep. She was to be naked while planting it, and must not have slept with any man that day. She must go out nine times saying 'I drive all evil things and people from my house,' and when she got outside she was to say 'I bring all luck from *lubale* Muwanga. Muwanga is head of this house, let him come and help me in all trouble.' She was given other medicine to smoke at sunset every day, using the same words. She had to leave the diviner's home without looking behind her, and without saying good-bye.

Very often cowrie shells are thrown as part of the divining ritual. Sometimes payment is not demanded on the spot, but a few weeks later, by which time the magic should have had its good effect. This, of course, refers to the Ganda system. I do not know to what extent the other tribes consult local Ganda diviners, or to what extent they practise their own systems of magic in Kampala.

4. THEFT

Kisenyi is a notorious haunt of thieves, and this has several indirect results which are worth noting. Thieves frequent Kisenyi for a number of reasons. The Bus Park is one of the best places at which to relieve innocent travellers of their money as they come to town, and Kisenyi is the nearest convenient place of refuge to retire to after such exploits. Thieves often like to have a drink after a successful theft and Kisenyi is the obvious place for this. It is also a good place for disposing of stolen property to buyers who will not ask questions. Many thieves and housebreakers are said to spend their days entirely in the Kisenyi beer bars and to sally forth from there to their assignments at night.

There was a crowd of Ganda, Teso and Luo, both men and women, at Ukec's bar. Daudi, a thief, accused his friend Sirasi, a driver to an Indian, and a sort of mock court began. Sirasi was asked by the company to stand up. He did so and said: 'I do not know why my friend accuses me to this court of beer, but you will give judgment in my favour and assess what fine he will pay.' Another Ganda said: 'This court will find out the fine, but it is not for you, the defendant, to suggest it, and if the case goes against the plaintiff it will be all the same, but we cannot tell you now what we shall order.'

Daudi then said: 'This man Sirasi is my friend. I always buy him some beer when I meet him and he does the same when he meets me at a beer party anywhere. To-day I was at Katie's bar up the hill, and someone told me that Sirasi was at Getulida's bar. I went there as I had no money, thinking that he would buy me some beer.'

‘When people saw me there they told me not to come in, because I was not a good man and stole people’s property. When they told me so I called Sirasi to come out and talk to me. He did not do so, but said: ‘I do not like to talk with a bad man, as I have understood that you steal people’s property.’ I then asked him: ‘Please give me a shilling to buy some beer.’ He refused. If he knows that I am a bad man and steal other people’s property why does he always drink the beer which I buy for him with the money that I steal, and why does he always walk about with me?’

Another man asked Daudi whether he was really a thief. He said he was. ‘Do you think Sirasi knows that you are stealing?’ – ‘He does.’ – ‘How do you know that he does?’ – ‘Because he asked me what kind of job I have and I told him that I am not working but I steal.’ Sirasi said: ‘Daudi is my friend and he always buys me beer, and sometimes I buy for him, but I never knew that he was a thief. When people told him that he was a bad man I did not like to give him money, and I did not go out because people would have laughed at me if I had gone to him.’ ‘When did you first know that Daudi is a thief?’ ‘I first knew to-day. He never told me that he was stealing. If he had told me so I should not have associated with him any more.’ ‘Why not?’ ‘Everyone who steals is a bad man and he must associate with those who steal like him. I am not a thief, so why should I associate with him?’

One of the Ganda said: ‘The case is against Daudi because he steals and Sirasi does not. I agree with Sirasi that he should not associate with Daudi for this reason, for Daudi admits that he is a thief. Daudi is a full grown man, why does he not work like other people?’ – ‘Nearly everyone here steals like I do,’ said Daudi. ‘Yes, we do, but it is a bad thing to steal other people’s property, and the case has gone against you.’

At this point a man came running from the direction of the town, joined the beer party and sat down among the Ganda. He had money with him and handed it to one of them, then he went to one of the washermen and changed his clothes. When he came back he ordered *malwa* beer for fifteen shillings and told the whole company to drink.

They started to drink, but Sirasi bought his own beer and drank by himself. After a short time Daudi said: ‘I am surprised how all of you said that you do not like thieves. This man has now brought stolen money here, and he has given you this beer, bought with his stolen money, why do you drink it?’ ‘We do steal things from people, but stealing is not a good thing; if this man had been arrested he would have been very badly beaten and then he would have gone to prison; if someone tries to stop you or to arrest you when you are stealing you may stab him at once in order to escape. We steal but we do not at all like people to steal what belongs to us. The other day George stole 100/- from Kampala and his girl friend stole 80/- of it from him. George said that if he finds the girl and she does not give him his 80/- he will stab her. He could not find the girl, and he was nearly crying over the money, which was only what he had stolen from somebody else. Just think how we make stealing our job, yet if anyone steals from us we go searching for him hard. Now

what about those who take the trouble to work to get their money and then we steal it? Do they not suffer more than we do?' - 'They do, but why do they not take more care? And most of the police constables, why do they not arrest people who break into Kampala shops at night? - 'We know that most of them always see the people who break into shops and they watch them and later are given money by them.'

This anecdote presents the current urban atmosphere, the confused values, the easy logic of the anti-social and the precious thinking of those who attempt to maintain standards.

Detectives occupy a peculiar position in this twilight world. All people constantly found hanging about the Kisenyi bars without any regular work are popularly supposed to be either thieves or detectives, or, as like as not, persons who alternate between both these pursuits. There are well authenticated cases in which this is true. The Kisenyi bars provide one of the most profitable grounds for detective investigations, because, as already remarked, many thieves frequent them, and the most discreditable exploits are openly planned and recounted in the beer parties. No one can spend long here without becoming well known. A detective will immediately become subject to the temptation to join in the activities he is investigating, which in the present state of affairs offer him far easier money than the job for which he is paid. If he withstands this temptation, he is liable to become a marked man in danger of his life. Whereas, if he joins the thieves, he may still have frequent opportunity to act as an informer against both those on whom he bears a grudge and those from whom he has little to fear. Thus, the distinction between thief and detective becomes blurred.

CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGE

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MARRIAGE IN RELATION TO URBAN POLICY.

Most proposals for the improvement of African life in towns depend heavily upon assumptions about the desirable form of family life as the essential basis for such improvement. Thus, it is often suggested that African employees should be encouraged to bring their wives and families to town. For this reason they must be adequately housed, to provide space and privacy for family life. Their wages must be sufficient to support a family under urban conditions. Perhaps they should be provided with small plots of land, so that they can do something to alleviate the expense of bought food, and also so that their wives may be profitably employed. Educational facilities should be such that those who bring their children to town are at the least not put at a disadvantage. On the other side, the warning is given that this general provision of improved facilities may so increase the drift to towns that the provision of housing and services will never catch up with the even more rapidly increasing numbers of those requiring them, and the cost of urban development will pass beyond the resources of the economy as a whole.

For these reasons it seems that the type of family system which is growing up in towns, or which might reasonably be expected to grow up under various possible alternative conditions, is one of the most critical factors in the urban problem as a whole. As already suggested, the situation which has arisen in Kisenyi may serve to indicate what can be expected when a dense urban population is left to organise its life with little regulation from outside, and without any purposeful modification of the pre-existing system of African Local Government. Some will object that the concentration of beer-brewing, prostitution and certain types of criminal activity in Kisenyi renders it quite unrepresentative as an illustrative example in the sense proposed. I doubt whether such a view can be justified. It seems much more likely that Kisenyi does represent, admittedly in greater concentration, the type of life which the African urban population is beginning to lead in all localities where a high density of settlement is reached without much outside planning. Great caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions as to how this way of life could be modified by the provision of improved material conditions and by increased regulation. In spite of what may seem to a European observer to be their overwhelming advantages, alternative conditions must be weighed very carefully to determine whether they are in fact likely to be thought preferable by Africans; and if so by which economic and tribal categories of the African population.

All over Africa where centres of employment develop, the balance of the sexes is disturbed, and the result seems to be a competition for the few women by the many men, and an increase in irregular marital unions. Would this not be the case if employees came to town for longer periods and if they were encouraged to bring their wives from home with them? Alternatively, does a high rate of marital

instability render healthy family life impossible? In certain social systems it does not. The important problem is probably not that of marital instability *per se* but rather of the instability of male authority in the family. This element may be supplied by the physiological father, or by the sociological father, or even by a mother's brother, or grandfather. Where this is so, the fact that the union of a particular man and a particular woman is shortlived may not seriously prejudice the rearing of children to useful adult life. But where there is no regular institutional provision for the role of paternity as well as maternity, the social system as a whole may suffer. In this situation there arises the so-called 'natural family', which predominated among the negro slaves in America¹, and which is probably widespread in all African urban communities.

A child's process of identification with its parents would take a peculiar form in some Kisenyi families as far as the male parent is concerned. Whether the more stable structural background of the extended family provides an adequate compensation requires much study to determine. The Ganda extended family is much vaguer in definition and more variable in form than that of some other tribes. It might be expected that comparatively few difficulties would be involved in the substitution of father's brother for father, but this is by no means the only accepted form of substitution and, in fact, Ganda children separated from their parents are found living with a wide variety of other relatives, both male and female, and on the mother's as well as the father's side.²

It is usual to account for marital instability among urban Africans by reference to the disproportionately small number of women in the population. In Kisenyi, however, women form as much as 40% of the adult population, a relatively high proportion, and this particular explanation of unstable marriage must be of less importance. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the men and women of Kisenyi do not find in one another suitable long term mates. The tribal composition of the population is important here. Over three fifths of the women are Ganda, as compared with only one third of the men. In other words, the tone of feminine marital and sex behaviour in Kisenyi tends to be set by the Ganda. That of the Toro, Haya and Rwanda is not greatly dissimilar, and the only large group of women who stand in some contrast to these are the Luo, who form only a tenth of the total.

2. THE BACKGROUND OF GANDA MARRIAGE.

It is clear that the marital behaviour of the Ganda as a whole has been undergoing considerable change, and this is no doubt more marked in town than elsewhere. Mair has described the various types of Ganda marriage prevalent some twenty years ago.³ Even then she noted the lack of parental control, the ability of women to establish their own independence through cotton growing, the frequency of

1. See E. Franklin Frazier, *Theoretical Structure of Sociology and Sociological Research*, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1953, especially pp. 304-6. "Since every culture has a well-defined role for the male, the absence of the male model in the family group deprives the male child of the opportunity of identifying himself with this model and assuming the conception of himself which the model would provide." (p. 306). The Provisions of the Buganda Guardianship Law of 1904 are interesting in this connection. See Uganda Laws, 1951, Vol. VII, p. 1217.
2. For a discussion of this aspect of the parental role see Gardner Murphy, *Personality*, New York, 1947, p. 844 *et. seq.*
3. *Native Marriage in Buganda*, L. P. Mair, I. A. I. memo. 19, 1940.

casual unions in all concentrated centres of population and the positive deterrents to the contraction of any recognised union by those outside the Ganda upper class.¹

It is important for present purposes to note that tribal customary marriages are not recognised either in Buganda or Protectorate courts. The Uganda Marriage Ordinance provides for both Christian and civil marriage and for civil divorce. It also provides for the conversion of tribal customary marriages into civil unions legally binding in Protectorate courts. Similarly the Marriage and Divorce of Mohammedans Ordinance provides for the recognition of both Islamic marriage and divorce as legally binding in Protectorate law. The main results of this legal situation are that a customary marriage contracted after a Christian marriage constitutes the criminal offence of bigamy, although it appears that prosecutions are never undertaken in such cases. Because of this laxity, coupled with restricted grounds of civil divorce and the expense which such proceedings involve, the divorce law is virtually inoperative as far as Africans are concerned. Despite the fact that in Buganda a high proportion of the African population professes Christianity, comparatively few contract Christian marriages unless they belong to the upper status groups for whom marriage in church has become a matter of social prestige. Islamic marriage is attended by fewer disabilities because Uganda Protectorate law recognises Islamic processes of divorce, which are much simpler, easier and cheaper than civil divorce, and customary unions contracted subsequently to Islamic marriages do not appear to constitute an offence under Protectorate law. In Kisenyi, of 1,377 first unions for which information was obtained only 143 had been Christian, as against 188 Moslem and 614 customary. In addition 236 had been of the free type in which customary rites had not been observed nor obligations accepted, 34 consisted of casual relations between persons not regularly cohabiting in a common menage, and 62 consisted only of visits to prostitutes. These figures certainly do not exaggerate the incidence of free or casual unions, which would, if any, be the ones most likely to be under-reported.

Marriage payments made in tribal customary unions are not now generally recoverable by Ganda law, by contrast with the position in most other East African tribes. Those whose social position does not require them to make Christian marriages for the sake of prestige have little to gain by marrying according to tribal custom either, when there is practically nothing to prevent their wives leaving them when they choose, and no means of recovering the expenditure incurred in the marriage. The recognised legal father of a child is its begetter, irrespective of what type of relationship existed between the mother and himself or any other man. The Buganda Adultery and Fornication Law of 1918² permits fines up to 480/- and 600/- for adultery and abduction of a married woman respectively. The courts apply this measure in the case of Christian marriages only. The same law provides for a fine of up to 150/- for the seduction of a betrothed girl if she was living with her guardians and known to be betrothed. It is rare to hear of the actual imposition of any of these penalties.

By another law³ a woman is enabled to claim alimony from the begetter of her child if she can prove his paternity. But this law

1. See *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. A. I. Richards, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 176-178, for some interesting information on Ganda marriage, and the attitudes of other tribes towards it in the rural parts of Buganda.
2. Uganda Laws, 1951, Vol. VII, p. 1235.
3. Uganda Laws, 1951, Vol. I, p. 181. An ordinance to provide for the maintenance of illegitimate children, 1946.

only applies to Africans where one or other of the parents is a non-native. This law is even more rarely invoked than the others.

Although all these legal provisions with regard to marriage arise from the modification of specifically Ganda custom by the influence of Christian Missions and government policy, they apply also to all Africans other than Ganda living in Kampala or anywhere else in Buganda Province. This means, in effect, that the customary marriages and traditional family life of all the immigrants of other tribes, who form such an important part of the population of Kampala, and indeed, of the whole province, are not safeguarded or provided for by law in any way at all. In the other provinces of Uganda the law enforced by native courts affords considerable protection to customary unions.

The essential features of Ganda customary marriage, at the time to which Mair referred, were the initial approach of the suitor to the girl, whose consent first had to be obtained, the writing of letters to the girl's kin and the sending of presents to them, the formal introduction of the suitor to the girl's family, the fixing of the bride-wealth by the girl's brother, the payment of the bride-wealth by the suitor, its acceptance by the girl's family and the marriage feast and consummation of the union.

Since few women in Kisenyi have undergone Christian marriage, and still fewer are still living in such unions, marriage in Kisenyi subsists in a sphere in which neither Protectorate nor Native Law has anything effective to say. This would not matter very much if marriages were contracted according to some well defined customary system. But this is now hardly the case.

Among town dwellers, deviation from customary forms of tribal marriage is likely to be increasingly common. All tribal forms of marriage are themselves undergoing transformation even in the tribal areas. In mixed marriages tribal marriage law is inapplicable and often contradictory, and all tribal marriages presuppose a body of customary law and a tribal authority to enforce it, both of which are lacking in town. The case of the local Ganda tribe might seem an exception to this, but the fact is that the presence of so many foreigners has had a very serious effect on Ganda marriage and has been a contributory factor in bringing many of the formal provisions of Ganda marriage law almost into disuse.

It would appear to be a necessary aim of urban policy to work towards some system of marriage which can secure for town-dwellers that minimum family framework for the legitimisation and rearing of children which any society must have. Every customary system of marriage meets this requirement, but every such system also exists within a framework of authority which has accepted means for the enforcement of its provisions. The Buganda Government cannot supply this mechanism because Ganda marriage law, even if it were effective, cannot be forced upon all the other tribes involved. The only alternatives are special urban courts, such as exist in Nairobi, or some suitable form of statutory marriage under the jurisdiction of the Protectorate Courts. The establishment of special urban courts presupposes a reorganisation of urban and suburban administration which is becoming increasingly necessary on many other grounds as well. The present provisions of the Protectorate marriage law are inapplicable to the majority of urban Africans who do not accept the Christian view of marriage, nor even that civil form of marriage which is an expression of the historical influence of the Christian Church upon the secular institutions of English

society.¹ To leave urban marriage unprotected in a legal vacuum may cease to be a praiseworthy expression of impartiality and become an actual hindrance to the beneficial evolution of urban family life.

The very small number of children in Kisenyi reduces marriage there to an economic and sexual basis in which the normal procreative element is at a minimum. Most men would like to have a woman to cook for them, and assume that she would at the same time afford them sexual satisfaction. Of those who do not go in for this type of arrangement, some deny that they have any relations with women at all. The others obtain sexual satisfaction either by visiting prostitutes, or by entering into friendly arrangements of a temporary kind with women whereby they regularly spend the night together either at the man's or the woman's room.

Some women, of course, deny that they have any sex life, but circumstantial evidence often disproves this and most reliable informants indicate that it is unlikely. 'How could you expect me not to have a lover?' asked a Ganda beerseller of 32 who had been in Kisenyi for three years after separating from her original husband. 'I must have a lover who keeps me, my lover is not my husband, so I cannot tell you his name. I have only had one for long time. He gives me clothes and buys me food. He only visits me, I do not visit him because he has got his "legal" wife. He sometimes lives here but not always.' This woman was sharing a room with her sister, a mat-maker.

Although so many temporary unions are childless, it is not rare to find that there are children of the original customary marriages which these women have often contracted in the country before coming to town. Such children are not often brought to town, at any rate during their early years. The traditional family system can to a large extent absorb and incorporate them without difficulty, but when it comes to the need for cash expenditure, as for their education, they usually suffer. It is not yet known what lasting psychological difficulties may result in the personalities of children separated from their mothers before the age of three, and the effect upon the mothers might also be psychologically significant.

A Ganda woman of 35 said that she left the husband to whom she had been married in Buddu for six years because he married again and neglected her, paying no attention to her when she complained to him about it, nor coming after her when she left him. She had two daughters of two and three and a son of four by him. She had to leave all her children behind when she came to Kampala to look for a job, bringing with her money from the last cotton crop to live on meanwhile. - 'I am not working, but I had 150/- from cotton and I am using that for my room rent and food. I have a lover who also helps me here. He gives me money for food and he is trying hard to find me a job in Kampala. I think he is looking for a shop assistant's job. I shall go and visit my children if I get some

1. Cf. Sir Philip Mitchell, 'The Survey of African Marriage and Family Life,' *Africa* Vol. XXIV, No. 2, April, 1954, p. 151. 'For they (Africans) could not, in tens of thousands of cases, reconcile employment for salaries or wages in towns, plantations, mines, ships, farms, railways, and a host of other occupations, often far from the tribal home, with customary tribal or clan marriage. Nor could they find a permanent solution, compatible with their new habits and needs and their old natures, in the varying forms of Christian marriage which the missionary societies had to offer, largely it is true because of their attitude towards polygamy and divorce. They had, then no choice but to devise a new kind of customary marriage which fitted their new circumstances.'

money to buy them clothes. If they are ill their father will write to me through my father and I should go there at once. I have never had a letter from their father, but I am always meeting people here from that village and they tell me that my children are well. I can send things to them through such people who come to visit Kampala. I do not wish to keep my children with me because I want their father to send them to school, and he would not do so if they were living with me. They can only come and visit me for a short time.'

For the sake of clarity it will be well in what follows to distinguish different types of marital union and sexual activity, although no hard and fast lines can be drawn between them, and one type is constantly turning into another.¹ Unions contracted according to tribal custom or according to Christian or Moslem ritual will be termed 'marriages'. It is not always easy to determine when the truncated rites of urban and mixed unions constitute marriages by tribal custom, nor whether the minimum requirements of Moslem ritual have been met in unions between Indians and Africans. All other unions based on continuous cohabitation and common domestic economy for a longer or shorter period will be termed 'concubinage'.² It is further important to make some distinction between 'prostitution', as an *ad hoc* commercial transaction between strangers, and 'love affairs' in which the parties do not establish a common menage but simply visit one another, the woman receiving gifts and even some sort of maintenance allowance from her lover.

3. SEX RELATIONS IN KISENYI

The conditions of life in Kisenyi are not favourable to stable patterns of marriage. For both men and women, the attitude towards sexual activity and cohabitation as well as the general attitude towards the opposite sex is partially transformed. Basically, this seems to be because those who live in Kisenyi do so because they wish to live according to what might be called the Kisenyi pattern, and not so much because the material conditions of Kisenyi force this way of life upon them, as some would probably argue.³ The material conditions are bad, but it is doubtful whether improvements at this level would have any great effect on the way of life of those who come there. It seems much more likely that, in a sense, Kisenyi meets the needs of large numbers of people who are thrown up by the general conditions of society at large.

This is manifest in the case of girls who find in Kisenyi an escape from rural life which has become intolerable to them, and women who find here the possibility of an independent livelihood when their marriages have broken up. Apart from providing sexual satisfaction to the many men who of necessity come to town without wives, Kisenyi also meets the needs of those young men who say that they are not ready for marriage, or are unwilling to shoulder its responsibilities. Undesirable as this state of affairs may be, the situation in Kisenyi must be regarded very largely as the result of factors operative elsewhere rather than their cause. In many ways it reflects the breakdown of traditional rural life, and canalises forces which, if prevented from finding expression here,

1. Cf. Godfrey Wilson, *Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*, Part II, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Papers, No. 6, 1942, p. 66.

2. This corresponds to what in the later section on Mulago is referred to as free marriage.

3. In rural Buganda the majority would live after this pattern if they could, but certain restraints still operate which are not present in Kisenyi.

would only cause further disturbances in the countryside. Improvement must lie in changing the way of life of the people of Kisenyi by positive means, not in driving them elsewhere.

A very large number of women have come to Kisenyi after the ruin of their original marriages. Others are just girls who have come to escape from rural life. A good deal of responsibility for this must be laid on the school education of girls, which has tended to spread dissatisfaction without providing any adequate means of fulfilment. There are a number of better educated girls among the Kisenyi concubines and prostitutes, though the majority are illiterate. Many other girls have come after a pre-marital pregnancy which failed to form the basis of a long-term union. This is most frequent among the Ganda, but not restricted to them. For example, a Teso girl was seduced by a fellow tribesman after three years of schooling. She bore him three children and then left him and came to Kampala. In Kisenyi she married a Teso working as a headman on the railways, and has stayed with him for six years.

An old Ganda man of over 50 said that he had come to Kisenyi only three years ago because he was ashamed to live in the country. His wife had left him and he had no one to stay in his house and cook for him. He felt too old to dig, perhaps not so much because he lacked the strength as because of the loss of dignity involved in it for one of his age in the rural community. In Kampala he had only got the poorly paid job of an ordinary porter, and he still had to cook for himself. But in the variegated life of Kisenyi such things pass unnoticed and matter little. Besides, he thought that Kisenyi was a likely place in which to find an old woman, in plight similar to his own, whom he could marry. If he succeeded in this he would go back with her to his village, otherwise he would stay in Kisenyi.

The relations between the sexes show every indication of tension. Neither men nor women are consistent in maintaining the attitudes appropriate to their usual behaviour. When it suits them to do so, they tend to invoke the values of the past, or of more traditional and stable rural conditions, in opposition to the conditions which at other times they accept and exploit. Thus, many men and women live in irregular unions which leave both parties free to break off the relationship at will. Though men give women no permanent security in such unions they are none the less possessive towards their concubines and resentful of their contacts with other men. Though they often obtain their mates by persuading them to infidelity, they are annoyed that the habit, once formed, persists. Living in town, they retain the rural marriage of the idealised past as their standard. Despising town women for roaming from man to man they give them little encouragement to form more lasting attachments. On the other hand, those women who develop insatiable appetites for sexual pleasure make harder the task of others who look for husbands to give them companionship, children and the security of some recognised marital status.

A situation of change in the pattern of intimate relationships between men and women is obviously difficult to deal with in a quantitative way. However, considerable objective evidence comes from spontaneous conversations, and from the many occasions on which relationships break up with violence and inward feelings are loudly expressed. Women come to Kisenyi in search of freedom and fortune,

wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity of sampling many different mates. But this does not save them from conflict and disappointment, and few accept the loss of lovers to rivals with equanimity. Men wish to enjoy the relatively free opportunities for loving any woman who attracts them. But they are usually unwilling to accord women the status which this equality of opportunity implies. Free love is an ineffective antidote to sexual jealousy.

Some men, however, are realistic in their expectations of the women they pick up in town. An Alur clerk, working in the railway goods yard, had left his wife at home, but said that he invited Ganda women to live with him while he was in Kampala. He was well aware that, while he was away at work during the daytime, his concubine of the moment might be having relations with other men on the quiet, but this did not worry him.

It was often found possible in Kisenyi to interview women in spite of the absence of their husbands. But in Naguru housing estate a stricter view of the position of women prevailed, and it was thought improper for wives to answer questions or be interviewed in the absence of their menfolk. This is even more marked among poor Indian families, and women accept absolutely their confinement to the domestic sphere, knowing nothing of the world in which their husbands move. Even in Kisenyi men were sometimes touchy about other people approaching their "wives" though these were often of the most temporary kind. This is, of course, quite understandable since it takes less to upset a highly informal relationship than one founded on well recognised institutional ties.

While one woman was being interviewed, the man with whom she had recently begun to live came up drunk and threatened to beat her if she continued to answer. She tried to do so but he shouted her down. How could the interviewer dare to speak to his 'wife' without his permission, he asked. And then, said he, when he asked his 'wife' to give him food he had to wait. This, however, was untrue, as the food was ready when the interview began. A woman neighbour then came and upbraided him for his rudeness. This made him more angry, and he rushed inside and demanded a shilling from his 'wife' so that he could go and buy beer from the woman neighbour, and beat her if she refused to sell to him. His wife refused to give him a shilling, so he took off his watch and gave it to a bystander whom he asked to lend him a shilling, and to keep the watch if he did not redeem it the next day. The bystander gave the shilling and took the watch. But handed it to the man's 'wife' to keep for him. The angry man then went to buy his beer, abusing the neighbour who had interfered, and threatening to beat her if she did not sell him beer. But the neighbour ran and called the ward headman who came up and investigated what had happened. He was able to calm everyone down, and the man began to apologise. He was excused on the ground that he had drunk too much illegal spirit (*waragi*). The next day, when the interviewer passed this man, he was too ashamed to raise his eyes or to return a greeting.

A seller of pineapple beer became pregnant by a friend. When interviewed, she said she had a husband who visited her every week. She may have been afraid of the rumour

that women without husbands would be sent away from Kisenyi. She was later seen with her two month old son. By that time a former woman neighbour of her's, a beer seller, was living with the begetter of her child. This man refused to admit his paternity, but the woman insisted that the child was his. His mother came to see the child and accepted it as the child of her son, giving it a name from her son's clan. He refused to visit the mother at all, or to support the child in any way. She was extremely unhappy at her lover's treatment of her, but was chiefly afraid of his anger and abuse. Her friends told her to sue him in the sub-county court but she refused because of his anger.

A man found his wife talking to another man whom he suspected of being her lover. He asked the man why he was talking to his wife. He replied that the woman had asked him to bring some beer from Segaku where he was staying. 'Have you a permit?' asked the husband. 'Yes', said the man. 'Why did you not come to me about it first?'—'Because you never asked me about it'. - 'Don't you know that the other day I told you not to talk to my wife?' - 'You never told me so'. The husband then began to hit his wife with a stick, and the man ran away. The husband went on beating his wife, and then went to look for the man. He did not find him, and came back and beat his wife again, but a woman separated them. A bystander remarked that the man who ran away was not one who was known to bring beer to Kisenyi. He was known to be the lover of this woman, and was always being seen at her house when the husband was away.

Another such quarrel ended in homicide. Yowana found Semusoni standing with the woman he loved, outside her room. He asked them what they were doing and Semusoni replied: 'Why do you ask us?' Yowana then entered the woman's room and sat down. After about ten minutes the other two came in. Yowana asked Semusoni to buy him a bottle of *waragi*, which he did. Later on Semusoni went outside. Yowana then shut the door and called to Semusoni: 'My friend, please do not come back.' - 'Why do you not want me to come back?' - 'Do you not know that you were talking to my wife outside?' - 'Is she your wife or your mistress?' - 'Ask her and she will tell you.' - 'Why do you want me to ask her? Please answer if she is your wife.' - 'Yes, she is.' - 'Do you pay her rent for her? Don't you know that she is a prostitute?' - 'Well, she may be a prostitute, but do not come in.' - 'Is this your house?' - 'No.' - 'Then, if it is not, you have no right to ask me to go away. If you don't want me to come in you can go away yourself. Why did you ask me to buy you a bottle of *waragi* if you wanted me to go away? Will you pay me the six shillings which I spent on the bottle of *waragi*?' - 'Why do you want me to pay you six shillings, did you not drink it too?' - 'Yes, I did, but I did not want to buy *waragi*, you asked me to buy it for you.' - 'Please go away and come back to-morrow morning for your six shillings.' - 'No. Pay me now.' - 'I have no money just now.' - 'If you have no money why do you send me away, leaving the *waragi* with you? Are you a woman?' - 'I am not, and I will fight you.' 'Please come outside and I will show you

the to way fight.' The woman opened the door and Semusoni went inside. 'Didn't you hear me tell you not to come in?' - 'This is not your room, if you don't like me inside you can go outside yourself' - 'I will not go, but sit here and I will fight you afterwards.' - 'I am ready for you any time.' - 'Please do not abuse this man, he is not my lover', said the woman. 'I know that he loves you.' - 'How do you know that I love her? Let me tell you that she is not your wife, and I love her and she loves me too. Remember that you have a wife at your home and that this is a public woman.' - 'I am not a public woman, but I love men who love me, and I am now telling you both to go away.' 'We will not go away,' said Yowana 'You had better tell this man to go away.' 'I can't go away unless we go away together,' said Semusoni. Then they all sat down and started drinking. Semusoni began to talk to the woman, and when Yowana saw that he picked up a stick and struck Semusoni on the head so that he died. The woman raised an alarm and the parish (*muluka*) chief and a ward headman arrived. They sent a report to the police, and Yowana and the woman and other witnesses were taken to the police.

The constant exchange of lovers causes many disputes simply at the level of payments and property ownership.

Hasani came and lived with Nora as her lover for six months. Nora went to visit her relatives at Entebbe and came back after seven days. She found Hasani gone and her door locked. She went to ask her neighbour whether Hasani had left the keys with her, but he had not. She went back and broke open her door, and found blankets, sheets and dresses missing. She then walked round Kisenyi and found Hasani at a beer party and accused him. He explained that when she went to Entebbe he had gone to his home at Kasangati, but had not taken her things. The case was sent to the police.

Charles accused Jane in the parish court for a debt of 106/-, made up of a dress, a cloth, a cloth for winding round the hips, and eight shillings in cash. All this he had given her when they had agreed to get married. He had also bought food for her since he found that she was eating badly. When he asked Jane to take him to her parents for an official introduction she refused, because her mother wanted Charles to marry her by 'legal', Christian marriage, and Charles did not like this. Jane then told Charles to take away his gifts, but she did not include the money and one cloth, which she claimed had been stolen from her room. She now agreed in court to refund all that was outstanding the next week. In another case John accused Lucy of stealing his mattress. They had lived together for eight months. When Lucy first went to live in John's room she found he had no mattress, so she fetched her's from her room and used it on John's bed. John went to Jinja and left her with no money, so she went back to her room taking the mattress and John's bed-clothes, fearing that thieves might steal them in his absence. John at first accused Lucy, saying that she had taken the mattress in payment for her eight months' services because he had given her no money. When the mattress was proved

to have been Lucy's anyhow, John then said he thought that she had made him a present of it when she came to live with him. The case was dismissed, and John ordered not to demand the mattress again.

Gladys, a houseowner, accused Robina over a debt of 32/- in rent for her room. Robina explained that she had a lover who had paid her rent for the previous nine months. Gladys interrupted and said that this lover had told her that he would never pay rent for Robina again, and was no longer having anything to do with her, because she was loving many other men. Robina denied this but could not explain why her lover had stopped paying, and she promised to pay Gladys her rent the following week.

The desire of some of these women for money and presents sometimes leads them into difficulties.

Musoke was arrested by the crowd at a beer party for hitting a girl with a stick. He said he met the girl there and she asked him to buy her some beer. He said he would do so on condition that she would go and sleep with him at his home. She agreed and he bought her beer. After drinking she went outside and embraced another man. When Musoke saw this he called her to come back at once, but she did not, and went away with the other. Musoke then went and hit her with a stick. When they heard this explanation all the crowd laughed, and told the girl to go home with Musoke. Musoke was released and took the girl to his home.

Four young men were sitting in a tea room and one said to the others: 'You see that brown girl of those two drinking tea over there? She took thirty shillings from me and never came to my place.' - 'Why was that?' - 'I loved her and she loved me too, but when I asked her to come to my place she said that she had no dress good enough, and if I would give her thirty shillings to buy a good dress she would come. For three weeks she did not come, and nearly every evening I visited her and she said that any day she would come, but fixed no proper date.' 'I tell you,' said one of his companions 'such girls who want to take people's money for nothing must be punished. We will get a car and some bottles of beer and invite her to go with us to a dance. But we shall not go to the dance, but in another direction. There we shall stop the car and send the driver back. We shall ask the girl to sleep with you there, and if she refuses we shall give her a very good beating and leave her there.' - 'Have you a good driver who will not charge us much?' - 'Yes.' - 'When shall we do it?' - 'When we have got our wages.' - 'Where shall we take her?' 'I will find a good place where we can do it without being seen by anyone who can give evidence against us.' The man then went up to the brown girl and asked her when she would visit him. She said she could not fix a date but would come when she was free. Then he asked her whether she would go to a dance with him the following Monday. She agreed, and he arranged to collect her. The men then left the tea room.

The attitude of Kisenyi men towards women was summed up by a Ganda from Buvuma. He had actually spent nearly his whole life in Kenya, before coming to Kisenyi, so that his general manner appeared

to other Ganda to be that of a foreigner, and perhaps he viewed his surroundings with unusual detachment. Stability of marriage or fidelity were not to be expected, he said. Women have more than one husband at the same time. He gave examples of women with husbands here and other private husbands in their home villages, so that when they make visits ostensibly to visit their people they stay with these secondary husbands. Ganda women, said he, are cleaner than most, and nicely mannered, but when it comes to accepting money they do not hesitate to take it from any man, however dirty. Nor do they restrict themselves to Ganda lovers only. Women of most other tribes prefer lovers of their own tribe if possible, and they hesitate to accept Ganda lovers fearing to be abused by them, though otherwise considering it gratifying to have a Ganda lover since Ganda are supposed to be particular in their choice. The more lovers a woman has the poorer she may be, since each becomes less generous noticing the number of his rivals. Men trick women by giving them a lot of beer instead of anything valuable. Kisenyi women and girls strive to be clean and attractive to their husbands and lovers, he continued. If the unmarried women do not do so they risk starvation. Women here are very suspicious, knowing their own weaknesses. They will pick a quarrel with another woman, whom they see several times stopping to greet their husbands politely. A man would not look for an ideal marriage partner in Kisenyi, he concluded.

Grace and Norah were quarrelling one day in Kisenyi, and their quarrel turned into a fight, with blows freely exchanged. Grace unreasonably suspected Norah of being in love with her husband. 'Your husband tried to make love to me and I refused,' said Norah bitterly, 'but since you are blaming me for nothing I shall do my best to fall in love with him. After all,' she continued, 'men as well as women in Kisenyi are like plates used in a hotel. Anyone is free to use them.'

4. MIXED UNIONS

Marriages between members of different tribes or races are another factor making for impermanence in Kisenyi marital relations. While living there, men and women can overcome these barriers, but when the question of going home arises the old forces re-assert themselves. It is not only that men are dubious about taking wives of other tribes home with them, but the women who have married or cohabited with such men are often quite unwilling to consider returning to their homes. They are probably quite right, for the tensions likely to arise in such marriages in a tribal area need not be emphasised. Cross-tribal customary marriage is in most cases almost a contradiction in terms, and in East Africa there is no legal provision or protection for marriages by common law¹

Two Ganda friends, one a fish trader and the other a bricklayer, were sharing a room. Both were unmarried and just had women friends. One of them said: 'I never married a woman, but I make love to them. I have got a girl friend called Nambi, who lives in Mengo and visits me for a week at a time and then goes back. I also visit her. She stays with her brother. She is a Nyoro woman and I should not like to marry a Nyoro. I shall marry at home because I only came here for a short time.'

1. For a discussion of problems arising in relation to Common Law marriage and customary unions in South Africa, see the two essays, 'Two Forms of Marriage' and 'Marriage by Native Christians in British Africa', in Julius Lewin, *Studies in African Native Law*, Cape Town, 1947

A Pare man from Tanganyika had worked in Zanzibar and Mombasa before coming to Kampala. He met a Ganda woman in Zanzibar, married her and took her to his father's home where she still was. Here in Kampala he was living in concubinage with another Ganda woman, who had separated from her former husband, but he was doubtful whether he would take this woman home as well.

A Teso launderer came to Kampala in 1948, and brought his Teso wife with him. Since 1949 he had also had a Ganda concubine, but she lived in another room in Kisenyi, in a house owned by her mother, so that neither she nor her husband had to pay rent for it. Another Teso washerman had several Ganda wives, all living in different houses in Kisenyi and also selling beer. A Haya man, one of the local leaders of this tribal group, had lived in Kisenyi for four years, having as his concubine the daughter of the Ganda landowner on whose land he was renting a room. A Toro girl married to a Ciga said, 'I will love him while he is here, but I will not go back with him to his house.'

An Indian Moslem mason had moved from Mombasa to Tanga, then to Iganga in Busoga and finally to Kampala. In Iganga he had lived for eleven years in free marriage to a Half-caste daughter of an Indian father and a Soga mother, but she had died. In Kampala he had taken to prostitutes until he found another wife. 'I love the women of this place,' he said. 'I have no permanent one, but I can engage a woman for one night at five shillings. I get them from Kisenyi. I know their houses. I talk to them in Swahili, and I don't find difficulty in getting a woman if I go out looking for one. I cannot get an Indian woman though I should like to have one, but this is very difficult, therefore I love African women, who are very easy because they want money. I cannot get those who are not prostitutes. I shall try to have an African woman as wife again, but I have not got one yet.'

A Ganda woman had left her Ganda husband, a shopkeeper at Kawolo in Kyagwe, and had been set up in Kisenyi by an Indian lover. 'He loved me when I was at Kawolo,' she said, 'and when I left my husband he brought me here and rented this room for me. He has got a shop in Old Kampala. I never asked him his name, I call him "bwana". He gives me two shillings a day for food, and brings me sugar, tea, meat and other things. He also gives me clothes. He has a wife at his house, but I never go there. If I have no money for food I go to his shop and ask for whatever I want and he gives me all that I ask for. I now prefer Indians because I do not dig and I get money every day. My Ganda husband did not give me money for me to use. My lover is not an old man. I love him, but not very much. I do not now take African lovers because he told me to stop doing so. I know that I shall leave this Indian some time and get another one. I was able to love this Indian because he was a friend of my husband and he used to visit our house. During my husband's absence he made love to me. He used to take me to a Ganda friend of his at Kawolo, and there I slept with him many times. He used to give me ten shillings every time. I love him because of the

money and things that he gives me. I also love other Indians who pay me five or ten shillings. I can receive them whenever my lover is not there. I am not a prostitute. I told you that I love other Indians, but that does not mean that I am a prostitute. I shall have African lovers again after this Indian. He told me that Africans have venereal disease. Not only Africans but everyone has it. Many Indians have it. I had gonorrhoea (*nziku*) when I was a young girl, but I never had syphilis (*kabotongo*). Many Indians have both of these, like Africans. I never had a European lover, but I should like to get one.⁷

A Toro girl left home at sixteen and became an ayah to an Indian at Mityana. There was a bar where Europeans used to go to pick up African girls. They paid them from 20/- to 50/-, while Indians paid about 5/-, but the Indian bar owner derived no direct advantage from it. The girl became pregnant but did not know which man was father of her child. Her companions were joking her about it and she went to work for one of her Indian lovers who was prepared to accept responsibility for it. To prevent his wife from knowing about it, he brought her to Kisenyi when her pregnancy was becoming obvious. She stayed for three days with the wife of an Indian friend of her lover's, sharing the Rwanda houseboy's room. Then her lover rented a room for her. He told her to go to Nsambya Hospital to have the child at his expense, but she was afraid to do this, thinking that if the child turned out not to have been begotten by an Indian she would then have no money to pay the bill. She had the child at Mulago,¹ and her lover came and accepted the child as his for it resembled him. She was thus established as his wife, and seemed to be very happy. She claimed that the Indian gave her about 200/- a month as well as paying her rent.

5. PROSTITUTION AND CONCUBINAGE

Every variety of sexual relationship is found in Kisenyi, from relatively durable concubinage to blatant prostitution for cash payment. Kisenyi is always full of goodtime girls who hang around the beer bars waiting to be bought drinks. They will go home to sleep with a man who treats them, on the understanding that further presents will be forthcoming. Undoubtedly many girls hope, against the weight of experience, that out of such amours longer term marriage partners may be found. On the other hand, there are surprising numbers of the sophisticated type of girl who think that it is definitely preferable to remain free. But even these would usually rather have a regular lover from whom they can escape when the relationship palls, than be restricted entirely to selling their bodies to absolute strangers.

What is known as the Baziba quarter of Kisenyi is unusual for the concentration there of prostitutes who simply sit in their rooms and wait for customers to come and hire them. These women are almost entirely Haya from Bukoba,² together with a few Ganda. They themselves and their customers agree that the normal fee for

1. The Government hospital, therefore the treatment was free.
2. The Haya of Bukoba are always known to the Ganda as *Baziba*, Presumably because Kiziba was the Haya chiefdom which lay along the Buganda border.

a short time with them is two shillings. To spend the whole night with one, or a longer time during the day, costs from five to ten shillings.

A Gisu of 22 years, a seller of tomatoes first in Katwe and then in Kampala market, living in a 20/- room in Kisenyi, said: 'I am not married, and I have no permanent lover, but I engage women for the night at five shillings each time. I do this twice a month, and sometimes I pay two shillings for a short time at their houses down the hill there - the Haya women.'

Two night watchmen of the Kisenyi charcoalsellers, one from the Congo and one himself a Haya man, had the same attitude. They were older men, of 35 and 40 years, and had been here, one ten years and the other four. One said he had never married, and had no regular girl friends, but could have a Haya woman for the night when he paid her five or six shillings. His companion said: 'No, I am not married. I only eat and drink beer, I do not like to trouble my life for women. When I was a young boy I used to love women but I never married any of them. I have been cooking for myself for many years. I do not wish to go back home. I have no relatives there.' And the other agreed. 'I do not see why I should go back, I have no children nor parents alive, why should I leave this job which pays me so that I get food and clothes? If I go to my home country I do not think that I shall be able to get a job there, and I cannot build a new house for myself. All the people I used to know at home will be dead, or will have left and gone to live in other places.' These two were only earning 25/- and 35/- a month, with free lodging included, but, being free throughout the day, they may have had other sources of income, such as participation in Kisenyi thieving.

A Haya woman of 25, who had been living in Kisenyi with her daughter of eight, for a year after separating from her husband, said, 'My husband was a poor man. He would not send our daughter to school, nor had I any money to pay her fees, so I came here and rented this room and started to be a prostitute. Some men pay me two shillings, and some three. When I have got enough money I shall go back and send my daughter to school at home.' She had as a text on her wall: 'the day you give money to a prostitute she is your friend.'

A Haya widow told a similar story. She wished to send her son to school and came here to get a job. Finding herself without work she began to offer herself to men like the other Haya women around her.

Another Haya woman, of about 28 years, had left her husband and their son and daughter two years ago. She was renting a room for 20/- and said that during the day she got men to sleep with her at one or two shillings a time, and at night her regular lover, Yowana, came to her, but not always. She claimed to save 30/- a month. Some of the Haya women in this profession are old enough to be considered almost past it. Several are about 35, and one at least was about 45. 'She is fat and her face is good', was

the extenuating comment. This woman also made mats and sold them. She had a husband, son and daughter in Bukoba from whom she had separated. She also had a regular Haya lover in Kampala, who gave her a cloth, or ten or fifteen shillings, and sometimes food and meat, every month. If this man came and found her with another man, he went away again and returned after the other had left. She was about to divulge her charges when a Haya man remarked that if she did so the Government would get income tax from her.

A Haya girl of 22 who had never been married, and moved twice from room to room during the year of the survey, said that she came to get good dresses and money. 'I get money from men when they sleep with me, I charge three shillings for a short time and ten shillings for the whole night.' Three men came to the door during the interview and seeing her engaged said that they would return later.

A Ganda girl of 23 was practising prostitution in the same area as the Haya. While she was being interviewed a charcoal seller came in. He had come to Kisenyi with a lorry load of charcoal and had sold it for 900/-. Now he was ready to pay three shillings for a prostitute or ten shillings if it was for the night. He said he came to this area because he knew that women here allow men to spend the night with them provided they pay the fees. This woman had many mottoes on her wall: One who makes friends is better than one who quarrels. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Make friends with many, but trust only a few. Money is my lord. Welcome my friend. To love without action is not love. Every day I wait for you darling.¹

Another old Haya prostitute of about 40 was said to be 'still fat and clean.'² She also sold millet beer (*mahwa*). While she was being interviewed a man came and asked whether she would be free at two o'clock. 'No,' she replied, 'I have got another Bwana coming, come at eight o'clock.' The man said that this woman's charges were from one to five shillings according to length of time, and this suggests a somewhat lower scale in accordance with her age. A Haya girl of about 28 claimed to have come because she failed to get married at home. 'I came here because I thought that I should get a man of my tribe to marry me. There were men at home who might have married me, but I waited for them to do so and all the boys only used me as their mistress, so I came here. If anyone pays me two shillings upwards I can sleep with him.' She claimed to earn from five to eight shillings a day.

1. Akwana akira ayomba.
Munno mukabi ye munno ddala.
Kwana mingi naye wesige batono.
Silingi ye mukama wange.
Ndaba kuki munnange?
Okwagala okutaliko bikolwa sikwagala.
Bulijjo nkulinda Dali(ng)
2. This did not refer to freedom from venereal disease but simply to outward bodily wholesomeness. Fatness was a usual element in the traditional feminine ideal. But since many girls no longer accept the muscular strength for cultivation as a virtue, and are less interested in the full-breasted, wide-hipped type of physique which is held to betoken the good bearer of children, the slender ideal of feminine beauty is gaining ground.

Another young Haya girl claimed that she came to this quarter because she had heard that here prostitutes are getting a lot of money from Europeans, Indians and Africans. She was saving 30/- a month. One who had been less than two months in Kisenyi said that she was not getting very many clients yet because she was not yet well enough known, but expected things to improve in the future.

Two Luo brothers were sharing a 15/- room. They were illiterate, and both working as porters on the railway. One of them was married, but his wife was at his home in Kenya. They were reluctant to be interviewed, and it turned out to be because they had two Haya women there. 'Are these your girl friends?' 'No' and then: 'Yes, but only for to-day'. 'Why?' 'I and my brother have bought beer for them and we wanted to sleep with them'. 'Will you pay them money?' 'Yes, two shillings each.' 'Why did you buy beer for them?' 'If we do not give them beer they will go away to their homes soon after we sleep with them, but this beer will delay them and they may spend the whole day with us without our paying them any more.' 'Have they been here before?' 'No.' 'Do you know them?' 'No.' 'How did you get hold of them?' 'We found them at their room and brought them here and now they are drunk, 'Do you know their names?' 'No.' 'May I go and ask their names?' 'I can take you in, but they are sleeping on our beds very drunk.' But the surprise was that, on entering the room, the two women were found in bed with two other men, so evidently the Luo had hoped by beer both to dupe them into staying an extra long time and also into satisfying two men each.

This highly commercialised type of prostitution is definitely characteristic of the Haya, and of a few Ganda women too. It is concentrated in this quarter of Kisenyi more than in any other part of the urban area, although, of course, prostitutes are found scattered about everywhere. Why the Haya should be so addicted to this pursuit has never been satisfactorily explained.

Various reasons are adduced, but few are at all convincing, and many are not exclusive to the Haya. Ganda say that Haya women are particularly attractive, not for their features but for their pale skin colour. Clearly this would also apply to many Hima of Nkole and to pale-skinned women from Ruanda Urundi. A Haya attributed the origin of prostitution among his people to the demand for beautiful Haya women by the Germans while Bukoba District was part of German East Africa. A common view in Bukoba is said to be that the emphasis of Christian missions on permanent and monogamous marriage encouraged fathers to demand a higher bridewealth. This prevented many young men from getting married and so they required other outlets. At the same time, husbands who managed to pay the bridewealth, behaved towards their wives 'as headmen rather than as lovers', keeping them slaving to make up for the expense incurred to get them. According to this theory, prostitution became a welcome escape for women.

A much more plausible factor is that the daughters of Haya chiefs (*bakama*), of whom there are eight of equal rank in Bukoba District, were traditionally not allowed to marry, though sexual relations were not denied them provided they did not become pregnant. Haya chiefs

have remained polygamists on a considerable scale, so that the numbers of these girls is large. Under the German regime they were still living together in organised villages, but when the British Administration took over in Tanganyika the system was prohibited, and the women consequently turned loose upon the country. This explanation would be very convincing if it could be shown that Haya prostitutes generally belong to the Hinda clan from which all the main Haya chiefs come. But in Kisenyi only a few of them come from this clan. It remains possible that girls of the Hinda clan were first induced to become prostitutes and that their example then spread.

The denial of normal marriage to daughters of the royal clan occurred elsewhere in the Interlacustrine region, certainly in Buganda and Bunyoro. In Buganda it has probably had important results, and may explain the reputation of Ganda princesses for sexual freedom. But the enthusiastic reception of Christian teaching by the Ganda ruling class gave a real incentive for the transformation of traditional roles, while the *mailo* land system and the right of women to own and inherit property has usually made Ganda princesses wealthy as well as independent in outlook. They had no good economic reasons for taking to prostitution, as their Haya counterparts may have had.

Haya marriage has some other features of a more unique kind. Legitimate paternity is established not by begetting a child, nor even by being the husband of its mother, but by being the first to have intercourse with her after she has been delivered of a previous child. No child is therefore illegitimate, and by this means men even buy the right to a woman's next child, without marrying her and irrespective of who the begetter may be.

All these factors seem hardly adequate to account for the unique reputation which Haya women have as prostitutes in Kampala, Kisumu, Nairobi and other East African towns.

A very common type of prostitution is that practised in the Kisenyi beer bars. Some women of the type already dealt with may work in this way too, but on the whole the personnel is probably different, consisting mainly of the large numbers of women who come into Kisenyi by day from elsewhere. There is a sprinkling of women in most bars, and few are there for any reason other than to pick up men. The great majority of these women are Ganda, with smaller numbers of Haya, Toro, Teso and Rwanda. The proportion of women to men is about one to five. While those of the other tribes mentioned operate indiscriminately without reference to tribal affiliation, it is very unlikely that Teso practise outside their own tribe. This is once again, the tribal prejudice based on the linguistic and cultural affinities of the Interlacustrine Bantu vis-a-vis all the rest.

There were twelve people at a beer party, seven Haya men, four Ganda men and one Ganda woman. After a while two more Ganda men joined them, and later three more, then three Ganda women. One of the women bought a bottle of Ganda beer and they drank it. Then one of the Ganda men asked the women whether they would like some more. They said yes, and he bought them three bottles. Later he called one of them to come and sit near him. She did so, and asked for another bottle of beer, which he gave her. Then he asked her where she lived. 'At Old Kampala.' 'Are you married?' 'No.' 'I shall take you back on my bicycle, because I want to see your house.' 'I should like you to do

so, but I came here with my friends who are here and I don't like to leave them behind.' 'I will give them some money to drink with, and we will go leaving them here drinking. When we reach your home you can point out your house to me and I will come back and collect your friends one by one.' 'Thank you very much. Will you now buy us some more beer, and then we will go?' 'Yes.' He ordered three more bottles of beer. Later the woman asked for European beer and the man went out and brought back three bottles of Bell. The man began to get drunk, and asked the woman to go away with him to her house. But she wanted more beer, and he bought three more bottles of Bell. When the women saw that the man was drunk they wanted to leave the place. But then one of them said: 'We must take this man to our home. He has got a lot of money and if we leave him here people will steal his money.' One of the men asked them: 'Did you come with him?' 'No.' 'Then leave him alone here and Jane the bar owner will look after him.' So the women left. The man got up and asked: 'Where are those women?' - 'They are outside.' - 'Call them.' They came back. The man caught hold of the woman's hand and went outside with her. He met a Nyoro resident of Kisenyi and said: 'I will give you five shillings if you will let me go to your room and sleep with this woman.' 'I want ten shillings for the use of my bed.' The man then gave him two 20/- notes mistaking them for five shilling notes, and the Nyoro took them. The woman drew his attention to his mistake, 'How much did I give you?' he asked the Nyoro. 'You gave me two notes of five shillings each.' - 'Let me see.' 'No, no, let me take you to my bed so that you can sleep with this woman. I will let you use my bed until tomorrow.' 'Let us go then if I can stay there the whole night.' 'My dear, what about your bicycle?' asked the woman. 'I will keep it safe,' said the Nyoro, I know this man very well and he is a good friend of mine.' 'Yes, you keep it safe for me. So they went, with the two other women following. After a short time the Nyoro and the two women came back with a 20/- note and the women ordered Bell beer. They bought four bottles and took them to the house of the Nyoro.

The activities of drinking, prostitution, cheating and stealing often fall thus naturally into the same context. There is, however, no sign of any organised racket in the field of prostitution. There is only the informal bond between those engaged on the same activity who are often of the same tribe and sometimes relatives. Older women do, indeed, put younger women, or those new to town, in the way of prostitution, but they do so out of friendship in order to help them and apparently without any ulterior motives. The racket in beer permits does result in some concentrations of beerselling prostitutes in the houses belonging to those who sell these permits. Some women drink in the bars till late at night and, unable to get themselves home, have to spend the night there and so fall into the hands of men who rely on getting women in this plight.

The other purely commercialised type of prostitution is of the street walking variety. This is probably practised mainly by Ganda and Toro. It is more hazardous, with higher but more uncertain rewards. It cannot be practised by those of the age of some of the Kisenyi Haya. It requires

relatively high standards of European style dress and make-up, and is aimed especially at the other two races and not at African clients alone. It does not, in any case, particularly concern Kisenyi except that a number of those who practise it live there.

Much more widespread is the mixed form of prostitution intermediate to the pure commercial type and the various flexible types of free and temporary union. Women practise prostitution as a convenient complement to beer selling, mat-making, plantain and charcoal selling, or sewing in one of the Kisenyi hotels. They accept clients on a purely cash basis but have one favourite, or perhaps several. There is often thus an element of sentiment and affection interwoven with the mere desire for money.

Two Ganda sisters, 27 and 20, and unmarried, came from Buddu to visit their elder sister. They were looking for men to marry them, because they wanted to stay in Kampala. They did not want to marry village men because of the hard work of village life in digging, carrying water and firewood, cooking and so on. Women in Kampala are not working hard like that, they said. If they failed to get married, they would start working in Kampala. At present they were helping their elder sister with her beer selling, and she was feeding them. Lovers were giving them money for their use. They were not prepared to marry their present lovers because the latter had no houses and did no work, they only came to Kisenyi to drink beer every day. During the interview a man came in, and one of the sisters remarked that he was her lover from Nakulabye (a nearby suburb).

A Ganda woman of about 50 was living in Kisenyi with her second husband, a cook in an Indian hotel. She had been married to him for about 18 years. Her brother's daughter was also living with her, but was very often not there. 'She never stays long in one place,' explained her father's sister, 'she always roams from place to place because she has never been married and is known as a prostitute. When she comes here she is always going out to visit men, she has no permanent lover here and wherever she has been she has gone because of her new lovers.'

A Toro girl of 27 had been in Kampala for two years as ayah to an Indian, but for the last year had changed to beer selling. 'I never married,' she said, 'but I have many lovers here who give me money. Each lover has his own time for visiting me. Some give me five shillings, or ten shillings, others beer and others cloth. I cannot tell you their names because they are not my husbands. I do not love them all, but they sleep with me for the money that they give me. Among them all I only really love Mikairi, a Toro boy who also loves me very much. I cannot marry him now because I am trying to get a lot of money in Buganda. I shall marry after a long time, I cannot tell you when.' This girl rented a 20/- room. Like many of her fellows she lives well, using meat, ghee and beer every day. She has to buy her beer selling permit for 15/- from a member of the royal family who is able to get many permits at the official fee of two shillings. She said she was sending home 60/- a year to a younger sister, ten shillings for the latter to use and the rest to be kept safe for her.

Few women are as frank about their activities in this field as the Haya prostitutes and some of the Toro. Ganda women, in particular,

have the reputation of being ashamed to admit that they are prostitutes. They are said to be ashamed to recognise the commercial basis of such transactions, refusing to name a fee but simply waiting to receive presents and indicating clearly whether they are adequate or not.

A Haya woman who was first met renting her own room as a prostitute was later found cohabiting in temporary concubinage with a Samia fish trader who actually claimed her as his wife. She was even hoping that the man would approve of her sufficiently to go and be introduced to her parents and give her a Christian marriage. At her first interview she had said that she was living off the money from two regular lovers, but that if strange men came and asked to sleep with her she would do so if they paid her first. A Ganda woman of 30, with a child of nine by a former lover, who was sharing the room of a Ganda shop assistant, claimed to have been married to him by tribal custom, with the payment of a calabash of beer. But the ward chiefs of the area denied that he was her husband. The man had a customary holding (*kibanja*) at Gombe on the Hoima Road and three other wives there, all married by tribal custom. He had separated from his first wife, whom he had married in church as a Protestant Christian.¹ Most days he returned to his country house, but had lunch every day with his town wife. By all these wives he had two children.

A woman of 19 was sharing a room with two half-brothers of 19, all Ganda. She said she was married to one of them, who was working as a plumber. She was born in Mengo and had just met this man walking along the road one day. He, however, said that she simply was his friend, and denied having paid 120/- to her parents as she claimed.

A Ganda garage proprietor was living in Kisenyi with a Haya concubine who had come there to visit her sister after leaving the Haya to whom she had first been a concubine. Her present husband had a customary holding at Mpererwe five miles out and other wives there. He said he married every year and it was difficult for him to count how many wives and concubines he had had in this way, but he thought about thirty. He gave the names of three Ganda wives living at his place in the country, which he visited every weekend. By all these women he had one son.

An Alur who came from the Congo with the Indian who employed him as turnboy was living in concubinage with a Ganda woman who had separated from her first husband. He was thinking of going to her parents for formal introduction and approval. While she was being interviewed, another man came and, at sight of him, she hid behind a screen and requested not to be asked any more questions. After both he and her husband had gone she explained that she did not wish to see the stranger while her husband was present, for the former had fallen in love with her and given her 50/- and although she did not love him she was intending to sleep with him privately for the sake of his money.

1. Such tribal marriages subsequent to an undissolved Christian union are an offence under the Marriage Ordinance, but prosecutions under this section are never undertaken.

Various fates await these women as they grow old. Some stay in Kisenyi as beersellers, some manage to make enough money to build houses and live off the rent from the rooms, others achieve longer term marriages and others return to a quiet life in their home villages. These are gradual transitions.

A Ganda woman who had lived in her brother's house five miles from Kampala, and had had various lovers but never been married, came to Kisenyi at the age of 32, hoping to make enough money to build her own house in the country to which she could retire. In Kampala she was selling plantains, and she had a lover who sometimes visited her and she him. 'I want to build a house at my home,' she said, 'because I was living in my brother's house where I was growing cotton. I do not want to build on my brother's holding. He inherited it from our father and pays 10/- rent per year. I shall buy a customary holding of my own which I think will cost me 150/-,¹ and then build a house, and I shall grow cotton again. I do not wish to marry because now I am an old woman, and I have no child. I did not wish to have my name written by you before, because I thought it was prostitutes who were being written. I am not a prostitute, but people think that every woman who rents a room here is one. I do not love Indians and Europeans. I know that those who do so are prostitutes, and those who love very many Africans are prostitutes too. Indians come to my door nearly every night, but I do not open to them. Some come on foot and some in cars. Some sleep with women here in their rooms, and some do so in their cars.'

A Ganda woman of 45 had been selling Ganda beer and illegal spirit (*waragi*) in Kisenyi for four years. She had separated from her husband after eleven years of marriage, during which she had borne him one child, and after that she had been a well known prostitute in one of the suburbs before coming to Kisenyi. She had built herself a house in Kisenyi in 1949, which she said cost her 2000/-. Now she had a lover who was a houseboy to a European and visited her at night, giving her money and clothes when he felt like it. 'I left my husband', she said, 'because he married another woman and then did not give me clothes for a year. I do not wish to return to him now because I have my lover here, and I get money from beer. I can buy anything I like. My son is a full grown man. He is working and has a porter to cook for him. I shall stay here for the rest of my life.'

Another Ganda woman, 38 years old, claimed to have built her house in 1940 at a cost of 6000/-. At that time she was married to an Indian. She first came to Kisenyi to stay with a relative. She became a plantain seller and got money from lovers. Later she spent eight years with her Indian Moslem husband, after which he left her. Then she started a hotel and shop, which she was still running. She still considered the Indian as her husband, although he was now living with a Toro woman at Kibuli. He was coming to see

1. In the suburbs a little further from Kampala than Kisenyi, customary holdings are still obtainable, but only by paying 'key money' to the landowner as in this case.

her every month. This woman's father was a parish (*muluka*) chief and owned a square mile of land. Her mother had separated from him and was living in Kawempe, assisted by gifts of food, clothing and soap from her daughter.

'I have not got as far as marriage yet,' said a Rundi man of 30, 'I am quite content with women friends.' He was at the moment living with an older Ganda woman who, when first interviewed, had tried to pretend that he was a Ganda. She had originally been married in church, but had left that husband ten years ago after living with him for six years and bearing him two sons and a daughter. Then she had lived with a Haya ward headman in Mengo. She had brewed *waragi* in his room, he said, and one time when he asked her for a bottle she refused him. He took two bottles and drank them without paying. She was very angry and their friendship broke up.

In some cases it seems that parental example has had some influence, though for the most part these are still only first generation phenomena. One of the most suspicious and difficult families in Kisenyi, which absolutely refused to be fully interviewed, was an example of marital instability permeating a family group over two generations.

Successive attempts at interviewing these people left few important details unknown in the end. The head of the household was the son of a Bulemezi peasant. He had lived in Kisenyi for a long time and sold tomatoes at a stall in the main street. He had an adult son and daughter living in houses next to his own. The mother of these children had left him long ago and a succession of other women were found living with him from time to time. The daughter sold beer and had never been married, but replied in the usual terms that she had lovers and could not say their names as they were not her husbands. The son, after leaving school from primary III, had successively been an office boy in many jobs, a garage boy, a barber and finally a butcher in which business he claimed a monthly nett profit of 60/-. He had never married and said he engaged Haya women at their houses for two shillings a time and might sleep with twenty of them in a month. The father, son and daughter had their meals together.

6. THE OUTLOOK FOR URBAN MARRIAGE

Underlying the flexibility and uncertainty of the present marriage system is the jockeying for position of the two sexes in relation to the redefinition of their respective roles. Under the influence of school education, religious instruction and the general example of European ways of living, the African woman has come to expect more freedom, less drudgery, and a more equal and personal relationship in marriage. Factors such as the Ganda land system, which enables women to acquire and hold land in their own right, and the opportunities for earning a living in the urban area of Kampala, have given women the economic independence which allows them to assert these claims effectively. Some men also want educated wives who can give them companionship on a fully personal basis, but much stronger and more general is the male desire to retain the domestic and agricultural labour of women, and to maintain the inferior social status of women, which accords to men the freedom to pursue their own private lives unhampered by new obligations of monogamy and marital fidelity.

Men find their standard of living gravely threatened by female demands for better treatment. The threat is twofold, since, while the men lose the product of women's labour, at the same time the women's greater leisure justifies them in demanding a more generous provision of clothes, entertainments and many other items formerly regarded as luxuries. The sexual freedom of women is also an additional blow to male pride. Ineffective parental discipline contributes to the sexual licence of girls and later to the infidelity of wives. Men regret their failure to control their daughters and their loss of authority over their wives and concubines, but they constantly undermine as lovers what as parents and husbands they would like to maintain.

Only an economic motive seems to induce men to act effectively in defence of the marriages of their kinsfolk. But among most of the Interlacustrine Bantu such a motive is largely absent. Hence the markedly different position of Nilotics, Sudanics, and Nilo - Hamites of Northern Uganda and Kenya, and some of the other Bantu tribes such as the Ciga and Luyia, all of whom transfer durable property of considerable value at marriage. As is well known, this property transfer, most of which is recoverable in case of divorce, makes both parties to a marriage reluctant to break it up. The husband and his family prefer, if possible, to avoid the trouble and unpleasantness of court prosecutions for the recovery of bridewealth. The wife's family are anxious to avoid the necessity of paying back property in which a number of them probably have an interest, and they tend to use all their authority and influence in actively persuading their kinswomen to maintain their marriages intact. Equally important is the fact that, among these peoples, parents and brothers are induced, for the same reason, to exercise a much stricter control over the movements and activities of their daughters and sisters up to the time of their marriage, and to take effective action in the case of any trespass on their rights. Women of these tribes are few in Kisenyi, compared with the Ganda women, although there are large numbers of Luo, Luyia, Teso, Ciga, Acoli, Lango and other men of this group present there. The women practically never come to town independently or unaccompanied, and the men most often leave their wives at home. Those who are found in Kisenyi are nearly all living there with their husbands in stable marriages. By contrast with the general impression of instability it would be only fair to note these stable non-Bantu marriages, of which there are probably about 60, and also the marriages of some of the more well established and successful shopkeepers and businessmen, most of whom are Ganda¹.

Among the Ganda, and most of the other Interlacustrine Bantu, the recoverable marriage payments are insignificant by present economic standards. The Buganda laws covering marital and sexual offences go largely unenforced, because those concerned cannot usually be bothered to take the trouble to invoke them. Many women in these tribes successfully reject their traditional roles. The men are unable to prevent this, but they refuse to accord them freely the new status which they have learnt to expect. It may be supposed that this refusal is responsible for a more violent reaction on the part of such women than would otherwise be the case. In their rural homes they are frustrated equally either by lack of the education which they consider their due or by being educated without the means of satisfying the desires so stimulated. Marriage at home offers no solution,

1. Further cases would be found among the Arabs and Indians, but their marriage systems cannot be dealt with here.

because potential husbands would only seek to keep them in their traditional groove. So they run to the towns which seem to offer the only hope of freedom.

Since African wage employment began on the basis of migrant male labour, the towns have always been full of men, and the first women to town were inevitably the prostitutes. This has coloured the African attitude towards women in town ever since. Town women, it is felt, are bad women, and they are to be used for pleasure but not to be married. All women who work for wages tend to be put into this category. The good woman, according to this set of ideas, is the one who stays at home in her husband's room, refuses to speak to strangers and remains unprofitably idle except for the performance of the domestic chores which, in view of African eating habits and the paucity of housing accommodation in town, are extremely light. There is practically no cultivation, no collection and carrying of firewood, and water is often reasonably near. Yet rarely has anything more profitable taken the place of this "toil".

This prevalent outlook is becoming more and more unfortunate as urban development proceeds. It seems unlikely that the less skilled worker will ever achieve an income adequate for a satisfactory urban family life until he has a wife who contributes her share of the household earnings. African women are in any case ill equipped to do this, since they have few skills which can be profitably developed in the home. The weaving of mats, baskets and bags, is, perhaps, the only exception. Respectable women are further discouraged from taking paid employment by the respectable man's tendency to identify the earning woman with the prostitute. Besides, this identification will remain largely true to fact until men become more ready to marry them. A viable model for the urban worker's family may after all be found in those Kisenyi households where a man and woman, usually after a considerable period of sexual freedom, have settled down to a marital relationship of some understanding and equality, with the man in wage employment and the woman also earning by trading in plantains, charcoal or vegetables, assisting in a shop or hotel, or even selling beer.

It is very doubtful whether a rigid system of control could of itself raise standards of marriage and sexual behaviour. Attempts such as are made from time to time, at driving all single women out of Kisenyi inevitably leave the basic situation unchanged, while inflicting unfair hardship on one particular category of people. Others immediately replace them, and even if this could be prevented, their male clients would be left a prey to other dangers, perhaps more serious than before, while the expulsion of the women only increases their influence in the countryside. The situation in Leopoldville, where a highly organised system of passes and registration obtains, may serve as an instructive parallel. It has not proved practicable to exclude single women altogether, and in 1946 out of a total of 28,000 women, 5,000 were paying the special urban tax on women living 'theoretically single.' In addition to these there were women not regularly married, yet not subject to this tax because they had two children. It was stated that nearly all the women paying this special tax were prostitutes. Writing on this subject, an administrative official of the Belgian Congo regards it as a crisis through which all new countries and mushroom towns must pass, because of the low proportion of women to men. He sees no immediate remedy, and remarks that, in fact, this lack

of balance between the sexes has not improved for a very long time. From 1923 to 1931 the percentage of women to men varied from 25 to 38, in 1932 it was 45, and between 1933 and 1946 it varied from 50 to 63, being highest in the years 1935 and 1936¹.

Mobility of job and residence, the local mixture of tribes and races and the passage to a money and exchange economy are the main factors which have brought about change so rapid as to cause the breakdown of consensual behaviour. These factors operate in Kampala in their most extreme form, but their influence spreads out very widely in the Province of Buganda. Thus there is not, in the case of Kampala, the restraining influence of a surrounding countryside in which traditional customary behaviour is sanctioned or enforced to a considerable extent. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, with the weakening of traditional collective ties, sexual satisfaction has been permitted to assume an inordinate importance in the relationship of spouses. "Let me tell you what causes women to desert," - commented a Ganda woman, "it isn't clothes and it isn't money and it isn't kindness; it's the penis. If that is unsatisfactory no woman will stay with her husband".² When taxed with their heavy share of responsibility for the promiscuity of women, Ganda men usually say that the men ought not to be blamed because they have a very great lust (*amaddu*) and cannot control themselves.²

It seems that the uncontrolled character of marital and sex relations is most generally attributable not to the numerical unbalance of the sexes but to the lack of a coherent social system within which these matters could be regulated. The situation is most extreme in Kampala but is further favoured by the extent to which similar influences have permeated the surrounding countryside. The hypothesis that undesirable features of the present situation result from defects in the social system as a whole gains strength from the material presented later on parish local government in Greater Kampala.

1 Emmanuel Capelle, *La Cite Indigene de Leopoldville* C.E.S.A, Leopoldville, 1947, pp. 30, 59-60.

2. Communication from M. Southwold during his study of social life in rural Buganda.

PART THREE — MULAGO

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION.

1. GEOGRAPHY.

Mulago is what some American sociologists call a "bedroom community". It presents an interesting panorama of a community in transition from a rural background to one in which the residents have acquired urban habits and have a longing for those advantages which only an urban area can provide. Mulago is not atypical in this respect, for the ring surrounding the Municipality of Kampala presents numerous examples of the same kind of development. At the same time Mulago retains certain distinct rural aspects which set it off in contrast to Kisenyi. Furthermore Mulago's population is fairly heterogeneous and considerable commercial activity has been developed there, largely owing to the presence of Mulago Hospital.

The whole of Mulago with the exception of approximately seven acres lies on native owned land. The seven acres referred to are within the Municipality; however they are not set apart from the rest of Mulago, and so far the Municipality has not brought its administrative machinery to bear on them.

Mulago is located to the north of the Municipality of Kampala (see map). Administratively it is styled *Mutuba* IV (a rank of chieftainship) by the Buganda Government. The *muluka* is one of the fourteen *miluka* in the *Ggombolola* of the *Omukulu w'Ekibuga* (the chief or elder of the town). All the *miluka* are ranked according to seniority. Mulago ranks as the ninth in seniority and does not enjoy any distinctive position in the traditional hierarchy.

Mulago is one of the many hills which ring the Municipality of Kampala. Its topography is that of a rather flat topped hill with gentle slopes leading to a series of valleys which form the natural boundaries of the *muluka* and consequently define its administrative limits; that is to say, the authority of the *muluka* chief to enforce law and order, hear legal cases and collect taxes is confined within this area. Mulago Hill, like other nearby hills, is composed of lateritic ironstone with occasional intrusions of swamps. There is little soil erosion, owing not only to the efforts of the Agricultural Department's insistence on planting paspalum grass, but also owing to cultivation of plantain and other crops. At least this is so in the more rural areas. Poor roads, deeply rutted and in a deplorable condition, cut up the village into some fifteen easily demarcated subdivisions. These, it will be explained later, have a certain sociological significance. The village as a whole is supplied with six water sources, five of them natural supplies and one a standpipe taken from Mulago Hospital. To the north the *muluka* is bounded by the river *Nsoba* ("I who walk gently") which provides an additional, if not safe, supply. As these water supplies are not always located conveniently in the areas of densest population, a group of water sellers supplies the needs of many householders.

Mulago may also be considered as an outlying suburb of Kampala. As a result there are both advantages and disadvantages in living there. On the one hand it is conveniently near to the places of work, on

the other hand it is subject to every kind of urban influence. Indeed it is the position of Mulago which provides the key to understanding its social and cultural life.

2. HISTORY.

Historically Mulago Hill appears to have been the home of a number of Kings of the Baganda.¹

"From the unrecorded history handed down to us by word of the mouth it seems more than likely that many ancient Kings of Buganda lived on Mulago Hill. The best remembered of the Kings who built palaces on Mulago is Ssuuna II, also known as Ssuuna Kalema. It is said that Ssuuna II made Mulago his first residence after he became King of Buganda. There are three strong evidences to testify to this belief:

"1. To the North-east of the Mental Hospital there is a high earth mound said to have been raised by King Ssuuna II as a lookout post. This mound is known by the name of "Nekulidde". A private house now stands on it.

"2. The old people still remember a song which was sung at the time when Ssuuna II lived on Mulago. The song was very popular and it runs as follows:-

'A piece of hard banana
saved me from starving at Mulago,
Kalema's generation are
climbing Mulago
I shall come to see
the sons of Ggolooba.'²

"3. The swamp known as Nsoba which begins in a small valley to the East of Mulago is believed to have received the name of Nsoba during the time when Ssuuna II was living on Mulago. All the land to the East of Mulago is said to have been occupied by banana plantations belonging to Ssuuna's wives. Now all men were forbidden by order from Ssuuna to approach his residence from the East. The reason for this is easy to understand. But some few daring men risked their lives by walking stealthily through the banana gardens belonging to Ssuuna's wives. Those who managed to get through without being captured would relate their venture in such words as these, "I passed through the gardens walking stealthily". To walk stealthily is 'okusooba'. Hence the name Nsoba given to the swamp which people crossed stealthily for fear of being put to death by Ssuuna II. Some people hold the belief that Mutesa I, son of Ssuuna II, was born on Mulago. However I have not yet been able to find enough evidence to support this belief."³

Other authorities have suggested that Kabaka Semakokiro also lived on Mulago Hill.⁴ There seems little doubt that Mulago has for generations

1. See Sir Apolo Kagwa, *Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda*, London, 1953, p. 87

2. Ggolooba was the great-great-grandfather of Ssuuna II.

3. Private communication from Mr. Nsimbi, District Education Officer, Mengo, Department of Education.

4. Private communication from Mr. Ham Kanya, the Omukulu w'Ekibuga. Mr. Kanya has also contributed the following explanation of the word Mulago. I am indeed grateful for his assistance and constant co-operation in many different ways.

"That hill at the time of King Ssuuna II was known by the name *Nakyejuwa* (something which builds itself up). And so when Kibale (one of the chief

past been inhabited by either the Kings and their Royal Household, or by ordinary *bakopi* (peasants). It does seem, therefore, that Mulago, like many of the other hills which surround Kampala, has known the transition, possibly frequently, from being a place of importance to one of lesser standing. When Mengo became the established capital of the Ganda, Mulago was clearly a convenient place for chiefs to build "town" houses for themselves, their servants and retinue, from whence they could go to Mengo to meet in the Kabaka's Lukiko and be on call when the King of the Ganda wished to see them and to consult with them. Some of these important chiefs lived on Mulago Hill as late as 1920. Today this is no longer true, for when immigrants came to Mulago many of the old Ganda residents moved away.

Mulago's recent history can easily be traced back to the early 1920's when the Protectorate Government selected Mulago Hill as the site for a future African hospital. The history of Mulago Hospital¹ takes us back to 1913 when the word Mulago was first used in the Annual Reports of the Medical Department. However, even before that time, from 1910 onward, Dr. G.J. Keane had been in charge of the treatment of venereal disease and had organised a number of posts in the country, one of which appears to have been opened soon after 1910 although exact dates are difficult to confirm. Soon after in 1913 a single ward was constructed with "free" labour provided by the chiefs. There was also a "General Hospital" ("213 patients were admitted in 1913 of whom 27% died.")² By 1919 plans were made to expand the hospital, and a building programme was in operation in 1921 when grass thatched huts, each with thirty beds, were put up. Again in 1922 more building was undertaken. Piecemeal construction continued throughout the years until the Hospital reached its present sprawling size. A number of old residents assert that they remember these stages of development and can also relate them to a number of other events at the time, such as the abolition of *Kasanvu* (forced labour) in 1921. It would be interesting to relate the expansion of the Hospital to certain demographic features of Mulago, but these relations cannot easily be verified although some of the older residents in Mulago village linked this expansion of the Hospital to such features.

As the land on Mulago Hill was owned under the terms of the *mailo* system, the Protectorate Government laid plans to acquire approximately

ministers of state) was commanded by King Ssuuna to go and look after a good place where he could build his palace, Kibale came to this Hill and the people told him that it was called *Nakveyuwa*. But Kibale did not like this name although the hill itself was good. Then Kibale went back and told King Ssuuna how he had found a beautiful hill which was also very near. When King Ssuuna wished to go and have a look at the hill, Kibale had another job to do and so he could not accompany the King. King Ssuuna asked Kibale for a servant to take him there. Kibale told a house servant to go and show the hill to the King-*genda omulage* (go and show him). Kibale did not tell the servant the real name of the hill because he despised it. When King Ssuuna came to the hill, he liked it very much. And then he remembered Kibale saying '*omulage*' (show him) which he took to be the name of the hill. He called the hill *omulage* for a very long time. After some years the people dropped the initial vowel 'o' from the word *omulage* and it was changed to Mulago. And so the word Mulago has no meaning because no one ever meant to name it so."

1. "The History of Mulago Hospital and the Makerere College Medical School". A.W. Williams, East African Medical Journal, Vol. 29, July 1952, pp. 253-263.
2. Op. cit.

195 acres of this land by buying the owners out, and on one occasion by compulsory acquisition,¹ an event which left bitter memories in the minds of the older residents.² From this time a number of processes seems to have occurred: The first of these was a considerable influx of immigrants both to obtain employment as porters in the construction work going on at the time and to avail themselves of the medical services (mostly for the treatment of venereal disease) offered. The increasing opportunities for work attracted a number of immigrants, some of whom, mainly Rwanda, Nyoro and Toro, still live in Mulago today. Second, at the same time, according to certain of the older Ganda residents, a number of the original Ganda landowners and *kibanja*³ holders moved away. The reason for this removal, which is difficult to document, is said to be the dislike the Ganda had of these early immigrants. Third, during the Depression many of the immigrants left for their tribal homes again and some of the villages report that a small number of the Ganda people returned. However, this explanation seems less accurate than the more obvious one that people began to rent rooms and even whole houses to those "foreigners" who remained in Mulago. Some of the first immigrants to come to Mulago still remember the days when they could rent one room for fifty cents a month or a whole house with three rooms for two shillings a month. One old Nyoro man who had been in Mulago for many years (he said that he came in 1919) said:

"When I came here with my father and my two brothers many people had very large *bibanja*. There were no roads, and houses were far apart. People sang songs about cotton. There were many parts to the village with special names. My father rented a room for us near the place where the Mental Hospital is now. An old man told us that a king had once lived here. As more of my tribe came, some of the Baganda left this place and asked us to look after their land. We did not get any money from them but we were allowed to take some of the food. We came to Buganda because we heard that many people had started to grow cotton and that they made much money."

With the opening of Mulago Hospital in 1913, when it was no more than a small dispensary for the treatment of venereal disease, and its subsequent expansion in 1921, came a road and close links with the then still little developed Kampala. In those days wage employment for Africans in Government and commercial undertakings must indeed have been small, yet many of the older residents of Mulago report an increase in population which they express by saying that more people obtained *bibanja* and more houses were constructed. Another very old Nyoro man spoke of this apparent expansion of the village in the following terms:

"Many people came and a shop opened. Some Europeans came and drilled for a well but did not get any water. Many people cut down trees for building houses. Everybody had the fever badly and many young babies died. We were lucky

1. This occurred in 1924 involving 115 acres. A case was brought by the owner against the Crown. Formal possession was taken in 1926 but the land was registered in the name of the Governor until 1938.
2. I think in this respect it must be pointed out that the emotional value of land far exceeds its capital or economic value although the land near the town has steadily increased in value. However, it is not always easy to explain that such land as is acquired is taken over in the name of African advancement.
3. *Kibanja*: customary holding; pl. *Bibanja*.

that we did not have to pay for the trees we cut but the land-owners made us work. Some poor people did not like that because they said that *kasanvu* (forced labour) had been stopped long ago. Some people came from Busoga and said that they no longer had to come over the river in a boat. (The Nile Bridge had been built). As more people came to the village we got more money for the food we sold to them because not everybody could get a *kibanja*. Many chiefs of the Baganda had their houses here but they have all left now. We were afraid of the Baganda so we sometimes called them brother."

Since the 1930's the story of Mulago has been one of a steady increase in population. As a result many villagers mention as the most marked aspects of physical and social changes the increase in commercial activity, the cutting of roads and the bringing of a water supply. Also since the 1930's the price of land has risen from approximately Shs. 200/- to an average of Shs. 1,550/- an acre.¹ From the middle thirties some of the villagers noticed the first sign of certain urban intrusions and spoke for the first time of Mulago being "like a town". When pressed as to what he meant by this, one old Ganda, who was born in Mulago, seemed to speak for the rest when he stated:

"Many people built houses. They were lucky to get some land. But many rented rooms and bought their food or went to the homes of the Baganda and worked for their food. Not everybody had a latrine so some people had to share one. Not everybody had a bathroom. People went to work in the morning and returned at night. At night there were many thieves about. Many foreigners came, particularly Banyarwanda. Many people spoke Swahili. One man had an old gramophone given to him by a European. My brother died at this time so we took him to my father's village for burial. There were many people in Mulago I had never seen before. Some people even had bicycles."

When the war broke out in 1939 a number of young men left Mulago to join the King's African Rifles. Commercial life was at a low ebb owing to the general shortage of goods. Work in the town and in the Hospital continued but because of the shortage of food and clothes a number of villagers left for the country, and the influx of immigrants temporarily dwindled. A great many of the villagers who live in the village today have come between 1949 and 1953. These years have seen the end of shortages and a very rapid expansion in economic activity. As wages soared and export commodities rocketed in value, the nerve centres of economic activity - the towns - acted as magnets to a people eager to increase their purchasing power. Unskilled labouring on many new construction projects and the considerable expansion of existing commercial activity provided an expanding labour market.

3. MULAGO'S SOCIAL ECOLOGY

It is this situation which partially explains the present development and prosperity of Mulago. It now forms one of the much needed immigrant labour reservoirs for the increasing needs of Kampala and

¹ Recently a Ganda bought one acre from a Mulago landowner. Within one week he was offered up to Sh. 9,000/- for this land by land speculators, but refused the offer. One of these wanted to construct houses for Indian or European use. There are already three large European houses, virtually in the centre of the village, constructed by an African and rented out by him to Europeans. Electricity has now come to Mulago, a fact which makes speculation even more profitable.

its immediate surroundings. The gradual mechanization of many unskilled labouring operations and the increasing demand for more educated workers in virtually all branches of industrial and commercial activities, has not yet reached the point where the demand for the unskilled and illiterate worker has fallen. As Kampala grows in size during the next fifteen or twenty years it would seem unlikely that, given peaceful world conditions, the demand for labour will diminish. On the contrary, periods may well occur when there is an acute labour shortage. If world prices of cotton and coffee fall, then it seems likely that those individuals who have so far found cultivation more profitable than wage labour will drift into the towns even at the expense of a higher cost of living.

At present there are approximately 800 poll-tax payers in the whole of the *muluka*. Approximately 650¹ of these live within the area of research. If this is considered the total labour force in the area under consideration, but not counting the young men under 18, many of whom are usefully employed, then about 560 (or 86%) work outside Mulago, i.e. in Kampala or the two large hospitals. Those who work in Mulago village are independent shopkeepers, shop assistants, builders of mud and wattle houses, and carpenters, market sellers, water sellers, charcoal and beer sellers and banana sellers.

The population of the *muluka* is on the increase. In the area of research some twenty houses have been constructed during the last nine months with an approximate total of seventy rooms. Of the 670 households interviewed one third were revisited six months after the first interview. This was done in order to determine the mobility of the villagers. The results obtained can give no more than a limited index of the movements in and out of the village. Of the 199 households revisited for the purpose of this mobility study, 126 (or 63%) were found to be still living in the same place and 73 (or 37%) had moved right out of Mulago. Those who move within the village, from room to room, do so because their houses become uninhabitable or because they have found cheaper and more congenial lodgings.

Structurally the heart of the village is its main street. Approximately some 200 yards long and running north to south, it is known as "*Batuka Lugudo*" ("They arrive" street).² To the east of the main street lies the Municipal boundary and the football field, which is frequently used by the residents and by the patients of the two hospitals. A dense chain of houses runs north and south on either side of the main street. To the south this street runs into the small local market, at one time a meat market only, but now a general market for food, and the Mulago Bakery, one of the two Indian enterprises in Mulago. To the north, the main street is cut by another road running east and west and joining the most densely populated part of Mulago to Gayaza Road to the west. This road, and another also running west and east and known as *Bivanju Road* ("They come from a house"), are the only roads along which motor transport can travel. Only very rarely do some of the residents of Mulago volunteer to repair these roads which are normally in a very bad condition. There is considerable objection to this necessary labour and when the parish chief calls upon the residents to give a little of their time to it, he is told that this is the

1. I have subtracted those few older males who, although still paying poll-tax, are nevertheless not wage earners or self employed.

2. These names were given to us by the parish chief. They seem to be very rarely used in conversation and we were quite unable to find out why these "streets" were given such names.

responsibility of the Buganda government and that if Mulago residents do this work they must all be paid. However bad the roads and the paths are, they nevertheless divide this part of Mulago into approximately fifteen sections. Each one of these sections tends to be a small unit of which the inhabitants think of one another as forming a separate community. Three of these sections can be broadly thought of as tribal settlements dominated by particular tribes. Some of the sections are bounded not only by roads and paths but also by small food plots, trees and bushes. A number of the residents express snobbery, pointing to this and that section and saying that they have little contact with the people over there because they are all shopkeepers or because "the people in that part are always drunk". In fact one man divided Mulago into one part where only few people drink, and another part where everyone drinks. One old lady said:

"The people in that part over there are not of my tribe. I can't tell you anything about them over there as I try to stay in my part. I don't like to go over there because many of the people there are Nyoro people and Soga people and they fight much and they don't like the Ganda people."

In another section of the village, which included a stretch of the main street, one Samia porter said that he could not tell anything about people living in another part of Mulago because there were no shops in the other parts and so he never visited there. Although he had lived in the same house for three years, he could not tell where certain well known and important people in other parts of the village lived. Some parts of Mulago seem to be defined in terms of beer bars, and a number of informants recognised an area if the name of a local beer seller was mentioned. One Ganda trader living in a rather rural part of Mulago said:-

"I don't have any reason to go to other parts of the village. I leave my home in the morning and I return late at night. I grow most of my food here and I go to G's bar because he always has good beer. The *mutongole* (headman) of this part is a good man, he keeps us free from any trouble. I do not like the people of the other parts because they are dirty and always fight. There are many town women (*abakazi bamu kibuga*) in the other parts and many thieves."

A Rwanda porter who had been in Mulago since 1938 said that he had lived in many parts of the village but had finally settled in his present location which was just one section over from the main road. He defined his part as a tribal settlement and insisted that the best way to deal with all the trouble in Mulago was to put people of the same tribe in one place.

"I live here because there are many Rwanda people here. My friend got this place for me a long time ago. He told me that it was better for people of the same tribe to live together because then the Ganda people would not sleep with our women. I only go to work but I do not stay in the other parts. I don't like to fall among robbers. There are many robbers near the Hospital."

Those who live near the Hospital think of themselves as rather better people. A considerable amount of trade goes on in this area and only fairly well-to-do shopkeepers, almost all Ganda, do, in fact, live here. One such shopkeeper expressed his views in the following manner:

"I do my business here because a lot of people come to the hospital. I do not go to the other parts because there is no trade there and I cannot tell you anything about those parts. I do know that many people live there and that once I had a friend there. I am a business man and I only have friends who are businessmen also. I do not go to other parts because much of my time is taken up with buying things for my shop.

I like to work here because trade is good and there are many other shopkeepers who will help me and that makes them my friends."

Sometimes beer parties and tea parties are given for all the inhabitants of one part, people in other parts not being invited.¹

Within the districts of Mulago there are other smaller units such as certain clusters of houses whose inhabitants consider themselves friends and neighbours. In a number of recent interviews the smallness of certain social units came out clearly. In fact it has become fairly clear that the objections against immigrants, which are often heard expressed in Mulago, do not apply in practice on the small group and associational level. For example, a Nyoro household, a Ganda and a Rwanda household were living in three separate houses which nestled very closely together in a more rural part of Mulago. These householders named each other as their best friends. They shared meals with one another frequently.

Observation also showed the great ease with which they went into one another's house. In another section, a Ganda lady who was going on a visit let a friend of her Kiga neighbour use the house during her absence. There is also a tendency for those who live around the natural springs to be fairly close and intimate in their association. When informants in these small groups were asked why they differed so much in their informal behaviour towards each other, some explained that this was only possible because they lived away from the bulk of the community. Some suggested that they found it convenient to help one another, adding that if they lived in the more crowded area they would always fight and quarrel. One man explained that

1. Some of these informal sections of Mulago are given separate names. A number of the older residents designated seven different parts of Mulago which they named as follows:
 - a. *Kabuye* - a part now taken over by the X-ray department, thought to have been the residence of a famous chief who belonged to the *ngeye* (colobus monkey) clan, *Kabuye* being a name belonging to this clan.
 - b. *Ebyogero* (a washbasin for a baby) - a part located 250 yards to the west of the General Mulago Hospital clinic. It is thought to be the birthplace of a king or a prince. It is thought that Mutesa I was born here, or that he played here.
 - c. *Nakibuka Well* - the well is between the second and third milestone on Gaya-za road. It is thought that this well belonged to a queen and that Nakibuka was her name.
 - d. *Nanzilugazi* - the word *nanzilugazi* means a well so deep that the water appears to be black. This well belonged to one of the cooks of a king.
 - e. *Nekulidde Hill* (I have grown big or important) - It is said that Ssuuna caused this hill to be made. It is situated 300 yards to the northeast of the Mental Hospital.
 - f. *Mpengere* (proper name) - a place near the 'Nsoba river which at the time of Ssuuna II was used as a place for burial and execution.
 - g. *Mwenge part* (beer part) - Mwenge was the official harp player to the queen. The part has now been taken over by the Crown for the building of a church.

he would always be nice to his neighbours because there were many thieves around the place, and if one came to his house he would raise an alarm and people would come to help him. In the case of three houses near the Mental Hospital a marriage took place between two of the Rwanda occupants. As most of the relatives of the couple did not live in or near Kampala the Ganda neighbours made all the preparations and looked after the woman in the customary manner for some days after the ceremony. There is in Mulago a clear indication that geographical proximity plays a part in defining social units and that these social units are often evaluated on a sliding scale of acceptable norms.

Perhaps Mulago as a community can be more clearly understood if it is thought of as lying in the middle of a scale of societies varying from the more purely rural to the more purely urban. It may then be described as an urban village, more urbanised than the more ordinary rural village, but still not strictly a "town". The characterisation of a rural village would be complementary for the understanding of Mulago. It is the rural background of African communities which gives perspective for the understanding of the social changes which have taken place in demographic features, structural organization, habits and thought. The structural composition of Mulago can then be seen against the background of its half urban and half rural composition. The moment one leaves the main street, which is the commercial artery of Mulago and the centre of its daily life, one proceeds through a fairly densely occupied semi-urban area with a density of 57 people per acre as opposed to 70 in the urban part. This is a narrow belt, some 90 yards wide, stretching some 400 yards due north and south parallel to the main street. Here most of the beer bars are located and many sellers of firewood, charcoal and banana place their wares outside their houses. Houses are generally of an inferior kind, being rarely plastered, and have low ceilings and narrow doors. Occasionally there is a small patch of food crops but generally houses are close together. This is the area of the immigrant and the low paid wage earner. It stands out in strong contrast with the larger houses in the rural areas and the commercially dominated main street. In this semi-urban area one sees but few of the urban attributes, few bicycles and only an occasional car. One hears few gramophones and sees little in the way of good furniture, charcoal stoves and other household utensils. Few people read books or newspapers and the number of English speakers is small. It is in a way a depressing place, for the residents in this area are neither of the urban world nor of the rural world. Mobility in this area is high, more people rent rooms and few own houses. Many drink beer, treating it as their daily food. It is also in this area that, rooms being small, there is some overcrowding. There is little privacy, bathrooms and latrines are few and often in a deplorable state. There are few kitchens. Most householders cook either inside one of the rooms or outside of their houses. It is an area of considerable activity at the end of each month, when the beer sellers conduct a lucrative trade. It is also the area of a great deal of social upheaval, of fights and thieving. Compounds are often not swept and houses are very frequently dirty. Those who live here complain that the landowners crowd them into small houses which are virtually on top of each other. They cannot grow their own food, and so a great deal of their money is spent on beer or the purchase of food. They cannot save and they grumble about their low wages.

All this is in rather strong contrast with the next belt which could be called "dense-rural", and which contains an average of only

ten people per acre. Undoubtedly the greatest contrast here lies in the almost rural nature of this area. Not only is this the area of the sizable *bibanja* but also of much larger houses often well plastered, occasionally painted and more often than not with large windows and doors. Here live many of the Ganda artisans and traders and some of the immigrants who have been able to save, obtain a *kibanja* and construct a house. There is no commercial life here. The touch of the urban is in the appearance of the houses and their often well furnished interiors. Occasionally a car may be seen parked outside a house, but it is likely to belong to a visitor rather than the house occupant. Bicycles are the common mode of transport. Here also live a number of the *batongole* (headmen). There are very few beer brewers although there are several illegal *waragi* (Nubian gin) sellers whose income is rather difficult to determine; however they do well. Here also live a number of the house owners and a few of the landowners of Mulago. There are a number of residents here who call themselves farmers, some who grow food for sale, others who grow cash crops such as coffee and cotton and some who keep cattle. Most householders in this part grow a part of their food. These plots are often cultivated by porters rather than by women, who frequently can be seen sitting outside their homes doing some sewing. Gramophones can be heard and there is the occasional radio aerial. Compounds tend to be well kept and rooms are swept several times during the day. Few of the women cook their food with firewood most of them use charcoal or pressure stoves. Men and women are well-dressed. There is little in the way of disturbances here. When a thief is arrested the residents take almost no notice and make no attempt to beat him or otherwise make him feel sorry for himself.

This is also the area whose inhabitants take little or no interest in the administration of Mulago. They are seldom seen with the parish chief and rarely attend the parish council meetings on Saturday afternoons. Although this belt is divided into smaller sections by paths, the artisans and small traders (not shopkeepers) of this area think of themselves as well above the common labourers and immigrants living so close to them. Many of the people interviewed here were considerably more suspicious than those in other parts of Mulago. Here men often gave specific instructions to the women in the homesteads not to answer our questions but to wait for their return in the evening. This is also the area of the newspapers, the occasional bookshelf in a room, and the division of the house into reception room, dining room and bedroom. Food habits here are basically different. Meat, fish and butter are more regularly consumed week by week. Mothers tend to seek advice about their babies and their children in the Hospital. A separate bathroom and toilet is the common thing for each household. Many residents here, as in the commercial area, speak fairly good English and on several occasions it was possible to conduct whole interviews in English. Wages are in the Shs. 150/- to Shs. 300/- group. On Saturdays and Sundays many of these people go to visit friends outside Mulago. This is in strong contrast with the immigrant area where most people can be found without very much difficulty at any time, for to go visiting there means to see a close neighbour or a friend living in Mulago or the Hospital quarters.

Finally there is a considerable area to the north, some 150 yards wide and running the whole length east to west of the northern part of Mulago. This area is a strange mixture of very large houses, well constructed with big rooms and panelled doors and windows, and poor dwellings. The big houses are often closed for they belong to doctors, Buganda Government chiefs and Protectorate Government officers, such as

agricultural officers who spend a great part of their time on *safari*. Houses and *bibanja* are well spaced apart and the average size of the customary holding is at least 2.5 acres. However, interspersed with them are some very small and poor houses; they are the homes of personal servants and wage earning immigrants who have lived in Mulago for a long time and have been able to obtain some *bibanja* which they use for growing a great part of their food. In a certain respect they are the envy of their fellow immigrants who live crowded together in the area described above. There are two or more beer bars in this area to serve the needs of these immigrants. Otherwise it is a very rural area with a density of only 2.45 persons to the acre. During the day it is deserted, but for a few women who cultivate the food plots. It was impossible to contact three of the large house owners, partly because they were rarely at home and partly because they did not feel that any benefit would be derived from co-operation. A Protectorate Government officer said that he did not think it right for Europeans to ask Africans questions about their customs when it was impossible for Africans to ask the same of Europeans. He had in the past co-operated with research workers and had never seen anything useful for Africans come out of it all.

4. THE DAILY LIFE¹

On the surface the daily life of Mulago is calm and orderly. Men and women go about their daily chores. They shop and they cook and sweep and prepare the meals. They gossip and they listen, they visit and they seek recreation. They talk about their personal affairs, about politics, about their houses and their food. They repair their houses and they try to improve their physical conditions and amenities. They are suspicious about the things they do not understand but willing to talk about the things they know something about. They gather in groups when something which is out of the ordinary has occurred. They give advice but are sometimes not willing to take it. And they also drink and get excited and at times fight and quarrel among themselves.

As Mulago is a working community its residents go to work early. At 7 a.m., or soon after, doors open and men begin to drift to work. Some do not have far to go. Over the road and across the football field and they have reached the Hospital where many of the skilled medical assistants and orderlies work, as well as the great army of unskilled attendants, messengers and sweepers. Others have further to go to reach the P.W.D. depots and the shops, offices and workshops. Most of them leave for their work after they have had a cup of tea. Others have more substantial meals cooked by a wife, sister or relative. Mulago residents pride themselves on the "good customs we have here. We eat good food and we sleep in good beds." (Rwanda man). As soon as the men have gone to work, those householders who have children send them off to school. Depending on the wealth of the parents, the children will either be in uniform or in ordinary clothes. Most of them are given some food before they leave for school. After they have left, the house is cleaned and the bedding, if there are no beds in the house, is rolled up and placed in the corner. In fact the early morning chores have a distinctly European air. For the time being this concludes the early morning duties.

At about 9 a.m. the shops open and the shopkeepers arrange their wares. Some open their shops considerably later, having been to Kampala to buy their stock. It is not uncommon for a woman to go to the house of her neighbour to have some tea there in the middle of the day. Also at this time the small Mulago produce market comes to life as small

1. See Appendix V.

scale traders bring their fruits and vegetables. From around noon until 7 p.m. the sellers sit there. As the afternoon approaches their trade becomes more lively as the men return and the evening meal has to be prepared. This preparation is started very often in the early afternoon and the meal is ready by 8 o'clock or very soon after. Few families in Mulago have a proper lunch, but many take tea and perhaps a little bread. The younger children can often be seen eating *sumbusa* (curry rolls) and *mandazi* (sweet rolls) at odd hours of the day. As the day wears on there is a quickening of the activities. Hawkers and banana sellers, butchers and shopkeepers do little trading in the morning. Some butchers do not bother to open their shops until after lunch. As the men come home from work they often visit a beer bar first before returning to their houses. Small groups of people stand around talking. While men do small repairs to their houses, women busy themselves preparing food over charcoal stoves or a wood fire. Cycles race madly along the main street. As night falls small lights (*tadooba*¹) and occasionally pressure lamps, begin to appear. The doors of houses often remain open and people can be seen eating their food inside. Children are washed in large and leaking bowls, and from some houses comes the sound of radios or gramophones. In the distance can be heard strange vocal noises which the Ganda quite falsely say are never made by them but always by immigrants. Now is the time for thieves to come out and rarely does a night pass without someone in Mulago raising "an alarm" to get help against an intruder, be he thief, drunkard or unwanted lover.

At the end of every month and usually every weekend many more people come to Mulago to visit friends, to drink beer and perhaps to find a lover for a little time or even for the night. Usually the second or third weekends are fairly tame, because money has been spent and there is no beer to buy. Sundays, too, are usually very calm. Most people are at home, washing their clothes and cleaning their houses. Around 4 p.m. many people assemble on the football field to watch the wrestling which used to be a weekly feature before the deportation of H.H. Kabaka Mutesa II. Others take the opportunity to repair and wash their cycles. At this time many women dress up and go to visit neighbours or friends. Despite the fact that on Sunday most men stay at home, except those on duty at the hospitals, the pattern of rising early remains unchanged. Most shops open as usual and some shopkeepers say that they do good business on Sunday. Launderers, water sellers, banana sellers and charcoal sellers all treat Sunday like any other commercial day, although some of them seem to be less active and less anxious to sell. Quite a number of the residents go to religious services and return usually at lunch time, having stopped at innumerable places on the way home. Going to church may soon be very much easier (at least for the Catholics) in Mulago, as a church is now being built there.

There is much to excite the residents of Mulago. The days do not pass in boredom or without stimulating events.

Shouts and calls came from the south end of the main street and soon a large group of people appeared. It was difficult to make out what had happened as the crowd would stop for a bit and then move on and then stop again. As they proceeded up the street one could tell that there was someone in their midst. At last they appeared outside

1. The literal translation of this is "he does not suffer". The lamps are so cheap to buy that even the poorest man can afford them.

the parish chief's house. They had caught a thief and were bringing him in to be arrested. He had tied around his neck a white sheet and a coat. These were the things which he had stolen. He was whimpering and bleeding badly from the mouth. He had stolen from the house of a porter and had been caught by three women who raised an alarm and helped to catch the thief.

"This man has stolen from Mr. A's house. Will you make a charge against him and take him to the police?" "We do not like people to steal from us here. Let us beat him here because the police will not beat him." "You will tell me what happened and I will handle the case," said the parish chief who had come out of his house. "I forbid you to hit him. If you do I will take you to the police as well." He took the thief into his house and closed the door. The debate continued outside. After some thirty minutes the parish chief and the thief emerged. The chief called for K. and gave him a letter, asking K. to take this man and the letter to the Buganda Government police. They went off and the crowd followed them still beating the thief. Several hours later both men were back in Mulago. K. had decided to hide the man, who had given him Shs 40/- in the village.

At times almost inconsequential affairs flare up into fights which always attract a crowd.

E. had ordered a small wooden box from a local carpenter who was known to be skilful but a little slow. E. went over to the carpenter's shop one day and wanted to get his box. He found the workshop closed and nobody there. He started to shout and eventually kicked in the door and found his box only half finished. He took the box back to his house. A little later the carpenter came back. He found the door smashed in and the lock broken. He went over to E's house and abused him. In the course of the argument he picked up a stick and hit E. on the head. A serious fight started and nobody was interested in separating the two men. When the assistant parish chief turned up he tried to stop the fight but got hit as well. He then joined in and for a little time it was difficult to know who was fighting whom. Eventually the carpenter went inside E's house and broke his bed and chair. All the people standing by said the real reason for the fight had been that E. was always buying food and clothes for the carpenter's lover and he should have known that that was the reason why the carpenter hit him so.

Beer parties almost always start in a friendly and congenial mood but it is not long before they deteriorate - even well before the participants are seriously drunk.

There were many people in G's bar because he always had good beer (good beer is beer which gives the drinker the feeling that he takes food and not just mere liquid) and because he brewed often. Some Nyoro men and women and three Ganda men and two Luo sat in the beer bar. They had been talking about political matters and then went on to talk about stealing. A Nyoro man told the rest that he had caught many thieves stealing from him. "I don't like

people to steal from me but I don't mind if they steal from other people. Some people are bad people and I think that they should have their things stolen." "I think that is very bad to say so, and I am sorry to tell you that this man steals all the time from Mulago people. I think I shall leave this bar because I do not like to hear people say that they like stealing", said a Ganda man. "I did not say that I like to steal. You are telling lies." "Are you abusing me? Come outside and I shall fight you." "I cannot fight now because I have had too much beer and you will win if we fight." "I shall fight you when you like because you are a thief." Two men, both Luo, went out of the bar and said that they had had enough of this beer and that they wanted to look for *waragi*. "I know that E. has some good *waragi*. If you will give us each one shilling we shall get *waragi*. They each gave the Luo men one shilling. After some time they came back with one bottle and they all sat down and drank it. The Nyoro man took a few sips of the *waragi* and got up and said, "I am now ready to beat you, will you come outside?" They went outside and walked away. After ten minutes they came back with another bottle of *waragi* and sat down to drink it.

Occasionally the "rough" life of Mulago is a new experience, and there are some who cannot cope with the confusion or stand up to the aggression. At times some people come to Mulago because their experiences in other parts of Kampala have been distasteful to them. They assume that they can rent a room and be left alone. Such people are often treated in a joking manner by those more accustomed to town life, who show little compassion for those who "don't know the town".

A young Soga boy of 19 who had been living in Mulago for just one week was suspected of taking away another man's lover. This was said because, being by himself, he had asked his neighbour, a young Ganda woman, to cook food for him. He paid for this service and had otherwise nothing to do with the woman. One day in the late afternoon just as he had come home from his work, a man stopped him outside his house and asked him why he was loving this woman who was his lover. He did not like him to do that and if he did not stop he would burn all his things and beat him terribly. The Soga denied the charge and tried to get into his room. The other fellow hit him and the Soga began to cry. Many people gathered outside the room. The agitated lover told the Soga "If you do that again I shall hit you again" When the man left, the crowd told the Soga boy "Don't you know that you must not look at town women? They all have lovers. You must get a lover of your own and leave others' alone." They laughed when a Rwanda man told him that he could easily find a good lover if he gave him some beer as a present.

It occurs very frequently that people have no respect whatsoever towards such obligations as paying rent. Although many tenants do not pay on time it is perhaps not often they refuse to pay at all and attack the houseowner. For that the police have to be called in.

P. simply refused to pay his rent which was Shs. 30/- a month because he used his room also as a shop. The houseowner went behind the counter and tried to get the rent due

to him from the money box which P. kept on a shelf. This made P. very angry and a fight started. In the course of the fight P. picked up a steel bar and tried to hit the houseowner over the head. As he was swinging the bar around many people went to their houses not wanting to be hurt. The houseowner went to the parish chief who called the Buganda Government police. When they arrived P. also tried to hit them but they managed to get hold of him and arrest him.

It frequently happens that fights begin with disputes over the price of a commodity or its weight, it being assumed that all shopkeepers falsify their scales. Often customers criticise the quality of the food they buy, refuse to pay and run off with the goods. Bargaining is not unusual but often leads to trouble. In the case below, those who were buying bananas from a lorry set up a sort of mock court to deal with the dispute.

A very large lorry had arrived in Mulago at about noon. There were about 200 stems of banana and many women rushed to purchase some before they were gone. Some women brought small boys with them whose function appeared to be to steal stems and to carry them away in a hurry. When the owner of the bananas had completed the unloading he sold a varying number of stems to people. There was a good deal of hard bargaining until small stems were reduced to Shs. 2/20 each, middle sized stems to Shs. 3/40 and large stems to Shs. 4/50. One Ganda lady tried to reduce the middle sized stems to Shs. 2/90 each but met with a firm refusal from the owner. In her temper she stepped on some of the stems and did considerable damage. The owner caught hold of the woman and abused her, asking her to pay for the damage she had done and demanding Shs. 20/-. She refused to pay and instead walked over some more stems kicking and stepping on them. At this time several women tried to stop her and forced her against the wall of a house. The owner of the bananas came over and said: "I do not want to beat women but let us make a legal case and punish her." The woman protested that "banana sellers have no courts", but she was silenced by a woman who told her that "we can make a court here if we want to." The owner then formally accused the woman, asking those who had been standing by and watching it all to give judgment in his favour. If the court gave a judgment in his favour he would go to the woman's house and remove some of her things. He would also give those in the court some bananas. A man told the owner that here was a clear case that the woman had done wrong. She should not lie to the court for everybody had seen her. Besides they all knew that this woman had a great deal of money so he thought that she ought to pay for the damage she had done. Another Nyoro woman told the owner that this was not a good idea because she would do it again. A larger group was by now standing around and a Rwanda certainly got the court on his side when he suggested that if this woman bought beer for everybody, the owner and those who had brought her to heel would certainly be satisfied. At first the owner insisted on money but when the woman agreed to buy some beer she was let free. She gave the owner Shs. 5/- and he sent a man to buy some beer from a nearby bar.

Many of these events occur daily and many more examples could be given as illustration. There is no doubt that residents welcome these breaks in their otherwise monotonous existence. Flaring tempers, quarrels and fights are to be expected when living in town. Quite a number of residents drew a strong and appealing contrast with rural life. People are continuously debating, in the shops, on the streets and in the beer bars, how bad town life is. Many of the older residents say that they wish they could live in the country, have porters and grow cotton and coffee and "retire when we have made money and live in a good house and eat good food." (Kiga, man) But many of those who say this have so grown into the urban fabric that it would be impossible for most of them to disentangle themselves. Some think that they can "escape from it all" by building houses in the less crowded parts of Mulago only to find that a month or so later a number of other new houses have been constructed close to them. Many villagers consider that town life, in Mulago particularly, is good and satisfying. Yet this feeling is subject to many rationalisations and ambivalent attitudes, so that it is difficult to get at any real meaningful consensus.¹ What is brought out, however, is that there is a longing to live in towns, without the ability to control the emotional components and norms of urban life. Their desires are set against the background of rural habits and thinking. Rural Ganda and immigrants alike find the wide range of choices which an urban area presents bewildering. They try this and that, only to discover that their chances are in fact limited as they are drawn ever closer to dependence on a wage earning economy, and into a battle to meet their real or fancied needs.

5. THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY

The composition of the community reflects the great variety of tribal groups to be found in and around Kampala. Some thirty-one tribes are represented in Mulago which is a little less than the number found in Kisenyi. As the whole of the parish was not included in the study it could well be that there are even more tribal groups represented. However, there is no doubt that this great variety is a recent development. The questionnaire asked people when they came to Mulago and from where they came. From the answers it appears that until shortly after the 1939-45 war, Mulago was a dominantly Ganda community with many Rwanda people, some Toro and Nyoro people, but without the same range of tribal variation as exists there today. The last few years have seen not only an increased intake of the Rwanda, Toro and Nyoro, but also Nilotic Luo from Nyanza Province of Kenya, and considerable numbers of West Nile people such as Lugbara, Madi and Kakwa.² Over 90% of the households in Mulago are derived from the larger community of Bantu-speaking peoples, the others being mainly Nilotic. Today Mulago is dominated by Ganda people who make up 46.6% of the households. They are followed by Rwanda (14.5%), Toro (7.2%), Kiga (5.83%), Luo

1. Two observations need more careful study. First, many of the younger Ganda look upon their homes in Mulago as "town houses". It is their ambition, often translated into fact, to have a country home, to grow cash crops there, and to come into Kampala daily "in a car". Immigrants have less opportunity to turn such a desire into fact. Secondly, old people, particularly women, who have been in Mulago for a long time do not express any strong desire to return to their villages. It seems almost a contradiction to say that such people are firmly wedded to an urban way of life.

2. The latter are present in small numbers in Mulago. However, in Mengo-Kisenyi, there are sizable groups of them.

(4.83%), Nyoro (2.83%) and Nkole (2.1%). Tribally mixed households from among the preceding groups comprise 6.55% and all other tribes 8.95%. It can be seen from this that the Ganda maintain the upper hand, at least as far as the number of households is concerned, although they form not quite half the total number of individuals in Mulago (48%).

The figures¹ for age give the following breakdown: children up to the age of 15 comprise 19.35% of the population, those 16 to 30 years, 46.5%, 31 to 45, 25.27% and 46 and over, 8.45%. The Mulago population is thus a young one, a working population which has answered the call of the urban wage earning economy where the premium is on strength, the ability to learn new tasks and initiative.

If the figures are analysed according to sex, the males constitute 59% and the females 41% of the population. This gives a ratio, including children under 16, of 1.43 males to each female, a fairly well-balanced community as far as urban areas are concerned. The crucial ratio of men and women between the ages 16 to 45 is 1.42 in favour of males to each one female. Although this appears to introduce a slight "scarcity" of women, it is hardly of the order of extreme competition. In the chapter on marriage these ratios between the sexes and within each tribal group are further debated and illustrated. Although males dominate over females in numbers, among the permanent residents there is a constant coming and going to and from Mulago bringing in many females as visitors, or as relatives to look after patients in the Hospital, so that there never appears to be a shortage of women. Further, the nurses in both Hospitals provide a large reservoir of females who continuously drift in and out of Mulago.

The reasons for the presence of the various tribal groups can only be broadly described. The Ganda are mostly artisans, shopkeepers and small traders, charcoal sellers and banana sellers, house builders and clerks. The Rwanda, the next largest group, are mostly unskilled labourers in the town and at the two hospitals. This is also true of the Toro group. Most of the Luo are employed in the Mulago Bakery in a series of unskilled to skilled jobs. Some of the Nyoro, mostly unskilled labourers, are also very small traders in the Mulago market. Some of the Nkole are herdsmen looking after the few cattle which are kept by people in Mulago. The occupational distribution by tribes shows the Ganda to be in control of the commercial life and skilled artisan trades, all the other tribes being found in a series of other occupations, the great bulk on the unskilled level.

6. EDUCATION

Mulago is not an illiterate community. Only 19% of the residents over seven years of age are illiterate. Very few children over seven are not attending school, so the great part of this group ranges from seventeen years to old age. Broken down according to sex and tribe, the figures for this illiterate group are quite interesting: 52% are males and 48% females. By tribe, 27.8% of the illiterates are Ganda, 26.97% Rwanda, all the rest are statistically very small percentages. This fairly low incidence of illiteracy, despite the high immigrant population, is often talked about in Mulago. Those who cannot read and write are frequently held up to ridicule and the Ganda in particular use illiteracy to characterise the other tribes. People who bring cases

1. See Table II.

to the parish council on a Saturday afternoon are usually required to sign the book which the parish chief keeps. If anyone is unable to sign his name those who make up the council are inclined to make a fuss involving quite a rigmarole of getting the ink and pressing the finger firmly on the paper. It has been observed that those who are illiterate are sometimes treated more brusquely by the council and with less respect. To describe a person as uneducated is to put him into a category of thought and action which brings up other images such as being dirty, fighting a lot and generally causing trouble. Discovery that a man is illiterate is often a convenient point to break off an argument and to leave him standing alone with the comment that he should first get some education and then do the talking. In the course of our work it was observed that those who were in need of such elementary education often expressed the hope that we would be instrumental in getting a school for Mulago. Outside of the Moslem community whose Koranic teachers (*Muwalimu*) often also try to teach the Roman script, there is no serious attempt to deal with illiterates.

Next to the illiterates comes a large group of people who claim that they have had some form of simple religious instruction (*dim*). It is somewhat difficult to be sure what this really means in terms of educational standards. However it can probably be safely assumed that such people, having been taught to read the Bible and being able to write slowly and deliberately, have some workable knowledge of the script. Nearly 30% of the residents over seven claimed this qualification. This figure can be divided into 57% males and 43% females.

The next group covers those claiming to have some form of primary education, ranging from Primary 1 to 6; 28% of the residents over twelve years of age have reached some level of this education. It is of interest to note that the females in this group do not lag behind as seriously as might be expected. Analysed according to sex, 58% are males and 42% females. The Ganda have the highest number of people, leading this group with 58%. There is a severe drop to the next largest tribal group, the Rwanda, of whom only 8% have any form of primary education, with the Toro a little over 7%.

Finally comes the group claiming secondary education, ranging also from Secondary 1 to 6. Only 6% of the population over eighteen claimed that they had been to secondary schools. Of these 91% are males and only 9% females. Again the Ganda head the list, making up 68% of the total. There are some individuals with post secondary education (college) and technical training. In contrast to Kisenyi, Mulago is indeed an educated community. It came as an element of surprise that a great many people spoke English more or less well, a fact which proved very useful in the survey. It was estimated that approximately 35% of the residents had some knowledge of the English language. This is no doubt due to the fact that Mulago is a community in which contacts with Europeans are frequent, particularly in the General Hospital. In numerous cases it was quite possible to conduct the whole interview in English. When this was possible, the informant's knowledge of the language was considered to be nearly fluent. In other cases some of the simpler questions were asked in English, and so on - until one reached the level at which "Good morning" and "How are you" were the only expressions known.

7. RELIGION

Finally a brief word is needed about religious affiliation. Very little difficulty was experienced in obtaining this information. In fact one of the assistants, having been trained for the ministry, made ready use of his training to get at some of the more intangible aspects of religion in an urban area. The numbers of declared Catholics and Protestants are almost equal, about 40% each. Next come Moslems, constituting 14% and finally the 6% who declared themselves Pagans. The figure for Moslems is considerably lower than in Kisenyi, and this is probably linked, as Dr. Southall suggests, with the considerably greater amount of independent retail trade in Kisenyi. An analysis by tribe would not be of interest here.

There is no doubt that the few Moslems who do live in Mulago exercise some influence. The general belief is that Moslems have great power and that it is better not to cross swords with them. Sometimes this is illustrated by the statement that Moslem tenants are not asked to pay rent or simply refuse to do so with impunity. A Ziba (Haya) man, who is a Moslem and a teacher of the Koran, occupies a position of considerable importance in Mulago. Besides being a teacher, he is a miner of wolfram, from which he derives considerable income and a "doctor". His fame is widespread and his clientele, which is large, includes two Europeans who come to him fairly often. Although his methods of curing people are basically harmless, he also has the reputation of being in possession of *mayembe* (horns)¹ which is the power to send ill fortune to a person and to cause damage to his property. He is not the only man in Mulago with this skill for there is at least one other practitioner, with whom he is consciously competing, but the fact that he is a Moslem helps him very considerably.²

Until recently there was no church in Mulago. However, during the last few months the Mill Hill Fathers have started building a Mission Church in the very centre of Mulago on land which has been acquired by the Crown. At first this caused considerable resentment, it being the second time that *mailo* land in Mulago had been acquired by the Crown. However when it became known that this land was to be used to build a church, antagonism of this sort faded, to be replaced by objections from the Protestant community that a church for their faith should also be constructed. On the whole, however, the rivalry between Protestants and Catholics is of no interest to the residents. There is one small mosque in Mulago under the supervision of the *Muwalimu* (teacher of the Koran). This man also serves the Moslem patients in the General Hospital.

Little study has been made of the pagan group. Many Luo men and women declared themselves to be pagans, yet in actual fact some of them had received some form of religious instruction. There are also three Protestant families who are *Balokole* (the saved ones) and whose zeal makes them rather active members of the community.

8. ATTITUDES TO SICKNESS

Some brief mention must be made of the attitudes of Mulago residents to European medicines, treatment and doctors. These play a considerable part in the conversations and daily life of the villagers. The many questions which this subject raises would need separate and

1 See footnote 2 p. 149

2. For the reason given above.

exhaustive treatment, require some medical knowledge and, in addition, complicated questions would have to be posed dealing with motivations, values and habits.

Today the most marked aspect of medical knowledge, and the seeking of medical help, is the ambivalent attitude which prevails and which is expressed in habits and thought. Although a great many people come to Mulago and reside there so that they may avail themselves of the services provided by the Hospital, they draw a clear distinction between a "Kiganda disease" and a "European disease". However, even with such matters as a broken arm or an infection, considerable numbers of people, both immigrant and Ganda, educated and uneducated, visit local African "doctors" first. It is quite a common sight to pass along the roads in the early morning and to see at a crossroad a basket made of leaves or a container (*Luleba* or *Ekjonzira*) with a small piece of barkcloth (*lubugo*) lying by the side. These are the remains of a medicine and a cure. The instructions which an African "doctor" gives to a patient who complains of fever or aches and pains, are to take this basket with its water and herbs and to wash the body at night, leaving the basket at the crossroad and all will be well. As many people pass the crossroad, it is likely that the sickness will thus pass from the patient to others. The potency of this psychological cure is considerable. In other cases a person with a swelling (*busuko, talo*) often first consults an African "doctor" who diagnoses a Kiganda disease. What such diseases are remains somewhat problematical but it is thought that they could be an indication of a neurological sickness.¹ Should the patient not be cured through the efforts of the African "doctor" then there is little hesitation about going to the hospital, but only after considerable sums have been paid to the African "doctor", ranging from Shs. 50/- to Shs. 500/- and often rather more.

There is no ready explanation for such conduct, beyond the fact that those who follow it obtain satisfaction from feeling that this is the proper procedure and that a need has been met. These actions are also fostered by the almost unlimited range of rumours which circulate daily among the residents of Mulago as to the type of treatment the Hospital gives to Africans. Death is rarely thought about as a natural event, even if it results from an accident. For a young person to die remains inexplicable. One Ganda woman who lives in Mulago has a great reputation as a specialist in childbirth and the treatment of swollen testicles. Several residents rated her very high on the scale of important people and one man explained that she was a "good woman because she helped other women to have their babies in the native manner". Although she denies such skills, there is a ready traffic to her house at night. She lives in one of the larger houses and keeps ten head of cattle. When men and women are asked why they continue to go to native doctors the answer is almost always that European doctors only give injections and that a Kiganda disease does not respond to that. In isolated cases, those seeking medical aid do not seem to meet the sort of response from the Hospital which satisfies them; consequently they revert to the old well-tried methods even if they don't bring results.

1. It has also been suggested that Kiganda diseases are frequently not organic but functional, i.e. that an evil force has entered the body. There seems to be more evidence pointing to the organic nature of such diseases.

B. was at his house when the interviewer came. A very small child was lying on the ground covered in very dirty rags. "It is now three days since my child fell sick", said the father, "and I took her to the Hospital at once for admission. The African doctor examined her and gave me this medicine in this white bottle. I brought her back. At about one a.m. her condition was not good and I returned to the hospital. The doctor examined her and asked me to go back and give her the medicine. I asked him to admit her to Hospital but he refused. I left the Hospital and was very angry. All Mulago Hospital African doctors are not good, they don't like to help people who are in trouble. When I found that I did not get good treatment for my child I changed my mind and now I am giving her native medicine." Wife: "I wonder very much why we went to the Hospital when we did not get help from the Hospital. The doctor told my husband that there is no other medicine for the child. He did not satisfy us." Visitor: "Mulago Hospital is not as good as before. African doctors want money and the Europeans don't like to work hard when they are on duty. They simply go around at night and don't take trouble to attend to all the complaints from sick people. So people go to native doctors. African doctors at Mulago refuse to answer questions but native doctors will always tell what is the matter with the child."

The ambivalent attitude which is clearly expressed in the world of sickness and disease is reflected in other aspects of the daily life. To make a choice from a series of alternatives is a painful process to many residents of Mulago. Agreement to act in a certain way is frequently reached by open debate and decision, only to be completely reversed in the event. This difficulty appears to underlie all the endless conversations in beer bars dealing with the pros and cons of having lovers, or the merits of stealing versus the disadvantages. Could the confusion be caused by two sets of acceptable norms - those for individual manipulation and those for the group as a whole? Alternatively, could it be that the urban setting presents a person with such a wide variety of motivations and choices that it is indeed difficult to see the merits of one action compared with another. As this is not a psychological study this is merely offered as an observation which has come to light in the course of the research. Perhaps the following chapters will throw some light upon it.

CHAPTER VII.

LAND AND HOUSING.

1. THE LAND SITUATION.

The emotional value of land in Mulago far outstrips its high capital value. All questions which affect land, including housing and cultivation, are subject to considerable debate, and if they are debated in the company of Europeans they elicit the most irrational suspicions. It is virtually impossible to talk to a Ganda about matters of land and housing without generating undue heat in the argument. Perhaps special conditions prevail in Mulago which are not to the same extent operative in other areas. Those residents who have lived in Mulago since the early 1920's recall with some precision the gradual whittling away of their land by the development and expansion of the Hospital.¹ The tone of their voices becomes harsh when they mention compulsory acquisition of land by the Crown in the middle and later thirties. To explain that no European obtained this land and that it remains for the sole benefit of Africans makes no impression

At one time Mulago was a community of spacious residences for important chiefs, who were allotted small plots to be able to put up a "town" so that they could stay in the vicinity of the Kabaka's Lukiko when this body was in session. All the land on Mulago was held under the terms of the *mailo* allotment.² On the whole the plots were small, ranging in size from .65 of an acre to 14 acres. The average land holding in 1900 was 4.14 acres; today it is 1.89 acres. In 1900 the present area of research was in the hands of 34 *mailo* owners. There were two plots of land which were official land, one belonging to H.H. the Kabaka and the other to the Saza Chief of Kyagwe. Although today these two officially-owned estates remain, the number of *mailo* owners has increased from 34 to 74. One section of land is in the hands of the Crown and is used by the Mental and General Hospitals.

The increase in the value of land per acre has been spectacular. The first sales of land were concluded in the period 1910 to 1920. At that time an acre sold for an average of Shs. 200/- - a very high figure for those days. In all, four sales involving 11 acres were concluded. There were no sales between 1914 and 1918. If the mean price of Shs. 200/- per acre is expressed as a base figure of 100, then the increases after 1920 may be expressed as follows: 1920 to 1930 - 111 (11%); 1931 to 1940 - 136 (36%); 1941 to 1950 - 350 (250%) and 1951 to the present day (the end of 1953) - 777 (677%).

1. Suspicion about the expansion of the Hospitals continues despite the fact that in both cases public statements have been made that (a) the Mental Hospital will be removed to an area close to Port Bell and (b) the General Hospital plans to erect a new building, for which the foundations have already been marked out, on land acquired by the Crown a considerable time ago.
2. An excellent developmental history of land tenure in Buganda has been written by A. B. Mukwaya ("*Land Tenure in Buganda - Present Day Tendencies*") by A. B. Mukwaya, East African Studies No. 1. East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala, 1953). The most important aspect of this system, as laid down in 1900, was the establishment of individual landownership, the right of purchase and the right of sale. The establishment of this system has had far reaching repercussions in and around urban areas.

From 1921 to 1930 there were six sales of privately owned *mailo*, involving 20 acres. The average sale price per acre was Shs. 223/-. Between 1931 and 1940 there were 17 sales of *mailo* land, and the price climbed to Shs. 274/-. Between 1941 and 1950 there were 22 sales, involving 31 acres and the sale price had jumped to almost Shs. 702/-. So far, from 1951 to the present (the end of 1953), there have been ten sales of land involving almost 15 acres. The sale price per acre now stands at an average of Shs. 1,555/-. In one recent sale involving 3.66 acres, the total sum paid was Shs. 8,500/- or a little over Shs. 2,400/- per acre. Considerably higher figures have been quoted in other parts of the Kibuga and even higher figures yet have been quoted for the three remaining parcels of *mailo* land within the boundaries of the Municipality. Just recently a Ganda demanded £1,500 for just a little over half an acre of *mailo* land within the Municipality. The capital value of land has indeed increased tremendously.

It is very difficult to say what the density of population was in Mulago fifty years ago, or even twenty or thirty years ago. However, a series of area studies was conducted to determine the density of the population in different parts of Mulago. From this, two figures can be used for purposes of reconstruction. The research area¹, which comprised 165 acres, was divided into four parts: (a) urban; (b) semi-urban; (c) dense-rural; (d) rural. At the moment we are only concerned with the last two. At present the density in the dense-rural area is 10.67 people per acre. It is doubtful whether such a density existed forty to fifty years ago, but it may have done so twenty years ago. The rural area in Mulago today has a density of 2.45 people per acre and it is likely that such a figure is more representative of the overall density of population on the land forty to fifty years ago. Today the overall density has changed to 8.187 people per acre which works out as 5235.2 people per square mile, a figure well below that of what is normally considered to be a crowded urban area. It is also well below the Kisenyi figure.

The original owners of *mailo* land on Mulago Hill must have been men of high political office as they received extensive allotments. The average number of estates, of these earlier owners, including those held in Mulago, was six; and the average size of holding per person was just a little over five square miles. Today this has changed very considerably. With the exception of H.H. the Kabaka, out of the present 74 *mailo* land owners, only 17 have two other estates in other parts of Buganda, not including Mulago. 13 have one other estate, not included in Mulago, and the rest have their Mulago properties as the only estates in their possession. Of the 17 who have two estates in addition to their Mulago holdings the average of their combined properties is 70 acres. Of the group with only one other estate outside Mulago, the average holding is 45 acres. A little under 60% of the *mailo* owners in Mulago are therefore small-scale owners who treat their land as a small scale investment; this being their only property. This in itself gives an indication of the type of community Mulago is. Only 11 of the 74 landowners live in Mulago, but some others live either within the Kibuga or close to it. Some owners on the other hand live further away in Eastern Kyagwe and in Mubende District.

There remain in Mulago 59 customary tenants or *kibanja* holders, the security of whose ownership is laid down in the *Busulu* and *Envujo*

1. See map.

Law of 1928. This number is considerably higher than in Kisenyi where customary tenants have virtually disappeared, either because they have left their holdings and sought a *kibanja* somewhere else or because the landowner has, with the agreement of the *kibanja* tenant, parcellated the land, or, finally, because the landowner has illegally evicted the customary tenant knowing that he can make large profits from his land if he rents out small plots. So far neither of the last two alternatives has occurred in any number in Mulago. The 59 customary owners of small *kibanja* holdings constitute 25% of the total households. This figure can be further broken down. There are 302 Ganda householders in Mulago of whom 40 or 14.9% are customary tenants and this is a rather surprisingly small number. These people live mostly in the areas described as dense-rural and rural. Of the 102 Rwanda householders living in Mulago, 12, or 11.76%, have managed to get customary holdings from Ganda landowners. The only other tribal groups who have such holdings are the Toro and Nyoro people who, between them, have some 7 customary holdings out of a combined number of 69 householders. Customary tenants are looked upon with considerable envy by the ordinary plot owners or by simple tenants who do not have the same security or advantages. First and foremost, a customary tenant can grow his own food, and secondly, he neither pays room nor house rent. The house is one he has built himself and he does not pay a highly inflated rent for the use of a *kibanja*. His tenancy is secure as long as he pays his *kibanja* rent, looks after his land and does not leave it for longer than one year without the permission of the landowner. On the other hand, a number of customary tenants are not able to make the best use of their holdings. This is so because the owners work all day and their wives do not always have the interest to provide the food for the home. If their husbands are well established, the women frequently look upon digging as beneath their dignity. In two such cases in Mulago the landowners have threatened their tenants with eviction unless they cultivated the land. In another case the neglect¹ of a customary tenant made it legally possible for the landowner to evict his tenant and turn the *kibanja* into a series of plots. In only one case, so far, has a landowner attempted to evict a tenant without good cause when the tenant had met all legal requirements. Considerable resentment was aroused in the village when the steward of this landowner informed the tenant that he would have to move, giving as the reason that the tenant had not provided himself with an adequate latrine. The tenant threatened to take the case to court. However public opinion against the steward and his absentee master seems to have been strong enough to prevent eviction, at least for the time being. There is no doubt that the holders of *bibanja* think of themselves as a class apart. Most of these people have been in Mulago for a long time. It is virtually impossible now to get a customary holding and the chief informs me that to the best of his knowledge no landowner has given such a holding to any person for the last two years. Generally speaking the *bibanja* holders are either independent retailers, such as small scale traders, or old Ganda women who are now beer brewers, banana or

1. This tenant had broken the *Busulu* and *Envujo* Law in one respect. This law provides that if a customary tenant has permitted his holding to become derelict because of his absence for more than six months, the landowner has the right to serve a notice of eviction. In the case referred to above the customary tenant had left his land almost completely unattended for nine months.

charcoal sellers. Such women often live alone, either because they are widows, or because they have separated from their husbands a long time ago, and managed to get a *kibanja* near the town. Some customary holders are employed artisans, such as bricklayers, painters or employees of the two Hospitals.

Today the landowners do not form any special wealthy group. Two members of the Royal Family have small *mailo* holdings in Mulago, and the second largest owner is an ex-ggombolola chief. The other owners are mostly small scale and self-employed entrepreneurs who seek to build houses in Mulago which they intend to rent. Failing that, they cut their land into small strips and let those who wish construct houses. To get such a plot is not easy. On the one hand there is a general shortage of building land, and on the other hand only those who can afford to pay the high premium which is asked for by the owner can get such plots. An owner may ask for almost any sum ranging from Shs.150/- to Shs.400/- and Shs.500/-. Recently an owner asked Shs.700/- for a plot 35 feet square, because it happened to be in a commercially profitable area and the prospective buyer was going to erect a shop and sleeping room. There was a great deal of argument over what appeared to be a large sum of money. In the argument the landowner made no concessions but played one prospective buyer against the other. The first buyer paid the sum but only with considerable grumbling. The plot rent was fixed at Shs.10/- a month. The fixing of plot rents is done in a completely arbitrary manner without any legal sanctions; they may range from Shs.10/- a year to Shs.300/- a year.¹ In this respect customary tenants are very lucky as they pay no more than Shs. 10/- a year, Shs. 8/50 of which is kept by the landowner, Shs. 1/50 being paid to the Buganda Government. One can readily understand that landowners get little from customary tenants and the temptation to ask for more or to decrease the size of the holding is indeed great.

It is according to custom for a landowner to receive two shillings each time a *kibanja* holder brews beer, and four shillings annually if he grows cotton or coffee on plots no larger than one acre. Should the tenant grow cash crops on larger plots, the landowner receives eight shillings if the size of the plot is between one acre and three. There are a number of small coffee and cotton plots in Mulago but all of them are under one acre in size. However, tenants complain that the owners

1. Plot rent is called *busuze* (permission to stay on *mailo* land). Although Article 6 of the *Busulu and Envujo* Law of 1928 states that no person may occupy any part of land without the permission of the landowner, there is no mention that a landowner has the right to ask any occupier of his land, other than a customary (*kibanja*) tenant, for any rent. The occupancy of a plot is the result of permission granted to the occupier by the landowner. A tenant occupying a plot has no legal right to the land and consequently cannot take a case of eviction to a native court. In the rural areas eviction is unlikely unless the plot occupier has, without the permission of the landowner, started any form of trading. In such a case the landowner could bring a civil action against the plot occupier.

In the rural areas many tenants pay no plot rent at all. Yet the landowners have quite naturally recognised that a considerable source of income can be derived from the plot occupiers. This is particularly so in urban areas where there is a great scarcity of land. If a landowner has "sold" a plot, he will thereafter receive monthly plot rent agreed upon between the two parties. If the tenant wishes to construct a house which he wishes to rent out, he must obtain the permission of the landowner to do so. In such a case the plot occupier will not only pay an agreed plot rent but also anything from Shs. 1/- to Shs. 5/- per room per month. In Mulago for example a number of plot occupiers pay Shs. 20/- per month. If they rent out a four-room house, the landowner may receive anything up to Shs. 40/- per month from this plot.

ask them for much more than the customary amounts, under the threat that they will decrease the size of the *bibanja*. The tenants, fearing the force behind such words, and not wishing to lose their holdings or to get involved in endless and slow moving litigation, usually come to an arrangement with either the landowner or his steward. Either the steward is the sole benefactor or both steward and landowner may share the increased returns thus obtained. There is no doubt that the stewards stand to gain quite considerably from the beer brewers, especially those who have ordinary plots, for they, unlike customary tenants, are not protected by law and cannot take any infringements of their rights to a court.

However, apart from these recognised legal provisions, a graduated series of "dues", to steward or landowner, operates. A person who merely rents a room in a house may possibly pay five shillings on every occasion when he brews some beer and this has occurred in two cases. If he brews a *debe* (paraffin tin) of beer, which contains four gallons, he will pay less than if he brews beer in an old petrol drum which holds forty-five gallons. One man was asked by the landowner to pay him ten shillings every time he brewed such a quantity of beer and this happened twice a month. In this particular instance the matter was complicated by a triangular system of "dues", to the house owner, to the steward of the landowner and to the landowner himself. Such a cumbersome system brings inevitable difficulties. One of the research assistants overheard the following conversation between a steward and this same beer brewer who, though still sleeping in his landlord's room, had moved his brewing activities to the house of a friend who did not charge "rent" for them:

The steward of the landowner had visited him in order to collect what was "due" for some beer which S. had brewed last month. "I will not pay you this money", said S. "because I have now moved and I no longer make beer in that room." "Do you have a permit to brew this beer?" asked L. "No I do not and you know that you have given me much trouble for a long time." "I shall tell P. about this and he will be very angry. Don't you know that the chief could report you to the Omukulu w'e Kibuga for brewing beer?" "I know that. But I shall no longer pay any money to anyone and not to P. (the landowner) either because he gets a great deal of money from other people who brew a great deal more beer than I do, and you get a lot of money as well but you do not take any risk because you just collect money and that is all. If P. is angry, tell him to come to me and I shall explain this matter to him. I shall give him some free beer and I shall give you some beer too."

"I do not want beer from you. Your beer is bad. I want money and if you do not give me any money I shall report you to the chief and later I shall tell P. about you and he will ask you to move to another house." "He cannot do that because he is not the houseowner." "Yes he can, and if you do not move he will ask the house owner to move as well because you have given him much trouble and you do not pay him any money like other people do who brew beer on his land." "Please go away or I shall beat you and my friend will help me to beat you. I do not like you to come to this place and take my business from me. Go away."

If the house is owned by the beer brewer the landowner is likely to ask for a little less in dues. If the beer brewer is a customary tenant he

may get away with paying what is legally set down or in some cases just a little more than is customary.

2. DEVELOPING MAILO LAND

Not only are customary *bibanja* holders better off because they can grow food and reside on the land without fear of eviction or interference, but they may also, with the permission of the landowner erect further houses for renting out to others. In such a case an agreement is reached between the landowner and his tenant on how big a share of the rent so obtained the landowner will receive. In the past the landowner was not entitled to any part of the rent thus obtained, but under present circumstances it is a way of developing the land whereby both owner and tenant benefit. It has occurred several times in Mulago, and those who have developed their land in this manner consider themselves lucky. Today, however, those who own a small plot of land which has so far not been occupied can make considerable profit by erecting houses themselves and renting rooms individually at high monthly rentals. Other landowners prefer the quick large profits obtained by renting out small parcels of land and demanding "key money" for them. A landowner who intends to make considerable profits over a long period must develop his own land and build his own houses on it. Although a capital outlay is required to meet the cost of building materials, owner-constructors usually spread their costs over a considerable period of time. They often finish two or four rooms of a six- or eight- roomed house and rent these rooms before completing the rest. There are only three owner-constructors in Mulago. Most others have sought quick profits by the sale of building plots, usually one-eighth of an acre, for which they get Shs. 300/- and later on fix a high monthly plot rent of Shs. 10/- a plot.

To be asked to pay a large sum of money in order to get a plot is no longer considered unusual, although some informants have expressed dislike of the completely arbitrary manner in which these sums are fixed. There is no doubt that one of the reasons why landowners demand these high premiums is because they assume that this will entitle them to more compensation if a great deal of land on Mulago Hill is taken over by the Crown. This fear, that the villagers are to be driven from their land, is increased by the experience of the last few years when many Africans, many of them Sudanese, had to leave Kololo Hill so that it might be developed as a residential area. Moreover, although the Hospital is considered a great asset by some, the fear, which is unfounded, is widespread that sooner or later it will acquire the remaining land. Any surveyor working in Mulago arouses the greatest suspicion and gives "justification" to the residents that the day is not far off when everybody will be asked to leave. One houseowner, who does not own land in Mulago, recently replaced the papyrus roofing on his houses with iron sheets, not because he thought of giving his tenants better living conditions, but because he had been told that a road would be cut through Mulago and that the Protectorate would pay compensation to all whose property had to be destroyed or who had land within a certain distance of it. He was most serious in his defence of this motivation.

The nature of land ownership has changed very considerably, particularly in relation to urban areas. It would indeed be extraordinary if the landowners quietly watched tenants on their land make larger profits, while they themselves received little more than a pittance in plot rent and a share of the cash crops grown. It is therefore in

the interest both of the customary tenant and the landowner to transform the function and purpose of the customary holding. This has happened as pointed out over the last few years. Those tenants who live near the town are most reluctant to give up their holdings although they may agree to decrease their size. If a landowner approaches his tenant and asks him to return a part of his *kibanja*, the tenant, knowing this to be illegal, may agree with the landowner in return for permission to build houses for rent. This has happened in a number of situations in Mulago. One tenant "leased" a part of his *kibanja* to his own landowner. The use of leases, which are really no more than formalised gentleman's agreements, is an increasingly popular device. Those who take up small plots to erect houses or shops realise that under the terms of the law they have no security of tenure. To amend this situation they contract leases for periods of a few years to thirty years or more. Dr. Southall points out that an increasing number of cases involving land manipulation fall "progressively outside the scope of the *Busulu* and *Envujo* Law."

The various methods used to develop *mailo* land which surrounds an urban area bring up a spate of complications of which the origin lies in the formulation of this distinct form of land ownership. The merit of this form of land ownership is not the subject of this report. Registered *mailo* landowners, customary tenants and people who have bought their plots all cherish designs for the development of their land which differ radically from their father's or grandfather's ideas. Increasing sub-division of the land, in Mulago from 34 owners in 1900 to 74 in 1953, has very considerably broadened the base of land ownership and the distribution of economic, if not always of political, power. It is largely those who own land who have stimulated at least some form of economic development. The lively trade in land in Mulago -32 sales since 1941- has brought more and more people into the realm of economic development, for no longer will an owner let a piece of land lie idle; at the very least he has acquired a capital asset which he can dispose of as he likes and when he needs to do so. In Mulago all three systems of land occupation reflect the growing desire of Africans to enter the commercial and economic picture. When a man obtains a small plot for which he has paid a large sum and erects a shop or a lodging house, it may be regretted that he has not always acted within the law, that is to say, that he has not obtained a building permit or that he has put up property which does not meet health and building standards. It must be admitted that an unplanned community is emerging through such activities. Yet this economic enterprise is an indication of the increasing purchasing power of Africans. Today it is no longer true, as it was twenty years ago, that only a few hold the strings of economic power.

Today the owner of a purchased plot, who is, let us say, a successful shopkeeper, may certainly command as much respect and authority within the new entrepreneur class as those chiefs and others whose power still rests on extensive land ownership. This is clearly evident in Mulago, where, although landowners still command authority, there has emerged a group of artisans and entrepreneurs whose position in the community cannot be denied. This does not apply only to Ganda but also to a number of immigrants who, having been able to acquire small plots of land, have shown that they intend to stay in an urban setting. Even if their stake in the community is merely expressed by such an act as the replacement of a papyrus roof by iron sheets, it is yet increasing daily. It is nonetheless, to a large

extent, the manipulations of the Ganda landowners which have made it possible for a property owning class to emerge and Kampala to be provided with a relatively stable and contented urban labour supply.

It may well be argued, however, that all this has been achieved at the expense of overcrowding and the creation of slum conditions. This is certainly so in Kisenyi where somewhat different conditions prevail. It is not yet true of Mulago, except for an extremely small area where shopkeepers and traders have taken up residence in response to the commercial opportunities which presented themselves, such as a good road and the ready traffic of people in and out of the Hospital. By far the greater part of Mulago remains pleasantly open, and, with a certain amount of legislative control, it could easily be developed into a well-planned urban area for Africans. It might indeed be wiser to plan the development of Mulago than to build more housing estates elsewhere. If the population of Mulago were to be moved further away from the urban centre, another similar community, with similar problems, would in all likelihood quickly arise in the same place. Perhaps, therefore, instead of developing new housing estates at a distance from the places of work, it might be worthwhile giving serious thought to the development of areas such as Mulago where the most undesirable features of urban development have not so far occurred in a concentrated form.

3. HOUSEOWNERS

Apart from the landowners the most important propertied class is that of the houseowners. The earliest questionnaires to be returned gave the indication that Mulago was made up of houseowning residents. As more and more householders were interviewed this picture was completely reversed. On the basis of the latest tabulations, 451 householders (or 65.83%) are tenants and 234 householders (or 34.16%) own their own homes. The greater number of tenants can be explained by the fact that 49% of the total population are not Ganda people but immigrants. Many of these are unskilled workers who do not have the capital to construct their own dwellings, and many members of this immigrant group do not intend to stay in Mulago long enough to warrant house construction and personal ownership. However the 35% who do own their own homes give the community a certain stability and permanence. This stability is increased by the fact that of the 316 houseowners, 234 (or 74.05%) live in Mulago as independent house owners, while only 82 of the houseowners, (or 25.94%) are absentee owners. These absentee houseowners come to Mulago at the end of every month to collect rents. If they are unable to come regularly they appoint residents to act as their rent collectors. A number of the absentee houseowners are women who work in the General or Mental Hospitals.

A finer breakdown of house-ownership by tribe and by sex is given in a table at the end. From this it will be seen that not only do the Ganda households lead in terms of house-ownership but that Ganda also comprise the greatest percentage of houseowners generally. Among the Ganda the ratio of owner to tenant is 1 to 2.17. Among the Rwanda people the ratio is practically the same, an indication that this immigrant group has established itself more firmly than other outsiders. There were 11 Nyoro houseowners out of 20 Nyoro households. They only make up 2.83% of the households in Mulago, with a ratio of one houseowner to 1.81 tenants. Among all the other tribes scattered in 193 households, only 21 householders own their own homes, a ratio of one owner to 8.18 tenants. If the group of

houseowners is analysed by tribe, the Ganda make up 66.77%, the Rwanda 16.13%, Toro 5.37%, Nyoro 3.79%, Kiga 2.84% and all other tribes grouped together 5.06%. Although the majority of those who own their own homes, including those who are absentee owners, only own one house, there are a number whose property is extensive. One man was found to be the owner of 11 houses, another of 7 and one of 6. Of the 141 Ganda found owning their own homes, 30 (or 21.27%) own more than one house, whereas 111 (or 78.72%) own only one house. This works out at an overall average of house-ownership by the Ganda as 1.37 houses per houseowner. These figures were not significantly different for the Rwanda community. The percentage of female houseowners was surprisingly high. There were 109 female owners (absentees as well as those present) constituting 34.5% of the houseowning group; 207 owners (or 65.5%) were men.

4. HOUSING CONDITIONS

On the whole, the condition of houses in Mulago is good. Only occasionally does one see a very dilapidated house. Most of the houses are constructed from mud and wattle, with a wide range of roofing materials such as thatch, iron sheets, flattened-out paraffin tins and papyrus. The last is becoming increasingly rare as few people have the time or the energy to cut the papyrus. It is a very common practice to use more than one kind of material for roofing. Gradually thatch and papyrus are being replaced by flattened paraffin tins and, at a later stage, by iron sheets. Those with iron sheets definitely tend to rank higher on the social scale. The following conversation was recorded outside the home of a Rwanda porter who was taking a big step, financially and socially, by removing his thatched roof and replacing part of it with secondhand iron sheets which he then proceeded to paint with very old and deteriorated paint.

In the course of discussing his work a number of people gathered around the research assistant. One man who was watching the process and who was a Somali man, said: "You are lucky that you can have a good roof. I think that I shall try to get some money and get such sheets for my house." "Thank you very much, I hope that you can get such sheets as well. I am a Rwanda man and I have lived in this village for a long time. All my neighbours have good roofs and if a man is educated he will get himself a good house." "I think that all your neighbours are Ganda people and they are rich because this is their country. I think the Ganda people will like all foreigners better if they build good houses as you are doing." "Yes, I expect that my Ganda friends will ask me how I got the money to buy these iron sheets." "How did you get the money?" "I have been saving for a long time from my pay. In a little time I hope to buy some more sheets so that my whole roof is covered." "That is very good and I think that you are very lucky." "Yes, thank you for saying so."

Although most of the houses have the conventional cracked mud walls, there are an increasing number which are covered, both internally and externally, with a thin layer of plaster, a mixture which appears to be made with a small quantity of inferior cement mixed with sand and cow dung. The dung appears to act as a binding agent. Few of the houses have windows, although three houseowners have broken in parts of the walls to insert glass panes. One man commented

on this process with shame, complaining that these men were following a European custom. However such a comment can hardly be taken seriously, for obvious reasons. Almost all houses have properly constructed doors, which open on hinges. Only a few houses of the traditional type remain. The average size per room is ten feet by ten feet.¹ The height of the older rooms is hardly more than six feet, the more recently constructed homes being put up to nine feet high.

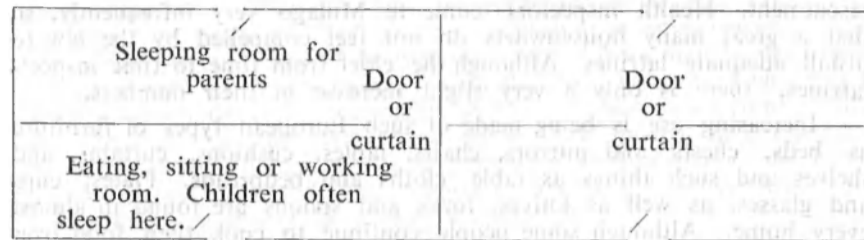
The conventional house in Mulago is made up of two rooms for the older houses and four to six rooms for those more recently built. There are five houses in Mulago which can be referred to as "long houses" which have six to twelve rooms. These houses are of very recent construction; three of them have not yet been occupied. Such houses, all of which have metal roofs and very high ceilings, are costly to construct. One of the largest is being constructed by a nurse from the General Hospital at an estimated cost of Shs.7,000/-, and constructed out of temporary materials except for the roof. This house has been building for nearly two years, the owner not being able to put up the needed capital all at one time. In the course of these two years the house has been damaged and reeds have been taken from the unfinished walls for use in the construction of other houses. The loss to the owner has been considerable. She is now trying to get money to complete the house.

In most two-roomed one family houses the rooms are connected by a simple opening in the inside wall. Sometimes this opening is covered with a curtain; sometimes a door may be used. The rectangular pattern of house construction and the division into equal spaces for every room means that there are no three-roomed houses. Four-roomed houses usually have four doors, one for each of the front rooms and one for each of the back rooms. Front and back rooms are joined by an opening in the wall and the third and fourth rooms are usually accessible from either the first room or the second room. If the walls are plastered they are in many cases whitewashed. If they remain simply mud-covered they are seldom painted. As very few tenants, and not even all homeowners, have separate kitchens, the preparation of food usually takes place in the corner of one of the rooms or outside the house altogether. In the former instance, one corner of the room is usually severely blackened by smoke. Several homeowners with larger houses have begun to use one of their rooms as a dining room. Such a room is usually completely bare but for a few mats on the ground. The construction of cement floors, particularly for shops, is becoming increasingly popular and in several houses otherwise built from temporary materials a cement floor may be found. Furthermore, it was also observed that a number of the homeowners have built small concrete verandahs (*lupalaza*) around their houses in an effort to keep out mud and rain during the heavy rains.

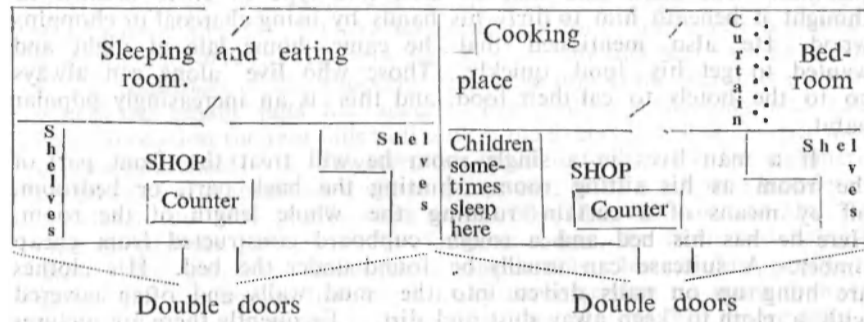
Most of the houses and the compounds in front of them are kept very clean. Rooms are swept at least once a day and often twice or three times. It is in relation to cleanliness that the Ganda impress their customs perhaps most strongly on certain groups of immigrants whose arrival in Mulago often brings forth derogatory comments from the Ganda about their food and habits of cleanliness. The chief considers it one of his most important functions to "train foreigners to be clean", particularly in relation to the use of latrines. Few houses have their own latrines so that it is common

1. See diagram p. 123

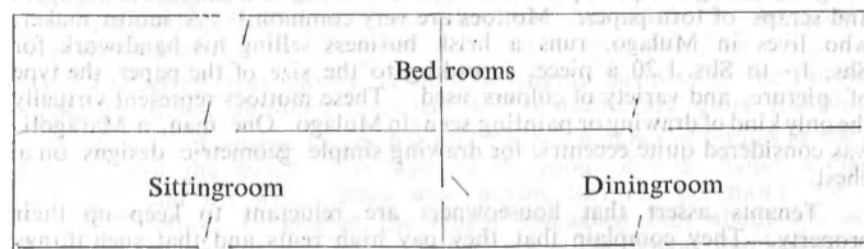
FOUR ROOMED HOUSE OCCUPIED BY TWO HOUSEHOLDS WITH TWO ROOMS EACH



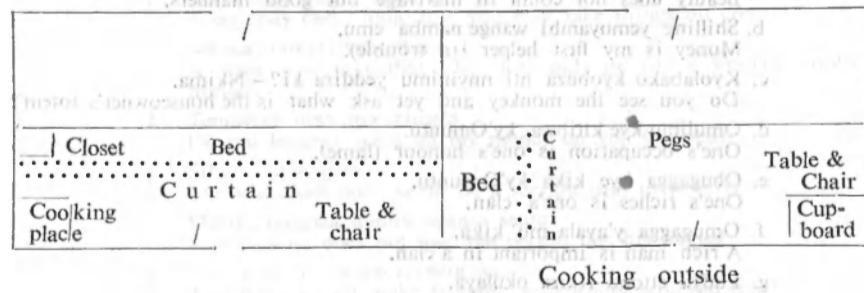
SHOPS, TWO KINDS



FOUR ROOMED HOUSEHOLD



SINGLE ROOMED HOUSEHOLDS



practice to share latrines with neighbours. The Ganda people were reluctant to share their latrines, but the chief pointed out that it was their duty to cooperate, an attitude which caused considerable resentment. Health inspectors come to Mulago very infrequently, so that a great many houseowners do not feel compelled by the law to install adequate latrines. Although the chief from time to time inspects latrines, there is only a very slight increase in their numbers.

Increasing use is being made of such European types of furniture as beds, chests and mirrors, chairs, tables, cushions, curtains, and shelves and such things as table cloths and bedreads. Plates, cups and glasses, as well as knives, forks and spoons are found in almost every home. Although some people continue to cook their food over a wood fire, more are using charcoal stoves and some paraffin stoves. Paraffin stoves, being expensive both in original outlay and cost of fuel, are only used by shokeepers and others with somewhat higher incomes. One clerk said that he used this type of stove because he thought it beneath him to dirty his hands by using charcoal or chopping wood. He also mentioned that he came home late at night and wanted to get his food quickly. Those who live alone can always go to the hotels to eat their food, and this is an increasingly popular habit.

If a man lives in a single room he will treat the front part of the room as his sitting room, shutting the back part, or bedroom, off by means of a curtain running the whole length of the room. Here he has his bed and a rough cupboard constructed from cheap timber. A suitcase can usually be found under the bed. His clothes are hung up on nails driven into the mud walls and often covered with a cloth to keep away dust and dirt. Frequently there are pictures of a wide variety on the walls, with the long arm of Hollywood evident. Few pictures are of a political nature; in fact almost anything seems to be good enough to put up on the wall, including old English newspapers and scraps of torn paper. Mottoes are very common.¹ A motto maker, who lives in Mulago, runs a brisk business selling his handiwork for Shs. 1/- to Shs. 1/20 a piece, according to the size of the paper, the type of picture, and variety of colours used. These mottoes represent virtually the only kind of drawing or painting seen in Mulago. One man, a Maragoli, was considered quite eccentric for drawing simple geometric designs on a chest.

Tenants assert that houseowners are reluctant to keep up their property. They complain that they pay high rents and that such things

1. The following are some examples of the mottoes which were found hanging on the walls in houses in Mulago:
 - a. Obulungi sidya wabula empisa.
Beauty does not count in marriage but good manners.
 - b. Shilling yemuyambi wange namba emu.
Money is my first helper (in trouble).
 - c. Kyolabako kyobuza nti nnyinimu yeddira ki? - Nkima.
Do you see the monkey and yet ask what is the houseowner's totem?
 - d. Omulimu kye kitibya ky'Omuntu.
One's occupation is one's honour (fame).
 - e. Obugagga kye kika ky'Omuntu.
One's riches is one's clan.
 - f. Omugagga y'ayala mu kika.
A rich man is important in a clan.
 - g. Eddya ettono likira okulaya.
A humble marriage is better than being a prostitute.

as leaking roofs, cracked walls and broken hinges on doors are not put right. When tenants complain to the houseowners, they are likely to be treated roughly and told that they can always leave and find accommodation somewhere else. Although some are willing to run this risk, others prefer to keep their peace and say nothing about their inconveniences. During the period of one year, 17 householders moved from their homes to other rented rooms for the expressed reason that they refused to pay rent for poor quality lodging. Occasionally tenant and houseowner come to blows over this matter, and several houseowners have evicted their tenants by breaking down their doors and removing their property, or by not accepting the rents and then reporting that they have refused to pay, using this as a pretext to get rid of them.

5. RENTS.

It was discovered from a sample survey that the average rent per household is Shs. 15/- per month, the same as in Kisenyi. However, the average rent per one room was Shs. 10/-, per two rooms Shs. 21/-, and per three rooms Shs. 27/-. There was only one four room house occupied by a tenant and here the rent was Shs. 35/-. Although rent varies according to the condition of the property, the most important factor is the use to which the tenant puts his spaces. For ordinary sleeping and eating accommodation the rent falls well within the average of Shs. 15/- per month for one household. If, however, the space is to be used for commercial purposes, for example as a shop, a beer bar, or by a tailor, a launderer or a butcher, the rent usually rises to Shs. 50/-, Shs. 100/- or even Shs. 150/-. One shopkeeper pays Shs. 170/- for four rooms, the front two being the shop. He grumbles about this considerably, but as his profits are substantial he knows that he is lucky to be paying no more than this. A beer seller can generally expect to pay 20% to 30% more than the average rent. This does not include the money that a houseowner collects for each beer brewing, which has already been discussed. Houseowners try to collect their rents at the end of each month, knowing that if they are not forthcoming at this time they are not likely to be paid for another month.

Collecting rent money is quite a lengthy business as the following episode shows, although some of the comments are quite traditional:

L. came to get his rent from a number of houses at the end of the month. He went to the room of a mechanic, a Ganda and his wife. They were paying Shs. 12/- per month for the room. L. greeted the tenant and asked him about his work, whether it was going well or not. The tenant thanked him for

- h. Akalimu akatono kakira okutuula.
A low paid job is better than no job.
- i. Leero kasi enkyā bbanja.
Today pay cash, tomorrow you may take things on credit.
- j. Seguya mukazi yefumbira.
A man who says that he does not care for a woman, cooks for himself.
- k. Temuseka mwe mwazimala.
Do not laugh I spent all my money on you (women).
- l. Sifugwa afa ajera.
One who does not like to be a servant dies in poverty.
- m. Malaya taganza muntu aganza sente
A prostitute does not love the person but his money.
- n. Gwe ataganzibwako olibera nani?
You who do not make friends; with whom will you live?

this and in turn asked about his own work. L. replied that he was sorry to tell his tenant that his wife was not well and that he had great expense in obtaining treatment for her as he did not trust the European doctors in the hospital. The tenant was sorry to hear that and told him that his own brother's child was very sick too and that his brother thought that the child would die. In this manner the conversation went on for quite some time. At last L. asked for his rent, pulling out his rent book and a smaller book containing receipts. His tenant asked him whether he thought that Shs. 12/- was really a fair rent and showed him a fairly large hole in the roof. L. said he was trying to do his best for everybody, but that he could not have things fixed as often as things were broken. He hoped that he would stay as his tenant, but that at the moment, because his wife was sick, he could not reduce the rent. At this point tea was served and the conversation lapsed for about fifteen minutes. At the end of the tea drinking the tenant said that he wanted to leave for a moment to give a friend of his Shs. 10/- so that he might take it to his brother with the sick child. He left the room but returned about ten minutes later. L. then said that he had another engagement and that it was getting dark, would he now pay the rent? The tenant explained that he had just given Shs. 10/- to a friend to take to his brother and that he could now only pay Shs. 9/- to L. L. did not like this very much but said that if my brother's child were ill I would also give some money. He therefore accepted the Shs. 9/- and gave his tenant a receipt.

Sometimes there is considerable suspicion of those who have been appointed by the houseowner to collect the rent. Some tenants refuse to pay until the houseowner comes in person, asserting that the *musigire* (steward) uses the money for himself and that they may therefore be required to pay the same rent over again. Three tenants were found to be living free, for the sole reason that they were Moslems. When the houseowner was asked why he let them live rent free, he replied that he was afraid to collect rent from them because, being Moslems, "they would pray until you died". Some householders were living rent free for a number of other reasons, the most usual being that they were friends or relatives of the houseowner. One old lady lived rent free, in a two-roomed house, because she asserted that she was looking after the birthplace of Mutesa I and that she was a relative of his mother.¹

6. OVERCROWDING

It is difficult to establish an index of overcrowding as the number of people per room may vary from day to day when visitors crowd into a room. Furthermore, overcrowding properly considered is not merely a matter of floor space per person, but also of window space and ventilation. However large the room, at night doors and windows are tightly closed with the result that a condition of overcrowding, in the technical meaning of the term, is produced. In Mulago there is no general overcrowding. The average number of people per room, calculated from a 20% random sample of 685 households, was just

1. She explained: "I do not pay plot rent because I am related by the same clan to the 'mother' of King Mutesa I. For this is the place where Mutesa I was born and the lawful successors of Mutesa's mother are supposed to look after this place." Such successors are called *nagula* (a woman who looks after the birthplace of a king). However the present *nagula* lives somewhere else and appointed the present occupier of the *kibanja* to look after it for her.

a little over 1 person - 1.044. The average number of rooms per person worked out at nearly one room per person - .957. It is of interest to note that tribes other than the Ganda were the least crowded. The Luo, for example, average only .32 people per room. This no doubt can be explained simply by virtue of the fact that in Mulago few Luo men have brought their wives and children with them. Consequently, from the small sample number of only eight households, the Luo showed a ratio of 3.125 rooms per person. The Ganda, in 52 households, showed a ratio of one person for every .903 "parts of" a room and 1.107 parts of a room for every individual.

The random sample of 20% of the households shows that at the time it was made 78 of the 136 households or 57.35% live in single rooms. This figure is considerably less than the figure of more than 90% mentioned by Dr. Southall in his Kisenyi-Mengo report. 30 households (or 22.05%) lived in two rooms each, 13 households (9.55%) in three rooms each and 15 households (11.02%) in four rooms or more each. In this respect the Ganda were definitely better off than the rest, for no tribal households lived in any more than three rooms each, whereas out of the 52 Ganda households in the sample, 13 (or 25%) lived in more than three rooms each. In fact, only 7 out of 84 households other than Ganda lived in three rooms. The available statistical evidence does not indicate that there is any serious overcrowding in Mulago.¹ When such overcrowding occurs it is usually temporary. However it must be mentioned that after the original survey had been concluded it was found that certain conditions of overcrowding had been withheld from the interviewers. This largely reflects the experience of those conducting the national census, namely that people are afraid of being counted as it may lead to bad luck and sickness. However, on the basis of repeated observations and another house to house count, the error is considered to be very small.

It is true that quite a number of informants complained about overcrowding, but they were not thinking about density per room so much as about the absence of privacy. In the more densely populated parts of Mulago, where houses are indeed very close and stand in almost continuous rows, it is difficult to provide clean and private toilet facilities for everyone. A number of residents have left Mulago for that reason, although their removal to another area provides only a partial remedy. Some of these householders did not have the money to move away very far from the urban belt, but thought that if they went so far as Makerere, Kibuli or Kabowa they would be able to rent a room which would give them greater privacy. Although those who took this action are by no means a large or typical group, it is nevertheless interesting that some residents have maintained strong enough rural attitudes and habits to find urban conditions unpleasant. The greater number of the residents, however, seem to be quite willing, despite occasional protests, to put up with the general lack of privacy. As beer parties are almost a daily occurrence, and as this

1. After the 20% random sample had been completed, more information, covering all the households in Mulago, was obtained. From this the following figures have been derived. If it be considered that overcrowding exists when more than two persons inhabit a room ten feet by ten feet in area, then a little over 80% of the households in Mulago are overcrowded. If, however, the criterion of overcrowding is altered to include only rooms of that size housing three or more people, then a little less than 4% of the Mulago households are overcrowded. Both these figures refer to single-room households. Among the two-room households less than 1% contain two or more persons per room.

means a heavy concentration of people in one place, some householders have complained to the chief that such parties should be held in the less densely populated parts of Mulago. This brought forth a storm of protest from the beer sellers whose takings would have been severely cut unless they could have located themselves in the most active and crowded parts of Mulago.

The size of the household and its composition does not produce overcrowding, but there is very frequently an absence of privacy between households. Only occasionally have residents complained that they do not have enough room and that children and parents work, sleep and eat all in the same room. There is no doubt that certain customs of sexual behaviour are being broken by Mulago residents. However this does not occur as frequently as in Kisenyi. Mulago does give the single person, as well as the family unit, some opportunity of preserving tribal traditions, despite the considerable pressure to conform to Ganda usages which is brought to bear upon all immigrants.

7. THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

There seem to be three reasons which help to explain the organization and composition of the household in Mulago. First, it is linked to the reason why people come to Kampala, and why to Mulago in particular. Second, the composition and activities of the household are determined by the types of emotional and physical reaction of its members to urban conditions. Finally the type of household is determined by such matters as wages, occupations and the types of contacts experienced with other tribal and racial groups. We commonly tend to think of a household as a family unit, of which the members work, eat, sleep and play together in the same physical setting - the room, or the house. It is rather hard to think of a single individual constituting a "household", but the sociological definition given below¹ provides that he should be so considered.

Those who are over 16 years of age, but not yet married, constitute a little over 19% of the total population. This figure is higher than in Kisenyi. The age group 16 to 30 years is the largest, comprising 46.6% of the population of 1339. The age group 31 to 45 comprises 25.1% and that of 46 and over, 8.4%. The population of Mulago therefore is a young one, though with few children present in the village itself since most of them live with relatives in the country. When talking about household composition, absent members come into the picture indirectly. For example, of the married community (tribal and Christian) over 16 years of age, 16% of spouses do not live together. It has already been mentioned that the ratio of male to female, of the total population, is 1:1.4. If only the population over 16 is considered the ratio is the same. Only in the case of single males and females is the ratio 6:1 in favour of the males. It is in this group that potential competition is set up. For the single males it is not always necessary to have recourse to married women. Many of them take advantage of the opportunities which present themselves during their work in Kampala, or in the General Hospital where, in the past, ready contact with the large staff of nurses was a common matter of conversation in Mulago.

1. The household is defined as follows: (see also pp. 38,39 above).

That multiple (for example a biological or extended family or parts thereof) or single (a single individual) economic and social unit, composed of a single or many persons, who live in a single dwelling, or part of a dwelling (hence several households can live in one room) under the authority of an acknowledged head (if multiple unit), or if members are unrelated, who share rent and food expenses.

The nature of the household in Mulago is first and foremost to be understood in the light of the many reasons which have brought Africans to town. It is not always easy to obtain honest answers to this question, particularly from immigrants who are afraid of being "shipped" back to their tribal homes.

A Teso man was living with his brother in one room. They had both come to Kampala some years ago to get training in car mechanics. They had first of all rented a room in Kibuli, but after a time became afraid of the Moslem community there. They had come to Mulago and rented a room in the house of a Ganda woman. After a time one brother was transferred. The remaining brother complained that he was working late at night and that he needed some person to cook for him. At first the owner of the house invited him to come and eat with her. After some months had passed the man moved into her room. At the time of the interview this woman, the Teso and the woman's niece were living all in the same room. The Teso claimed at first that the young girl was his daughter but later on laughed saying, "Do you think that a Teso man would really produce such a lovely Ganda girl." He had lived with the owner for some months when suddenly the husband of the Ganda woman turned up. They had been separated from a free marriage but the man demanded that his wife give him a place to sleep. There was considerable argument but after several more visits it was found that both men were living quite peacefully with the two women.

A Ganda woman, a hairdresser, was found to be living in two rooms, paying Shs. 20/- a month rent. She was separated twice before, once from a tribal marriage, and more recently from a free marriage. She was now earning Shs. 60/- a month as a hairdresser and was also selling small piles of charcoal. At the time of the interview she was living with a friend of her father's sister (a woman friend) who had come to Kampala to look for work. She was also looking after a small three years old child of her brother who lived in Kasangati. The woman friend who was living with her had very recently brought her child to live with them as well. This child was a half-caste which she had borne by a previous marriage to an Indian. She was now trying to find a person in Kampala who would look after this child. She said that unless she obtained a job very soon she would have to become a prostitute like many other women who came to Kampala. She did not want to do that because she wanted no more children. Her friend the hairdresser had supported her for the last few weeks but found the going increasingly hard. Some weeks after the first interview she was found to be living with a Toro man and the child had been given to a relative of her ex-husband.

At times extremely young men come to Kampala to seek their fortunes. Their mode of existence is often one which leaves much to be desired.

George was a young Rwanda boy of 13. He had come to Kampala as one of a group of young men. Although he knew some other Rwanda men in Kampala who had come from neighbouring villages, he had no close relatives in town.

For the first few weeks he slept with a friend of his older brother who lived in Kisenyi. He got a job as houseboy to an Indian and was paid Shs. 25/- a month. He left this job because the Indian hit him and refused to pay him his wages at the end of the month. Having left that job, he became a shop-boy to a Ganda trader, cleaning the shop and occasionally selling. He made Shs. 40/- a month now and his master promised him that he would also give him food and clothes occasionally. At this stage he started a Post Office savings book and at the time of the interview eight months later he had saved Shs. 110/-. He now moved away from his friends and went to live at the back of the shop located at Nakulabye. It appears that he stole some goods from the shop and had to leave. Then he went to Mulago and lived with another young man of 27 who was a Soga and who was training at the Hospital as a medical assistant. George served this young man and cooked his meals. The Soga paid him Shs. 15/- a month and gave him food and clothes. This lasted for almost six weeks. After a time George demanded more pay but his master was unwilling to give him more. For a few days George slept wherever people would give him a home for the night. Then one day he went to the Post Office and got his money out. (I should mention here that these savings were in the hands of his first friend with whom he had lived in Kisenyi.) He went to a carpenter and asked for a wheel barrow to be made for the purpose of water selling. This cost him Shs. 42/-. He was now in the business of water selling and at the time of the interview was making about Shs. 70/- a month clear profit. He was now living with an old lady, a Nyoro, for whom he cut firewood and brought water. In return he was allowed to sleep in the kitchen free of rent. He said that when his father died some years ago he had inherited some cattle. However the cattle died and he had come to Kampala to make some money to buy more cattle. He was illiterate but being a Moslem he was going twice a week to a *Muwalimu* (a teacher of the Koran) who taught him to read and write.

In the course of the survey we only came across one house where young men from widely different parts of East Africa lived together and shared rent and food expenses. They had all come at different times, but eventually settled together.

Jubali, a Congo man, Ideri, a Ziba (Haya) and Semi, a Samia, lived in the same room. The rent was Shs.12/50 a month and they shared it. On different occasions they each went out to buy food or, as Jubali always did, they went out on weekends and worked on the *bibanja* of old women who found it difficult to cultivate food. For this he was given enough to last one week. Sharing the cost of food had been the cause of some friction between them on occasion but knowing that to live alone would be far more costly, they usually managed to reconcile their differences. All three of them were porters, two at the Hospital and one for the P.W.D. Semi had been here the longest time, having come to Kampala to learn to drive. He was saving his money so that he could take lessons which would cost him about Shs. 250/-. Jubali claimed that he had come to look for his younger brother who

had left home but never returned. Ideri just wanted to find work. All three of them had rented rooms here and there until, seven months ago, they met each other in Mulago and agreed to share a room. Semi was married and had two children but had left them at home. He had not been back to see them since he came in 1952. Only Semi could read. His general social position in the group was a commanding one. He had arranged for the room and the rent. He was the only one with a bed and he had also supplied the charcoal stove and some of the plates. At first he insisted that he would have to keep the key for the room but eventually they had two more keys made. A few days before the interview there had been trouble between Jubali and Ideri, for the latter had brought in a woman and suggested that she cook for the three of them but he would treat her as his wife. For a few days this arrangement seemed to work but then Jubali became interested in a woman who was living in the same house. He wanted to move in with her but the woman refused to let him. Jubali then suggested that he would buy a bed and she could come in with them. To this there was general objection and Semi said that he would throw them all out if they crowded the room; besides he thought that his wife might come to see him and then everybody would have to leave the room. Jubali did nothing about this but a week or so later moved away from Mulago. Eventually Ideri also moved to another room in Mulago leaving, Semi to himself.

Occasionally the household is made up as a result of the reactions of one tribe to another, and of the desire to live with members of the same tribe.

Asa and Julaina were two young Nyoro women, Asa being 24 and Julaina 22. Asa had come to Kampala in 1952 with her brother who is working in the Uganda Electricity Board as a linesman. He had brought her along to cook for him. They lived at Nabweru where they had a friend. While her brother was looking for work she looked after the house and rarely came to Kampala which was about five miles away. After some months her brother brought a Haya woman to live at their home. At first this arrangement seemed to work well but after a time trouble occurred between his sister and his "wife". His sister left the place and took a room in Katwe. She was now looking after the children of an Indian living in Kampala, being paid Shs. 45/- a month for doing so. She claimed that the reason why she left this employment was because her Indian employer wanted to sleep with her and she did not like that, saying to him that she had a lover. For a time she lived with a young Kikuyu who also lived in Katwe. He gave her clothes and food and she had a child by him. She said that she separated from him leaving the child with him because he brought in many other women and also "he refused to speak Luganda and I did not like to speak to him in Swahili all the time". After she left him she came to Mulago and found Julaina who was living alone earning her living making mats and baskets, and selling banana and charcoal. Julaina had also just separated from a Ganda man with whom she had lived in a free marriage for over

a year. The house in which she had lived with him was his and when they separated he strangely enough left the house to her. There were two rooms in the house. He even insisted on paying the plot rent of Shs. 7/- per month. She was always well dressed, an indication that her business was going well and that she received a lot of lovers. She told the interviewer that she did not like town men because all they wanted was to have children and to run away when they found another wife. She particularly expressed herself strongly that such things only happen because all the tribes live together and no-one is interested in observing tribal customs. She would now live with lovers from time to time, but would not marry anyone unless he was a Nyoro man. Asa was glad that Julaina thought this way because she herself did not like the other tribes, for much the same reason. Asa was helping Julaina buy banana and charcoal and keeping the two rooms clean. She wanted to go back to her home because she did not like Indians, "they just want to sleep with African women."

Lest it be thought that all households in Mulago are set up on such patterns it must be asserted that the great majority of the households fall into the normal pattern of the family unit. In this the most striking fact is the relative scarcity of children under five, who constitute only 9% of the total population. Many Ganda continue to follow the custom of having their young children looked after by relatives who do not necessarily live in the town. This was reflected in the fact that the Ganda, who make up 46% of all the households in Mulago, have a considerably smaller number of children with them than other tribal households. It was worked out that only about 40% of children born to Ganda households stay with their parents up to the age of five, whereas nearly 60% are handed over to relatives after they have passed the first eighteen to twenty months of their lives. On the other hand, nearly 70% of the children born to households other than Ganda stay with their parents. Financially the Ganda have therefore considerable advantages over the other tribes, as the cost of raising young children in the town is far from inconsiderable. On the other hand, in the age group six to fifteen years more Ganda children than others are present, and these were often economically useful or going to the superior urban schools. A number of parents reported that they had sent their children to their rural relatives, not because of the high cost of looking after children in town, or because it was considered the traditional thing to do, but simply because they had failed to be able to control them in the urban setting.¹ At other times the children of brothers or sisters or more distant relatives are sent to Mulago householders to be looked after and sent to school by them. In such circumstances arrangements are usually made between the parties concerned so that the guardians do not have to shoulder the whole of the financial burden.

An important influence on the composition of the household is the fact that relatives use those living in the town as their first contacts in the process of settling down to an urban existence. This explains the rather large number of young brothers who come and live in Mulago for considerable periods of time until they have found

1. A number of cases came to our knowledge of 8 and 9 year old boys who were stealing from their fathers' shop or from the market. The treatment of children who have thus broken the social code would in itself make an important study.

employment, possibly a wife, and later on built their own houses. Not many women come to town without family contacts, but it is not uncommon to find sisters who have come for a short time to cook for their brothers and get a "taste" of the town. There also appears to be a steady movement of mothers who come to Mulago to see their sons or daughters. But the difficulties of housing such people and the complications of cooking arrangements mean that such visits, although fairly frequent, are of short duration. Another fairly common pattern of household composition is that of a group of male cousins (father's brother's children) living under the same roof. In fact where a group of single men is found living together they are nearly always either brothers or cousins (as defined above).

Generally the family unit is dispersed, a number of its closer members living in widely separated places. Few of the men who originally come from outside Buganda or from outside Uganda have brought their wives with them. What percentage of the total married population this is cannot accurately be known until further tabulations are made. However, despite the fact that this is so, and much has been made of it as contributing to a general social instability, some households remain remarkably stable. This is because certain new forms of association are emerging out of the day to day occupational and leisure time contacts of town life. Frequently men come to Kampala because their friends have written to say that employment opportunities exist. Success in job finding makes the friendship still closer and often such friends even live in the same room, sharing the rent and other expenses.

In a number of cases informants were asked how they felt about various tribes living so close together. The answer in nine out of ten cases was that there was no objection to such tribally mixed communities, "as long as everybody is an African". Yet tribes have different reputations. For instance, a Ganda said that a Luo is often something in the nature of "a fighting cock", who gets rough the moment he touches beer; the West Nile tribes are dirty and extremely uneducated; Haya women are prostitutes and Nubians are cruel and not friendly.

Friction does occur between individuals of different tribes, but the Ganda, as the dominant and host tribe, minimise potential conflict by insisting that if the immigrants wish to stay they must become "educated like all Ganda". Ganda are often heard pointing out that "foreigners" must behave. Common leisure activities, such as football games, wrestling and card games, tend to counteract friction and social disorder and produce, at least to the public eye, some form of social cohesion. In addition, the constant exchange of views on such common topics as the shortage of sugar and its quality, the supply of commodities in the shops, the construction of houses and the aim of tenants to improve their accommodation, as well as the shared interest in the ever-ready quarrel and fight, all make for smoothness in the otherwise highly mobile, heterogeneous situation with its open aggression and lack of privacy or of any consensus on methods and principles in motivation and action.

Perhaps the natural clustering of members of the same tribal community, whenever possible, is a normal and conscious effort to keep friction at bay. There are in Mulago fairly well-defined tribal settlements, away from the main urban development, where members of one tribal group have rented almost all the available room space

in a small cluster of houses. The main street and the more rural parts are particularly dominated by Ganda. However in the middle belt which has been described as semi-urban or dense-rural, there persist three tribal settlements established by Rwanda, Kiga and a small number of Luo. Those who live in the Rwanda settlement explain that they do not wish to exclude anyone from renting a house there,¹ but that they have lived in this settlement, which is almost completely surrounded by food plots and trees, for a number of years and that they try to help other Rwanda people who do not have a place to stay in. One old man, who was a porter and had lived in this settlement for eleven years, explained that although the Ganda people had always treated him well, he thought it advisable to call Ganda males "brothers" and the females by other kinship terms, because they had so much "political power"; because this was so, he also thought it a good idea to live separately, although he would always buy all his things from Ganda shopkeepers, and he would always obey the parish chief. One man in the Kiga settlement, where eleven Kiga live in three houses, one owned by a Ganda and two by Rwanda people, explained that the Kiga people do not eat only banana but also beans and fruit, and so he thought that it would be better not to mix too much with the Ganda. Perhaps the clearest explanation of why they elected to live apart was given by two Luo men who live in a community of three houses all owned by Ganda. They said that they were not really used to town life in Kampala and that they had to learn how to live among the Ganda people. They would go to Ganda beer bars but otherwise they would keep apart, because they could not speak the Ganda language and they did not want to stay in Kampala for very long, so they saw no reason why they should mix with them.

In such a community as Mulago, the question may well be asked what is the most stable sort of household? Is it the household whose members have been in an urban setting for a long time, let us say five years or more, or is it the household whose members come only for a short period of time to see Kampala, make some money and return to their homes with some small savings? At present only superficial answers can be given to these important questions. Research is still going on. However, comparison along these lines does not appear to be the most useful. It would seem more profitable to compare comparable units, namely to ask why one household had adapted itself more effectively to urban life than another household, both having lived in Kampala for the same length of time and under more or less similar conditions. At present the only broad and not very useful observation that can be made is that members of Ganda households appear to have more easily settled down to the job of living as wage-earners or as self-employed entrepreneurs than immigrants, for whom avenues of advancement are not as clearly laid out. However this really says no more than that those who dominate the African social structure in Kampala have certain very clear advantages, and that they know how to manipulate such advantages to their own ends, socially and commercially.

The immigrant finds it hard to be judged on his own merits. He is either at the mercy of the dominant Ganda or must make efforts

1. Three of the six houses are owned by one Ganda woman, and three by individual Rwanda householders; they have a room capacity of twenty rooms and house twenty seven people.

to fit in with, and to appeal to his European or Indian employers. In a certain respect the immigrant has a greater stake in the wage economy of an urban area. He has come a long way and invested time and money, left his home and family and proceeded into a strange world for which he has neither the resources nor the background required of him. He can no longer rely upon the security of his village or the support of his relatives. He has to try to place his roots in places where the dominant group will let him settle. He must obtain that kind of employment at a given wage which is open to him as an immigrant. If he has been able to make some money and wishes to settle down, he must go to the landowners among the dominant Ganda and pay a high price for the privilege of obtaining a small plot upon which he can build his house and house his family. If he advances too rapidly, there may well be rumblings and comments from the Ganda that this man's achievements are at their expense. For example there is the case of a Rwanda banana seller who built up a considerable business. This is often debated and many Ganda men in Mulago express the fear that one day the immigrants will swamp the local Ganda community and become effective competitors for jobs in the higher levels of employment, now dominated almost exclusively by themselves. This feeling was summed up by a middle-aged Ganda shopkeeper in Mulago who said:

"You ask me whether I like living here where there are so many people who are not Ganda. I do not mind because I want them to buy from me, but I do not like them in other ways because they are not from my country but they treat us as though they were Ganda people. I should like some of them to leave this country so that Ganda people only can have shops and do well in business. I do not mind other shopkeepers, but I would not like to see too many foreigners open shops here. Ganda people are more educated and they know more about commercial things than other people. The reason why we have not yet become rich is because Europeans and Indians ask us for high prices and then we cannot sell to our customers for any profit. No, I do not like to see all these foreigners in Mulago. I should like to see only good Ganda people selling bananas."

If this feeling is widespread, then an age-old pattern is being repeated here. It is not unusual for an emerging entrepreneur and managerial class to look with disfavour, if not fear, upon intruders who threaten their social and commercial positions. To the Ganda it is normal to use the immigrants as a vast reservoir of servants and unskilled labourers. Occasionally in the course of conversation Ganda residents blame the Protectorate Government for this state of affairs, saying that if the Buganda Government were in control of Buganda, then policies and rules would be made to regulate the flow of immigrants to "this land of milk and honey" (to quote a Ganda clerk) and immigrants would not have "all the good chances because Europeans helped them."

CHAPTER VIII.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.

I. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN MULAGO.

The Mulago community is a working community. Of the 1339 people interviewed, 749 or 55% were either wage earners or self-employed. By far the largest occupational category (36.5%) contains those termed "unskilled wage earners". Here we find a possible answer to the low level of economic enterprise. Mulago is a stepping stone in both commercial and occupational achievement. Many of the villagers, other than Ganda, seek employment in both the General and the Mental Hospital. The presence of the Hospital gives the first opportunity of employment to many immigrants.

"I had no friend when I came to live in Mulago," said a Soga man, "but I had heard that the Hospital pays good wages and that when you have served there for some years you get a pension. I was an orderly at the Hospital for three years."

After three years, when this man had been able to save some money, he started to build his own house, married a Ganda woman and got a job as an office messenger in the town. In another example, a Rwanda man with his wife and three children came to Mulago because: "I heard that many people from my village live here." He obtained a job as a Hospital sweeper and stayed in this capacity for 18 months. He then "moved into town" and got a job as a porter for the Public Works Department. In due course he became a headman, a position he now fills with "great devotion". He too expressed the idea that when a stranger comes to Kampala, he first seeks the shelter of the "suburb".

"When we came in a group in 1947 we first lived in Mengo. But we spent a lot of money on food and so looked for another place. There were many Rwanda people in Mulago and I had a friend there. We rented a room and I went to work in the Hospital. I did not go to Kampala for one year after that. You know they kill people in Kampala and they hate the Rwanda people."

This unskilled wage earning community, which comprises 36.5% of the working population, is composed of hospital cooks, porters, hospital cleaners and sweepers, shop boys, gatemen, night watchmen and a latrine digger. These people, whose average wage is approximately Shs. 51/- per month, have little money to spend in shops. Their purchases are simple, being confined almost completely to cheap foods and a great deal of beer, which they treat, out of choice and more often out of necessity, as food. Yet it is, at the same time, these wage earners who give stimulus to the commercial activity in the village, and Ganda shopkeepers look upon these predominantly immigrant people as potential buyers.

"I came to Mulago because there were a great many foreign tribes here. I think that I was right because they always buy maize flour, potato and *matoke* from me. When I get a lot of money I shall move to a place further from the town. I shall keep my

shop here and try to get a shop in the town, but I shall not sleep there. Yes, all shopkeepers here complain that there is not enough business here. I always keep cooking pots in my shop and matches, because many foreigners buy them. No, I don't ever sell a whole pack of cigarettes to a foreigner."

The important shopkeepers all view Mulago as a means to an end. The end is to have a "Drapers"¹ shop in Kampala.

The next most important occupational category comprises those termed "Skilled wage earners". These are the group of people, such as bricklayers, carpenters, drivers, nursing orderlies, who are potentially heavier buyers. Yet, many of them prefer to purchase the more expensive goods from Kampala rather than to patronise the local merchants. This is the bicycle-riding community, the dwellers in large houses with occasional metal roofs, and the "Bell Beer" drinkers. It is to a large extent this group which gives Mulago its appearance of relative prosperity. These people, who are usually well-dressed, and have a good command of the English language, constitute 24.4% of the working population. For them wages are fixed, the average being Shs. 127/- per month with a range from Shs. 81/- to Shs. 205/-. It is also in this group that we find those people who having a relatively settled home life and looking upon their residence in Kampala as permanent, keep a shop, or sell charcoal or *matoke* (banana). Economically these people are rich, not in earned income but in skills which propel them towards higher positions in the artisan world. One good example is a painter employed in Kampala, who owns his own house with a metal roof and glass windows. Many years ago he started to work as a porter for the Public Works Department and, as the years rolled by, learned something of the trade, until to-day he is a skilled painter with the prospect of rising to headman (foreman) in due course. This man brings home a good many of his family's needs from the town, mostly from Wandegeya market, and does little shopping in Mulago. On the other hand, his wife sells *matoke* there from which an additional income of 60/- per month is obtained. His local purchases are confined to charcoal and firewood and occasionally he has some clothes repaired by a Luo tailor. He said:

"Mulago shops are not clean and they have not much variety. If a man would open a good clean shop in my part I would buy from him. My wife does buy here but only matches and sometimes a little soap."

Next most numerous are the unskilled self-employed. This group which includes most of the independent retailers such as the beer sellers *matoke* sellers, general stall (market) sellers, water and fish sellers, comprises 14.70% of the labouring community. This is an important group in the economic sense for its members cater for the needs of a large part of the community.

As almost all the people in the village partake of beer, beer sellers are necessarily much in demand.² Beer selling is a competitive trade, however, and profits are not very large although overheads are small and the skill required is not great. A seller is also at the mercy of the public, and it is probably this factor which gives greater security to the wage earner.

For the older women in Mulago it is not easy to find wage work (e.g. as cooks in the Hospital), so many of them set up as sellers of beer, banana and charcoal. This gives a fairly steady income. Forty-one per

1. The largest shop in the town.

2. Permits are given for six different kinds of native beers, and are obtained from the *gombolola* headquarters. These permits, which cost 2/-, give the right to brew beer

cent of all women workers are independent traders. Few immigrant women work, but those who do are in this category of independent traders, which is mostly dominated by Ganda women, older in years and in need of an independent income, for many of them are separated women whose age has made any form of remarriage difficult for them:

"I was born in Mulago but some years ago my husband left me and drove me out of his house, so I went back to my brother's home here in Mulago. I am now 49 years old and I grow most of my food. My son sends me sugar and meat every month. I sell charcoal and sometimes I can make Shs. 15/- profit every week. When a lorry comes to Mulago to sell bags, I sometimes buy three or four. I can sell one whole bag for Shs. 10/- and then I make Shs. 2/- profit. Mostly I sell little piles for 20 cents each. No, I have no lovers and men don't like me because they say I am an old woman. Sometimes they buy beer for me, but not often. I like Bell Beer and last week I bought some".

This group of independent retailers dominates the Mulago street market. One aspect of this domination needs further research. By chance in a conversation with an old Nyoro woman selling *matoke*, it was noted that she said that "her 'sisters' and her 'daughters' in the Mulago parish all sold *matoke* or charcoal." When asked who these 'sisters' and 'daughters' were, she pointed to other women, young and old and of varying tribes and marital positions. When we asked her whether she used such kinship terms loosely, she became angry and said: "We always sell *matoke* like this". When other *matoke* sellers were questioned about this, a form of pseudo-kinship system, loosely organised, seemed to emerge which has no set obligations or rules of behaviour. However, it seemed to work in the following manner: It appears that the object was to prevent too many women from selling *matoke* all within the same spot. An attempt was made to disperse sellers and to prevent too intense competition. It appeared to be like a market-sharing system - a form of guild. On one occasion, a prostitute, who had come to Mulago after being driven from Makerere during a Buganda Government police round-up, settled in a room near the General Hospital. At this spot there are many sellers of *matoke*. This woman had made the mistake of not finding out first, from the old Nyoro woman, to whom, and where, she might sell her *matoke*. After a few days she left her room and was found in a somewhat lonely part of the village. In conversation she told us that several women

for personal use but not the right of sale. In the case of *omwenge omuganda* (banana beer) the permit holder may brew one calabash full per week. The size of the calabash is not specified. In addition, five other different beers may be brewed for which separate permits are required: the price of these permits is also 2/-, but the permit holder is only allowed to brew two *debes* of beer per week. As the size of the calabash is not stated and as most *omwenge omuganda* is brewed by the Ganda people, members of other tribes brewing beer consider themselves to be discriminated against. The other native beers are the following: 1. *Kwete*, made from maize and millet; 2. *Kidongo* beer, made from the residue of *kwete*; 3. *Munanansi* beer, made from pineapples. 4. *Kasoli* beer, made from maize and sugar, and 5. *Malwa* beer, made from millet alone. Those who want permits approach the parish chief who may give the applicant a letter to the *ggombolola* chief who may or may not issue a permit.

If a person wishes to sell native beers he must apply for a special selling permit which costs 40/- per month and is known as "*Olusa lw'okutunda omwenge mu kibuha ogw'ekidugavu*" (permission to sell African beer in the town). It is reported that in "October, 1954, six such licences existed, and 180 licences to brew beer for personal consumption".

had been to see her and had asked her to leave the place. If she had refused they would have asked K., a native doctor, to move her and cause her a lot of trouble. She moved.

Few men sell in the market, which, once exclusively a meat market, lies hidden behind Mulago Bakery, one of two local Indian commercial undertakings. Before the bakery was situated at its present site, the market was open to entry from the main road and many hospital employees would buy there. However, with the increasing number of shops and small retailers who do not sell in the market, it has decreased in importance and to-day is no more than a dirty open space without a single permanent building. The old women who sell there complain that the market is not kept clean and that its hidden location and bad state of repair are the causes of the poor business. Because of this, many small traders, mostly in fruit and vegetables, knives, old papers and bottles, have turned their homes into shops, or, if that is not possible, find the comfort of a shady tree. Several of these traders can be found scattered all over the village. A market-master duly collects 20 cents per day from those who continue to sell in the market as well as those who sit nearby. The stall sellers obtain their fruit and vegetables mostly from very small-scale growers who can be seen almost every morning as they come up the steep hill of the Kasawo road to reach the market on their cycles. They arrive between seven and nine o'clock in the morning,¹ their produce in large wooden boxes or in burlap sacks which they tie to the carriers of their cycles. In addition to this source of supply, there are the lorry owners who bring in fresh *matoke* two or three times a week. When food is plentiful, there are never less than three cyclists unloading bags of maize, potato, cassava and banana. Occasionally oranges, lemons and tomatoes are also brought in.

The quantity of bananas sold in the market, however, is a bare fraction of that sold outside its formal confines. During a rich period of banana supply (it is one of the staple foods of the villagers) the number of lorries which dispose of their loads of bananas to individuals retailing outside their own homes, greatly exceeds those which find their way into the market. During a selected period of one week (including Sunday) five lorries unloaded seven hundred and forty-seven banana stems which were all sold to traders who do not sell in the market. Over the same period of time, those in the market sold only seventy-nine stems. Clearly those not selling in the market have a considerably higher turnover. The market, once the focal point of much village activity, is no longer patronised by the majority of residents. Retailing has been spread over the whole village. Yet, even so, local enterprise no longer meets the needs of the residents. The nearest market of any size and importance is Wandegeya, a bare half mile from Mulago. On the way home from work a great many villagers purchase their food-stuffs there; alternatively, many villagers walk specially to Wandegeya. Finally, a number of women who live in Mulago sell at Wandegeya.

The fourth largest occupational category, termed "professional and managerial self-employed" comprises 6.40% of the total working population. It was particularly difficult to work with members of this group, who are more educated and less co-operative than those in lesser walks of life. In almost every case, upon first contact, we met with a firm

1. Although the cyclists arrive early, the actual selling does not begin until lunchtime or a little after. Most of the morning seems to be taken up with laying out the produce, sweeping the market and gossip.

refusal to state personal income and net profit. Many of the shopkeepers, cotton and coffee traders, cattle sellers and maize sellers, butchers and hotel keepers were suspicious of the whole survey. Being politically rather alert and economically self-sufficient this group was very much concerned with the object of the survey. They wished to know what they themselves would gain if they co-operated with us and all along have shown a remarkably opportunistic point of view. However, after repeated visits they came to co-operate with us and some of them have turned out to be most useful informants. Only the shopkeepers and butchers are economically of any internal importance. The others, such as general traders in coffee, cotton and maize, have their homes in Mulago but transact their business elsewhere. At times they use their economic position to press a point or two in the village *lukiko* (council), but otherwise they are not very often seen.

These, then, are the four main occupational groups to be found in Mulago, but a great deal of the economic life cannot easily be classified into formal occupational categories. There is a good deal of room for individual initiative and independence, for example, in sewing or mat making. One man, found to be an "odd job man", explained his trade by saying:

"I like to be independent and not to work for any one man. There are many people in Mulago who work all day and return late at night. They often want firewood chopped or to get something from a shop. I sometimes cook meals for some of them and at other times I help them build houses. I usually get my food from them. Last week I was digging my friend's *shamba*. He could not do it because his department sent him to Jinja. He give me 10/- before he left."

2. GENERAL SHOPKEEPERS

The economic position of the shopkeepers is a difficult one to assess. Few have any training or interest in practising formal procedures of business. The state of their shops, despite financial ability to expand their businesses and to improve their physical appearance, is frequently deplorable. The conventional pattern is to rent a room which has double doors. These stand open all day. The shops are often left unattended for a considerable period of time. At other times the owners may place a mere casual friend in charge while the owner is attending to some other work. Inside is found a series of shelves usually constructed from empty gin or wine crates. There is usually a counter, with some form of wire meshing in front. Behind this, bread, cakes and onions are often stored. A variation on this pattern is to put cakes and sweets in old glass jars and place them on the counter. The shelves are stocked with matches, soap, the popular range of soft drinks, curry powder, washing blue, shoe laces, combs, writing paper, cigarettes, small brushes, enamel plates, baking powder, tea in various sized paper packets and roasted coffee in small bags which are made of dried leaf. This stock varies little from shop to shop. When Indian wholesalers come to Mulago and wish to sell their goods, or to introduce a "new line" of merchandise the following kind of conversation can be heard:

An Indian merchant dealing in imitation pearls and jewelry as well as hardware such as nails, brackets, cement, glass and curtain rails, came to Mulago and talked to three shopkeepers trying to get them to buy some imitation pearls.

"Your young ladies here would like to buy some of these I am sure. They are cheaper than in Kampala."

"All the women in this village sell *matoke* and they have no money to buy such things. Do you sell mirrors?"

"No, I don't sell them, but would you not like to try some strings? (he put one string around one of the shopkeepers and admired it) They are selling very well in Kampala."

"We don't sell anything else in this village than food and soap and matches."

"Would you not like to try some strings or look here at these bracelets. All the African women wear them. Do you have a wife?"

"Yes, I do."

"Here, give these to her free of charge. And would you be interested to buy some cement. M. just bought some from me. He says that all the people in this village are putting paths in front of their houses."

"I can't afford to buy from you any of the things you have in your lorry because I have no money, and all the people in this village buy in Kampala."

"If you buy more than twenty I will reduce the price."

"If you do that you will lose money, I think. But Indians never lose money. They come here to take all our business from us."

"That is not true. I just came here to sell you some of my things. I tell you that the shopkeepers at Wandegeya sell many things like that."

"We don't have money like the shopkeepers at Wandegeya, I have been in their shops and they don't sell things like that. We Africans don't like the same things as you Indians."

During the first nine months of our work in Mulago, seven shops, selling a wide range of general merchandise, were opened, and, of these, only one remains to this day. The others were open for periods of from three weeks to four months. When these failures were investigated, it was found that the shopkeepers' margin of profit was very small indeed. They bought at very high wholesale¹ prices and were compelled, in order to stay in the market, to sell for virtually the same. When the owners were asked why their shops had to close, the answers almost always were: "I got a loss and now I am in debt", (often to an Indian). What such debts mean in terms of African commercial development is difficult to gauge. It is, however, common for those who undertake retail activity in Mulago to operate on a very small margin of profit; a profit which is soon eaten up when

1. The use of the term "wholesale" requires some explanation. It is well known that small-scale African traders are frequently unable to obtain their stocks at wholesale prices, but that they buy at retail prices. This is at least partially due to the fact that African traders do not buy large quantities and hence do not get the benefit of the wholesale prices offered for large purchases. However, it is equally true that no trader, particularly a small-scale African trader, can for long survive if he purchases his stock at a retail price. The fact is that, because he buys only small quantities (and because he is an African), he purchases his commodities at the maximum wholesale price. For example, a bar of blue soap will usually retail in Mulago at Shs. 1/50. If he purchases 25 bars he pays Shs. 1/10 per bar. His profit is thus very small. If he purchased 50 bars he would only pay 95 cents.

rents are paid, and capital is invested in the business such as in a counter for the shop, a sewing machine, or an old petrol drum for the storage and preparation of beer. The independent producers and sellers, such as beer brewers, *dhobis* and water sellers, can accumulate a considerably larger profit than those dependent on the purchase of goods from middlemen. Water sellers have no difficulty in making a clear profit of 100/- per month, and many beer brewers in Mulago collect 80/- to 100/- per month. In the first few weeks when seven new shops were opened, their monthly profit never exceeded 60/- each per month. Losses in food commodities, which spoil quickly, such as bread, cakes, butter and meat, are a constant danger. Shopkeepers buy large quantities in the hope that a wellstocked shop will attract customers, but they do not recognise that many Mulago residents make their purchases outside the village, within the Municipality, where choices of kind and quality are greater.

Those who earn from 200/- to 500/- per month are mainly found in the more skilled trades such as tailors, butchers, carpenters, but they do include two shopkeepers selling goods ranging from expensive wines to pins and needles. These two have been in the village for a number of years and have located their shops at very strategic points. One of them has supplied Mulago Hospital with a wide range of foodstuffs for several years. His gross income is said to be over 2000/- per month. Trade remains intensely competitive and only those with considerable private savings can hope to maintain a shop. The one successful shopkeeper who managed to survive has done so at the cost of a 5000/- capital outlay, a very high rent for the shop (100/- per month) and the cutting of prices, at times below the wholesale cost:

"I have done this because I know that I can stay here and get customers. If I cut my prices and show the people of Mulago that I sell something for less than my competitors, then in time everybody will come to me. I am not in debt to an Indian, but I mortgaged 120 acres of my land."

This man added that he had bought an old lorry which he thought would help him carry his goods from the town to Mulago. Recently he had the idea of turning his lorry into a travelling shop. This was his first really planned enterprise and it has proved to be a very sound undertaking. This shopkeeper went on to say:

"I never keep accounts. I just try to see that I can pay for the daily bills as they come in. I am thinking of taking a course in accounting and letting my wife run my business."

It is common practice for those who run small shops to have another job as well. During the day the male member of the household works in town or at the General Hospital while his wife looks after his business. This means that a great deal of commercial activity is in the hands of women who are often not so competent in bargaining over such commodities as banana, beer and charcoal. In the case of shops selling general goods, the stock is almost always purchased by the man who brings back the goods from town. Towards the end of the month the shops are frequently empty as the shopkeepers have no capital left to replenish their stocks. They, like their customers, have to wait to be paid at the end of the month¹.

"I am sorry that my shop is so empty," said a young Ganda shop-owner, "but this month I used all my profit of 170/-

1. Many customers buy goods on credit and pay at the end of the month

to buy iron sheets for my house here. And I don't expect to buy any goods next month either because I am putting up a four-roomed house here in Mulago and so far that has cost me 3737/-."

This is a common situation. A great deal of commercial activity is not based on any real desire to carry it through and to participate seriously in African enterprise. Instead, shop-keeping is often looked upon as a prestige-giving "second string", or as a temporary expedient. A Rwanda man, whose wife looks after his shop and also sells beer, but who himself is a porter at the General Hospital, said:

"I don't like my wife to work and to have to worry about my shop. I am only doing this because I think my salary is too low and I want to build my own house here. When I have done that I shall try to get a better job and all the money I save from not paying rent will be used to build other houses which I shall rent."

On the other hand, there is a small group of "business men" who have entered commerce as a career. A Toro shopkeeper, who has been in the village for seven years and whose profit is 270/- per month, feels that:

"We must try to build our own business and not let the Indians have it all. If a man uses his skill he can make a lot of money in business. I want to open many more shops and let my relatives look after them. I know that some would not steal from me. I also want to put up some houses for rent when I get the money to buy the materials. I am thinking of starting a tailor shop and to order my goods direct from England. Why won't the government let me get them from Japan? I hear that they are better and sell for less money."

Among the 23 shopkeepers who were interviewed in Mulago, only three kept any kind of accounts. One of these, the most successful shopowner, pays his son a regular monthly wage to act as his accountant. He does so because, "I would spend more than I take in." His son has kept the books in very good order, but says: "My father never looks at them. But we keep them because there are many dishonest Indians in Kampala and they would make us pay twice for the same things unless we could show them our accounts." This shopkeeper is also one of the very few who has a bank account.

The lack of real business interest already discussed above is perhaps most evident in lack of desire or ability to turn profits back into the business. One shopkeeper, who had been in Mulago for nine years, said that he bought a car as soon as he had saved some money. This man had turned some of his capital into house construction, but had made no efforts to improve his shop although the opportunity was there. This common failure is no doubt due to the fact that the return on rents is a surer, and less arduous way of making money.

The villagers themselves criticise the shopkeepers adversely, comparing them with such traders as carpenters, tailors or blacksmiths. Shopkeepers are considered not only lacking in enterprise, but also dishonest. It is said that they do not keep their shops clean and overcharge whenever they can, for example, when they sell sugar. Moreover, they are often looked upon as not contributing enough

to the community as a whole, because many of them do not live in Mulago. Some residents look upon them as gigantic money tycoons and hold them almost in awe. One old Nyoro woman expressed this when she said that "our shopkeepers are our gods; they give us food and if they don't like us they starve us." Some villagers look upon the shopkeepers as owners of virtually all the rentable houses in Mulago. Although this is obviously a gross exaggeration, it is nevertheless true that three out of the 23 shopkeepers own 23 houses between them, one of them owning as many as eleven. It is also true that those who wish to set up a shop are almost always people who have been in Mulago for quite a long time. Furthermore, almost all of them, particularly if they are Ganda, can rely on financial assistance from friends and relatives. One Rwanda shopkeeper has been helped by the Rwanda Association which gave him a loan of 400/- which he repaid after nearly two years.

It can hardly be said that the shopkeepers contribute a great deal to the economic well-being of the community. This is not only because of their poor business sense, but also because Mulago village is just a little too close to bigger and better shops within the Municipality. However, despite that, 24.6% of the working population of Mulago are engaged in independent retail trade. This is slightly less than in Kisenyi where the figure is 31%. This difference is no doubt due to the fact that there are many more people in Kisenyi, and that Kisenyi as a community is more self-contained.

3. SPECIALISED TRADES

Although the economic usefulness of the shopkeepers is somewhat doubtful, that of the more specialised craftsmen is not. Carpenters, butchers and tailors hold a position of quite considerable prestige in the village social order. Men in these trades often bring some technical experience and training with them and can turn out a visibly useful product. One of the most successful enterprises is that of a carpenter, who with his brother received five years technical training. Their father helped them to set up a workshop in Mulago by giving them an outright gift of 1000/- for the purchase of tools. A friend, also a carpenter, gave them a large quantity of timber. Their business is run as a partnership and their monthly net profit usually exceeds 600/- which they share equally among themselves. At the time of the beginning of the survey they employed one assistant; they now employ three. They keep very accurate books and make a real effort at cost-accounting. As their business has grown, they have had to expand the physical facilities, which they have done with considerable skill by means of remodelling their shop. All the carpenters in the village manage to turn out reasonable products and act as teachers to a number of apprentices too. The same can be said of a tailor who now not only satisfies the needs of many villagers, but has also managed to obtain several government contracts. He owns, not rents, six sewing machines which in themselves represent an investment of some 4,200/-. He started with one machine and one assistant. Three years later his business had increased enough for him to buy five more machines and he now employs four assistants. He was trained by a Goan tailor for four years and then, having saved some money, set up on his own. He takes pride in his work and expressed a desire to learn more in England, where he thought he might get the best training. He rents a room in Mulago but

does not sleep there as he has put up a six-roomed house in his own village, some 6 miles away. He came to Mulago because:

"I thought where there were many people there would be good business. I could not afford to rent a shop in the Municipality or at Katwe so I came here. There were not many tailors here when I came but now there are some others. I am now afraid that the government will ask us to leave Mulago because I have heard that they want our land here. If I have to go I expect to rent a shop at Katwe or at Wandegeya. Many people in Mulago come to me for their work. I like it here because it is near the town and I can buy my cloth every morning and come back on the bus. Since I have been here many houses have been built and many new shops have opened."

When asked why some of the shopkeepers had to close their shops, he replied that "they had never had any training and did not go to school," and that, "they don't like their work, they just want to make money."

Another tailor, a Luo, who has been in Mulago for just one year, invested in a second-hand sewing machine which cost him 480/-. He obtained the money from the sale of roasted coffee in Jinja before he came here. His reason for coming to Kampala is of peripheral interest, namely, that "there were too many Europeans in Jinja who were not from England; they hated all Africans and made them work too hard on the Jinja Dam." He lived in Jinja for three years, hawking his roasted coffee and learning from a Soga tailor who paid him 20/- per month. At the end of three years he had saved 700/- and decided to come to Kampala. He first lived in Kibuli but moved away from there because he thought that the Moslems "gave him a sickness". He claimed that he always felt sick and that this was due to the Moslems who "prayed to get all the Luo out of the country." One night he got into a fight with a Ganda - a Moslem - who told him that all Luo were very dirty and always drunk. He has now settled in Mulago and asked his wife to come. He does his work in front of his house during the day, and at night moves the machine into his room. He makes dresses for women, charging them about 22/- for the sewing. For a pair of shorts he wants 13/- including the cloth. A pair of long trousers sells for 23/-, also including the cloth. He has become fairly proficient and has been able to attract many people to be his customers. He likes Mulago because he says that he gets a good many customers who come to visit their relatives who are patients in the Hospital. He has so much work that he feels he ought to rent a workshop.

There are two blacksmiths in Mulago. Both of them are Ganda. They buy old car doors and cut up the metal to fashion it into charcoal stoves (*sigiri*). These they sell at 5/- each. A dexterous and industrious man is able to manufacture two a day. Both of them have been in the trade for over three years and look upon a community such as Mulago, where a great many people have no separate kitchens, and so do not wish to use firewood, as a profitable place to work. Many of the villagers who do not yet aspire to a "Primus" (pressure stove) cook on such stoves. Apart from selling in Mulago, both these men also take their products to Wandegeya market where they can conclude ready sales. Such men can and do make a good deal of money, although a certain amount of investment in tools is needed.

During one week, one of them sold six stoves and made 30/-. They state that their average income works out at about 100/- per month, but this is clearly an underestimate, showing how some people were not willing to give an accurate account of their income.

There are a number of "hotel" keepers¹ whose recent arrival in the community is a sign that Mulago is taking on certain urban patterns. There is a growing recognition among the working section of the community that time is money and that it is cheaper in the long run to eat in a hotel. Furthermore, there is the fact that hospital employees work on a shift system, a process which works to the advantage of the hotel keepers. Only one of the four hotels, all housed at strategic centres of population density, serves real meals. The others confine themselves to tea and cakes, bread and butter, sweet rolls (*mandazi*) and curry rolls (*sumbusa*).²

The hotel trade is in the hands of the Ganda, although occasionally hawkers of other tribes pass through Mulago selling cups of tea. One enterprising young Rwanda man peddled cups of milk for quite a long time, but found his losses too great because the heat very quickly turned his milk bad. Hotel keepers claim that their trade fluctuates, for at the end of the month few can afford the expense of eating in a hotel. To start a hotel does not require any large outlay of capital. The heaviest outlay is the rent, which in Mulago ranges from 60/- to 100/- per month for a tearoom and a sleeping room. One man claimed that he had started his business with no more than 50/-, with which he bought milk and tea and in a week he had made a clear profit of 60/-. At the start of the survey there were a number of tearooms, (distinguished from hotels by the fact that they serve only tea and bread and not more elaborate meals). These tearooms do not seem to last very long.

Butchers tend to do well in Mulago, although there is a good deal of comment about the manner in which they sell meat:

Two Ganda males, one Soga and three Rwanda males were standing in A's butcher's shop. A. was selling rather stale meat to them. Joe, a Ganda, said to A.: "Why do all butchers in Mulago sell such bad meat and expect us to pay for it? I think that all butchers want to cheat us. All butchers are bad people because they do not cut the meat according to the customer's wish. When you point out to a butcher to cut you a bit of meat, he cuts very small

1. "Hotel" is the common term for "cafe": an eating place.

2. The following are lists of prices from two of the hotels:—

Tea with milk	.25	.25
Tea without milk	.15	.10
Glass of milk	.50	.55
1 slice of bread with butter	.25	.20
1 slice of bread without butter	.15	.15
Mandazi	.10	.10
Sumbusa	.15	.10
Small cakes	.10	.15
Chapati	.45	.50
Toast	.10	.15
Banana, per plate	.80	.75
Sweet potatoes	.30	.35
Beans, per plate	.30	.30
Meat and Rice	.75	.80
Rice, per plate	.60	.50
Soda	.35	.35

pieces, puts them on the scale and then selects many bones and adds them to your meat. When you object to that he tells you to leave his meat and go to another butcher. When you go to another butcher he will also do the same. I have seen many butchers and they all do the same. That is why I don't buy meat from Ganda but get it from an Arab and sometimes from S.'s (Somali) shop."

Another said, "I have a friend at Wandegeya and he sells me good meat. I can send my child to him and he always gives him good meat." Turning to the others he said, "If you like, I will take you there and introduce you to him. He is a real worker and knows what this work means."

Selling meat involves serious risk of deterioration. One frequently sees butchers boiling very large pieces of meat which they have kept too long in their make-shift storage spaces, and which, as a result, have turned putrid and become a great attraction for flies and other vermin. Butchers explain that this happens because they often have to buy meat which has been lying around for too long, and also because they find it very difficult to gauge how much they can sell. It is almost impossible to buy meat for less than Shs. 1/35 a pound. Although this is certainly a high price in a community, 36.5% of whom are unskilled labourers who seldom earn more than 62/- per month, the average profit of the four butchers who work in the village is 259/- per month. Of the four, only one is self-employed, the other three being employed by men who have extensive business holdings in and around Kampala. One young Ganda, who had been a builder and a *dhobi* (launderer) before, set up his own meat-selling business. He obtained goats from a village goat seller, and went into partnership with him. His overheads were very low as he simply placed a counter under a shady tree, hung the meat from the branches and bought an old pair of scales which cost him 27/-. This man, however, is unusually enterprising, and has successfully filled many different occupations. He explained that he could do this only because he was a Ganda and did not have his wife with him. He particularly elaborated this latter point, saying:

"If you have a wife in Kampala she wants you to have a permanent job because otherwise she will run away from you because she wants clothes and good food and if you don't have a permanent job you can't give her these things."

4. SAVING GROUPS.

One aspect of the economic life of Mulago is the system of "saving groups". These seem to work for the benefit not only of individuals but also of business enterprises. On the individual level they are found among the porters and medical orderlies working in the two hospitals. Several men join together to form a saving group. At the end of each month a quarter to a third of each man's wages is given to one member of the group. This makes it possible for the recipient to buy things which would normally be out of his reach. The following month the same sum will be given to another man. These groups seem to be well-defined and must have a considerable amount of internal discipline, for the arrangements obviously leave a good deal of room for dishonesty. Once, during the period of the survey, when a member of one of these groups absconded with the money, the others organised what amounted to a man hunt. They

caught the culprit, brought him to their house and beat him terribly. They took all his possessions and distributed them among the group. On the business level, saving groups operate in much the same way. One was found among a small group of wealthier Ganda shopkeepers who had better stocked shops. Here the sums involved were considerably higher, but so was the security for the group - that of foreclosure. Membership made it possible for a man to restock his shop and to pay off some of his debts. The group voluntarily accepted the loss involved when one of the members had to close his shop and leave Mulago.

5. ECONOMIC IDEAS IN MULAGO.

As in other parts of the world, the villagers of Mulago seek for the "good life" through the avenues of commercial and economic activity. "The white man has given us one god, and that is money", said a young Kiga working in the Public Works Department, yet to-day many villagers still have only the vaguest idea of what is required to build a successful business undertaking. Technical and administrative skills are not always considered a pre-requisite to success.

How do the villagers view the rather competitive economy in which they participate? During the first few months of the survey the assistants were continually asked whether it was our object to increase people's incomes. The shadow of rural existence and ideas is only thinly cast over the village. Men and women think in terms of a money economy. Not only do they know that they need money to meet bare subsistence needs, but, as has already been noted, the desire to taste the fruits of European culture has brought the idea that time is money.¹ On numerous occasions the assistants were told that if they wanted to speak to informants a small payment would have to be made, not in terms of tea or food but in hard cash. At other times it was noticed that the careful allocation of working time during the day made informants hard to get hold of. Money, rather than skill, is often considered the key to advancement: for example, a young boy, under 16, is a water seller and has an income of 120/- a month. He is illiterate, but hard working. His sole investment is a push barrow specially designed to carry old *debes* (paraffin tins). He lives with an old Ganda woman and is lavish in the manner in which he spends his money. At beer parties, which he attends often, he invites many men and women to drink with him. On one such occasion the following conversation took place as soon as he had left:

Three Ganda men and four Ganda women as well as three Luo males sat in the beer bar. S. had just left the bar after he had bought everyone present one mug of beer each at 70 cents a mug. Edmund, a storekeeper, sat in the corner and said to his friends: "That young boy has a lot of money, does he steal it?" "No, he does not, he works very hard to bring water to us and he is a good boy." "Could we ask him to come back and buy some more beer for us, this is good beer here?" Sepiriya, a beer seller and a Ganda, said. "In my village I sell beer, but I don't make as much money as that. I think it is better to work in the town because all people make a lot of money here. This young

1. The spending habits of certain villagers, reflected in a series of budgets which were collected, show clearly the growing tendency to purchase European foods and European luxury articles such as radios, gramophones and costly clothes. This is often made possible by membership in saving groups of the kind already described.

boy is a good man because he buys us beer. I wonder where he learned his trade? I think the people in Mulago are lucky to have a young man bring them water. And I am glad that he is a Ganda".

A Luo man who had been listening for some time, said: "We don't have young men do work like that. Our women get the water for our homes, and we don't get rich like that." Edmund got up and walked out, but before doing so he said: "You see, you are a Luo and you don't understand that. We like money, but you people had to learn from us what money is and you come to us for money all the time. That young boy is more important in the village than you because he buys us all beer and he has a lot of money." The others all laughed and then continued drinking.

When a man opens a shop or engages in any other new enterprise, he usually asks a native "doctor" to help him become successful. One such "doctor" in the village, who is notorious for his habit of charging 150% to 200% interest on cash loans, is ready to assist anyone in commercial enterprises in making sales and getting customers.¹ This he does for a high fee, which is determined according to the business to be undertaken and the potential wealth of the person.

A shopkeeper went to see K. and asked for help for himself and his shop which he had just opened. K. first of all took from him 75/- and then asked him to come into his house. He then gave him a series of pipes and their stems. In one of the pipes he placed a smoking mixture of herbs. He instructed his customer to smoke one of these pipes each evening at midnight and then to take the empty pipe and throw it on the steps of the houses of those whom he thought were his competitors. If this method brought him success in the first three months, then K. would be entitled to receive another 100/-. This was a purely verbal agreement which nevertheless had some force as K. was known to be able to send *mayembe* (horns)² to anyone

1. This man is a "specialist" in curing *bwavu* (poverty). To this end he sells a small plant called *mokokota* (to scrape, to scrape away other people's good to yourself) to those who come to him. This small dried plant is taken by shopkeepers, beer sellers and others and kept in the house. It can often be seen hanging from the top of the door frame. At other times the owner of the plant buries it in the ground.

2. *Mayembe* (horns) is a divinational practice by which a person is said to acquire the power of exercising harmful influence on another person even from a great distance. The power of *mayembe* is said to be derived from a certain plant called *lubowa*, pieces of which are cut and placed in the horns of a dead cow. The *mayembe* maker is officially known as *muwanga* (one who fixes things up) or *lubanga*, and is said to reside in Bululi county. Although he seems to be chief maker of *mayembe*, those who have acquired the power are able to sell their skill and the horns to others. To the *lubowa* the *muwanga* adds four berries and later he kills a hen and a goat. A little blood of these animals is sprinkled into the horns. Then by some magical power he traps ghosts of people and places them in the horns.

A practitioner of *mayembe* is officially called *ssenkulu* (the most important person). By incantation the owner of *mayembe* can invoke the power of his *mayembe* at will. To possess *mayembe* is considered a great asset, although it is costly to purchase. Paradoxically, not many people want to obtain *mayembe* as those who have this skill have few friends since many people fear the power of the *ssenkulu*.

Some of the things *mayembe* is capable of are: throwing stones (from nowhere), gripping a person's body (without the use of visible hands), making people very sick (without natural cause) and burning houses (without the use of any form of combustion), talking to people (voices but no bodies).

who disobeyed him. When K. was brought before the village *lukiko* (council) one day and accused of an act of witchcraft he drew a big crowd of spectators. One of the spectators called out that this was a "very bad trial" because if K. was sent to prison then a lot of *matoke* sellers and shopkeepers would lose money.

Economic activity may at first be welcomed but later ignored. When a young Toro opened a shop in the village, he gave a rather lavish party with a lot of "Bell Beer". Many people of all tribes came to the party and congratulated him on his "good chance" in opening a shop. The visitors felt happy that such a man had selected Mulago for his business and wished him success. In conversation the villagers said that he was an important person and that he was helping them, because now they would no longer have to buy their things from Indians in Kampala. This shop was one of the first to fail, owing not so much to the lack of skill of its owner, as to the fact that nobody came to buy from him.

6. ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIAN BUSINESS IN MULAGO

There are two centres of Indian business in Mulago. One of these is the Mulago Bakery, a well developed enterprise. Many Luo living in Mulago work there and live in quarters provided by the owner. The connection of the Bakery with the village is minimal but for the fact that its owner is accused of "stealing African land". He is never seen in the village himself.

The Mulago Store is the other Indian-owned business. It is a well stocked shop located opposite the main Hospital gates. This Indian enterprise is the object of strongly ambivalent attitudes. The residents enjoy the considerable purchasing facilities offered, yet resent an Indian commercial intrusion into an otherwise all African area. One can hardly think of this store as being in any way competitive with the African-run shops, as the contrast in physical facilities and business methods is so extreme. The owner of the Mulago Store has tried to "encourage African business" by supplying hawkers with oddments which they try to sell around the village, hoping to make a special appeal to those who have brought patients to the Hospital and so are staying only for a short time.¹

1. To such people, who often come from very rural areas, the appeal of such cheap commodities as mirrors, combs, needles, handkerchiefs, pencils and paper, very cheap cosmetics and "pearls" is considerable, and a clever and persistent hawker can make five shillings profit a day. When buses and private cars arrive outside the Hospital, hawkers can be seen to pounce on those who alight, making a determined effort to sell their products. Occasionally a hawker who has acquired a little capital buys his goods from the Mulago Store slightly below the normal retail price and peddles them within the village and at the bus stop. One of these hawkers, a middle-aged Kikuyu, did this off and on for seven years. He came to Kampala as a mechanic but in an accident lost the use of his right arm. After that he did not know what to do, feeling rather despondent and unwilling to return to his tribal home. For a time he sold groundnuts in the town but found that he did not do as well as he had hoped. He took up hawking such things as cooking pots, plates, cups, handkerchiefs and knives and soon established a brisk trade. At first he worked on a commission basis but later bought things himself wholesale. He then earned 80/- per month. He lived with a Luo woman in one room near the Hospital. Recently one of his brothers sent his son to be looked after by him, a fact which he related with considerable pride. He spoke good Luganda and was, until the Kenya emergency, quite respected. After the emergency began people became rather shy of him, but nevertheless continued to associate with him. During a recent police action in Kampala he was taken away. His wife is still in Mulago. She now lives with a Luo man who works on the railway.

7. FOOD PRODUCTION.

The mention of food sellers and hotels has already made it clear that most Mulago villagers do not grow their own foodstuffs. This is partly because the population of Mulago is a working population, with neither the time nor the interest to devote themselves to the growing of food, and partly because most of them have no land nearby. Almost 50% of the total population of the village live crowded together in a relatively small area of some 20 acres (12.1% of the area studied) with a population density of 70 persons to the acre. The remaining 50% live in the areas designated semi-urban (57 persons per acre), dense-rural (10 persons per acre) and rural (3 persons per acre), and of all these approximately only 12% grow all or any part of their own vegetable foods. It might be expected that those who live in the rural areas and all the fortunate owners of *kibanja* would not only grow their own food, but even save some for sale. Some of them do, but here, too, time is money and the interest in cultivation is fading. Moreover, women, who used to do so much, now all too often think that digging is beneath them. The following conversation was overheard outside the house of a Ganda storekeeper:

"You are lazy, why did you not dig food today? Don't you know that if you are not digging you just go to beer parties and love other men? I don't like you to go to beer parties. I shall beat you if you do that again. I want you to grow food and to sell it in the market. We have good land here but you are wasting all your time loving other men at beer parties."

When all that is said, however, it is still true that some residents, even from the urban parts of Mulago, do cultivate their own food. We have already seen that many of the lower paid porters treat beer drinking as a worthy form of nourishment and often go for a number of days without any kind of solid food. Others, however, particularly unmarried or separated men, spend their leisure time cultivating the plots of landowners who have large *shambas* located within about three or four miles of Kampala. This work is done at the week-ends, and, instead of money, pay is given in terms of a few days' food supply. The survey discovered three men, all single Rwanda, who had regularly obtained a great part of their food supply in this manner for the past two years. They were thus able to spend the money they earned from their week-day jobs on regular attendance at beer-parties and had managed to buy such items as wrist watches, bed-sheets and, one of them, a suit.

Better off residents who live in the more crowded parts of Mulago but own land elsewhere, sometimes bring foodstuffs back from their visits to their plots, but most even of these, like the landless people, have to depend mainly upon purchasing their food—a fact which they deplore and talk about constantly. When relatives come to visit they sometimes bring food with them. If so, they are welcomed with open arms; if not, the situation is somewhat tense, for though one cannot ask a guest to pay for his food, yet the strain on the budget is considerable.

An interesting aspect of this relatively new dependence upon buying foodstuffs came to light when the survey discovered several white-collar workers who refused to take responsibility for close relatives who came even for a visit, let alone those who wanted to be accommodated for a longer period. One clerk, a Ganda, living with

his wife and three children, and earning 310/- a month, expressed himself strongly on this subject when he said:

"It is very expensive to live in town. I can't get a plot close enough to Kampala to grow my own food. I want my children to have good food and I can't afford to pay for my brother's child as well. I am sorry about that, but our old customs do not help us. When my brother comes to see me he usually brings a chicken and perhaps some beer. I have not done so for a long time when I go to see him. I am glad when my father sends us some banana because it means that we can save a little. I do not want to be unfriendly to my friends but I want to build my own house so that I don't have to pay high rent and I can't feed all my friends when they come."

This man, who is educated and whose children are always well-dressed, said that he had had a very serious argument with a close friend of his because once at the end of the month he had turned him away, telling him that he had neither the room for him to sleep, nor the money to feed him. His neighbours sympathised with him over this, yet some of the villagers also expressed doubt about turning away one's close friend or relative. Another man, also Ganda, married with one child, had a nephew sent to him to be looked after while attending a local school. The uncle put the boy up for three months and then sent him home saying that it was too much of a strain on his purse. These are only two examples of one of the ways in which urban living is modifying traditional attitudes.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, then, it can be stated that economic activity in Mulago remains in a rudimentary stage. It is a marginal economy, suffering both from the lack of a clearcut sense of vocation and training, and from the handicap of serving a community living too close to a fully developed urban area. It is difficult to break into this urban economy; you buy high but you cannot sell much higher. Considerable capital is needed to establish a formal business, such as a general shop. On the other hand, those who do well in Mulago are the technically skilled or semi-skilled, the carpenters, tailors and butchers. Their investments may be high, as in the case of carpenters, but they turn out a visibly useful and desired product, a product which often meets the needs of a population longing for a little bit of extra - that chair and table, that occasional meat supper and that extra Sunday pair of trousers. Others who do well are those with the little or no skill required to be beer brewers, water sellers, and banana and charcoal sellers. As long as Mulago remains a refuge for unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, whose wages are relatively low, the purchasing power of the community as a whole will also remain low. But, with the possible exception of the beer brewers, those who have set up enterprises in the village have done so without any clear thinking about what the community wants and needs. The idea that virtually any commercial effort will in a short time lead to great riches has given many the notion that the merest unplanned effort will bring rich rewards. With this assumption only the most persistent can succeed. Finally, the immigrants, drifting into Mulago from rural areas, either do not have the money to purchase what they need or want, or, alternatively, look with suspicion upon a commercial life which, broadly, remains in the hands of the dominant Ganda.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

1. TYPES OF SEXUAL RELATION

Perhaps the most outstanding features of marriage in Mulago are the varying types of sexual unions, and the problems of choice of mates.¹ Both problems are rather closely linked with the great changes which have taken place in the position of women in tribal life.

To begin with, we must distinguish between generally short lived purely sexual unions² and usually more permanent and recognised marital relations. There are three types of temporary sexual unions: 1. Prostitution (*obwamalaya*); 2. Lover relationships (*muganzi wange* - my beloved, or *dali wange* - my darling, used by "modern women", or *mukwano* - my friend. All terms are used by men and women to one another); 3. Free marriage (*tuli bafumbo naye situwangayo bintu* - we are married but we have never given things, i.e., marriage payment). In contrast to this there are two recognised marriage relations: 1. Tribal marriage (*obufumbo bwe kiganda* - Ganda marriage, or *twawayo ebintu naye situli bagate* - We gave things (over there) but we are not married in a Christian way); 2. Christian marriage (*tuli bagate* - We are married according to Christians). Tribal marriage is recognised under native law, but not Protectorate law, and Christian marriage is recognised by both systems of law, though only Protectorate courts can deal with matters affecting Christian marriage, i.e., divorce. These two systems of sexual unions overlap. Whereas a person presently living with a lover may also have had a tribal marriage which has not been dissolved, so also a person living on terms of a free marriage may undertake to have a Christian marriage later on.

1. See table on "Tribe by Age and Sex", and "Composition of the Mulago Population"

From these tables the following emerges: The ratio of males to females over 16 is 642 to 436 or 1.5 males to every female. The ratio of males to females in the age groups 16-30 is 363 to 259 or 1.4 males to every female. Males between 16-30 comprise 34% of all males, females between 16-30 comprise 48% of all females. Almost half the females are therefore well within marriageable age. The population of Mulago, male and female, is a young population, 72.38% being between the ages of 16-45. Those 46 and over constitute 8.90%, and those 0-15, 19.83%. Generally, the female population is the younger. Nearly 46% of the total population over 16 years of age consider themselves married according to one form or another.

If these ratios are worked out according to tribe the following picture emerges. Only the Ganda have a ratio in favour of females, i.e., 1.25 females to every male. All the other tribes have 2.5 males for every female: Luo 2.66, Toro 2.47, Rwanda 2.42. Only the Kiga have a quite abnormally high ratio of males to females, it being 7.11 males to every female. This is no doubt due to the tremendous migration of Kiga to Kampala in search of work resulting from the heavy overpopulation in southern Kigezi. Few of these men bring their wives with them.

2. This distinction between temporary sexual unions and marriage relations is to be considered as a working typology. The distinction clearly does not lie in the absence or presence of sexual relations, but rather a distinction is drawn between a recognised kind of relationship and code of conduct and one which has no customary (legal) basis. Furthermore, this typology is also to be based on statistical evidence of the duration of various kinds of unions.

2. TRIBAL MARRIAGE

Let us first look at the two forms of recognised marital relations. First, tribal marriage.¹ The bulk of the population contract tribal marriages which are recognised by native law but not by Protectorate law. These marriages, traditionally calling for elaborate ceremonial, are today practised with a less conscious effort to maintain the traditions of the past.² Such essentials as the presence of certain important relatives must simply be ignored when both husband and wife find themselves miles away from their homes, and when it may even be years before the husband is introduced to his wife's parents. Those who do attend the marriage may be remote relatives or mere friends. For the Ganda this is naturally less likely, but members of other tribes frequently have to follow procedures which depart considerably from customary forms. When Ganda men or women marry spouses from other tribes it almost always turns out that Ganda customs are followed. For example, recently a Rwanda man and Rwanda woman were married tribally in Mulago. The customs followed were Ganda customs, and many of the guests were Ganda. Because of the absence of any relatives of the bride, several Ganda women, who were neighbours to the married man, looked after her for several days after the marriage, as is prescribed by Ganda custom. This procedure was followed not only because of the absence of their personal relatives, but, as the Rwanda man explained later, because:

"I have been here for a long time (9 years) and I have learned Ganda customs. We are glad that the Ganda treat us so well. I would not follow any other customs, because I think that Ganda customs are better. I shall never go back to my home. I don't like the Government in my country. I want to work here and when I have children I shall give them Ganda names and get a plot for them."

In contrast, there are of course members of tribes who do not take this view. These are the West Nile tribes, such as the Madi, Alur, Kakwa and Lugbara, as well as other non-Bantu, such as the Nilotic Acholi, Lango and Luo. Members of these tribes, being less accepted by the Ganda, rarely contract tribal marriages outside of their tribal homes. Even the suggestion that they ought to follow Ganda customs, which Ganda make them at times, is resented by them.

"I would never have a Ganda marriage", said a Luo man of 27 years, "because we have our own customs to follow. When I get married I shall marry a Luo woman and we shall be married in my home. I don't like Ganda customs because when Ganda people get married, they are not serious about marriage, and they soon run away from each other. Luo people don't do that. If I followed Ganda customs I would never have any children."

1. For a very full and clear account of Ganda tribal marriage see, Mair, L., "Native marriage in Buganda", International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, London, Memorandum xix, 1940, 33 pages.

2. A number of informants said that they were tribally married but that they had so far not given any marriage payment. They explained that it was sufficient to have been introduced to the woman's family and to have been accepted by her parents. Agreement about the payment to be made had not been reached. After such agreement had been reached arrangements would be made for a tribal marriage.

Very much the same feeling was expressed by a young Acholi man who had come to Kampala in order to save money for a wife. He laughed at the interviewer when he was asked whether he would mind marrying a Ganda woman.

"No Acholi man would ever marry a Ganda woman. All the Ganda are women (*bak,yala*)¹ and no Acholi would ever marry them. When I get enough money I shall find a wife in my own country. I don't want to come back to see the Ganda. They are bad and they are lazy. They do not treat us well."

Tribal marriages are considered "good" marriages by most of the residents of Mulago. Some of the older men expressed the feeling that the great number of unhappy marriages was due to the fact that not all the proper aspects (customs) of tribal marriage were observed. One old Ganda man said that it was deplorable that young men should be so impudent as to bargain with a prospective father-in-law about the marriage payment. In contrast to this, some of the younger men, who have had tribal marriage, say that some customs "are silly". One young Ganda clerk explained that he had had a tribal marriage because "all good Ganda follow their traditions, so that they may have a proper successor at death", "but," he added "I did not follow all the customs because I don't believe in them".² Two men expressed the idea that, "Ganda people should not follow European customs. If they have a Christian marriage they have become Europeans."

Not only is a tribal marriage considered to be a "good" marriage, but, in contrast to a Christian marriage, it is considered more convenient. For although a great many people consider a Christian marriage an ideal to be achieved, they often express the feeling that it is "difficult to break a Christian marriage". Furthermore, it is held that if a woman does not meet the expected standards, such as being able to cook and to have children, or if she is unfaithful to her husband, he can, in a tribal marriage, "return her" to her father and get his money back. Although any native court would rule in favour of a man who brought a case against his wife on the grounds of adultery, it is also true that few men take such a case to court knowing that the court is not empowered to order the repayment of bride-wealth.³ It is easier to separate from

1. This man, like a number of other Nilotic speakers, expressed considerable dislike of the Ganda. This man in particular said that the Ganda are cowards, hence he called them women. He added that the Ganda are very conceited and think all other tribes are dirty and ignorant.

2. He said there were two aspects of the custom he did not follow. The first was that he did not let his mother-in-law's sister take away the bed-sheets (to establish the virginity of her daughter); and secondly, he could not afford to send a female goat to his mother-in-law, a custom which is followed if the wife has proved to be a virgin.

3. In actual fact there is no provision in the laws of Buganda which could compel an ex-father-in-law to return the marriage payment. This is no doubt due to the fact that in the first case the Ganda never did give very high marriage payment, unlike the Luo, for example, and secondly, since the arrival of Europeans there has developed the tendency to play down certain customs relating to marriage. One aspect of this is the influence of Christianity with its teaching that it is unethical to buy a wife. This teaching is no doubt reflected in the laws relating to tribal marriage.

When men expressed the opinion that they preferred tribal marriage because they could get their money back they referred to personal arbitration between themselves and their ex father-in-law. However, it should be remembered that marriage payments are often quite high (250/- at times) particularly if the prospective father-in-law knows that the suitor for his daughter is employed in Kampala, or any other urban area, and receives a good salary. Under such conditions arbitration becomes important.

one's wife and to find another spouse. It is perhaps this feeling (coupled with a lack of knowledge) which is operative in the minds of the "upper class" when they express objections against the laws of divorce as they apply to broken Christian marriages. There is a general feeling which affects both Christian and tribal marriages that a man, and even less a woman, does not wish to get tangled up in costly and prolonged litigation, be it in a Native Court or a Protectorate Court. A number of men and women told the interviewers that tribal marriage, like free marriage, was less filled with tension "because in a Christian marriage you must live according to religion", and also in a tribal marriage "we do the things we have been told by our grandfathers". Several men voiced the oft repeated objection to Christian marriage by saying: "Those who have Christian marriages cannot have children as easily as those who have tribal marriages". However, these objections to Christian marriages are often not meant to be taken very seriously, for when informants are questioned closely about the kind of marriage they would like their sons and daughters to have, the answers are almost always that Christian marriage is preferred.

3. CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

Christian marriages in Mulago are confined almost completely to the "upper class" of Ganda shopkeepers, traders and artisans. Christian marriages are the ideal: not because they are considered to be better marriages but because they signify that a person has reached a certain rung on the ladder of growing identification with European customs. Furthermore, it identifies a person as belonging to certain social strata of society: the strata of the old-established families, of the well-to-do, the politicians, the better paid clerks and the increasing number of well-to-do farmers. Christian marriage is associated not only with a wealthier group of people, but also with an educational standard.

"I would not have a tribal marriage. I think all these customs are silly", said a young Ganda boy of 19 who had recently passed his School Certificate. "If I do not have a Christian marriage I shall not get a job. My father will pay for the wedding and the reception afterwards. I know that all my friends will have Christian marriages. Some will even refuse to pay any money to the fathers whose daughters they will marry."

Quite a number of people, and there are few in Mulago who actually have had Christian marriages, think of this marital contract as a religious ideal. One old lady, Ganda by tribe, who claimed that she had made a Christian marriage ten years ago, said that she "knew that God wanted men to live in fear, and that a Christian marriage was such a difficult thing that she had lived in fear all the time." In a slightly amused manner she added: "My husband died last year and now I feel better." However, there is no doubt that many see in such a contract an important religious ideal. At the same time, few understand the obligations which are carried by this kind of contract, with the inevitable result that, in the eyes of the Church, many Africans are bigamists.

Some people make considerable sacrifices to have a Christian marriage, and consequently rank well above the average person in Mulago. When asked why they do so, they give as their answer a mixture of social and economic reasons. One Ganda butcher explained that he had decided on a Christian marriage, which cost him 4000/-,

because he thought that he could get a better job by doing so. Another man, a Soga orderly in the General Hospital, who had married a Ganda woman, was very blunt when he claimed:

"I have always read that Europeans don't like us Africans to get married the way our grandfathers did. I often hear the European doctors ask the sick people how many wives they have, and if the person says two or three they say that is a very bad thing and it is probably the reason why the patient became sick. If I have a Christian marriage I can get a better job and get more pay because Europeans will know that I follow their way only."

A Lango man, a pipe fitter in the P.W.D., explained to us that he had saved for 6 years to get enough money to have a Christian marriage. He had married a Rwanda woman and had settled in Mulago, building his own house and constructing another for rent. When questioned about his Christian marriage he said that his teachers (the White Fathers) at school had always told him that only Christian marriages were recognised by God and that it was bad to pay money for a woman as though she were a "packet of tea". He thought that "my neighbour will respect me more if he knows that I have a legal wife and that we were married in Church." However, he was less sure that such marriages were in some way more permanent because he added that "only women with education appreciate good husbands and are willing to stay with them. A stupid woman will run away even after a Church marriage."

This sacrifice is perhaps more evident in the numerous remarriage ceremonies which occur frequently. In Mulago, for example, a number of families were discovered of which the fathers, originally married under tribal custom, had many years later been through a Christian ceremony to make their marriages "legal". It is indeed a spectacle to see those who have been married happily for years "marry a wife".

Although a Christian marriage remains the remote ideal for many, there are quite a number of residents, as explained above, who in fact prefer tribal marriage. They do so not only because they are acquainted with the procedures and customs of tribal marriage, but also because they have a deep-seated suspicion of anything European. This was evident in the following conversation in S.'s beer bar:

There were three Luo men, one Luo woman, three Ganda men, and five Ganda women, one Acholi man, and three Nyoro men. One Ganda man had started a conversation about the recent Christian marriage of the son of a prominent Ganda.

"I would not let my son have such a marriage", said this Ganda, "because I don't want him to become a European. I think that we Africans should have African marriages". "I tell you", said one of the Nyoro men. "that this boy will not be able to have any children because all Africans who have become like Europeans have bad and sick children." "I agree with that gentleman", interrupted a Ganda woman, "because European customs are not as good as African customs. We do not understand their customs. If you have a European marriage you never drink any beer. Your children will never have a proper father; no one will ever know whether your wife was a virgin when you married her. No, I think that African marriage is better than European marriage".

4. TEMPORARY SEXUAL UNIONS.

Let us now deal with temporary sexual unions. There is no doubt that these play a most important part in Mulago. As will be evident in what follows, temporary sexual unions appear to meet a greater need, and appear more satisfactory to both men and women in Mulago, than permanent ones. Such unions do not require a great many preliminary arrangements. Often they are established as a result of casual contact, for example, in beer bars and shops, and even when walking along the street. More important, both men and women prefer the ease with which either can depart to seek new companionship. Lastly, sexual unions of a temporary nature have an additional advantage, most important to many Mulago residents, and that is that such unions give either party the opportunity to "try out"¹ a spouse. Temporary sexual unions do not carry with them any customary obligations and so partners in such unions do not have to meet the requirements of a set code of conduct.

5. PROSTITUTION.

Although the practice of visiting prostitutes is not as common as it is in Kisenyi, the distinction between prostitution and an occasional love affair is often a thin one. Usually the distinction which is drawn between lovers and prostitutes is that the latter are paid in cash,² whereas lovers are rarely given money.

All those women who are not married and who have no work are considered as prostitutes. There are four self-acknowledged prostitutes in Mulago and perhaps the most interesting aspect of their "trade" is that those who come to see them are not local residents. When asked why this was so, one Ganda woman of 27 said:

"All the men who live in Mulago don't like us. They say that we are dirty and that they will get sick. They are also afraid that they will get into trouble and that the chief will report them to the police. Last night when P. was in my house he told me that the *ggombolola* chief had given orders to take all women like myself away. He said that the people of Mulago had requested this. I don't know why the men in Mulago do not come to see us. I think it is because they have no money."

Although it may be true that Mulago residents do not have the money to pay for a prostitute, it is more to the point to say that as a community the villagers do not approve of prostitution. Perhaps this is so because despite the desire to "try out" a wife, the villagers know that the use of prostitutes only brings very temporary satisfaction

1. *Njagala kusoka kumugeza* - I first want to try him/her

2. The amount paid to prostitutes does not appear rigidly fixed. Almost all men questioned reported that they pay "what we feel like and whether we think that the woman has really loved us". On the other hand, some men reported that the "price" was fixed by the women according to the time of day and duration of the visit. One woman, a Ganda prostitute, said that she charged according to tribe. This appeared to work out that some Bantu-speaking people were paying a good deal more than such non-Bantu as Acholi, Lango and Kakwa. The prices most frequently mentioned were 2/- for a short visit and 5/- for a little longer. For a whole night the "rate" of 8/- was mentioned by one man.

and never leads to a more permanent union, which, in the long run, remains an important consideration. For although there is a great deal of talk about "trying out" a wife, there is also a considerable desire to "settle down".

Daudi and Yokana were sitting in a beer bar and talking about Jean, a Nyoro prostitute, who had just passed by. "I do not like Jean", said Yokana "because prostitutes always take your money and they make you sick. I would never go to a prostitute because they only love you for a very short time and then they ask for a lot of money. They will never cook for you and they always fight other women." Daudi got up and looked along the road. Before he left the bar he told Yokana, "I don't like people who go to a prostitute because they take your money." He later added, "If you sleep with a prostitute and your friends discover it, you can never find a good wife who will grow food and give you children."

As a group of people the four prostitutes who live in Mulago, three Ganda and one old Nyoro woman, have certain common characteristics which are of interest. All four have had tribal marriages, but only one, the Nyoro woman, produced any children. Also, all of them have only recently come to Kampala (1952). They have not always lived in Mulago but have moved around very considerably. One of them, a Ganda woman of 32, said that she had recently come from Jinja where she had "a European friend". Two of the women gave as their reasons for leaving their husbands that they "did not like to stay at home in the village all the time and cultivate food". One other said: "My husband brought in another woman and I could not get on with her." The Nyoro woman refused to answer the question. When they first come to Kampala they stayed with friends or relatives. All of them claimed that they had some employment for a few months before they took up their present occupation.

The subject of prostitution is often debated in beer bars and on such occasions a high moral tone is adopted. Many prostitutes are believed to command unusual qualities such as being very rich or being able to destroy marriages so that they get more customers. The following was a conversation recorded between two prostitutes, both Ganda, who were sitting in a beer bar. As soon as these two women came in, some of those already there left the bar, saying that "these are bad women and we don't want to sit with them".

I listened to a conversation between two women who came to the bar. I knew that they were prostitutes and so did other people who sat in the bar. Some left the bar as soon as the women came.

Mary: "Where have you been for such a long time?"

Jean: "Did you not inform me that life without a husband in Kampala is quite difficult? So I want to try to find a husband. But I find it very difficult. I found a man. He was married but he said that he would come and see me here."

Mary: "How did you get rid of his wife?"

Jean: "The story is long, but I shall tell you. I have an aunt who took me to a certain doctor where I spent nearly the whole of my money to get rid of that woman. The man gave me a piece of a very rare stick which I gave to the

woman's husband. He placed the stick in the house and soon after that, he said that he would come to see me. He has already given me 100/-."

Mary: "Can you take me to this man. I would not mind finding a man who gives me that much money."

Jean: "I shall take you to him but not this week because I am waiting for him to come here."

Mary: "That is good because I do not like Mulago men. My Indian friend does not come and see me any more."

There is also some evidence that prostitutes themselves do not enjoy their occupation. Two of them explained that they only followed it because they wanted to save money and buy a plot of land. One of these mentioned that it was easy to find a husband in Kampala but that it was impossible to tell whether he was faithful or not. She herself, she went on, wanted to marry (for the second time) a man "who did not bring in another woman". The Nyoro woman, whose physical attraction had ceased some years ago, did not want to be given money from men but wanted "to have clothes and be taken to the Odeon (cinema)". She repeated on several occasions that her chances of marrying another man were small, "because I am an old woman", (not, let it be noted, "because I am a prostitute").

Although some men prefer to visit prostitutes at night and with considerable secrecy, the majority go to beer parties where they can often find them. The method of identification seems to be the willingness of a woman to accept the beer offered to her. Sometimes, however, a man gets himself into trouble by assuming that a woman will come with him after he has bought a number of drinks for her!

Amos and Jean, the former a Ganda and the latter a Nyoro woman, sat in G.'s bar. Amos had been buying beer for a number of young girls but after a time they left the bar. Amos then bought beer for Jean and after a time asked her whether she was married. She replied that she was living with a man in a free marriage and that she really did not consider him to be her husband. Amos then asked Jean to come outside so that he might ask her a private question. Soon after Jean came back in and began abusing Amos and shouting at him. She proclaimed to the others who sat in the bar that Amos had wanted to love her, and that he told her that he would beat her, because she had taken beer from him and that indicated that she would love him. "I don't like men to ask me to sleep with them because I am not a *malaya* (prostitute). I think they are bad people and they get disease. If you love me you must marry me and go to my parents and give them money and meat and butter. I will not sleep with him and I will throw this beer at him for asking me. I know him and I know that he would not love me because he loves many other women."

6. LOVERS.

The world of the lovers is one of considerable competition and jealousy. Women who practise this kind of social existence try to cultivate an intimate, more or less permanent, circle of men-friends. A woman certainly would think twice before she accepted the offers of a man who was known to her as "belonging" to another lover.

Efforts to attract new "friends" can lead to a great deal of quarrelling and fighting.

Georgina and Damali and many other people sat in P's beer bar. Georgina, a Ganda woman, and Damali, a Rwanda woman, sat in the corner among numerous Luo and Rwanda people. The people were talking to the owner of the bar and commenting on her good beer. After some time the conversation changed and they all talked about the fact that Africans don't have children as easily and as often as they used to before the Europeans came. After a little while John came in and sat between Georgina and Damali. He bought some beer for Damali but ignored Georgina. Georgina told Damali to give the beer to her because John, a Rwanda, was her lover. Damali refused and started to abuse Georgina. Georgina told her that "Why do you take my lover from me? Don't you know that he loves me and hates you. I shall beat and kill you if you don't stop seeing John. If John does not love me he will tell me. But he has just said that he loves me and wants me to come to his house to-day. If you do not stop loving John I shall love Edward, because I know that you do not love him. Edward will buy good clothes for me and give me good food and rent a room for me as well." Damali began to hit Georgina and tear her clothes. They rolled off the benches and no one made an effort to pull them apart. One Luo said, "It is good to see them hitting each other. They have much money and they take it from men who are stupid to give money to them. Damali was my lover once, but I told her not to return to my house because she loved many men."

These women, while living with a man, usually receive clothes and such things as handbags, shoes and cheap pearls. They live with their "husbands" for varying lengths of time, ranging from a few days to several months. Many women in Mulago expressed the opinion that if a lover lived with a man for more than three months the "couple" had decided to enter into a free marriage. Those men who have lovers, and a great many men admitted that they had, often claim that they have the best of both worlds. They enjoy some of the advantages of a home inasmuch as they have someone to cook for them, to wash their clothes, and to keep their homes, not to speak of sexual satisfaction, and at the same time they do not have to meet the obligations of marriage, i.e., paying of bride-wealth. It is of this kind of relationship that men and women frequently say, when asked, that they are "trying out a wife." It is clear that a good many men have almost no respect for their lovers and tend to treat them as a matter of convenience.

"I do not like you to come to my house and talk to my wife", said a young Ganda medical orderly, "because she is not my real wife. She does not understand the questions you ask her and she knows nothing about me. I am looking for a wife and when I have found one I shall send this one away. She is here to cook for me and keep my house clean. I can't tell you where she comes from. I know that she has been married before and that is the reason why I would not marry her. Please do not ask her anything."

In another case, that of a Nyoro clerk, a situation had arisen where the man felt very dependent upon his lover, even looking for her after she had run away. He said that it was very difficult for a working man to be without a wife who "will look after the home". He first would not admit to having a lover, referring to the woman living with him as "my housekeeper". However, after a time, he introduced this woman to one of the interviewers as his "wife". When she left him, to seek another man, he reported to the parish chief that he had lost his wife and explained to him that he had agreed on a free marriage with the woman to which she also had agreed. She had been living with him for four months and he had almost "treated her like a darling". He waited for her to return for just a little over two months. When she failed to come back he took another lover and said that the only way to keep such women is to "love them very much, and to give them nice things".

Although a number of women in the village have the reputation of being "very good lovers", and it is said that some treat their husbands just like "real wives", there is also some evidence that the men who contract such temporary unions do not find them satisfactory. Some men are indignant about the unfaithfulness of lovers. Such men say that the only thing lovers want is to get a lot of presents, and when they have got what they want they desert the man. The women, on their part, often complain that men have no intention of treating them well.

Jean was seen running from the house of R. She was very agitated and started to shout in the street: "You people know that I am R.'s lover. You know what he has done now? He has brought another woman to live with him and told me to leave his house. He is a bad man. He sleeps with many women and I was foolish to come to his house."

This woman, a Ganda who had been living with a Toro man, was found two days later to be living with a Soga. When asked how she was able to change so quickly from one person to another, she explained that "a woman must have a lot of friends because it is very expensive to live in the town."

As mentioned above, some men, although they make continuous and ready use of lovers, do not find this kind of relationship a satisfactory one. The case below appears to illustrate this.

"I am an old man now", said a Teso carpenter of 31, "and I never married. I often cook for myself, but I get lovers who come to see me. I will not tell you their names because they do not stay with me for very long. Sometimes I have a lover for two nights, sometimes for a week and perhaps even longer. I want to be married but I have no money. I buy them food and rent a room for one of them. I would like to have a legal wife but to keep a woman in Mulago is very expensive. They always want good clothes and to be taken dancing. I have five children and I help pay for them but I really want a child of my own. I do not always like to sleep with my lovers because I am not sure that they don't give me a bad sickness. I also got into trouble with a man the other day for sleeping with his wife. I did not know that she had a legal husband. She did not tell me. She stayed with me for four days. The husband came and wanted to take me to the court. I gave him 20/- and he left, but he beat me very much at first."

Who are the men who take lovers, and who are the women who offer themselves despite the uncertainties of this kind of life?

A great many men in Mulago have lovers for varying periods of time. Many of these men are immigrants who have come to live in Mulago and left their wives behind. In addition, there are many single men who find it convenient to have a woman to look after their house and cook. Finally, there are those men who have been married previously (mostly in tribal marriages), and who refuse to contract second or further recognised marriages for a variety of reasons.

A Kiga man, who had come to live in Mulago in 1953, had separated from his wife, also a Kiga, because she did not bear him any children. He had left Kigezi District and gone to work as a porter to an Indian in Mbarara. He stayed there for seven months and lived with a Somali woman. After about five months, his "wife" left him. He stayed on for two more months and then came to Kampala. He settled in Mulago and first lived with a Kiga friend. After some weeks he found a Nyoro woman and rented a room for both of them. At the time of being interviewed this woman had left him, after having been with him for three months, and he complained that all town women were bad women. He had hoped to "find a woman who could cook for me and keep my house clean". He said that "I don't want to marry again a real wife (*sic*) because I am told that town women do not have children. But I need a wife because I am now an old man (he was 41) and it is not good to be without a wife. In my country if a man is without a wife he has no friends."

Many of the older men, like the example given above, look upon lovers with a more serious intent than do the younger men. For this older group of men, who are unable for many reasons to have a second or third recognised marriage, lovers "make the home". Such men often fail to understand why their lovers run away from them even after they have been showered with gifts. They do not recognise the fact that most women treat their lover relationships as convenient, temporary and rewarding unions. One Ganda man, a *dhobi*, has had seven lovers in nine months. He has given them expensive dresses, shoes, handbags, pearls, scarves and money. They have all left him. He is bitter about this saying: "all women are unfaithful and they are all robbers". He does not recognise these women for what they are. He treats them as "real women who do things for you". When his fourth lover ran away, after having been with him for two months, he bitterly complained to the parish court saying:

"Would you get my darling back for me? I gave her many things but she has now run away with 210/- which I gave her for safe custody. I think I know where she is now."

Younger men have quite a different reason for contracting lover relations. For them it is clearly a matter of "for the fun of it". They do not give expensive presents to the women, and in turn the women do not expect them to. More often than not, such contracts are even of shorter duration than is the case with older men. Young men often take their lovers to a dance or to a cinema. If the woman leaves they are not much disturbed by this:

Eric is a young (23) Ganda clerk in an office in Kampala. He rents one spacious room in Mulago where he has lived for 14 months. His income is 167/- per month. He pays 17/-

rent and says that his food costs him another 55/- per month. He tries to save so that he can take a correspondence course in bookkeeping and accounting. He came to Kampala because his father had no money to continue his education beyond the Secondary 2 level. As soon as he came to Kampala he rebelled against living with his uncle, as his father had arranged. "I wanted to live by myself", he says, "because my uncle would never let me do what I wanted to do." After he had been in Mulago for three weeks he met a Ganda girl, an ayah to a European, at a dance in Katwe. He brought her home and she cooked for him for some weeks. He started to abuse her, and she abused him, and the girl left. He did not mind that she had gone. For a while he cooked for himself or invited another young boy to live with him for a few days. Often he went out to eat in a hotel. After some weeks he found a Toro girl and lived with her for four weeks. He is always very cheerful and says, "I am just a young boy. I do not want to be married for another three years. If I do not like the woman I tell her to leave me. I know that there are many young girls in Kampala who would like to come and live here with me. I never give them money, but we go out dancing and drinking together."

A good many immigrant men have lovers. For them a lover seems to fulfil a number of different needs. Many of them express the idea that "I have a lover because I have left my home and my wife". Others say that they could not live without a woman in a foreign country. One immigrant (Rwanda) told the interviewer that he had come to stay in Buganda "until I die", and that he must "have a family, but first I want to find many women so that I can make a choice". Many women look upon immigrants as rewarding, but short-time, lovers. They complain that only by going from one man to another can "you get food", because immigrants individually are poor and can never give a lot of gifts.

A Gishu porter was living with a Nyoro woman. They had been together for six weeks. The man explained that he had been looking for a woman for a long time because he wanted to make sure that she could cook, and also that she would not run away. He thought that it was "good to have a lover because you could open a shop and make your wife look after it."

Finally, who are the women who enter into a lover relationship? Those who were asked were often reluctant to talk about themselves, their background and their motivations. In fact, in many cases the women even refused to give their names saying: "I am not his real wife." However, it is possible to make some observations about this group. Almost all of them have come to Kampala within the last three years. Many of them have sisters and brothers living in Kampala. Some of the women started their "town life" with recognised employment as *ayahs*, shoppirls or doing sewing for an Indian tailor. Several of them were brewing beer or selling bananas and charcoal. Only a few of those questioned admitted any previous recognised marriages. Those who did complained about their ex-husbands having brought other women into the home, so producing an atmosphere of competition and jealousy. Several suggested that they were tired of country life, of cultivation and living in poor houses. One woman,

a Soga, said that she had come to Kampala because her husband had repeatedly beaten her; now she wanted to save enough money to buy a plot near Kampala and grow cotton.

It is difficult to say what motivates these women to pursue their "trade". Few seem to develop any serious attachment to their temporary "husband". They tend to treat men friends as objects, as means to an end. In the same way as the men complain that these women are not faithful, so the women maintain that they could never develop any real feeling of affection for the men because "men will only let us stay with them as long as they need us", and then "tell us to leave". However, one woman explained:

"I don't mind that men treat me like this. I know that they will always look after us when we come to their houses. I have been here for a long time and I have always had lovers. If I get old I will have to go back to my village, but I shall take a lot of money with me."

A study of these women might answer a number of questions dealing with urban social structure.

7. FREE MARRIAGE.

Sometimes a woman stays with one man for such a long time that their association passes over into the simplest kind of marriage relationship. This has been called free marriage. Such a marriage is an agreement whereby a man and woman live together without having gone through either a tribal, Christian, or Moslem ceremony, particularly the passing of marriage payment, yet enjoy, in the eyes of their neighbours, the bonds and advantages of a legal marriage. Free marriages, which are almost always held up in conversation in contrast to "real" marriages appear to last from a minimum of 3 months to an almost unlimited maximum period.

Free marriages combine the advantages of a more or less settled existence, of being looked after by a man, yet with the freedom to leave his house at any time, and with a certain seal of respectability. Free marriages are "arrangements", as one young Teso clerk described them, in which a couple "can find out whether they really want to get married".

"I would never marry a woman without first having lived with her for some months. There are many bad women who live in town and all they want is to get money and rob people. If you leave a woman in your house while you are at work she will steal everything from you."

Men and women in Mulago frequently talk about "trying out" a spouse before they settle down and have a "real" marriage. They say that this is important because:

"If you take the first woman you find in a bar or on the street, you may not get the right woman. She may not be educated and perhaps she does not want to obey. I think that all women should do what their husbands want. A woman may want to have a Christian marriage, but the husband does not want to spend all that money. Some men want to have a tribal marriage because they can send the woman back to

her father and get their money back if they find that she cannot cook, cultivate food or loves other men.”¹

In addition, there are other advantages in a free marriage. The first of these, and one considered most important by those with whom this was discussed, was that a free marriage is less filled with tension than a temporary love affair. It is more like a real marriage and both men and women can be more sure of one another. As one man, a young Ganda, put it: “you can be sure that your wife is at home when you come back from work.” A free marriage signifies the willingness of both partners to share the problems of the home, to give and take when a dispute arises, and not to terminate the relationship abruptly. Secondly, in a free marriage the woman might agree to have children. A great many men look upon this willingness as of paramount importance.

“I do not have the money to have a proper marriage. But I am saving some money so that I can get married in Church”, said a young Rwanda medical orderly. “But I want children all the same. I do not mind looking after them, even if ‘my wife’ leaves me. I know that my relatives would look after the children. My father said that it is important for all men to have children.”

Perhaps one of the strongest sanctions for this kind of sexual contract is the willingness of the community to recognise it. Although a “real” marriage, particularly a Christian one, appears to be the ultimate aim of most people, there is a clear recognition that living in an urban area calls for a new kind of contract. This contract, one man said, must be like a real marriage “but easier to break”. One man expressed it this way:

“I have a wife in my village. I do not intend to stay in Kampala for very long. I do not like Kampala. I work all day and I need a woman to cook for me. I do not like to have a lover or a prostitute. They are dirty and make you sick. I do not want to have another tribal marriage because I cannot afford it.”

In one case in Mulago a man and “wife” had lived happily together for well over 6 years. They had never bothered to have a Christian or a tribal marriage. This kind of arrangement suited them rather well for reasons which they refused to give on the first visit. Later on, as they got to know us better, the husband told us that he “was still trying her out” and that he liked the freedom of “being able to send her home”. When it was pointed out to him that his marriage had lasted more than six years, and that some of his neighbours who had made “legal” marriages had separated from their spouses in considerably less time than this, he turned to us and replied that that was exactly the reason why he had never taken a “legal” wife.

If we consider that a free marriage is a half-way house between prostitution and a Christian marriage, we must analyse the stability of this contract. This, however, will have to await further tabulations. A number of observations have, however, been made. First, the average length of time of a free marriage is about three years. Secondly, many free marriages are “blessed” with children. Thirdly, those males who contract free marriages belong to the independent retailer, skilled

1. This man also exemplified, in his conversation, the difficult problem of choice. He wants to find an educated woman, yet he wants her to obey, and above all to cultivate food.

artisan and clerical groups. Fewer unskilled men have free marriages. Finally, a greater percentage of those who contract free marriages, after having had previous Christian and tribal marriages, are men than women. Women often consider their existing free marriages to be their first marriages. In this connection it is worth noting that the men have been in Kampala considerably longer than the women. Only few women were willing to be interviewed, saying that they did not wish their names to appear on the questionnaire as they were not the "real" wives of the men interviewed. Those who were willing to be interviewed showed a number of common characteristics. In the first place, most of them had come to visit a relative or a friend living in Kampala. Secondly, their average age was considerably lower than that of the group which has been described as "lovers". Thirdly, the fathers of these women ranked considerably higher in occupation and social position than the fathers of those who were designated lovers. A number of the women who were living in free marriage relationships, were the daughters of important chiefs, well-to-do peasants and equally well-off independent traders.

8. COMMENT.

What overall picture emerges from these various types of sexual and marital relationships? On the whole it appears that lover relationships and free marriages form the foundation of early male and female relations as well as of those formed after previous marriage failures. Tribal marriages are considered "good" and traditional and are contracted by the great majority of the residents in Mulago. Finally, Christian marriages, the aim of many, are confined in fact to the "upper class" and those who enter it as a repeat performance because they wish to climb the social and economic ladder. A number of other reasons are also worth consideration.

In any social system which is undergoing considerable changes, men and women are likely to find the traditional patterns not necessarily unworkable or sexually not satisfactory, but emotionally trying and limited. In such circumstances a new situation arises which is not of necessity a revolt against established authority, but an attempt to work out a pattern which gives the maximum opportunity for exploration and satisfaction to everyone. That men and women in Mulago are aware of the fluidity of the present state of affairs is often clear from their comments:

There were many people in the shop belonging to S. S. was rather a rich man and sold bananas. A lorry had just arrived and was unloading bananas which S. had bought. Many women crowded around the lorry and wished to buy from the owner. One Gishu woman, who had recently moved to Mulago after separating from her husband, said to another group of women: "It is bad the way men make us work. We are just like the train working all the time. Men should marry us and look after us well and give us food and love us. I don't like to sell bananas and other things (she also sold charcoal) and I don't like to dig all the time. If men loved us and looked after us there would be less trouble here and in other parts. I have had four children and they are all without a father." Another woman: "Don't your lovers send you any money to buy food and clothes for the children?" "One of them gives me 15/- per month but that is not enough." "Yes, I agree with you." "I tell you what

you must do. You go back to your village and find a good husband who will look after you and buy you good things. He must grow a lot of cotton and when he gets old he will have a lot of money and he can retire from working hard. You will live in a good house and have a car and sleep in separate rooms."

Although most men and women in Mulago manage to establish fairly satisfactory marriage and sexual relationships, what appears to be absent is the formalised procedural framework of an institution which would meet their needs on a sounder and more permanent level. Some men expressed the idea that they were formally married (tribally) because they wanted someone to cook for them, explaining that when they work all day it is not easy to prepare food in the evening. It should be remembered that the same feeling was expressed in regard to free marriage and lovers. Both men and women in Mulago seek the satisfaction of companionship which can give meaning to their life. This companionship is amply provided for in Mulago. Could it be that the opportunity to seek such companionship on any level is more important to the majority than the establishment of marital stability?

Stability in marriage is surely just one aspect of a much wider problem. The problems are reflected in a whole series of attitudes in the realm of social action and interpersonal relations. In Mulago, among the Ganda and also among other tribes, personal relations and social interaction showed a far from tolerant, permissive and co-operative atmosphere between men. In the course of the present study, which included a great many personal conversations, and with the aid of numerous diaries which a number of informants kept, there has emerged a picture of manifest hostility, suspicion, jealousy, and open aggression as part of the personal and collective life of the residents. If almost 34% of the married (tribally and Christian) population of Mulago have broken marriages, this seems to indicate a rather deep-seated problem which cannot readily be explained in the terms of the special social conditions which prevail in the urban or semi-urban context.

During our investigations, a number of cases were observed of relatively well-established marriages, both of the tribal and the Christian kind, which were looked upon with considerable suspicion by neighbours and others in the village. If a man who is well-established, with profitable work, a family and a good house, is the object of suspicion, then attitudes towards marital stability, and, indeed, the significance of marital stability itself, appear in quite a special light. As this is not a psychological study only bare reference to this has been made, and those more qualified must look into this observation. The following conversation was recorded outside the house of a Ganda woman. Her two lovers had arrived at the same time. A quarrel had broken out and the two men had been fighting. As they calmed down the matter of lover versus permanent wife was debated:

George and Eric had come to the house of Mary and asked her to have some beer with them. George even offered Mary some money to come with him, but she refused. When Eric tried the same method she told him that she might come with him in a day or two, but at the moment she was not feeling well, and did not want to leave her house. Mary herself was "legally" married but her husband, a Ganda driver, was on safari. The two men were very much annoyed and one accused

the other of stealing his lover. A fight started and both men stormed into the house belonging to Mary and broke a lot of dishes and glasses. A crowd had in the meantime collected outside of Mary's house but remained passive to what was going on. After the destruction had been done, one man in the crowd had the following conversation with Eric. "Why do you want Mary as your lover? Don't you know that she is a prostitute?" "I know that, but do you think that to use a prostitute is a bad thing? I think that all men should use prostitutes. I do not like to have one wife. If I have only one wife people will talk about me and think that I cannot love other women." "Your real wife does not like you to love other women. If you do she will run away from you and go with another man."

"All men like to have their women run away from them because they don't like to stay with one woman for a long time. I do not like you to talk to me like that because I know that you have a legal wife, but that she also sleeps with other men. Women like to love other men and they like to get good clothes and other things from them."¹

Does this not indicate a suspicion of those who appear to be legally and even happily married? Does it not show that it is normal for the marital and even social relations between men and women to be suspect? In another case a Toro man, who was married to a Ganda woman, claimed that his tribal marriage was broken up by another man who was jealous of him for having produced four children. His comments were mixed with considerable hatred of the Ganda people whom he collectively called "robbers". This Toro man was a foreman in the Public Works Department and had been married for six years:

"I know that this man did not like me; that is why he tried to take my wife from me. He does not like to be happy and to see other people look after their children. My father told me that the Ganda people always do such things and he wanted me not to live here. I shall take the matter to court because I think that this is a bad man. I do not know where my wife is, but I have told the chief about this matter and asked him to try to get her back for me. When she comes back I shall take her to my country. I do not like the Ganda people because they hate all people and they cause us a great deal of trouble."

At times it almost appears as though everyone thinks of himself as a private spy charged with maintaining order and morality in the village. The parish chief reports that he is often informed by villagers, and occasionally even by outsiders whom he has never seen, that such and such a man is living with such and such a woman. Frequently fights and quarrels which have started over matters quite unrelated to any marital problems finally end with comments showing intimate knowledge about one another's lovers:

Yowana had ordered a pair of shorts from a tailor. After having asked for his shorts on several occasions he finally brought

1. I consider this conversation rather revealing as it contradicts the public point of view of dislike of prostitutes and the desire, mentioned earlier, to settle down and seek some form of satisfactory and permanent union. Considerable heat was generated in the course of this argument with frequent comments by those standing by. Such comments came with great rapidity and it was not possible to note them down.

the case to the attention of the chief. Yowana told the chief that, as his shorts had not been finished, he wanted his money back which he had paid in advance. The tailor refused saying that he would have the shorts ready very quickly. Yowana persisted and told the tailor: "You treat your customers just like you treat your lovers. I know that Zenia is your lover and that you have never given her anything at all. She told me that she would not love you from now because she has other lovers who treat her well and give her money."

9. MIXED UNIONS

There are a number of mixed marriages in Mulago. They comprise approximately 18% of the married population in the village. The most frequent mixed marriages occur between Ganda men and Rwanda women, and between Toro men and Nyoro women. The tendency is for Bantu speakers to marry Bantu speakers and for Nilotics to marry Nilotics. In only two cases did marriages cross these language groups. Because of the small number of tribally-mixed marriages (mostly tribal marriages, but also some free marriages, which have lasted for a considerable time), it is rather difficult to say anything about them. The vast majority of both men and women would not consider marrying a spouse of another tribe. Although they would be accepted in the context of Mulago village, difficulties and embarrassments would arise when the man introduced his wife to his parents and to the villagers among whom his parents live. Few men are willing to run the risk of a quiet and subtle form of social ostracism which comes with marrying a woman of another tribe. Although most Mulago residents accept those who have married across tribal lines, the general feeling is that it only leads to complications in the way of habits, particularly food, and other customary patterns. In almost all the marriages which involve Ganda with members of other tribes, Ganda marriage customs are used. This is considered wise and also polite, as the marriage takes place in a "foreign" country. When some of the men or women who have made mixed marriages are questioned about their unions, they themselves often express a quiet misgiving and suggest that some of their neighbours might look down upon them. One Kiga man who had married a Rwanda woman commented on this when he said:

"I have lived with my wife for a long time. I went back to my country and we had a ceremony there. I have never seen my wife's parents and I have never given them anything. My neighbours treat us well but I would not ask them to eat with us and they have never asked me. I sometimes think that I ought to go home and take my wife there because I know that our customs are better than those of the Ganda."

In another case, however, that of a Nkole man and a Ganda woman, the man suggested that only because they lived "in town" could their inter-tribal marriage survive. He thought that it did not matter whom he married "as long as she is an African".

On the basis of superficial observation it appeared that those contracting mixed unions expressed a greater sense of freedom in being able to have lovers quite openly and not being "really" faithful to their spouse:

A Teso painter, with a record of several previous free marriages, had again contracted such a marriage and settled down in Mulago, this time with a Nyoro woman. He claimed that he wanted someone to cook for him, adding that he did not

want to marry a Teso woman until he returned to his village. He talked a great deal about women and in the course of the interview said that he used to sleep with a European woman working in Kampala. He said that he liked European women better than African women because they are clean and "because they have learned how to love men".¹ He said that he found women of tribes other than Teso better because all they want is food and clothes and a room where they can sleep. He insisted that his "wife" had many lovers during his absence all day and that he did not mind that because he had lovers himself. If she were his "real" wife he would not like it, but because she is a foreign woman he did not mind. He claimed that many men who have foreign wives felt like that.

Mulago residents did not show any open hostility or dislike for inter-tribal unions. Privately, however, they made personal and gossip-like comments about them. In some cases the roots of the comments rested on a certain amount of jealousy, for some of those who had mixed marriages had become fairly wealthy. A Ganda woman had this to say about a Nyoro man who had married a Ganda woman:

"I think that S. only married Mary because he knows that she has a lot of land. I don't think that they ever will have any children. I know that Mary used to sleep with an Indian living in Kampala and that she had a child by him. They do not eat food like us and they never greet us."

No Indians reside permanently in Mulago. On several occasions Indians came to Mulago, and it was said that they had come to sleep with African women, a statement which was not verified. In only one case did a Ganda woman, who made mats and lived by herself, claim to have been married to an Indian who had died some months before. She said that as her income was very small her Indian father-in-law paid her rent and gave her forty shillings per month. Occasionally references were made to European men who came to the village very late at night to visit African prostitutes. In only two cases did women admit to, and actually give names of European lovers.

On the whole Mulago respectability does not look with great favour on mixed unions, be they temporary or permanent. To have lovers of another tribe was often talked about in beer bars and the following conversation gives some insight on how some people felt about this:

There were a great many Luo in M.'s bar because he was known to sell very good beer. One Ganda was talking to his Ganda friends and saying that when a certain Luo first came and settled in Mulago he was a very friendly man and that he would always greet everyone. But now that man had changed and the conversation continued this way: "Luo men don't like to visit us because they think that we shall love their wives because they know that once they visit us we shall visit them." A Ganda woman: "If they don't like us to visit them, why do they love Ganda women all the time. I have seen many Luo loving Ganda women." Another Ganda man: "How do you prove this? Did they love you?" "No,

1. This man frequently mentions his contact with European women. However, from knowledge of the circumstances and the history of the person, it is only fair to state that it is unlikely that his stories are true.

but I told you that Luo men love many Ganda women. As they love Ganda women I wish you men to love Luo women.” A Ganda man: “We can love them and some Ganda men of Mulago love Luo women but many Ganda men do not love them because they are very dirty.” A Luo man: “I don’t agree that Ganda men are loving our wives.” Ganda woman: “You may not agree with us, but we know Luo women who love Ganda men and we know Luo men who love Ganda women and I tell you that many of you Luo love Ganda women.” Luo man: “We don’t love Ganda women.” Ganda woman: “If you don’t love Ganda women, why did you yourself visit many times our house? You were after Mary but Mary did not love you and you sent her sugar and tea and meat.” Everybody laughed and the Luo left the bar. The conversation then continued. “I have heard that many Luo women want to fight Ganda women who love Luo men.” Ganda man: “I have heard that Luo women make Ganda men sick because they are dirty.” Rwanda man: “Ganda people should not sleep with Luo people. Rwanda people only sleep with women of the same tribe.” “That is not true.....”

10. PROBLEMS OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND CHOICE

If the study of Mulago has shown nothing more, it has certainly demonstrated that the women of Mulago have no single answer to the problems which confront them when they make a choice in marriage. The men, too, are far from clear about what they want. One Ganda man, who is 28, and still not “really” married, expressed this in the following manner:

“I came to Mulago four years ago. Now I work in the Mental Hospital and earn 230/- per month. Occasionally I get lovers to come to my house, but I don’t want to marry any of them. My father wants me to get married because he is afraid that I might marry a woman of another tribe. I don’t want to marry now. When I do, I shall want a tribal marriage because I can get my money back if my wife runs away. My father would like me to marry in church. I don’t know town women yet. They are different from other women. I am happy when I have someone to cook for me and I don’t think that I want to do anything else for a long time.”

A Toro woman who had come to Mulago some years ago after she had separated from her Toro husband, thought that she would like to “try out” town men at first. She had taken a job as a nurse, for which she had been trained, and lived by herself for some months. Occasionally she visited other men, but she continued to remain firm in her desire to try them out. Eventually, she contracted a Christian marriage with a Ganda man. After she had been married for some months she left her husband and moved to another part of the village¹

1. This was the only broken Christian marriage which came to our notice. The husband tried to get his bride-wealth back, but soon discovered, that, unless he wanted to get involved in long litigation, there was very little chance to recover the 250/- he had paid for his wife. As it had been a Christian marriage he would have had to take the case to a Protectorate court. Even in the case of tribal marriages the evidence shows that recovery of bride-wealth after separation is very rare in Buganda. The preference expressed in the previous anecdote for tribal rather than Christian marriage is therefore unsound. Tribal marriage is likely to be preferred because it is a more easily breakable bond rather than because the bride-wealth is recoverable.

for, she complained: "My husband did not let me go out at night, saying that a Christian wife does not do such things." She did not like this restriction on her freedom and settled down with a Toro man in free marriage, a relationship she has maintained to this day. When asked about her present marital situation, she commented:

"My husband earns a lot of money. He is a trader in vegetables. He buys good food for me and often gives me clothes. Last month he gave me money to visit my mother. I know he has other lovers. I do too. I don't like him to have other lovers. I sometimes think that a Christian marriage is better. I would not have a tribal marriage because my husband can send me home at any time and then there is going to be trouble about paying back the money."

Some women deny that they are not satisfied with their present marital conditions. They put on airs and are willing to go to great lengths to defend marriages which are known to be unhappy:

Debula and Joan were shouting at each other outside Joan's shop. Joan was married to a trader and she suspected that Debula had made love to her husband. A fight ensued and after the two had been separated by onlookers they abused each other. Debula told Joan that she was telling lies because everybody knew that Joan and her husband were not faithful to each other. "Even last night your husband slept with my sister. Did he tell you that?" Joan again attacked Debula, saying that her husband loved her and he never slept with any other women. At that point the crowd burst into laughter and told Joan that she ought to hire a detective to look after her husband who had slept with every woman in the village. Joan picked up a stone and threw it at the crowd.

Although husbands do not like their wives to indulge in extra-marital relations, the tendency is for women to assume the same freedom as men. The assumption is made that a single standard is operative for both sexes and that each partner can wield the threat of separation with equal force. As one of the interviewers was about to leave a beer party, he overheard the following conversation between a husband and wife, both Ganda, who had been living together in a free marriage for nearly three years:

Husband: "I told you not to sell beer to Luka."

Wife: "You told me not to sell beer to Luka, and I was not going to sell beer to him, but there were three other people with him who asked for beer."

H. "I tell you again, I don't like you to sell beer to Luka."

W. "Why don't you like me to sell beer to Luka?"

H. "Luka is your lover and when he comes here he comes to talk to you and arrange the time to meet again at his house and at other people's houses."

W. "I told you that Luka is not my lover, but that I will love him because I told you not to love Joyce and you still love her. If you will stop loving her I will also stop loving Luka; but if you will not stop, I will every now and then go to Luka and sleep with him and when I find out that you have gone with Joyce I will also sleep with him."

H. "If you will not stop loving Luka I will ask you to go to him."

W. "I am ready to go to his house, and I grant you leave to keep Joyce in my place. You are a bad man who cannot realise that Joyce is a *malaya* (prostitute) who has Indian and European lovers who take her every night. From today I don't like you to sleep with me anymore. Go and sleep with Joyce, a *malaya*. You always leave me here and tell me that you go out to work, whereas you go and sleep with Joyce. If you love Joyce let me go to Luka who will welcome me and Luka is not loving other women. He is a very good man, more than you."

H. "When Luka comes here again I will beat him."

W. "I tell you that Luka will come here again for more beer. If you beat him you will go to jail and then Joyce will go with other men, while I go with Luka as his wife. I tell you that I am not your wife, because you never gave my parents any beer, and you never send them salt or anything. I am here as your lover only and you have no right to stop me doing anything when you don't give me good treatment. I will go back and call Luka to come to my parents and I will introduce him to them. He is ready to do so but I did not like to do that as I love you well but your treatment is bad and because of that I will separate from you. As you know that you don't like me to love men, I don't like you to love women. But I will give you one more chance and if you will observe it I will not love Luka anymore."

H. "I told you a long time ago that Joyce is my lover and that I wanted to marry her, but she wanted to be married in church and I did not like that."

W. "I tell you that if you love Joyce, please go and marry her."

Although it would be easy to gain the impression that in Mulago flared tempers, fights and quarrels mark the relationship between men and women, there is nevertheless a strong desire to "settle down" and to work out a satisfactory adjustment. Sometimes these efforts fail, with the result that one of the partners to a marriage contract is disillusioned. This was the case of a Ziba man who had come to live in Kampala six years before and who worked in the General Hospital. In the course of the interview he said that he was glad that Europeans had introduced "a good religion" because this meant that women would no longer go out with other men. He thought that a Christian marriage gave security against unfaithfulness, and he had married a Rwanda woman in church. He had been married to her for some four years, living at Makerere, before they separated, his reason for the separation being that "all town women want to have good clothes and a nice house but they don't want children. They like to roam and a Christian marriage takes them to church, but they don't understand this good religion." He had wanted to raise a family, save some money and build a house. Now he lives with a Ziba (Haya) woman who has had three previous free marriages, which have lasted on the average seven months. He strongly objected to having his wife interviewed saying that she was not his real wife and that he would call for us when he had made another "proper" marriage.

In another case a Ganda woman, who had come to Mulago to look after a patient who was sick in the Hospital, had stayed on for three months after the patient was discharged. When she was interviewed she did not want to talk about her two marriage failures. Eventually she explained that she had hoped to find a "good husband" in Mulago because "it was better to find a man in the town than in the village where there were few men". She found a Ganda butcher. They made a tribal marriage and she bore him a child. After 14 months he ran off to Kenya and never returned. Over a period of a few months he sent her 40/- every month. Then one day a friend returned from Kenya saying that her husband now lived with a Kikuyu woman and that he was no longer interested in her. She went back to her village but got tired of village life. Upon her return to Kampala she got a job as a cook in the General Hospital. After a few weeks she found a Toro man who bought her clothes and good food. He went to visit her parents and gave them 250/- for her. She told us that she was very glad about that because now "the child would have a father again and she could give up work and cultivate food." She had wanted a Christian marriage, "a proper marriage like all good people have who are clean and like children", but her husband insisted on a tribal marriage, saying that she was not of the same tribe and that was the reason why they could not go to church. She lived with him for quite some time and even bought a plot on the Jinja road. After a time the husband, who was a bricklayer for the P.W.D., was moved to another place. At the time his wife was sick in Mulago Hospital. When she recovered, she left before she was formally discharged and went to join her husband, only to find that he had left the place again and she could not find out where he had gone. She returned to Kampala and rented a room in Mulago. She had no money so she started to brew beer. Her beer bar was popular because she brewed good beer and because she gave away a lot of free beer to men. She now had a number of lovers, her "real lover" being a Luo, but she did not want us to know about them as "they are only here while my husband has been lost."

It is quite a common practice for men and women to look upon Mulago as a temporary residence after their legal marriage. During the course of the survey 12 couples, 8 of whom had made Christian marriages and 4 who had made tribal marriages, settled in Mulago while the husbands worked in Kampala, saved some money and bought plots further out in the Kibuga. It is interesting to note that in only five of these cases were the husbands either *mailo* or plot owners prior to their marriages. In 11 out of the 12 cases neither of the spouses had previously been married. In one case the male had lived in a free marriage relationship with the woman he eventually married. One of the couples, a Nyoro man and a Ganda woman, explained:

"We don't like to live so close to the town. Here we cannot grow our food and it is not good for the children to roam about. We would like to have a place of our own. I tell you that all town men are bad men and they give a lot of trouble. I get angry when I find out that my husband has been sleeping with other women. I think that he will get a motor-bike and go to work every morning when we find a better place."

In another case, a Kiga man and a Ganda woman, the husband refused to leave Mulago village, at first giving as his reason that he

wanted to live in the same village where he was married and that if he moved away and had to go to work every morning there would be no reliable neighbours who would look after his wife. His suspicion was based on the fact that Ganda women like to marry foreigners because they know that the men will buy them nice clothes and if they fail to continue this it is easy for the woman to run away. This couple had made a tribal marriage and argued that in such a marriage, which cut across tribal lines, it would be virtually impossible to get back the bridewealth. He looked upon the congestion of Mulago as a sound safeguard because any unfaithfulness by his wife would be reported to him. After four months, however, his wife persuaded him to leave Mulago on the grounds that "unless your husband is with you, every man in Mulago wants to buy you beer and sleep with you."

11. THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The men of Mulago do not think of their womenfolk solely in terms of sexual needs and their gratification. As the sex ratio is a fairly even one, both men and women can operate on two levels—the level of short-term sexual satisfaction and the level of making a careful long-term choice of a marriage partner. It is easy for a man in Mulago to find an occasional partner for sexual satisfaction, a "friend" or even a prostitute, but most Mulago men are not content with this; they are looking for wives.

There is a fairly consistent pattern of what men wish these wives to be, though it is not easy to extract a clear ideal type from this as there is no single accepted standard. Most Mulago men do not demand that their wives "dig". This recognition has given women considerably higher status and as a sideline increased their authority and their bargaining position. Even if a man has a plot outside the village, he does not send his wife to live there and cultivate food. He knows that such a proposition would not be well received. Instead he demands one of two things from his wife: either he will start a shop or a beer or banana-selling business and ask his wife to take complete control over the purchase of bananas or charcoal and the preparation of beer; or, if he has the capital resources, he will start a shop and ask his wife to help him with the running of the business while he is employed in the town or while he is out purchasing stocks. In such a case the woman assumes a position of considerable authority and greater co-operation in daily life is called for.

It is very difficult to determine how such efforts on the part of the women are rewarded. Rather conflicting answers were given to questions dealing with the sharing of profits. However, it is clear that few women are allowed to keep a proportion of the money derived from the sale of goods during their term of management. On the other hand, those selling bananas or charcoal or brewing beer keep a considerable part of the takings for themselves. Some women start to sell charcoal and bananas simply because their husbands refuse to give them any money at all. Often quarrels break out because the husband refuses to reward his wife either with money or in terms of clothes and things for the home. In short, among those whose earnings are not very great and who find it difficult to make ends meet, the woman of the home must be an economically contributing unit. The women themselves often report that their husbands exploit them and complain that they should not be made to work so hard. Such women often compare their position to that of European women, who, they say,

have servants and do not have to work so hard. At times even men recognise this, as appears to be evident in the following conversation which took place in a beer bar:

Many men and women of many tribes sat in G.'s bar:

One rather old Ganda man was talking about women in Mulago. "All women work very much harder than men. I have seen Ganda women and women of other tribes work day and night. In the morning they do housework and wash the children and themselves. They give food to the children and their husband before he goes to work. They sweep their houses and sometimes they even get water. Then at night they prepare food and they put their children to bed. I compare women's duty to a train's duty. Trains never get rest and women do not rest. At night they sleep with their husband and that is a good thing. Sometimes they can sleep at night. I have been a houseboy and I have seen Europeans working like that too." Another man said, "I tell you that Europeans have houseboys at their homes and they do not work like our wives. They are lazy. I think our wives should also have servants, so that they may rest all day like Europeans do."

"I agree that Europeans have house boys. Sometimes they keep four or five. I heard that the late Governor Sir John Hall has no servants at his home,¹ and that he does not own his own house"

"Why don't you Baganda get servants to help your wife like Europeans do?"

"We like our wives to work hard so that they stay in their homes and do not walk around the roads."

They all laughed because they knew why this man had said this.

In the upper income groups a number of husbands look with disfavour upon making their wives work, though they insist that the women be clean and above all good cooks. One rich Rwanda man, who was a banana seller, sent his wife away because she did not cook well. It had been a tribal marriage and the husband was going to ask for his three cows to be returned unless her parents would teach her how to cook. This man complained that too many parents let their daughters come to town without having taught them how to cook and keep things clean. Later he added that many parents had not told their daughters how to love and be faithful to men. He suggested that it was a lot of trouble to get the marriage payments back from such a father-in-law because he did not really care for his daughters and just wanted to make money out of them. He himself was now looking around for a temporary wife who would take the place of his real wife.

Old age is definitely a handicap for a woman. At least this is so in the eyes of the younger male population. In a number of cases men who had married one wife tribally took another one after some years. Not only do older women lose a great deal of their physical attraction for the men, but the men are also afraid that they will not be able to bear children for them. It is rather interesting to note that a woman is often considered old between the ages of thirty-two and thirty-eight.

Two young men, one a Rwanda and the other a Soga, sat in H.'s beer bar. One of them said to some people sitting

1. The speaker was referring to Sir John Hall's home in the U.K. (author's note)

close by: "Let us leave this place. I do not like it here. There are no women in this bar." A Nyoro woman said to him, pointing at a number of women sitting in the bar, "Are we not women? Why did you say that there were no women in this bar?" "You are old women and we want young girls who will love us and if you can get them and bring them here we will stay here." "We cannot find young girls for you. Why did you buy us beer the other day if you did not love us?" "We bought beer for you the other day so that you would find young girls for us. We cannot love you because you are old women and we take you to be our sisters." "Let us leave this place and find some men who will love us, and do not blame us for being old women." "Let us also leave and get some *waragi* (gin) at Gayaza Road. I know there are many young girls there who will drink *waragi* with us and they like to sleep with us."

Whatever new factors have affected the position of women, the fact remains that first and foremost they are expected to have children. This is considered their main biological function and in the following conversation it was linked with a nationalistic element:

Various people in a tailor shop were talking about the Queen Elizabeth Hostel for Nurses which had just been opened. General approval was given to the move which had provided the nurses with a great deal better accommodation. One man made the following comment: "It is a good thing to have such buildings for the nurses, but I am sorry to tell you that the Europeans are very bad people, because there are more than 200 nurses in Mulago and none of them has a husband. Therefore they can't produce children for Buganda or Uganda and now we do not have many children like our grandfathers. These girls should be married to many men and produce children for our Uganda." "I wonder when I hear you say so. Those girls are good girls and they are working for their country." "No, they are not working for their country. A woman is not supposed to work at all. A woman's duty is to grow food, look after the home, giving people food and to produce children. European women must work because they have not enough food to eat at their homes. We people have got much food to eat at our homes. I don't like to see young African girls working when they are not married."

A Ganda woman, a beer seller, thought that women should not come to Mulago unless they were prepared to work hard. She felt that independent work was the key to future riches and said quite frankly that she had come to Mulago because here she could do as she pleased, sell her beer and bananas, and lead a life free from superstition. She thought that men did not like women to do this sort of thing as it interfered with the "power" which they have over women. This woman is known in the village for being extremely fastidious in her choice of lovers. She had saved a considerable amount of money and had managed to put up a number of houses for rent. Once when a man called her a prostitute, she beat him almost senseless, explaining later to the chief that women without husbands are much better than those with husbands, because the latter are dishonest with their husbands in any case.

An interesting attitude towards women in the village was brought out when men were questioned on how they made contact with a lover. Where did they seek such a woman? A number of men of different tribes were asked how they would look for a lover. Some of them explained that they would never ask a woman to come to their house if the woman made the original contact. One man explained that "a good woman will be recommended to you. You must not take the 'beer women' as lovers." These men thought it bad for a woman to walk the streets because they felt that "women are not like men. You must love them. Only a woman born in the town will look for a husband."

"I should not like a woman to approach me", said a young Ganda clerk, "because I know that good women are very shy and they don't make friends easily. If I go to a beer party I can buy beer for a woman and then ask her whether she is married. I do not like women to ask me first because if they do I must pay them what they ask me. I think that women who ask men first are bad because they are just like men."

Another man, a Luo nightwatchman who had been in Mulago for two months visiting his sister, said that if he wanted a lover he would go to a beer bar and ask another man there to find a girl for him.

There were a lot of people in J.'s tea room. A Luo came in and ordered tea and bread. He sat next to a Ganda woman who was also drinking tea. He bought her some bread and cakes. "I saw you with your young sister at Kibuli yesterday. Is she married?" "No, she is not married, but she has friends." "Would you go and ask her to come here and I will buy some beer for her." "I shall ask her, but first you must buy some beer for me and give me some money, because she has gone to Kawempe and I shall have to go there and collect her for you." "How much money will you need?" "If you give me 10/- I think that will be enough. It is now too late to get her but I will go in the morning and tell her that you want her. I know that she will be glad to see you because you have a lot of money and you will buy her some nice things." "Yes, I will give her nice things." The Luo gave her 10/- and she left the tea room. After she had gone some of the others laughed at him and asked him whether he really thought that this woman was going to speak to her sister. They all thought that he had lost his money and asked him whether they could bring their sisters to him if he gave away 10/- as easily as that. The Luo insisted that he knew this woman and that he could trust her.

Women are viewed with an ambivalent attitude. Economically they are treated as important contributors to the family income, and yet for women to work is not considered in line with their proper duties. On the behaviour level, they must not make advances to men but they must be co-operative and not develop an authority pattern of their own. The place of a woman in the village is not an easy one. To find the greatest satisfaction a woman must explore more numerous avenues than a man. There is no one single pattern which controls her behaviour and ideas. She must at all times make choices between her economic wants and desires and her position in the village as a social being. Although she cannot cut herself adrift completely from customary patterns of conduct, she recognises that during the last few years,

and in urban areas in particular, she has slowly gained in independence, a fact which has very considerably undermined the established authority of males.

This feminine emancipation has not developed solely as a result of recent urbanization but has been in the making for a long time. It can be traced back to the development of such institutions as Ganda landownership and to the introduction of cash crops. In both these matters the law (statutory law) treated men and women on an exact equality. This legal emancipation goes much further to-day, when Protectorate law at least treats men and women alike, even in marital cases. Previously, and under customary law, the unfaithful wife was worse off than the unfaithful husband. However seldom Protectorate laws may actually be invoked, their existence is known, and they undoubtedly have an effect upon the position of women.

12. SUMMARY: MARITAL STABILITY

It is sometimes suggested that it is this change in the position of women which is responsible for the remarkable instability of present-day urban marriages. But there are other possible explanations.

At one time an economic factor, the marriage payment, probably played a part in stabilising the marriage contract, because if a wife was unfaithful her parents would be involved in long and tiresome litigation over its repayment. Today this consideration is of little concern to those whose marriages have been broken. There has arisen instead an attitude of "I-don't-care-there-are-many-other-fish-in-the-sea", which was very markedly brought out in a number of episodes dealing with the attempted recovery of "lost wives" by Mulago residents. Although a man would formally report to the parish chief, the disappearance of a wife who had run away he also knew that he would have very little difficulty in obtaining another wife. Under present conditions it appears that an economic factor - the fear of losing a wife who is earning - is not enough to give stability to marriage. This observation, however, requires testing in the field.

A series of other explanations has been given for the present instability of urban African marriages. With the rapid expansion of commercial and industrial life in East Africa and elsewhere on the continent, large communities of wage earners have emerged. It has been suggested that such communities, which are mostly composed of men, and often of migrant male labour, place a great premium on those few women who venture to settle in them. It has also been suggested that those women who come to live in the towns are almost invariably prostitutes or "bad women" who are not meant to be married but solely to be used for pleasure. As the ratio of men to women is often slanted heavily in favour of men, one can only assume that in such a village as Mulago, where the ratio is almost one to one, the marked marital instability and the ease with which partners move from lover to lover is due to a very high percentage of "bad women". An even ratio therefore does not of itself lead to greater marriage happiness and security, and thus the numerical balance or imbalance of the sexes cannot provide the sole explanation of the instability of relationships in either Kisenyi or Mulago. Could it not be that irrespective of how many single, or even separated, women are "available" for marriage, the idea and purpose of marriage is in itself undergoing considerable change? If this were so, it would merely mirror the effects of urban development in other parts of the world.

In the course of the research work in Muiago a considerable number of men and women expressed clearly the uncertainty which they felt surrounded any form of marriage. Although men and women "need each other", a number of women voiced the opinion that it was better not to be too firmly attached to just one man whose position in a wage-earning economy did not seem to be very secure. One woman expressed the opinion that she did not wish to have a permanent lover because when she wanted to stay in town "he wanted to move to a plot outside of the town". Another woman, who had been married tribally but separated from her husband, said that she had married a man who was never promoted and she did not like the prospect of always living on his low earnings. She wanted to marry again but she would make sure this time that her husband had good prospects for the future. Until she found such a person she was quite willing to live on gifts from her numerous lovers and to make a little profit from the sale of charcoal. In still another case a woman explained that a permanent husband was not a good thing because if "he works in the Public Works Department, they will transfer him to a place where I don't want to go". On the surface it would seem that such comments are not very important, and it would be stretching a point to use them to prove that a permanent marriage is a thing of the past. However, these comments, and others not reported here, do suggest that the idea of a permanent union is questioned in the minds of at least some villagers.

One Ganda man, a shopkeeper, suggested that a number of men known to him do not wish to get married yet because they intend to wait until they can provide for their wives well and need not ask them to work. As some never reach the "state of riches" which they believe is required, one would assume that many people have to live indefinitely in a free marriage or go from lover to lover. Another man said that he simply could not make up his mind whether to marry an educated girl or one of lesser education. In the case of a young Ganda man working as a clerk in the Mental Hospital, the problem was whether or not to marry a Luo girl from whom he had had a child at a time when he lived with her in a free marriage. He wanted to marry and thought that "religion" told him to marry that particular girl, but discouragement by his father and his neighbours has so far prevented him from marrying either her or anyone of a number of Ganda women whom his father has found for him. He wants to wait and often expresses the desirability of getting advice from friends who he hopes will make up his mind for him. When a young Toro boy, who was visiting his friend in Mulago, was interviewed, he said that he had come to Mulago because he wanted, among other things, to get married, but until he selected his wife he wanted to see what the differences were between country women and town women. He was about 26 and even went so far as to say that it would not help him if he settled down with one woman as he later might find another whom he liked better. He asked the interviewer to look out for some nice girls for him but, he added, to ask them whether they wanted to be married permanently or just to be "tried out".

This point has been introduced not because it gives the key to an understanding of the problems of urban marriage, but because it illustrates that the idea and function of marriage is itself undergoing a considerable change. It is no longer quite so natural to get married and settle down to the important function of raising a family. On the parental side as well there is either more caution about or less regard for the importance of the marriage of a daughter. It is, as was suggested earlier in relation to Kisenyi, that men regret their failure to look after their daughters yet do not

realise that the frequency of their love affairs constantly undermines their preaching.

It has also been suggested that the traditional social position of the women was to look after the home and children and to cultivate the food needed by the family. Few women find the life of the rural setting attractive. Their newly won freedom has meant less authority over them by husbands. Although a husband may regret this loss of authority and prestige over his wife, his objections are squarely set against his dislike (in some cases at least) of the uneducated woman—the woman who only knows how to dig. He cannot deplore the high cost of living in the town and wish that he could grow his own food if he does not like his wife to cultivate and so appear uneducated and poor. Such difficulties, real or imaginary, cannot but help to influence his ideas and behaviour in relation to marriage.

What then is the outlook for urban marriage? Administrators and others will not find any clear and satisfactory answers in the foregoing pages, dealing as they have with a series of intangibles which nevertheless appear to be important in an understanding of the problems. Legislation, however intelligently and benevolently conceived, will at the present time and within the next few years, have virtually no effect on the problems of urban marriage. This is particularly so in Kampala where special problems of inter-tribal and inter-racial contact exist, and where the steady intake of immigrants presents a confusing picture. On the whole, the present tendency is for Africans to formulate their own marriage patterns. As more and more people can afford to have a Christian marriage, a more stable and less varied pattern of sexual union will emerge. Until such a time has been reached the vast majority of Africans will continue to make their own varied choices concerning the kind of marriage they wish to contract. At present Africans can have recourse to Protectorate law or to native law. The former does not recognise customary tribal marriages and the latter is not empowered to deal with Christian marriages. More attention needs to be paid to the combined effect of all existing legislation and judicial practice in relation to African marriage and family life in towns and other situations of mixture and change.

PART FOUR—ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN GREATER KAMPALA

CHAPTER X

PARISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. THE PARISH CHIEF.

One of the objectives of the present study was to examine the working of the parish (*muluka*) administration under urban conditions. In Buganda the parish is the lowest level of the hierarchy of administrative divisions with paid officials, the parish chief having the unpaid ward headmen (*batongole*) below him. In rural areas the parish chief is very often one of the more important landowners in his parish and he is therefore more closely integrated with local life than are the higher grades of chief at the level of sub-county (*ggombolola*) and county (*ssaza*). The parish chief frequently lives in his own private house on his *mailo* estate, though there is usually an official meeting hall (*kitawuluzi*) for the parish.

The powers of parish chiefs are derived from a number of services. It is important to note that they draw upon an undefined reserve of traditional powers which were confirmed to them by the Native Authority Ordinance of 1919.¹ This law conveys to chiefs all customary powers not repugnant to justice or morality and not contrary to other Uganda Laws. In spite of the special legal position of Buganda there appears no reason why this law should not apply there as elsewhere in the Protectorate. Besides this undefined residue of traditional powers, the Native Authority Ordinance specifically empowers chiefs to enforce order, to employ other persons to assist them, to take steps to prevent offences, to arrest wrongdoers, to require a person's attendance before them, to make orders for the control of liquor, drinking bouts, narcotics or the carrying of arms in any way which might cause a breach of the peace, to prevent water pollution and tree destruction, to carry out public works, to prevent tax evasion, to regulate the movement of natives, to prevent the spread of disease, to deal with stolen property, to provide food for safaris, to protect their people from wrongful eviction and to exercise any other powers which may be authorised by the Governor. Since Ganda parish chiefs form one of the lower levels of an extensive hierarchy, they are also subject to the orders of their superior chiefs, in this particular case the chief of the Kibuga sub-county (*Omukulu we Kibuga*) and to the administrative regulations of the Buganda Government.

Some duties are of their nature spasmodic and others are seasonal, but the activities which appear to occupy most of a parish chief's time in the urban area are: collecting tax, settling disputes by arbitration, arresting offenders and sending them to the Kibuga court, sitting in council to consider the general affairs of the parish, attending the Kibuga Council, the Kibuga Court, the County Council and the County Court, administering the multifarious permits and licences for trade and building, and organising various public works such as minimal maintenance of roads and planting paspalum

1. Uganda Laws, 1935 edition, cap. 112. With the passing of the African Authority Ordinance of 1949, whereby the Native Authority Ordinance was repealed, the system in other Districts of the Protectorate has diverged considerably from that obtaining in Buganda and the position of Ganda chiefs in Protectorate law seems now for this reason obscure.

grass for soil conservation. The relationship of these activities to one another and to other problems will be discussed later.

Besides their proper administrative functions parish chiefs may have a dual role since, as already remarked, in rural Buganda they are often landowners in their own right, or are stewards of the Kabaka's land in cases where the area of the parish forms part of the Kabaka's scattered estate of 350 square miles. In these instances the collection of rents and market dues and dealing with tenants of property or land may take up an appreciable part of the parish chief's time.

The Mengo and Mulago chiefs have no houses of their own, and have to rent rooms to live in just like any other immigrant to the area. Neither parish has a meeting hall (*kitawuluzi*) and public assemblies and councils are held on the verandah of the rooms rented by the chief. Neither of these chiefs owns land in his parish, nor are they stewards of the Kabaka. However, in Katwe, which is the next door parish to Mengo, the chief is a steward of the Kabaka's land there. On the other hand, in the Kibuga parishes of Old Kampala and Nakasero, which form the core of the Municipality of Kampala, the operation of the parish chiefs concerned has been rendered largely redundant by the much more detailed and complex rules and regulations of the Municipality. Little is left to them but their task of tax collection. This, too, assumes a very peculiar form. Both these chiefs sit in an office at the main market of Kampala in order to receive tax from Africans when they come to market. It would appear that in endeavouring to make up their tax receipts to the level of the assessment required from their parishes, they are not particular as to the exact place of residence of those whom they induce to pay tax. The latter may therefore come from any of the parishes round the town and not necessarily from Nakasero or Old Kampala. When these two chiefs have met their assessed liabilities for tax collection or have done as much as they intend, they allow other parish chiefs of the urban area to use the office at the market in order to fulfil or come nearer to their assessments, if they have failed to do so within their actual parishes. In other urban parishes which lie half inside and half outside the municipal boundary, such as Mulago, Makerere, Kololo or Nakawa, the chiefs concerned find themselves able to do very little within the municipal area. From time to time they try to round up tax evaders by putting a rope across one of the main thoroughfares leading from such areas and rounding up and interrogating all African pedestrians. It has been usual to assume that only pedestrians could be tax defaulters; those on bicycles, and still more those in cars, must be respectable citizens, or chiefs, or other persons of high status whom it would be insulting and improper to interrogate. The introduction of a system of graduated tax in 1955, even with the low ceiling of 120/- per year maximum, gives the better off a slightly greater incentive to evade payment, and throws the primitive nature of the system of collection into sharper relief. Few parish chiefs have the courage to penetrate non-native premises and municipal areas lying within their jurisdiction in order to exercise control over African domestic servants and others residing in such places. The most notable exception is the parish of Namirembe, which also includes the small township of Namirembe. This latter is centred round the Asian bazaar which grew up below the headquarters of the Church Missionary Society and Native Anglican Church. It would probably be fair to assume that a closer, more sympathetic and personal relationship has subsisted between the Ganda parish authorities and the Mission than is usual between other parishes and commercial and official bodies with whom they are involved. The parish of Namirembe also had for some time an unusually able chief,

who was later promoted to a sub-county. Besides the usual ward headmen, this chief extended the same idea to the non-native population of Namirembe Township. One of the European missionaries and one of the Asian shopkeepers acted as his agents when he had to deal with matters involving the Mission or the Bazaar. The principal matter on which he required their assistance was in checking up for tax purposes on Africans residing in the Mission or the Bazaar. It does not seem likely that this felicitous instance of the limited adjustment of non-African enclaves to the Ganda local government system could be emulated with any success elsewhere in the urban area.

The same traditional titles of rank are applied to parish chiefs as to those of every other grade.¹ The full significance of these titles in the traditional system is by no means clear to-day, and the rank order indicated by them does not reflect the realities of the present situation. Thus, as *Musale*, the parish chief of Mengo, including Kisenyi, is fifth in traditional ranking and Mulago, as *Mutuba IV*, is ninth, though Mengo is unquestionably the most important parish in the Kibuga and indeed in Buganda as a whole, while Mulago probably occupies a higher position than ninth in contemporary importance.

Parish chiefs have to spend considerable periods of time away from their parishes as members of the county and sub-county courts. This duty² circulates somewhat irregularly among all parish chiefs, but as it is usually performed by any one chief for a month at a time in each court, several months in the year may be largely taken up in this way. In order to attend the county court, the parish chief usually has to cycle about ten miles each way, starting early in the morning and returning in the afternoon. Urgent parish affairs have to be dealt with by him in the evening. The Kibuga court is much nearer, but attendance at it still occupies most of the morning and afternoon. During a chief's absence on these occasions his place is taken by his deputy, who may be a special assistant appointed by him without any ward responsibilities, or may be the senior ward headman. Attendance at meetings of the county and sub-county councils also takes up time, but is more occasional.

2. THE WARD HEADMAN.

The parish chief has as assistants about half a dozen ward headmen (*batongole*), who in rural Buganda are usually the owners of the various *mailo* estates which make up the parish. Where landlords are absentees, their resident stewards (*basigire*) often act as ward headmen. Occasionally, representatives of large groups of foreigners living in the parish are nowadays appointed to be ward headmen.

Ward headmen are unpaid. In so far as they are usually local landowners, this situation is in accord with the tendency throughout the Ganda system not to distinguish clearly between economic and political power. Men received grants of land in the Buganda Settlement of 1900 because their political power was recognised. Their descendants have frequently

1. See Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, pp. 248-257 and also Kitching and Blackledge, *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, revised by E.M.K. Mulira and E.G.M. Ndawula, London, 1952. The titles in order of seniority are: Mumyuka, Sabaddu, Sabawali, Sabagabo, Musale, Mutuba I, Mutuba II, Mutuba III, and so on.

2. It is subsumed under the general idea of attendance upon a superior chief, and therefore known as *kukiika* (see below, p. 189).

become divorced from holding political office as such, though retaining economic power through land ownership. The system of ward headmen appears to recognise that a man who owns land on which peasants are settled has a certain political as well as economic responsibility for them. He sits as their representative on the parish council, and government orders are conveyed to them through him.

As in the case of parish chiefs, the ranking of ward headmen by the traditional titles carries with it no difference of status to-day. When a headman dies, or is replaced for some other reason, his title is taken by the one next appointed, and headmen appear to retain the same titles as long as they remain in office. In Mengo, the headman who acts as deputy to the parish chief holds only the fifth title of *Musale*, not the senior title of *Mumyuka*. It is only on certain occasions of formal courtesy that these titles are followed, as when headmen are introduced to a visiting chief according to their traditional ranking order and sit in this order in the council.

The position of ward headmen has also been transformed by urban conditions, and the differing degree of urbanisation in Kisenyi on the one hand and Mulago on the other is reflected in the working of the headman system. Only two out of eight ward headmen in Mulago are local landowners and in Mengo none. In both parishes, and even more in Mengo than in Mulago, most landowners are absentees, and, though there are none the less a number of landowners who are resident in the parish, few of them are willing to act as ward headmen. Most of them are public figures, playing a major role in the social and political system of Buganda as a whole. It is inconceivable that they should stoop to carry out the tasks required of the parish chiefs' assistants in such areas as these to-day. Even the landowners' stewards (*basigire*) are often not residents within the area, and in fact only half the Mengo ward headmen are stewards of landowners, and less than half in Mulago.

Senior chiefs and officials of the Buganda Government still insist that ward headmen are either landowners or their stewards, though near Kampala this obviously is not so. The parish is not divided into wards on a territorial basis with headmen appointed to each, but, rather, the parish chief sees that there is a headman in each part of his parish and the area is then vaguely divided between them on the basis of the ownership of the land, each headman considering the tenants of a certain number of *mailo* estates as his people. Buganda Government officials envisage this process as the parish chief dividing up his parish into wards and appointing a headman to each. This would imply that each new parish chief on appointment selects his own ward headmen from scratch. But it is doubtful whether any parish chief could afford to make a clean sweep of the headmen already in office at his appointment and to select new ones of his own.

The non-Ganda headmen who are appointed to act as agents for the chief vis-à-vis their fellow tribesmen, much in the same way as the European missionary and Asian shopkeeper agents of the Namirembe chief already mentioned, are not always on the same territorial basis as the rest. For example, if a parish chief finds a Luo, a Haya, or a Rwanda, who for the perquisites involved will help him to deal with members of these tribes, the chief may employ him throughout the parish wherever problems arise involving members of that tribe, although they are resident in areas over which one of the already existing ward headmen is supposedly exercising control. There are thus signs of two headman systems, the one a territorial, the other on a tribal basis, but the latter is never complete. It

would seem that when a tribal headman has become useful to a parish chief on an informal basis, without receiving a traditional title and without being listed among the recognised ward headmen, he may later be appointed ward headman in a more fully official capacity when this office falls vacant in some part of the parish. The sign of official recognition of a ward headman, as of any other chief, is formal introduction to his colleagues and the public, together with the giving of gifts to those who perform the introduction, but this procedure is itself by no means invariable.

In Mengo, seven out of ten headmen were found by the chief already in office, and he made no immediate changes. The balance of power among ward headmen was demonstrated in a vivid way in Mulago when five of them revolted against the deputy parish chief soon after a new parish chief had been appointed. These headmen had been absenting themselves from the parish meeting, and when the parish chief wrote and asked them to come and explain their absence they replied in the form of a petition for the removal of the deputy chief who was also senior ward headman. "We give the following as the reasons for not attending the council (*lukiko*) : - 1. It is the misconduct of your deputy whom we elected as our leader, towards us in the following way: (a) he does not allow anyone else to speak; (b) he abuses us, and he assumes the power to get rid of us from our official posts; (c) he acts within our own jurisdictions without our due notice. 2. It is for these reasons that we, after due consideration, wish to depose him and we ask you to allow us to elect another leader, for the present leader calls us a rotten Government! Hence it is of no avail to work with him. We wish to have another leader who will work with us." Although the accused deputy was rather a big talker and did indeed interfere in the affairs of the other headmen, the real reason for their dislike of him was their feeling that he received a great many more gifts than they did themselves. However, the rebellion failed and the deputy was able to have removed from office the headman who was its chief instigator. After a long vacancy the dismissed headman's assistant was appointed in his place. Two years later the same trouble came once more to a head and this time the parish chief dismissed his deputy and chose a new one from among the other headmen.

Headmen seem to be selected largely by a process of co-option. When one has to be replaced, it is the others who have the best chance of knowing who is available and willing to undertake the job. Landowners' stewards who collect rents from their tenants, also get to know their particular areas well, and they too may propose people whom they consider suitable for appointment as headmen. Headmen or stewards thus sponsor candidates, and if the parish chief approves of them he appoints them officially.

The duty of headmen is to assist the parish chief in every way. They should know the people living in their wards, they should help the chief to collect poll-tax and they should circulate all administrative instructions from the chief to the people. It is only through them that the chief can hope to administer his parish. He depends upon them and their knowledge of their people in his application of the regulations relating to the building of houses and the digging of latrines, the licensing of shops and hotels, the permits for selling sugar, beer and other controlled commodities, the collection of tax, the planting of grass for anti-erosion purposes, and the reporting of infectious diseases. In such a dense and mobile population as that of Kisenyi, it is very difficult for even a ward headman to keep track of all the people in his ward. The better headmen at least

know most of the owners of houses in their wards, but others are in many cases ignorant even of this, and know very few of the constantly changing stream of lodgers who constitute the majority of the population.

The position of headmen in relation to the parish council will be dealt with later. The great changes in the use and evaluation of land have already been described in chapters III and VII. Their result is that in both Kisenyi and Mulago the valuable land is highly fragmented and the average size of plots is far smaller than in rural Buganda. The few who still own large estates in such urban areas are usually absentees, or, even if resident, are necessarily persons of wealth and political importance who play their parts on a stage far wider than the parish. Even the stewards of such persons sometimes consider themselves too important to participate in the day to day affairs of parish administration. The exigencies of urban life, either in employment or self-employment, deprive most people of that leisure and that likelihood of being on hand at any moment to deal with problems as they arise, which enables the rural parish system to work.

Because of the changed land use and the very highly mobile population of exceedingly mixed composition, the duties of an urban ward headman have become very different from those of their rural counterparts. This is not so much because their substantive functions have changed as because the manner in which they have to be carried out among the urban population and the relation that these activities bear to the rest of the urban population is such that the prestige attaching to ward headmen in the town is very much less than in the country. In town the duties of a good headman would be very much heavier, while the general expenses of living are much higher and the rewards of social status and political power largely lacking. There remains a certain satisfaction in their exercise of power over the poorer and shorter term urban residents, but since the natural leaders of the parish in terms of their economic and political status cannot be attracted to the job it falls to those of lower status for whom it still has advantages. Parish chiefs and landowners in the urban area complain of the difficulty of getting people to act as ward headmen or stewards. Ward headmen, for their part, constantly complain of their unpaid status, as indeed they also do in the countryside. The present system will continue as long as the present opportunities for graft are permitted to go on attracting persons who aspire to nothing higher. The distribution of these opportunities in the urban area is patchy, and in certain parishes where they are lacking, ward headmen are also lacking and the system has already broken down. The characteristic of these latter areas would appear to be a high proportion of small and relatively stable landowners, not themselves attracted by the headman role, and a lower than average incidence of the typical urban problems of theft, drunkenness, prostitution, over-crowding and illicit building, all of which at present appear to provide a *raison d'etre* for the activities of headmen and at the same time offer opportunities for their reward. It might not be misleading to describe such areas as incipient middle class residential suburbs.

In Mengo most of the headmen have occupations which involve little absence from the parish. Of the five resident in the Kisenyi area three sell beer there. Some of the others have shops and some are also landowners' stewards. One of them is appointed to be parish health inspector (*okukubiriza buyonjo*) in addition to his ordinary duties as a headman. This involves visiting every house in the parish, and every new building site, and inspecting latrines and general health conditions. He assists the paid health inspectors and orderlies of the Protectorate Government when

they visit the parish, but as their department is short of staff these visits do not occur more than about once a year. One of the other headmen is also deputy parish chief. He is regarded as senior among the headmen and in theory should act for the chief in his absence. Normally he probably does so, but on three occasions when the chief was attending the county court it was actually his clerk and not his deputy who took the chair at the meeting of the parish council. This clerk receives a salary of forty shillings a month and has no other occupation. He plays an important part in the organisation of the parish, and at the parish election he was actually chosen to represent it on the county council. A suggested incentive for his activities is that he might himself be chosen to be a parish chief.¹

In Mulago most of the headmen are wage earners and therefore find it difficult to devote the necessary time to their parish work.

There are eight of them altogether, two are themselves landowners, four rent plots, one owns a house but no plot and one lives in a rented room. Three of them are also representatives of local landowners. In Mengo the chief's typewritten list of his ward headmen contained thirteen names, yet of these two were dead and two more were no longer actually working. One of the deceased had in practice been replaced by his deputy, while another headman appointed several years before did not appear on the list at all. Of the ten *de facto* headmen seven were Ganda, two Haya and one Luo. These headmen did not all know one another well, and were themselves unable to give consistent accounts of who their fellow headmen were or of their traditional ranking order. However, in the relatively compact area of Kisenyi the five headmen concerned did know one another well.

Parish chiefs have the power to dismiss headmen, though the role of the latter in the local community may make them difficult to dislodge in practice, as experience in Mulago showed. A parish chief is expected to notify his sub-county chief if he dismisses a headman, but, while the sub-county chief might advise him, he would leave the ultimate decision to the parish chief. This is inevitable, for the headmen assist the parish chief in tax collection and if the latter has no confidence in them, (and no hold on them either, since they are unpaid), he can hardly be expected to take responsibility before the sub-county chief for the collection of tax in his parish.

3. GIFT GIVING AND THE PERQUISITES OF OFFICE.

Gift giving by inferiors to superiors in recognition of favours and privileges received is traditional in Buganda. It is customary on the occasion of induction to every political office, from the appointment of major county chiefs by the Kabaka down to the selection of unofficial assistants by ward headmen. The very word for attendance at the court or council of chief or king (*okukika*) connotes to the Ganda the idea of leading a goat on a rope as a present to the superior. The concept of delegation is very highly developed in Buganda, and it is not necessarily the official responsible for making an appointment who receives gifts in recognition of it, but rather the delegate to whom this official allots the task of conducting a new chief to his jurisdiction and formally introducing him to his people. Because of the benefits involved, a member of a chief's

1. Since the above was written, this individual did in fact get promotion, not as a parish chief, but as a steward of the Kabaka's land in the next door parish of Katwe.

council, some junior official, or simply a private friend or favourite, may beg his chief for the privilege of inducting a new appointee into office. He will then return to his chief and report on how he carried out his task and what sort of reception and entertainment he received. The Luganda verb *okuyingiza* (to cause to enter, or introduce) is used of the delegate's task and the verb *okweyanza* (to give thanks) of the reaction of the new chief. The chief of the Kibuga described how he himself entertained and made gifts to the delegate (*mubaka*) appointed by the Kabaka to induct him into his chiefship. The deputy chief of the Kibuga presented a fat goat and some bundles of plantains to the chief of the Kibuga at his induction. "I do not think there is a single Muganda appointed as a chief by the Kabaka's *mubaka*", said the chief of the Kibuga; "the reason is that all new chiefs and transferred chiefs think that if they do not give a present to the Kabaka's people they will get a bad report and may not receive further promotion".

The commercialising of such transactions in money terms changes their whole nature, and this appears more strikingly in the case of ward headmen in the urban area than anywhere else. Instead of giving a feast, or traditionally prescribed gifts in kind, in recognition of a superior at appointment to office under him, the present system begins to look like simply paying for the appointment. However, it has not yet reached the stage of regularly selling offices to the highest bidder. It is important to note that one parish chief encountered in the course of the investigation had by his own testimony and that of his ward headmen refused to accept money on appointing new headmen in the several parishes where he had worked, although both his predecessors and his successors had done so. The most he may have accepted was gifts of food made in the genuinely traditional form. Apart from this, the majority of ward headmen in Mengo and Mulago had made cash gifts to their superiors on appointment. The exceptions who denied having done so were old men with customary tenancies in the area, whose appointments dated from long ago when urban development had scarcely begun and these transactions were not yet commercialised.

The tendency to make such payments reflects the appearance of a new type of urban ward headman, whose education, skill and inclination offer him no more attractive position and who is anxious to gain such appointment for the sake of its perquisites. He is in contrast with the traditional rural ward headman who accepts office almost as an obligatory corollary of the high socio-economic position which he enjoys in the local community.

Five shillings was the generally agreed minimum for these payments by ward headmen to the parish chief appointing them. A senior chief referred to anything from five to twenty shillings as normal. One ward headman had given ten shillings to his parish chief on appointment. On later being made deputy parish chief he gave fifteen shillings to the chief of the Kibuga, ten shillings to the latter's deputy, ten shillings to the parish chief and five shillings to the ward headman who secured the job of introducing him to the parish council with a letter from the chief of the Kibuga. In another case, a man who was only appointed by a ward headman as his unofficial assistant gave him fifteen shillings and ten pounds of meat.

All chiefs, both high and low, are understandably concerned to explain that gifts and payments are "private" or "unofficial". This concept of the "private" or "unofficial" side of a public servant's activities is one

of the most pernicious aspects of the Buganda political system. It must have arisen from the modifications which resulted from the British Protectorate, when certain universally recognised and accepted characteristics of the traditional regime were not incorporated in the progressive codification of the system and came to be regarded as *sub-rosa* or at least not to be talked of openly to Protectorate officials, however widely known they might be. The ethical standards of public service thus become blurred. Discreditable tendencies resulting from modern changes acquire a kind of legitimacy in being relegated to this *sub-rosa* sphere which has considerable sympathy from the population at large who, sometimes mistakenly, see in it a continuation of familiar traditional methods, and in any case a pleasing contrast to the impersonal and rigid behaviour of the Protectorate Administration as it appears to them.

"The ward headmen have no land" commented one of the urban parish chiefs, "but they become ward headmen because they know that each man will have permits for millet beer (*kwete*) and this was *privately* regarded as their wages". Ward headmen themselves claim to be doing their job for the joy of serving their country and Kabaka. But usually they admit that the long term objective is promotion. "The wages of an active ward headman are to be appointed a parish chief after working without pay for a long time". Some profess little hope of this for lack of relatives in senior posts who might get them promotion.

As has been shown in earlier chapters,¹ the non-observance of certain laws has become habitual in the urban area. It is this state of affairs that enables ward headmen without other means of support to make a living in places like Kisenyi where large numbers of people, knowing themselves to be on the wrong side of the law, feel it necessary to pay off their headmen from time to time. The most frequent sources of graft are tax evasion and the contravention of building and liquor regulations. Another more legitimate source of income for headmen is the occasional presents which they receive for arbitrating in disputes and settling cases out of court.

Tax evasion arises partly from inherent complexities in the system of poll tax and partly from the inefficient manner in which the system is administered. Ganda for the time being working and living in Kampala who hold land elsewhere in Buganda, either on *mailo* title or under customary tenancy, have the right to pay tax in that area rather than in the town. Similarly, men of other tribes in the Protectorate can be exempt from paying tax in town if they have been able to visit their tribal home and pay tax there for the year in question. Furthermore, Africans from outside Uganda do not become liable to pay Uganda tax until they have resided in the Protectorate for a whole calendar year. These alternatives are important because of the different rates of tax prevailing in different districts of the Protectorate and in other neighbouring territories. In theory there is no need for confusion since it should be possible to require a potential taxpayer to prove that he is exempt from paying tax in town for one of these reasons. In fact, however, the large numbers involved, their tremendous heterogeneity in language and tribal origin, the constant and rapid movement of population both in and out of town and between different quarters of the town, and the facility with which people change their names, combined with the absence of any efficient system of registration or identification, produce a situation in which there is no accurate knowledge of the liable tax paying population of the urban area at any one time. The system is based on the parish tax registers, but they bear no discoverable relationship to the actual population of the parishes concerned liable for tax

1. See pp. 5-6, 9-10, 32-34, 57.

in any one year. In some cases the number of taxpayers on the register is only a third of the number of adult males in the parish. Or else the nominal figure of taxpayers is far above the number from whom there is any hope of collecting tax. This was brought to light in a striking way when Kyadondo county promised the Kabaka a new palace as a gift to celebrate his return from exile. As the most populous sub-county in Kyadondo, the Kibuga was expected to raise over twelve thousand pounds in voluntary contributions towards the gift. In May, 1956, the Kibuga Council decided that this would be impossible. The Omukulu we Kibuga said that there were 12,739 taxpayers in the Kibuga, but out of that number only 4,630 were of "fixed abode". (Presumably he was referring to the high mobility of the immigrant population.) The Council therefore pointed out that there were only 4,630 taxpayers in the Kibuga from whom money could be collected.¹

The tax assessment for urban parishes is not a record of those liable to pay but an arbitrary target which the parish chief and his headmen are expected to reach and beyond which they need not go. It is conceivable that the changes in parish tax assessments over time may have some significance if either the numbers or the proportion of tax evaders is assumed to remain constant. When a parish chief reaches his target he need not worry, however many other unrecorded taxpayers there may be in his parish. But these evaders do not themselves feel secure, and it is well worth their while to present a headman or parish chief with a few shillings in order to avoid the payment of perhaps ten times the amount. It is especially likely that immigrant townsmen make such payments even when they do start paying tax, in order to avoid further investigation into their liabilities for former years.

Poor immigrants who wish to put up grass beehive huts to save themselves from paying rent, and property owners who wish to erect sub-standard housing, or simply to circumvent the delays involved in getting official approval for their plans, all find it worth while to make presents to the parish authorities who have the power to help or hinder them.

Since all beer brewers and beer sellers, not to mention those who deal in illegal spirits, are contravening the letter of the law to a greater or lesser extent,² the parish authorities are always in a position to touch them for free drinks and occasional presents. Since some senior chiefs are known to have added to their private incomes by having their agents for liquor selling in the Kibuga, this nexus of common interests is largely free from disturbance. The practice of prostitution and the disposal of stolen goods provide further economic incentives for securing official inactivity. The occurrence of prosecutions in this field from time to time indicates the breakdown of the complex balance of interests; someone has flouted the tacitly understood code of behaviour and forfeited the confidence and support of his fellow operators, or has aroused such enmity from someone in authority that vengeance becomes sweeter than profit, or higher policy may require victims for a fleeting demonstration of effective administrative action.

New buildings in permanent materials have to be approved by the Buganda Government Town Planning Board.³ But the only penalty for failure to comply is the rather remote risk that the building concerned

1. Uganda Argus, 24th May, 1956.

2. v. sup. p. 57.

3. Town Planning Law. 1947.

might subsequently be pulled down without compensation. The erection of a mud and wattle building, still much the commonest type of building being put up in these areas, does not require a permit from the Town Planning Board, but is left to the discretion of the parish chief and headmen. There are no rules or standards to guide the decision as to whether a building should be approved or not. Indeed, it seems to be unknown for a building to be actually prohibited, though some modifications may be introduced in the siting or design.

The reconstruction of an old building or the addition of a kitchen to it is not considered to require a permit. Great changes can be unobtrusively accomplished in this way. A much larger new building is erected round the shell of some dilapidated ruin, or a "kitchen" is added to a house and then turned into a row of rooms to be rented out to lodgers.

The various permits required for selling meat or sugar, for hawking or for opening a shop, provide further occasions of gift giving to secure the favour of local authorities in forwarding applications to higher quarters. There are, besides, the numerous brewers and sellers of illegal spirit who operate more behind the scenes, and must maintain themselves in favour. On the other hand, members of the royal family and other Ganda of very high status are regarded by the general public as being more or less beyond the reach of Ganda law. This prevents the law from being regarded as the precise, impartial instrument which it might otherwise be.

Let it not be thought from this that headmen or parish chiefs realise great profits from their position. They make a comfortable living at a rather low level and that is all. The lives of the headmen are not very arduous, but at the same time the parish system in its present form will not work without them. It is not really their fault if the only means by which they can obtain the *quid pro quo* to which they feel entitled involves the virtual sabotage of any efforts at controlling critical aspects of the life of the urban population in the common interest. If there were no regulations which it was worth people's while to evade, the headman would cease to exist, for none would be willing to accept the job.

Gifts of this kind are a common primitive method of financing political services. Under the changed conditions of a more diversified economy and a mixed society, the method is open to serious abuse. However, where it remains as a continuous tradition to which no alternative has been introduced it is not quite correct to treat it simply as bribery. Abuses are inherent in the headman system and if they are to be avoided an entirely new system will be necessary. Any new system is certain to be more costly in financial terms. But when radical improvements in the framework of life of the urban African community can no longer be postponed, the present headman system, in spite of its financial economies, will have to be judged too expensive in its frustration of measures for the material and social benefit of the population.

In contrast to this general picture it must be added that, at the end of 1955 and early in 1956, there was an unprecedented burst of activity on the part of the Kibuga authorities. The issue of beer permits was drastically cut,¹ and parish chiefs were required to round up women of ill repute to prosecute and imprison or fine them and endeavour to send them away

1. In February, 1956, it was reported that native beer permits in the Kibuga had been progressively reduced from over 4,000 to only 160 a month. In March the Kibuga Council voted for the reduction of licenses to sell non-native liquor, which at that time numbered 120. (Uganda Argus, 10th February and 24th March, 1956.)

from town back to fathers, husbands, or other legal guardians, unless they could give proof of approved occupation. This latter meant, in effect, wage earning for an employer who could certify the occupation as regular, so that any genuine female workers on their own account were put in a very difficult position. In May, 1956, the Kibuga Council unanimously supported a motion which meant, in effect, subjecting unmarried women to treatment as minors up to the age of 30. At present, if an unmarried girl under the age of 20 runs away from her parents or lawful guardians they can sue for her restoration. The Council wished to raise this age to 30 "to suit modern conditions".¹

This stern policy aroused great interest in the Luganda press. On the whole, traditionalist opinion was in high praise of the strong action taken, interpreting it as a return to old custom and especially as a drive to protect Ganda women from defilement by Asian and European men. Other voices were raised in protest against the denial of personal freedom and the obvious injustices involved in many individual cases. Opposition comes not only from some of the more enlightened vernacular newspapers, but from highly placed quarters where vested interests are affected. The question is whether the stern policy can be maintained for any length of time in view of the personnel available for putting it into operation, or whether it will fizzle out as similar drives have done before, leaving the basic situation unchanged? If it is maintained it is likely to lead to the breakdown of the present parish system, because the ward headmen will have lost their means of support and their replacement will become impossible.² This might be a blessing if it led to thorough overhaul of the local government system for the urban area.

4. THE PARISH COUNCIL.

The parish meetings of Buganda retain some of the features of the immemorial popular assemblies of the neighbourhood community. The neighbourhood community during the later period in traditional Buganda was under the jurisdiction of a petty chief whose authority derived from a varying blend of hereditary clan rights and personal appointment by a superior chief. But in either case and however many the intermediate levels in the hierarchy, there was an increasing tendency for the power of every chief to be regarded as essentially delegated to him from the king. At least by the reigns of the mid-nineteenth century kings Ssuuna II and Mutesa I, the king had become the sole source of legitimate political power in the unwritten constitution of Buganda. His supremacy, even over the clan system, was symbolised in his title of *Sabataka*. The popular assembly was thus essentially advisory, and the principal means of redress against a chief was to leave his jurisdiction and to give allegiance to another chief. If many of a chief's subjects left him in this way his power was naturally reduced and he in turn would be in trouble with his superior chief.

This situation was partially formalised by the introduction of the parish (*muluka*) system early in this century. The parish chiefs became the lowest cadre in the paid hierarchy. The parish chief was himself typically a landowner, especially the principal landowner in the area of which he was chief. His parish derived its internal structure from its territorial division into private estates in accordance with the *mailo* system, the own-

1. Uganda Argus, 31st May, 1956.
2. This view draws some support from the Omukulu we Kibuga's criticism of his administrative staff: "The Chiefs are too lazy to carry out their responsibilities. Our country needs Chiefs who can serve their Kabaka without careerist motives". (Uganda Argus, 10th February, 1956.)

er of each estate taking general political and economic responsibility for his tenants under the parish chief. The landowner was not paid for this and his responsibility was not formally defined. But it was well understood in terms of the traditional role of a petty chief *vis-a-vis* his peasant subjects. The economic aspect of this role was further defined by the Busulu and Envujo Law of 1928 which has already been discussed.¹ The political aspect of the parish structure has received further definition by the Law for the Establishment of Lower Councils in Buganda, 1951.

The only way to understand the varied and frequently anomalous situations actually found in parishes to-day, and especially in urbanised parishes, is to see such situations as the product of partial penetration of formal legal provisions into an already existing system which has continued to run on with considerable inertia.

Since the process of formalisation and legal definition began under the guidance of the British Protectorate the parish chief and council have not been recognised as having any constituted legal jurisdiction. The chief cannot imprison, fine, or enforce any judgment. He can arrest. But any dispute which he fails to settle by arbitration or reconciliation must be taken to the sub-county court. Hearing of disputes and attempts at arbitration by the parish chief and council have been tolerated but not encouraged. The parish authorities themselves certainly do not regard judicial and executive activities as being so radically distinct as the officers of the Protectorate Administration do. They are quite prepared to indulge in both on the same occasion, without distinction of personnel. It is often not realised how many habitual practices may be continued on the basis of customary sanctions without any discomfort arising from the fact that powers so exercised are nowhere defined or confirmed in Protectorate law. For administrative officers the letter of the law may seem more real than its operation, whereas for the parochial authorities the reverse is true.

No doubt, with the further evolution of local government and of Buganda Native Courts, executive and judicial functions will become effectively separated. At present, however, it seems that so much arbitrational work is done by the parish authorities, and so many petty disputes are thereby prevented from going on to clog the sub-county courts, that the parish contribution in this respect is indispensable and will only become redundant with the reform of the rest of the system on the basis of a much heavier financial burden.

The field of operation of the parish assemblies remained as a largely uncodified residue of customary law, confirmed only in general terms by Protectorate legislation. The effect of the 1951 Law for the Establishment of Lower Councils in Buganda was not to set up machinery which had not previously existed, as its title implies, but to make the parish assemblies more self conscious and formal about one aspect of the duties which they had always performed. This was necessary if they were to be transformed into representative local government councils of a modern democratic type. Such an evolution may be unrealistic at this level, for bodies which in urban areas may prove to be largely redundant. How far the provisions of the 1951 Law have penetrated into the actual running of parishes is dubious. Although many practices echo some of the Law's provisions there are numerous features of present practice which constitute

1. See above, pp. 31 and 32.

an infringement of it by commission or omission, or else a confusion of aspects which the Law attempts to separate.

The 1951 Law and the 1945 Law for Selecting Unofficial Representatives to the Councils not only stress the deliberative and executive functions of the parish assembly while purposely ignoring its tendency to engage in unofficial judicial activity, but define its membership in a rigid manner which, if correctly followed, will distinguish it still further from its traditional form. It will become less easy for any resident of the parish to turn up and raise matters of interest to him for consideration by the council. Procedure will be more formal, the ordinary person will have to get matters raised by the unofficial members who have been popularly elected to the council and the interest and participation of the general public in its proceedings will become less. It is to be hoped that this loss will be more than offset by greater efficiency in the working of the council.

MENGO PARISH COUNCIL.

In Mengo the parish council (*lukiko*) reckons to meet every Saturday afternoon. During 1953 a member of the survey staff attended it and made a record of the proceedings on 38 Saturdays out of the 52. On 5 of these days no meeting actually took place. On the other 33 occasions the parish council met and dealt with whatever business had cropped up. The parish chief was invariably present as chairman unless absent on other official duties. The attendances recorded run as follows: parish chief—28 times, 1 headman—26 times, the chief's clerk—20 times, one headman—16, one—14, two—10, one—7, three—twice, and three—once. The average attendance was thus four. There does not seem to be any fixed quorum, and on one occasion the court sat with only the chief and one other member.¹ A number of matters were dealt with by the council on these occasions: letters containing administrative instructions from the chief of the Kibuga (*Omukulu we Kibuga*) were discussed, and other questions were raised such as: conditions conducive to theft, overcharging for sugar, illicit beer brewing and selling, the planting of paspalum grass as an anti-erosion measure, and the duty of people running to help when an alarm is raised. Over a third of the cases were for debt, half being debts for rent, and half from other causes. Four cases arose from disputes over property resulting from the separation of couples who had been cohabiting in free unions. Three cases of fighting were dealt with, three cases of failure to fulfil contracts to build or to make furniture, three cases of eviction in which the lodger resisted the houseowner's right to serve notice, and three applications for permits to build. There were two cases of theft, two of obscene abuse, and two concerning the renewal of trading permits. Other cases related to the price of water, the guardianship of two girls, damage to crops by children, encroachment on another's land, control of the hours of water selling and of beer selling, property damaged in a dispute over the distillation of spirit (*waragi*), failure to report cases of small-pox, refusal to allot a plot as promised, official bribery, the finding of stolen property, overcharging for and misappropriating sugar, violence by a usually harmless lunatic, failure to turn out for planting anti-erosion grass bunds, and a demand for wages by a woman whose lover had brought in a rival.

These were the cases heard by the parish court during its regular Saturday afternoon sessions during the 38 weeks on which it was observed.

1. The Law for the Establishment of Lower Councils lays down a quorum of five.

Though these were the majority, there were a number of other cases heard by the parish court on other occasions. Sometimes cases of theft or violence were brought straight to the chief and dealt with at once if he happened to be present. Other cases were heard at odd times because of the failure of witnesses to appear at the Saturday courts. Others again were settled on the spot, when the chief decided to visit the scene of a dispute over land or housing, or deputed a headman to do so. The exact number of these cases heard at odd times cannot be stated, but was not very large. Besides these, some cases were heard by the headmen on their own. They have no official power to do this, but in some cases of theft or violence a headman who is available nearby is applied to direct and may succeed in settling a dispute on the spot through his arbitration.

The total number of cases heard within the parish in all these ways cannot exceed 300 at the most in the course of a year. This is not a very large number, but when repeated in the other parishes of the sub-county of the Kibuga, they represent a very important saving of the time of the Kibuga court. Of the 60 cases recorded, 11 had to be referred to the Kibuga Court in the end, after preliminary hearing in the parish. Three other cases of theft involved the police and were sent to them. The number of cases heard by the Kibuga court varies from year to year. At the five year intervals 1943, 1948 and 1953, the numbers were 1,306; 2,536 and 1,527 respectively. It would appear from this that if all cases at present heard by parish authorities had to go to the Kibuga court its work might become unmanageable.

As already remarked, the parish assembly acts as an executive body, as a deliberative council and as a court for the hearing of disputes, all on the same occasion, and without much recognition of the significance of its switches from one function to the other. There is, however, a certain pattern in the usual order of proceedings. Official pronouncements and instruction from the Kibuga are first dealt with and disputes and other matters brought by the public are heard afterwards. When the assembly is engaged in settling disputes I shall refer to it as a court, which is the way in which it regards itself, and in its other activities I shall refer to it as a council. This is, of course, without prejudice to the fact discussed above that in its activities as a court it has no legal powers of enforcement and no official recognition as a court in the laws of the Uganda Protectorate nor in the Buganda Native Laws which are incorporated in Protectorate law.

The procedure of the parish court is similar to that of most tribal councils in this part of Africa. Only those recognised as headmen are entitled to express views respecting a verdict and when all those who wish have spoken the chief passes judgement. Any matter may be raised by members of the general public who attend. Judicial, legislative and executive decisions of an elementary kind all come under the cognizance of a parish court. For example, decisions were made as to the hours within which watersellers and beersellers would be allowed to do business, because it was thought that very early and very late hours enabled these people to engage in thieving or to connive at it. Water sellers were prohibited from raising their charge for a paraffin tin of water from ten to fifteen cents.¹ During the early part of the year the headmen were all instructed to turn out early in the morning with strong men from their neighbourhoods, to catch people for tax collection. At other times they had to ensure that all men, and unattached women too, turned out

1. However, this prohibition proved ineffective.

to plant *paspalum* grass when the parish drum beat the rhythm *sagala agalamidde* ('I do not like a later sleeper').

The parish court tends to adopt a high moral tone which is often rather ludicrous in relation to the actual situation—unless it is assumed that the speaker had his tongue in his cheek. For example, although many people regularly sell beer without permits, and those who have permits invariably exceed their permitted quantity by a very wide margin, no prosecutions ever appear to be made on this score. Two women were prosecuted for selling beer at 8 p.m. after the parish court had ruled that selling must stop at 6 p.m. The two excused themselves that they were themselves drunk when selling, and did not know that it was 8 p.m. Their permits, which the chief had confiscated, were returned to them with the warning that if they offended again the permits would be cancelled. A Buganda Government askari brought two men into court for quarrelling at a beer party. One had tried to stab the other with a knife and the latter had raised an alarm. The offender claimed that he had only been playing and begged the chief and the plaintiff to forgive him. The chief agreed to dismiss the case if the defendant left the knife with him and if the plaintiff was willing to forgive. In a similar case a large crowd brought along two men who had been fighting at a beer party, and the following interrogation ensued: 'Are you prepared to go to jail for drunkenness?' — 'No, sir.' — 'Well, then, go back all of you to your houses and do not go back to the beer party again!' The headman who acts as health inspector reported that he had been round every house in the parish and found all very clean except for a few houses belonging to Indians, Haya and Luo which were very dirty. If he found them again in the same state he would summon the offenders to court. It is at this stage that proceedings always seem to come to a standstill, for such offenders have ample opportunities to make it worth the while of those concerned to halt proceedings here.

The parish chief and his staff have the duty of enforcing the law, but at the parish level they have no legal sanctions to assist them, since the court of the parish cannot impose fines or imprisonment. This may account for the rather pompous way in which admonitions are given in the court, though it must be clear to all present that such admonitions are very unlikely to be heeded. Short of arresting a person and sending him straight to the chief of the Kibuga this is all that the parish authorities can do, and from this seems to have evolved a technique of attempting to curb the grosser excesses in law breaking, so that although many regulations are broken with impunity, this should not be done so flagrantly as to make strong deterrent action unavoidable. It is this flexible approach which offers such wide scope for the giving and receiving of gifts to influence the precise manner in which the law is applied.

Sometimes both suit and judgment are highly whimsical. A woman accused the man with whom she had been living for bringing in another woman, and demanded that he should pay her wages for the months she had spent with him. The man asked for the case to be withdrawn, but the court refused. Both were sent outside to talk the matter over. The woman then came in and said that she would withdraw the case. 'I agree,' said the chief, 'if you wish to withdraw the case, and order you (the defendant) to go back and keep your wife or wives well.' — 'I will do so, sir, I will keep them very well.'

A woman lodger accused the houseowner of kicking at her door and breaking cups which she had bought for 30/- (an undoubted exaggeration). The defendant explained that the woman had continued to sell spirit

(*waragi*) in his house in spite of repeated instructions not to do so. At last he had become angry and had broken the cups in kicking the door open. The woman had then left without paying the month's rent. Although the selling of spirit is a serious offence, this point was not taken up because the man had not reported it to his headman. The breakage of cups and the debt for rent were held to cancel each other out and the case was dismissed.

A man bought an acre of land on part of which a woman had a customary holding. He offered her a plot of seventy by fifty yards, for which she was to pay an annual rent of 450/-. When she refused this arrangement, he gave her three months' notice and then sued her in the parish court. It was quite clear that in law the woman could not be evicted from her customary holding, nor could she be required to pay more than 8/50 per year in rent. The court ignored the fact that there was, therefore, no case and the argument turned upon the fact that the woman did not know that the new landowner had bought the land. The case was postponed until the previous landlord could be present. The woman was then satisfied that the plaintiff was now her landlord and they were told to go away to talk the matter over and come to an understanding.

Many of the anomalies in the working of the parish court are no doubt due to its unofficial nature. Having no power of enforcement, it inevitably aims at arbitration, restitution and the restoration of peace and harmony. Perhaps its judgments are given in pompous terms to make up for their lack of binding force. Since no fees are involved, comparatively trivial matters are sometimes brought before it. If its authority is not accepted, the parish court can only refer a case to the sub-county court of the Kibuga. In such a mobile and heterogeneous population it is surprising that it achieves a successful settlement of as many cases as it does.

MULAGO PARISH COUNCIL.

In Mulago the council meets every Saturday afternoon at about 5 o'clock. The meeting takes place outside the home of the assistant parish chief. A table and chair are placed in front of his house, and if the occasion demands, such as an announced visit by the *ggombolola* chief or the arrival of other visitors, the assistant parish chief erects a lean-to roof of papyrus reeds. Benches are placed in front of the table for the ward headmen. Usually the assistant parish chief sits by the side of the parish chief behind the table. The parish chief complains that he cannot transact his duties in a peaceful and orderly manner because there is no official *kitawuluzi* (parish meeting hall) in Mulago, and official business has therefore to be transacted while the daily life of Mulago carries on all around the meeting place. Occasionally drunks disturb the meeting and valuable time is lost. Apart from the chief, his assistant and ward headmen, landowners, shopkeepers and others of importance may attend the meetings. Many residents who come to the meetings simply sit and listen and watch life pass along the main street. Only rarely will the chief accept their comments. More frequently he sends casual visitors away, if they move about too much or otherwise disturb the meeting. When it rains, the meeting takes place in the chief's house. Punctuality is not a mark of the meeting. However, usually business begins soon after five and continues until half-past six or seven o'clock. Very seldom does the meeting carry on after nightfall.

Attendance by the official members is sporadic. The meetings were closely observed by one assistant from July 18th, 1953, to July 10th, 1954,

the assistant being present on 49 out of the 52 Saturdays. On four occasions no meetings were held, owing either to the absence of any official matters or to the sickness of the chief. At Christmas time no meeting was held. The average attendance by ward headmen numbered three at each of the meetings. At all but seven of the councils the chief presided. When the chief was absent his assistant took the chair. In the absence of both no meeting was held. This situation arose only once. Besides the chief, his assistant and the ward headmen, no other important residents attended the meetings with anything like regularity. Only on special occasions did some shopkeepers, traders and landowners turn up. The attendance of the public varied from 300 on special occasions to three or four at other times. On the whole, interest in the council was at a low ebb. At times, when a case was being tried and the disputants stood in front of the chief and his court, some people collected and listened. They might tender advice but usually the chief would tell them to pass along. The chief, or his assistant, kept a record book. At the conclusion of every meeting, entries were made either by the chief or his assistant or one of the headmen who was selected for this task because of his unusually good handwriting. Sometimes no entries were made even though business had been transacted. There was no special reason for this; it resulted simply from the casual nature of the council and the fact that the book is not a legal record which has to be presented to a higher authority. In some parishes no book whatever is kept, which makes research very difficult, if not impossible. The book records the matters which have been dealt with, and when a case has been tried the disputants sometimes signify their agreement with the court's recommendations by writing their names in the book or by leaving their marks.

The usual course of proceedings is to open the council meeting by reading out the "official" letters which the chief has received in the course of the week. These letters deal with such matters as forthcoming visits of government officials, regulations concerning the brewing of beer, methods of obtaining the great variety of permits for hawkers, sugar sellers and house constructors, the planting of *paspalum* grass and the sort of foods which the Department of Agriculture recommends. On these occasions the headmen are supposed to be particularly attentive as it is in the passing on of such information that one of their major functions lies. As not all the headmen attend the meetings, it can be assumed that the instructions often do not reach the residents in certain parts of Mulago. If no other business is called for after the various letters have been read out, the council may conclude its deliberations for the week.¹ At other times, the chief and the headmen sit around and exchange conversation. Should anyone turn up with a case, the court will readily constitute itself to hear it. Usually, however, those who wish to bring a case attend the council meetings from the very beginning, so that they may be ready to come forward as soon as all the official matters have been dealt with.

As the parish chief and the council have no legal power to enforce their decisions, the disputes brought to the court are often of an unimport-

1. In some parishes, it was observed that formal meetings of the parish council were held every day—usually at about 5 in the late afternoon. Although there is no provision in the Laws of Buganda for such a procedure, there is however the provision that the council must at least meet once a week. In Mulago the chief is always ready to receive complaints from villagers at any time during the week. Unless the matter requires urgent attention, the parish chief usually tells those who wish to bring a case to attend the court on Saturday afternoon. He explained that he could not possibly ask his assistant and the *batongole* to be present every day.

ant nature. Only occasionally are really serious cases brought forward and the attitude seems to be that presentation to the parish council is just the necessary first step in the hearing of the case. When disputants were asked why they had taken their case to the parish council, they almost always answered that it was the traditional thing to do, adding however that their faith in the court was almost nil. Although both the plaintiffs and defendants often accept the advice of the court, they do so only out of their own goodwill. A number of people come to the court not to have their cases heard, but only to tell the court that there has been a case which they have already solved among themselves. Having told the court this, they then thank it for its deliberations and advice. Skilled artisans and independent retailers, particularly Ganda, are seldom seen at the council meetings and even less frequently do they bring a dispute to the court unless it involves a defendant of considerably lower status or an immigrant. On these occasions the plaintiffs often take a high moral line, pointing out to the court that there would be no trouble in Mulago were it not for uneducated people. In such a case the plaintiff made a special point of saying that the defendant was not a resident of Mulago, but an immigrant who had settled in Buganda, because of the goodwill and graciousness of the Ganda people. In this connection, it is of interest to note that at least 40% of those who brought cases to the court during the period of this study were not Ganda people. Although this reflects the tribal composition of Mulago, it is also suggestive of the fact that immigrants whose own legal and administrative authorities have been left behind look to Ganda customs and procedures for the arbitrament of their affairs.¹ This appears to be part of their training in Ganda custom.² Those who use the court are almost always Bantu-speaking people because all affairs of the court are dealt with in Luganda. There is virtually no record of other than Bantu speakers bringing a case to the court. One single case only was observed in which a Luo complained that he had lost some of his property; he was forced to communicate with the court in Luganda. At other times, however, outside the formal sitting of the council, the chief and his assistant deal with disputes and reports of robberies and fights in Swahili if necessary.

Since the court exercises only a customarily accepted and arbitral jurisdiction, its competence to hear cases has never been defined and the line between what it attempts to deal with on the spot and what it refers to the next higher court forthwith is hard to draw.

A Rwanda man had come to the court accusing a Toro man of breaking the lock on his door. There had been a fight outside the Rwanda man's house because the Toro's lover was suspected of being with the Rwanda man. When a group collected outside of the Rwanda man's house, he came out and locked his door. He thought by this means to suggest that there was no one in his house.

1. As the administrative system of the Ganda was imposed on all the tribes of the Protectorate, this transition is not a very difficult one for immigrants to make. It aids the process of assimilation. Although there may be local variations, most immigrants from the Protectorate are acquainted with such terms as *muluka*, *ggombolola* and *saza* chief. Occasionally, older immigrants express resentment that the Ganda system was imposed upon them (in their tribal lands).
2. As an example of this training in Ganda custom, the parish chief explained that it entailed such things as the paying of poll-tax, raising an alarm when a person was attacked, bringing a culprit to the chief, asking for permits and not doing anything without permission, eating only Ganda foods, being clean in the use of latrines and bathrooms, speaking Luganda, greeting people and respecting those in authority.

Chief: Do you admit to breaking the lock?

T. : I do and I would do it again as this man slept with my wife.

Chief: Is this woman your legal wife?

T. : No, she is anyone's woman, but at the moment I take her to be my wife.

Chief: Let us return to the original charge.

Are you prepared to buy a new lock for the accuser?

T. : No, I will not because he owes some money to me in any case.

Headman: What sort of charge are you bringing to this court?

Is it that this man broke your lock, or is the accused bringing a case for a debt against the accuser?

R. : I do not owe this man any money at all.

I am just interested in obtaining a new lock as the old one is broken and I cannot lock my house. Thieves will steal my things and then I shall come back and accuse another man and I don't have time to come here all the time.

Headman: It seems to me that the case is beyond the power of the court. Let us send it to Mengo. (This is the next highest court—*ggombolola* court).

Chief: I agree with M. and I shall write a letter to the Mengo court. If you will wait here I will give it to you now.

R. : Thank you very much. I shall take the letter and if the accused will come with me I shall be satisfied.

On the other hand, what appears to be a more difficult case was successfully dealt with by the court.

Today's council dealt with a case of a man who accused his neighbour of losing his things: two pairs of shorts, one shirt and two wash bowls. The cost of all these things was about 60/-. The accused denied the charges. Each of the two people gives the following story as a plea for innocence.

Accuser: The person I accuse comes from the same country, namely, Ruanda, and from the same village as I do. We have known each other for a long time. In the month of March of this year, having learned that the accused's brother-in-law was about to go back to Ruanda, and wanting to send things to my parents, I bought the things I mentioned and took them in the company of a friend of mine to the home of the accused where his brother-in-law was living. On our way there we met the brother-in-law to whom I handed the things and also 30/- to take to my parents.

However, he told us to take the parcel to his house and hand it to his brother-in-law. He could not take the parcel now but he would take the 30/- as he was doing a little visiting before he left for Ruanda. I therefore took the things to my friend's house. We found him at home chatting to two visitors whom we did not know. The accused accepted the things and placed them on the table and we left. When the brother-in-law returned from his

short visit, the accused never gave him any of the things, and so he went to Ruanda without them but with the 30/- which we had handed to him. This he gave to my parents. In the letter which my parents wrote to me in gratitude, only the 30/- was mentioned. And when I started to investigate the matter about the whereabouts of my things, I came to understand that the accused never delivered the things to his brother-in-law.

Witness for
the

accuser : He gave the same story as the accuser.

Accused: I have never seen the things the accuser is talking about. He is telling lies.

Chief : I see that you do not accept the charge. Why do you think that the accuser is telling lies?

Accused: He always tells lies and he uses bad words about people. I would not trust him and I am sorry to hear that he told you that I was his friend. I am not.

Headman: I think that from what I have heard that the case must be in favour of the accuser. I think that his story is a true one.

Chief: That is also my impression. Is there anything else that the accused would like to tell us?

Accused : There is no more.

Headman: Let us complete this case. I think that it is quite clear that the accuser has told us the truth.

Chief : The court has ruled against you and we think that you should pay 60/- to the accuser.

At this stage both the accused and accuser went away to talk to each other. Upon their return the accuser told the court that he agreed with the accused on the terms of the repayment. He thanked the court for their "clever thinking" and the fairness of their judgement. He concluded by kneeling before the court. The accused followed suit.

At times the court is used to ridicule a man who should have known better than to bring a case against his former "wife". Such situations occur often and the accused loses his case because the court points out that they cannot usefully settle such affairs.

In the case below a man came as the accuser but left as the accused.

The Muluka chief was absent, but his assistant presided. The attendance was twenty-five people, including the headmen, one of whom was very drunk.

The first legal case to be dealt with was that of a man, K., who had gone to the house of his former wife by a free marriage and demanded to see his son. When he got there he began to fight with his wife who claimed that he had never before been interested in his son. In the process of fighting he tore a good part of his wife's clothes and did damage to her property. At first the man came to the court as the accuser, but the court made him the accused and the woman N. the accuser.

N. : I accuse Mr. K. of attacking me at my home and inflicting bodily harm on me and of tearing my clothes and blankets. One day this gentleman was my husband in a free marriage. He came to my home and not finding me at home he inquired after me from my mother. My mother directed him to a beer party where I had gone for a drink. He followed me there. When he saw me he tried to buy a bottle of beer, but I did not accept it. He then inquired after his son. I answered him that I was surprised that he was taking an interest in his son now which he has not been doing before for he never provides him with anything. That annoyed him and he started fighting with me. I ran back to my house and he followed me there and tore my dress. That is all I have got to say.

Headman: Has the gentleman got anything to ask the lady?

K. : No.

Headman: Do you accept the charge?

K. : I do not. I went to that lady's house as a visitor but not as an aggressor. I never tore her clothes.

Assistant

Chief: I do not think that this court can do anything about the case. We have got to send them to Mengo Police right now.

K. : I am quite ready to be imprisoned.

The assistant chief wrote a letter to the Mengo police and gave it to the woman. At the conclusion of this case a man came up and said that some man had just been caught committing adultery. The court sent K., the askari, to arrest the person. However, it was getting dark and K. reported that the culprit had agreed to come to the chief the next morning. On closer questioning it was found that the culprit had given K. 50/- and asked him to keep the matter quiet. A great deal of informal discussion followed the above case after the council had formally concluded its business. The assistant chief said that women will always turn against a man and that it was not good to bring a case against women. Another one said that no man has a claim to his child if it is not from a legal marriage. Turning to the accused, a headman asked him whether he could prove that it was really his child. They all laughed and left the court.

Quite often cases deal with the real or imagined suspicions of one person about another. In cases of suspected witchcraft the court deals with the matter with the greatest interest.

There were between 150 and 170 people present when the court opened at 5.15 p.m. The residents had heard that a case of suspected witchcraft was to be dealt with. S. was the accuser and K. was the accused. Both were Ganda males.

S. : I accuse Mr. K. of the following charges

1. attacking me at night in my house and
2. bringing charms to my house.

Asst.

Chief: Mr. K., do you accept these serious charges?
Should we take the case to Mengo right away?

Crowd: No, we want to hear the case. We do not like people dealing with charms in Mulago.

K. : I deny all the charges. I think they are very bad lies. (K. looked in a sorry state. He had a clean white bandage around his head. Both his eyes were very badly swollen and he was holding his head up).

Chief: Where are the charms?

The Assistant Chief went to his house and fetched them from his room. They consisted of the following articles: 1. one pair of sandals; 2. a light green soda bottle in a piece of barkcloth and tied with a string; 3. inside the bottle were a number of green herbs; and 4. an old English newspaper.

Chief: Whose pair of sandals is this?

K. : They are mine.

Crowd: We do not like to have witchdoctors in our village. This was followed by general laughter.

Headman: How did your pair of sandals get to the accuser's house?

Chief : No, let us first hear the accuser's case.

S. : It was about 11 p.m. when I heard someone trying to open the door of my house. The door of my house is made of papyrus and when I heard the noise I asked who it was who was opening the door. I received no answer. I asked a second time and again I received no answer. So I got up with this metal bar (he showed the bar to the court—it was a yard and a half long and half an inch thick) and hit the unknown person twice until he ran away. When I looked on the ground near my door I found these things deposited at my doorway. In the meantime, I gave the alarm and Mr. P. came to my aid. That is all.

Chief : What is the accused person's story?

K. : I was beaten by this gentleman, not at his house but at the house of one of his neighbours as I was passing on my way to somewhere. It was about half-past nine when he beat me. I was walking on my sandals which are here before you now. I have never been to this man's house that night and as to the charms, I do not know anything about them.

Asst.

Chief : Why did you try to run away when this fellow made an alarm?

K. : I was running to the hospital because I was losing a lot of blood.

Chief : This court has no power to try such a case as this one. So I must give you a letter which will introduce you to the Mengo Police.

Crowd : No, let us try the case.

Asst. Chief: We have no authority.

K. : The doctor has ordered me not to walk around too much. So I cannot go to Mengo, perhaps on Monday.

Chief : The court cannot give you that permission not to go to Mengo today. You may carry out the doctor's orders, but our business is to write that letter now.

The people attending the court were rather disappointed at seeing that the case was not to be tried here and there was a great deal of shouting and agitation to press the court to investigate further. When the assistant asked the chief why he had broken off the trial so abruptly, he said that it was his experience that it was not a good thing to try such cases as the result would be that the accused or the accuser would take revenge on some members of the court. He himself had considerable respect for K., the accused, as the latter's reputation was that he had the power of *mayembe* (see page 149 fn. 2). K. was employed at the Mental Hospital, but had set himself up as a local doctor and money lender.

In another case, dealing with the suspicions of a woman about her former lover, the court settled the case in favour of the woman.

In this case, the accuser and the accused were Rwanda people. The former was a man and the latter a woman. The man accused the woman of "stating false things about me to other people. She said that I do not like her and that I always go to her house at night and privately listen in to what she says."

Chief : (to the accused). Are you prepared to have a case with this man? And if so, what do you have to say in your defence?

Accused: I am prepared. I will start by telling you the circumstances that led up to the case and then afterwards I will make my statement of the case. First of all, this man for some time past was my lover. So much so, that I even went and cooked for him for two days. Afterwards we agreed to part company. Since that time he has never liked to see me. I have for that reason rented houses in four different parts in order to avoid him, but he has from time to time been coming to my house at night. He just stands outside and listens, probably to find out whether I am sleeping with other men. I do not know. About four days ago he again came to my house at night. I saw him when I was going for a short call. I raised an alarm and the lady houseowner saw him too. That is all.

Headman: Have you anything to say against what the lady has said?

Accuser : I have, and plenty of it too. In the first place, I agree that this lady has been my lover once and that she stayed with me for some time and then we parted company, but I disagree with her when she says that I always go to her house at night and listen in.

Chief : Let the house-owner come and say something too. (The house-owner stood up). Have you been here all the time? This was a mistake. You should not have been listening to what has been said. However, let us hope and trust that in your talk you will not be influenced by what has been said.

House-owner: Four days ago that gentleman was at our house at night. I saw him after the accused had raised an alarm. My friend had gone out to make a call. Afterwards the accused told me that this gentleman was her lover before. The accused has been staying at my house for a fortnight.

Headman: I think that this is sufficient evidence to show that the accuser has nothing to say against the accused. He certainly loses the case.

Headman: I certainly agree with what A.M. has said. If the accuser still loves the lady he should make it clear. Otherwise he should allow her ample freedom.

Chief: This council decides the case against the accuser.

Accuser: I do not love the lady any more. I do not care for her. I have got money. I can get another woman if I want to.

Those present at the council laughed and the case was concluded. There are times when cases other than thieving, fights, doing bodily harm, or speaking ill of another person arise. Problems of land holding, adultery and alienation of children from their legal father or mother, are not treated with any greater sense of importance or formality. Such a case as the alienation of a child from its legal parents brings up the whole panorama of a disrupted social order. The council does not recognise this, although an attempt is made to correct the wrong which has been done.

A woman appeared before the council in great agitation. She did not observe the custom of waiting to be asked what her case was, but she interrupted the chief who was at the time dealing with other matters. She was followed by a man who tried to drag her away from the council. She hit him so he let her go. He sat down on a bench and listened to what she had to say.

The case concerned that of two Rwanda people, a man and a woman. The man, H., accused the woman of alienating his child, a son, from him and giving it to another man.

Accuser: I accuse this lady, my wife by a free marriage, of giving my child—nine months old—to another man who happens to be my wife's former husband by a tribal marriage. I got this wife on the 7th August, 1952¹ and she gave birth to this baby on the 5th February, 1953. All this time my wife never said anything to the effect that the child was not mine. I looked after both mother and child before and after delivery. Now she informs me that the child is not mine.

Accused: I got married to my first husband some time in May, 1952. And I separated from him in November, 1952. When I separated from him I was already with my child in my womb. And when I got married to my present husband (free marriage), I feared to tell him about my pregnancy by the former husband, for he would not look after me well as my former husband was away in a far away country.

1. The Assistant Chief questioned both parties for a long time about the dates of marriage and child birth. Both parties insisted that these dates were correct. The confusion which resulted made it even more difficult to arrive at a solution agreeable to both parties.

1st Headman: Where is your former husband now?
(The former husband stood up and was questioned by a headman).

What do you know about this lady?

Former H: I know that she was my wife by a tribal marriage. I married her on the 17th May, 1952 and we separated on the 23 November, 1952. After separation I went on a transfer somewhere. Before we separated I had impregnated her with child. But she was delivered in my absence. When I came back and found her delivered of that child, I also found this wife at that man's home. I take the child to be mine.

2nd Headman: How did you know that your former wife was with child when you separated?

Former H.: My wife told me.

3rd Headman: How old was the pregnancy before or rather when you separated?

Former H.: About four months.

Landowner: A doctor should be consulted.

1st Headman: The court would like to see the father of the accused. The case cannot be decided now. We shall continue it next Saturday.

The following Saturday the case was continued, but the father of the accused had not shown up although he lived within a mile of Mulago.

Asst. Chief: Where is your father? (to the accused woman)

Accused: He could not come.

Asst. Chief: How is it that you tell your second husband that the child is not his, a thing you never told him before?

Accused: It is because I have separated from him.

Asst. Chief: Does your separation of marriage mean a loss of child on the part of your husband?

Accused: Silence.

1st Headman: Of what clan is the second husband?

Accused: Ngo clan.

1st Headman: It is high time that we decide this. For reasons which we have seen, the case is definitely against the mother.

2nd Headman: The case is in the mother's favour for without the help of a doctor it is the mother who is to know and to tell us to whom the child belongs, for in spite of having slept with many men a thousand times she can still know which of those men impregnated her. And so in such doubtful cases it is the mother who is to decide.

Asst. Chief: As far as this court is concerned, my decision is final and it is the following. The case is definitely against the mother for she accepted treatment from her second husband without ever mentioning anything of the fact that the child was not his, in spite of the treatment she was getting from him.

The second husband kneels on the ground and thanks the court.

The above case speaks for itself. It highlights many aspects not only of the working of the court such as the apparently arbitrary process of decision-making and the breaking off of evidence just at a point when it might be relevant, but also of ideas and attitudes to a problem which is almost a daily event. Many cases could be quoted to show the internal inconsistencies and the respect for information known to be false or highly coloured.

It was noted in Mulago that even the better educated, the semi-skilled or skilled workers and the shopkeepers, who are less mobile and have a high stake in the local community, rarely if ever attend the meetings of the parish council. When asked why, they express the feeling that they would get nothing out of it for themselves. One Ganda shopkeeper said that only uneducated and stupid people go to parish meetings. He also clearly objected to the fact that non-Ganda people sat on the council and brought their cases to the court. Another Ganda, a painter, said that he did not see any use in going to the court and taking part in the administration of the parish because everybody did as he pleased in any case. Still another man objected to being given orders by the chief and the headmen whose standard of education was far below his own. He preferred to take orders, such as digging a latrine or constructing a clean kitchen, from the owner of his land. Once, when the parish chief had told him to construct a latrine, he had abused the chief and told him that he himself knew more about health matters than anyone else in the village. When a parish election was being held, one of the most prominent parishioners, who is a doctor, sent a message to say that the electors should not consider him as a candidate as he was not at the moment interested in political activities, he was interested in money and his medical practice. The apathy may well be due partly to the knowledge that issues which are really deeply felt are not only beyond the competence of the parish court but will actually be choked off by it. When a Ganda accused the representative of an important landowner in Mulago of having asked for several hundred shillings key-money, the court ruled that the steward was speaking for the landowner, the landowner could ask for anything he liked and that if the plaintiff took the case right up to the Kabaka's court he would be told the same thing. The plaintiff hit upon one of the sorest spots in the social system, a matter which the ordinary people really feel strongly about, but the court members feared to incur the disfavour of a landowner from whom they themselves received, directly or indirectly, a number of benefits.

The Mulago headmen themselves often did not turn up to public meetings. Their average attendance at the Saturday meetings was three out of eight. Though, being officially unpaid, they cannot be expected to devote themselves to their duties full-time, attendance at one meeting a week can scarcely be considered a very arduous duty. The chief once called a special meeting and impressed upon the headmen the importance of weekly attendance. Two of them had been continually absent, with the result that instructions on the planting of *paspalum* grass, forthcoming visits by officers of the Buganda and Protectorate Governments and other important matters had never reached them. The chief considered that their wards were therefore not being effectively administered. He informed the headmen that they were obliged by law to attend and that if any of them missed four successive meetings he would be liable to dis-

missal. One culprit pleaded sickness, displaying a tropical ulcer on his leg; another was the owner of two plots, one being in another parish where he had also been appointed a headman. The sick man was let off with the warning that if he was fit enough to walk about he could just as well attend meetings; the other was advised to resign from office in Mulago and retain his position in the other village.

The general apathy and very low degree of participation by the great majority of residents in parish affairs contributes to the weakness of the urban parish administration and itself proceeds from the high mobility and ethnic heterogeneity of the population. As always, it is not the heterogeneity intrinsically that matters, but the lack of any widely agreed scale of values for the systematic ordering of relationships between persons of different ethnic origin, of different skin colour, different wealth or different occupation. There are only incomplete and conflicting views and attitudes on these matters, without any authoritative organ of reconciliation.

The parish chief's power of arrest is most frequently used against tax defaulters. If a chief knows when he is going to institute a tax drive he can call in a Buganda Government police constable to assist him. Otherwise, the constabulary of the Buganda Government are stationed at the Kibuga and other sub-county headquarters and are not available at short notice to assist in parish affairs.

It was noted in Mulago that arrests were often made in the most informal and apologetic manner. The parish chief and his deputy once appointed their own constable (askari), who served unofficially as a jack of all trades. This enterprising person, at once house builder, washerman and butcher, acted as general messenger and policeman. When a case of robbery, assault or fighting occurred, he was dispatched with orders to arrest the offender. In the case of a thief the residents usually take the law into their own hands and escort the culprit amid kicks and jabs to the chief's house. A few months ago there was a quarrel between this unofficial parish constable and the deputy chief. The latter dismissed the constable and no replacement has been found. This Mulago experiment in appointing a constable, for whom there is no official provision, indicates again the profits to be derived from parish government, even when unpaid, and also perhaps an effort by the parish authorities to improve their administration.

Whereas both the Protectorate and Buganda Governments lay most emphasis on the duties of the parish chief in carrying out orders, collecting tax and controlling crime, the parish administrators themselves feel that they have the responsibility of civilizing the non-Ganda immigrants and indoctrinating them with the Ganda way of life. With the latter itself in a phase of uncontrolled transition this obviously offers no serious guide to behaviour under urban conditions. Naturally many Ganda residents use the immigrant population as a scapegoat for the evasion of personal responsibility for the problems of urban life.

Interviews of a sample of Mulago residents stratified by tribal affiliation showed that many people do not think of the chief and headmen as either the most important or popular members of the community. Good education and religion, rather than the chief and his headmen, were mentioned as bulwarks of law and order. The administrative system is held in low esteem and regarded as open to manipulation by individuals for

their own advantage. The county and sub-county chiefs complained after visits to Mulago that residents did not feel it above their social position to abuse them.

The lowlier members of the administrative machine, such as ward headmen and the various parish constables, health inspectors and other unofficial functionaries devised from time to time, are attracted into it primarily by the possibilities of moderate gain associated with a life which is pleasant to them in relation to any other available opportunities, and which offers them a certain degree of power and prestige within small neighbourhoods. Apart from a few old men who acquired their position before the occurrence of many of the changes described, parish chiefs are attracted to the difficult and complicated task of urban administration chiefly as an opportunity to demonstrate qualities which may in time earn them promotion up the ranks of the Buganda bureaucracy. During the recent period of open tension between the Buganda and Protectorate Governments over the deportation of the Kabaka, chiefs have been in the awkward position of having to try to serve two masters.

5. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The problem of social control in Kisenyi and Mulago is part of the problem which confronts Kampala, and indeed Uganda as a whole. Crime is made easier, and its prevention, detection and punishment more difficult, by the lack of social cohesion and sense of mutual responsibility in the community at large. The very wide variations in wealth, education and political power, combined with the lack of any stable and accepted system of stratification which would render such differences comparatively harmless,¹ the tendency to identify differences in these spheres with differences of race to which violent animosities are attached, the rampant suspicions and extreme gullibility of the African urban masses with their great heterogeneity, high mobility and the accompanying difficulty of identification, all these factors make the maintenance of law and order an intractable problem, since the necessary co-operation from the community is unlikely to be forthcoming, and the formal mechanisms of detectives, police and prisons imposed from above cannot of themselves be adequate.

There are two major facets to this problem. In what may be called the primitive situation there are always well organised small scale groups based on the family, descent groups, neighbourhood units and associations of a very localised type. All of these groups have a large stable core, the personnel of which changes comparatively slowly and mainly in accordance with the natural cycle of birth, mating and death, the cultural interpretation of which is closely integrated with the structure of the social groups and their recruitment. Hostilities and tensions engendered within these small groups are usually projected with considerable success outside them. This creates a high degree of internal cohesion. It is difficult for the average individual to commit what are considered as major wrongs on fellow members of his own group, and such outbreaks as may occur are provided for by generally accepted formal procedures of restitution and reconciliation, which are easily enforced by the weight of opinion of those on whom the individual relies for his own security. The projection of hostilities outside the small groups increases the frequency of breaches between them, but here too, there is in such systems some recognition of

1. As in a caste system where the privileges of a particular group may be sanctioned by religion and considered as right even by those who do not enjoy them.

mutual bonds and responsibilities, and breaches are healed by methods which have the sanction of familiar and jointly accepted custom and tradition. Although this type of system is inadequate for the maintenance of order over wide areas, it evidently provides individuals with the minimum security considered necessary for the leading of a normal life in a very small-scale society. But it is a system that inhibits change, and is in fact destroyed by it.

In more complex societies the mechanisms continue to operate, but are supplemented by more specialised means of enforcement. Chiefs, nobles and other persons with some degree of concentrated power are able to maintain order over much wider areas. This wider order is accepted by the community as a whole because both the institutions and the persons through which the order is enforced and maintained are recognised as belonging to the same social and cultural system as the common people. In life goals, religious beliefs and general values there is a community of sentiment which renders this enforcement of order acceptable to the majority as a morally right and desirable supplement to the traditional small group system which continues to operate within the wider framework.

The significance of this excursus lies in the fact that all the African groups involved in the urban centres of Uganda are familiar with one or other of these two broadly described systems of social control, yet in the present urban context neither of them will work. The first type of system will not work because the urban situation is the obvious negation of the major prerequisites for its operation. The instability of marriage and family life, the rapid turnover of the urban population, the confusion of many tribal backgrounds and the babel of tongues render it quite out of the question. The second type of system is at present equally impossible. For the enforcement of order beyond the small group level we might look either to the Buganda Government, which has a wide constitutional responsibility for the maintenance of law and order among the whole African population of Kampala,¹ or to the Protectorate Government, which has the ultimate responsibility and which alone has the power of enforcing order between the different racial groups, native and non-native.

The Buganda Government is at present incapable of adequate enforcement of order. One reason is that the ultimate sanctions to authority traditionally used in Buganda are considered too cruel and barbarous, and have been prohibited by the Protectorate Government and replaced by other sanctions intended to be more civilised. A thief no longer has his ear or hand cut off by the order of authority, but he should go to prison or pay a fine. However, as is well known, the African public feels defenceless against crime and this feeling finds frequent expression in the bloody and sadistic beating up of thieves who are caught by the mob. This is a survival, out of its context, of the system of self-help which was accepted as legitimate in the primitive small group political organisation referred to above.

At least as potent a reason for the helplessness of the Buganda Government is that it lacks respect. It lacks respect because it has a reputation for corruption and inefficiency even among the Ganda themselves. In addition to this, the Africans of other tribes, who constitute the majority of the urban population, do not recognise the Buganda Government as having any full political control over them. This is particularly true of those, again the majority, who do not stay long enough in Kampala to have any

1. Only murder and cases involving non-natives are excluded from its competency.

real motive for integrating themselves into the local African (i.e. Ganda) political system. Though at present they have no alternative, such people do not accept the mission of the Buganda Government to civilise African foreigners by turning them into good Ganda.

The Buganda Government was traditionally a patrimonial system in which political relations were based on gift giving and the exchange of services and privileges between patrons and their clients who entered into personal relationship. After 50 years of modification by subjection to Protectorate control, the Buganda Government still retains the same essential basis. However much chiefs have tended to become civil servants, they are not primarily so. First and foremost, they are Kabaka's men, or Katikiro's men, or some chief's men, and if they try to work within the system on some other basis they are usually broken by the inertia of more traditional behaviour going on around them. But in the urban context, where relations are commercialised and impersonal, gift giving turns into bribery, and the patron and client relationship into graft and corruption. The corruption which, as the people know, lies at the heart of their own local administration is attributed by them also to the whole governmental machine since it seems to them the normal basis of administration, and this further hinders reform.

Two points should be strongly emphasised. It is impossible for any one individual to revolt against or change the system from within, and it would be unfair for any particular individual within it to be blamed for what is part and parcel of the whole. It is the structure of the system which requires to be changed. Secondly, any change for the better will mean a heavy increase in expenditure. A considerable part of the urban area lies outside the boundaries of the Municipality of Kampala, and, by this exclusion, the Municipality has been relieved of the burden of what would undoubtedly be the most costly part of the urban area to administer well. A portion of the cost of increased police forces, borne by the Protectorate Government, and of the health services financed by the Municipal Council, is used for this urban area which lies outside the Municipal boundary, but, except for this, the responsibility for administering an urban area without any of the increased financial resources which urban administration usually requires has fallen to the Buganda Government alone.

Moreover, the Protectorate Government could not solve the present problem of law and order by acting directly, instead of through the medium of the local authorities of the Buganda Government, without greatly increased expenditure, and, what would be more serious, without running counter to the whole trend of administrative policy in relation to Local Government. The only alternative seems to be a Local Authority specially designed to deal with urban conditions. This would have to be an African Local Authority, but it would have to be one respected by the non-Ganda elements which are increasingly numerous in the area and capable of drawing them in. It would require financial assistance for instituting urban services in accordance with modern standards and also the best technical advice to enable it to run them efficiently. It would also need to devise some system of small group organisation and representation which would bring home to the ordinary individual his share of the responsibility for order and improved services. For without this satisfactory administration is impossible.

Hitherto, the townsfolk of the Kibuga have received practically nothing in the way of those amenities and services now normally associated with life in an urban community. But, on the other hand, no attempt has

been made to extract any urban rate from them or in any other way to raise the revenue essential for modern urban administration. The Kibuga population as a whole may therefore very well be said to have got what it has paid for, and the Buganda Government to have done a cheap job.

The Buganda Government was traditionally a patrimonial system in which political relations were based on gift giving and the exchange of services and privileges between patrons and their clients who entered into personal relationships. After 50 years of modification by submission to colonial control, the Buganda Government still retains the same general basis. However, with the new model of taxation (the 1925 system) they are not primarily as patrons and townsmen, they are Kibuga's men, or Kibuga's men of some distinction, and it may be said that within the system on some extent they are usually broken by the action of the traditional relations going in around them. In the urban context, where relations are commercialised and impersonal, gift giving, patronage, and the patron-client relationship are still and especially the corruption which is the political life of the Buganda Government. The corruption which is the political life of the Buganda Government is also the normal basis of administration, and machine men in terms of the normal basis of administration, and this further binds them.

Two points should be strongly emphasised. It is impossible for any individual to revolt against or change the system from within, and it would be difficult for any particular individual within it to be blamed for what is part and parcel of the whole. It is the nature of the system which requires to be changed. Secondly, any change for the better will mean a heavy increase in expenditure. A considerable part of the urban area lies outside the boundaries of the Municipality of Kampala, and in this extension the Municipality has been relieved of the burden of what would otherwise be the most costly part of the urban area to administer. A portion of the cost of increased police forces, borne by the Protectorate Government, and of the health services financed by the Municipal Council is each for the urban area which lies outside the Municipal boundaries, but except for the responsibility for administering an urban area without any of the increased financial resources which urban administration usually requires has fallen to the Buganda Government.

Moreover, the Protectorate Government could not solve the present problem of law and order by acting directly, instead of through the medium of the local authorities of the Buganda Government, without greatly increased expenditure, and what would be more serious, without running counter to the whole trend of administrative policy in relation to local government. The only alternative seems to be a Local Authority specially designed to deal with urban conditions. This would have to be an African Local Authority, but it would have to be one respected by the Uganda elements which are increasingly numerous in the area and capable of doing as they see fit. It would require financial assistance for maintaining urban services in accordance with modern standards and also the best technical advice to enable it to run them efficiently. It would also need to develop some system of small group organisation and representation which would bring home to the ordinary individual his share of the responsibility for order and improved services. For without this satisfactory administration is impossible.

Finally, the townships of the Kibuga have received practically nothing in the way of those amenities and services now normally associated with life in an urban community. But on the other hand, no attempt has

APPENDIX I

ATTITUDES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE SURVEY

The Ganda population of Kampala and its neighbourhood is exceedingly suspicious. Sinister motives are regularly attributed to the simplest activities of Europeans. It is natural enough that they should be more suspicious than the members of foreign tribes because their stake in local affairs is so much greater. The most widely prevalent suspicion is that concerning the general security of *mailo* land. The landowners themselves are not the most suspicious. Nor are those, both land owners and customary tenants, who have actually received liberal compensation for *mailo* land which has been acquired for public purposes. But instances of this seem to fan the flames of the wildest suspicions among the common people in other parts of the country.

To judge from past experience in Buganda, the peasantry have more to fear from landlords of their own tribe than from Europeans, as far as their security on the land is concerned. This suggests that the question of land may provide a convenient focus for the general insecurity feelings of the common people, and Europeans are substituted as an easier scapegoat than the ruling classes of their own tribe.

This general state of suspicion, particularly in relation to land, has prevailed in central Buganda for at least ten years. But the Kampala Survey was unfortunate enough to hit upon a period characterised by even more virulent suspicions and hostility towards European activity in general. When the field work began in 1953 the Ganda public was pre-occupied with the issue of European dancing for Africans. The agitation in favour of the Katikkiro's attempted ban on this type of dancing probably expressed the Ganda sense of helplessness in the face of the breakdown of familial authority and of traditional codes of marital and sex behaviour. But it also had in it a strong element of race feeling. Ganda were angry at seeing their womenfolk serve the pleasure of Europeans and Asians when no reciprocal exchange of European or Asian women was seen to occur. The European demand for African women had greatly increased, and this was associated by the Ganda with the coming of men of other European nations previously little represented in the East African population, though it might be more correct to relate it to the post-war increase in the numbers of Europeans of the artisan class. The excitement gradually died down and then rose to a new peak at the deportation of the Kabaka and the events following upon it. From that time onwards Ganda opinion in Kisenyi hardened into an unprecedented hostility towards Europeans and everything connected with them. Members of other tribes felt less strongly on the subject and talked less about it, but comparatively few opposed the Ganda view. It became distinctly unpatriotic and almost immoral to express any other feeling but that of hatred towards Europeans. These tides of popular emotion are more relevant in the case of Kisenyi than they might be in many other places, because in the beer bars, especially, and also in the hotels, tea-rooms and shops, these topics are constantly aired, new underhand motives perceived in Government policy, new rumours spun and circulated.

Fortunately, the bulk of the fieldwork was finished before the Kabaka's deportation, and it was mainly checking and amplifying that remained to be done.

The survey, as such, aroused various speculations as to its ultimate purpose. Shortly before it started, the vernacular newspaper, *Gambuze*, had published a commentary on a report of the Uganda Department of Medical Services in which attention was drawn to the difficult problems arising in parts of East Africa from rapid increases in population. This had a very sinister ring, and was taken to be an argument for sterilising the Africans. How was it that so many Europeans could be accommodated without difficulty, it was asked, if there was not enough room for Africans in their own country? When the survey started in Kisenyi one of the suggestions made by people there was that it was part of this rumoured sterilisation campaign. Rumour requires no basis in logic, or the idea that the Kisenyi population requires sterilisation would evoke the ridicule it deserves. The view that the survey would result in the people of Kisenyi being driven out of their land was frequently encountered. Some old residents earnestly begged us to tell them when the expulsion would take place, so that they could make their plans accordingly. A more reasonable fear was that it was part of a drive against prostitution, and that those women who could not prove that they had husbands would be expelled. The simple idea that the survey was an attempt to discover the habits of people of many different tribes and what was happening to them as a result of coming to live together was much too straightforward for most of the ordinary residents to accept. If no ulterior motive was given, one must be invented, so many simply retained a vague fear that, though they could not understand what we were after, evil was sure to come out of it in the long run. However, most of the non-Ganda had little objection to the work. The Luo were particularly friendly, especially when addressed in their own tongue, and all Kenya people seemed to appreciate the point of such a study easily and to be prepared to co-operate in it.

The fact that the background of feeling was so unfavourable did not mean that it was impossible to establish friendly relations with individuals. Indeed, there were comparatively few who did not respond to the personal touch. But since close relations can only be achieved with a very small minority in a large and mobile population, the friendships made had practically no general effect on the outlook of the masses of the people. In Mulago, so far from the work becoming impossible because of the high state of tension, it was noted that, in a sense, members of the community were more willing to talk, if only about the political situation. The power structure of the community changed. There was a new solidarity among the Ganda, an increased antipathy towards immigrant tribes and a tendency for the emergence of new leaders, especially of mass opinion, such as those who let their beards grow in mourning for the absent Kabaka and set about collecting funds from all and sundry with the declared object of using them in the campaign for his return.

APPENDIX II

METHODS OF WORK

The investigation in Kisenyi was based on the interviewing of every household in the area chosen. For these interviews, the schedule attached to this Appendix was used. The information contained in answers to the questions on the schedule was regarded as minimum basic information which it was desirable to collect in systematic form. A great deal of extra information was written on the backs of the schedules and in notebooks which the interviewers took round with them.

The aim was to use as few interviewers as possible, so that they would become intimately acquainted with the area and its people and so able to study the network of relationships between them, as well as any significant changes which might occur during the period of the investigation. Four different interviewers were actually used, but one of these only for one month. The other three were all able to get to know the area really well.

Much of the quantitative material given in this report has been picked out in a preliminary way to enable the report to be made available without delay. The final results are awaiting Hollerith analysis which, to save expense, has to be done for all the projects in the survey at the same time.

The area covered by the Mulago survey comprised some 165 acres out of the total parish area of 642.47 acres, including both the most thickly populated area and some very rural parts. The rest of the parish was also covered by random interviews. These did not show sufficient ethnic or occupational divergence to justify the extension of the survey. The only matter of interest, as was to be expected, was that in the rural parts a greater number of people owned their own houses and also a greater number had customary holdings (*bibanja*).

The difficulties of direct questioning are clear, particularly when they are linked to those of a strained political situation. It is therefore to the credit of the research assistants that only seven individuals (single men and single women) in Mulago completely refused to co-operate. In Kisenyi also, the patient persistence of the interviewers secured the basic information from all householders, though occasional refusals were met with in answer to certain questions, while other responses were grudgingly given and their accuracy was suspect. As a questionnaire may be described as a frontal attack upon an individual which can hope to bring out little more than a good deal of "public" information, it was agreed that a great part of the research would have to be along the lines of community and family participation. This was certainly very important if the study of Mulago was to be anything more than a counting of heads and houses. Although it is not conventionally the most important function of sociologists to investigate such peripheral subjects as religion, magic and medicine, it became evident from the start that these and other aspects played an important part in the life of the community. In fact the place of the irrational in thought and action, of tension and rumour, of short-lasting joys and perpetual conflict, presents such complicated problems for the research worker that only the most eclectic kind of approach can yield any meaningful results. In terms of method it has meant that a great deal of time has been spent in talking to people, in visiting in their homes and in eating with them. It has also meant that we have had to listen to endless and often trivial complaints, and hence become the emotional buffers for inner con-

flict and confusion. A permissive attitude on the part of the research worker, particularly vis-à-vis the immigrants, is essential if the barriers, not only of race, but also of fear, suspicion and outright antagonism are to be broken down. Above all, the use of a questionnaire alone can never tell us how the individual or the family reacts in thought and action to the life of the town with its new demands. This seems particularly true of immigrants who, fearing the domination of the Ganda, are likely to be particularly suspicious. In fact it was not unusual to find, on our first visits, that doors were locked against us, and in one extreme case the person to be interviewed moved away to another village. Some time later on, this man told us that he had heard that all Madi (he was a Madi) people were to be arrested by us.¹ Upon having the research explained to him he was quite willing to co-operate.

The questionnaires and our direct participation in community life brought in a good deal of information, but so did other methods, such as keeping of diaries, an essay competition and the answers to a letter (containing 17 questions) which was sent to some fifty villagers of all walks of life and various tribes. As these three methods all depend on the informants' 17 questions) which was sent to some fifty villagers of all walks of life and various tribes. As these three methods all depend on the informants' ability to read and write, it is clear that this group can hardly be thought of as a scientifically selected random sample. Yet the range of attitudes and ideas was wide. It is proposed to use an additional method of research in the future, namely to construct certain test situations and ask members of the parish *lukiko* (council) to debate them and to judge them. This would bring in a great many of the illiterate members of the community. It also seems relevant to mention that one of the research assistants has attended nearly all the weekly parish council meetings for well over one year.

Mention must also be made of the range of error. No statistical method has yet been used to measure this error. When atmosphere is charged with tension, suspicion and fear it would be foolish to assume that one could obtain great reliability. However, a great deal of error was avoided from the start because the African research assistants were on the whole well informed and well acquainted with the pattern of life in an urban area. Further, repeated visits to the homes of the informants established a certain amount of confidence between interviewer and informant with the result that the latter were more willing to give honest information. Gradually as the community got to know us an almost eager response "to be written" developed. Under such circumstances frankness was considered the key to ingratiation. Also the suspicion which goes with "being counted", particularly where children are concerned, was suddenly reduced when the story was circulated that the research workers were "from the welfare people". On the other hand, there was no doubt that the assistants were not always told about previous marital separations due to the fact that the European attitude to separations is being increasingly adopted. Finally,

1. Such rumours circulated for some weeks despite the fact that we gave our work considerable publicity. Not only were we introduced to the villagers by the county and sub-county chiefs, but the purpose of our work was published in at least one of the vernacular papers. In addition the parish chief introduced us to many individuals in the course of our first two months' work. We also attended every village council meeting to take the opportunity to tell the villagers why we had come to the village. Although occasionally there was opposition from among those who attended the meetings (particularly as the political situation was very strained) on the whole we were well received everywhere.

repeated cross-checking over all the data helped still further to reduce the possibility of gross errors. Had it not been for prolonged and involved participation with individual families and the community as a whole, the information obtained on the basis of the questionnaire would have been of little scientific use.

A record was kept of the number of people who attended council meetings on August 8th, 1953, October 5th, 1953, April 24th, 1954, June 20th, 1954 and July 3rd, 1954.

August 8th, 1953

1. The parish chief and three batwologs, the Representative of the People, and the "Expert".

2. In the course of the meeting several more people came (7) who did not stay the whole time.

October 5th, 1953

1. The parish chief, all the batwologs, the Representative of the People and the deputy parish chief.

2. To this particular meeting, although held in public and on Saturday afternoon, no member of the public was admitted. This was so because the parish chief wanted to deal with a letter which he had received from some of the batwologs complaining about the conduct of his deputy towards their members.

April 24th, 1954

1. This day, all the batwologs, the Representative of the People, the "Expert", the deputy parish chief and the Representative of the People were present. There were a great many other people present, due to the fact that the gonwologola chief had previously announced that he would visit Mwangi this day. The subject matter to be discussed dealt with the distribution and sale of sugar and beer brewing.

	Ganda	Rwanda	Toro	Nyoro	Other	Total
M	10	11	2	4	12	29
F	10	8	4	0	9	31

June 20th, 1954

1. The parish chief, his deputy and one batwolog. There were only four other people there throughout the one and a half hours of the council meeting.

July 3rd, 1954

	Ganda	Toro	Kiga	Others	Total
M	2	2	2	4	10
F	2	2	2	4	10

(All were the exception of one Ganda woman)

In addition to the great lack of interest in the council meetings, Saturday afternoon is the most popular time to frequent the many beer bars. At least some of those who sit in the beer bars are seen on occasions (mostly when they have no money to buy beer) at the council meetings.

APPENDIX III

ATTENDANCE AT MULAGO PARISH COUNCIL

A record was kept of the number of people who attended the parish council meetings on August 8th, 1953, October 31st, 1953, April 24th, 1954, June 26th, 1954 and July 3rd, 1954.

August 8th, 1953

1. The parish chief and three *batongole*, the Representative of the People, and the "Expert".
2.

<i>Ganda</i>	<i>Rwanda</i>	<i>Toro</i>	
3	2	4	(all men)
3. In the course of the meeting several more people came (7) who did not stay the whole time.

October 31st, 1953

1. The parish chief, all the *batongole*, the Representative of the People and the deputy parish chief.
2. To this particular meeting, although held in public and on Saturday afternoon, no member of the public was admitted. This was so because the parish chief wanted to deal with a letter which he had received from some of the *batongole* complaining about the conduct of his deputy towards them.

April 24th, 1954

1. This day, all the *batongole*, the Representative of the People, the "Expert", the deputy parish chief and the Representative of the Traders were present. There were a great many other people present, due to the fact that the *ggombolola* chief had previously announced that he would visit Mulago this day. The subject matter to be discussed dealt with the distribution and sale of sugar, and beer brewing

2. <i>Ganda</i>	<i>Rwanda</i>	<i>Toro</i>	<i>Nyoro</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
19	11	5	4	12	51
M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	
10 9	8 3	4 1	4 0	9 3	

June 26th, 1954

1. The parish chief, his deputy and one *mutongole*. There were only four other people there throughout the one and a half hours of the council meeting.

July 3rd, 1954

1. The parish chief, his deputy and two other *batongole*.
2.

<i>Ganda</i>	<i>Rwanda</i>	<i>Toro</i>	<i>Kiga</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
5	3	2	2	4	16

(All were men with the exception of one Ganda woman)

In addition to the widespread lack of interest in the council meetings, Saturday afternoon is the most popular time to frequent the many beer bars. At least some of those who sit in the beer bars are seen on occasions (mostly when they have no money to buy beer) at the council meetings.

APPENDIX IV

ATTENDANCE AT BEER BARS IN MULAGO.

A count of the number of people present in the bars, analysed by sex and tribe, was taken on two Saturdays in the month of July 1954; the first one on the 17th July and the second one on the 31st July.

(A.) On the 17th only six bars were open between the hours of 3.30 and 5.30 p.m.

Bar	Ganda		Rwanda		Toro		Luo		Nkole		Nyoro		Others		All	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	5	1	4	4							2	1			11	6
2.			16	1			1				1				18	1
3.	10	2	4	3							2				16	5
4.	1		2	2			6	2							8	5
5.	1	1					5								6	1
6.	8	2	1		7	1	4								20	4
															79	22
															Total: 110	

(B.) On the 31st the picture was somewhat different. There were eleven bars in operation; again the research was done during the same hours.

Bar	Ganda		Rwanda		Toro		Luo		Nkole		Nyoro		Others		All	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	8	2	4		5	1	2				2	4	8		28	8
2.	4	7	7	2	1	15	7								26	17
3.	11	4	9	4	3	3	2						4	1	30	17
4.		3	18	2	7	4			1		3	1			29	10
5.	5		7	1									6	2	18	3
6.	3	1	5	3							2	2			10	6
7.	4	5	9	6	2	4	15	6					2		32	21
8.	10	8	2		4										16	8
9.	4	1			5								4	4	13	5
10.	1		2												1	2
11.	6	3	1						1				7	2	14	6
															217	97
															Total: 314	

APPENDIX V.

DAILY LIFE IN MULAGO.¹

23rd November: A doctor and a health inspector visited the village. They inspected the shops and sleeping houses. They found much that was unsatisfactory.

Mulago is never free from incidents at night. During this night thieves invaded the village and there was shouting and crying from every corner of the village. One thief was nearly arrested at the back of my house, but he managed to escape. The dogs kept on barking the whole night and we had scarcely any sleep. Every minute it seemed that these robbers might break in one of the houses and kill the occupant who might try to defend himself.

24th November: The chief topic in shops where I had the chance of calling was the great shortage of sugar. Some people seemed to think that the reason for the shortage of supply of sugar might be due to some smuggling going on without government notice. The pound of sugar to cost 85 cents was more than poor Africans could withstand.

25th November: At around 8.30 p.m. a cry of alarm was heard coming from the side of the ground. Those who went there informed us that a certain Luo was raping a girl of tender age. The man had succeeded to run away. The young girl was taken to the hospital.

Again the same incident happened near my house when my neighbour wanted to rape his sister-in-law. But that act was not noised abroad. Only the neighbour heard it.

26th November: The evening was marked by a very entertaining match between Kyebando Junior Secondary School and Kigowa. This match was enthusiastically attended by all lovers of the game. Both sides showed very fine game and the last whistle at around 4.30 found the scores 4 to 3. Kyebando really deserved her victory.

29th November: Our usual wrestling match was not as fine as usual. Few people attended it. The evening for most people was spent in drinking, fighting and quarrelling.

1st December: A wonderful incident took place yesterday when the time was approaching 9 p.m. A man, employed by the Uganda Water Supply, found his wife sleeping with another man in his bedroom. He found them in the very action by surprise. The man made an attempt to escape but as he had nothing on he could not run away. The woman was filled with shame. After many blows had been given to the man and the woman they were brought to the chief (*ow'omuluka*). The woman refused to talk and was carried by K. on his back. A great multitude assembled at the *muluka* court. They were pressing so hard on the woman that the *muluka* chief was forced to close his door and dismiss all the crowd.

4th December: People start their usual routine after five days of mourning. The beer clubs are open and people are drinking. Gramophones which had been forgotten now resume their work of supplying music.

1. Extracts from diary kept by Francis Mirro, a teacher living in Mulago.

8th December: Last night one lunatic escaped from the Mental Hospital and the whole night he shouted and called upon the doctor. He abused anybody whose name he came to know.

15th December: An arm was found just a few yards from your office lying about. Nobody could tell where or how it came there. People suspect that a thief might have lost that arm at night, because there were cries of alarm at night. Some say it might have been brought by a dog from the Hospital. This last idea is supportable but why did the dog, after carrying it several yards, leave it there untouched? It was taken in the police van late in the evening to the Police Station.

11th December: There was a fight late in the evening between a Luo and a Rwanda. They were both drinking beer in a certain beer house. They both loved one woman and a decision had to be reached as to who would take the woman. This had not been arrived at when blows were exchanged. Beer pots were broken, tumblers were crushed and the whole multitude was in uproar.

Again another notable incident happened during the night. I was awakened by a barking dog just outside my cubicle. When I opened the door I found a man who had dressed splendidly. He stood motionlessly. I did not attempt to go to ask him why he was standing there at such a late hour. I looked at him for at least thirty minutes before I got drowsy and went to bed. I never knew what happened to him or how he had come there or where did he go.

12th December: There was a wedding in the neighbouring village and most of the people chose to spend their evening at Kyebando. The night was filled with a lot of howling people.

13th December: This evening our lovely game of *Kigwo* which had ceased for the previous Sunday was resumed. It was enthusiastically attended by a great multitude of people. This was followed afterwards by a fine Kiganda dance given by two experts.

There is a bad habit at Mulago. Every Sunday evening or during the early hours of the night on Sunday many gentlemen or men find their way to Mulago to hunt for nurses. Everyone who secures one brings her to the football field in his car or on foot where there usually are a lot of romances. I was informed by an eye-witness that he had found two pairs one night in the actual action of intercourse. His words are worthy of belief.

16th December: Mrs. E., the owner of the buildings on the left side of our house, was arrested yesterday after being found in possession of "waragi" by a special detective from the Mengo Lukiko Police. Mrs. E. having been assured how grave the offence was, asked for an excuse promising that this was her first offence and that she would never do it again. The chief intervened on behalf of Mrs. E. but this could not change the mind of the detective. Mrs. E. cried and at last the man pitied her because he found out that he was a tenant in Mrs. E.'s brother's house. When Mrs. E. was returned the assistant *muluka* chief tried to make matters worse. He asked the detective to produce a warrant for the arrest of Mrs. E.; but the detective refused. It was long before the matter was settled.

Women who live in Mulago, especially in places where the population is very concentrated, have lost all fear of shame. Most of the

houses have no bathrooms so people can dare to wash in the bright light of the moon.

18th December: During the night a woman, crying terribly, was carried to the Chief's house. I learned afterwards that this woman had been given a good beating by her husband. She was on the verge of being murdered when she was rescued from him by a passer-by. The case, as I was told, was that the husband had found a letter from a man friend just under her bed. The man gave her a warning but she could not take it.

19th December: Special constables from Mengo Lukiko came to Mulago with two lorries in search of those people selling beer illegally. They arrested several men and women and they carried off beer pots which were put on the lorry. People went on drinking all the same. It would be appreciated if those people arrested should be allowed to leave their beer to the management of their friends, since such acts as giving it out ruins them. Some of them have no other employment and so when they are set free they have the burden of debts and some, since they had been thrown out of employment, start stealing or do some other havoc.

22nd December: It seems Christmastide has started already. People are rejoicing, drinking and doing all sorts of things. Late in the evening a man was brought to the *Muluka* chief who had beaten his wife to the last point. The man told his wife the same morning that he did not like her company any longer. He wanted to send her away with a three-month helpless baby. They were both Baganda. The woman refused but her husband insisted that if she did not go away he would murder her. This alarmed her and she was preparing to leave the husband when he confiscated all her belongings as well as her cash. The woman pleaded for the helpless baby that would perish with hunger if they were not to have money or would die of cold as they had no clothes at all. All these could not move the hard-hearted man and only encouraged him to beat his faultless wife. The cash was handed to the authority while the woman was taken to the hospital.

23rd December: Many people were heard singing psalms for the newly born baby. Others were drinking and some were talking about the Christmas—how they shall bring meat, matoke and other provisions fit for such an occasion. "The happiness shall not be in full," remarked one gentleman, "since we are all crying for our beloved king. We don't know whether we shall ever have him back."

25th December: Christmas evening was celebrated with great pomp. The beer shops were filled. Some *high families* chose to spend their evenings in the Green Valley, i.e., the valley behind Kitante courts others drove to the Botanical Garden, Entebbe, and the rest visited such bars as Happy Bar at Bwayise, Kamulu's Bar at Mengo, Kawoya's Bar at Kibuye.

27th December: At night a woman who opened up a new beer shop in the neighbourhood of your office was attacked by a certain woman whose name I don't remember. She accused the beer seller of having kept her husband in her house for three nights in succession. Before the beer seller could defend herself, she had already received a blow. If they were not helped by the bystanders, terrible fighting would have ensued.

I had a social evening on the same night in my room. It was attended by several nurses and dispensers. We drank and danced and in all we enjoyed a lovely evening.

- 29th December:* In Mulago there is a bad action of smuggling things from the hospital such as maize flour, beans, groundnuts, milk and tablets. These are usually smuggled at night and carried to shops after prior arrangements with shopkeepers and who get them sold. Most of those things you see filling shops are smuggled articles. A number of those smugglers have been caught. Some of them are imprisoned, some lose their appointments.
- 30th December:* The bar next door has started to give us a lot of inconvenience. Last night there were several fights. People had had their fill. Some were even running about crying.
- 31st December:* At around 11 p.m. a man whose face seemed to be familiar with me came running to the Parish Chief. He reported that several prostitutes had beaten him severely and that if he was not taken to the Hospital in time he would die soon afterwards.
- 4th January:* There was a sort of a dance organised by M. at his new shop. People assembled there in great quantity.
- 7th January:* Mr.N. has a son whom he has long suspected of stealing his money in small amounts. It happened today when the boy snatched some twenty shillings. The boy took it to a shopkeeper to buy one bottle of soda. The shopkeeper, failing to get change, told the boy to come afterwards for his change. The father acted strongly on the boy. He gave him twenty of the best and told him that he would slay him if he does not return the money. The shopkeeper came to hear of the case and told Mr. N. that that boy had brought a twenty shillings banknote in his shop, because he had failed to change it. Mr. N. paid for the soda and the banknote was returned to him.
- 11th January:* The night had been far advanced when we were awakened by shouting people. When I went outside, I was informed that there was a big hunt for prostitutes (*malaya*). Women were being thrown out of their houses. Every woman without a husband was regarded as a prostitute no matter whether she is being employed by the Mental Hospital, etc. Before dawn no less than 30 women had been collected at the *Muluka* chief's headquarters. This hunt, which was called by the *Gombolola* chief himself, was a discredit to his personality. At this time of mourning, when people are lamenting for their king, such things should not happen. In addition, the women regarded as prostitutes were not prostitutes in the actual sense of the word. Others, outstanding prostitutes such as Miss N., were left out. This made all the people very discontented.
- 14th February:* There was a terrible fight which nearly resulted in murdering of the woman next to our room. The woman has made several men friends. These men friends were to cause more trouble than she expected. Every man claimed her as his lover and what followed were blows which were exchanged. One man got hold of the woman and said to her that this day must be your last day. Had K. not helped in time there would have been no chance of her seeing the next day. The man had locked her in doors and was now giving her many blows.
- 25th February:* Mulago sustained a loss of a woman called M. She was all right during the day. At night she was heard screaming in her room from where she was taken to the Hospital where she died soon afterwards. She was buried by a great number of mourners on the next day at Mulago.

TABLE I
POPULATION KISENYI
MALE Age (in Years) **FEMALE Age (in Years)**
(Tribe by Age and Sex)

Tribe	MALE Age (in Years)										FEMALE Age (in Years)										Sex not stated 0-1 Yrs	Total by Tribes
	0-1	2-5	6-15	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	61 & over	Not stated	0-1	2-5	6-15	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	61 & over	Not stated				
Not stated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	7	
Ganda	20	21	43	44	104	79	29	3	6	19	19	28	72	168	128	24	9	3	—	819		
Luo	14	11	13	55	108	60	8	—	4	5	10	5	18	36	15	—	—	—	—	362		
Toro	—	1	9	30	50	25	4	1	3	—	—	8	18	16	5	—	—	—	—	170		
Haya	—	—	4	8	26	25	4	1	2	1	1	1	8	33	23	1	—	—	—	138		
Rwanda-Rundi	2	3	5	11	16	28	3	—	2	2	4	8	1	13	19	1	—	—	—	118		
Teso	—	—	2	3	9	17	1	—	2	—	—	—	1	3	8	—	—	—	—	46		
Nubian	—	5	3	8	16	5	2	—	—	—	2	—	3	5	—	2	—	—	—	51		
Nkole	—	—	2	—	5	3	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	15		
Acoli	—	—	1	2	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	9		
Kiga	—	—	2	6	8	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	22		
Luyia	—	2	2	1	10	5	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	28		
Lugbara	—	1	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	6		
Gishu	—	—	2	2	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10		
Arab/Somali	—	2	5	3	3	4	4	—	1	—	1	4	—	5	3	1	—	1	—	37		
Indian	2	1	4	4	3	6	7	—	2	3	2	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	38		
Halfcaste	8	9	11	4	6	1	—	—	2	8	8	8	3	7	—	1	—	1	1	78		
Uganda Bantu	—	—	2	4	12	10	3	—	1	—	—	4	5	6	1	4	—	—	—	52		
Uganda non-Bantu	—	1	7	5	13	6	3	—	—	—	2	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	40		
Kenya	2	1	4	2	9	9	1	—	—	2	1	—	2	10	4	1	—	—	—	48		
Tanganyika	—	—	1	1	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	14		
All others	—	1	4	2	14	13	2	—	1	—	—	1	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	46		
AGE TOTALS	48	59	126	195	423	313	72	5	33	40	52	68	136	312	214	37	10	9	2	2154		

TABLE II
POPULATION MULAGO
MALE Age (in Years) **FEMALE Age (in Years)**
(Tribe by Age and Sex)

Tribe	Not stated	MALE Age (in Years)										FEMALE Age (in Years)										Total by tribe
		0-1	2-5	6-15	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	61 & over	0-1	2-5	6-15	16-20	21-30	31-45	46-60	61 & over					
Not stated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Ganda	4	15	16	31	44	85	80	19	7	1	13	18	28	47	107	98	27	2	642			
Luo	—	3	5	6	11	26	11	1	—	—	2	2	—	4	12	2	—	—	85			
Toro	—	2	1	3	12	23	17	6	2	—	1	5	1	4	12	5	3	1	98			
Haya (Ziba)	—	1	1	3	2	8	2	3	—	—	—	3	—	1	3	—	1	—	28			
Rwanda-Rundi	—	6	14	13	11	57	46	17	1	—	6	9	8	6	26	15	2	—	237			
Teso	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4			
Nubian	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	5			
Nkole	—	2	—	1	2	4	5	5	1	—	—	1	—	2	4	6	1	—	34			
Acoli	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4			
Kiga	—	1	3	3	14	34	16	4	—	—	1	2	—	1	6	2	—	—	87			
Luyia	—	1	—	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	9			
Lugbara	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3			
Gishu	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4			
Arab/Somali	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1			
Indian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Halfcaste	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1			
Uganda Bantu	—	1	3	2	3	11	8	3	4	1	4	2	1	3	13	5	1	—	65			
Uganda non-Bantu	—	2	—	1	—	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	12			
Kenya	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	4			
Tanganyika	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	8			
All others	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	8			
AGE TOTALS	4	35	44	68	100	263	201	59	15	2	29	43	40	71	188	138	35	4	1339			

TABLE III
POPULATION PYRAMID - KISENYI

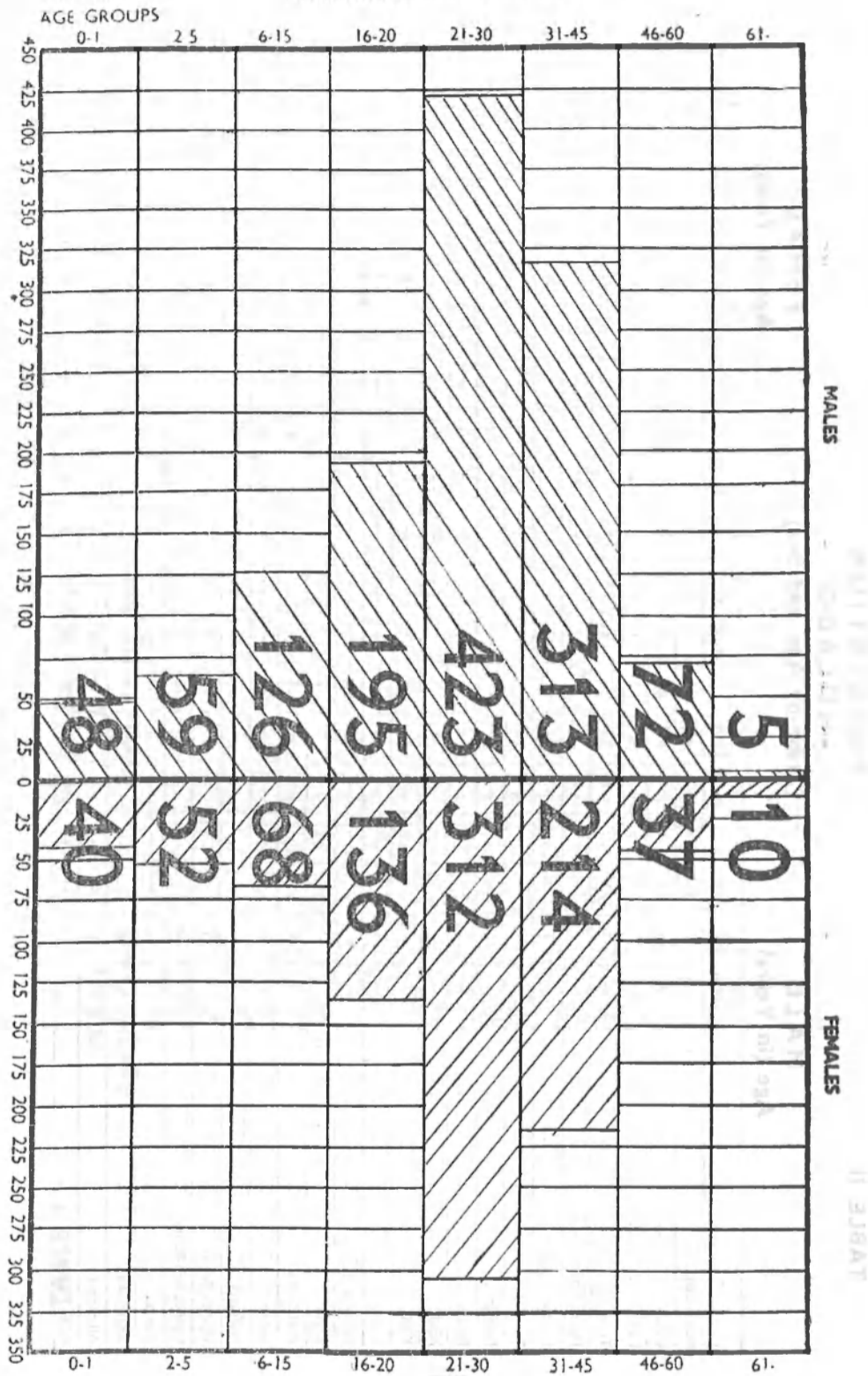


TABLE IV
POPULATION PYRAMID-MULAGO

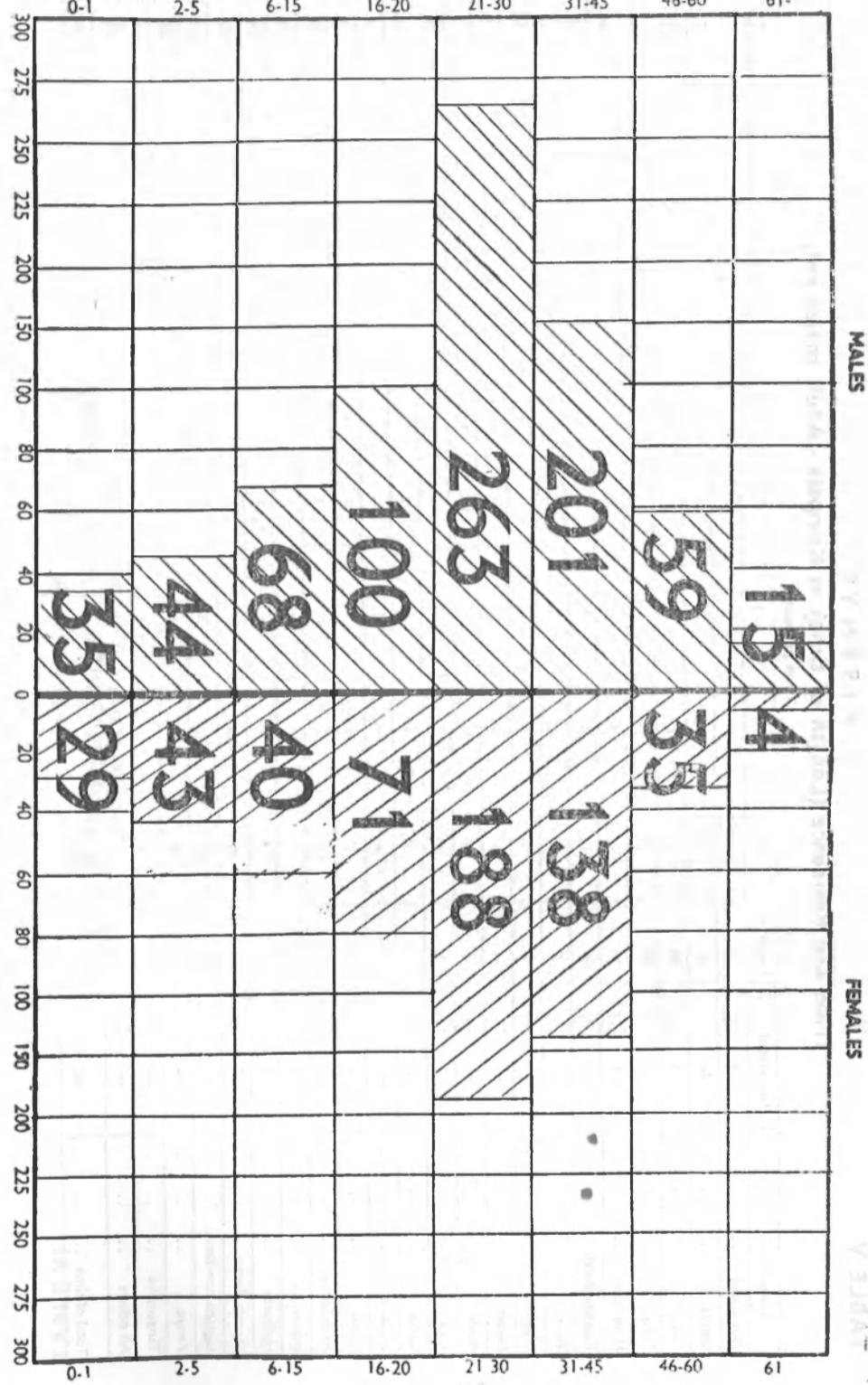


TABLE V

KISENYI

Tribe and Residence (Length of time) in Kampala - Adult males only

Tribe	Time (in years)									
	Not stated	0-11 months	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-20	21 & over	Total by tribe
Not stated	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Ganda	16	51	54	39	11	20	11	40	23	265
Luo	5	99	81	21	12	5	4	6	1	234
Toro	5	35	39	15	11	1	5	2	1	114
Haya (Ziba)	1	25	17	6	5	2	2	5	2	65
Rwanda-Rundi	1	10	14	8	5	2	3	8	7	58
Teso	1	8	9	2	3	1	—	5	3	32
Nubian	—	3	12	6	3	1	—	3	2	30
Nkole	—	2	3	1	1	1	—	—	1	9
Acoli	—	4	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	7
Kiga	2	5	10	2	—	—	—	—	—	19
Luyia	3	7	2	2	1	1	—	1	1	18
Lugbara	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4
Gishu	1	1	2	—	2	1	1	1	—	9
Arab/Somali	1	5	3	2	—	1	—	1	2	15
Indian	2	1	5	3	4	2	—	3	4	24
Halfcaste	3	1	5	—	1	—	—	1	3	14
Uganda Bantu	1	3	11	6	1	3	—	3	1	29
Uganda non-Bantu	—	10	5	2	2	2	1	5	—	27
Kenya	—	4	10	3	1	1	1	2	—	22
Tanganyika	—	3	3	3	—	1	—	—	—	10
All others	—	2	13	7	1	—	1	5	3	32
Total of time	46	282	300	128	66	45	29	91	54	Total of adult males (16 & over) 1041

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TABLE VI

MULAGO

Tribe & Residence (Length of time) in Kampala Adults Males (16 & over) only

Tribe	Time (in years)									
	Not stated	0-11 months	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-20	21 & over	Total by tribe
Ganda	8	60	43	27	23	7	9	36	25	238
Luo	—	27	12	6	2	1	—	—	—	48
Toro	—	17	12	7	4	4	1	9	6	60
Haya (Ziba)	—	5	4	1	1	—	—	4	—	15
Rwanda-Rundi	1	27	25	12	16	9	7	27	9	133
Teso	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Nubian	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nkole	—	10	—	1	1	1	1	3	—	17
Acoli	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Kiga	1	17	22	12	8	2	1	2	4	69
Luyia	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	3
Lugbara	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Gishu	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	3
Arab/Somali	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Indian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Halfcaste	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Uganda Bantu	—	4	7	2	2	1	2	7	3	28
Uganda non-Bantu	—	2	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	6
Kenya	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
Tanganyika	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	4
All others	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	5
Total by time	10	177	133	72	59	26	23	92	48	640

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TABLE VII Composition of Mulago
Population by Male/Female and by Percentages

Ganda		Ganda		Ruanda		Ruanda		
% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F
632	309	323	245	167	78			
46%	49%	51%	17.8%	68%	32%			
Nkole		Nkole		Nyoro		Nyoro		
% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F
40	25	15	67	37	30			
2.90%	62.5%	37.5%	4.80%	55%	45%			
Toro		Toro		Kiga		Kiga		
% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F
100	67	33	82	69	13			
7.2%	67%	33%	5.8%	84%	16%			
Luo		Luo		All other tribes		All other tribes		
% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F	% of Total Population	M	F
85	63	22	127	88	39			
6.10%	74%	26%	9.5%	69%	31%			

TABLE VIII MULAGO
Tenants and Houseowners by Sex and Tribe
(Heads of Households only)

Tribe	Male		Female		Total by Tribe
	Tenants*	House owners	Tenants*	House owners	
Ganda	128	57	63	56	304
Luo	34	—	—	—	34
Toro	39	9	5	3	56
Haya (Ziba)	9	3	—	1	13
Rwanda-Rundi	85	34	2	9	130
Teso	2	—	—	—	2
Nubian	1	—	—	—	1
Nkole	12	2	2	—	16
Acoli	1	—	—	—	1
Kiga	39	7	1	—	47
Luyia	3	—	—	—	3
Lugbara	3	—	—	—	3
Gishu	1	—	—	—	1
Arab/Somali	1	—	—	—	1
Indian	—	—	—	—	—
Halfcaste	—	—	—	—	—
Uganda Bantu	19	6	2	5	32
Uganda non-Bantu	5	1	—	1	7
Kenya	2	—	—	—	2
Tanganyika	3	2	—	—	5
All others	3	1	—	—	4
TOTALS	390	124	75	75	664

*Including those people who live rent-free, but are not houseowners.

K I S E N Y I
Crowding: Density of Population per Room

TABLE IX

I. Single room households (551)

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Luo	Haya	Toro	Rwanda	Teso	Nubian	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	63	32	28	37	7	2	2	38	209	216
	1 child*	2	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	7	
2	2 adults	57	43	16	22	13	12	6	41	210	227
	1 adult + 1 child	9	3	1	—	—	—	1	3	17	
3	3 adults	13	10	1	6	—	—	—	7	37	78
	2 adults + 1 child	16	12	3	2	—	1	—	6	40	
	1 adult + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	21
4	4 adults	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	4	
	3 adults + 1 child	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	5	12
	2 adults + 2 children	—	5	—	—	—	—	2	5	12	
5	5 adults	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8
	4 adults + 1 child	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
	3 adults + 2 children	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
	2 adults + 3 children	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	
6	6 adults	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

i.e. * 15 years or under

II. Two room households (123)

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Luo	Haya	Toro	Rwanda	Teso	Nubian	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	17	3	1	2	2	—	—	10	35	35
2	2 adults	20	1	3	1	1	—	2	9	37	42
	1 adult + 1 child	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	5	
3	3 adults	7	2	—	1	—	—	—	7	17	28
	2 adults + 1 child	4	—	1	—	2	—	2	2	11	
4	4 adults	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	11
	3 adults + 1 child	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	
	2 adults + 2 children	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	
	1 adult + 3 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	
5	5 adults	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
	4 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
	3 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
6	6 adults	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
	2 adults + 4 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
	1 adult + 5 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	
7	4 adults + 3 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
	2 adults + 5 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	
10	3 adults + 7 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1

III. Three Room Households (33)

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Luo	Haya	Toro	Rwanda	Teso	Nubian	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	9	9
2	2 adults	10	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	11	12
	1 adult + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
3	2 adults + 1 child	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
4	4 adults	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3
	2 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
5	3 adults + 2 children	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4
	2 adults + 3 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	
8	3 adults + 5 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

IV. Households with Four Rooms or more (29)

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Luo	Haya	Toro	Rwanda	Teso	Nubian	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	5
2	2 adults	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	7
	1 adult + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
3	3 adults	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	5
	2 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
4	3 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
5	4 adults + 1 child	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4
	3 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	
6	5 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
	5 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
7	3 adults + 4 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3
	2 adults + 5 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	
8	4 adults + 4 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
	1 adult + 7 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
11	4 adults + 7 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1

TABLE X

MULAGO

Crowding: Density of Population per Room

I. Single Room Households

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Rwanda	Toro	Kiga	Luo	Nkole	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	79	46	22	15	6	7	30	205	207
	1 child*	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	
2	2 adults	49	16	13	19	11	3	9	120	142
	1 adult + 1 child	14	3	3	—	2	—	—	22	
3	3 adults	2	1	—	1	1	2	1	8	33
	2 adults + 1 child	4	3	—	1	6	1	7	22	
	1 adult + 2 children	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	
4	4 adults	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	16
	3 adults + 1 child	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	3	
	2 adults + 2 children	2	2	—	—	3	1	2	10	
	1 adult + 3 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
5	5 adults	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	6
	3 adults + 2 children	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	
	2 adults + 3 children	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	
7	3 adults + 4 children	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

* i.e. 15 years or under

Total 405

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II. Two Room Households

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Rwanda	Toro	Kiga	Luo	Nkole	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	32	15	3	3	—	1	7	61	62
	1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
2	2 adults	18	10	7	4	1	1	5	46	51
	1 adult + 1 child	3	1	—	—	—	—	1	5	
3	3 adults	3	—	1	—	—	—	1	5	24
	2 adults + 1 child	9	3	2	—	—	—	2	16	
	1 adult + 2 children	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	
4	4 adults	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	12
	3 adults + 1 child	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	
	2 adults + 2 children	1	2	1	—	—	—	2	6	
	1 adult + 3 children	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	
5	4 adults + 1 child	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	2	7
	3 adults + 2 children	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	
	2 adults + 3 children	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	4	
6	3 adults + 3 children	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

Total 157

237

III. Three Room Households

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Rwanda	Toro	Kiga	Luo	Nkole	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	7	5	1	1	—	—	1	15	15
2	2 adults	8	3	—	1	—	—	3	15	18
	1 adult + 1 child	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	
3	3 adults	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	13
	2 adults + 1 child	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	7	
	1 adult + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
4	4 adults	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
	3 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	
	2 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
5	2 adults + 3 children	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
6	2 adults + 4 children	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	2

TOTAL 54

IV. Households with Four Rooms or more

No. of persons in each household	Distribution by age	Ganda	Rwanda	Toro	Kiga	Luo	Nkole	All others	Total Households	Grand Total Households
1	1 adult	13	1	—	—	—	—	—	14	14
2	2 adults	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	20
	1 adult + 1 child	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	
3	3 adults	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	6
	2 adults + 1 child	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	3	
	1 adult + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
4	4 adults	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	11
	3 adults + 1 child	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	3	
	2 adults + 2 children	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	
	1 adult + 3 children	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	
5	4 adults + 1 child	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
	2 adults + 3 children	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	4	
6	5 adults + 1 child	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
	4 adults + 2 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
	3 adults + 3 children	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	
	2 adults + 4 children	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	
8	3 adults + 5 children	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
11	4 adults + 7 children	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
TOTAL									64	64

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TABLE XI

KISENYI

Distribution of Self-Employed by Occupation and Tribe

Occupation	Ganda	Haya	Luo	Toro	Rwanda	Kikuyu	Nkole	Nubian	Teso	Gishu	Arab	Indian	Nyoro	Luyia	Soga	Kiga	Total
Beersellers ..	58	2	—	2	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	67
Shopkeepers ..	19	6	4	2	1	3	—	2	—	—	2	2	—	—	1	1	43
Charcoal sellers ..	12	30	—	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	51
Matoke sellers ..	28	2	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	34
Stallsellers ..	14	—	3	1	5	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	26
Cobblers ..	9	—	12	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	26
Hotelkeepers ..	12	1	—	—	2	1	2	—	—	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	22
Tailors ..	9	—	15	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	29
Launderers ..	3	1	16	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
Hawkers ..	8	2	5	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	21
Carpenters ..	6	1	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	19
Butchers ..	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	16
Matmakers ..	9	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	12
Watersellers ..	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	7
Barbers ..	11	—	—	1	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	18
Blacksmiths ..	3	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Traders ..	11	—	5	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
TOTAL ..	224	47	69	19	18	10	3	9	6	2	7	4	6	7	6	3	

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TABLE XII

M U L A G O

Occupation by Sex and Wages

MALE (Adult—16 & over)

FEMALE (Adult—16 & over)

Wages (in Shs. per month)

Occupation	Not stated	None	1 29	30 49	50 74	75 99	100 149	150 199	200 399	400 999	1000 & over	Not stated	None	1 29	30 49	50 74	75 99	100 149	150 199	200 399	400 999	1000 & over	Total by Occupation
Not stated	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
None	—	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	286	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	321
Unskilled	8	1	3	94	105	35	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	3	11	13	2	—	—	—	—	—	279
Unskilled self-employed	9	—	6	8	18	8	8	2	1	—	—	9	—	10	20	12	5	2	2	—	—	—	120
Supervisory	—	—	—	—	3	5	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
Skilled	14	—	—	4	43	25	27	25	15	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	158
Skilled self-employed ..	8	—	—	—	8	3	5	11	5	—	—	4	—	2	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	53
Domestic Servant	3	—	2	6	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Clerical	1	—	—	—	3	5	6	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Professional & Managerial	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	10	9	8	2	—	—	—	33
Professional & Managerial self-employed ..	9	—	—	—	7	5	7	5	13	5	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	54
Property owner	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	9
Wages Total	61	36	11	112	189	88	61	50	37	6	3	21	286	16	40	43	19	12	4	—	—	—	1095
Total of Adult Population																						1095	

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TABLE XIII

M U L A G O

Average Income per month per Occupational Category

	Unskilled Employed		Unskilled Selfemployed		Skilled Employed		Skilled Selfemployed		Supervisory		Professional & Managerial		Professional & Managerial Selfemployed		Domestic Servants		Clerical		Property owners	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Number of people ..	252	22	55	55	180	3	34	12	15	0	10	30	41	7	11	2	20	0	3	4
Average income p.m.	58/24	43/82	86/98	61/66	126/86	45/00	104/19	50/69	90/28	0	139/58	75/00	119/57	47/91	53/35	45/00	140/70	0	97/50	43 50
Total average	51/00		74/32		85/93		77/44		90/28		107/29		83/74		49/17		140/70		70/50	

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<p>Unskilled employed</p> <p>Hospital cooks Porters Office boys Cleaners Hospital sweepers Nightwatchmen Shepherd</p>	<p>Shop assistant Shop boy Turnboy Gateman Waiter Coffee packer Latrine digger</p>	<p>Unskilled Selfemployed</p> <p>Beer sellers Prostitute Matoko sellers Food sellers, etc. Odd job man Fish seller</p>	<p>Skilled selfemployed</p> <p>Dancer Charcoal sellers Water seller Newspaper seller</p>	<p>Skilled employed</p> <p>Masons Nursing orderly Telephone Operator Carpenter Driver Butcher Builder Mechanic Hairdresser</p>	<p>Professional & Managerial Selfemployed</p> <p>Painter Plumber Telegraphist Cobbler P.O. Messenger Brickmaker</p>	<p>Domestic Servant</p> <p>Dhobi Tailor Seamstress Carpenter Blacksmith Builder</p>	<p>Property owner</p> <p>Painter Matmaker Cobbler Motto maker Driver Mechanic</p>	
<p>Supervisory</p> <p>Sanitary Inspector Headman Medical Assistant</p>	<p>Storakeeper (hospital) Market Master Bus conductor</p>	<p>Professional & Managerial</p> <p>Nurse Research Assistant Medical Dispenser Koran Instructor</p>	<p>Chief Warden Laboratory Assistant Laboratory Technician</p>	<p>Professional & Managerial Selfemployed</p> <p>Shopkeeper Doctor Trader Cotton & Coffee Grower</p>	<p>Bar owner Cattle seller Butcher Hotel keeper</p>	<p>Domestic Servant</p>	<p>Property owner</p>	<p>Clerical</p>

TABLE XV

M U L A G O
FOODS
Tribe (by household) & Staple food

TRIBE	Plantain	Sweet Potato	Maize	Cassava	Rice	Chapati	Plantain and Sweet Potato	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Rice	Plantain, Cassava	Sweet Potato, Maize	Sweet Potato, Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Maize	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Maize, Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Cassava, Rice	Sweet Potato, Maize, Cassava	Plantain, Maize	Plantain, Rice	Maize, Cassava	All other food combinations*	Not Stated	TOTAL by Tribe	
Ganda	50	1	6	—	—	—	92	48	46	2	1	—	5	3	12	—	4	10	1	8	27	317	
Luo	—	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	34
Toro	7	—	11	—	—	—	16	3	4	1	—	—	4	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	6	58
Hayya (Ziba)	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	12
Rwanda-Rundi	14	3	37	—	—	—	14	9	2	—	13	4	6	1	—	6	4	—	1	4	9	127	2
Teso	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Nubian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nikole	1	1	4	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Acoli	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Kiga	3	2	13	—	—	—	5	3	1	—	3	1	4	—	1	5	3	—	—	1	—	6	51
Luyia	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Lugbara	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Gishu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Avab/Somali	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Indian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Halicaste	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Uganda Bantu	4	2	5	—	—	—	8	2	1	1	—	1	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	30
Uganda non-Bantu	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Kenya	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tanganyika	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
All others	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Food Totals	83	9	118	—	—	—	138	70	56	4	18	9	26	8	14	14	17	10	4	23	57	678	

*All other food combinations possible (15) which were found to have 3 or less households each.

Number of tribally mixed households—66

TABLE XIV
KISENYI
Tribe (by household) and Staple Food
FOODS

TRIBE	Plantain	Sweet Potato	Maize	Cassava	Rice	Chapati	Plantains and Sweet Potatoes	Rice and Chapati	Sweet Potato and Maize	Plantain and Maize	Plantain and Rice	Maize and Rice	Maize and Chapati	Plantain and Chapati	Sweet Potato and Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Maize	Plantain, Rice, Chapati	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Rice	Maize, Rice, Chapati,	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Rice, Chapati,	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Maize, Cassava	Plantain, Sweet Potato, Cassava, Rice	All other food combinations*	Not stated	TOTAL by Tribes		
Ganda	199	2	6	—	2	—	69	—	2	8	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	376
Luo	1	1	147	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	171
Toro	20	1	29	—	1	1	8	2	2	12	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	94
Haya	35	—	12	—	—	—	6	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	76
Rwanda-Rundi	4	1	11	—	—	—	7	1	1	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	7	54
Teso	5	2	7	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	25
Nubian	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	5	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	25
Nikole	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Acoli	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Kiga	5	1	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Luyia	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Lugbara	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Gishu	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Arab/Somali	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Indian	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Halfcaste	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
Uganda Bantu	13	—	7	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29
Uganda non-Bantu	3	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Kenya	2	1	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
Tanganyika	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
All others	2	—	5	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22
Food Total	304	10	263	—	8	3	100	29	13	40	28	6	6	5	5	23	24	25	17	4	5	6	4	20	—	82	1030	

*All other food combinations possible which were found to have 3 or less households each.

Number of tribally mixed households—145

BASIC QUESTIONNAIRE

KAMPALA SURVEY (1) House No. (2) Household No. Interviewed by: Date: F.C. Completed:

Near: (3) Names (4) Here P/A (5) A/A (s) Sex M/F (6) Age (7) Kinship (8) County, Country (9) Parish Village (10) Clan, Tribe (11) Faith C/P/M/O (12) Class (13) Schools

1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										

HOUSING (14) Floor mud/cement (15) Walls mud/brick/wood (16) Roof corrugated/debe/thatch/tile (17) Latrine separate/shared (18) Kitchen outside/none (19) No. of rooms (20) Rent of rooms	(21) Owner (22) Date (23) Cost of house (24) Builder (25) Plot owner: (26) Plot rent: (27) Meals: T L T D Kind	FOOD WEEKLY (28) Meat () (29) Milk () (30) Fish () (31) Eggs () (32) Butter () (33) Kimbo () (34) Ghee ()	(35) Bell Beer () (36) Native Beer () (37) Home food () POSSESSIONS—whose No. (38) Chickens () (39) Goats () (40) Sheep ()	(41) Cattle () (42) Bicycle () (43) Motorcycle () (44) Car () (45) Gramophone () (46) Wireless () (47) Houses () (48) Sewing Machine ()
---	---	--	--	--

LAND

(49) Inherited (I) (50) Given (G) (51) Bought (B) What use is made of land	(52) Acreage:3/3/	(53) Date	(54) Price or Value	(55) Place: Village: Country:
---	----------------------------------	-----------------	---	---

MARITAL HISTORY

(56) Spouse's Names:	(57) Clan	(58) Date	(59) Type C/M/T/F	(60) Marriage Payments cows goats money (+)	(61) Children born alive M/F	(62) Spouse Separated/Dead S/D	(63) Date
1st.....							
.....							
.....							

If separations have taken place find out why (63) Any other payments:

RESIDENCE, EMPLOYMENT, INCOME, VISITS AND REMITTANCES

64) Residence.....

65) Employment and Income.....

66) Visits since coming to Kampala.....
 67) Remittances: (68) Why did you come to Kampala?

64) Residence.....

65) Employment and Income.....

66) Visits since coming to Kampala.....
 67) Remittances: (68) Why did you come to Kampala?

64) Residence.....

65) Employment and Income.....

66) Visits since coming to Kampala.....

67) Remittances: (68) Why did you come to Kampala?

A. 0—49/- B. 50—99/- **INCOME GROUPS**
 C. 100—199/- D. 200—399/- E. 400—999/-

FAMILY HISTORY

Names	(72) Alive A/D	(73) Clan	(74) Land Acres	(75) Place/county/village	(76) Occupation and Income	(77) Father/Mother M/S
(69) Father.....						3/1
(70) F's Father.....						3/2
(71) M's Father.....						3/3
(69) Father.....						3/4
(70) F's Father.....						3/5
(71) M's Father.....						
(69) Father.....						
(70) F's Father.....						
(71) M's Father.....						

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GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR TERMS AND WORD USAGES

lu = Luganda word. sw. = Swahili word.

These abbreviations indicate that the terms concerned are given in the form currently used in Luganda or Swahili speech. No account is taken of the obvious fact that many roots have been adopted into Luganda or Swahili from other languages, especially Arabic and Hindustani.

- askari: sw. Soldier. Used especially of native police forces such as those of the Buganda Government.
- ayah: sw. A woman employed as a nursemaid, sometimes used generally of all female domestics.
- bakama: lu. pl. of *Mukama*, the title of the hereditary rulers of a number of the Interlacustrine Kingdoms, such as Bunyoro, Toro and Bukoba.
- balokole: lu. "The saved ones". The name of a revivalistic movement within the Protestant Missions.
- balubale: lu. pl. of *lubale*, a spirit or deity.
- banana: Used especially in the sections on Mulago in reference to the cooking variety of bananas which elsewhere are called plantains.
- batongole: lu. pl. of *mutongole*. A grade of officials in the Ganda local government hierarchy, here translated as ward headmen.
- (O) bulo: lu. Eleusine, or finger millet.
- busulu: lu. Rent.
- butongole: lu. The office of a ward headman (*mutongole*). See *batongole*. *kitongole*.
- bwana: sw. Master, Sir.
- concubinage: The state of being a concubine. The phrase 'free marriage' is used of this in the sections on Mulago.
- concubine: A woman who cohabits continuously with a man, in a common domestic menage, without benefit of any formal marriage contract, tribal, Christian, Muslim, or otherwise.
- debe: sw. Any tin, but especially the four gallon tins in which paraffin is sold.
- dhobi: sw. A laundryman.
- dini: sw. Religion, creed.
- e-: For vernacular terms so prefixed see under their second letter.
- ganda: lu. The basic root, here used wherever possible unprefixes for simplicity, prefixed in speech according to the number and class of thing denoted: *muganda*, *baganda*, *kiganda*, *biganda*, *buganda*, *luganda*.
- ggombolola: lu. A unit in the Ganda local government system, here translated as sub-county, a subdivision of a *saza*.
- hotel: Used in Luganda for eating houses, not for places at which it is possible to spend the night.
- kabaka: lu. The hereditary ruler of Buganda, usually translated as king.
- kabotongo: lu. Syphilis.

- kansulo: lu. The Luganda version of the English term council.
- kasanvu: lu. Forced labour.
- kasoli: lu. Maize.
- katikkiro: lu. The Chief Minister in the Buganda Government.
- kibanja: lu. Land held on customary tenure in Buganda.
- kibuga: lu. The headquarters, or capital, of the King of Buganda; hence by extension for any town.
- kidongo: lu. Beer made from the dregs of *kwete*, q.v.
- kiganda: lu. In the style of the Baganda.
- kigwo: lu. Wrestling.
- kirabo: lu. The Luganda version of the English word club. Used especially of officially authorised beer clubs.
- kitawuluzi: lu. The meeting hall of a parish (*muluka*) in Buganda.
- kitongole: lu. The same as *butongole*. The form used especially for the fiefs in the traditional feudal system of Buganda.
- kukiika: lu. To pay homage to a political superior.
- kwete: lu. Maize beer.
- lover: For convenience, this term is used in the sense now usually obsolete, to cover either men or women in sexual relationships which are casual and do not involve the establishment of a common menage, but are not so commercialised as to justify the label of prostitution.
- lubale: lu. See *balubale*.
- lukiko: lu. A council. Used especially of the tribal council of Buganda, but also at other levels such as the parish council.
- mailo: lu. The Luganda version of the English word mile, which has come to mean land held under the freehold title established by the Uganda Agreement of 1900.
- malaya: sw. A prostitute.
- malwa: lu. Millet beer.
- mandazi: lu. Rolls made of wheat flour and sugar mixed with water and cooked in deep simsim oil.
- matoke: lu. Plantains or cooking bananas.
- mayembe: lu. Horns used in divination.
- mbidde: lu. The variety of bananas used for making beer.
- mistress: This term is used of a woman who indulges in any type of sexual relation with men outside marriage.
- mu-: For words with this prefix see also the plural forms under ba-.
- (O)mukuluwe-Kibuga: lu. The Chief of the Sub-County of the Capital.
- muluka: lu. The divisions within a sub-county (*ggombolola*) translated into English as parish.
- mumyuka: lu. A title of rank within each grade of chiefs in the Ganda hierarchy.
- munanansi: lu. Pineapple beer.
- musale: lu. A title of rank within each grade of chiefs in the Ganda

hierarchy.

musigire: lu. The deputy of a chief, or steward of a landowner.

mutuba: lu. The common fig tree, from which bark-cloth is made. Figuratively, a title of rank within each grade of chiefs in the Ganda hierarchy, and also a level of subdivision within a clan.

muwanika: lu. Treasurer, one of the three chief ministers of Buganda.

mwalimu,

muwalimu: sw. A teacher.

mwenge: lu. Beer, especially the traditional Ganda banana beer.

nvujo: lu. Tribute to a chief in kind, such as beer and tithes of crops.

nziku lu. Gonorrhoea.

o-: For vernacular words prefixed with o-, see under their second letter.

plantain: Cooking bananas (*matoke*) the staple food of the Ganda.

porter: Used in East Africa since the days of head portage to denote any unskilled labourer (lu. *mupakasi*, sw. *mpagazi*)

P.W.D. The Public Works Department.

Ramadhan: An Islamic month of fasting.

sabaddu: lu. A title of rank within each grade of chiefs in the Ganda hierarchy.

sabagabo: lu. ditto.

sabawali: lu. ditto.

safari: sw. Journey.

saza: lu. One of the main administrative subdivisions of Buganda Kingdom, translated into English as county.

shamba: sw. Plantation, farm.

sigiri: lu. The locally made charcoal stove.

sumbusa: lu. Curry rolls made of flour, meat, onions and curry powder.

Sunni: A sect of Islam.

tadooba: lu. The common type of cheap tin lamp locally produced from debe.

turnboy: An unskilled assistant employed on a lorry to turn the crank handle to start the engine.

waragi: lu. Home-made distilled liquor.

GREATER KAMPALA

KIBUGA BOUNDARY

ENSALO YE KIBUGA ERIWO

MULUKA BOUNDARY

ENSALO YOMULUKA

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY

ENSALO YE KIBUGA KAMPALA MUSIPALI

BOUNDARY OF KAMPALA PLANNING AREA

ENSALO YE KITUNDU KYA KLA EKIRI MUTOWN PLANNING

TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES

ENSALO YA TOWNSHIP

MAIN ROADS

ENGUUDO ENKULU

MINOR ROADS

ENGUUDO ENTOTOND

SWAMPS

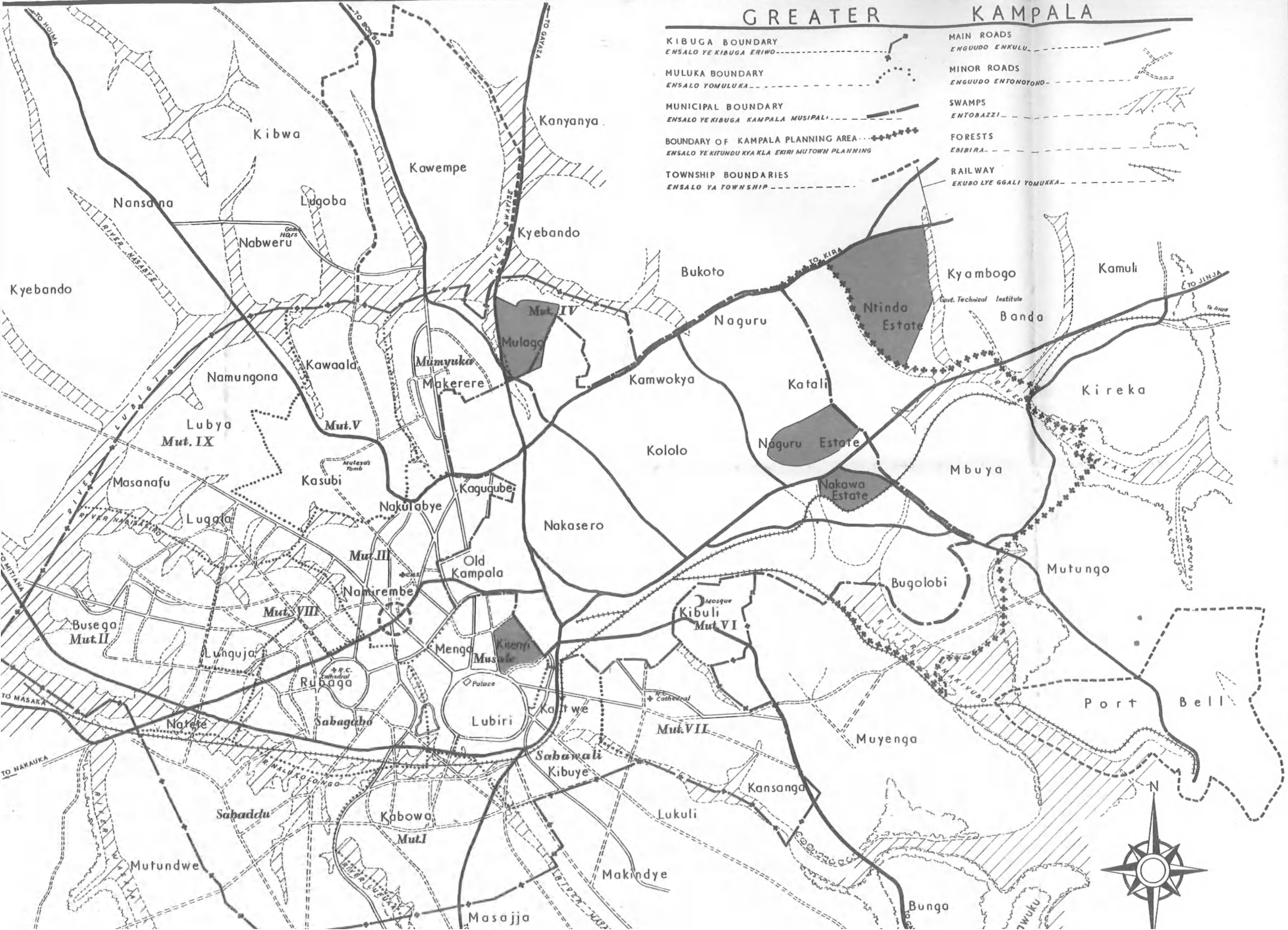
ENTOBAZZI

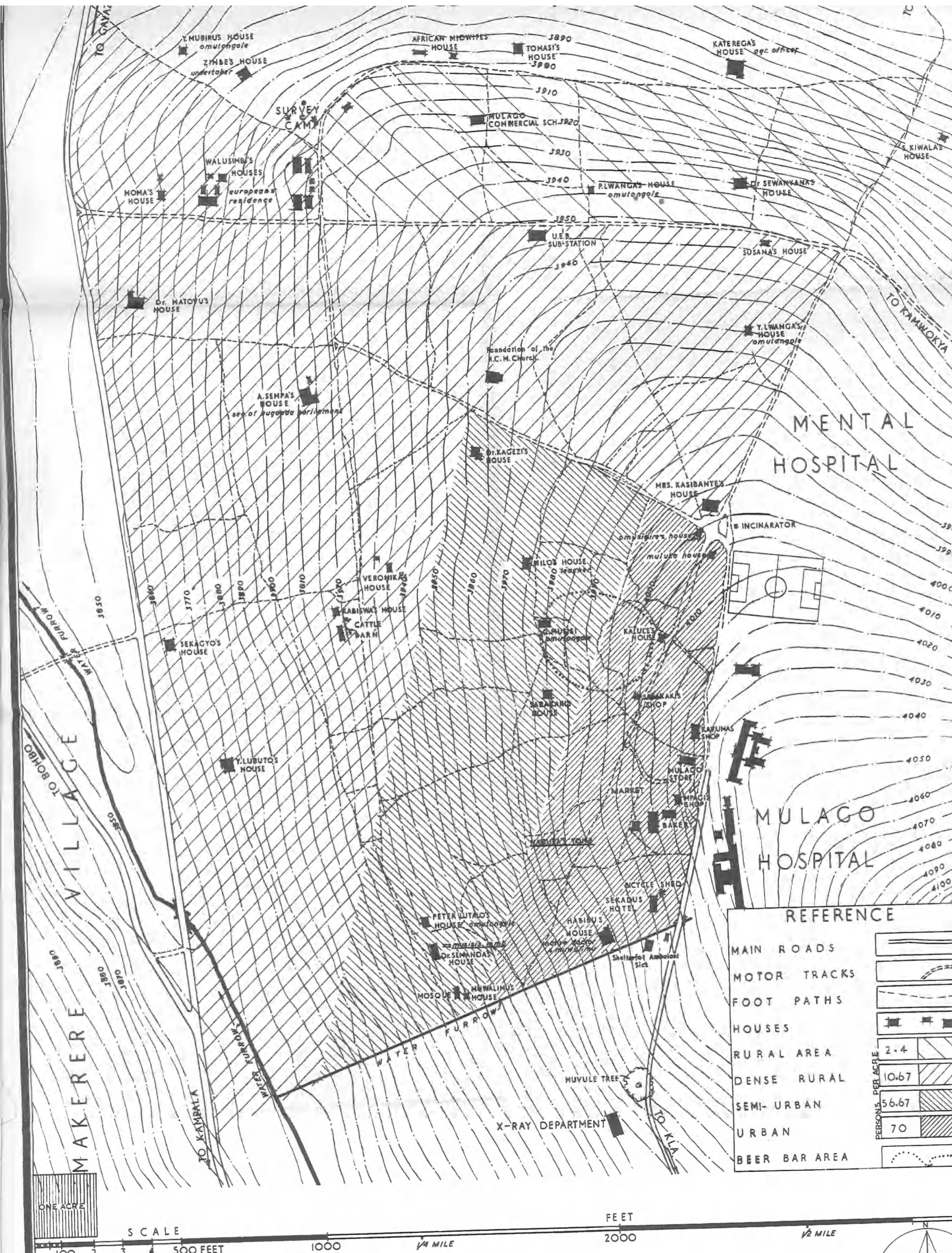
FORESTS

EBIBIRA

RAILWAY

EKUBO LYE GGALI YOMUKKA





REFERENCE

MAIN ROADS	
MOTOR TRACKS	
FOOT PATHS	
HOUSES	
RURAL AREA	
DENSE RURAL	
SEMI-URBAN	
URBAN	
BEER BAR AREA	

PERSONS PER ACRE

2-4	
10-67	
56-67	
70	



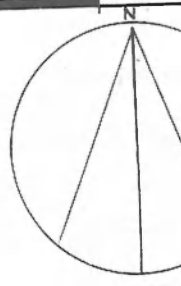
SCALE
100 2 3 4 500 FEET

1000 1/4 MILE

FEET
2000

1/2 MILE

MULAGO

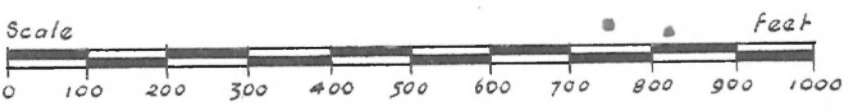


MAP No 3.



KIBUGA - KISENYI

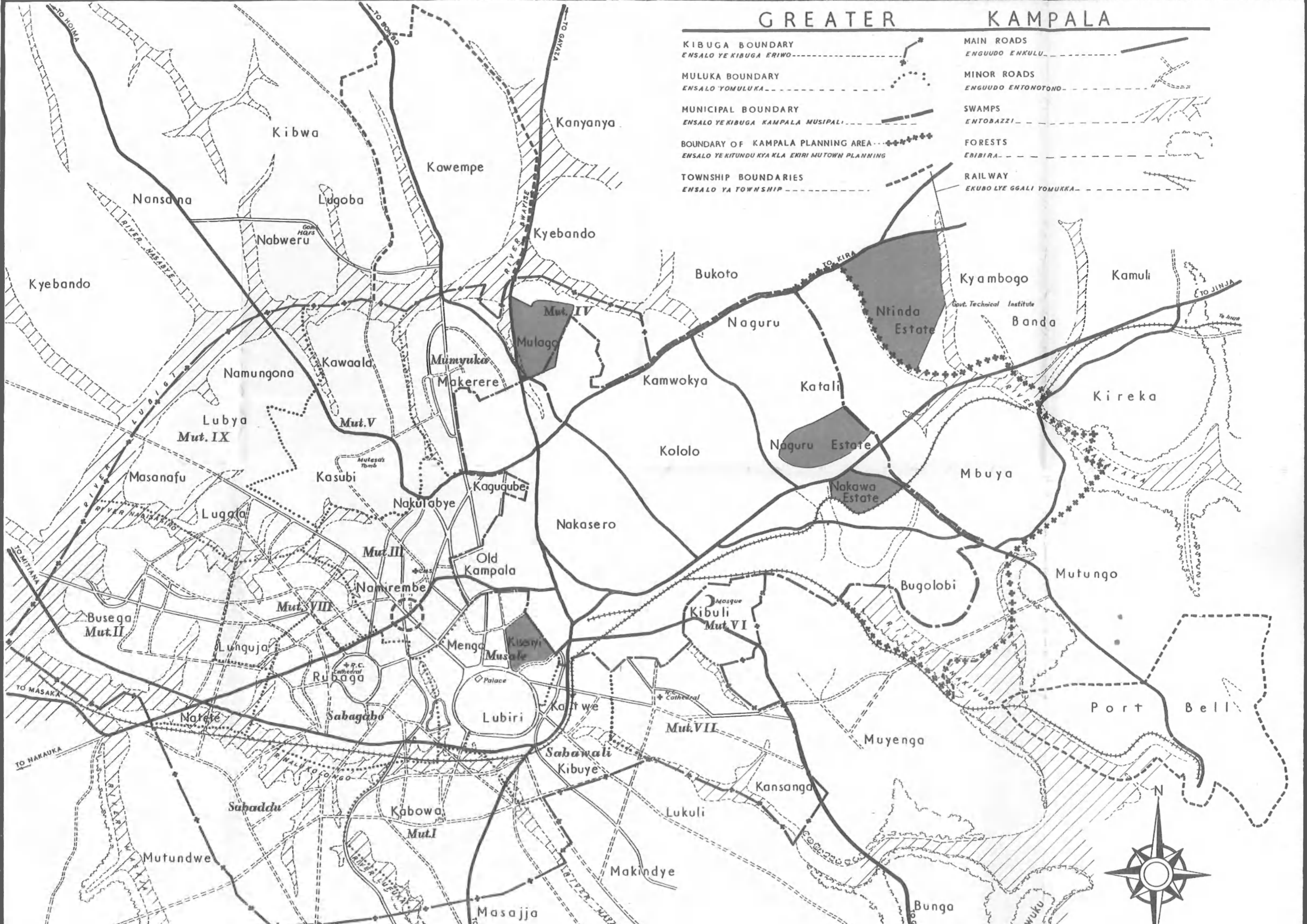
Scale feet
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

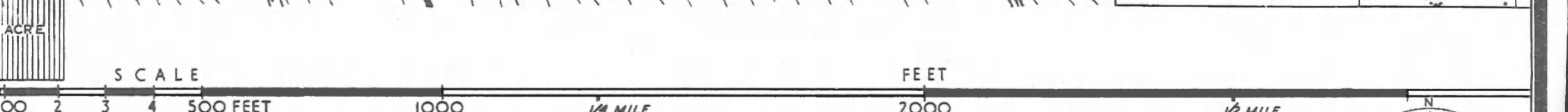
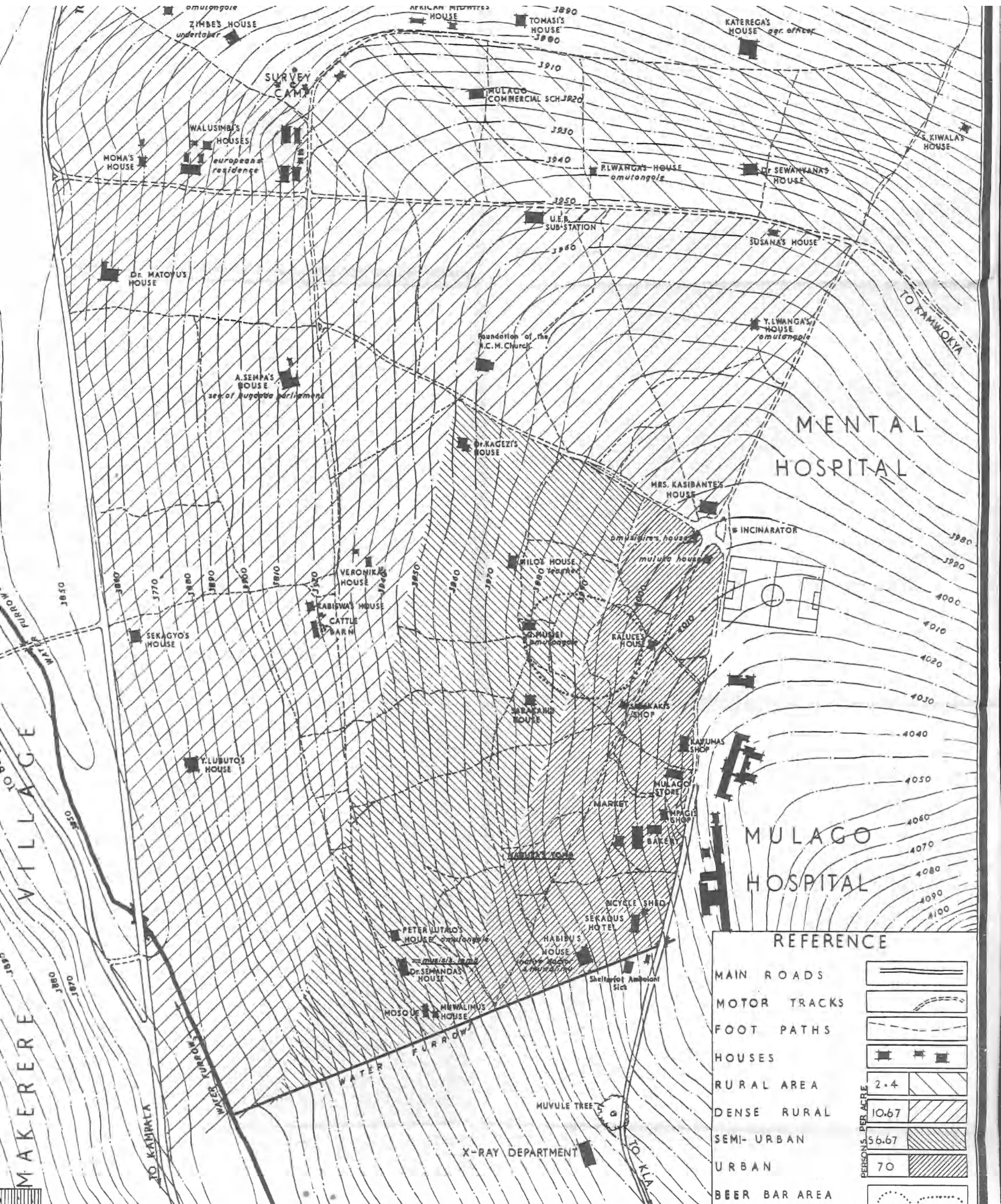


KIBUGA - KISENYI

GREATER KAMPALA

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>KIBUGA BOUNDARY
ENSALO YE KIBUGA ERIWO</p> <p>MULUKA BOUNDARY
ENSALO YOMULUKA</p> <p>MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
ENSALO YE KIBUGA KAMPALA MUSIPALI</p> <p>BOUNDARY OF KAMPALA PLANNING AREA
ENSALO YE KITUNDU KYA KLA EKIRI MUTOWN PLANNING</p> <p>TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES
ENSALO YA TOWNSHIP</p> | <p>MAIN ROADS
ENGUUDO ENKULU</p> <p>MINOR ROADS
ENGUUDO ENTONOTONO</p> <p>SWAMPS
ENTOBAZZI</p> <p>FORESTS
EBIBIRA</p> <p>RAILWAY
EKUBO LYE GGALI YOMUKKA</p> |
|--|---|





MULAGO

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