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The views and interpretations expressed in this document are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

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CHAPTER I - EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Introduction

This document has been prepared for the USAID mission in Kampala in conjunction with the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination in AID/Washington. The SIP exercise was undertaken with one overall objective in mind:

> "to provide socioeconomic information and analysis on the dynamics of the rural economy and functioning of development-related institutions in Uganda to AID decision-makers and others concerned with Uganda's development...and to begin to disaggregate the roughly 90% of Uganda's population that is rural and agriculturally productive, so that USAID/Uganda's assistance program can be better targeted."

Preparation of the Uganda SIP is part of a comprehensive effort by AID/Washington to more effectively incorporate social, cultural, economic and political information about specific institutions in a given country into the overall planning and project design process.

Reports such as that done by the Commonwealth Team in 1979 begin to document, at a national level, the various disruptions and breakdowns in institutional services to the rural areas, the dislocations of marketing systems and the political uncertainties which affected the country's economic stability. However, there has been virtually no first-hand information about production at the local level. It was assumed by USAID social analysts that parallel major changes must have occurred in rural household survival strategies, and that such changes might significantly challenge the validity of earlier studies on which development interventions had been based.

B. Theoretical Premises

Central to the Uganda SIP is the concept of "household economic survival strategies." The study defines a household as a kin-based group of people living in a dwelling or dwellings, occupying a single compound and including members temporarily resident elsewhere who recognize a common household head. This definition focuses attention on the <u>productive</u> element of the domestic unit -- especially important since a major purpose of the SIP was to document current practices in rural economic production activities. "Economic survival strategies" refers primarily to the manner in which groups of people identified as households manage the resources available to them in order to subsist.

The study looks at three basic resources available to rural households:

1. Land (size of landholding, location, quality, and use to which land is put);

2. Labor (family and hired labor, factors conditioning its deployment);

3. Capital (mainly material resources -- tools or other agricultural inputs, and monetary assistance from friends and/or relatives).

In addition to analyzing changes and present functioning of the rural economy, the SIP seeks to identify and evaluate the role of development-related institutions in facilitating or constraining household survival, including the degree to which they satisfy the demand for basic services. In the study "development institution" is defined to include both formally constituted groups and organizations, and institutions of a less formal or statutory nature.

C. Methods Used

Preparation of the Uganda SIP involved three phases: a literature review, field research and analysis of data collected.

1. Literature Review

The literature review concentrated mainly on agriculture and related topics, and was conducted during October/November, 1983. There were two objectives to this phase. Firstly, we attempted to ascertain, through a systematic inventory, just what literature actually exists in Uganda. Secondly, the review was to focus the fieldwork investigation on household survival strategies and to formulate hypotheses as to which activities and institutions may have changed, and which have persisted over the past ten or so years. Results of the literature review are contained in this report in Appendix XIII.

2. Field Research

Field research was carried out in four regions of Uganda: Busoga (in Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli Districts), Kigezi (Kabale District), Buganda (Masaka District), and Teso (Soroti and Kumi Districts). Final selection of these areas was based on principal cropping patterns (each represents a different agro-ecological zone), a consideration of ethnic make-up and geographical location, the professional knowledge and background of team members, the known quality and quantity of earlier studies, financial constraints, and prevailing security conditions at the time of field research.

Within each region three communities were selected for intensive survey. Data was collected at three levels. Ninety household heads in each community were interviewed (1,080 total), and up to ten key informants in each community provided more detailed information about village development. Finally, District-level officials of various government institutions were interviewed concerning the functioning of their organizations at the local level.

The remainder of this summary presents the results of the survey and their analysis.

D. Summary of Survey Findings -- The Household

1. Household Structure and Organization

Rural households were studied with special reference to two broad categories of structural characteristics: (1) household membership (those structural features which affect a household's choice and performance of survival activities); and (2) homestead physical characteristics (those structural features which to a large extent indicate how far the household has been successful in its economic performance).

There appears to be little variation in household size either across the regions or over time. The largest proportion of households for all regions indicates a membership of over nine persons (ranging from 10-27 members), although Teso and Masaka have a slightly larger proportion of such households than have Kigezi and Busoga. There are few one-person households, and well over 50% of all households are each occupied by six persons or more.

Although the percentage of one-person households is relatively small, their existence points to a significant emerging trend. In the recent memory of the present researchers there were not this many people living alone in Ugandan villages in the 1950s or in the early 1960s. These persons living alone are largely the widowed individuals whose adult children have migrated to other regions in search of wage employment or of better and larger farm land. This category of persons will call for collective protection and care before long.

Kinship is still a very influential factor in economic cooperation and social organization in the rural sector. Rural households continue to consist of persons of widely varying degrees of nearness in kin relationships.

With respect to marital status, survey data do not confirm the view that schooled individuals, or the more schooled regions, are less likely to be polygamous than those who are unschooled. In fact, it seems that polygamy is more reliably explained by wealth, rather than education; that is, household heads who can

afford to meet the cost of polygamy are more likely to become polygamous than those who are too poor to do so, regardless of level of education. Where wealth and education are positively correlated, as appears to be the case in Busoga and Masaka, the schooled are more likely to be polygamous than the unschooled.

There is an exceptionally high proportion of single-parent households in Masaka (39%). This may be explained as one result of the 1979 War in which many husbands in Masaka lost their lives. The social significance of this situation is its implication for the welfare of the children involved in it.

Rural households invest very heavily in education both in terms of cash school requirements and labor foregone. They expect education to provide them with an exit from poverty. It is widely believed among the households surveyed, as indeed among others known to the researchers, that, if some members of a household acquire readily marketable skills, such skills would in the long run provide profitable linkages for the household concerned with the external world.

However, the most immediate importance of education to the survival strategies of rural households is its potential for improving the management qualities of the household head and for enhancing the capacities of household members generally for effective resource husbandry. The data collected clearly indicate that an overwhelming majority of household heads in survey areas are educated. Households in Masaka have the most educated household heads, followed by those in Busoga, Teso and Kigezi, in that order. The overall picture thus is that few rural households today would be bypassed by development programs in which participation requires that a household head be at least literate.

A central aspect of household structure and organization is division of labor. The division of labor relating to domestic tasks in rural Uganda, as in most of the developing world, is culturally determined and is characteristically based on age and sex. As might be expected, the survey showed that it is women who commonly perform nearly all domestic tasks in nearly all regions, either alone or with their children. This pattern is most pronounced in Kigezi, especially with respect to cooking, washing clothes, caring for small children and house cleaning. Busoga and Kigezi show a marked contrast with respect to the use of child labor for household tasks. According to the data, few households in Busoga allocate enduring responsibilities to children as individuals, although the children are expected to perform as a group or in the company of their mothers. In Kigezi more households use child labor for more tasks. This pattern of labor has relevance for the design of rural development programs.

In concluding the description of household organization in terms of the structural characteristics of household membership, it

may be generalized that there are few regional differences which would justify a differential approach to the design and implementation of development programs for individual regions. Examples of aspects on which household structure and organization show visible regional differences are the proportion of female-headed households, the extent to which family members are farmed out to or absorbed by kin households, the way in which polygamous marriages are managed, the costs and benefits of investment in education together with levels of literacy attained, and patterns of division of labor together with their implications for the involvement of various categories of household members in development programs.

2. Homestead Physical Characteristics -- Ownership of Radios and Bicycles as One Measure of Economic Status

In the 1960s virtually every home in the countryside had a bicycle. The current situation is a good indication of the change that may have taken place in the economic situation of the rural sector. Ownership varies from the highest percentage of 26% in Teso to the lowest of 20% in Kigezi. This would indicate a rather severe decline in economic standing, especially since no substitute means of transportation has been introduced in the subsequent period. It also points to the increasing isolation of the rural household in terms of mass media (ownership of radios has also decreased dramatically), communication and transportation. If the radio and bicycle are to be used for development purposes, concrete measures need to be taken to increase the availability of these in the rural sector.

The Household Economy -- Resources

1. Land

While many informants have been shown to have different sources of earning money, the basic resource of most country dwellers is their land. It is in many areas a dwindling resource. The survey data contrasts to some extent with Agricultural Census findings of 1962 regarding size of landholdings per household, more particularly in Busoga and Teso where a much smaller proportion of larger landholdings appears in the survey sample. In all areas, over half the sample has fewer than 5 acres (and it is probable that over half that number may have under two acres). The degree of pressure on the land may be measured by informants' responses to the question whether or not they cultivate all of their land. In Teso, only 36% responded affirmatively, but this has to be balanced against larger livestock population. In Busoga 63%, in Masaka 61% and in Kigezi, the most extreme, 92% cultivate all their land.

A constraint on land use other than the absolute supply of land, and the supply of labor in relation to level and nature of technology, is the system of land tenure. The study explored this

in some detail. In general it was found that traditional practices--both customary inheritance practices and statutory means of transferring land--still prevail. In Kigezi this accounts for increasing fragmentation and extreme pressure on land use. In Masaka nearly the entire sample were in squatter status--a position which has implications for willingness to invest in land development.

2. Labor

Family size can be both an asset in terms of supply of labor and a liability in terms of dependency ratio. A very high percentage of school children are in fact in school, and there is no certainty that adult members of the household cooperate in cultivation. Assistance from other members of the household, apart from wives, was obtained in 20% of cases in Busoga, 8% in Kigezi, 9% in Masaka and 33% in Teso. In addition, some households participate in traditional cooperative work groups. Hired labor is also used, although by fewer than 40% of the entire sample in all areas. While it is used more extensively than family labor or traditional groups, its increasing cost is a constraining factor. The supply of labor seems to be a continuing constraint not only to cultivation in general but to higher standards of cultivation and greater productivity.

3. Technology

In addition to land and labor, the third resource available to rural residents is capital, in this case technical or material inputs. Over the past decade such inputs have become few and far between due to the withering away of extension services through which farm inputs were supplied and a tractor hire service operated. Commercial channels have fared no better; even the simplest items are extremely scarce and prohibitively expensive.

The hoe is still the main tool for cultivation in three of the areas. In the fourth, Teso, deaths of oxen and a continuing shortage of plow spare parts is forcing many farmers to revert from ox-cultivation to hand tools. Despite the emphasis on tool distribution by donor agencies during the past two or three years, lack of tools is still the greatest problem expressed by farmers. In some cases the type of hoe made available was not appropriate for farming needs. In others, farmers complained that the number distributed was too small to satisfy the demand, and that in some cases they disappeared from cooperative stores before they could be bought at cheaper prices. Some reappeared in local markets, but many also left the District altogether.

The Household Economy -- Productive Activities

In cultivating his land the farmer has to satisfy a number of needs, and he has available only a limited range of alternatives. First, he must try to cover the food needs of the

family. Second, he must meet his cash needs. These include not only many food items and agricultural inputs, but school fees, medical expenses, and funeral or wedding contributions.

1. Agricultural Activities

The survey showed that not only are a limited range of crops grown, but an even more limited percentage of farmers markets any of these crops. Reported planted acreages for most crops are small, even when the total acreages for more than one planting a year are added together. That most crops are grown on less than one acre underlines the marginal nature of agriculture as an occupation for the majority of the population.

Livestock husbandry is also an important enterprise for many farmers, although only a very small number of households sell livestock or livestock products. There is an increasing importance of pigs, but a conspicuous lack of extension programs concerning their management. There are also important changes in the ratios between cattle and small livestock as compared with earlier statistics. In general, there are considerably fewer cows per one hundred households, and a significant increase in the number of goats per household. Although the percentage of households selling livestock is small, the amount of money to be made from their sale is considerable.

2. Non-Agricultural Activities

A substantial minority in each area now depends on non-agricultural activities for their main source of income. This varies from over 50% in Teso to 23% in Busoga. Both household heads and other members of the household engage in supplementary activities. Such a shift from predominantly agricultural activity reveals an increasing determination on the part of the small farmer to diversify income-generation activity and avoid high risks with only cash crop sale.

The Household Economy -- Consumption Patterns

The poverty of rural households is demonstrated by their level of monetary expenditure, and by the degree to which they are able to satisfy their needs for food. A very high percentage reported there were times in the year when they were unable to meet their own food requirements. On the other hand, a large proportion of those who needed food were able to buy it with their own money.

Households spend money on goods which they cannot provide for themselves, mainly soap, salt and kerosene. Spending patterns also give some indication of household priorities. More households spend larger amounts of money on schooling and medicine than on such things as housing, travel or purchases of non-consumable goods. This underlines not only the importance of

these two services, but the degree to which the state is failing to provide the free medical service which is supposed to be part of the general network of social services. Over 50% of the sample spent less than Shs. 30,000/- (see Exchange Rate, Appendix X for rates during study) on all services during the previous year.

Poorer households were seen to purchase medicine more often than travel, whereas more affluent households travel at least as often as they purchase medicine. The extent of borrowing to augment household resources was not very great in any area, with the possible exception of Kigezi.

In summary, there is some disparity in wealth among areas, with Masaka at the top and Teso at the bottom. There are, however, certain priorities of household needs common to all areas and to all levels of poverty. These are education and health, and the provision of those essentials not produced on the farm. There are also some differences between areas and between poverty levels, notably in leisure activities and degree of mobility.

Analysis of Household Survey Data

The SIP survey started with the assumption that there had been major social changes in response to the revolutionary national events which have taken place over the past one or two decades - in particular policy changes of the first Independence government, the military coup and its accompanying policies, and the 1979 War and its aftermath.

However, for many informants there is no appearance of change. Except in Masaka, well over thirty percent of the respondents said there have been no changes in their lives during the past two decades. For the majority the tenor of their lives is the same as it ever was--the houses, tools, the markets, their relations with others are largely what they were 20 or even 30 years ago. It also seems to someone who has lived through the last two decades that present circumstances of inflation and insecurity, and of difficulties in obtaining some of the needs of daily life have gone on forever. For the young, especially, what is now is what has always been. To deal with present problems people utilize customary networks of relationships; it is possible that such traditional linkages are strengthened by the urgency of present needs.

Of those informants who did identify changes, the themes common to all areas are increasing poverty, disease and disorder. They paint a picture of gradually shrinking agricultural output; they express their fears over the shrinkage in quantity and deterioration in quality of the land from which most must wrest a livelihood, and on which nearly all depend for their staple foods. Many tell of a situation in which they cannot get tools to work with, or of increases in pests and diseases of plants

and animals, but no pesticides or other agro-chemicals with which to fight them. As far as the two cash crops are concerned, responses more often confirm informants' disinterest due to marketing problems and the overall lack of impact of recent price increases.

Disaggregation of Rural Povery Levels

Any economic disaggregation of rural households must take account of the fact that with few notable, or perhaps notorious exceptions, all are poorer than they were in the past. The most visible evidence of this is the condition of houses of whatever quality of construction, in particular the age and rusting of iron roofs. It is also a fact that the problems faced presently by households of all strata are the same, and felt equally.

A number of wealth indicators were used in an effort to disaggregate households by poverty level: level of annual expenditure, level of monthly expenditure, number of different items from a list of purchases made during the week previous to the interview, and ownership of a radio or bicycle. Few simple correlations were found between any of the independent variables taken singly and the wealth indicators. None of the variables operates independently but either in conjunction with or through other variables. However, time and resource constraints made it impossible to make all the comparisons and cross-tabulations we would have liked from the data collected.

The smallest households were more often the poorest. They are at a disadvantage with respect to labor supply due to the nature of their composition: sometimes single widows or widowers, or old couples at the end of their strength, or young married couples with small children trying to establish themselves independently.

On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the largest households with several adult sons are necessarily the best off. Other adult household members do not always assist with cultivation or contribute financially to the household. (This was particularly true in Kigezi and Masaka.)

A number of factors were considered when determining poverty levels of rural households. The following summary observations can be made about each factor:

1. Size of Land Holding

Possibly 50% or more households are below the statistical poverty line, using Allan's assumptions of the amount of land needed merely to feed one adult. It may be assumed that many of the households with an acreage below sufficiency level for food production are very poor. Similarly, few of those at sufficiency level are wealthy. At least 60% of households in all areas

have a marginal standard of living.

2. System of Land Tenure

While the system of land holding in all areas does not lead to indebtedness, nevertheless there is a degree of insecurity in present unregistered, untitled tenure that may inhibit investment in development. This is especially true in Masaka where a large percentage of the households are squatters. In Kigezi the system of land tenure has resulted in extreme fragmentation, so that it is difficult to cultivate to a high standard.

3. Labor and Technology

The capacity to farm the land effectively is dependent on command of adequate resources of labor to supplement that of the household itself. It is not possible to demonstrate through a simple cross-tabulation of employment of casual labor with any of the wealth indicators that there is a consistent positive correlation between wealth and the number of laborers employed. The command over a larger amount of labor is particularly important in relation to the present nature, level and supply of technology. The hoe is virtually the only tool used. Of the total sample in all areas, 1.8% had no tools; 26% one or two tools, either a hoe or a panga; and a further 52% three or four items--usually an axe, spade or plow, in addition to the former. The tractor hire scheme collapsed in the early 1970s, and in Teso, CBPP has decimated herds and reduced ownership of oxen. Also in Teso those plow spares which are most in demand are difficult to get.

4. Employment

It was originally supposed that supplementary sources of income through employment or business for the household head or other household members might positively affect survival strategies, and that therefore the households in which household heads and/or other members have other occupations than cultivating the family land would be among the more prosperous. No correlation can be shown between this variable and any of the wealth indicators in terms of levels of expenditure or possession of luxury items.

5. Diversification of Farm Enterprises

It was also thought that those households which maximize all alternatives, i.e. grow a wider range of crops and additionally keep a number of livestock, as well as having supplementary sources of income through the household head, would have the most successful survival strategy. A cross-tabulation of number of farm enterprises by wealth indicators shows some positive correlation. However, the inability to do a multi-variate analysis renders these suggested trends suspect until such further analysis can be done. It would be necessary to see if

these households are also those which command supplementary sources of labor, whether they are small or larger households, and if the age or educational level of the household head are additional factors which also influence their comparative advantage.

6. The "Affluent" Rural Minority

A small minority of families were observed to have achieved a measure of rural prominence. These are in two categories: those who held good jobs in earlier days, or who are politically prominent now; and those, rather less conspicuously affluent, whose wealth is rooted in the village--the "big men" who had used inherited land, and possibly also the opportunities afforded by the Progressive Farmer programs of the 1950s and 1960s, to emerge from the common heap of their neighbors and who have subsequently continued to maintain their economic lead.

It is demonstrable that the wealthier families are also to a greater extent to be found in those Districts in which agricultural development, and particularly the cultivation of the more valuable coffee crop, took place earlier. With few exceptions, the basis of present prosperity in rural areas lies in the past.

Summary

In terms of two key variables of survival strategy--ownership of land and the means to utilize it effectively--a very large proportion of rural households falls into the lowest poverty level. This is ameliorated to only a very limited extent by subsidiary sources of income. In seeking to maximize his income, both in money and in kind, the individual household head has available a number of assets, and can theoretically make choices about their disposition. In fact, the practical limitations imposed by the national economic and political system, particularly in the marketing sector, together with the very small size of his resources and small scale of individual enterprises, place real limitations on the range of choices open to him.

E. Summary of Findings and Analysis--Institutions

The purpose of the institutional survey was to a) identify those institutions, both formal and informal, which have a direct bearing on household survival strategies; b) evaluate the performance of each institution as it facilitates or constrains household survival; and c) identify and discuss problem areas within each institution that inhibit effective service delivery. Institutions were grouped according to type of services rendered. A discussion of specific functions and problems affecting a given institution may be found in the main body of the SIP. Here we shall summarize only those issues which are of particular importance, or are common to several institutions.

2. Service Delivery Bottlenecks

There are a number of problems common to all District-level ministry offices as expressed by the officers themselves and confirmed by the SIP team's observations.

Lack of Transport

No ministry office has sufficient transport facilities to carry out its administrative or extension duties. Some are in a slightly better position than others, especially if they have received outside donor assistance (e.g. Veterinary Department and Department of Cooperatives). But for the most part, officers are expected to operate with no motorized transport, or at best one vehicle for a District staff of 60-100 persons. Bicycles are equally as scarce. The Ministry of Culture and Community Development has no transport of any kind in any of the seven Districts. This lack of mobility is a severe handicap to rehabilitation of effective extension work.

Lack of Operating and Program Funds

Twenty-two officials, about one-half the total number interviewed, specifically noted lack of program funds as a major constraint. The remainder have insufficient, or no funds at all, to carry out basic administrative functions. Officers use their own money to travel, buy stationery, and purchase educational materials. Where there is a vehicle, there is frequently no money to purchase petrol or maintain it.

Officers also complained of lack of inputs, reflecting the degree to which Government ministries were, in the past, seen as vehicles for commodity distribution. Today extension workers must rely on old, usually outdated, knowledge and virtually no material inputs to carry out their extension education.

Lack of Housing, Office Accommodation

A severe shortage of both office and residential facilities affects a number of District-level offices. Two factors explain the present situation: re-drawing of District boundaries in 1974, thus increasing the number of Districts from 12 to 33; and the lack of building activity during the Amin years. Towns which were suddenly declared District headquarters found themselves infrastructurally unprepared. That no new buildings were constructed from 1973 on only exacerbated the condition. Some officers simply have not been able to report to their assigned posts; others live miles away from their stations, sometimes in an adjacent District.

Delays in Salary and Allowance Payments

In the course of general discussions with both District and field staff a number of points were made regarding salaries and

allowances as they affect not only motivation but ability to work. The first (which hardly needs mentioning to those who live in Uganda) is that salaries are totally unrelated to the cost of living. Provision of heavily subsidized housing at the District level is more important than the salary itself. The minimum wage of would purchase 3 kilos of sugar in most areas, or approximately 30 kilos of beans.

Salaries are normally paid to the bank accounts of established officers, and banks are only located at District headquarters. To travel to headquarters to collect salaries can take a substantial part of an officer's salary. The same applies to non-established staff, who are also generally paid for security reasons at their District headquarters office. Such group employees are also only paid when money is made available from a Ministry's head office, and this is not on a regular basis any more.

Most ministries are not, at present, paying any allowances. This was reported to be at the instigation of the IMF. Travel is costly, and vehicles not always regular. When a field trip may cost as much as Shs. 2000/-, and an officer's monthly salary is Shs. 5000/-, the disincentive to travel is evident. Not only is the officer underpaid, but expected to subsidize government from the little he does get by paying for both his own travel and office materials. It is not surprising that field staff are difficult to locate and are generally not functional. It is only surprising that there is still an interest on the part of so many to continue to serve the country.

Lack of Staff Training

The general decline of the 1970s was not limited to the economy but was strongly felt in the educational sector as well. Institutions providing technical training or higher education degenerated in quality, and in some cases closed altogether. The result is that officers in all technical ministries have not been able to upgrade their earlier training, which by now is considerably outdated.

3. Institutional Overlap

A final problem which has significant effects on District development planning and implementation is the confusion which exists between District Administration (the President's Office), the Ministry of Local Government, and technical ministry officers and their respective responsibilities. Duplication of functions in some areas, inability to marshall or control funds for a given project, and the unclear lines of administrative hierarchy have resulted in little or no coherent development planning at the District level. In many cases, they serve only to frustrate the rural resident. Two examples illustrate the problem.

In one District a Fisheries Department officer reported that three different bodies were issuing fishing licenses: the Fisheries Department, the Town Council and the Ministry of Local Government. Revenue went to the respective issuing body. To further complicate the matter, the District Commissioner's office was involved in deciding who was named as distribution agents for Department of Fisheries inputs. This duplication of function causes confusion for the recipient of the service (in this case, the fisherman), and unnecessary expenditure of funds to administer delivery of the service.

A second example concerns the relationship between technical ministry officials and local government with respect to control of funds for projects at the local level. The Ministry of Local Government, under the direction of the Administrative Secretary, raises revenue locally for local services. These include health dispensaries, primary education facilities, and certain road and water improvements. The respective ministry officer (e.g. the District Health Inspector) is seconded to local government to oversee functioning of the given service. However, he has no control over acquisition or dispersion of funds; moreover he reports to his own central ministry Permanent Secretary. To add to the confusion, most Administrative Secretaries reported they had barely enough funds to pay staff salaries. Little, if any, money was available for projects.

The functional and financial disorder caused by such institutional overlap deserves priority attention by Government if sustained development is to occur at the local level.

F. Policy Implications and Recommendations

A number of issues seem to emerge as priority concerns for Government of Uganda officials and donor agencies from the information and analysis presented in the SIP. Following a brief summary of key issues, we offer some broad recommendations for policy direction and program consideration. We have deliberately avoided making project or sector-specific recommendations. The data presented in the SIP should serve as a comprehensive general baseline, to be supplemented by more detailed technical information and analysis as warranted by particular project ideas.

1. Key Issues

a. Uganda's rural population is getting poorer, despite improvements in the national economic picture.

While most households are able to feed themselves, they are unable to purchase even the most basic consumer items. The increase in cost of consumer items far surpasses the increase in producer prices, thus dampening the incentive to the farmer to produce more. Agricultural production is shrinking, due to a

number of apparent causes: population increases which reduce the available acreage per head; increasing competition between humans and animals for scarce resources; loss of soil fertility and an increase in insect pests, and crop and animal diseases, with few, if any, chemicals to fight them; and shortages of basic tools.

b. There is a critical increase in pressure on land.

This has resulted in both a reduction in soil fertility as well as a decrease in the size of individual land holdings. In such a setting, rural development programs should concentate on projects which involve intensive cultivation of the most high value and high yielding crops, and stress veterinary programs for small animals or poultry. All projects should involve land conservation and household level agro-forestry measures.

c. Basic agricultural inputs are still lacking.

Despite assistance by donor agencies over the past four years, small farmers still report their number one need to be agricultural tools and other inputs. Not all inputs have reached their intended targets. Furthermore, it is quite probable that the demand was grossly underestimated.

Any campaign to increase or further diversify productive efforts must be accompanied by massive and more effective distribution of production tols.

d. Small farmers have diversified their farm enterprises, away from large scale reliance on traditional cash export crops.

Coffee and cotton are no longer the sole cash income crops for farmers. Sales of food crops and, to some extent, livestock, are increasingly important as sources of cash. In addition, a significant number of households have turned to non-agricultural activities as their principal source of livelihood.

The expansion of small livestock husbandry demands a readjustment of thinking and extension programmaing efforts by veterinary officers. Provision of veterinary inputs also needs to be increased accordingly. Methods must be devised to assist farmers to market their food crops more reliably and efficiently.

e. Rural households are increasingly engaging in non-agricultural activities.

Donor assistance should encourage development of local initiative through provision of tools, raw materials and technical training to local village craftsmen. Promotion of cottage industries through skill training, production organization and marketing assistance would broaden the range of income sources and help to meet immediate manufactured consumer needs.

f. Institutional delivery of services to the rural household is critically inadequate.

While the administrative structure and a full complement of personnel are firmly in place, their ability to assist the rural population is severely limited. Government officers at the District level lack resources--vehicles, program funds, housing and office facilities, and administrative resources--to carry out their jobs. The present structural arrangements, both in terms of raising and disbursing funds, and monitoring personnel and programs seem ill-suited to present District development needs. The District Team and Planning Committee as it now functions is not fulfilling the need for coordinated development planning and implementation. Lack of such a coordinated development planning body at the District level causes duplication of function and confusion of responsibility.

2. Short-term recommendations.

a. Assistance to local level manufacturers.

A program to assist very small entrepreneurs, at the community level, with training, raw materials and other capital expenses should be established. Similarly, encouraging and expanding cottage industries by improving on existing craft skills and assisting with marketing both internally and for export should be undertaken.

b. Agriculture.

Increase the supply of inputs--tools, fertilizers, pesticides--to rural areas. In order to prevent re-direction of the inputs to unintended beneficiaries, distribution should be on a massive scale, thus discouraging hoarding or buying up of large lots of the commodity for re-distribution elsewhere. It is also possible that commodity distribution be linked with particular production initiatives so that inputs are distributed as a package. Distribution through other than cooperative societies should be considered: other ministry extension agents (Agriculture and Community Development), or church groups.

Develop new agricultural technology on the basis of farm-level information about technological needs and priorities.

Revitalize the extension services using technically trained personnel already in place. This may include agricultural shows and demonstrations, and experimental or demonstration farms to be visited by farmers.

c. Manpower.

Refresher courses, seminars and conferences should be organized in a systematic manner for field officers and their subordinates at different levels in all development-related ministries.

A training-of-trainers program should be established in each development-related ministry to facilitate the above skill upgrading.

Various NGOs should be engaged to work side-by-side with government personnel responsible for implementing develoment training programs in an effort to ensure resources are used as designated.

d. Transport.

This is a major constraint to local level development personnel working with rural people, and to the movement of inputs, produce for market, and consumer goods in rural areas. An assessment of transport availability and requirements should be undertaken country-wide and a coherent plan for capital recurrent expenditures on transport developed.

e. Office supplies and equipment.

A further impediment to abilities of formal development service organizations is insufficient office supplies and equipment. Staff housing is also either dilapidated or non-existent. A plan for capital investment in equipment and accommodation should be drawn up.

f. Private sector trade.

There is high demand in the rural areas for consumer goods, for health facilities and for improved water supplies, both for humans and for animals. A policy or program that makes trading in the rural areas more attractive to the private sector should be pursued.

g. Cooperatives.

The role of Government in cooperatives should shift from a position of control to that of a more regulatory or facilitative nature. Direct GOU involvement in the cooperative movement should be sharply diminished.

3. Long-term Development Objectives

a. A structural overhaul of all public formal development institutions should be undertaken with a view to recommending changes and establishing new linkages to enable a smooth running of government services. A comprehensive manpower assessment should form the basis on which the restructuring is grounded.

b. Local-level administration must be simplified. At present there is significant overlap between the responsibilities of the District Commissioner and the local representatives of the Ministry of Local Government. Moreover, local representatives

of other line ministries such as Agriculture, Veterinary Department, and others, do not seem to communicate at all with the hierarchy of local-level government entities. The role of the chiefs and local community elders should be enhanced and returned to its former apolitical status. In effect, there are a series of administrative units that are pulling in separate directions rather than functioning as a whole.

c. A training program or manpower development scheme for the long-term creation of a pool of highly trained technical, research and admninstrative personnel should be drawn up. The research cadres are inadequate in almost every ministry.

d. More and better information on rural and national life is needed. Systems for regularly collecting and using information must be established.

e. To elicit participation, development activities should be demand-driven. Government and donors should be more attuned to local initiatives (such as schoolbuilding) and take advantage of these initiatives, using local leaders and local groups to assist in planning and mobilizing resources for development. Such involvement of local gorups in the planning process will help to give local residents a sense of responsibility for maintenance of development efforts once a "project" has ended.

f. Much more emphasis should be given to forestry and fisheries development. There is great concern over depleting forest resources. Simultaneously, there is an abundance of fish resources that is currently underexploited.

g. Government should develop a food policy that addresses food self-sufficiency, interregional trade and export potential.

h. Government should think more about a coherent land tenure and land use policy. This might include:
- simpler procedures to acquire land titles by reducing costs and administrative processes;
- land settlement or other facilitation of rural-to-rural mobility.

i. Some attention should be paid to the rapidly-growing urban poor population, both by GOU and by donors. These people often have important links with rural communities. There is not a sharp rural/urban dichotomy in Uganda.

k. There must be a radical reorganization and rethinking about development by the GOU - such thinking must filter down to and involve planners at the District level. The mentality has been focussed on rehabilitation and restoration to the former days of glory, rather than toward opportunities and goals for the year 2000.

CHAPTER II - BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

A. INTRODUCTION

This document has been prepared for the USAID mission in Kampala in conjunction with the Bureau for Program Review and Policy Coordination in AID/Washington. The purpose of the study is to provide socioeconomic information and analysis on the dynamics of Uganda's rural economy, and the functioning of development-related institutions, to USAID decision makers, Government of Uganda planners, and others concerned with Uganda's development. Preparation of the Uganda SIP is part of a broad effort by AID/Washington to incorporate more comprehensive social, cultural, economic and political information about specific institutions in a given country in the overall planning and project design process.

The need for such a study in Uganda was particularly acute. Since independence in 1962, Uganda has experienced considerable social, political and economic turmoil. The decade of the 1960s found political unrest mainly concentrated in Buganda, the Ruwenzori Mountains, and along the Sudanese border. Despite such unrest, Uganda prospered economically, and both Ugandan and expatriate scholars carried out research in a variety of fields throughout the country. Their studies, as well as those undertaken during the 1950s, formed the principal base of social science information available to development planners until the first part of this decade.

The destructive rule of Amin fatally undermined the country's economic institutions, and social and economic research efforts. The 1979 War a events immediately following it only aggravated the social and economic chaos. Extensive war damage and wholesale looting of both private businesses and government institutions resulted in their total collapse for a short period. In this context of social and institutional breakdown research and serious scholarship suffered. Political suspicion tended to curtail social and economic surveys, and during the Amin regime, it became impossible to carry out objective studies. Since his overthrow, critical shortages of funds and continued insecurity in some areas of the country have discouraged field research. Moreover, according to the usual timetable, results of work carried out now will only be published in the 1990s. In addition, most government institutions no longer make any regular reports on their activities, often due to such basic reasons as lack of pens and paper.

Reports such as that done by the Commonwealth Team in 1979 begin to document, at a national level, the various disruptions and breakdowns in institutional services to the rural areas, the dislocations of marketing systems and the political uncertainties which affected the country's economic stability.

However, there has been virtually no first-hand information about production at the local level. It was assumed by USAID social analysts that parallel major changes must have occurred in rural household survival strategies, and that such changes might significantly challenge the validity of earlier studies on which development interventions has been based. The SIP study, based predominantly on first-hand field research, was undertaken to address this need for reliable and up-to-date information about rural economic processes at the local level.

Production of the Uganda SIP has been an exercise in "bottom up" information gathering. The study attempts to complement existing macro-level data with detailed description and analysis of local-level production processes. While some interviews were held with national level officials, the principal sources of information have been residents of rural areas (the majority of whom are small farmers) and District-level institutional officials. It has also deliberately tried to elicit information of a more qualitative nature from rural residents about changes which have taken place in their own farming practices, and in their communities, and about what they consider to be their most pressing needs and problems.

We must alert readers, especially those who intend to use the data for program or project design purposes, that this report is <u>not</u> representative of all of Uganda. Lack of time and resources forced omission of the entire northern half of the country, including the politically strategic areas of Acholi and Lango, as well as Bunyoro and Bugisu and Sebei in the east. In some respects, the study's focus on the selected regions of Teso, Masaka, Busoga and Kigezi is understandable. Historically these areas have been the most agriculturally productive, and are those on which Uganda's export economy has been based. They have had the most widely developed network of social and infrastructural services. Unfortunately, selection of these areas for study (with perhaps the exception of Kigezi) could be seen by some as a perpetuation of the regional imbalance in the country's development. At present--as historically--far fewer resources have been invested in developing the northern half of Uganda. This extends to research activity as well, as fewer scholars--particularly during the 50s and 60s--conducted field studies in northern areas.

We urge USAID and other assistance organizations to bear in mind the implications for continued regional inequities of basing development activities primarily on data such as that contained in this report. We strongly recommend that a similar study, or studies, be carried out in the north and west of the country, especially Lango, Acholi and Toro/Bunyoro.

The remaining sections of this chapter describe the methodology used to produce the SIP, and give a brief overview of Uganda.

B. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we shall describe the theoretical guidelines and practical methods used to produce the Uganda SIP.

The entire exercise lasted less than one year. Of this period one month was spent selecting the research team; two months conducting a literature review in Uganda; two months developing a research design and constructing survey instruments; four months doing actual field research; and two months analyzing data and preparing the final report. Administrative procedures (securing necessary Uganda Government clearances, locating and negotiating terms of reference for computer services and other administrative support facilities) also took considerable time.

Selection of the Research Team

Selection of the team was guided by a number of assumptions:

1. That sufficient qualified Ugandan researchers are available, thus making it unnecessary to bring in an outside team of experts;

2. That the research schedule should be designed to accommodate team members' concurrent commitments (in this case, academic teaching appointments) since funds were insufficient to employ them full time;

3. That the team should reflect a diversity of disciplines in order that data be analyzed from a variety of perspectives;

4. That a regional or ethnic herterogeneity among team members would be useful when conducting actual field research, especially with regard to translation of the questionnaire and its cultural interpretation to enumerators.

The final team consisted of an agricultural economist, two sociologists, a rural economist, and a development anthropologist. All are Ugandans, except the team leader, who has resided in Uganda since 1980.

Objectives and Theoretical Underpinnings

The SIP exercise was undertaken with one overall objective in mind, as stated in the Scope of Work: "to provide socioeconomic information and analysis on the dynamics of the rural economy and functioning of development-related institutions to AID decision makers and others concerned with Uganda's development...and to begin to disaggregate the roughly 90% of Uganda's population that is rural and agriculturally productive, so that

USAID/Uganda's assistance program can be better targeted."

Central to the study is the concept of "household economic survival strategies." In Uganda, households differ in both size and composition, not only between regions but within the same community. It is possible to find households of single individuals as well as those which include several nuclear families related in a variety of ways. The team reviewed a number of studies and conceptual definitions of "household" in the African context, and, after considerable discussion, agreed upon the following definition as the guiding one for this study:

> "A household is a kin-based group of people living in a dwelling or dwellings, occupying a single compound and including members temporarily resident elsewhere who recognize a common household head."

This definition is in keeping with the local Luganda term amaka (household) and semeka (householder) which has Rukiga and Lusoga equivalents, and is readily translatable into Itesot. Furthermore, it focuses attention on the productive element of the domestic unit. This is especially important since a major purpose of the SIP study was to document current practices in rural economic production activities. The definition implies a focus on geographical, physical place--in this case the rural homestead. It does not preclude mobilization of resources from outside the homestead, such as those which may come from relatives or friends who are residing in towns or cities.

"Economic survival strategies" refers primarily to the manner in which groups of people identified as households manage the resources available to them in order to subsist. There are three basic resources available to a rural household: land, labor and capital. It is the manipulation of these resources that forms a household's "survival stategy".

1. Land. This study considers size of landholding, location, quality, and use to which land is put. The ecological environment sets definite limits to the alternatives for farm activities, while a household's distance from urban and trading centers, road networks, or agro-industrial enterprises influences marketing choices. Markets and shops, and other mechanisms of distribution provide inputs and consumer goods as well as outlets for farm products.

2. Labor. A rural household has two types of labor available to it: family and hired labor. The availability of family labor for agricultural activities is conditioned by size of the household, age and physical capability of its members, the number of children in school, and the extent to which family members must engage in other household maintenance tasks, such as food preparation, collection of water and

firewood, and child care. The study was concerned with documenting how family labor is deployed for agricultural activities, household maintenance tasks, and both on-farm and off-farm non-agricultural activities.

Theoretically, a rural household may also hire labor on a monthly or casual basis to asist with farm activities. The study looked at the degree to which households are using hired labor to carry out productive enterprises.

3. Capital. In this study "capital" refers mainly to the material resources--tools or other agricultural inputs--available to the rural household. It was also assumed that rural households may receive assistance in the form of remittances from relatives or friends in urban areas.

The resources available vary between households, and over time, within households. Changes in survival strategy occur not only in response to pressures of outside events, but as a result of the internal dynamics of the family life cycle. They are also affected by decisions which serve to improve or diminish the stock of resources available to the household, including those inherited or acquired as a result of the success of earlier decisions. Thus to the extent possible, the study tries to document the dynamic nature of household economic practices, particularly as they may have changed in response to external sociopolitical events of the last ten years.

Finally, in addition to analyzing changes and present functioning of the rural economy, the Uganda SIP seeks to identify and evaluate the role of development-related institutions in facilitating or constraining household survival, including the degree to which they satisfy the demand for basic services. The team defined "development institution" to include both formally constituted groups and organizations, and institutions of a less formal statutory nature. The former include such entities as Government ministries, banks, churches, PVOs, and poltical parties, among others. The latter include institutions such as land tenure systems, marketing systems, clan or traditional social control mechanisms. The analysis section identifies shifts in emphasis between institutions which have persisted through time, and the emergence of alternative institutions as a result of the breakdown of some of the Government organizations.

Literature Review

The literature review, conducted during October and November 1983, concentrated mainly on agriculture and related topics. There was a dual purpose for this activity. First, we attempted to ascertain through a systematic inventory just what literature actually exists in Uganda. During and immediately following the 1979 War, there was large-scale looting of Government ministry files, and university offices. Much

documentary material was lost or stolen during this period.

The review consulted three types of works: 1) Government reports which have been produced since Independence, including the 5-year Development Plans and Action Program. These reports contain statistical information as well as discussions of general policy matters; 2) Occasional Papers produced as a result of specific research studies, and usually concerned with particular innovations; and 3) substantive monographs and ethnographies concerned with political, social and agricultural conditions in Uganda as a whole, or in specific regions of the country. Most of the documents are located at Makerere University, either in the Africana Section of the main library, or in the library of the Department for Public Administration, in various Ministry libraries, or in private collections.

There is very little published material since 1970, and publication dates are always some years later than the dates of actual fieldwork. The most extreme case is that of May Edel (1), whose 1957 study was published in 1983. The regular publication of Government statistics ceased in 1974 with the last issue of Statistical Abstract, and Government department reports are also lacking in some cases for even earlier years. The most recent statistics available are for 1982, and insofar as the agricultural extension services are concerned, should be treated with caution.

A second objective of the literature review was to focus the fieldwork investigation on household survival strategies and to formulate hypotheses as to which activities and/or institutions may have changed, and which have persisted over the past ten years. A kind of baseline for comparative purposes was to be derived from the review. In fact, this objective was only partially achieved. The scope of work posited a baseline period lying somewhere between independence in 1962 and 1973. However, the concept of a baseline date in relation to social change must be to a great extent both arbitary and artificial. Yeld (2) and Gerken (3) both demonstrate that it takes about 30 years with a multiplicity of change factors to effect minimal change in family organization. Therefore while the team has been concerned to describe and analyse events following the military coup of 1971, and has also reviewed the history of the immediate post-independence governments, it has also taken cognizance of pre-independence events, decisions and policies.

Moreover, as the review progressed, it became evident that the SIP foci on household survival strategies, patterns of rural economic activity, and the role of development institutions were not necessarily areas of interest or investigation for earlier researchers. The team had to be content with piecing together from various sources what information it could to provide an historical background to the present fieldwork. In view of the central concern of the SIP survey to generate new,

up-to-date information, the main focus of the SIP is a description and analysis of survey findings. Discussion of the baseline situation is incorporated into the main body of this report.

Selection of Survey Areas

Several criteria guided the selection of survey areas. The most important was the USAID preference that the study focus on up to five distinct agroecological zones, to include at least four different crop/livestock categories. This guideline was broadly followed, although the concept of "agroecological zone" required some clarification before the final selection could be made (4).

The SIP surveys four areas based on the old District boundaries: Busoga (now comprised of Jinja, Iganga, and Kamuli Districts); Masaka (now Masaka and Rakai Districts); Kigezi (now Kabale and Rukungiri District); and Teso (now Soroti and Kumi Districts). In addition to USAID preferences, the choice of these areas was based on consideration of both ethnic make-up and geographical location; the professional knowledge and background of team members; the known quality and quantity of earlier studies; financial constraints; and prevailing security conditions, which unfortunately had worsened at the time of the field research. (5)

The four areas are not claimed to be representative of all areas of Uganda. Indeed, as mentioned in the introduction, certain major omissions are recognized. Three regions - Kigezi, Masaka and Teso - differ substantially from each other ecologically, ethnically and socially, while Busoga contains very different patterns of cultivation within one ethnic area. Indeed, Brandt (6) identified five sub-zones in Busoga.

Table 1 classifies the regions by ethnic affiliation and pattern of cultivation. A more comprehensive description of the survey areas is found in the next section.

TABLE 1

Comparative Ethnic and Ecological Characteristics of SIP Survey Areas

Area	Language	Major Ethnic Group	Principal Cropping Pattern/s*
Busoga	Lusoga	Bantu-Basoga	Banana/Millet/Cotton Outliers Coffee/ Banana/Cotton/Cattle
Kigezi	Rukiga	Bantu-Chiga (minority of Banyarwanda)	Sorghum Arabica Coffee Tea
Masaka	Luganda	Bantu-Baganda (minority of Banyarwanda and Western Uganda peoples)	Coffee/Banana Tea/Cocoa/Sugar
Teso	Itesot	Nilo/Hamite-Eteso	Millet/Cotton Cattle

*Agriculture Sector Assessment (USAID)

C. OVERVIEW OF UGANDA

1. Resources

Uganda is a landlocked country situated between latitude 4 1/2 N and 1 1/2 S. It is bounded to the east by Kenya, to the north by Sudan, to the west by Zaire and Rwanda and southwest by Tanzania. Lake Victoria forms a large part of the southern boundary. These ethnically artificial boundaries have profound social and economic influences on those countries adjacent to Uganda, with significant implications for trade and political interaction.

Most authorities (7) claim that 90% or more of the population are engaged in agriculture and depend solely - or largely - on farming for their livelihood. Recent statistics (8) however show a drastic decline in production of the main cash crops, with only minimal recovery since the 1979 War. Uganda has limited proven mineral deposits, mainly copper and tin in the southwest. In pre-colonial times several ethnic groups practiced iron working, especially in the east. During the 1960s a small industrial base was developed, and by 1969 a total of 260 small industries, each employing more than 10 employees, was recorded. (9)

A major agricultural resource is livestock. Table 2 shows figures for livestock population throughout the country in 1962 (10), 1972 (11), and 1982 (12).

TABLE 2

Livestock Population (in millions)
1962 - 1982

	1962*	1972**	1982
Cattle	3.1	4.4	5.0***
Goats	2.5	2.0	2.4
Sheep	.8	.89	1.3
Pigs	na	.08	.28

* Does not include figures for Mbale district
** Does not include figures for goats, sheep and pigs in Bunyoro District
*** Estimates are suspect since the Department admits losses in the past decade of up to 20% cattle due to disease. To this must be added depredations of looting and raiding. An internal analysis between Districts shows other discrepancies between 1969 and 1972 which will be referred to in the District description. By 1970 it has been established that the national herd included 20,000 exotics. These were virtually wiped out by looting at different times.

Uganda has a total land area of 241 thousand square kilometers (13) of which 18% is open water and swamps, including the whole or part of several major lakes in the Nile river system (Victoria, George, Albert, Edward, Kyoga and Wamala being the largest). This extensive water resource not only provides the power for much of Uganda's electricity system, but also the basis for a fishing industry. Uganda exports fish.

In 1973, 12% of the land area was covered by national parks, game and forest reserves, which at that time included woodlots for every gazetted urban area. Today forests have been substantially encroached upon, according to current Forestry Department observations (14), and many of the woodlots no longer exist at all. Of the remaining land area available for cultivation, there has been greater expansion of small trading centers than of the gazetted municipalities and towns. This was most evident in Kigezi and Masaka.

2. Population Trends

In 1980 the total population was 12.6 million compared to 9.5 million in 1969 and 6.6 million in 1959 (15). Over the same period the percentage of urban population has increased from

4.8% to 8.7%. This last figure conceals an even greater rate of urbanization of the African population, since the 1969 urban population included a substantial Asian category. This points to increased urban overcrowding as in the main the increase has been absorbed into the existing (1970) supply of housing. Although no figures are available for housebuilding over the 1970's decade, observation suggests that new building of domestic units has been very limited, and war damage remains substantially unrepaired.

While a major well-documented change in Uganda is population increase, it is not possible to compare growth figures for individual villages with a great degree of accuracy, since there have been undocumented boundary changes in conjunction with the change in District divisions. A current exercise is being carried out to redraw administrative boundaries (16). It is also not possible to statistically compare different population categories other than sex since the 1980 published results are not broken down in any other way.

The sex ratio has not changed dramatically in spite of the general view that many men died in Amin's pogroms, or during the War and its aftermath, leaving a problem of a great number of widows. In 1969 there were 4.8 million males to 4.7 million females, while in 1980 it was 6.3 to 6.38. In 1969, 54% of the total population was under the age of 20. It is unlikely that this ratio has changed very much. Earlier censuses provided breakdowns by ethnic group, by place of birth, and so on, which gave an indication of internal migration. The only information available on this issue is from the SIP survey data and will be discussed in that context.

3. Administrative Division

Up to 1974 Uganda was divided into 12 administrative Districts which largely coincided with major ethnic groups, although within some of these Districts there were a number of minorities (17). Four of the Districts comprised Buganda which was a kingdom until 1966, when, after an attempted uprising in Buganda and an abortive coup, the kingdoms were abolished. It was, however, not ethnically homogeneous and immigrants composed the majority of the population in several counties (18). Historical records document substantial movement of the various peoples who make up present day Uganda, a process which is continuing. Such movements can be a source of conflict between original residents and relative newcomers and there will be further observations on this issue.

At present there are 33 administrative Districts in Uganda. They were created during the Amin government and renamed after the 1979 War. Cutting across earlier boundaries, one objective of the new divisions was to reduce the ethnic bias of the

inherited colonial administrative structure. This new administrative structure has not been fully consolidated. Physical facilities remain to be constructed to house government departments in the new District town headquarters and many remain without transport, stores and other necessities. As has been said, new boundaries have not been adequately mapped. Uganda is also divided into Regions, but in practice these are not the same for all government ministries, although they were gazetted in 1983 and officially number 10. To some extent this follows earlier precedents, since before independence Uganda had four Provinces which were relevant administratively only to certain government departments, while others dealt from headquarters directly to the District level.

4. Social Services

By the time of the military coup in 1971, Uganda had built an impressive network of social services in the form of hospitals, dispensaries, health centers, community centers, schools and technical colleges. As previously noted, it had developed a small industrial base, and exports had expanded. There had been continous development of rural water supplies in the form of both boreholes and protected springs.

Although the impetus created in the 1960s continued to fuel these services and production up to 1974, there has been a continuing decline since that time, which has not been completely arrested in some respects. Recovery in other categories is slow. There is, however, one area in which growth has occurred, which is also documented in the survey, and that is school construction. This, according to survey information, has been on an entirely self-help basis and is therefore doubly dramatic. It must also be said that while the number of institutions has nearly doubled in the last decade, the quality of education may not have been maintained. In 1972, there were 2937 primary schools and 73 secondary schools throughout the country. In 1982 the figures are 4777 and 257 (19).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Edel, May M., The Chiga of Western Uganda, Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1967.

2. Yeld, Rachel, The Family in Social Change: A Study Among the Kiga of Kigezi District, South-west Uganda. Ph.D. thesis for the University of East Africa, 1969.

3. Gerken, E. et al, The Industrial Town as a Factor of Economic and Social Development: The Example of Jinja, Uganda. Weltforum Verlag, Munchen, 1972.

4. In 1979, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, in an unpublished report entitled, "Potential Agricultural Development Zones in Uganda" defined 11 agricultural development zones. These zones were based on a broad homogeneity of ecological factors and broad similarities of economic and social backgrounds. The same report also identifies number of sub-zones within each zone, some of which differ quite substantially from each other. These zones are coincidental with the admnistrative regions recognized by the Agriculture Department. They are partly based on the classification provided in a Report of the Agricultural Productivity Committee of 1954 (see map, Appendix II). This zonal classification tends to follow the agricultural crop patterns of that time rather than indicating commonalities of ecological conditions of altitude, soil and climate. A more useful categorization is provided by A Subsistence Crop Geography of Uganda, by D. MacMaster, Geographic Publications, 1962, which delineates ten geo/physical regions (see map, Appendix II).

5. During the first half of 1983 the country's security problems were mainly limited to what is known as the Luwero triangle (Mukono District to the east, Mpigi to the west, and Mubende to the north), and a section of West Nile along the border with Sudan. At that time the famine situation in Karamoja had abated and aid programs were directed towards establishing a measure of agricultural stability there.

   Since July 1983, and continuing through the first fieldwork phases of the SIP, the security situation deteriorated markedly. Agressive cattle raiding from Karamoja spread into eastern Soroti and Kumi Districts, Lira District and Kitgum, with aerial bombardment in some places. Not only Karamoja but adjoining Districts were subject to military exercises. (At the time of writing - June 1984 - there was some improvement and villagers from east Teso were returning to their homes).

In Mbarara and Rakai Districts there have been concerted efforts by youth "wingers" to uproot people of Banyarwanda origin, many Uganda-born. Refugees have fled to Rwanda from Mbarara, and to Tanzania from Rakai. Masaka itself receives refugees from the Luwero triangle and Rakai. While Kigezi remains undisturbed, one has to pass through the other areas to reach it. A guerilla attack on Masindi in March 1984 resulted in an increase in roadblocks at the time of the Kigezi survey.

In Busoga reaction by rural residents at what was perceived to be grossly unfair assessments of graduated tax resulted in uprisings in Jinja and Kamuli Districts, leaving several persons dead and others hospitalized. This occurred in January 1984, just one week before interviews were to start in Busoga.

In addition to seriously undermining possiblities for development and trade activity, these events probably led to some bias in responses from interviewees, as will be noted in the discussion of survey villages.

6. Brandt, et al, op. cit.

7. USAID, Uganda - Agricultural Sector Assessment, Washington, D.C., 1982.

8. Revised Recovery Programme 1982-84, Uganda Government, and The Commonwealth Secretariat, The Rehabilitation of the Economy of Uganda, Volume 2, 1979.

9. Uganda Government, Manufacturing Industry of Uganda in Figures, 1969 and 1970.

10. Uganda Government, Report on the Uganda Census of Agriculture Vol. I, 1966.

11. Uganda Government, Statistical Abstract, 1973.

12. Revised Recovery Programme 1982-84, op. cit.

13. Statistical Abstract, 1973, op. cit.

14. Verbal information to the FAO team reviewing and assessing agricultural research needs in Uganda, 1983.

15. Uganda Government, Report on the 1980 Population Census, Vol. 1, and Report on the 1969 Population Census, Vol. 1.

16. Verbal information to the writer from a member of the Department of Geography, Makerere University.

17. The m Uganda tribes and their principal districts of residence in 1984 are as follows:

Baganda (Kampala, Mukono, Mpigi, Luwero, Masaka, Mubende, Rakai).

Banyoro (Hoima, Masindi).

Basoga (Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli)

Batcro, Bwamba, Bakonjo, Pigmies (Kabarole, Kasese, Bundibugyo)

Bahima, Bairu (Mbarara, Bushenyi)

Bachiga, Banyarwanda (Rukungiri, Kabale)

Bagisu (Mbale)

Sebei, (Kapchorwa)

Teso, Kumam (Kumi, Soroti)

Acholi, (Gulu, Kitgum)

Langi, (Lira, Apac)

Lugbara, Madi, Kakwa, Alur, Jonam (Arua, Moya, Nebbi)

Karamojong, Suk, Jie, Dodoto, Tepeth, Labwor, (Moroto Kotido)

Bagwere, Banyole, Samia, Johadhola (Tororo)

As is to be noted in the SIP Report, substantial movements of people have taken place so that many Districts have considerable numbers of non-indigenous peoples, some of whom were also born there.

18. Richards, A.I., F. Storrock and J. M. Fortt (eds.), Subsistence to Commercial Farming in Present-day Uganda, London 1973.

19. Statistical Abstract, 1973 and Revised Recovery Programme, 1982-84.

CHAPTER III - HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

A. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH AREAS AND SURVEY COMMUNITIES

1. General Description of Areas

a. Busoga

Busoga has a land area of 18,195 sq. km (1) of which nearly half is open water and swamps, 117 sq. km forest reserves, and 1220 sq. km sleeping sickness restricted areas. It is divided into three Districts: Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli, which are also the names of their respective District headquarters.

In the 1960s it embraced a variety of land use systems purporting to be based on agro-climatic subzones. To the south in the hinterland of Jinja, which is also the main industrial town of Uganda, is an extension of the Nile Crescent banana/coffee complex; to the north, coffee and bananas are grown together with cotton; further north on the Kyoga lakeshore, cotton is grown with cattle husbandry; much of central and eastern Busoga is characterized as being either cotton/banana or cotton/banana/cattle system (2).

According to the 1969 Census, Busoga as a whole had a population of 896,875 (3) while the total for the three Districts in 1980 was 1,221,950. In 1969 it had a density of 102 per sq. km. This statistic is not calculated for 1980. The main ethnic group are Basoga, but the area has attracted immigrants from other parts of Uganda, especially to areas reclaimed with the eradication along the Nile of onchocerciasis, and of sleeping sickness in the south. According to the 1969 Census, a high proportion of the population (17%) was born outside the area (88,240 males and 68,099 females).

Jinja is the second largest town in Uganda, whose present population of more than 45 thousand (4) provides a market for food crops. However, earlier studies (5) showed that the urban demand was not satisfied by farmers in Busoga. More important sources of supply are Mukono District on the east bank of the Nile and Districts of western Uganda. This is still true.

Historically and politically Busoga was a number of loosely federated princedoms (6), and in spite of the fact that it is now part of a Region, including Tororo District, and is itself divided into three Districts, people still commonly refer to Busoga as a distinct entity, and to the Basoga as an identifiable group. The persistence of ethnic identity in spite of administrative division is common to all areas and one continuing basis for political conflict.

Various statistics are presented in Appendix III comparing Busoga with the other surveyed areas in the baseline period

around 1969. These include statistics on industrialization, communications and power, social welfare facilities, and population.

b. Kigezi

Kigezi has a land area of 5242 sq. km. of which only 343 sq. km. are open water and swamps, mainly comprising Lake Bunyonyi and the valley bottoms. Much swampland has recently been drained and is under cultivation or pasture. It has 494 sq. km. of forest reserves, little of which is said to have been encroached upon by cultivators. Kigezi is divided into two Districts, Kabale and Rukungiri. Only Kabale District was surveyed, due to difficulties of transport and roads.

Kabale District is a wholly montane area on the most south western corner of Uganda, bordering Rwanda and Zaire. Altitudes range from 2000 m. to over 4000 m. Although coffee, tobacco and tea may be grown, acreages for both have been small and the main crops, both for subsistence and sale are sorghum and potatoes (both Irish and sweet). In the 1960s there was a Kigezi Vegetable Scheme to provide a more valuable cash crop, which had, in the peak year, a value of sh. 486,000/= to growers (about 69,000 $US at the rates of exchange at that time)(7).

In 1969 the population of Kigezi as a whole was 647,988 while for Kabale and Rukungiri in 1980 it was 751,980, showing a much smaller rate of growth than Busoga. The population density for Kigezi in 1969 was 130 per sq. km. and for Kabale District alone will be higher since the less populated parts of Kigezi are included in Rukungiri District. It has been recognized by all authorities that population density is leading to soil erosion and that the methods introduced in colonial times to counteract this (namely the planting of bunds between fields at regular distances) are no longer effective. High population densities in conjunction with the Chiga system of land tenure and inheritance is also a factor in the extreme fragmentation of holdings in the District.

The major ethnic group are the Chiga, with smaller numbers of Banyarwanda, who started to in-migrate as early as the 1930s (8), and who occupy Bufumbira County next to the Rwanda border. Banyarwanda are considered foreigners in most parts of Kabale District and tensions are not eased by apparent political policies of the present Government to eject Banyarwanda from other Districts. Historically the Chiga are considered to have been a cattle keeping people, although within recorded time the numbers of livestock owned by any household have not been extensive. They had a segmentary lineage system with the extended family being the largest corporate group (9).

As in the case of Busoga, comparative statistics are shown in Appendix III.

c. Masaka

The total land area of the old Masaka District was 21,300 sq. km. of which more than half is open water and swamp. Masaka used to include several islands in Lake Victoria of which the largest are the Ssese group. It also included 398 sq. km. of forest reserves. The original Masaka District has now been divided into Masaka District and Rakai District. Masaka is within the main coffee/banana area. Masaka was noted for the number of large scale farms and still has a larger number than any of the other areas surveyed, including at the present time 50 ranches and 92 dairy farms according to District interviews. Originally there was extensive cotton cultivation over the whole area but by 1960 coffee acreage had outstripped that for cotton.

Potentially Masaka District is a supplier of produce to Kampala, but the extent to which it does is not documented. The main town and District headquarters, Masaka, was extensively destroyed during the War of 1979 and has remained in ruins up to the present, awaiting a plan for rehabilitation. The draft (10) was submitted to the Uganda Government in December 1983. In the 1960s Masaka was one of the fastest growing towns in the entire country.

The population of Masaka District was 640,596 in 1969 and 905,714 in 1980, which represents a substantial increase. Population density in 1969 was 65 per sq. km. While in theory the major ethnic group are the Baganda, and while Masaka formed part of the old Buganda Kingdom, an earlier study (11) demonstrated that in fact immigrants from Rwanda and western Uganda formed the majority of 63% of the population. The history of immigration in this area is fully covered by an earlier study (12). Often such immigrants adopt Ganda names, intermarry and are generally absorbed into the indigenous population. They are reluctant to admit that they or their forbears were strangers. According to the 1969 Census of the total population, more than 150 thousand were born outside the District, and more than two-thirds of the men, and well over half the women, outside Uganda, which amounts to 23.5%

Another issue to be further discussed in detail, which particularly affects Masaka, is the land law. While there are a small minority of large landholders who inherited mailo estates, and a few peasants who have land titles, the majority of cultivators are in effect merely squatters who can at any time be removed from their holdings.

Comparative statistics for Masaka are in Appendix III.

d. Teso

Teso has a land area of 12,921 sq.km., of which 1,938 sq.km. are open water and swamps, and 135 sq.km. forest reserve.

Fishing in both open water and swamps is an important economic activity, both for providing a source of protein in local diets and for marketing within and exporting from the area. Teso includes the Districts of Kumi and Soroti. It is characterized as being a cotton/millet/cattle area and was first in Uganda in adopting ox-ploughs as early as the 1920s (13). By 1960 nearly 100% cultivated with oxen (14). However, few other implements had been introduced by 1970 except on an experimental basis, although oxen are also used for hauling loads on locally constructed sleds.

The population of Teso was 570,628 in 1969 and for the two Districts today numbers 716,168. The overall population density in 1969 was 52 per sq.km. However, densities vary considerably within the District between different counties, ranging in 1959 from 62 to 218 per sq.mile (15) (about 24-84 per sq.km.). Although population densities are lower than both Kigezi and Busoga, poorer soils and the large livestock population contribute to increasing pressures in some places.

The main ethnic group is Iteso, although one county is occupied by the Kumam people - an admixture of the Teso and Lango. This designation conceals, however, a very diverse history of migrations, conquest and settlement (16). Southwestern Soroti District has also a substantial Bakenyi minority from Tororo District, but according to the 1969 census only 23,000 residents were not born in Teso.

2. The Surveyed Villages

Within each of the four areas, 3 villages were chosen for study. A major criterion was distance from the main town (Jinja in Busoga, Soroti in Teso, Kabale in Kigezi and Masaka in Masaka). Another criterion was ease of access, and a third was point of entry through personal contacts. The villages, however, differ from each other in several other respects, including density and rate of increase of population, number and type of local community institutions and markets, availability of transport, and ease and cost of communications. Although the economic enterprises most important in each area are very different, and there are also contrasts in the management of resources as well as in household structure and organization, the problems informants feel they face are remarkably similar, and the administrative disarray pandemic.

The survey villages were:

Busoga	Bufuula (Ivunamba Parish) Jinja District
	Bunyiiro (Bunyiiro Parish) Iganga District
	Nabwigulu (Nabwigulu Parish) Kamuli District

Kigezi	Kagarama (Kagarama Parish) Kabale District Nyaruhanga (Nyaruhanga Parish) Kabale District Rutengye (Rutengye Parish) Kabale District
Masaka	Buggya (Bulayi Parish) Masaka District Kabuoko (Buyisa Parish) Masaka District Nkalwe (Kagganda Parish) Masaka District
Teso	Arapai (Arapai Parish) Soroti District Kadoki (Kadoki Parish) Kumi District Kamodo (Kamodo Parish) Soroti District

Table 3 compares distance from main towns and population increases between the 1969 and 1980 Censuses. As has been said there may have been boundary adjustments which affect the figures but these would mainly reduce and not enlarge administrative divisions and thus make increases in population even more significant.

TABLE 3

Population of Villages and Distance to Main Towns

Parish	Distance from Main Town	Population 1969	Population 1980	% inc/dec
Bunyiiro	60km	NA	2,257	-
Bufuula	6	3,562	5,976	+ 67%
Nabwigulu	75	1,566	2,144	+ 86
Kagarama	8	4,994	6,222	+ 24
Nyaruhanga	40	2,388	2,595	+ 8
Rutengye	30	2,496	3,211	+ 28
Buggya	4	3,137	2,960	- 6
Kabuoko	35	3,144	3,643	+ 15
Nkalwe	19	4,827	6,909	+ 43
Arapai	6	2,900	5,161	+ 77
Kadoki	50	2,317	2,574	+ 11
Kamodo	42	1,560	2,437	+ 56

a. The Survey Villages - Busoga

Each village has its own dominating characteristics. In Busoga, Bufuula is nearest to Jinja and has a high proportion of household heads absent in employment. There were also numbers of Bagisu immigrants. In spite of its potential affluence, houses are generally poor and the standard of cultivation ragged. The central point for the interviews was a school, the walls of which are not yet completed, even though it was started in the 1960s, and a church for which the foundation is said to have been laid, but no further work was

apparent. There appeared little feeling for community, despite the fact that this is one of the Busoga Diocese/EIL project areas.

Bunyiiro has been the focus of an Experiment in International Living (EIL) and Busoga Diocese (Church of Uganda) multi-sectoral rural development project. Village improvements include a protected well with pump serving about 1,000 homes, and a medical aid post run by the program. The effect of the project was immediately apparent in the appearance of the homes, which are in the main well plastered and clean, and in great contrast to the situation in Bufuula. However one unwelcome side effect was the number of people who saw community needs in terms of distribution of blankets and other goods.

Nabwigulu, the most remote from Jinja, is the village in which one member of the team worked in the 1960s. The most immediate impressions were the increase in people and the decrease of trees; the cultivation of coffee in an area where it was previously discouraged; and the number of pigs. Large tracts of uncultivated land are seen but it is dryer than in the south. There are also moderately sized (about 50+) herds of cows. It is in the cattle/cotton sub-zone of Busoga. While there are in-migrants into the area, the sons of well-known families have nearly all gone to find jobs and land elsewhere. Since they left the household to seek jobs, however, this was not often recorded in the question on males leaving to cultivate elsewhere.

b. The Kigezi Villages

In Kigezi, Kagarama is reached by a steeply winding road, which was constructed in the early 1970s to serve the Government Radio Station, above the municipal water works. There is also a District Farm Institute within the village which seemed to have no contact with the villagers. Kagarama is a large parish stretching along a ridge overlooking Laka Bunyonyi, where a nearby island originally housed a leper colony, and is now a center for the disabled. In spite of its nearness to Kabale town, few people appear to grow vegetables. Soils are apparently very poor and there are few livestock. The most important person from the parish is known as the major entrepreneur of Kigezi, owning hotels, garages and dairy farms. He provides vegetable seedlings to the farmers of Kagarama with the objective of eventual export of produce to Rwanda.

Nyaruhanga is the most remote of the villages, but it is on the main road to Kisoro from Kabale. It is dominated by a Catholic church complete with schools, dispensary, seminary and a large farm. In a neighboring valley the Church of Uganda church and school provide religious competition. It would appear that each valley forms a fairly close-knit community, but they have little to do with each other. Nyaruhanga is conspicuous for

its number of bars and the lack of consumer goods in its few and very poor shops. Much of the grain marketed appears to be retained in the community and sold in the form of beer.

Rutengye, although nearly equidistant as Nyaruhanga from Kabale, is on what is claimed to be the main road from Kabale to Rukungiri. The road is however hardly better than a track. It is the one village in which coffee can be grown and bananas have also recently been planted as a cash crop. Tobacco is another export from the village. Most of the coffee was badly affected by CBD but the EEC Coffee Rehabilitation Project is reputedly operative in the village. The village is contained within a long winding valley with extensively cultivated swamps and bounded by ridges of hills.

c. The Masaka Villages

In Masaka, Buggya lies just behind St. Henry's College, Kitovu. It supplies vegetables to Masaka and a continuous procession of people may be seen carrying head loads or baskets of goods - including bananas, sweet potatoes, 'dodo' (a kind of local spinach), and other things. It is said that in the days of Amin many of the 'mafuta mingi' - literally "those with much fat", those who enriched themselves in Amin's time - had girlfriends living in the parish, accounting partly for the very high proportion of female household heads in the parish, who comprise one-third of the informants.

Kabuoko lies astride the main road to the Tanzanian border. In spite of the fact that the chief claimed part of the parish to be in Masaka District, census reports place it firmly with Rakai. A part is dominated by a large Catholic church which runs an extensive social service network, but the parish is too urbanized and disparate for the Church to exercise complete control over the village. There are between 1 and 6 trading centers (more accurately 4) of fairly substantial size. The one lying in the middle of the interview area has about 30 shops and is said to have expanded rapidly in recent years. It was the scene of a robbery and murder during the survey period, perpetrated by unemployed youths, who were soon captured. It is generally accepted that much crime is perpetrated by similar groups of young people with nothing better to do.

Nkalwe is on the Mbarara road and is evidently the most prosperous of the three villages, judging by the size and condition of the banana plantations. It is an area with a large number of Moslems and, unlike both of the other villages, where one landowner owns nearly all the land, there are some larger farmers and the landlords are four or more in number. In spite of a stated water problem, the chiefs rejected a proposed UNICEF water project because they said people were unprepared to make any local contribution to it. During the survey at least 10 people died in the village (7 children and 3 adults) from unknown causes.

d. The Teso Villages

In Teso Arapai is nearest to Soroti and contains the Agricultural Training College which has an outreach extension program within the parish. It is also the home of one of the Central Government ministers who is developing a large farm and has undertaken rice growing. There is no spread effect from this development. In fact it was said by some informants that all development in Teso is individual development, the individuals being the political elite of the moment. Some members of the present economic elite are former politically elite persons. Arapai seems to have been particularly badly hit by the epidemic of contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia (CBBP) and some individuals whose wealth was based on their cattle are now reduced to penury. The agricultural poverty of the area is immediately apparent and residents are particularly dependent on menial laboring jobs in the various nearby institutions, which include the sub-county headquarters, Teso College, as well as Arapai Agricultural College, and the Meat-Packers Factory (currently not in use) in the immediate vicinity.

Kadoki, while being the furthest from Soroti, lies in fact within the sphere of influence of Mbale for trading purposes. The most notable features of the area are the enormous cattle auctions, which are also extensive markets for all produce and consumer goods, attracting buyers from Kampala and exporting goods to Kenya, and to Sudan and Zaire via Gulu. Kadoki is near a very extensive Church of Uganda mission complex of a hospital and schools, plus a smaller Catholic church, also with a secondary school. Kadoki depends on the facilities in these centers rather than having developed any of its own. The nearest trading center deteriorated to a great extent after the exit of the Asians who previously controlled trade there.

Komodo, while being physically nearer to Soroti, in fact gives the strongest impression of remoteness. It is on the road to what was once the Port of Gondo on Lake Kyoga, whose importance dwindled with the dying out of lake transport. Kamodo is a fairly newly settled area. Much of it used to be forest, and hunting was at one time an occupation (17). The cultivation of bananas suggests that Kamodo is much more fertile than the other areas.

3. Comparative Levels of Village Development

Nearness to major towns was considered a priori to have possible implications in respect to ease of marketing a wide range of crops, and as source of supplementary employment, and therefore villages so located were considered likely to be more prosperous. There was also a probable effect of the town on family organization in spite of Brandt et al's (18) negative

findings in this respect in their Jinja study. In practice it was found that other factors intervene in this equation, resulting in rather more negative than positive effects.

Population densities nearer to town tend to be higher, thus reducing agricultural potential, while most town markets for higher value vegetable crops are essentially limited and can be satisfied by relatively small quantities of produce. On the other hand, the job opportunities open to most villagers are of the poorest type. The existence of town amenities also seems to have the effect of dampening local initiative to develop local facilities. The issue of family organization is discussed in section 2 of this chapter.

The following three tables - 4,5 and 6 - give information on present levels of development in terms of community institutions, markets and trading centers, and of perceived development over the past decade and ongoing development activities. This information was obtained from key informants, supplemented where possible by observation. There was considerable difference of opinion on the numbers of churches and schools, even of cooperatives, stores and trading centers, reflecting informants' uncertainties of parish boundaries and lack of knowledge, or even bias in reporting (e.g. church leaders enumerated the greatest number of churches, especially those of their own faith).

In respect to ongoing or recently completed developments, these again reflect informants' personal interests. There was also found to be a general attitude that development means economic development, especially of agriculture, and it took some probing to elicit positive responses about school construction, which proved to be the major development activity in all areas for the past decade or more.

TABLE 4 (a)

Village Community Institutions

BUSOGA

Facility	Bunyiiro	Bufuula	Nabwigulu
Churches	1 Ch. of Uganda 1 Catholic 1 Moslem	1 Ch. of Uganda	2 Ch. of Uganda 2 Catholic 1 Moslem
Schools	1 Primary 2 Sub-Grade Catholic	1 Primary	1 Primary 2 Sub-Grade Primary
Dispensary	CU Aid Post	CU Aid Post	--
Market	--	--	2
Auction	4 km.at Kakwete	--	--
Trading Center	3 shops	*	1 shop
Coop. Store	1	--	2
Admin. Center	--	--	Nabwigulu Sub-County
Constituency Office	**	--	--
Clubs	Mothers Union Young farmers	YWCA	--
Water	Well, water pump Borehole out of order	Stand pipe	1 Borehole out of order Springs Swamps w/dams

* Market 2 miles at Namulesa

** One informant says there is a registered UPC Office in a house; another claims there was one but defunct after 1980 election (possibly DP Office?).

TABLE 4 (b)

Village Community Institutions

KIGEZI

Facility	Kagarama	Nyaruhanga	Rutengye
Churches	8 Ch. of Uganda 5 Rom. Cath.	1 Ch. of Uganda 1 Rom. Cath.	3 Ch. of Uganda 2 Rom. Cath. 1 Moslem
Schools	7 Primary inc. 1 Church school	2 Secondary 2 Primary 1 per church	1 Secondary 3 Primary 2 Ch. schools
Dispensary	1 not functioning	Clinic at RC Mission	Sub-Dispensary not functioning
Market	--	--	--
Auction	--	--	1 at Kisizi 1 at Rushebeya, 7 mi. away
Trading Ctr.	2 1 w/2 shops, 6 bars 1 w/1 shop	2 1 w/7 shops, 15 bars 1 w/3 shops, 10 bars	3 1 w/4 shops, 11 bars 1 w/3 shops, 4 bars 1 w/2 shops, 13 bars
Coop. Store	--	--	1
Admin. Ctr.	--	1 Kumbo, Sub-county	1 Kasangye Sub-county
Constit. Ctr.	--(Kabale UPC)	--	--
Clubs	Community Dev. Women Mothers Union Girl Guides	Youth Mothers Union Widows RC Youth Young Farmers Literacy, Bakumbo Women	Community Dev. Women Catholic Women Mothers Union
Water	Local well lake, protected springs but damaged	3 boreholes, all out of order UNICEF prot. spring in progress	Streams Swamps

TABLE 4 (c)

Village Community Institutions

MASAKA

Facilities	Buggya	Kabuoko	Nkalwe
Churches	--*	1-2 Ch. Uganda 2-14 Rom. Cath. 1 Moslem 1 SDA	3 Ch. of Uganda 2 Rom. Cath. 1 Moslem
Schools	--	4-12 Primary 2-3 Secondary (9 RC, 2 CU, 1M)	2-5 Primary (2 RC, 2 CU, 1M)
Dispensary	--	1 govt. 1-6 Priv. Clin.	--
Market	--	5 (on diff. days)	1 every 2 wks.
Auction	--	--	--
Trading Ctr.	3 w/3-6 shops ea.	1-6 w/between 6-7 shops ea.	5 w/4-5 shops ea.
Coop. Store	0-2	0-5	0-3
Admin. Ctr.	--	Kirumba Sub-County	--
Const. Office	--	Kirumba	--
Clubs	1 Women	1 Women	3 Womens (YMCA Widows, Muno Mukabi)
Water	Natural springs	1 borehole out of use 3 local wells	Natural wells
Other	1 Coffee and 1 Tea Factory		

* Some claim 1 CU and 1 RC churches, but these are actually outside the parish.

N.B. There is extreme variation in information on numbers of institutions in villages especially in Kabuoko due to changes of boundaries in the area. Thus "O-N" represents the numerical range of institutions reported by enumerators.

TABLE 4 (d)

Village Community Institutions

TESO

Facilities	Arapai	Kadoki	Kamodo
Churches	2 Roman Cath. 1 Ch. of Uganda	1 Ch. of Uganda	1 Roman Cath. 1 Evangelical 1 Moslem 1 Ch. of Uganda 1 Pentacostal
Schools	1 Primary 1 Sub-Grade	1 Sub-Grade P2	1 Sr. Sec. III 4 Primary
Dispensary	--	--	--
Market	1	--	--
Auction	--	1 at Ngora	--
Trading Ctr.	--	--	1 w/30 shops
Coop. Store	1	1	2
Admin. Ctr.	--	--	--
Constit. Ctr.	--	--	--
Clubs	--*	--	-- (used to have)
Water	2 boreholes, local water holes	local water holes	2 boreholes 4 swamps

*Women's leader claims 1 Literary, 1 Women and 1 Young Farmers but it is probable that these are not functioning.

TABLE 5

Reported Village Development Over Past Decade

BUSOGA			KIGEZI		MASAKA			TESO			
Bunyiiro	Bufula	Nabwigulu	Kagarama	Nyaruhanga	Rutengye	Bugya	Kabuwoko	Nkalwe	Arapai	Kamodo	Kadoki
One man built coop store.* Church started in 1974 continuing.	*None	Secondary school. Primary schools. Teacher Training College	Aid Post. 7 schools. Community Center. Radio station. Road.	Secondary schools. 5 protected springs. Village hall (later burned down)	1 secondary school. 1 primary school. Dispensary. 2 Feeder roads. Churches.	None. Individual home and farm development.	None. Trading centers expanded. Some improved housing.	None. All there a long time.	None except primary schools. Cattle dip established.	Borehole not completed. Cattle dip not completed.	None.

* Interviewers not instructed to probe dates of building of schools, other facilities.

TABLE 5A

Reported Current Development Activities in Villages

Aid Post in operation. Large seepage well. Extending primary school. New club activities (all with EIL and Church help).	Church School started some years ago. Aid Post. Some improved houses. EIL & Church help.	Continue work on primary schools.	Permanent church under construction. Aid Post. Water tank. All with Church help.	Extension of secondary schools. Spring protection project (UNICEF)	Secondary school. Primary school. Plan to extend dispensary.	None. Some people have improved houses or grow new crops.	None. People have started to grow pineapples.	Getting electricity through efforts of one person. Swamp crossing.	None except UNICEF borehole with no local participation.	None except plan to build secondary school	None.

TABLE 5 & TABLE 5A

B. HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

1. Introduction

Few rural Ugandans live alone. The vast majority live together in fairly large households. As will be recalled from the introductory section, this study defines the household as a kinship-based human group whose distinguishing characteristics are common residence, sharing of critical productive resources and outputs under one recognized leader (the household head), and guaranteed minimum subsistence for individual members, regardless of their contribution to the output. From this perspective it can be seen that understanding the nature of household structure and organization is essential to understanding the survival strategies of population.

In this section, Uganda's rural households are described with special reference to two broad categories of structural characteristics. The first of these, referred to here as household membership, consists of those structural features which affect a household's choice and performance of survival activities. The second category is here referred to as homestead physical characteristics and consists of those structural features which to a large extent indicate how far a household has been successful in its economic performance.

2. Household Membership

a. General Characteristics

The most visible membership characteristics of Uganda's rural households include, although they are not limited to, the number of occupants, the relation of occupants to the household head, the age structure of the population in the household, the marriage structure (especially with reference to the incidence of polygamy), the distribution of education among the members, and household division of labor. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find appropriate baseline data against which to compare the observations made in this survey and to determine in what ways and to what extent this country's rural households have changed over the last decade. Nevertheless, an effort is made in this section wherever possible to describe the selected aspects listed above, evaluate the observations against the investigators' collective recollection of the situation in the last decade, and to point out what appear to be striking changes.

b. Number of Occupants

There appears to be little variation in household size either across the regions or over time. The largest proportion of households for all regions indicates a membership of over 9

persons each, ranging from 10-27 members, and Masaka has a slightly larger proportion of such households than have Kigezi and Busoga. Table 6 provides a picture of the size distribution of households within the regions surveyed. The data here suggest that there are very few one-person households across the four survey areas.

TABLE 6

Household Size: Number of Occupants

No. Household Occupants	Percentage Distribution of Households Within Survey Regions by Size			
	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso
1	3%	0%	5%	4%
2	6	2	7	10
3	13	4	7	10
4	12	10	12	8
5	9	14	9	10
6	10	13	12	10
7	9	11	6	4
8	9	13	7	8
9	29	33	35	36
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
6	57%	70%	60%	58%

Well over 50% of the households are each occupied by 6 persons or more. There are as many large as small households in Busoga and Teso. In Kigezi and Masaka size distribution is markedly skewed toward the large size. However, the difference is not significant enough to call for an explanation.

Although the percentage of one-person households is relatively small (3%, 0%, 5%, and 4% for Busoga, Kigezi, Masaka and Teso respectively), it points to a significant emerging trend. In the recent memory of the researchers there were not as many people living alone in a Ugandan village in the 1950's or in the early 1960's. These persons living alone are largely the widowed individuals whose adult children have migrated to other

regions in search of wage employment or to seek better and larger farm land. This category of persons will call for collective protection and care before long.

c. Relation of Occupants to Household Head

Despite the worrisome picture described in the preceding paragraph, kinship is still a very influential factor in economic co-operation and social organization in the rural sector. Rural households continue to consist of persons of widely varying degrees of nearness in kinship relationships. This point comes out most vividly when members of the household are viewed in terms of how they are individually related to the household head. The picture in Table 7 clearly suggests that rural families adjust to their changing circumstances by sending some of their members to, or absorbing others from, kin households nearby or afar.

TABLE 7

Relation of Occupants to Household Head

Category of relatives with whom Household Head lives in household	Proportion of Household Heads living with at least one of the kinds of relatives indicated.			
	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso
No spouse	20%	1%	39%	20%
More than one wife	17%	22%	6%	16%
Adult sons	23%	30%	24%	29%
Own children	77%	93%	66%	65%
Wives of sons	11%	5%	7%	16%
Grandchildren	20%	5%	35%	26%
Brothers	8%	3%	7%	10%
Brothers' wives	2%	1%	1%	6%
Brothers' children	5%	3%	8%	9%
Parent(s)	9%	10%	6%	21%

Grandchildren are a good example of members farmed out to their own grandparents. The practice seems to be equally common

across the regions, with the exception of Kigezi where it appears to be rare. The practice is most pronounced in Masaka partly because in Buganda, in addition to the strong custom of all Ugandans of loving to live with grandchildren, people have a more permissive attitude toward illegitimate children of their own daughters and sons. It must be pointed out, however, that this is only a speculation which is based on the researchers' casual knowledge of local practices. An interesting general point to note from Table 7, in connection with farming out the children, is that across the regions the percentages of children living with parents nearly tally with those of the children living with their grandparents, i.e. 66% and 35% for Masaka, 77% and 20% for Busoga, and 93% and 5% for Kigezi. The lower incidence of farming out children in Kigezi could be due to greater population pressure there.

The practice of polygamy, with its implications for the household structure, seems to be evenly distributed across the survey areas, with the exception of Masaka, and will be discussed in greater detail in a separate section. The issue of extended family linkages raises far more points than can be dealt with in the space and time available. Crucial points that have not been specifically dealt with are treated in subsequent parts of this chapter (pp.52-54).

d. Age Structure of the Household Population

While the relation of household members to the household head depicts the structure of interdependencies among kin households, the age structure of the household population indicates degree of intergenerational dependency. Again, there is no baseline picture against which to compare the picture observed in this survey regarding age structure and to assess the amount of change that has taken place during the last decade. In the absence of such comparative data only a comparison between current observations and personal memories of the past can be attempted.

Regarding the picture revealed by the survey, Table 8 shows that age structure is almost identical in the survey areas. Dividing the population roughly into assumed producing and non-producing age-groups, and taking these to consist of those over 20 and those under 20, respectively, one observes dependency ratios of 3 in Busoga, 4 in Masaka, 3 in Kigezi and 2 in Teso. However, these ratios must be treated with caution. Persons at the boundary could fall in either the producing or non-producing group. In the case of the 16-20 age-group, a major determinant is the incidence and duration of the schooling of children in this age group. Since the drop-out rate is very high at the ages of 13 (those who fail to enter secondary school) and 18 (those who fail to join post-secondary institutions), the dependency ratios may be lower than is suggested by the data displayed in Table 8. School drop-outs who do not return to their parents' farms and instead join the rank of

urban unemployed youth only increase urban dependency ratios for kin households.

TABLE 8

Age Structure of Households

Age-groups in years	Age Distribution of Households within Survey Areas			
	Busoga	Masaka	Kigezi	Teso
Under 5	396 (25%)	481 (27%)	522 (29%)	418 (24%)
6 - 15	575 (36%)	668 (38%)	591 (33%)	521 (29%)
16 - 20	209 (12%)	252 (14%)	241 (13%)	212 (12%)
21 - 40	271 (17%)	260 (15%)	319 (18%)	372 (21%)
41 - 60	129 (8%)	97 (6%)	123 (7%)	198 (11%)
61+	35 (2%)	N.A.	11 (0%)	50 (3%)
TOTAL	1615 (100%)	1758 (100%)	1807 (100%)	1771 (100%)
Under 20	1180 (73%)	1401 (79%)	1354 (75%)	1151 (65%)
20+	435 (27%)	357 (21%)	453 (25%)	620 (35%)
Dependency ratios	3	4	3	2
Average House-size	6.0	6.5	6.6	6.5

With regard to the 61+ age-group, it is unfortunate that the group was not disaggregated further by the survey, as this might have helped to reveal the proportion of the population which is very old, such as those over 70 years who need or will need protective social measures in the very near future. While the age structure appears not to have changed over the last decade, the data elsewhere in this report on migration indicate an increase in migration rates, a trend wich is expected to undermine traditional social arrangements for caring for the aged very soon.

e. Structure of Marital Statuses: Incidence of Polygamy

Polygamy is one of the most strongly held values in Uganda and Africa generally. For that reason any observed changes in the incidence of polygamous marriages in this country must be treated as a very significant indicator of social change. Once again, it must sadly be pointed out that no systematic studies

have been carried out on the subject in the past and that no direct comparisons can be made between the present pattern and the past. On the assumption that education (which has been steadily taking root over the years) undermines traditional values, including polygamy, an attempt is made here to compare the incidence of polygamous marriages among schooled and unschooled household heads. In the same way comparisons are made among survey regions in the hope that the more schooled regions would show a correspondingly lower incidence of polygamy. The resulting situation is illustrated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Distribution of Rural Household Heads by Marital Status in Regions

Marital Status	Busoga	Teso	Kigezi	Masaka
Household Head without spouse	20%	20%	7%	39%
Household Head with one wife	63%	63%	71%	56%
Household Head Polygamous	16%	16%	22%	6%
Household Head Schooled* and Polygamous	15%	11%	7%	6%
Household Head Unschooled** and Polygamous	1%	5%	15%	0%

*Schooled refres to primary and post-primary education
**Unschooled - those who have never been to school

From evidence presented in Table 10, Masaka and Busoga are among the more schooled areas, while Teso and Kigezi are among the less schooled ones. The observations in Table 9 do not seem to be in line with the preconceptions of this study, however. That is to say, survey data do not confirm the view that schooled individuals, or the more schooled regions, are less likely to be polygamous than those which are unschooled. In fact, it seems that polygamy is more reliably explained by wealth, rather than by education; that is, household heads who can afford to meet the cost of polygamy are more likely to become polygamous than those who are too poor to do so, regardless of level of education. Where wealth and education are positively correlated, as appears to be in the case of Busoga and Masaka, the schooled are more likely to be polygamous than the unschooled. In other words, given the persistence of the value of polygamy among both the schooled and the unschooled, polygamy is a wealth indicator. That seems to be

the situation summarized in Table 9.

As can be noted from that table, Masaka departs from the general pattern in ways which call for explanation. It registers the very small rate of 6%, as compared to the rates of 16%, 16% and 22% of Busoga, Teso and Kigezi respectively. It also shows that polygamy is confined entirely to schooled household heads. Another peculiar observation in Masaka seems to offer an explanation to the first one. Households were commonly found during this survey in this region where there were several very young children of roughly the same age belonging to the head of the household. Seeing that such children were not likely to be the children of one and the same mother, the housewife, the interviewers sought an explanation from key village informants. It was learned from the informants that it was an accepted practice in Buganda for a household head to bring home to his housewife the children he has produced outside the home with women not married to him, that is, mistresses. This rather permissive practice is likely to be a major explanation of the low incidence of polygamy in Masaka, for it offers an alternative arrangement to men who wish to be polygamous but cannot afford, or would like to avoid, the economic cost of regular polygamy.

A further observation worth taking note of in Table 9 above is the exceptionally high proportion of single-parent households in Masaka (39%). This may be explained as being the result of the 1979 War in which many husbands in Masaka lost their lives. Another explanation from a key informant is that most single women in the area were in fact mistresses of Amin's men who settled in Masaka, having been awarded land grants there. These women, too, were abandoned by their men during the war. Thus, this very high percentage of single-parent households in Masaka consists of widows as well as abandoned mistresses. The social significance of this situation is its implication for the welfare of the children involved in it.

f. Education of Household Members

Rural households invest very heavily in education not only in terms of cash requirements for school expenses, but also in terms of valuable labor hours given up in pursuit of education. They expect education to provide them with an exit from poverty. It is widely believed among the households surveyed, as indeed among others known to the researchers, that if some members of a household acquire readily marketable skills, such skills would in the long run provide profitable linkages for the household concerned with the external world. Specifically, educated members of the household are expected to provide access for their households to economic resources far afield through urban employment. To put it differently, education is expected to widen the economic radius of a rural household and thereby free it from local economic risks. Investment in education is, thus, also a risk aversion strategy.

However, the most immediate importance of education to the survival starategies of rural households is its potential for improving the management qualities of the household head and for enhancing the capacities of household members generally for effective resource husbandry. Survey data on the education of household heads are summarized in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Regional Profile of Education of Household Heads

Level of Education Attained	Percentage Distribution - Regions			
	Busoga	Kigezi	Teso	Masaka
Never went to school	22%	41%	26%	14%
Primary education	64%	53%	62%	67%
Secondary or higher	14%	6%	12%	19%

The data clearly indicate that an overwhelming majority of household heads in the survey areas are educated. Households in Masaka have the most educated heads, followed by those in Busoga, Teso and Kigezi, in that order. An interesting aspect of this picture is that Masaka, which has the largest proportion of female-headed households, has the most educated household heads (compare with Table 9). This suggests that Masaka emphasizes the education of women more than do other regions, where this level of female education is yet to be attained.

The overall picture presented in Table 10 suggests that few rural households today would be bypassed by development programs in which participation requires that a household be at least literate. However, the proportion of uneducated household heads, especially in Kigezi, indicates an urgent need for an adult education program to promote literacy and thereby to help equalize participation of households in development throughout the country.

The situation relating to the education of rural children is described in Table 11. Indeed, two pictures are presented in the table, namely that of the participation of the 6-15 age-group in primary schooling and that of the participation of the entire school-going age-group, the 6-20 group.

TABLE 11

The Proportion of Rural Children Attending School

Age-group, Level of Attendance	Distribution of Attendance			
	Busoga	Teso	Kigezi	Masaka
Children 6-15 in Primary	86%	79%	83%	92%
Children 6-20 in all schools	75%	66%	68%	77%

The proportion of children attending school is an indicator of several aspects of the household economy, the most important of which are labor availability and investment in human capital, as pointed out at the beginning of this description on education. These very high rates of school attendance imply heavy investment of meager resources. This situation means that whether or not education is a profitable investment is a very important issue in the welfare of rural households. The relevant policy issues involved are to be considered in a later section.

g. Division of Labor in the Household

A central aspect of household structure and organization is division of labor. The division of labor relating to domestic tasks in rural Uganda, as in most of the developing world, is culturally determined and is characterstically based on age and sex. For this reason any enduring change in the pattern of domestic division of labor is a reliable indication that social change is taking place. Patterns of domestic division of labor in Uganda are not systematically documented and therefore change in this area of life cannot be assessed from the survey observations that are being presented here. However, those who have background knowledge of rural communities may find these findings useful for assessing change.

To generate information on patterns of division of labor in the household, a number of basic household tasks were listed and the household head was asked to identify which member or members of the household commonly performed which tasks. The tasks listed were cooking, washing clothes, collecting firewood, collecting water,caring for small children, and cleaning the house and compound. Household members were categorized into seven task-performing groups, based on age and sex as follows: adult men, adult women, children under 10, boys over 10, girls over 10, all children together, and women together with children. The findings are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12 - HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOR

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PATTERN OF DIVISION OF LABOR AND BY REGION

Categories of Household Members Performing Indicated Household Tasks	Cooking				Washing Clothes				Collecting Firewood				Collecting Water				Caring for Small Children				Cleaning House or Compound			
	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso
Adult Men	3%	1%	4%	4%	5%	3%	5%	6%	5%	17%	6%	5%	5%	4%	5%	5%	3%	1%	4%	7%	14%	1%	7%	13%
Adult Women	50%	74%	37%	68%	49%	63%	31%	55%	37%	29%	20%	64%	34%	31%	20%	61%	51%	84%	37%	64%	35%	69%	24%	50%
Children Under Age of 10	0%	3%	1%	0%	0%	4%	1%	0%	0%	7%	1%	0%	0%	10%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	3%	0%
Boys Over 10	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	14%	3%	0%	0%	3%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%	0%
Girls Over 10	0%	5%	2%	2%	0%	5%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	0%	3%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	11%	2%	1%
All Children	11%	1%	19%	0%	3%	4%	12%	1%	9%	15%	23%	0%	9%	23%	30%	1%	2%	1%	7%	1%	4%	1%	16%	1%
Women & Children	36%	14%	-	19%	35%	17%	41%	16%	44%	13%	34%	19%	45%	22%	31%	26%	28%	5%	30%	7%	30%	12%	38%	13%
No Response	0%	1%	-	7%	8%	3%	7%	21%	5%	3%	8%	11%	7%	4%	9%	6%	16%	7%	20%	18%	16%	1%	9%	15%

Footnotes:
(1) Some labor contributions recorded for men, like cooking, are most likely to be in respect to single men living in households without adult women or girls over age of 10.
(2) The high non-response rates are due to the fact that the tasks in question are not performed in the home, like caring for children, or due to the fact that the tasks are very rarely performed, such as washing clothes in very poor households.
(3) Note that boys, like men, register a low contribution to labor in all regions, except for collecting firewood in Kigezi.

The percentages in the table are written against the category of performers who commonly perform the task indicated. The percentages are actually the proportions of the households in the relevant region where that category of household members commonly perform the indicated tasks. For example, in 3% of the households in Busoga, cooking is commonly done by adult men; in 84% of the households in Kigezi, the task of caring for small children is commonly performed by adult women.

As can be seen from the data presented, it is women who commonly perform nearly all domestic tasks in nearly all regions, either alone or with their children. This pattern is most pronounced in Kigezi, especially with respect to cooking, washing clothes, caring for small children and house cleaning. Busoga and Kigezi show a marked contrast with respect to the use of child labor on household tasks. According to the data, few households in Busoga allocate enduring responsibilities to children as individuals, although the children are expected to perform as a group or in the company of their mothers. In Kigezi more households use child labor for more tasks than is the case in Busoga and Masaka. This pattern of labor has relevance for the design of rural development programs and will be further analyzed in a later section.

In concluding the description of household structure in terms of the structural characteristics of household membership, it may be generalized that there are a few regional differences which would justify a differential approach to the design and implementation of development programs for individual regions. Examples of aspects on which household structure and organization show visible regional differences are the proportion of female-headed households; the extent to which family members are farmed out, or absorbed by, kin households; the way in which polygamous marriages are managed; the costs and benefits of investment in education together with levels of literacy attained; and patterns of division of labor together with their implications for the involvements of various categories of household members in development programs.

C. HOMESTEAD PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In this survey it has been assumed that the physical appearance of a household is a fairly reliable indication of its historical and current economic status as well as of the success of its survival strategies. It is realized that culture influences certain physical characteristics of the homestead, like the number and layout of the dwelling units. However, most other important characteristics, such as the quality of the dwelling units, the condition of the clothing of household members, the type of water storage facilities, the standard of cleanliness, and the presence in the household of expensive possessions, are largely determined by economic status.

Uganda's rural households divide into two broad physical patterns that seem to be environmentally or culturally determined. One pattern is to be commonly found in what has come to be known as the coffee-banana zone of the country. This is where Masaka and Busoga belong. The other pattern is to be found in the millet zone and this is where Kigezi and Teso belong. These two patterns have a number of contrasting features.

Households in the coffee-banana zone are typically situated alone, each on its own landholding. The household layout commonly features one relatively large dwelling house for all household members; a small round hut to accommodate the kitchen and small livestock, like chickens, goats, sheep and pigs; and a small granary, although a substantial number of households in this zone tend to store their food in the dwelling unit. Some of the poorer households, however, tend to have only one, all-purpose house, accommodating household members, the kitchen, food grains and small livestock. Polygamous households are essentially several homes in one, with each wife typically having her own dwelling house, kitchen and granary. Indeed, some of the richer polygamous men actually set up a separate home on a separate landholding for each wife. Such homes were treated in this survey as separate households.

In the millet zone, several households cluster together on one compound, away from their individual landholdings. Generally, each household has many relatively small dwelling units, each accommodating a separate category of household members, for example, parents and small children, older boys, and adult sons. Also, a separate hut is built to accommodate the kitchen and small livestock, although it is common to build a separate shed for the latter. The physical adjustments which are made in the coffee-banana zone to cope with poverty and polygamy, and which have been described above, are applied in this zone as well. In both zones an area at the edge of the household compound is fenced in with shrubs to accommodate cattle and other large domestic animals at night.

Building materials for traditional dwellings are determined by what the local environment offers. Papyrus provides thatching materials in Kigezi; elephant grass is used in Masaka and Busoga; and straws and palm leaves in Teso. The local types of trees and soil determine the quality of the walls of dwellings found in each area. The walls of traditional dwellings in Teso and Kigezi look sturdier, neater, and better plastered than those in Masaka and Busoga. Huts made entirely of grass are now rarely used as permanent dwelling units in any region, except perhaps for those of the the elderly and the infirm who may not be able to construct a mud and wattle walled hut. The swamp reclamation campaign, like that going on in Kigezi, clearing most of the papyrus, and the general deforestation process in most parts of the country, are leading to a general deterioration of traditional dwelling units in the rural sector

as a whole. It is more difficult now to build good, quality dwellings, or to carry out effective repairs, due to the current scarcity of trees and thatching materials and to the high cost of manufactured materials.

In order to assess the present economic situation of Uganda's rural households, the survey focused specifically on the dwelling units, the condition of the clothing of household members, the household's water storage vessels, the standard of cleanliness and the presence of such rural wealth indicators as a bicycle and a radio set. The findings on these physical aspects are described in the succeeding paragraphs.

The building materials of the dwelling units of a household are perhaps the most reliable indicator of its standard of living, at least the historical standard of living. In rural Uganda the shape of the house also tends to be an indicator of the occupants' socio-economic status. On the basis of these two criteria (materials and shape) rural household dwellings can be ranked in the following ascending order of prestige: grass huts; round huts made of mud and wattle walls with a thatched roof; square or rectangular dwellings made of mud and wattle walls with iron roof; square or rectangular dwellings made of brick or block walls with iron roof. The survey data have been organized to show frequency counts of each of these types of dwellings for each survey area. The overall situation is displayed in Table 13. In the table the categories of dwellings are numbered from 1 to 5, from the worst to the best. Categories 1 and 2 are clearly low-status dwellings, while categories 4 and 5 are high status.

TABLE 13

Types of Rural Dwellings Found

Categories of dwellings based on building materials and shape in ascending order of socio-economic status	Proportions of the different types of dwellings found in sampled households by area			
	Busoga	Masaka	Kigezi	Teso
1. Grass huts	109(17%)	10(2%)	4(1%)	135(14%)
2. Round/mud-wattle/ thatched roof	213(33%)	6(1%)	6(2%)	675(72%)
3. Rectangular/mud-wattle/thatched roof	125(19%)	230(42%)	317(55%)	68(7%)
4. Rectangular/mud-wattle/iron roof	166(26%)	230(42%)	238(41%)	45(6%)
5. Rectangular/brick-block iron roof	31(5%)	69(13%)	3(1%)	14(1%)
Total for sampled households in each area	644	545	576	937
Average number of dwellings per household	2.4	2.0	2.1	3.4

Using these two broader categories to compare regions, i.e., low status and high status, a number of observations stand out, some of them rather surprising. First, one observes the predominance of low-status dwellings in Teso and Busoga, particularly the round, mud and wattle huts of Teso. Perhaps this is not so surprising in the case of Teso, since different categories of household members have to sleep in separate houses and many dwellings are therefore needed for each household. It would be too expensive even for the not-so-poor to attempt to build very big units of the better kind. It is a rather surprising observation in the case of Busoga, however. This is true particularly with regard to the large number of grass huts. These had virtually disappeared from Busoga by the late 1950s, and it raises a question to see them in large nunmbers today, thirty years later. It might be speculated that this situation is a sign of growing poverty, combined with a severe decrease of forest resources. Comparing the four regions on the basis of dwelling categories 1 and 2 combined, we find that Busoga has 50% of its dwellings units in the low-

status category, Masaka 3%, Kigezi 3%, and Teso 86%. In the high status category Busoga has 31%, Masaka 55%, Kigezi 42% and Teso 7%. Clearly, Teso and Busoga are much worse-off than Masaka and Kigezi on housing. It must be pointed out, however, that categorizing dwellings as roughly as was done in this survey is potentially misleading, as there is great heterogeneity in each category, especially the iron roofed categories. Many of these houses were built in the 1960s with iron roofing materials of the very cheap kind and many of the roofs now look rusty and bad, and they also leak when it rains. The picture as described here urgently calls for a housing policy for the rural sector, which Uganda does not seem to have today.

A survey of the condition of the clothing of household members has revealed roughly the same picture as that revealed by the housing survey. The vast majority of rural people are very poorly clothed. Five categories were devised for classifying the clothing condition of children and adults, from the best to the worst, as follows: fairly new; untorn; slightly torn; badly torn; and rags. To bring out the current situation on the condition of the clothing, the data were analyzed to show for each region how households in each region are distributed by the clothing condition of their members. In Table 14 the proportions of households in each region are indicated by categories based on the condition of the clothing of household members. The table summarizes the current situation.

TABLE 14

Condition of Household Members' Clothing (n=270)

Condition of clothes of household members	Distribution of households in survey areas by condition of members' clothing							
	Busoga		Masaka		Kigezi		Teso	
	Children	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	Adults
No response	20%	2%	10%	0%	6%	3%	24%	3%
Fairly new	11%	14%	14%	19%	15%	23%	12%	21%
Untorn	21%	31%	30%	41%	24%	32%	24%	33%
Slightly torn	24%	28%	26%	20%	36%	33%	29%	31%
Badly torn	14%	17%	18%	18%	18%	9%	9%	11%
Rags	10%	8%	2%	2%	1%	0%	2%	1%

The picture becomes even clearer when the categories are collapsed and reduced to two. If the "fairly new" and the "untorn" categories are combined, the "good clothing condition" category is formed. Similarly, if the "badly torn" and the "rags" categories are combined, the "bad clothing condition" is formed. This leaves out only the "slightly torn" category, which is almost equally distributed across the regions and can be safely put aside in this analysis. The distribution of households in the "bad clothing condition" category for children and adults, respectively, is as follows: 24% and 25% in Busoga; 20% and 20% in Masaka; 19% and 9% in Kigezi; and 11% and 12% in Teso. This is a rather surprising result in that the incidence of the "bad clothing condition" is higher in the traditionally richer regions of Masaka and Busoga than in the less rich regions of Kigezi and Teso. If the distribution of households by "the good clothing condition" category is examined, a somewhat similar trend emerges, but with additional information. Following the preceding procedure, the distribution for the "good clothing condition" is as follows: 32% and 45% in Busoga; 44% and 60% in Masaka; 39% and 55% in Kigezi; and 36% and 54% in Teso. Here the situation changes slightly, with Masaka coming to the top, but Busoga remains at the bottom. The additional information in this distribution is that the incidence of the "good clothing condition" is higher for adults than for children in all regions. The juxtaposition of the data on the clothing condition for children and adults is meant to provide some rough indication of the existing degree of inequality in the distribution of benefits within Ugandan households between children and adults. The present data suggest that there is no significant inequity, except perhaps in Kigezi, where children fare unfavorably in all clothing condition categories.

Another very significant physical aspect of the rural household is its water storage facilities. These not only have something to indicate about the socio-economic status of the household but also have implications for the health of its members. The water storage vessel traditionally used virtually throughout the country is the clay pot. But with modernization, a number of factory-made containers have found their way into the villages. Many of these new types of vessels are more durable than the clay pot but less easy to clean or keep clean and do, thus, to some degree pose a health risk for villagers.

These new types of vessels include the plastic gallon, the drum, and the tank. A few households cannot afford these or even the traditional clay pot and store their water in open aluminum cooking pots, which are not suitable for water storage. In this survey, households were asked to state what they used for water storage and Table 15 presents the distribution of households by types of water storage used, including those which have no special water storage vessel.

TABLE 15

Rural Water Storage Vessels

Description of water storage vessel	Distribution of households within regions by type of water storage vessels used			
	Busoga	Masaka	Kigezi	Teso
No response	2 (1%)	1 (0%)	2 (1%)	4 (2%)
No storage vessel	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	22 (8%)	1 (0%)
Tank	3 (1%)	15 (6%)	1 (0%)	2 (1%)
Drum	21 (8%)	48 (18%)	8 (3%)	1 (0%)
Plastic gallon	14 (5%)	116 (43%)	71 (26%)	1 (0%)
Clay pot	221 (84%)	47 (17%)	165 (67%)	252 (94%)
Other	1 (0%)	39 (14%)	1 (0%)	9 (3%)

An inspection of Table 15 reveals roughly the same patterns that emerged in the preceeding description, with regions being consistently ranked on the socio-economic scale. The regions which were shown to be poor on the preceding criteria register the highest incidence of using the most affordable water storage vessel, the clay pot. From the worst-off to the best-off region the distribution for the use of the clay pot is as follows: Teso 94%, Busoga 84%, Kigezi 62% and Masaka 17%. The distribution for the use of the most expensive water storage facility, the tank, is as follows: Masaka 65%, Busoga 1%, Teso 1% and 0% for Kigezi. This distribution also places Masaka in the top position, where it remains for the use of other expensive vessels like the drum and the plastic gallon.

The problem of water storage in the rural household needs to be further studied as it bears directly on the health of the rural population. This is one area where the skills and resources in the field of appropriate technology could yield dividends.

Another criterion which was used in the survey to evaluate the economic well-being of the rural population was the standard of cleanliness of the household, both inside and around it. Standards of cleanliness were evaluated on a subjective four point scale with the points on it being marked "good", "fair", "poor" and "bad". Households were subjectively ranked on the scale and the results of the assessment of the standard of

cleanliness are presented in Table 16. There are no significant regional variations. Percentage distributions of households for each level of cleanliness are almost evenly distributed across the regions. This perhaps confirms what is generally believed, namely that cleanlines does not exclusively depend on economic status. It must be pointed out, however, that because of the subjective nature of the assessment, inter-regional comparisons are perhaps not valid. The enumerators who did the assessment were recruited locally and must have used local standards of cleanliness to classify the households in their own areas.

TABLE 16

Standard of Cleanliness

Description of condition	Distribution of households within regions by condition of cleanliness			
	Busoga	Masaka	Kigezi	Teso
No response	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	5 (2%)	5 (2%)
Good	46 (18%)	62 (23%)	24 (9%)	67 (24%)
Fair	130 (49%)	128 (47%)	159 (59%)	148 (55%)
Poor	64 (24%)	55 (20%)	76 (28%)	46 (17%)
Bad	22 (8%)	23 (9%)	6 (2%)	4 (1%)
Total	265	271	270	270

This description of the physical characteristics of the homestead is here concluded with a description and assessment of the current situation on the basis of the presence of radios and bicycles in rural households. In the 1960s the bicycle and the radio were possessions to be found in virtually every home in the countryside. Therefore, the current situation concerning possesion of these items is a very good indicatic . of the change that may have taken place in the economic situation of the rural sector. Table 17 describes the current situation in the surveyed regions.

TABLE 17

Possession of Bicycles and Radios

Status on possessions	Proportion of households which possess at least a radio set or bicycle in each area							
	Busoga		Masaka		Kigezi		Teso	
	Radio	Bcyc	Radio	Bcyc	Radio	Bcyc	Radio	Bcyc
No response	6%	6%	1%	41%	4%	3%	3%	3%
With	18%	22%	36%	25%	25%	20%	13%	26%
Without	76%	72%	63%	74%	71%	77%	84%	71%

Looking at the situation by region, one notices that both the radio and the bicycle are now very rare possessions in the countryside. The percentage of households which own radios varies from the lowest of 13% in Teso to the highest of 36% in Masaka. No census of household radios has ever been taken in Uganda but according to the personal knowledge of the researchers, the percentage of households which owned radios in the 1960s was well over 90% in the richest region, 50% in the average region and perhaps under 30% in Karamoja, one of the least developed regions of the country. Thus, the present situation is very inferior in comparison to that of the 1960s.

The extent of ownership of bicycles indicates exactly the same situation. Ownership varies from the highest percentage of 26% in Teso to the lowest of 20% in Kigezi. In the 1960s bicycles were more widely owned and virtually every household everywhere had a bicycle. Thus, the present extent of bicycle ownership indicates a very severe economic depression, given the fact that no substitute means of transportation has been introduced in the subsequent periods. These two indications not only show a substantial degree of economic decline but also the great degree to which the rural household has been isolated in terms of mass-media communication and transportation. If the radio and the bicycle are to be used for development purposes, concrete measures need to be undertaken to increase the availability of these in the rural sector.

The overall picture that has been revealed by the survey of the household structure and organization indicates that social structure has remained virtually unchanged, but that the economic situation has badly deteriorated in ways that have caused the rural household to be isolated from national affairs, and forced it to use the traditional structure more intensively in order to cope with the deteriorating economic situation. Other sections of this report bring out the extent

to which traditional resource systems are being utilized by rural households at the community level.

The only visible emerging change in social structure is the increased numbers of female-headed households. In Busoga and Masaka this trend may be explained in terms of the devastations of the 1979 War. In other regions which were not very much affected by the war, male labor migration stimulated by shortage of farming land is the major explanation.

D. THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

1. Resources Available to the Household

a. Land

While many informants will be shown to have different sources of earning money, the basic resource of most country dwellers is their land. It is in many areas a dwindling resource. Nevertheless, almost all earlier studies pointed to labor as being the major constraint to increased cultivation, and this was the reason for the various projects to mechanize with tractor hire or to introduce oxen. Kigezi was the exception to this general thesis. It was assumed that pressure on land in that District was the major inhibitor of agricultural development.

Land varies in quality and productivity between areas due to differences of soils and climate, and land use patterns (19). Even within one farm, natural factors frequently cause variable fertility. While labor has been said to be a major bottleneck (20), this is not wholly borne out by landholding statistics (21). More specific studies have pinpointed other factors as affecting the extent of cultivation as well as the choice of enterprise (22). Factors include: the ratio between expected additional return and the additional effort involved; what such return can be used to purchase; and degree of risk.

The survey data contrasts to some extent with agricultural census findings of 1962 (23), in respect to size of landholdings per household, more particularly in Busoga and Teso, where a much smaller proportion of larger landholdings appears in the survey samples. This may be due to underestimation in the survey. The acreage estimates for the survey samples were necessarily approximate, since there was no means or time for actual measurement, although in each place discussions with the enumerators attempted to fix standard concepts of the size of an acre. The small size and dispersed nature of holdings in Kigezi made accurate estimation there especially difficult. In Kigezi and in the other regions, on-going tax assessment exercises may have resulted in deliberate underrepresentation by some informants. On the other hand, it may equally well be

that the survey findings present a true picture of the situation at the present time, in view of the population increase and therefore increasing population pressures on the land that have already been documented (24). Table 18 compares baseline data from the 1962 Agricultural Census with current survey statistics on landholdings.

TABLE 18

Comparison Baseline/Current Size Total Landholdings per Household

	5 acres* or less		5+ - 10		10+ - 25		25+	
Area	Surv** 1984	Cens 1962	Surv 1984	Cens 1962	Surv 1984	Cens 1962	Surv 1984	Cens 1962
Busoga	63%	34.2%	23%	27.6%	10%	26.8%	1%	11.4%
Kigezi	55	58.2	31	19.5	10	15.1	2	7
Masaka	76	62.9	17	23.5	4	9.9	3	3.7
Teso	53	16	27	21	15	35	5	28

* Not only are 1962 measurements in acres, but the concept of hectares was not meaningful to informants or to enumerators. Acres are thus used throughout.

** Differences between total percentages and 100 are made up by non-responses and rounding.

The degree of pressure on land is also measured by informants' responses to the question of whether or not they cultivate all of their land. In Teso, only 36% responded affirmatively, but this has to be balanced (as will be illustrated later) against a larger livestock population. In Busoga, 63% and in Masaka 61% stated they cultivate all their land, while at the most extreme, 92% of households in Kigezi have all their land in continuous cultivation.

A constraint on land use, other than the absolute supply of land, and the supply of labor in relation to level and nature of technology, is the system of land tenure. Customary land tenure as an institution, and legal statutes institutionalizing land transactions and use, are discussed at greater length in Chapter IV. The following paragraphs describe land tenure patterns, especially inheritance procedures, practiced in each of the survey areas.

b. Land Tenure in Busoga

Both traditional and current practices in the survey areas differ somewhat and have points in common. Busoga, with more plentiful land, and with the example of Buganda next door,

commercialized its land transactions earlier than the other areas. Sale of land was common in Busoga at the time of Independence, as was rental, and a form of land leasing. Land in Busoga was normally inherited through the male line. Although it was not unknown for a woman to inherit, it was very unusual. However, women whose husbands die when their children are young may hold the land in trust until the children are of age, and may continue as the occupier after that.

In the early 1960s it was general for a man to allot his sons some portion of his land when they reached adulthood, often in their early teens. This gift was consolidated when they married. However, there appears an increasing tendency for young men to seek land elsewhere and not to expect to obtain what they need from their families. The land a man was still cultivating or holding at his death would be passed to his eldest son, unless he had made a will. Such deathbed bequests were not uncommon. The eldest son would then ensure so far as possible that the needs of his brothers for land were also met.

Busoga also had land controlled by traditional chiefs in a somewhat similar manner to Buganda's 'mailo'. This as well as mailo was abolished by the 1969 law. Often, however, the distinction between this and the chief's personal land was not complete, and some land had been absorbed into their individual estates.

c. Land Tenure - Kigezi

In Kigezi, land is held almost exclusively by men. The small number of women household heads in the Kigezi sample testifies to this (only 4). Land is given by a man to his sons on marriage, so that by his death most will have been divided (25). The remaining land is to be inherited equally by the sons of the wife who was cultivating a particular portion at the time of the household head's death.

The requirement that a man must give some land to each of his sons has led to increasing fragmentation due not only to such division, but to the augmentation of inherited plots with those purchased, often at some distance from each other. The increasing pressure on the land has also led to migration, which up to 1971 was organized by the Uganda government. Yeld has explored the effects of this on family organization in her thesis (26). The areas surveyed are essentially areas of out-migration, while most in-migration was to Rukungiri District in north of Kigezi. One effect of the 1969 law in Kigezi has been the increasing enclosure of what were common lands, especially the swampy valley bottoms.

d. Land Tenure - Masaka

In Masaka, while most of the sample have in fact the status of squatters, nevertheless they continue to transfer occupancies

in a number of ways without reference to the landlord, unless the question of a registered title is involved. Little has been written on traditional peasant practices of tenure in Buganda, as most authorities are concerned with the effect of the 'mailo' system, especially its potential to promote an agricultural revolution after the European pattern.

Women, however, more often inherit land directly in Buganda than anywhere else, often having been given it by fathers, brothers or husbands in the first instance. It was a practice of the late and ex-Kabaka to reward his girlfriends with grants of property this way. There appears to be no obligation of fathers to give sons land during their own lifetime, which may be one reason for the much larger number of household members with other occupations in Masaka.

e. Land Tenure - Teso

In Teso, land was inherited, given, or acquired on a first settler basis with the permission of the clan elders. Land ownership was traditionally the prerogative of men. Widows were attached to the homesteads of either their husbands' brothers or their sons. In the 1960s it was impossible to purchase land in Teso, because it was not yet an accepted practice, but as may be seen from Table 13, the practice is being gradually accepted.

Most land is inherited. In theory inheritance is decided by clan elders, although a man may nominate his successor. In practice, substantive division of the land will have been made before a man dies, so that his heirs are merely confirmed in their occupancy. Land may be inherited by the eldest son only, or it may be divided between all the sons.

Usually land is cultivated by an extended family of a man and his sons, their wives and children, but when the father dies his sons soon split up and form their own households (27).

f. Common Land

In some places in each of the areas there are common lands which may be used to supplement individual holdings for pasturage and the collection of firewood. In Kigezi, as has been said, it was also usual for villagers to get plots for the cultivation of food crops in the valley bottoms and swamps.

It was, however, apparent in the survey that only in Nabwigulu and Bunyiiro (Busoga) and Kamodo (Teso) were such areas freely available. In the other villages of Teso and in Bufuula (Busoga), livestock graze on the owner's own fallow land, or by the hedgerows, or occasionally in Teso, on the land of cooperating households. In Masaka the individual tenure generally prevents the exercise of common rights, or the density of population has effectively eliminated common lands. The elimi-

nation of common pasturage can also affect access to salt licks for cattle, which tend to be of limited location.

In Kigezi, while food plots of villagers were seen in Rutengye, it is no longer possible to get such supplementary land in Kagarama and Nyaruhanga. It is also evident that in much of Teso and Kigezi, firewood is already, or will become, a problem in the near future. It is even now being purchased by some households in Buggya.

2. Resources Available to the Household - Labor

a. Family Labor

In cultivating his land, the household head has available certain family labor resources, which may be supplemented by recourse to traditional cooperative work groups in some areas, and by hired labor.

Household structure and organization have been discussed fully in the previous sections of this chapter. However, one or two issues may be raised at this juncture. The first is that family size can be both an asset in terms of supply of labor and a liability in terms of dependence ratio. In respect to the four samples it appears that a very high percentage of school age children are in fact in school, and there is no certainty that adult members of the household cooperate in cultivation. Between 65 and 75 percent of children are calculated to be in school, and only in Teso is it a common practice for the men of the household to work together. In Kigezi in fact it was stated that men seldom cultivate, and then only on crops which are going to be sold, e.g. bananas, coffee and occasionally sorghum. In polygamous households each woman works on her own plots. Assistance from other adult members of the household, apart from wives, was obtained in 20% of cases in Busoga, 8% in Kigezi, 9% in Masaka and 33% in Teso.

b. Cooperative Labor

In addition some households participated in traditional cooperative groups. These were classified into two categories: the 'kibina' which is a semi-permanent group which cultivates each of its member's fields in turn (28) and which generally is composed of members from younger age groups as this type of work organization requires some stamina. The second category is the group organized for a particulzar task, such as harvesting, and which will be served with food and drink at the end of each working day. As Vincent (29) points out this requires resources of surplus grain, which means that poorer households will not be able to afford such assistance. Table 19 compares percentages of households participating in these work groups in each area. In Teso there is also a system whereby those with oxen and/or ploughs form a team with others who are prepared to

help in a ploughing team. In return their own fields are also ploughed.

TABLE 19

Percentages of Households Participating in Cooperative Work Groups

Area	Kibina	Traditional Group
Busoga	7%	1 case
Kigezi	15%	8%
Masaka	-	-
Teso	9%	22%

It is clear that in Masaka households are entirely dependent on family labor unless they can afford to hire laborers. This has become more difficult and more expensive. It would appear that in Busoga, too, households are becoming relatively more isolated from community involvement in mutual help in farming.

c. Hired Labor

Hired labor is another alternative. In earlier times in Masaka many households hired labor on a monthly basis and in Busoga and Teso a few also did likewise. According to the 1962 Census (30), the percentages employing labor in each area were Busoga 21.1%, Kigezi 13.3%, Masaka 52.4% and Teso 51.6%. In Buganda Region more than 90% of such labor was employed on a weekly or monthly basis and the remainder on a casual basis (31). In the Eastern Region on the other hand (which includes Busoga and Teso) only 17.6% employed laborers by the month. In the West the proportion was 66.4%. Percentages of those now hiring labor on a monthly and on a casual basis are given in Table 20. In Masaka the basis of payment is by the day, in other areas it is more often by the task. In Kigezi sometimes individual men or women organize themselves into a company and they work on contract as a group. In the case of women they often use the money so earned to start trading. One or two such groups were cited who deal in the secondhand clothes brought in from Rwanda.

TABLE 20

Percentage of Households Employing Labor

Area	Monthly	Casual
Busoga	6%	20%
Kigezi	8	34
Masaka	7	40
Teso	6	34

In all areas, therefore, hired labor is used more extensively than family labor, or traditional groups, except in the case of other adult household members in Busoga. In view of the cost of labor, which will be discussed in relation to agricultural prices generally, and the fact that in some areas, such as Busoga, it is thought demeaning to work for money for others, the supply of labor would appear to be a continuing constraint not only to cultivation in general but to higher standards of cultivation and greater productivity.

3. Resources Available to the Household - Technology

In addition to land and labor, the third resource available to rural residents is capital, in this case technical or material inputs. Over the past decade such inputs have become few and far between due to the withering away of extension services through which farm inputs were supplied and a tractor hire service operated. Nor have commercial channels fared any better; even the simplest items are extremely scarce and prohibitively expensive. Various schemes have been or are in operation to increase the supply of inputs at subsidized prices, but these have largely failed for reasons which will be explored later.

The hoe is still the main tool for cultivation in three of the areas. In the fourth, Teso, deaths of oxen and a continuing shortage of plough spare parts is forcing many farmers to revert from ox-cultivation to hand tools. Lack of tools exacerbates the labor constraint. It was observed in all areas that not only were hoes very expensive, but were often not available at all. There were none seen in the markets or shops in Teso. In Kigezi three or four Chillington hoes were seen at one market and none in the small shops of the trading centers. One such shop had a few pangas only.

In Kigezi, distribution of subsidized hoes from Finland was taking place in one village. These hoes were very small and

only really suitable for weeding. In addition the hole through which the handle is attached is too narrow to allow a strong enough pole to be used. While these hoes were apparently being purchased in numbers, people nevertheless complain at having to buy unfamiliar and unsuitable implements. The Chillington hoe is the standard in design and the most in demand in all areas. In Busoga, people refused to purchase the Finnish hoes (some informants were unaware they were available through the Agriculture Department) and preferred those made by local blacksmiths.

In Masaka, hoes are being distributed through the EEC Coffee Rehabilitation Scheme but in numbers too small to satisfy the demand, and at a time when many were short of cash, i.e., before the first harvest. It also seemed that publicity was not adequate. In Teso, hoes have been distributed through the IFAD Agricultural Rehabilitation program, but there were complaints that most of these disappeared from cooperative stores before they could be bought at cheaper prices. Some reappear in some local markets, but many also leave the District altogether. They are then sold at commercial prices.

Responses to questions on agricultural problems and needs showed that the great majority needed tools and found the scarcity of inputs the major problem in agriculture. Table 21 indicates percentages citing a lack of tools or a lack of tools and scientific inputs - mainly pesticides, and herbicides (in Masaka) - as their main problem, and a supply of tools or tools and scientific inputs as their chief need.

TABLE 21

Percentages of Informants Giving Lack of Farm Inputs as Their Main Problem and Better Supply as Their Chief Need

	Problems		Needs	
Area	Tools	Tools and Sci. Inputs	Tools	Tools and Sci. Inputs
Busoga	47%	11%	52%***	31%
Kigezi	57	10	64	20
Masaka	18*	41	17	64
Teso	28**	16**	25****	52

*In addition 9% complained of cost of tools and labor
**24% complained of lack of oxen and oxen dying
***Includes a few who requested tractors
****10% more needed oxen and ox-ploughs

The need for the basic tools to cultivate with is so acute that many informants repeated the same needs and problems when asked about other than agricultural matters in the village. Comment is made in the next section on the remarkable percentage whose perceived needs include scientific inputs, in spite of the generally assumed breakdown of agricultural extension service in the last decade.

4. Types of Productive Activities - Agricultural

a. Crop Cultivation and Marketing

In cultivating his land the farmer has to satisfy a number of needs and he has available only a limited range of alternatives. First, he must try to cover the food needs of the family. These vary between areas, not only due to ecological but also social factors.

In much of Busoga, although the preferred food is 'matoke' (a cooking banana), sweet potatoes and to a lesser extent cassava are eaten more frequently. Nabwigulu falls theoretically in the millet growing and eating zone of Busoga, but millet is seldom seen and almost never consumed. For a sauce or stew, the Basoga favor beans, greens and groundnuts. The local alcoholic beverage is mainly made from millet, which may have to be purchased, or from bananas.

In Kigezi the staple is sorghum, both for eating and for beer, and it is frequently ingested as a type of porridge. Potatoes are also part of the diet, both local and Irish varieties. Vegetables such as cabbages are grown for sale and are also eaten. The team was told that if they cannot be sold they just rot, but many in the survey sample eat their cabbages.

Local diets in Masaka are similar to those in Busoga, with traditionally an even greater reliance on bananas, which are often the basis for local beer, as opposed to millet.

In Teso, millet is the staple and it is commonly mixed with cassava flour to make it more palatable. This is eaten with fish and/or groundnuts. Pork is an increasingly regular item on the weekly menu. When they are available, cowpea leaves are also cooked with simsim or groundnut sauce. Both beans and cowpeas are also commonly eaten, and from superficial observation and purchase figures, beans are more often eaten now than in the 1960s. It was noted in studies in the 1950s and 1960s (32) that children in Teso seldom suffered from malnutrition, since the diet was good with adequate carbohydrates and protein, as contrasted with the banana growing areas where both the staple and the form of serving food gave a deficiency of both elements.

The householder also has to meet his cash needs. The evidence of the survey shows these needs to be wide-ranging, including

not only many food items and agricultural inputs, but school fees, medical expenses, travel, and funeral or wedding contributions. It was thought a priori that food crops might have replaced the traditional cash crops as a source of income. The following table shows what is grown in each area and what is sold. Not only are a limited range of crops grown, but an even more limited percentage of farmers market any of these crops. Only a very small number of households also sell livestock or livestock products. Reported planted acreages for most parts are very small, even when the total acreages for more than one planting a year were added together. Table 22 shows the number cultivating each crop in each area. In column 2 the numbers planting more than 2 acres of the most important crops (that is those cultivated by more than 50% of respondents) is recorded.

TABLE 22
Crops Cultivated in Each Area

Area	Crops	No.Cultivating*	No.with 2 and more acres
Busoga	Coffee	199	3
	Bananas	210	6
	Maize	206	4
	Cassava	225	-
	Sweet potato	240	5
	Irish potato	4	NA
	Beans	168	2
	Cotton	-	NA
	Millet	94	NA
	Sorghum	25	NA
	Groundnuts	109	NA
	Other**	73	NA
Kigezi	Coffee	11	NA
	Bananas	-	NA
	Maize	243	9
	Cassava	8	NA
	Sweet potato	254	11
	Irish potato	196	12
	Beans	252	19
	Cotton	-	NA
	Millet	107	NA
	Sorghum	259	54
	Groundnuts	5	NA
	Other**	81	NA
Masaka	Coffee	199	12
	Bananas	262	32
	Maize	184	3
	Cassava	249	4
	Sweet potato	235	4
	Irish potato	48	NA
	Beans	233	2
	Cotton	176	-

Area	Crops	No. Cultivating*	No. with 2 and more acres
Masaka	Millet	-	NA
	Sorghum	21	NA
	Groundnuts	135	2
	Other**	48	NA
Teso	Coffee	-	NA
	Bananas	81	NA
	Maize	65	NA
	Cassava	206	10
	Sweet potato	181	3
	Beans	23	NA
	Cotton	63	NA
	Millet	221	14
	Sorghum	169	4
	Groundnuts	142	NA
	Other**	81	NA

*Figures representing 50% or more cultivators are underlined.

**Other crops are mainly field peas in Kigezi, or simsim, sugarcane, soya in the other areas.

These acreage figures agree with those reported in the Uganda Census of Agriculture, which gave a mean plot size for all crops of less than 1 acre in 1962 in all areas. It underlines the present marginal nature of agriculture as an occupation for the majority of the population. Another study (33) estimated that each adult in Busoga required .5 acres to satisfy food needs alone, and .9 acres in Teso. Although the basis for this calculation may need revision, nevertheless reported planted acreages are still much at subsistence level for most householders. In Table 23 the percentage of informants selling any crops is compared by area.

TABLE 23

Percentage of Informants Selling Crops Grown

Area	50% and more sell	25-50% sell	10-25% sell
Busoga	Coffee	Cotton	Bananas Sweet potato Cassava Maize Beans
Kigezi	Sorghum	Sweet potato Irish potato Beans	Bananas Maize Peas
Masaka	Coffee	Bananas	Cassava Beans
Teso	--	Cassava	Cotton Millet Groundnuts (9.4%)

In addition to the major crops, some households grow vegetables or fruits for home consumption and sale. Table 24 shows those who grow vegetables to sell, for both selling and eating; or eating only (in brackets).

TABLE 24

Number of Informants Selling/(Eating) Vegetables/Fruit
n=270

Area	Tomato	Onions	Cabbage	Eggplant*	Pineapple	Other**
Busoga	18(17)	2(11)	14(14)	5(102)	1(43)	(15)
Kigezi	20(17)	16(26)	29(43)	2(19)	1(5)	1(2)
Masaka	17(71)	11(61)	9(61)	8(128)	8(75)	8(41)
Teso	15(50)	4(6)	4(4)	7(43)	6(54)	7(21)

*Includes African tree tomato
**Mainly local spinach, cowpeas and sugarcane

As may be seen above, in only one instance (cabbage in Kigezi), have even 10% of the informants attempted to diversify production in this direction. Only in Busoga are fruit trees grown in any numbers, and it is being assumed that sales are only likely where householders have 6 or more trees of any type. In

Busoga 10% of informants have more than 6 each of citrus, mango, pawpaw and jackfruit trees.

b. Livestock Cultivation and Marketing

Crop cultivation is not the only or more important enterprise for many farmers. There is also the husbandry of livestock. As with reporting on land and crop sales, some informants may have deliberately under-reported their livestock, particularly since one criterion for tax assessments was the number of cattle and other animals owned. In Masaka (the district reached by the liberators), few people were said to now own cattle due to widespread looting during the war, and its continually unsettled aftermath. Table 25 gives the percentage of informants owning different types of livestock.

TABLE 25

Ownership of Livestock

Area	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Chickens
Busoga	26%	4%	40%	40%	64.5%
Kigezi	33	29	33.6	1	48.8
Masaka	6	2	22.5	30	56
Teso	41	27	63.6	34	69.9

There are several points which need to be made in respect to livestock ownership. The first is the increasing importance of pigs and the lack of any extension programs concerning their management. Secondly, there are important changes in ratios between cattle and small livestock as compared with the Agricultural Census statistics (34). For example, in 1962 in Masaka there were 106 cattle per 100 holdings, whereas survey data gives 14 households with less than 5 cows, 2 with 6-10 cows and 1 with 21-50 cows. Taking the median in each case that is 83 cows to 270 households, or 30 per 100 households. In Teso the change is equally dramatic, with goats assuming greater importance than cattle. In 1962 there were 657 cows to each 100 households. By the same computation the present number is 405, whereas the number of goats has risen from 220 to 299 per each 100 households. Using the same method of calculation, the cattle population has increased in Busoga from 131 to 156 per 100 households and in Kigezi from 76 to 115.

Ownership does not necessarily imply that livestock is a regular source of income. In general an animal is sold to raise a sum of money for a particular purpose, such as school

fees. Pigs are a regular exception to this as they are sold as soon as they are big enough. In fact some individuals concentrate on breeding and sell only weaners. Others buy weaners to breed for themselves or to fatten for sale later on. In the section on marketing, prices for pigs are quoted in detail but it may be noted here that a weaner generally fetches Sh. 1,500/- and a 6 month old pig 5 to 6 thousand shillings.

Tables 26 and 27 provide information on sales of livestock, milk and eggs. In the case of eggs, some villagers may buy from others, and then re-sell. At least one or two such cases have been included, inadvertently, in these tables. Again the same proviso must be made about under-reporting in view of the tax assessment exercise that was taking place simultaneously with the interviewing, and which carried with it the prospect of a greatly increased tax rate. In Nyaruhanga both exercises started on the same day.

TABLE 26

Sales of Livestock in Previous Year - % of Households

Area	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Chickens
Busoga	6%	1%	6%	7%	11%
Kigezi	13	8	11	1 case	11
Masaka	1 case	-	4	10%	7
Teso	14%	7	14	13	18

TABLE 27

Sales of Milk and Eggs
Percentage of Households Selling (home consumption in brackets)

Area	Milk	Eggs
Busoga	9% (17.7%)	8.7% (43.7%)
Kigezi	10.7 (19.2)	14.4 (40.7)
Masaka	1.4 (4.4)	5.1 (49.5)
Teso	5 (25.9)	4.8 (40.7)

A very small number of households sell milk, eggs or animals in any quantity or numbers. Most positive responses fall in the category of 1 - 5 and in fact the greater number, with the exception of chickens, were 1 or 2 only. Table 28 shows the number of householders selling 6 and more of any type of livestock.

TABLE 28

Larger Scale Sales of Livestock
Numbers of Households by Numbers Sold in Past 6 Months

Area	Type	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	
Busoga	Pigs	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Chickens	3	-	-	-	-	1
Kigezi	Cattle	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Sheep	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Goats	2	-	-	-	-	-
	Chickens	7	1	-	-	-	-
Masaka	Pigs	-	1	-	1	-	-
	Chickens	-	1	-	-	-	-
Teso	Cattle	2	1	-	-	-	-
	Sheep	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Goats	3	1	-	-	-	-
	Pigs	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Chickens	7	1	2	-	-	-

Although the percentage of households selling livestock is small, the amount of money to be made from their sale is considerable. In any of the areas a cow will fetch anything between sh. 15,000/- for a small heifer to 60,000/- or more for a bull. Sheep and goats average around 5,000/- and chickens from 250/- minimum in Teso to 1,500/- for a rooster in Masaka. Those selling very large numbers of animals, e.g. sheep in Teso, are almost always traders.

One of the facts which emerges from the tables of sales, taken all together, is the greater commercialization of farming in Kigezi, where a larger percentage of informants sell a wider range of items than anywhere else. This occurs in spite of complaints of a lack of market outlets which was raised in discussions with key informants and others.

5. Non-Agricultural Activities

a. Sources of Income

The population of Uganda lives mainly in rural rather than urban areas - just over 91% according to the 1980 Census (35). Although such a large population lives in the countryside, not all gain the majority of their income from farming, and a large percentage buy food to supplement what they grow, and to generate spending money for school fees, medical expenses and agricultural costs. According to survey data, although the majority of informants saw agriculture as their main source of income, a substantial minority in each area now depends on

business or employment (36). The size of the minority varies considerably, however, between the different areas as may be seen in Table 29.

TABLE 29

Informants Responses Main Source of Income

Area	Farm	Non-Farm	Other*
Busoga	64.8%	23.2%	12%
Kigezi	69	27	5
Masaka	38.8	25.5	25
Teso	31.8	50.3	17

*This category includes a combination of cash and food crop sales (especially in Masaka and Busoga), as well as other sources of income (in Teso mainly brewing and the sale of profesional services, e.g. accountant or a combination of business and wages).

Possible answers in the questionnaire did not allow for certain sales of farm produce to be included under farm income. The difference between totals and 100 is made up of non-responses. In Kigezi the difference is due to rounding.

Household heads have a number of other occupations. These vary from professional occupations, such as accountant or teacher, to laborers and include numbers of shopkeepers, traders, tailors, charcoal burners, fishermen, fishmongers, brewers, distillers and makers of a variety of craft items such as baskets, mats and beerpipes. The total numbers differ substantially by area. Table 30 categorizes these other occupations.

TABLE 30

Categories of Other Occupations by Numbers Employed

Area	Farm Labor	Trade	Manuf.	Proc-essing	Brew-ing	Local empl.	Town empl.	Other
Busoga	6	10	3	1	7	17	9	12
Kigezi	32	22	12	1	4	34	5	4
Masaka	11	26	23	8	14	18	35	15
Teso	50	6	16	7	16	45	10	19

The classification of 'other' includes those individuals with more than one other occupation. Processing includes maize milling and distilling; manufacturing includes tailoring, carpentry and craftwork as well as charcoal and brickmaking; local employment is mainly Government and frequently as a laborer, and includes a few primary teachers; town employment includes secondary school teachers, drivers and construction workers as well as laborers (see questionnaire in Appendix XII, Number Q46). Those in trade in Masaka and Kigezi mainly have shops, though it is often shopkeepers who also trade in consumer goods at local markets, especially in Kigezi. None of the Busoga or Teso samples have shops.

In addition to the household head, other adult members of the household may also work. Again there are sharp regional differences. This may to some extent be related to different concepts of household membership. Whereas in Teso a man may be considered part of his natal household until he marries and sets up his own home, in Busoga young men try to become independent as early as possible. In Teso many of the 'others' are also wives whose main occupation is brewing. In Masaka the traditional reliance on hired labor may mean that young adult members of households are less involved in cultivation. Table 31 shows the number of households in each region having one or more persons with other non-farm occupations.

TABLE 31

Number of Households with Other Members in Other Work

Area	Others 1	2	3	4	5	6	% of total sample of HH
Busoga	32	9	1	2	1	2	18%
Kigezi	16	7	1	1	5	0	19
Masaka	11	26	23	8	14	68	56
Teso	58	20	8	1	2	0	33

Thus in Busoga a total of 47 households, in Kigezi 26, in Masaka 150 and in Teso 89 have one or more members working off the farm. It is not certain, however, the degree to which earnings are common to the household, or are used for individual needs of the person working. The whole question of the role of other adult members of the household is discussed fully elsewhere.

6. Consumption Patterns

The poverty of most rural households is demonstrated by their level of monetary expenditure, and by the degree to which they are able to satisfy their need for food. A very high percentage of households reported that there were times in the year when they were unable to meet their food requirements: in Busoga 79%, in Kigezi 67%, in Masaka 86% and in Teso 90%. The unexpected very high figure for Masaka, which by other indicators is a more affluent area, is partly explained by the fact that there had been a year-long drought just prior to interviewing, which prevented the cultivation of some crops and severely reduced output of the staple bananas. On the other hand a large proportion of those who needed food were able to buy it with their own money: 51% in Busoga, 76% in Kigezi, 59% in Masaka and 62% in Teso. Other households borrowed money for food, or sold livestock. While they are poor, most are at least able to meet basic food needs. This is further supported by the numbers of households which purchased food during the week or the month preceeding the interviews. The percentage of households buying items of food in the previous month were in Busoga 41%, Kigezi 50%, Masaka 91% and Teso 99%. This is for all items but with a bias to staples in Busoga. Taking beans and maize flour only, the percentages who purchased in the previous week are as follows:

TABLE 32

Purchases of Beans and Maize in Previous Week

Area	Maize	Beans
Busoga	22%	8%
Kigezi	37	14
Masaka	51	14
Teso	24	60

This does perhaps not take sufficient cognizance of local food preferences, but interviewing was carried out before the main rains, and in Teso, for instance, the staple millet was not available for purchase.

Two further implications of the data in Table 32 are the degree to which Busoga households are self-sufficient in food, and the fact that the majority of households in Teso appear to have sufficient grain reserves.

No question was asked about purchases of meat and fish, although the frequency of purchase was so great in parts of Teso

that some enumerators in Kamodo recorded information on this. About 50% purchased fish or pork at least once a week in this group of 30 informants.

The most often purchased commodities were soap and salt. More than 90% of households in each area purchased these items. More than twice as many Masaka households purchased sugar, and more than three times as many purchased tea as in any other area, demonstrating a comparative affluence. In Teso more households purchased beans and milk, the basic items as contrasted to more luxury items. Table 33 below sets out information on these weekly purchases:

TABLE 33

Percent of Households Purchasing Common Goods
The Week Previous to Interview

	Commodity								
Area	Sugar	Tea	Cooking Oil	Salt	Maize Flour	Beans	Vegetables	Milk	Soap
Busoga	51%	68%	16%	89%	22%	8%	46%	82%	91%
Kigezi	30	24	13	97	38	14	26	29	93
Masaka	71	80	29	95	51	14	20	34	95
Teso	16	9	11	94	23	61	43	44	93

While many households buy food items, few spend large sums of money on other goods and services. Table 34 shows the number of households spending between sh. 5 - 10,000/- and 10,000/- and more in the previous year on a range of items. Sixty three percent of all households in the sample spent less than sh. 30,000/- in the previous year for all major expenditures of this nature: 68% of the Busoga sample, 62% of the Kigezi sample, 49% of the Masaka sample and 75% of the Teso sample.

TABLE 34

Annual Expenditure Pattern (1983-84)
Spending sh. 5-10,000/- and 10,000/- and over for Major Items
Number of Households

Area	Clothes		School Exp.		House Bld/Rep		Farm* Tools		Domestic Goods		Radio Bike		Medical	
	5+	10+	5+	10+	5+	10+	5+	10+	5+	10+	5+	10+	5+	10+
Busoga	75	69	22	38	7	11	3	3	8	15	7	16	3	57
Kigezi	89	62	32	38	16	50	15	5	39	23	12	8	40	32
Masaka	64	90	36	72	9	10	13	7	25	34	7	23	59	100
Teso	47	40	13	23	10	10	8	4	19	12	16	20	22	22

NB Sh. 5,000/- represents about $16

*Nil expenditures 191, 67, 147 and 156
The very large percentages (52% of all areas and 61% in all except Kigezi) of the whole sample who did not buy any farm tools in the previous year tend to confirm the veracity of complaints about unavailability.

Monthly expenditure, including purchases of food, shows a similar pattern. 18% of all households spent less than sh. 1,500/- (about $5) and 56% less than sh. 10,000/-. This is heavily weighted by Masaka, where 41% of households spent this amount or more. The percentages for the other areas are: Busoga 15%, Kigezi 18% and Teso 18%. A more detailed breakdown showing the components of this expenditure for households spending more than sh. 2,000/- on each item and less than sh. 2,000 on each item is provided in tables 35 and 36. It may be noted that for both expenditure levels more households in Teso and Masaka spend money on food than in other areas with, as has been said, a bias toward essentials in Teso and to more luxury items in Masaka.

TABLE 35

Monthly Expenditure for Month Prior to Interview
Number of Households Spending More Than Sh. 2,000/- per Item

Area	Food	Kerosene*	Medical	Travel	Farm Expenses** Repairs	Ag.Inputs	Beverages***
Busoga	32	12	55	54	3	3	37
Kigezi	37	7	41	62	6	3	63
Masaka	155	13	82	65	3	22	59
Teso	94	8	20	20	12	0	81

*Nil expenditures 14, 12, 10, 65
**Seeds, fertilizer, pesticides were specifically asked about.
***This is not an item always readily admitted therefore may be underestimated.

TABLE 36

Number of Households Spending Sh. 2,000/- or less
or with Nil Expenditures for Previous Month

Area	Food		Kerosene		Medical		Travel		Farm Expenses Repairs		Farm Expenses Inputs		Beverages	
	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.	Nil	Sh.
Busoga	153	78	14	288	61	144	82	127	242	18	254	6	113	113
Kigezi	134	169	12	250	57	167	125	80	247	16	251	13	70	135
Masaka	17	98	10	245	32	153	94	106	252	14	179	69*	113	97
Teso	26	148	65	193	73	173	157	89	218	39*	257	11	42	147

*The higher repair figure in Teso is mainly for ploughs. The higher figure in Masaka represents purchases of agro-chemicals, including herbicides.

Householders were seen spending money primarily on goods which they cannot provide for themselves: soap, salt and kerosene. More households buy these items than basic foods. The priorities of households are also clear from their basic spending pattern. More households spend larger amounts of money on schooling and medicine than on such things as housing, travel or purchases of non-consumable goods. This underlines not only

the importance of these two services, but also the degree to which the state is failing to provide the free medical service which is supposed to be part of the general network of social services. There are also some regional differences in expenditure pattern, especially in respect to beverages. Very few Teso households do not purchase beer or other beverages every month, only 15.5%, whereas in both Masaka and Busoga, 42% of households did not purchase such drinks. Kigezi falls between the two extremes, with 26% of non-beverage purchasing households.

Another contrast is between pattern of expenditure of the more affluent as compared to the poorer households. Poorer households more often purchase medicine than travel, whereas more affluent households travel at least as often as they purchase medicine. It is to be assumed that only the wealthier households buy or own radios. Twenty percent of households spent money on luxury items in the previous year, including repairs to radios and bicycles, while 23% own radios. Eighteen percent own radios in Busoga, 25% in Kigezi, 36% in Masaka and only 13% in Teso. These figures go further to confirm the disparities of wealth between areas.

One way in which households augment their own resources is by borrowing. The extent of borrowing is another measure of the degree to which household survival strategies fail. The extent of borrowing is not very great in any area with the possible exception of Kigezi. In all there are the following number of incidences of borrowing for all purposes: buying land, building a house, cultivating, buying livestock, school expenses, and medical expenses. Table 37 shows the number of households borrowing for each of these purposes in each area. As some people may have borrowed for more than one item, this is not a measure of the total number of households who are indebted.

TABLE 37

Loan Utilization
Number of Households Borrowing for Selected Purposes

Area	Land Purchases	House Building	Cultivation Exp.	Livestock Purch.	School Expenses	Medical Expenses	Total All Instances
Busoga	4	6	6	2	32	49	99
Kigezi	79	43	30	7	61	68	288
Masaka	9	17	21	2	52	58	159
Teso	11	17	20	-	27	40	115

With the exception of Kigezi, households borrow mainly to

finance school and medical expenses, again demonstrating household priorities for these things. In Kigezi the highest incidence of borrowing is for the purchase of land, and borrowing for housebuilding and cultivating is not unusual. Borrowing for school or medical expenses, as a factor of all instances of borrowing, amounts to 72% in Busoga, 69% in Masaka, and 53% in Teso, whereas in Kigezi only 45% of total borrowing was centered on school or medical expenses, while 42% was for land purchase and housebuilding. These percentages correlate with the degree to which households in Kigezi add to inherited land with purchased plots, and the general high standard of house construction observed there.

When a household borrows, it activates a number of social relationships within or outside the community, or it may seek assistance from the formal lending sector. Nevertheless, even in this respect personal relationships between borrower and lender may be an element in the transaction. Most borrowing is from nearby relatives or neighbors: 81% in Teso, 74% in Masaka,65% in Busoga and 60% in Kigezi. Most other borrowing in Busoga, Masaka and Teso is from relatives elsewhere, and others, mainly other friends; in Kigezi, however, other borrowing is from formal sources such as moneylenders and Cooperative Societies. Table 38 demonstrates this.

TABLE 38

Total Recorded Incidences of Borrowing for All Items by Area and Source of Loan

Area	Relative here	Neighbor	Relative Elsewh.	Money Lender	Bank	Coop	Other	Total
Busoga	26	41	16	4	0	2	9	99
Kigezi	111	67	7	63	0	34	6	288
Masaka	53	65	13	3	1	12	12	159
Teso	69	25	2	5	0	2	12	115

There is some disproportion in the degree of indebtedness in the survey area. Kigezi has more than double the incidence of borrowing than any of the others, and Busoga by far the least. Interpretation of this situation requires further in-depth study. It does, however, appear to indicate that while in Kigezi one accepted way of dealing with deprivation is to borrow, borrowing money in the other areas is not so common, either because households do not need to borrow, or because there are other mechanisms through which households get material assistance.

The conclusions of this section are that there is some disparity in wealth between areas, with Masaka at the top of the ladder and Teso at the bottom. There are however certain priorities of household needs common to all areas and to all levels of poverty. These are education and health, and the provision of those essentials not produced on the farm. There are also some differences between areas and between poverty levels, notably in leisure activities and degree of mobility. Disparities in wealth between areas will be further discussed in relation to agro-ecological factors, while the topic of household disparities is discussed in the analysis of poverty levels.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES - Chapter III

The Household Survey (Survey areas and villages)

1. Government of Uganda, Statistical Abstract, 1974.

2. Brandt, et. al. The Industrial Town as a Factor of Economic and Social Development.

3. For an unexplained reason the 1980 Census Report gives the 1969 population total for the three districts as 944,747.

4. There may be some undercounting for Jinja as householders might conceal the existence of illegal tenants in Custodian Board Property. Some residents returned to home villages for counting. It is also possible that there may have been an actual decrease due to the decline in industrial activity. However, obvious pressure on housing tends to confirm the former suggestion.

5. Brandt, et. al., op.cit.

6. Fallers, L.A. Bantu Bureaucracy.

7. Statistical Abstract, 1973.

8. Edel, May, The Chiga of Western Uganda, Thomas Nelson, Ltd. 1967.

9. Yeld, Rachel, The Family in Social Change.

10. Draft plan for the rehabilitation of Masaka, Terraplan, Nairobi, 1983.

11. Richards et al, Subsistence to Commercial Farming in Present-day Uganda.

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13. Uchendu, V.C. and KRM Anthony, Agricultural Change in Teso District, East African Literature Bureau, 1975.

14. Introduction and Teso Systems, Memoir of the Research Division Series 6: The System of Agriculture as Practiced in Uganda, No. 1, D.I. Parsons, Dept. of Agriculture, 1960.

15. Uchendu, op.cit.

16. Webster, J.B."The Civil War in Usuku", in War and Society in Africa.

17. Uganda Government, Report on the Uganda Census of Agriculture, Vol I, 1966.

18. Brandt et al., op.cit.

19. See Appendix II for maps.

20. The Marketing of Minor Crops in Uganda, A. Martin, H.M. Stationery Office, London 1961.

21. Report on the Ugandan Census of Agriculture, Vol. III, 1966 Uganda Government.

22. "Reaction to Extension Advice in Four Areas of Uganda" J. Harmsworth, R.D.R. Paper 93, Makerere University, 1969.

23. Uganda Census of Agriculture, 1969.

24. Earlier unpublished figures for Busoga and Teso by the writer based on actual measurements also show a generally small acreage, but the samples were too small to allow statistical comparison.

25. Edel, ibid.

26. Yeld, ibid.

27. Unpublished manuscript Report of Socio-economic Study on Peasant Cultivation of Cotton in Four Areas of Eastern Uganda, J. Harmsworth, 1964.

28. "Peasant Agricultural Labor Organization in Four Selected Areas of Eastern Uganda", J. Harmsworth E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper 1962, reproduced by I.L.O. of the United Nations in 1968.

29. Vincent, ibid.

30. Agricultural Census Vol. I, ibid.

31. The % of those hiring does not add up to 100 for an unexplained reason.

32. Unpublished works by J. Harmsworth on Teso.

33. Allan, W. The African Husbandman Oliver & Boys, London 1965 (revised 1967).

34. Census of Agriculture, Vol I, ibid.

35. Although the 1980 census classifies as 'urban' trading centers of more than 400 persons separately enumerated, identification seems to have been a bit arbitrary. For instance, Iganga District has 20 listed and Jinja none;

Kabale District lists only Kabale itself and Kisoro.

36. The total sample in each area was 270 (30 in each village). Five questionnaires, however, were not filed into the computer for Busoga in respect to frequency distributions. So the Busoga sample was 265 for basic tables. This was increased to 268 in the cross-tabulation when three further questions were filed.

Chapter IV - DEVELOPMENT-RELATED INSTITUTIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

Man, the problem-solving animal, survives in a given context. For centuries he has evolved institutions as tools in his efforts to cope with his natural and man-made environment. The more complex the problems have become, the greater has been his need to evolve better methods. Very often man's problem-solving capacities have not kept pace with the exponential increases in problems he must address.

Uganda's history in the last two decades, and particularly in the Amin era of 1971-1979, has been characterized by a multiplicity of problems, both quantitative and qualitative, that have eluded easy solutions. In this chapter we shall discuss those formally and informally constituted institutions which have a direct bearing on household survival strategies. After a brief historical overview of institutional functioning in Uganda, we shall examine selected institutions in more detail, paying special attention to problem areas which inhibit the effective delivery of services. Specifically we shall:

1) describe overall objectives and policy or program priorities;

2) discuss institutional functioning at the District level;

3) identify and discuss problem areas within each of the institutions, especially as they have developed since the 1979 War.

The team approached the analysis of development institutions from two perspectives: first, their effect on survival strategies of rural households, and secondly, in the case of formally constituted institutions, horizontal linkages between and vertical linkages within the institutions themselves. Appendices present a series of visual representations of Uganda's government institutions. Appendix VIII lays out the overall structure of central government; Appendix VIII also shows the relationship between institutional headquarters of central government and their District offices, and illustrates the internal organizational structure of selected ministries. We have grouped the discussion of institutions by categories of services to be rendered, or by institutional purpose.

1. Historical Overview

In his recently published study of institutional patterns that affect development interventions aimed at the rural poor, David Leonard observes that, "the national political system provides the basic context which shapes the behavior of individual politicians and civil servants and within which rural development policies are formulated." (1)

Uganda inherited a colonially constructed institutional framework at independence in 1962. The colonial era had ended and Ugandans were now responsible for managing their own affairs. But the inherited colonial structure left no legacy of managerial experience, even though Uganda was better off than many of the other former colonies. Given the prior process of colonial state formation, Uganda faced the problem of nation building in a seriously impaired condition.

The pre-coup era had shown reasonable signs of economic develop-ent. Coffee, copper, cotton, tourism, tobacco and tea, among other resources, contributed handsomely to the economy. Twenty rural hospitals had been built during this period; school enrollments had taken major leaps upward; and improvements in the communications network were noticeable. All of these developments took place in spite of an undercurrent of political instability, and during a period when the regional imbalances in terms of economic inputs and development were, perhaps, clearer than before, with Karamoja representing custody of the past, and Buganda in the forefront of modernization.

On the political front, the 1966 crisis is a major landmark in post-independence Uganda. Kingship was abolished and a new constitution was established. Among the changes that followed was the Move to the Left, which was purportedly a socialist swing away from the capitalist path. In 1970, the economy began to undergo a series of shocks when a 60% nationalization of foreign-owned and large international enterprises was declared. The 1962-1971 period was crowned with the Amin coup in 1971, which threw the economy into total disarray.

If the period of 1962-1971 was characterized by political brinksmanship mixed with economic success, the Amin reign from 1971 to 1979 was characterized by total economic collapse. As firmly as Obote was intent on easing the Asians out of the Ugandan economy, Amin declared a 90 day deadline for them to leave the country. Hardly any institution remained unaffected by the exodus. The Asians were replaced by the installation of a clique of inexperienced people, mainly soldiers and Moslems, the latter enhancing the religious cleavage in Uganda which dates back to the last century. Production went down and scarcities of commodities ensued, giving 'magendo' a special place in the economy (2).

The omnipresence of the military in the country not only interfered with production and the delivery of administrative and social services, but also introduced insecurity of person and property. Available resources were mobilized to keep the regime in power, at the expense of everything else.

With the collapse of the delivery system, the peasant farmer, who forms the backbone of the Ugandan economy, bore the brunt of the impact. Already the social environment was hostile. Social welfare services disappeared as qualified people by the hundreds left the country. The vacancies created by these departures were filled with mediocre, often incompetent political appointees, thus ensuring total institutional collapse. The peasant farmer saw his insecure status exacerbated as the machinery of government grew increasingly unresponsive.

The War of 1978-79 brought the entire apparatus of government to a complete halt. In most all cases, the top echelons of government, from Minister and Permanent Secretary down through the lower rungs, were evicted. The situation was made worse by the looting and destruction of files, documents and records, the loss of entire office infrastructures, and in the case of Masaka and Mbarara, the destruction of whole towns (3).

This is the context in which Uganda's institution-building efforts occur. It is a context which severely challenges Uganda's problem-solving capabilities and its capacity to form, renew, and manage institutions which can identify and deal with both the problems and opportunities inherent in the equation. The tasks take on added importance when dealing with the peasant farmers, who can only improve their strategies for survival, their lives and their productivity if the national context, and the institutional infrastructure which defines and expresses that context, is responsive to and understands their needs. For as Leonard obseves, "Problems of resistance are almost always encountered in attempts to improve the lot of the poor, and these obstacles will not be overcome without the resolution to spend energy and resources on them." (4)

B. LAND TENURE

Introduction

One cannot discuss the rural economy of Uganda without focusing on land. Nor can one talk about the Ugandan economy, agriculturally based as it is, and dependent on peasant production, without looking at the land resources. Whatever else the peasant does is secondary to his relationship with the land. But the changes that have occurred over the years have influenced the peasant/land relationship and the peasant's survival strategies.

In Uganda the majority of people own land, even though the size of the holding varies from place to place. Ownership is

governed by laws, by traditional customs, and by court case precedents. If a person does not own a piece of land outright, he usually has a claim through kinship connection. At the very least, there must be some place where he will be acceptably buried. In this section we shall examine land tenure in Uganda from a historical perspective and review more recent statutory regulations as they affect small farmer production.

1. Historical Overview

Traditionally land was used communally. This, however, did not mean that whoever wanted to use a given piece of land was free to do so. There were clan lands where members of different clans did not have access until they were acceptable either through marriage, friendship or through ritual.

As long as land was plentiful, however, one was free to occupy any land as long as it was not claimed by a clan or any other kinship group such as a lineage. There were hardly any fixed boundaries or permanent crops to concretize ownership. This changed as colonialism set in and began to fix boundaries of the protectorate and administrative units. The administrative units, for ease of administration, tended to coincide with tribal boundaries, thus introducing tribal areas. Suddenly, land became Crown land and differentiation in ownership was established. This took a dramatic turn in 1900 when the Buganda Agreement was signed (5).

Under the 1900 Agreement, 1003 sq. miles of land were allotted to the King and his family, and to the big chiefs in both their political and personal capacities. Another 8000 sq. miles were further allotted to an estimated 1,000 chiefs and landowners. This was the total land area of Buganda as calculated at that time. The remaining land, some 8292 sq miles, was administered under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1903. There were further ordinances during colonial times to regulate the registration of titles and the amount of rents and other levies which landlords could exact from their tenants, who comprised the majority of the people, and who were the actual cultivators of most of the land. Over the years some of the original 'mailo' (local for square mile) land was sold to others, and by independence there had been a comprehensive mapping of titles, and there was a large backlog of land cases pending in the Kabaka's (king's) courts awaiting settlement.

With the Buganda Agreement, land became an adminstrative resource as loyal chiefs were given large tracts of land in the form of mailo land, with official and personal perpetuity. Land also became an economic resource which could be sold, and social status could be achieved on the basis of the size of the land one owned. The monetization of land automatically introduced scarcity.

The introduction of permanent cash crops, such as coffee,

further entrenched individual ownership. Land in the towns, with the growth of urbanization, became even more valuable, just as agricultural land suitable for the production of sugarcane, tea and cotton appreciated in value. It was therefore inevitable that laws regulating land resources had to be made. By 1961 at least 23 laws, regulations and ordinances had been put into effect (6).

The introduction of the monetary economy yielded differential effects in the country. For example, in Buganda, the heartland of Uganda's economy, the land question was very closely watched as the chiefs became increasingly acquisitive, to the point of dispossessing the peasants of all land rights. This process culminated in the Buganda Busulu and Envujo Law of 1928, which was passed in the face of peasant riots, and as a measure to stop them.

On the other hand in Northern Uganda, the traditional mode of land tenure continued to loom large, with pastoralism in Teso and Karamoja, and peasant agriculture in the rest of the region. This area has changed least in the direction of the individualization of land ownership. This is in contrast to the densely populated area of Kigezi, where hardly any piece of land is not personally owned, and where very little land remains fallow for any length of time.

With the consolidation of land interests, both as tribal lands, administrative areas and economic production areas, within the colonial system, geographical mobility became restricted. When one bought land and became a land owner, it was no longer easy to move from one village to another. Movement became even more difficult as permanent houses were built, permanant cash crops planted and as accessibility to such services as schools, health centers and markets became a value.

2. Present-day Practices

In recent history two major land statutes stand out: the 1969 Land Act, and the 1975 Land Reform Decree. The effect of both the Act and the Decree were to abolish 'mailo' land and to declare all land public land.

The 1969 Land Act, recognized by the 1975 Decree, rests the control and administration of land matters in the Uganda Commission. The Commission is assisted by District Land Committees which are appointed by the Minister of Lands, Water and Mineral Resources. The District Committees and the District Land Office attend to leasehold applications which they process and transmit to headquarters in Kampala.

The 1975 Land Decree introduced leasehold in all cases of land entitlement. Individuals may apply for 49-year leases of their land. This requires having it surveyed, which is a costly process. Leases are awarded in the first instance for 5 years,

during which time the owner must develop the land. Under the Decree, government has the power to allocate land to a developer if whoever is claiming ownership is not putting it to national economic use. On the basis of satisfactory development, the leasehold is extended to 49 years. According to the Decree, any sale transactions only relate to developments and not the land. The Decree has never been fully implemented, although it has allowed the acquisition by the few of large tracts of land for development. For the most part, land transactions go on as if the law did not exist. It is only in the case of transfer of titles that the Uganda Commission is involved and can collect revenue.

By 1983 a total of 68,000 hectares had been leased in the whole country. Leaseholds amounted to 87 ha. in Busoga, 150 ha. in Kigezi, 38 ha. in Masaka and 1,234 ha. in Teso. According to information obtained in the District interviews, there is a continuing but very slow process of application for leases in each District. No statistics were available. It was noted, however, that almost none of those acquiring a lease go through the confirmation process. Some of the leases being granted are for land occupied by cooperative society premises.

3. Land Acquisition

Throughout the country land is inherited, purchased, borrowed, sold and given according to ancient tradition, and recent precedent, without reference to the land law and without the benefit of official registration of ownership. The following table shows how informants acquired the land they now occupy.

TABLE 39

Acquisition of Land by Type of Holding

Area	Inherit	Purch.	Inh/Purch.	Rent/Borrow	Other*	Title**
Busoga	62%	34%	3%	1%	2%	1
Kigezi	33	5	61	-	1	1
Masaka	39	29	1	2	7	25
Teso	79	7	5	2	7	3

*Other: this includes 27 cases where land was given. In 24 instances no information was available.

**Title All/Some: This includes all leaseholds in areas outside Masaka. In Masaka it also includes freeholds acquired before 1969.

In most of Uganda, if not all, land inheritance involves subdivision between sons, which gradually reduces the size of the land parcels to uneconomic units as the generations pass by. It is important to note, however, that only 5% of the sample in Masaka inherited the land they now own, followed by 33% in Kigezi, 62% in Busoga and 79% in Teso.

The Masaka case is explained in terms of the Buganda Agreement of 1900. Landlords, in spite of the 1975 Decree, still control the land, essentially leaving the tenant farmers to the speculative whims of their masters. These landowners are still selling the land without reference to the rights of the cultivators. Even the previous principle, that land under cultivation should not be sold over the heads of the tenants without due process of law, appears to be ignored.

In the case of Kigezi, the sons have very little land awaiting them at the time of the death of their fathers. The tendency therefore is to buy pieces of land wherever they can be found. Thus a person may have one piece of land on one ridge, and another parcel miles away in some valley, or on another ridge, all of which tends to make it difficult for the farmer to plan his production or tend to his crops effectively. In both Masaka and Kigezi, there may arise what one might call a 'peasant proletariat', a category of landless and jobless people, who may pose special problems, particularly when rural employment opportunities are exceedingly scarce. In all cases sampled, over 90% of the farmers do not employ labor.

Having a registered title to the land not only gives a higher value to the land, but also makes it possible for the title holder to secure a loan from a bank. Only 19 persons sampled in Masaka (7%) had full land titles. We found one in Busoga and one in Teso. The trouble and expense involved in obtaining a land title deed go beyond the resources and skills of most small farmers. Besides, if the land is not of immediate economic value, such as a large land-holding, or a parcel adjacent to or near a trading center, where the title protects the owner, and where such a title deed is clearly necessary, the peasant is not under pressure to expend money, time and energy on the exercise. In Teso, and througout Busoga, we were told that applications for land title deeds are coming in at an increasing rate, but unless there is pressure, such as the need to secure a bank loan, the process is left to take its own course, and years may elapse before the title is obtained.

4. Land Holdings and Rural-to-Rural Migration

It has already been noted that nearly all Ugandans have a claim to land, however small. It is also clear that the majority have very small holdings - less than five acres - although the figures may have been underestimated because of tax assessment considerations. The table below gives the size of land holdings in the survey areas.

TABLE 40

Size of Land Holdings

Area	Less than 5 ac.	5 - 10 ac.	10.1 - 25 ac.	25 + ac.
Busoga	63%	23%	10%	1%
Kigezi	55	31	10	2
Masaka	76	17	4	2
Teso	53	27	15	5

N.B. The percentages are less than 100% in those cases where some respondents did not own land or where there was no response.

One would imagine that given such small land holdings, people would tend to move in search of land in other areas. But as suggested earlier, land consolidation has restricted rural-to-rural migration for purposes of settlement, as the table below shows.

TABLE 41

Rural-to-Rural Migration in Relation to Where One Was Born

Area	Within Village	Different Village same Gombolola	Different Gombolola same County	Different County same District	Different District same Region	Elsewhere
Busoga	55%	5%	4%	6%	23%	6%
Kigezi	93	0	2	3	1	0
Masaka	53	9	9	9	13	6
Teso	79	4	4	10	2	0

N = 270 in each case
Total sample 1080

The majority of the household heads were born in the village where they now live. Busoga has the highest movement outside the District. But what should be borne in mind is that Busoga was divided into three Districts in 1980 and the three form a Region. This apparent high figure does not necessarily mean that respondents were born outside of Busoga.

Kigezi District has the least geographical mobility in spite of its population pressure on the land. This however, does not mean that people would not like to move. There were many people who had registered themselves with the DC's Office to be considered for resettlement, but had not been placed. In the late 1950s, large numbers were moved as part of the government policy, into many parts of Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro to ease the pressure on the land. That kind of policy does not exist at the present time. In fact, in recent years, with the intensification of internal inter-tribal conflicts, many people have been displaced from 'foreign' lands and pushed back to their areas of tribal origin. The Banyarwanda episode in Mbarara and Rakai Districts has been perhaps the most dramatic case recently.

Given the limited size of the land holdings, restricted mobility puts pressure on the fertility of the land. To increase production one can only go in for intensive farming, which requires inputs currently not readily available to the small farmer.

Yet, at the same time, there are large parts of Uganda which can absorb more population. The question of a bona fide Ugandan settling anywhere, irrespective of ethnic origin, may be an issue worth examining in the future, by weighing the economics against the politics of the matter.

C. MARKETS AND MARKETING

There have been few studies of marketing in Uganda. Most frequently quoted is that of Anne Martin (7), for which data was collected in 1961, just prior to independence. The other main references are Oloya and Poleman (8), and Brandt (9). To some extent the marketing of cash crops has been dealt with in studies of cooperatives (10).

Marketing involves both the sale of cash and food crops, livestock and livestock products, and the distribution of agricultural inputs and consumer goods. In discussing marketing systems for primary produce, one has to distinguish between more formal, government-controlled marketing of cash export crops (coffee, cotton, tea and tobacco), and the more informal, less regulated marketing of other crops. Livestock and livestock products also have their own distinct marketing channels. The survey examined marketing from a number of points of view and gathered data in a number of ways, including District-level and key informant interviews, questions to household heads in the survey areas, and observation of markets, trading centers and towns.

In this section we shall give a brief overview of the development of local markets in Uganda; outline the role of formal government institutions in determining marketing procedures; discuss mechanisms used by farmers to market cash crops, food

crops, and livestock; and review pricing issues of importance to the small farmer.

1. Development of Local Markets

The history of local markets goes back to the pre-colonial days. Barter as a means of acquiring iron implements, salt, livestock, cooking pots and other commodities led to the emergence of places where the sellers and the buyers met. However, the introduction of a network of roads, plus mechanized transport and manufactured goods, gave a boost to a network of markets.

Markets have developed on road sides, at road junctions and near trading centers. Market differentiation has also taken place, with livestock markets being the most specialized. Government has come in to specify dates when markets take place in order to control the movement of livestock and to collect revenue. Some markets are daily, bi-weekly, weekly or monthly. In some cases these attract thousands of people, who come to buy items ranging from clothing to domestic utensils, agricultural implements and liquor. Above all, markets are places where people meet friends and relatives. Because of the large numbers gathered, politicians frequently converge on the markets for political campaigns.

Thus, apart from economic exchange and social intecourse, the market centers provide a stage for communication with the rural people, a stage that is currently hardly used by any change agents other than politicians.

The markets, in the context of the survey, acquire added importance, since they provide the farmer with a facility to sell his produce and buy some of the items he needs. Given limited formal trade in food crops, as contrasted with cash crops, the market is an extremely important outlet for a food producer, as will be shown later. It is also an outlet for the rural artisan who produces such items as knives, locally-made hoes and other such articles from the local industries.

Unless an item is prohibited by law or requires facilities which cannot be improvised in the market places, it has a chance of finding a place in the market. Because of this, different types of traders come to the markets.

Some buy and sell in the same market. Itinerant traders move from one market to another in the rural areas. Big traders buy in order to supply towns. Shopkeepers buy grain or eggs to sell in their shops. Licensed traders also have a place. The items bought and sold depend on the products of the market's hinterland. A great deal of what is sold is brought by being carried on the head, and where long distances are involved, movement can only be managed by those with mechanical transport.

2. Department of Marketing

Two departments of marketing exist at a regional level. One represents the marketing section of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing and the other the Ministry of Commerce. These departments have been recently created, and have not yet been decentralized to the District level.

The Cooperative Ministry marketing department is charged with the following responsibilities:

> To ensure that farmers are paid on time to encourage them to produce more;
>
> The department took over marketing surveys which were in the past undertaken by the Produce Marketing Board, which included information-gathering on the marketing system;
>
> The department carries out surveys required by such bodies as UNDP and FAO on agricultural marketing;
>
> Issue of produce purchasing licenses for millers in the region.

This being a new office, and only found in Jinja in the survey, it still lacks an infrastructure to carry out these responsibilities. The Regional Marketing Officer in Jinja had neither supporting staff nor transport. He knew of the existence of 250 mills, only 90 of which had licenses, and had not visited them all because of lack of transport. In fact, in the majority of cases the location of the mills was only known on paper. The office is hardly in touch with the farmers, since it only deals with cooperatives' staff during general meetings. When the officer goes to visit primary societies, he deals with the management committee members.

A number of problems were revealed by the survey. Apart from the lack of supporting staff and transport, lack of packing materials such as sacks, poor storage facilities, and delay in payments, were real problems. An added problem was a competition between the office and local authorities in licensing, a matter that affects the other marketing department and the Fisheries Department, as will be shown later. (Chapter IV, Section 5, Fisheries Department).

The Department of Marketing, representing the Ministry of Commerce, has the following objectives:

> To oversee all matters relating to agriculture marketing;
>
> To implement licensing policy for produce buyers and passers, and to issue licenses;
>
> To analyze marketing strategies;

To do market surveys on agro-products;

To analyze market problems that face farmers;

To assist buyers to get loans;

To make sure that the produce is marketed at reasonable prices.

As can be seen, some of the objectives of the two departments overlap. In the sampled area, this office was found only in Masaka, having been opened in November 1983. We were told that elsewhere the office started operating in 1982. The office in Masaka was occupied by a total staff of one person.

In this short period of time, a number of problems were already being noticed. Local Government was issuing licenses for the same things as the Regional Marketing Office, a clear case of duplication, with two entities tackling the same function. For example, Rakai District Office, which is located in the region, has its Clerk as the licensing authority. Market surveys had not yet started because the district market master seemed to interpret the exercise as an intrusion into his area.

The two regional offices cited here seem to be professional bodies meant to furnish the Ministry headquarters with analyses and in fact to assist in formulating policy. The obvious problem is that their activities overlap, not only between them, but between both of them and the cooperatives office. If all must work in the district, functional specificity will be a major issue.

Increased bureaucracy may in the end be an obstacle in helping the farmer, the trader and the economy. Unless the two offices get together there will be competition and duplication of efforts. Similarly, the duplication of licensing, not only between the two departments, but also between the two and local authorities, must be streamlined to avoid confusion. The confusion does not only affect the two departments, but also the traders. The millers in Jinja were being asked for license fees by both the marketing office and the local authorities, and it was reported that this was causing delays as the traders were not sure which to pay in order to avoid paying twice.

3. Chamber of Commerce and Trade Development Office

In the welter of institutions operating at the district level, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trade Development Office operate on common ground and their interests overlap. Their contact with the farmer is indirect but nevertheless of relevance to the survey.

a. Chamber of Commerce

The Chamber of Commerce is a private organization which acts as a link between traders and businessmen and government ministries responsible for production and distribution of commodities. The Chamber advises traders to find sources of supplies, and identifies and recommends agents to manufacturing companies. It is supposed to advise government on new industries, and the siting of factories in relation to raw materials, markets and manpower.

The Chamber is also interested in encouraging the growing of exportable crops such as pineapples, oranges, mangoes, passion fruit and others. Mixed farming on a commercial scale is encouraged as a way of producing such products as butter, hides and skins. Businessmen are advised to engage in small scale industries and to use local products as much as possible, concentrating on the domestic market. In short, the Chamber of Commerce is a commercial interest which aims at business promotion, but is more export and industry oriented.

During the period of scarcity, the Chamber was involved in the distribution of commodities. This role has been superseded by the task of helping government to identify importers and exporters. The Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, however. complained that in the view of the allocation of commodities through chits, and the failure to appoint agents with the requisite business acumen, their promotion work remains a difficult task. Similarly some companies, such as Bata Shoe, open company shops which compete with their own appointed agents.

The appointed wholesalers face high licensing taxes, rents and, above all, lack of capital. It was pointed out, also, that in some cases people are appointd agents and wholesalers even when they have no facilities, as long as they are politically acceptable.

This is not suprising given the fact that political personalities, such as the mayor, are on the executive committee. Mayors are political appointees who may try to satisfy those who brought them to office.

At the District level, the members of the executive committee are not full-time employees. Nevertheless, the positions of Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and committee members exist on the executive committee.

The only link the Chamber has with the rural people is through traders and businessmen. The indirect link, however, is also clear. With increased trade and commerce, the rural people would be involved more and more in the economy. If all the objectives were realized, the village economy would benefit, especially with regard to the encouragement of local industries, exportable food crops and mixed farming as outlined among the

objectives. But for this to happen, the Chamber of Commerce has to be enabled to overcome the escalating rents, shortages of capital, and taxes which are ever increasing, among the other mentioned problems.

b. District Trade Development Office

Operating in the same arena but representing the Ministry of Commerce, is the District Trade Development Officer. This office is charged with the implementation of government trade policy, which includes trade promotion, trade licenses, distribution policy, and training programs for traders in simple accounts and bookkeeping, through classes and seminars. Like the Chamber of Commerce, the office is also involved in distribution of scarce commodities and advises on import and export to both government and private interests. The businessmen are exposed to international trade and customer/businessmen relations. This training program is suppposed to percolate to the businessman in the village. In this way not only is trade supposed to be improved, but also illegal trade is supposed to be obviated through licensing.

Like all other government departments, these worthwhile objectives cannot be achieved because of numerous problems. Transport was high on the list. The TDO cannot deliver the services to rural areas because of lack of transport. There is not enough money to launch courses, since these courses are supposed to be free. The commodity distributive system is interfered with by forces other than economic ones, so that inequitable distribution of commodities is unavoidable. In one District, refund claims dated September 1983 had yet to be paid.

In order to encourage business activity, particularly to help traders to get loans, the TDO encourages traders to form cooperatives. For example, one cooperative had been formed on this basis in Iganga to export timber, hides and skins, soya, bananas and beans, and on getting a certificate, the TDO hoped it would qualify for a 20 million sh. loan to buy produce.

The office is relatively small, composed of the TDO, an assistant TDO and trade assistants in charge of counties. Once again the objectives and targets are militated against by shortages in the essential requirements.

The office in Iganga had an impressive array of programs. These included a course on exports for businessmen, lectures by experts on how small scale industries, and which ones, might be profitable, and the TDO had called the UPC office in the district to appeal to MPs to assist in this process. The TDO also indicated a need for a tax consultant office in the district. Finally, an element of the program was an invitation to the Minister of Commerce to come to address the businessmen.

When the two, Chamber of Commerce and TDO, are looked at together, the common ground they share could be more directly beneficial to the farmer in the village. Trade development seems largely at present to refer to export trade. There is a need to focus on internal trade within the districts and between districts. This could focus on food crops in addition to the current emphasis. The TDO could become more useful in identifying what is available in the district that can be sold elsewhere within the country and/or externally. The tendency to ignore domestic trade, because it does not generate foreign exchange, should be re-examined.

Finally, the above discussion should be digested in the light of the earlier discussion on (1) the two departments of marketing, one representing the Cooperatives and Marketing Ministry, and the other Commerce, and (2) the importance of markets. Formal linkages have to be established, or functions specifically worked out, to avoid duplication of taxes and waste of resources. Besides, the relationship between trade and commerce, and agricultural development is an area to be explored further. This, however, will only be possible when other issues touched upon in the discussion are resolved.

4. Formal and Informal Marketing Practices

a. Formal

In the formal sector, Government policy has been concerned with the operation of marketing boards and prices, and with Cooperative Society development. The organization and functions of the marketing boards have not changed much over the years, with the exception of the Produce Marketing Board, which has lost its short-lived monopoly over dealing in a range of minor food crops, including maize, groundnuts and beans. However, in the case of cooperatives, 5 distinct stages may be identifed (12):

1. The early colonial period, when Cooperative organization was seen as a political threat.

2. The late colonial period, coinciding with the term of office of a British Socialist Government, which had a more liberal attitude to indigenous political and economic development in Uganda.

3. Post independence, when Cooperatives became a tool of Government policy.

4. Post military coup, when the Cooperatives were largely ignored and the smuggling of cash crops reached its height.

5. Post War, when the revival and resurrection of Cooperatives is being actively pursued.

In the survey areas, only coffee and cotton are of importance in so far as the formal sector is concerned. The limited amount of tobacco grown in Kigezi is not sold through official channels, and tea is only grown by 6 households in Busoga and Masaka combined. (3 others reported in Teso are thought to be enumerators' errors.) In the case of coffee and cotton, the cooperatives act as the agent for the two marketing boards, the Coffee Marketing Board and the Lint Marketing Board. In the case of coffee, bank credits were extended to the Cooperative Unions for crop purchases in 1983, but due to a variety of reasons which are not clearly established, these loans have not been repaid, and there has been no money to buy coffee in Busoga in 1984. In Masaka, the Board also licensed buyers to purchase coffee, who then competed with the cooperative societies. For some reason, not clear to the team, this was not permitted in Busoga.

While this is the theoretical picture, in fact in Busoga 80% reported selling to the Cooperative, while 14% sold to the small traders. In Masaka only 37% of those selling coffee sell to either societies or to licensed buyers; the majority of 63% sell to small and large traders. Coffee is not grown in Teso, and was sold in Kigezi by only 3% of informants. In transactions with the immediate trader the seller gets less than the controlled price, e.g. 80/- instead of 100/- per kg., or he is paid by the debe (20 litre kerosene tin). The amounts quoted for a debe in Busoga was 800/- and in Masaka 1000/-, yet a debe holds more than 10 kg. It was claimed that it was not always the case that Cooperative Societies paid by the kg. but could also pay by the debe. Furthermore the seller may have to wait a long time for his money. It was claimed that no payments had been made since February 1983 in Busoga.

In the case of cotton, no credits were provided to the Cooperatives for buying the crop. As a result it is alleged that the Cooperatives were unable to pay for the 1983 harvest and this will affect 1984 plantings. The inefficiencies of Cooperatives have been discussed in both of the studies previously quoted, so the present situation of poor management is not new. In fact in 1970, the then Minister of Planning was requested by the President to go to some part of Lango to settle the matter of arrears in payments outstanding by the Cooperative Societies to farmers for cotton, dating back to 1966 (17). The Cooperative Unions presently own and operate the ginneries, also.

In the 1960s, coffee and/or cotton were the main cash crops in Masaka, Busoga and Teso. Kigezi did not have a cash crop per se, but maize, beans and sorghum were of major importance. With the exception of Teso, the traditional income earners are still the same for the majority of households, although other crops have come to assume a comparatively more important position.

b. Informal Sector - Marketing of Other Crops

The marketing of food crops for cash has assumed greater import-

ance in the past decade. In some areas these crops have replaced the traditional "cash crops" of cotton and coffee as the farmer's main cash income earner. Tables 22 and 23 in Chapter III, pages 61-62, list the crops now most commonly being sold in each area.

The marketing system in the four areas differs considerably for these food crops. In Busoga and Masaka the majority sell to traders who come to their farms. In Teso and Kigezi, on the other hand, with the exception of bananas in Kigezi, informants most commonly take produce to market, and to a lesser extent to the trading centers, to sell. Almost without exception farmers sell to small traders, except Irish potatoes in Kigezi, which go to a fair number of large traders, and cassava in Teso, which is also sold to shopkeepers.

As Anne Martin describes, these small traders are often intermediaries for large buyers, and occasionally can be used to stimulate production of a crop. Survey findings support this. For instance, it was found that large traders from Jinja, operating through a shopkeeper in Teso, were buying quantities of green grams through small traders for export to the Middle East. They had provided seeds to the farmers through the same channel. The table below gives the percentage marketing their crops in particular locations for the main crops sold by area.

TABLE 42

Percentage of Those Selling Main Crops in Each Area by Location

Area	Crop	Farm	Market	Trading Center	Other
Busoga	Bananas	88%	9%	1 Person	7%
Kigezi	Bananas	74%	1 Person	17%	7%
Masaka	Bananas	88%	1 Person	3%	8%
Busoga	Sweet Potatoes	74%	14%	14%	10%
Kigezi	Sweet Potatoes	52%	36%	8%	4%
Kigezi	Irish Potatoes	18%	43%	32%	7%
Busoga	Cassava	77%	1 person	1 person	17%
Masaka	Cassava	93%	---------	1 person	1 person
Teso	Cassava	8%	52%	36%	4%
Busoga	Maize	74%	8%	1 person	16%
Kigezi	Maize	21%	57%	17%	5%
Kigezi	Sorghum	15%	55%	23%	7%*
Teso	Millet	5%	86%	7%	1 person
Busoga	Beans	58%	17%	---------	25%
Kigezi	Beans	15%	59%	20%	6%
Masaka	Beans	96%	---------	1 person	---------
Kigezi	Peas	13%	79%	8%	---------
Teso	Groundnuts	4%	60%	28%	8%

* All to Cooperative Society

The importance of markets in both Teso and Kigezi must be stressed, not only for the sale of produce but to purchase consumer goods. In Teso there are regular produce markets and also cattle auctions. The latter are markets on a much greater scale. The two seen in Ngora and Kumi are said to be among the largest in the whole of Teso and are very extensive. Every item available for sale in the District is to be found there, and traders come from other parts of Uganda in a large number of trucks and pick-ups to buy produce. At the time of the survey, dried cassava, poultry and eggs were the items moving most quickly. We estimated that between 1,000 and more chickens were purchased at each place each week along with large quantities of eggs. Cassava was taken away in sacks. Matatus (14) and buses were not only loaded with special baskets full of fowls, but the birds were hung by their feet from the roof racks in great profusion. The cassava goes to Mbale and Kampala, Kenya, Sudan and Zaire, often for use

in brewing or distilling liquor. The poultry also finds its way to Kampala and via Busia to Kenya, as does dried fish.

Plough spare parts of local manufacture were seen in the market and all sorts of nuts and bolts, as well as secondhand clothes from the inexhaustible supply from Rwanda. Stalls selling cooked food vie with fried meat vendors. The cattle auction is not only a market but a social occasion.

In Kigezi, markets are also cattle auctions and are held in turn in different villages of the same sub-county. The size of those seen could not compete with the Teso markets, but nevertheless they attracted large numbers of people, who walked long distances to attend. They also provide a social focus, especially through the bars of neighboring trading centers.

The people selling consumer goods in markets in all areas travel from one market to another with their wares. They get their produce from certain known centers, either larger markets or towns. In Kigezi some items are brought in from Rwanda, and sold at two well-known markets, from which they are disseminated through what is usually termed "hawkers" (after the English tradition) to other, smaller markets.

Although markets and auctions exist in Busoga and Masaka, they are few in number and are not as important as centers for the sale of produce. In Busoga they are rather places to buy consumer goods unavailable in trading centers, or where the trading centers are distant. Masaka is even more trading-center oriented than Busoga for obtaining consumer goods, and people from surveyed villages also travel to larger towns more frequently, according to key informants. A comparison of where informants purchased hoes, underlines these differences.

TABLE 43

Percentage of Households by Source of Supply of Hoes

Area	Market	Shop	Coop	Govmnt.	Church	Constituency*	Town
Busoga	10%	28%	34%	37%	22%	1%	8%
Kigezi	49	15	13	10	.7	5	6
Masaka	7	75	3	8	1	--	3
Teso	7	27	27	23	.7	1	4

Totals do not add up to 100% as some have no hoes or bought elsewhere.

*The UPC Party Office. Since losing the election the other political parties have no largesse to distribute.

The reason for the high percentage obtaining hoes through the Church of Uganda is because of the EIL/Busoga Diocese rural development program. The reason for the small proportion of informants buying hoes from the market in Teso is probably because they have none on sale, at least not by our own observation at the time of the survey. In fact hoes were totally unobtainable there. More were expected by the Agricultural Reconstruction Programme after July, too late for the main planting season.

c. Informal Sector - Marketing of Livestock

The importance of small middlemen/traders in the marketing system also emerges from the data on livestock sales. While neighbors are enumerated almost as frequently as buyers, some of them may not be the final consumer, but resell what they buy. A much smaller proportion of those selling livestock sell directly to the buyers from outside the district or even sub-county. Table 44 sets out this information.

TABLE 44

Number of Households Selling Livestock by Category of Buyer

Area	Livestock	Neighbor	Local Buyer	Outside Buyer	Other
Busoga	Cattle	8	9	0	0
Kigezi	"	9	20	7	1
Masaka	"	0	1	0	0
Teso	"	15	17	6	9
Busoga	Sheep	0	3	0	0
Kigezi	"	10	11	2	0
Masaka	"	0	0	0	0
Teso	"	2	8	1	1
Busoga	Goats	3	12	2	0
Kigezi	"	12	16	1	1
Masaka	"	0	10	1	0
Teso	"	11	19	9	9
Busoga	Pigs	12	7	0	1
Kigezi	"	1	0	0	0
Masaka	"	2	22	1	2
Teso	"	10	22	3	2
Busoga	Chickens	17	8	2	2
Kigezi	"	8	23	1	0
Masaka	"	4	11	3	3
Teso	"	3	33	13	5

In addition to the number of chickens exported from Teso, the

District Veterinary Officer for Soroti reported that he issues licenses for about 1,000 pigs per week to be exported by rail to Kampala.

Whereas livestock often enters the national marketing system, sales of milk are largely to neighbors. Only in Busoga is more than 60% sold to traders or others (the other category may include schools or other institutions), although in Kigezi, also, a substantial minority of 46% market through trading channels. In Masaka and in Teso, two thirds of sellers sell to neighbors.

d. Prices and Pricing

One of the critical issues in marketing relates to the prices of produce and of consumer goods. Government can use controlled prices to influence the level of production of cash crops, or to protect the consumer. There is no evidence, on the basis of producer prices, that in the first decade after independence, Uganda had a coherent pricing policy, and consumer price controls were not systematic after the Amin coup. While the producer prices of cotton and coffee were increased in the late 1970s, the increases did not match the fall in real value (but not the official exchange rate) of the Uganda shilling. This merely encouraged smuggling to neighboring countries.

The present government has drastically devalued the Uganda shilling to about 3% of its previous rate of exchange, and at the same time has boosted crop prices. At the time the interviews were carried out, the official price of both robusta coffee and cotton was sh 100/- per kg. This was again raised in the June 1984 Budget to 130/- per kg. for robusta coffee and 120/- for cotton. A comparison of crop prices at the time of the survey, which is to be discussed further, leads one to the conclusion that cotton still does not compare favorably with other local alternatives, given the high labor input. Coffee, however, has a much higher yield than cotton per acre, and in Busoga has a comparative advantage over the other crops for which prices were noted. Where coffee is already established, there is a further incentive to continue to weed and harvest it. By comparison, making the transition from other crops to cotton must appear much more questionable.

In earlier times the market for food crops was uncertain; prices fluctuated and were equally uncertain (15). At present, while there are still considerable seasonal fluctuations, the general trend is upwards. This price movement is greatly accentuated where government agencies, such as the Produce Marketing Board, purchase maize, or when other large buyers, as with cassava in Teso, enter the market. Table 45 compares prices for the main crops sold by area, and Table 46 demonstrates the prices for livestock.

TABLE 45

Prices of Main Crops sold by Areas*
First Quarter 1984

Area	Crops	Price (Uganda Shillings)
Busoga	Bananas	200/- per bunch
	Sweet Potatoes	100-300/- per debe
	Cassava	50/- per plant, fresh
		1,200/- one sack, dried
		25/- per kg.
	Maize	5-600/- per debe
	Beans	40/- per kg., 8-900/-/debe
Kigezi	Bananas	4-500/- per bunch
	Sweet Potatoes	20-25/- per kg.,800/-/debe
		3-3,500/- per sack
	Maize	10/-/one green cob
	Beans	30-80/-/kg.
		6-9,000/- per sack
	Sorghum	20-60/-/kg. 6-8,000/-/sack
Masaka	Bananas	2-600/- per bunch
	Cassava	10-20/-/kg,2-250/- per debe
		9-1,000/- per sack dried
Teso	Millet	85-100/- per kg.
		1,500-2,000/- per sack
	Groundnuts (unshelled)	80-200/-/kg. 4,000/-/sack

* Source - Key Informant Interviews. The crops quoted as being the most often sold do not completely agree with the statistics of sales from the sample survey.

TABLE 46

Prices of Livestock by Area*
First Quarter of 1984

Area	Livestock	Prices**
Busoga	Cow	10-50,000/-
	Goat	2- 3,000/-
	Pig	4-15,000/-
	Chicken	300-1,500/-
Kigezi	Cow	30-60,000/-
	Sheep	2- 3,500/-
	Goat	2- 3,500/-
	Chicken	250- 600/-
Masaka	Goat	1,500-8,000/-
	Pig	5,000-20,000/-
	Chicken	250-1,500/-
Teso	Cow	15-80,000/-
	Sheep	1,500-7,000/-
	Goat	1,500-7,000/-
	Pig (adult)	3,000-15,000/-
	Chicken	200-700/-

*Source - Key Informant Interviews
**Variation depends on size of stock and village where sold.

Prices by quantity have to be related to yield per acre, degree of labor intensiveness and overall cost of production, in order to measure comparative advantage. It was not possible to make these calculations for all crops within the time available. However, some samples can be given. It was estimated, for instance, that the present yield of cotton per ha in Kumi district is on average 180 kg, whereas about 9 tons of dried weight cassava can be obtained per hectare. This represents a value of roughly 18,000/- in each case, but cassava has a minimum labor input and is paid for in cash at point of sale, although its growth period is longer than cotton. Table 47 makes some comparisons using yield statistics from the 1968 Report on Annual Agricultural Statistics (16) and an FAO study of East African crops (17).

TABLE 47

Comparison Value per Hectare of Selected Crops by Area

Crop	Est. Yield per hectare	Area	Calc. Median Locally Quoted Price per kg.	Value per hectare
Coffee	500 kg	All	100/-	50,000/-
Cotton	220 kg	All	100/-	22,000/-
Bananas	1,000 bunches	Kigezi	450/-	450,000/-
		Masaka	300/-	300,000/-
Beans	500 kg	Busoga	40/-	20,000/-
	800 kg	Kigezi	65/-	52,000/-
	800 kg	Masaka	50/-	40,000/-
Millet	1,000 kg	Teso	52/-	57,200/-
Groundnuts	600 kg	Teso	175/-	105,000/-
Maize	1,200 kg	Busoga	25/-	30,000/-
Sorghum	800 kg	Kigezi	100/-	80,000/-
Ir. Pot.	15,000 kg	All	35/-	525,000/-
Sw. Pot.	12,500 kg	Busoga	20/-	250,000/-
		Kigezi	30/-	375,000/-

Another issue in respect to prices, and one of the basic problems facing most informants, is that the costs of consumer goods and services have outpaced the value of produce sold. As a result, most people are making do with the household chattels they purchased in the 1960s and 1970s, or which they looted during the War. (It was reported that nearly all the looting from St. Henry's College, Kitovu, and the town of Masaka, generally was by local people themselves, and the same applied to Serere Research Station in Soroti District, while the writer had personal experience of this in Kampala and Jinja.)

Nevertheless, poverty in terms of a lack of material goods has increased since the 1960s and this is more strongly felt in areas such as Masaka, which had been relatively affluent, as contrasted to Teso, where there had been less accumulation of household possessions in the first place. The quality of housing is also affected by the stagflation, and it is no longer possible for the average farmer to plan home improvements, such as a mbati (iron roof). In Table 48 some comparisons are made between the rates at which prices have increased between 1962 (18) and 1984.

TABLE 48

Comparison Rates of Increase in Prices
Coffee/Cotton and Consumer Goods
1962/65 and 1984

Item	Price 1962/65	Price 1984	Factor Increase
Coffee	./60- lb (1/20 kg)	100/- kg	83
Cotton	./50- lb (1/10 kg)	100/- kg	91
Blanket	10/-	6,500/-	6000
Saucepan	2/50 - 5/-	800-1,500/-	320/300
Plate	./5 - 1/-	400/-	800/400
Brick House	10,000/-	10 million approx.	1000
Sugar	./64 lb (1/29 kg)	400/-	285
Salt	./28 lb (./60 kg)	100/-	166
Kerosene	./60 beer bottle	100/- beer bottle	166
Hoe	4/-	1,000-1,500/-	250/376

Sources - "Cows for Christmas," 1962 ibid. and The Patterns of Income, Expenditures and Consumption of African Unskilled Workers in Jinja, June 1965, and Key Informant Interviews 1984.

It may be seen that prices of consumer goods have risen in most instances three times as much as cash crop prices. Similar increases were reported in the price of agricultural labor. It is this disparity which is the basis of the increasing poverty and despair of the mass of peasantry.

D. CAPITAL AND CREDIT

Banks and other credit institutions can perform an important role in rural development through the provision of development loans, crop purchasing credits and short-term loans to cover current liabilities. Formal lending facilities for development are provided by banks. Other needs may be met by borrowing from Cooperatives, or the informal sector of local money lenders, and through community support systems.

1. Banks

Uganda has a number of commercial banks, including the Uganda Commercial Bank, the Cooperative Bank, Barclays Bank, Grindlays Bank, the Bank of Baroda and the Libyan Arab Bank. There are also development banks such as the Uganda Development Bank and the East African Development Bank. The apex of the banking system is the Bank of Uganda. However, few of the commercial banks have branches in many towns. Only the Uganda Commercial Bank is represented in all the District headquarters surveyed. Jinja has branches of all the commercial banks, with the exception of Grindlays, and the Uganda Commercial Bank has three branches in town.

The commercial banks provide the normal business services to their customers. Some also mobilize national financial resources and lend for development purposes. At the same time they may be intermediaries for the disbursement of loans from external donors. The Uganda Commercial Bank is concerned in all these areas, as is the Cooperative Bank in some places. Because of the UCB's dominance, based on the fact that other banks have no branches in any of the District headquarters surveyed (with the exception of the Cooperative Bank in one or two towns), the following discussion mainly centers on the UCB (although reference is also made to the Cooperative Bank).

At the present time the Uganda Commercial Bank with external funding handles the Cooperative Crop Purchase Scheme in most areas. The UCB is also concerned, especially in Jinja, with IDA credits for the rehabilitation of several industries. In fact, the Jinja branches of the UCB are much more concerned with industry than with agriculture, a fact their chief executives deplore.

The operations of the Cooperative Bank declined during the Amin regime as little attention was focused on the cooperative movement, and cooperatives ceased to play a major role as produce buyers. As a result of this reduction in cooperative activities, funds deposited by them in the Cooperative Bank dwindled.

Banks are also employers of manpower. Not only do they employ staff but they also train them. The quality of staff along with banking principles deteriorated during Amin's time. The governing board of the UCB was largely made up of personnel who were ignorant of banking procedures and practices. However, since 1979 things have greatly improved. Not only are more qualified staff employed, and staff training schemes being undertaken, but government policies support good banking practices. No longer do borrowers use loans for "magendo", for get-rich-quick schemes to finance coffee smuggling, or for current consumption requirements.

Banks provide credit both to institutions and to organizations,

such as the cooperative unions and societies, and also to individuals. As the only bank with sufficiently well distributed branches to reach the rural areas, the UCB has also provided loans for agricutural or related enterprises. In Jinja, the Cooperative Bank, and possibly also other commercial banks, perform this service. Essentially, bank loans for agricultural developments are made only to the most affluent farmers, more often those with disparate business interests, of which a farm is only one.

The years since 1979 have seen a considerable expansion in Cooperative Bank operations. In Jinja the Cooperative Bank provides more agricultural development credit than the UCB and also handles the coffee purchase credit scheme. (Credit policy is not dictated solely by bank headquarters but may also rest with the discretion of particular branch managers. Such agricultural loans may therefore be a function of the interest and dynamism of particular managers.) The following table sets out figures on lending which were obtained in the District interviews.

TABLE 49

Lending for Agriculture and Rural Development by Banks in the Survey Areas

Area	Bank	Number of Farm Loans	Value of Farm Loan	No. Loans Rural Dev.	Value Loans Rural Dev.
Jinja	UCB	1-Poultry	4 mil.sh.	--	--
	COOP	N/K* livestock crops forestry	26 million	N/K processing marketing (not inc. 10m for coffee purchase)	71 mil. sh.
Iganga	UCB	1-piggery	100,000/-	1-maizemill	4 mil.sh.
Kamuli	UCB	4	5 mil. sh.	6	n/a
Kabale	UCB	4	7 mil. sh.	--	--
Kumi	UCB	5-cotton maize dairy	5.7 mil.sh.	4-transport construction	10.4mil.sh
Masaka	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Soroti	UCB	--	--	--	--

*N/K = not known

A number of impediments were cited by bank managers which prevent the small peasant from obtaining loans. Firstly, loans are usually given to those who already have bank accounts, and an infinitesimal percentage of farmers use banks to keep their money. To the majority, banks are inacessible and their operations largely a mystery. Secondly, the small farmer also has small needs. The bank requires a feasibility study costing about Shs. 100,000/- or more to accompany any request for a loan, yet the potential borrower may only need Shs. 30,000/-. Thirdly, nearly all small borrowers lack collateral. Very few households indeed have land titles and almost all of these instances were in Masaka. We found only 5 cases altogether in the three other areas. Another issue of significance to the banks is that the real value of indebtedness can be wiped out by successive massive devaluations of the kind which have occurred in Uganda.

Banks do not reach into the villages and it will not pay the small income earner to travel to town to make a small deposit. However, where a bank is near at hand, farmers do use it. In Iganga, Namuli and Kumi, managers reported in each branch 1,000 or more savings accounts of mainly small farmers. In other branches there were difficulties in disaggregating accounts, and in Jinja, Soroti and Kabale managers assumed accounts were mainly for large farmers if they existed at all.

It is no longer possible, as it was in the past, to have mobile banks. Lack of security militates against this as an option. The present policy of the UCB is to further extend its branches to smaller towns. In fact two new branches were recently opened in Busoga. However the banks must be assured of adequate business before they embark on any such expansion, and such assurance may be lacking.

Thus at present the formal banking system does little to serve the needs of the mass of rural peasantry. Rural credit is provided by other means and mechanisms. Rural credit may be largely defined in this informal context as any benefit or service or good which does not immediately have to be paid for. Some of the means by which households get credit have already been described. The African family network is still largely supportive in providing financial and material assistance to its members, whether it be for school fees for the child, support for a more indigent brother, or by lending tools. Instances in which money is borrowed from different sources for a variety of purposes are set out in Tables 37 and 38, Chapter III, The Household Economy. The family gains assistance and credit not only from its own membership but from other members of the community with whom they are linked by ties of friendship, neighbourhood, affinity or patronage. Thus the more affluent share some of their wealth with their less fortunate fellows.

2. Other Sources of Credit

Another source of credit in rural areas can be small shopkeepers. It has already been mentioned that some individuals are providing farm inputs in the form of seeds and seedlings on a credit basis with the objective of the creditor buying the resultant crop.

An extension of the family and neighborhood support system is, in some of its aspects, "magendo." This is because magendo often utilized such personal networks of kin and friends in its operation. Magendo may optimistically be seen as a method of capital formation. Through it, those who start with little may amass wealth. Magendo is a term loosely applied to a range of illegal or immoral money-making ventures. It may include smuggling of produce both out of and into the country. It also refers to the common practice by which those with good contacts but no money get allocations of scarce goods which they then sell to those with more money than influence. In fact most often only the cash sale form actually changes hands. The allottee gets money and profit, and the purchaser gets the goods at point of sale at the factory. Where the allottee is sufficiently influential or powerful he may not sell the goods to another middleman but may retail them him/herself after obtaining credit for the purchase from the manufacturer. Often such credits remain unpaid for a very long time. Occasionally top people amass capital by selling goods they have purloined, which were intended as relief or other material aid for refugees and rural communities. Through "magendo" over the years, both educated and uneducated entrepreneurs have been able to build local fortunes. During Amin's time the differential between the controlled ex-factory price and that on the open (black) market, or "magendo" price, was enormous. With the abolition of price controls and the big increase in factory prices due to devaluation, the margin of profit is now much less, and those out for a large quick profit must seek other alternatives, mainly acquisition without payment.

Another form of saving and credit is the cooperative work group. This has been mentioned particularly in respect to Kigezi. Insufficient information was obtained on these groups. However it would appear that the fruits of common toil gained by contract work for other members of the community are saved and invested in other ventures, mainly trading. Women's groups were exemplified who had managed to break into the second-hand clothes trade. In other words, the money earned by contract work provides trading capital. Groups can be comprised either of men or of women, although it was suggested the latter predominate in Kigezi.

In Teso, communal credits may be given in the form of livestock. These may be a contribution toward dowry payments or for other purposes. The offspring of livestock which are lent in this way remain with the borrower. Only the original "capital" has to be repaid to the lender. The provision of labor in return for the plowing of one's land may also, in some lights, be seen as credit. This practice is also common in Teso.

Reference has been made to the existence in the surveyed villages of moneylenders, although it would appear from Table 38 that few have recourse to such people, except in Kigezi. It was not possible to learn a great deal about the operation of these individuals except that the interest they charge is more than exorbitant. It is usually 100% over even a short period and may be reclaimed in the form of livestock or other chattels when the borrower continues to default. In general it was observed that the only credit available to the peasant households was from the informal sector. However it must also be noted that for agricultural development very few (11.65%) wanted such credit. The more important needs are for assistance with medical expenses and school fees which are not within the province of banks in Uganda, unless in the form of overdraft arrangements for the rich. It would also appear that in general, assistance for such needs is not seen as a loan. Overall monetary indebtedness is very small indeed. Interview data appears to support the contention that if financial support for development is needed, it is in the form of subsidies, rather than loans. Banks as they are presently organized do not form an effective vehicle for extensive lending to the rural poor.

E. AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

Introduction

In this section we will discuss those institutions which are concerned with the provision of agricultural services to rural areas; the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Departments of Agriculture and Forestry); the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries (Veterinary Department and Fisheries Department); and the Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing (Department of Cooperatives).(19)

The singular importance of agriculture is attested to in all documents, reports and surveys that discuss Uganda's economy. Some casual observers have stated that given Uganda's endowments in soil and water, it has the potential to meet the food needs of a large part of the African continent.

As with agriculture, the potential for development of the fishing industry is equally as promising. Uganda is endowed with large freshwater expanses which include Lake Victoria (the second largest inland lake in the world), Lakes Kyoga, Edward, George, and Albert, and numerous smaller lakes. The River Nile teems with gigantic Nile perch. Exploitation of these resources could produce ample high quality protein for human consumption, provide critically needed protein for animal and poultry production, and substantially increase foreign exchange earnings through export.

Prior to the 1970's, the livestock industry was flourishing, to the extent that Uganda was almost self-sufficient in milk and meat. The beef ranching scheme in Ankole and Buganda had most

infrastructural facilities such as cattle dips, fencing and water schemes provided by the Government. Government ranches, dairy farms and experiment stations attracted farmers, albeit largely progressive farmers, to be exposed to new techniques.

Organiza :ocal charts for personnel from national to local levels for each institution are found in Appendix VIII. In this section we shall outline the objectives of each institution, discuss its functioning at the District level, and examine problems encountered in delivery of services to the rural populaton.

1. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Department of Agriculture)

The Department's objectives as outlined in a Ministry document are:

1. To ensure a supply of adequate and balanced food in all the areas of the country at all times.

2. To ensure a supply of raw materials to meet the needs of local agriculturally based industries and exports.

3. To ensure that soil, water, forestry and other agricultural resources are conserved and that land productivity is maintained and improved where possible.

4. To conduct and coordinate research designed to improve yields and quantity of crops, livestock, pastures and land utilization.

5. To disseminate agricultural knowledge and information to the farming populace through programmes of extension services and training.

6. To introduce improved farming systems which take advantage of available natural resources, including integration of crops, livestock and forestry activities.

7. To produce and supply high quality planting materials and improved livestock to farmers.

8. To diversify agricultural production in order to reduce absolute dependence on coffee and cotton, while at the same time raising the absolute value of these crops from their present low levels to stabilize national income.

9. To discharge statutory obligations regarding the production, marketing, processing and movements of crops, livestock and forestry products.

The establishment of the Faculty of Agriculture and the Makerere University Farm at Kabanyolo, the three agricultural research

stations, the country-wide extension services, and the district farm institutes, all attest to the importance with which the above objectives have been viewed by every Government since the 1920s. The last ten to fifteen years, however, have witnessed major shortfalls in carrying out these objectives.

2. Agricultural Extension Programs

In 1984, the Ugandan farmer is almost unaided in his efforts to achieve a livelihood. In the 1960s, in earlier annual reports of the Department of Agriculture, and in the 2nd and 3rd Five Year Development Plans (20), there is ample testimony to the number of schemes and projects to promote agricultural development.(See Appendix IV). Although there were some bottlenecks in the Government controlled marketing of cotton and coffee (21), these were not major impediments to the majority of farmers. While to a large extent development programs were targeted on cash crops, nevertheless credit schemes enabled the farmer to finance other broader development. Some programs, such as the tractor hire service, could benefit crop production in general. To underline this, a list of projects from these two development plans is given in Appendix IV. Under the Revised Recovery Programme (22), 33 agricutural projects are listed as against 57 under the 2nd Five Year Plan and 89 under the 3rd Five Year Plan. While funds were then available for the day-to-day operation of extension services, present day field staff said they have to purchase their own stationery, finance their own travel, or receive reimbursements several years after the expenses are incurred. Moreover they have nothing with which to demonstrate improved agricultural methods to the farmer.

There were seen to be a number of current projects which involved the households reached by the survey. These are the IFAD financed Agricultural Reconstruction Programme for Districts of north-eastern Uganda, including both Teso and Kumi; the EEC Coffee Rehabilitation Programme, which operates in the coffee growing areas; and the EEC supported poultry rehabilitation project. In addition, the Veterinary Department of the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries has an increasing supply of drugs, mostly EEC financed, and had embarked on a combined CBPP and rinderpest vaccination campaign. At the same time, the improved marketing of coffee has been supported through crop purchasing credit to the Cooperatives. The benefits of these programs have not, however, reached all or even the majority of farmers.

The marketing of subsidized inputs is insufficiently controlled so that often the traders, rather than the farmers, receive the benefit of the subsidy. The types of tools supplied are not always familiar to the farmers, or suitable to the condition of cultivation in Uganda. Agro-chemicals are not subject to local testing and recommendation. The combined CBPP/rinderpest vaccine had severe side-effects, resulting in the death of some cattle, and veterinary drugs sold at commercial prices can only be

afforded by the most affluent. In addition, the crop purchasing credit scheme is already falling into difficulties, with farmers in Busoga remaining unpaid for their coffee since February 1983. It has also been pointed out (23) that the Cooperatives received no financial assistance to buy cotton and thus much of last year's cotton crop remained unpurchased. A further problem, also pointed out by an FAO study (24), is that no new agronomic recommendations or plant varieties are being generated by the Research Stations, in spite of the emergence of new problems and the deterioration of current varieties. In fact the research and seed multiplication programs have ceased to function.

a. District-level Programs

Each district also has some more limited departmental programs, some of which do not yet have outside aid and may be relatively non-functional. Kigezi still has some ongoing activity with Irish potato cultivation, although much of the infrastructure for research has yet to be developed. In Teso there is a revival of the cashew nut tree planting program, in association with the construction of a processing factory, with Italian aid involvement. In Masaka no special ongoing activities were noted outside the EEC Coffee Rehabilitation program. In Busoga, also, the Department of Agriculture has yet to embark on a program to resuscitate the many projects with which they were involved at the beginning of the 1970's, although a Republic of China-managed rice scheme is still operative and contributing to Uganda's rice needs. All Districts have also benefitted from assistance in the form of tractors from Italy and Japan.

b. Extension Service Contacts

In spite of the above-mentioned problems, a surprising number of informants reported receiving advice from the extension services. Table 50 shows that even in the least served District in this report, Masaka, 10% reported receiving advice from Agricultural staff. These continuing contacts as well as the familiarization of farmers with pesticides in the 1960s, which were then heavily subsidized, and which rapidly demonstrated their effectiveness (25), must account for the current high demand for these inputs.

TABLE 50

Contact with Agricultural Staff in Past Year

Area	Advice Agric. Staff	Visited Agric. Staff	Advice Vet. Staff	Visited Vet. Staff	Advice Both Staffs	Visited Both Staffs
Busoga	12%	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%
Kigezi*	61%	31	1 case	4	5	10
Masaka	10%	5	1%	1	--	--
Teso*	34%	23	4	8	9	--

* One enumerator in each case was a member of Agriculture

Department Staff, which may have led to a bias on responses, although they were requested to guard against this.

In Teso we were also interviewing in a village where the Agricultural College had a special outreach program.

c. The District Agricultural Office

The District Agricultural Office is charged with the responsibility of developing agriculture throughout an entire District. Theoretically this office implements central headquarters program and policy directives; distributes farm inputs as they become available; conducts training programs, usually through the District Farm Institutes; and provides technical advice to individual farmers as needed or requested. In fact, as the field interviews with both farmers and District Agricultural staff show, few of these tasks are actually being accomplished.

Staff Training and Personnel Issues. There are three levels of training for staff. Agricultural Officers hold degrees from Makerere University. Assistant Agricultural Officers have 2-year certificates or 3-year diplomas from one of the two agricultural training colleges, Arapai or Bukalasa. Agricultural mechanics are trained at Busitemwa College. There are also a large number of Agricultural Field Assistants at the grassroots level, who have received no training at all.

District Agricultural Officers (DAOs) have usually had extensive experience within the Ministry. For example, the DAO in Jinja had served 20 years, the DAO in Soroti 16 years, in Iganga 13 years, and in Kamuli 14 years. Unfortunately, this period includes nearly 10 years of Amin's rule, during which training opportunities were negligible. Seniority in terms of years of service, therefore, does not necessarily mean that the term of service had been accompanied or strengthened by practical experience, in-service training, or advanced professional training. Refresher courses, professional conferences, up-to-date journals and other critical reading materials have not been easy to come by because of foreign exchange limitations.

With little or no access to in-service training, most staff have not been able to polish or upgrade their school knowledge. Even the quality of Makerere University graduates in the past couple of years is questionable. It thus becomes very difficult to communicate agricultural knowledge, which may not exist in abundance. One District official, commenting generally, said, "How can they give what they don't have?"

Theoretically, the DAO meets his staff regularly to give guidelines, supervise field work, receive reports and organize specific interventions. The research shows that most of the DAOs meet their staff once a month at most. Even this is not a formal meeting in most cases, but rather an ad hoc encounter when staff come to collect their salaries. Since not all of them come at

the same time, there are few opportunities to share experiences, discuss problems, or plan together.

d. Infrastructural Facilities.

Lack of transport and delayed payments of travel claims are a major cause of poor and infrequent communications, not only in the Department of Agriculture, but in all government departments throughout the country. In cases where an officer must travel, and uses his own funds, reimbursements can take months and years. In one District, we arrived to find that refund claims for 1981-82 had just been received (April, 1984).

If the DAO cannot meet his staff, it is even more difficult to visit farmers. In the cases where motor vehicles, motorcycles and bicycles have become available from government or from a donor agency, maintenance has been a major bottleneck. Not only is the price of spare parts very high (a bicycle tire with tube at 3,000/-), the escalated price of fuel goes beyond the means of a District office budget. In some cases motorcycles and bicycles have been specifically allocated for sale to staff. The prices have been too high (motorcycle at 300,000/-) to be within the means of a devoted ministry worker. Occasionally the DAO travels with the District Commissioner (DC) or other Ministry officials, and joins others to address a public gathering. However, this transient contact hardly touches the peasant farmer, and has little effect on his farming patterns.

The DAO Office is further handicapped by the inadequacy, and often the total absence of, routine office facilities and equipment. In Kumi District there were hardly offices for any of the departments of government, nor were there any staff houses. This also applies to Masaka. Telephones and typewriters do not work. Paper is a rare commodity. Salaries do not arrive on time. Scheduled meetings do not take place. In most cases, the fact that officials still report to work reveals a rather remarkable sense of duty and commitment. This is all the more remarkable when one considers the fact that the salary at the end of the month can barely sustain the employee through one week (District Officers earned between $30-40 per month before the 1984 budget).

Given the tremendous problems of transport and finances noted above, it is not surprising that field officers at District offices have relatively infrequent contact with farmers in the rural area. The wealthier farmers often meet the expenses of the officials, and not infrequently even pay a per diem. What is surprising is that the small farmer reports contacts with Agricultural staff as frequently as he does. Table 50 demonstrated that not only did a reasonable percentage receive advice (with a probable bias towards a higher positive figure in two areas), but a smaller number were also actually visited.

Statistics on small farmer attendance at agricultural training sessions reveal that very few household heads or other household

members have had any formal agricultural education. Table 51 demonstrates this.

TABLE 51

Number of Household Heads Who Have Attended Training Courses
(Percentages in brackets)

Area	1983	1982	1979-81	1971-78	1970 and earlier
Busoga	6(2%)	3(1%)	1(0%)	3(1%)	8(3%)
Kigezi	6(2)	2(1)	3(1)	7(3)	19(7)
Masaka	1(0)	--	1(0)	3(1)	10(4)
Teso	8(3)	--	2(1)	11(4)	15(6)

The number of other household members who have also attended courses are even fewer. For all areas this was: Busoga 15 (6 wives); Kigezi 12 (7 Wives); Masaka 3 (2 wives) and Teso 10 (5 wives). In all, 93% of household heads in Busoga have never attended a course; 76% in Kigezi; 94% in Masaka, and 87% in Teso. It is obvious that the overwhelming majority has not attended any training course in agriculture. However, the majority of those who have participated, did so in the period before 1970, or between 1970 and 1978.

The problems faced by both the Department of Agriculture and the mass of farmers do not lie solely in the inadequate present administrative structures, but are affected by the security problems already referred to. Small farmers or peasant producers and extension workers all require political and economic stability and physical security in order to cultivate and carry out their responsibilities. The peasant is not a speculator who may easily take advantage of chaos. He ekes his existence from his labor and sweat. The farmers are not yet either fully stable or secure. In respect to agricultural staff, not only are they required to function in the same milieu of unease, but they lack even minimal job incentives. One Agricultural Assistant put it quite clearly: "I lack inputs to take to the farmers and therefore I feel shy to go and advise them with empty hands." A DAO put it: "When you use your own money to attend to an urgent case, the refund takes years. Why subsidize the government?"

3. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Forestry Department)

The Forestry Department shares a ministry with the Department of Agriculture. Although the majority of Uganda's population depends on wood for its fuel energy and building needs, and although the rate at which deforestation is taking place is a cause for grave alarm, the Department is accorded a clearly

secondary role in the Ministry.

a. Departmental Objectives

The objectives of the Forestry Department are:

1. to ensure an adequate supply of raw materials for use by the wood processing industries;

2. to expand employment opportunities in rural areas;

3. to recoup as much as possible the costs associated with the planning and development of afforestation and restocking of the exploited natural forests;

4. to educate the public in general and the farmers in particular about the role that forests play in their lives and in the economic development of the country.

b. Programs of the Department

It was realized as far back as the 1940s that the supply of wood needs from the natural forests was not sufficient, given the rate of increase of the population. It was then decided to introduce and establish exotic species to supplement the natural sources. In the post-independence government, an afforestation, or national tree planting program was started, but was abandoned during the 1970s. This program was expected to make Uganda self-sufficient in soft wood needs by the year 2000, but it is behind schedule by 8,700 hectares.

The economic collapse of the 1970s decade took its toll on the Department's infrastructure as well. Not only were targets abandoned but the supporting facilities suffered. Nyabyeya Forestry College closed down after the 1979 War for lack of water, transport and equipment, (most of which was looted during the war). The tree seed production for lowland afforestation was abandoned in 1975 when British aid was withdrawn. The Nakawa Research Centre fell to the same fate, due to lack of equipment and the fact that some of its experts fled the country. The Department of Forestry at Makerere University, started in 1970, suffered tremendous setbacks when the Norwegian Agency for Internatinal Development (NORAD) withdrew assistance. The other East African countries which were supposed to benefit from this program also withdrew.

Even the cash producing enterprises have not recieved adequate attention. The Wood Industries Corporation, a parastatal located in Jinja, integrated all sawmills after the Asian exodus. Today, lack of equipment, trained personnel and poor management contribute to its faltering performance. A similar state of decline prevails at the Kiira Plywood Factory in Jinja, the Budongo Sawmill (for logging and chipwood production), the Bungoma Sawmill, and the Karinzu Sawmill.

There are no comprehensive programs at the national level in the Department. District offices continue as best as they can with activities of former days, such as tree planting campaigns, nursery development, and to some extent, public education programs. However, the extent to which these activities are effective or useful depends solely on the personnel and conditions at the respective District offices. They also continue to maintain forest reserves and curtail illegal felling of trees, although the same infrastructual limitations affect their ability to monitor these activities effectively.

There is a limited program in afforestation undertaken in Kabale District under the auspicies of CARE, with the support of the Ministry. According to the District Forestry Officer in Kabale, the Department is contributing technical advice and cooperation only. The project will establish nurseries throughout the District, with a target of 25 by the end of the next year, from which seedlings will be distributed to individual farmers.

c. Department of Forestry at the District Level

The interviews showed that District Forestry Officers (DFOs) and their staff have a real appreciation of the need for urgent attention to the rapidly deteriorating forestry situation. They expressed concern over the relationship between soil conservation and forests, and over what they consider to be a widespread public ignorance about the implications of the present rapid deforestation. All District offices articulated the same objectives: to plant more trees, to protect the natural forests and forest reserves, to educate the public (in particular the small farmer) regarding the value of forests, and ways in which he can become self-sufficient in meeting his fuel needs and building material needs.

As with other departments, District Forestry Department officials face formidable challenges in carrying out their duties. Lack of equipment was perhaps the most evident. In all areas there is virtually no transport, not even a bicycle. (Kabale was the exception with one 1970 Land Rover available, and one 1982 Landcruiser donated by the World Wildlife Fund for use in a mountain gorilla protection campaign. The officer noted that the Landcruiser was used "for everything.") A tree planting program requires means to transport seedlings to farmers; to protect existing forests from fire, there must be fire-fighting equipment. No such equipment exists.

A second problem is the lack of trained staff. The collapse of Nyabyeya Forestry College and the inability of the Makerere department to produce sufficient numbers of trained graduates contributes to the shortage of manpower. One DFO reported that lack of trained labor means reliance on voluntary assistance in firefighting, a situation which can be dangerous, or at best uncertain. Insufficient personnel also means that field officers are overstretched in their supervisory and monitoring duties. In

Kumi District, for example, there is only one man to cover 350 hectares of forest reserve - without transport.

A subtle but perhaps potentially more devastating problem, faced by field personnel, is the increasing effect of political activity on the destruction of forest resources. Lack of clear or effective control measures by local government officials has resulted in uncontrolled felling of trees in all areas. This has only increased, particularly the felling of mvule, as timber prices have soared. Raiding in Soroti District has also taken its toll on forested areas as both raiders and the army have caused displacement of villagers into the forest reserves. Local politicians in one area were calling for their supporters to settle in the forest reserves, and are pressing to de-gazette the reserves for personal and political purposes. In the present circumstances, civil service personnel have little recourse to protective or punitive measures when such actions by the political elite occur.

The Department of Forestry is a clear example of how structural parameters, prioritization and the general economic deterioration of the last decade act in unison to effectively paralyze the institution's functioning. One DFO ended on a somber note when he said the Department's programs have been less effective since the 1979 War: "Money has been much more difficult to come by. Forestry has been given a low priority in the Recovery Programme. Forestry depends on heavy equipment and vehicles. We don't have vehicles, even at headquarters. Perhaps this is partly a result of being included in Agriculture, and not even being accorded the importance of a section, like Coffee. If something is not done now, there will be a great scarcity of forest products very soon. A centrally organized development program, linked to rural development, is an urgent matter."

4. Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries (Veterinary Department)

The Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries has three Departments: the Veterinary Department, the Tsetse Control Department, and the Fisheries Department. The Veterinary Department has been the principal beneficiary of international assistance.

a. Departmental Objectives

The objectives of the Veterinary Department are:

1. to develop the livestock industry by

    a. control and treatment of disease

    b. offering advice on modern animal husbandry

    c. upgrading local cattle and other domestic animals through

breeding programs and artificial insemination

2. to improve the organization of marketing of livestock and livestock products.

b. Veterinary Programs

The Department of Veterinary Services in the decade of the 1960s had a large number of development projects and regular field programs. All of these are being progressively revived. Veterinary projects and programs of the past included ranching and dairy schemes, tsetse eradication and tick control programs, and vaccination and quarantine for cattle diseases. There was substantial overlap with the Department of Agriculture, and there is still some conflict of jurisdiction over animal husbandry, since both departments have been involved with it. At the present time the Department of Agriculture is, however, supposed to concern itself only with pasture development. In the past it was the Department of Agriculture which undertook stock breeding programs to upgrade local strains. The Veterinary Department carried out breeding programs on the ranching schemes and sought to provide good stock from its dairy farms.

At the present time financing is being sought to rehabilitate the various ranching schemes. Ranches are also being developed by individual farmers in some districts, notably in Masaka among the sample areas. There are at present 91 private ranches in Masaka. Ranches in Uganda are of very small size and their future is questionable given competition for land by the expanding population. Much of the original stock on the government ranches and stock farms was eliminated in the 1979 War. A large proportion of the stock that remained after the War was sold to private ranchers to facilitate private ranch development.

By 1971 Uganda was self-sufficient in milk, not only from grade dairy cattle on a number of private dairy farms, but from local cattle. The Dairy Corporation had a network of collecting stations and a fleet of refrigerated vehicles. These fell into disuse during the Amin era and by 1980 had ceased to exist. Currently, with FAO/UNDP assistance, the dairy industry is being gradually reactivated. At the present time in the areas surveyed, collection of milk is being carried out in Teso and Masaka. Although there are several dairy farms in Busoga, it has not been feasible to extend collection to the area, since the price of milk there is higher than the Dairy Corporation is prepared to pay. In Kigezi dairy herds were untouched by the depredations of looters during and after the War, and private dairy development has continued with local leadership. A local entrepreneur in Kabale is now producing butter and cheese. Dairy farms, like ranches, are mainly the preserve of large, wealthy farmers.

The disease control activities of the Department withered and

died during the 1970s. Tse-tse controlled areas became reinfested and humans were affected with sleeping sickness for the first time since the 1930s. The Tse-Tse Control Department, although separate from the Veterinary Department, is an integral arm in the fight to eliminate major animal diseases. It is now receiving assistance to reactivate its services, starting with aerial spraying in areas incuding south Busoga, where sleeping sickness is endemic.

Other major diseases which have always concerned the Veterinary Department are rinderpest, foot and mouth disease, East Coast fever (ECF), and contagious bovine pleuropneumonia. The first had raged unchecked over the past 4 or 5 years. The Department has now, however, reintroduced vaccination. Although, as is noted elsewhere, the vaccine supplied so far has had serious side effects, nevertheless it has succeeded in checking the spread of the disease from the Sudan and northern Uganda as far down south as Busoga. In preceding years, herds in northern Uganda had been seriously affected, and, as was reported in Teso, very many had already died.

As part of its disease control program the Department is embarking on a program to reconstruct cattle dips, which had been introduced in the rural areas in the 1960s. Cement and other manufactured materials are being provided with donor aid, while the local people are expected to contribute labor, stones and sand. Dips are essential if tick-borne diseases, the most serious of which is ECF, are to be controlled, and if the tick population is to be diminished over time.

In addition to its other programs, and as part of its policy to upgrade local herds, artificial insemination was introduced in the 1960s. Like everything else, this program also collapsed during the Amin interregnum. It is now being reintroduced and is being used largely by private ranchers and dairy farmers in the two Districts of Busoga and Masaka. As will be discussed further, there is little scientific stock farming in Teso, and Kigezi relies more on private initiatives.

Minor programs of the Department include poultry, bee-keeping, and improvement of hides and skins. A new proposal is for upgrading pigs. The Department's control responsibilities include issuing stock movement and cattle sale licenses.

c. District Level Structure and Organization

To carry out its various programs, the Veterinary Department has both a District extension service, and separately staffed government ranches and dairy farms. As with other Departments, extension staff are deployed at District headquarters, in each county, and where possible at sub-county or even parish level. The officer in charge of each District is the District Veterinary Officer (DVO) and he is supported at the District headquarters by

a number of Veterinary Officers with various schedules of responsibilities. Where there is an AI program the officer responsible is also attached to the District headquarters office. At the county level there are Animal Husbandry Officers and Veterinary Assistants. At sub-county or parish levels there are veterinary scouts. The District headquarters have a clerical staff but at the county level, officers are responsible for clerical and administrative duties, as well as field work. As with other Ministries, few actually have offices at the county level, and none below this. Even at the District level in the recently created Districts, office accommodations are often of a make-shift nature.

The District Veterinary Officer and other Veterinary Officers are all graduates, mainly of Makerere University. The Animal Husbandry Officers are also graduates. Assistant officers are certificate holders or diplomates. There is a Veterinary Training School in Entebbe, and some staff obtained diplomas in Kenya. A major problem has been the degree of bias in veterinary medicine for veterinary staff and a stress on the disease cure and control aspects of the Department's work for those holding diplomas. Although Animal Husbandry Officers may hold degrees in Agriculture, little has been done to develop and direct an active husbandry program even for cattle, and small livestock have been largely ignored. Although poultry farming is now also among the responsibilities of the Veterinary Department, again Department of Agriculture staff were in the past more concerned with grass-roots advice to the farmers, and only those who have access to the District staff can obtain real advice or assistance in this sphere.

However, in present-day Uganda, livestock values have more than kept pace with inflation, and thus livestock husbandry is an attractive option to the more progressive and commercially oriented. This favors the work of the Department. It is also the case that the work done in the 1960s laid the groundwork for a greater appreciation of scientific husbandry practices and of the economic opportunities from dairy farming, from poultry keeping and from ranching, especially in the three areas of Busoga, Kigezi and Masaka. Some farmers actively demand veterinary medicines and acaricides, and the Department did not report initial resistance to vaccination, only dismay at the unwelcome side effects.

d. Problems

The problems facing the Veterinary Department are to some extent the same as those facing other extension departments, and to some extent particular both to its own schedule of responsibilities or area of operation. In common with all government staff, personnel lack job incentives in terms of salaries and conditions of service. At lower levels, no housing, transport or office accommodation is provided. Each District headquarters has

recently received an allocation of vehicles, including a land-rover and one or two motorcycles. However project funds, and funds for running these vehicles, have still not been made available, and staff salaries are as invisible as those for other government personnel. The Dip Construction Program has to share one vehicle within a whole region.

While drugs and acaricides are now available, their cost is prohibitive to all farmers and beyond the reach of the average peasant. There is also a "magendo" trade in such drugs, which are frequently sold above the suggested price unofficially. The Department also has little control at the District level over what drugs and acaricides it receives. Allocations are made from headquarters in Kampala, and orders are placed for importation of these supplies without consulting the District staff on their day to day needs.

While many general problems which face the Department at the district level are common or similar to other Departments, certain issues concern them more strongly. In Teso, cattle raiding not only wipes out the livelihood of many farmers and disturbs whole rural populations, it also serves to spread disease. In Masaka, also, looting wipes out hard-won progress in the form of dairy and poultry farms. Veterinary staff are also faced frequently with overcoming traditional attitudes towards livestock management, especially in areas, such as Teso, which were traditionally more pastoralist. Farmers may be unable to fence land due to customary common rights of grazing on fallow land or due to unclear boundary demarcations. Farmers may be unprepared for some of the scientific management practices advocated by the Department. In many areas cattle raising competes for land needed for cultivation. Dairy development in Kigezi is carried out to the detriment of community rights to grow crops in the valley bottoms. There is also little popular support for the Dip Construction Program, which may partly inhere in the lack of local organizations to manage construction and their eventual use. Unlike Kenya, there are no dairy or livestock cooperatives which could take this initiative and responsibility.

5. The Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries (Fisheries Deparment)

Introduction

The Fisheries Department is located in the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries, and finds itself in somewhat the same underdog position as the Forestry Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Despite the potential for both internal trade and foreign exchange earnings, little assistance has been given to this industry since the 1979 War.

a. Departmental Objectives

The objectives of the Department of Fisheries are:

1. To promote conservation of aquatic resources

2. To increase the production of fish and fish products

3. To improve processing and marketing procedures

4. To generate revenue for Government and employment opportunities for individuals

5. To contribute to an increased standard of living for the population through supply of cheap protein.

b. Programs

Like all other departments, the activities of the Fisheries Department have come to a near standstill. During the 1960s the Department established fish ponds throughout the country, both as government demonstration and breeding centers, and as private enterprises. The TUFMAC plant in Kasese processed fish fillets for export, and there was a thriving internal trade in fish. The Fisheries School at Entebbe conducted certificate courses for Fisheries Assistants. Since 1975, however, when the TUFMAC plant in Kasese closed down, there has been a steady decline in the industry.

At present some inputs are being distributed in selected areas of the country. Through the IFAD project in Teso, nets, boat motors and other inputs were made available to local fishermen. In Kampala, both the net factory and the ice plant have resumed operation, although production levels are still low. The Department has planned a number of programs, but lack of funds and the low priority accorded the Department in the Recovery Programme has prevented their implementation, other than a limited distribution of inputs. Among the targeted improvements are: assistance to the Fisheries Training School; the establishment of departmental demonstration fish farms; training programs for professionals, fishermen and fishmongers; and the purchase of experimental and demonstration fishing boats. No mention is made of other infrastructural needs, such as housing for personnel, transportation, access roads to fish landings, or reform of the staff structure.

c. Department of Fisheries at the District Level

The team interviewed four District Fisheries Officers (DFOs). No specific attempts were made to interview fishermen or fishmongers. As the research progressed, it became evident that a follow-up study more specifically targeted to the fishing industry would be useful.

DFOs outlined the same general goals and program initiatives as those given at the national level. In addition there is evidence of some limited program maintenance activity at the local level, depending on the initiative of individual District officers. In one district a stock of Nile perch and tilapia had been distributed to fish ponds and ponds; in another, smoke houses had been built to improve on traditional smoking methods.

As in other government departments, a number of factors prevent effective departmental functioning at the District level.

Staff Training - The Entebbe Fisheries School trains Fisheries Assistants only to the certificate level. Makerere University has no fisheries science department, so any advanced training must be acquired outside of Uganda. The result is that field personnel do not necessarily have the requisite professional training for their positions. In one District the DFO has a degree in chemistry, but has not had any formal fisheries training. By virtue of possessing an advanced degree, he is the senior officer, with personnel below him having certificates in fisheries. Obviously such staffing configurations can lead to organizational and personal conflicts.

Infrastructural Facilities - Lack of transport, housing and basic office accommodations are again the major bottlenecks to effective job performance in the Department. The Kumi DFO stays in Mbale for lack of housing, and obviously is not able to go to work daily for lack of travel monies. The same office situation obtains in Fisheries as in other departments: lack of even minimal office space and furniture, no stationery or other supplies to carry out routine admnistrative procedures.

In all Districts, both insufficient land and lake transport poses severe problems. Officers reported that visits to fish landings, many of which are at considerable distance from district headquarters, are rare. The poor quality of feeder roads to landing sites was also consistently noted as a serious handicap. Instead, extension work may be carried out at the local market when fishermen and fishmongers come to sell their catches. When necessary, officers use the boats of the fishermen for water transport. Under such conditions, it is virtually impossible to carry out regular extension programs.

A final problem is the confusion and sometimes duplication of responsibilities with other ministries. An example from Masaka illustrates this. Technically, the Fisheries Department must give licenses to prospective fishermen, as well as information on the kinds of equipment to use. However, in the Masaka case, there were three different bodies issuing licenses: the Fisheries Department, the Town Council, and the Ministry of Local Government.

When the Department of Fisheries issues a license, the money goes to the central government. The Town Clerk collects taxes

for his own town. The Local Government office also needs tax money to carry out programs which fall outside of the central government budgetary process. The fisherman, therefore, is subject to multiple taxation. Indeed, the fisherman has to pay one-tenth of his catch every time he lands, to Local Government, yet he gets no facilities as benefits in return. The provision of the infrastructure at landings, technical advice, and provision of equipment, remain the responsibilities of the Fisheries Department.

For the fisherman to sell his fish in the Municipality of Masaka, he is required to obtain a trade license from the Trade Development Officer, Ministry of Commerce. He must also pay a fee to the Town Clerk for his vending space in the town's general market. Such a system discourages the fisherman from selling his own fish; layers of tax levies are economically overburdening. This situation has brought in marketing middlemen, who in turn extract their own profits.

In cases where fishnets have not been available, and a supply suddenly appears, even the District Commissioner's office has become involved in deciding who should be named as the distribution agent, rather than assigning the role to the department responsible for the fishing industry. This functional diffuseness is not unique to Fisheries Department, and may not be peculiar to this District. The competition between Local Government, municipalities, Town Councils and the central Government for tax levies requires further investigation. This issue will be touched upon later in the examination of the role of the DC in the mechanics of District Administration. (See following section).

F. DISTRICT-LEVEL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Introduction

Responsibility for the administrative governing of a District is vested in two central government bodies: the President's Office, which appoints District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners, and the Ministry of Local Government, which is responsible for Administrative Secretaries and all Chiefs down to the parish level. This dual governing of a single District is the source of considerable confusion, duplication of effort, and inefficient - even unmanageable - allocation of funds. From a structural viewpoint, it is perhaps the single greatest obstacle to effective development planning and implementation that a District faces.

Because of the importance of this administrative issue to any development activity, the following paragraphs give a brief history of the development of administrative domains in Uganda. This historical overview is followed by a discussion of the

present division of offices and their inter-relationships.

2. Historical Overview

The history of district administration is long and complex. (26) In the colonial system there was a clear demarcation between central government and native administration. The colonial administration was represented in the district by the District Commissioner, who, for a long time, had to be British.

The DC was the judge of that which was appropriate, if it was not defined in the laws and ordinances. What he did not approve could not work in the District. Native laws and customs were studied for their suitability or rejection. All departments of central government were under the DC, and he was responsible to the Provincial Commission, a post that was not as highly developed in Uganda as in Kenya. From this vantage point he was directly responsible to the central government. In the establishment of the colonial administration, the DC acted as both the inductive and conductive system.

In the early stages very little was known about the District apart from that which went through the DC's office. Boundaries of administrative units were decided by him for administrative convenience. His barazas had to be attended by all the senior chiefs to get directions. He was, in short, the Duke of Shire.

On the other hand, native administration varied. In the kingdom areas (Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro, with Busoga in a special position), the King was the head of native administration, as well as the head of local government. He was the custodian of the traditions and customs of his people, although in the case of any conflict between the King and the District Commissioner, or Resident, as he was called in Buganda, the DC prevailed.

The other Districts were initially ruled directly until a local administration was established through the well-known system of indirect rule. What is important, however, is that there was a clear demarcation between local and central administration, the local being subordinate.

For a long time local government was expected to raise taxes for its own development. There were central government projects which were supported by the central government, but the majority of projects were undertaken by the Native Authority. This in part explains the uneven development in the regions. The more the local authority was able to do, the greater was the development of the area.

By the early 1950s, the question was brought up whether local government on the English model should be established in Uganda. Then came the institution of Councils, which made by-laws, but which were mainly dominated by Chiefs, who were appointed only

if they were acceptable to the central government. By 1962, although many changes had occurred in the structure, the local and the central systems were operating in different spheres, with the former still encumbered by its role as a native administration.

Following independence, the question of who was or was not native did not arise, because the DC and the head of local government were both Ugandans. The Councils became elective bodies, like the National Assembly. Party politics penetrated to the grassroots level, and the process of centralization continued. The abolition of Kingship in 1966 increased vertical integration, and the concentration of power in the central authority. Numerous laws were passed to insure the changes. But the colonial social administrative structure has not yet been entirely changed, as the analysis shows.

After the changes in 1966 and 1967, there are two offices in the District which assumed critical importance: the District Commissioner, and the Administrative Secretary. The latter became a purely administrative post during the Amin era. There is hardly anything that goes on in the District without either of these offices being involved. Their positions in development activity will become apparent.

To present the structure of district administration on a chart is rather difficult because the lines of authority do not follow a pyramidal power structure. The Ministry of Local Government, and the Forestry Department, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, serve as examples to illustrate the present structural relationships. See charts in Appendix VIII.

3. <u>The District Commissioner</u>

The DC with his staff of several ADCs, represents the President's Office. He is an administrator directly under the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, and the head of the Civil Service. He is in charge of the administration of all the activities in the District. The DC and his staff, who formally have no direct links with the grassroots, hold "barazas" to explain government policy, organize Ministers' visits, receive important visitors and brief them about the District.

The DC is the Chairman of the District Security Committee. This brings together the police, prisons and army commanders in the towns where there are army barracks. Yet at the same time, each of those organs he brings together reports directly to its own headquarters, where they are each responsible to their respective ministries. To what extent each of these organs is obligated to discuss top secrets with the DC is not structurally clear.

The DC is also the Chairman of the District Development Team and Planning Committee. The Committee's monthly meeting is attended

by the heads of all the major organizations in the District: DAO, DVO, District Forestry Officer, District Fisheries Officer, Trade Development Officer, District Medical Officer, District Community Development Officer, Chamber of Commerce, District Education Officer, Town Clerk, District Police Commander, Administrative Secretary and any other that the DC may deem relevant to attend.

The research team tried to find out what this body does in terms of planning and development that would filter to the household economy. The Committee does not plan in the long-term sense, because there is no District development plan independent of the national plan. The planning that is done involves the handling of day-to-day issues and crises. For example, the President is visiting the District: who should do what? An epidemic has broken out: what arrangements could be made for vaccination, and in the absence of transport in the given department, which other department has a vehicle? All of the professional staff in the District who were interviewed gave low value to this monthly exercise. Some went so far as to say it was a waste of time. In several Districts, many of those called to the meetings find excuses to be absent.

There is no structural link between the responsibilities of a District Commissioner and, say, a District Agricultural Officer, who is also in charge of the District in his professional capacity. The conflict is not even the usual one between line and staff in formal organizations. Each is responsible to his central ministry alone. A DC's orders have no real organizational base, but rather a power base which derives from his direct link with the President's Office.

Given its power base, the DC's office could play a facilitative role in many areas. Since the DC is intimately in touch with what goes on in the District, he could plead for some developments to be given greater attention in the allocation of resources. Similarly, resources could be attracted to the District. The problem, however, is that the allocation of resources is centrally controlled by the individual ministries.

The DC's power over the District Council is another area of interest. As we shall see later, the District Council draws up and passes the local administrative budgets without the DC's control. However, the Administrative Secretary, through the local Administrative Treasurer, cannot spend any money or cash a cheque without the signature of the DC. This watchdog role seemed to cause delays in the execution of the Council's decisions and yet it is not structurally provided for.

The DC has his own <u>departmental</u> budget, but does not have a <u>District</u> budget. All the departments of government receive their emoluments from headquarters, to which they are directly accountable. In spite of all this, the office of the DC is extremely powerful. Other officers are also the heads of the

District in their professional capacities, but in recent years the position of the DC has, more or less, become what it was in the early colonial period. This is because of its direct link with the Presidency, and its emergence as a powerful office which combines administration and politics.

4. Ministry of Local Government

District governance involves both the DC and the Administrative Secretary. At one level, the Administrative Secretary functions within district administration, while at another level he is independent of it. The Ministry of Local Government at the District level is led by the Administrative Secretary with his "government", which includes: Financial Secretary; Assistant Administrative Secretary; District Works Supervisor; District Health Officer, among others. In addition, most all of the departments of the central government are represented. Below this level there is a hierarchy of chiefs down to the smallest unit of administration. The Administrative Secretary has a Council which makes budgets and policies for the District.

The political changes, referred to earlier, have produced a new type of local administration. When political parties started, Councils became politically contestable, and a partisan government would be formed by the party with a majority of elected councillors. By 1971 the Councils had become appointive, whereby the Minister of Local Government would nominate the Councillors and the Secretary General. Since the elections in 1980, this has been the case, so that all Councils throughout the country are filled by the Minister of Local Government's appointees, including the Administrative Secretary.

In continuation with the colonial tradition, the District Council must generate revenues to meet the development needs of the District. Local Government is responsible for the maintenance of primary schools, dispensaries, feeder roads, law and order through chiefs and local police, and many other matters, as provided for within the Local Administration Act. Indeed it is the local administration machinery that translates general policy into action. All government departments must go through the chiefs to reach the people in the villages. It is equally true that no person in the village escapes the presence of the government machinery through the chief. If one wants to reach the peasant, one cannot avoid being in collision or collusion with Local Government.

Over the years, a hierarchy of chiefs had been established. This formed the District civil service. The chiefs were entitled to promotion, retirement, and other benefits. They could not easily be transferred from one District to another, even if there was no language barrier. A chief served until retirement or promotion, unless there was a breach of conduct.

From about 1966, direct political intervention prevailed. This

was taken to its logical limits during the Amin rule, when only those who were known and seen to support the regime became chiefs. It is no wonder that the "grow more coffee and cotton" campaigns failed. The chiefs had no bases of support, and could not persuade the mass of rural residents to follow government directions. The permanence of the civil service came almost to an end with the 1979 War, when all and sundry were overthrown. Ever since, changes in government have automatically caused changes in the civil service personnel of the district administration. Chiefs have become direct political appointees by MPs and Ministers, not all of whom go through the provided procedure and ratification by the Minister of Local Government. The result has been, in many cases, low calibre chiefs, and a high turnover, as competitive forces have tested their strength in respect to who must or should be the local chief.

It is the chiefs who furnish District Headquarters with information of all kinds, from animal diseases and ownership of livestock, to deaths and births, to thefts and other crimes. They act as judges of cases below the courts, and they are directly involved in the grading and collection of taxes. It is little wonder that in the uprising against tax assessments in Busoga, the chiefs were the principal targets.

With the introduction of "mayumba kumi" (ten home cells) during the UNLF period (which has been continued in some Districts, such as Busoga), the administrative presence of the chief is paramount. Distribution of scarce commodities is done at the advice of the chief, although it may actually be done by the UPC branch chairman. A respected chief can be an important figure in the diffusion of innovations and the transmission of local demands to the center.

The last fifteen years have witnessed a collapse of the local administrative system, following direct partisan political intervention, and the attendant fall in the standards of performance. At least two of the Administrative Secretaries interviewed complained of being forced to work with some low-calibre staff, who made administration difficult. These political appointees substitute political campaigning for administration, and any person who seems to disagree is labelled an agitator. In one District the Administrative Secretary has had to call the Members of Parliament of the District to point out to them how his job was being made extra difficult by their interference. After threatening to resign, he was allowed to replace those he found incompetent, through the District Service Committee, which is the equivalent of the Public Service Commission at the national level.

Local government has suffered in other areas as well. Obviously, given what they are expected to do, including roads, health, education, and a plethora of other tasks, they normally cannot raise sufficient money to meet the District's needs. On

the other hand, a decision by central government to raise salaries affects local officials directly. Last year's government raise in salaries put local budget estimates into total disarray. The June 1984 budget has now increased salaries up to a minimum of 6,000 shillings for the lowest paid employee, and up by a factor of 450% and over for the rest. Yet the Local Government budgets were made up in January, as they are every year, and no government supplementation can offset the deficit.

The position of the DC as administrator-coordinator versus the counterparts in the professional departments, has not been an amiable one. There is no structural role definition which clearly defines the authority of the DC. Other than the fact that he represents the President, his position is increasingly questionable. The linkage between the DC's office and Local Government is a supervisory one, and, in some cases a role that seems to be resented. The District is to all intents and purposes the development unit. Organizational linkages should be clearly defined. Otherwise the delivery system will become clogged by personal squabbles, multicentrism and inefficiency. Ultimately the poor man is the sufferer.

G. MINISTRY OF COOPERATIVES AND MARKETING (DEPARTMENT OF COOPERATIVES)

1. Introduction

In this discussion of the Department of Cooperatives we shall depart somewhat from the established format as USAID already has considerable experience with and information about the Department. USAID/Kampala has been involved with the Department of Cooperatives since 1981, both in training programs for ministry and cooperative union officials, and in commodity distribution through local cooperatives. Substantial documentation about these involvements is already available. Here we shall look briefly at the development and underlying principles of the movement in Uganda, and suggest areas for future research.

2. The Cooperative Movement

The history of the cooperative movement has been divided into periods: (a) up to 1945 and (b) from 1945 to the 1970s. Common to and characteristic of both periods is what Okereke has called: "..the paternalistic philosophy of the Uganda government in the economic development of the country. Government's control and direction of economic activities seems to rest on the assumption that people's economic interests would best be served under government guidance and control. Consequently, the private sector within the indigenous community has not been sufficiently encouraged." (27) That this has continued to be so, even after independence, comes out in the Shafiq Arain Committee of Inquiry Report, 1967, into the cooperative development in Uganda (28).

The Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing did not escape the ravages of the 1970's. The growth of "magendo," inhibiting the export of coffee and other cash crops, ate into the cooperative monopoly. Supervision by cooperative officers became lax as the general breakdown in the economy became complete. In fact, Okereke, writing in the 1970s was pessimistic about the cooperative movement: "The spontaneity of action by the Ugandans who participate in economic activities through cooperatives, seems now to be losing momentum with government taking more initiative in the formation and organization of the cooperatives. Consequently, the Uganda Cooperatives have lost their independence." (29)

It is an underlying conception that people must cooperate, and ministry officials move around the District looking for people to coordinate. In many cases, cooperatives are imposed on the people in the interest of the state rather than the interest of the people themselves. Elsewhere it has been found that cooperatives tend to succeed if the following conditions are fulfilled:

a. "The cooperative is small and simple and the members are relatively homogeneous economically and socially.

b. Good management skills are widely available among a membership which is fairly homogeneous.

c. A central organization has the administrative capacities to provide management assistance and some supervision to cooperatives with relative homogeneity among members.

d. The state has the administrative capacity and the strength of political will to provide detailed and managerial assistance for cooperatives to control attempts by some members to gain advantage at the expense of others." (30)

The nature of control is a crucial factor in the success or failure of cooperatives. Peterson (31) has identified three types of control which are relevant to the cooperative movement in Uganda, namely: coercive, limiting and supportive. The <u>coercive controls</u> are designed to weaken or destroy the organization. Examples would be the rigid control of funds, and indeed the paternalistic practices and procedures imposed on the cooperatives.

The <u>limiting controls</u> are not necessarily intended to weaken organizational development and diversification, but rather to regulate them. Permission must be sought and approval given if new functions are to be added. "Most often limiting controls are designed solely to enable the state to retain dominance over the organization, particularly to keep it from becoming too powerful politically. As such, these controls generally are intentionally negative." (32) In Uganda this applies to cooperative unions where political intervention regarding their balance of political power has become even more direct in recent

years.

The above types of control, coercive and limiting, contrast with the supportive type which aims to improve the administrative strength of the local organization. This includes the provision of bookkeeping, education in business management principles, and assistance to the "ordinary" members to be sure they are in no way exploited by the organization.

Given the sociopolitical terrain in Uganda, there is a predominance of the first two types of controls. Supportive control requires higher levels of competence at the District level than can be found, and political motivation from the top. The training of cooperative officers is rarely comprehensive enough to provide the variety of skills required to meet the diverse needs of the cooperative movement. The requisite competence becomes even more remote as one moves to the lower rungs of the administrative hierarchy to the cooperative assistant at the county level. We should mention, however, the USAID-sponsored training program for cooperative officers, which reaches down to the primary society level.

The above conditions bring to the fore some of the major problems the office has had at the District level. The idea of cooperation has tended to supercede the idea of who is to cooperate, the emphasis being on what the results should be rather than on the basic characteristics of the cooperatives. The elitist factor whereby a few people gather others to get the required number to qualify for registering a cooperative is often ignored, so that the beneficiaries are a small section of the membership. This became widespread when the Ministry was giving lorries at reduced prices to cooperatives. The lorries became the property of the few who "chased" the allocation.

The Cooperative Official represents the government. It is inconceivable that the office is designed to develop intimacy with the clients, other than to interpret the law to them. The Cooperative Officer in the area must sign the cheque if any money is to be withdrawn from the registered cooperative's account. He must attend all of the cooperative's annual meetings and review all the major decisions and the minutes of the meetings.

3. Cooperative Unions

The same equation mentioned in relation to the multiple departments of marketing, represented by the Ministries of Commerce and Cooperatives and Marketing, should be examined in relation to the Cooperative Unions, which exist throughout the country.

The Cooperative Union is a marketing organization for agricultural produce, serving cooperative member societies. In Busoga, the Growers Union caters to 260 societies. It is a member-supported organization, and tries to meet the members'

other needs. The Busoga Union, in addition to marketing, provides member societies with bookshop facilities, press, a farm supplies shop in Jinja, and a mechanical workshop. The union also had three farms, seven ginneries, and two coffee factories.

Depending on the activities in the given region, a growers union can be a powerful organization, outside of the mere marketing of the members' produce. The Banyankole Kweterena Cooperative Union owns a ranch, among other enterprises. Although it is member-centered, it is exclusive. Nevertheless it falls within the scope of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing, under the Cooperative Department.

The unions have acted as the channel for aid to the farmers. Bicycles, hoes, pangas, motorcycles, lorries and other inputs have been handled for the farmers. Tractor service has been made available to farmers through the union. They, however, suffered the same problems of shortages of equipment for their processing plants, packing materials, transport (which has now been easing), the lack of managerial personnel, and finally the lack of crop finance. In recent years, since the unions handle export crops, government attention has been focused on them. Nevertheless, unions have perennial problems, many of which derive from their organizational characteristics. The unions do not act as business concerns but as part of a civil service.

Unions have became bureaucratically top-heavy. The managers are appointed by the Minister of Cooperatives and Marketing. Members' interests have become subordinated to organizational interests. In addition, expertise must be sought outside of the membership, which leads to careerism at the cost of uplifting the levels of skills and performance of the members. As a result, all the profits are reduced to pay for the costs of the ever-expanding bureaucraacy. Misappropriation of funds is not uncommon.

The monopolistic origins of unions have protected them from serious challenge, and tradition has locked them into the marketing of cash crops, in a kind of produce-for-foreign-exchange-or-perish policy. It gives rise to the question, who are the beneficiaries? Do unions really reach the poor farmers? Are they meant to reach the poor? It may be necessary to initiate another inquiry, like that of the 1967 Shafiq Arain Committee, to find out what has been happening in the last 17 years.

Finally it may be asked, who is the system intended to help? Cooperatives and marketing boards were set up primarily to organize produce for export. Food crops such as bananas, beans, peas, potatoes, millet and groundnuts, up to now, do not fall within the umbra of the Cooperative Department. Hardly anyone in the sampled area, among those who sell, sold these crops to a cooperative. Where bananas have been sold through a cooperative, it has been a cooperative that has been imposed by local administration to levy taxes on banana sellers. Just as a

cattle seller pays a fee, so must the banana seller in order to raise taxes for the coffers of Local Government. If a farmer happens to be in the defined zone, he is required to belong to the cooperative, or else he cannot sell his bananas.

As soon as a food crop becomes of national economic value, a cooperative development sets in. This is illustrated by the sale of sorghum in Kabale District, following its use by Bell Breweries in producing European-type beer. Suddenly 2% of the sorghum sales went through a cooperative. This may look too small a figure to be significant, but its appearance is quite interesting, nonetheless, for it denotes a trend.

At the same time, taking a look at coffee and cotton, the cooperative is dominant. Survey results show that Busoga sells 91% of its coffee through the cooperatives, the remaining 9% being sold at the farm or in markets. This percentage rises to a figure of 68% in Masaka, who sell coffee either at the farm, trading center, or elsewhere, without going through a cooperative, a situation that should interest the Cooperative Department and requires further investigation.

Payments through cooperatives are delayed. The price is unattractive, even after increases. Illegal prices of coffee have ranged between 200 and 300 shillings per kilo, since neighboring Zaire and Rwanda could exceed these limits and coffee can be moved across the borders relatively easily. But cotton, on the other hand, still goes through the cooperatives entirely because there is no market elsewhere, other than that found by government. Thus, farmers in the survey from Busoga and Teso, who produce cotton, rely on the cooperatives.

The Masaka deviation in the sale of coffee points to the much larger issue of the open western borders. Anecdotal information gathered during the survey indicated that not only coffee, but also beans, millet, groundnuts, cattle and even chickens, are moved for sale into Rwanda and Zaire, and, at times, Tanzania. Presently, Kenya is illegally importing foodstuffs across the border at Busia, with no foreign exchange in return. If the peasant farmer is to be assisted by cooperatives, he must be assisted in the sale of food crops, since there is a market outside of Uganda's borders. But this can only happen when there is a rethinking of the cooperative movement; when there is a shift from cash crops only to food crops as well; and above all, when there is a refocusing on the peasant farmer, the beneficiary and an important actor in the production and marketing process.

H. CHURCHES

Institutionalized religion plays a very important role in Ugandan society, perhaps to a greater degree than in any of the other East African countries. The rivalry that characterized the establishment of Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam in Uganda in the 1880s abated slightly over the years, although to some extent the religious cleavage developed during the colonial years is still a factor in present-day political activity.

The country is largely Christian (80%), with the majority of the population claiming membership in the Church of Uganda (Anglican). Moslems account for about 10% of the population. Amin's support of Islam and the resulting growth of Moslem institutions throughout the country is well known. What is interesting is that during the Amin period attendance in Protestant and Catholic churches also increased. Some religious leaders attribute this phenomenon to the human need for faith and strength during times of acute turmoil. With other societal institutions collapsing all around, the church offered a certain refuge, and a means of maintaining a modicum of personal and family stability in the midst of social uncertainty.

Whatever the reasons, the institutional church has acquired an unmistakable place of authority in the lives of most Ugandans. Immediately following the war in 1979, the churches were virtually the only functioning institutions in the country. Today as Government concentrates on the rehabilitation of political and economic institutions, its leaders consistently appeal to religious authorities for direction in the rehabilitation of the peoples' "mind and morality." Indeed, some would argue that without such a fundamental regeneration of personal and social morality, larger efforts directed towards the country's reconstruction will be significantly hampered.

In all survey areas except Teso, over 95% belonged to some organized religious group. Table 52 shows church membership in each area.

TABLE 52

Percentage of Household Heads Claiming Church Membership

	None	Church of Uganda	Catholic	Moslem	Other*
Busoga	5%	60%	20%	11%	5%
Masaka	2	11	78	8	1
Teso	13	37	47	1 person	3
Kigezi	1	53	45	0%	0

* Orthodox, traditional religion

Both the Protestant and Catholic churches have had historical involvement in development activity in Uganda, although not necessarily through an indigenous centralized body. Until independence, all educational institutions, primary and secondary, were established and run by the churches. Various missionary orders such as the Verona Fathers and the Mill Hill Fathers combined evangelism with medical, education and training efforts.

To some extent the churches have entered the development arena by sheer necessity. In Masaka, for example, the hospital at Kitovu, near the Buggya survey community, was originally designed to serve the staff and families of the mission. With the collapse of government medical facilities, it has become the main hospital for all of Masaka and Rakai Districts. In the immediate post-1979 War period, relief and development inputs were channeled through religious organizations, both local and international. The Church of Uganda now runs the Uganda Protestant Medical Bureau, from which regional (diocesan) medical projects can purchase drugs, eye glasses, used clothes and occasionally foodstuffs such as powdered milk, oats and other commodities at subsidized prices. The Catholics run a similar service at Nsambya Hospital through their Joint Medical Stores project.

Today there is a deliberate effort, at least within the Church of Uganda, to move the institutional church into more secular development work. In a recent administrative reorganization, the Provincial Office of the Church of Uganda established the Planning, Development and Rehabilitation Committee. Representatives from all the dioceses sit on this committee, whose responsibility it is to assess priority development needs throughout the country, to receive and review applications for assistance, and to secure funds from international donors. In addition, various individual development projects are already underway, the funds having been secured by particular bishops or their more energetic parishioners. Most of these are small self-help efforts, primarily focused on some aspect of community or family life improvement. The exception is the Busoga Diocese where a large-scale integrated rural development program has been in operation since 1980. The impact of this project is evident when one looks at responses to survey questions about farmers who had sought technical advice, other than from government officials. Church workers were mentioned as sources of agricultural advice by 29% in Busoga, as contrasted with 6% in Kigezi and 2% each in Masaka and Teso. When asked whether they had been helped in any way by a non-governmental agency, "the church" was mentioned by 21% in Busoga, 3% in Kigezi, and 2% in Masaka and Teso respectively.

The churches offer a potential alternative to government institutions as a channel for development assistance, especially for the effective distribution of inputs. They have an established, well-functioning administrative structure through which

commodities could be reliably channeled. They continue to command the respect and allegiance of a large percentage of the population. Perhaps more importantly, church leaders still maintain a posture of relative integrity vis-a-vis the population.

I. THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Department of Community Development is part of the Ministry of Culture and Community Development. It has an office in each District, where it is represented by a District Community Development Officer (DCDO).

The organizational structure of the Department of Community Development parallels that of other ministries, as indicated in Appendix VIII.

A. Objectives of the Department of Community Development

The Department is concerned with the design, implementation and delivery of community services at various levels, and at least in a theoretical way, it serves as a crucial service department to any authority which attempts to conduct outreach and support services to the people by way of upgrading community participation and involvement, as demonstrated in the following Departmental objectives:

1. To mobilize and involve the community in the creation of conditions conducive to economic and social progress through community participation.

2. To sensitize the public and make people aware of the measures they can undertake individually and in groups to improve themselves and their lives.

3. To encourage self-help projects at community and village levels.

4. To assist in the development of skills so that people increase their capacities to improve their lives and themselves.

5. To teach literacy to facilitate and make possible the continuing self-education and training of people, and to teach the fundamentals of civics.

6. To assist communities in the preservation of their cultural traditions in the face of modernization and change.

7. To serve as a linking mechanism which other organizations can utilize to communicate with people through

seminars, meetings, worship and other forums.

8. To assist communities in the betterment of community health and hygiene through training in proper habits and improved domestic hygiene practices.

9. To assist communities in their efforts to improve child care and nutrition.

10. To assist communities in the development and maintenance of clean, safe water supplies, including the protection of boreholes, wells and springs.

As these objectives indicate, the Department of Community Development has a broad range of responsibilities and kinds of involvement. The question that interested the survey team was to what extent the Department's potential is actually utilized for the purposes of development in the rural areas.

Among other things, it was learned that the Department has personnel with some of the longest service careers in the civil service. For example, the District Community Development Officer (DCDO) in Kabale had been in the service for 23 years, and this proved not to be an isolated case. The team found DCDOs in other Districts with lengthy tenures: Soroti, 29 years; Kumi, 25 years; Iganga, 21 years; Jinja, 7 years; Kamuli, 4 years; and Masaka, 4 years of service. The latter in Masaka was a youth organizer, who was interviewed because the Community Development Officer was not present.

The survey reveals that the Department has been given relatively little attention, like the Departments of Forestry and Fisheries, despite its potential in the process of improving community and village life. The sweep of events over the past decade or more has, as in the case of other Ministries and Departments, tended to brush community development concerns aside. The survey suggests that very little positive change has occurred in the post-1979 War period, and that considerable attention needs to be devoted to the reconstruction of the Department to enable it to fulfill its potential, and to strengthen the delivery of programs and services in the rural areas, not only by the Department itself, but by other departments whose programs and efforts would be enhanced by a well-functioning community development structure.

Aside from the transportation bottleneck which affects nearly all the Ministries and Departments, the Department of Community Development lacks the bare essentials for carrying out its work and meeting its objectives. The shortages and complete lack of needed articles ranges from the lack of office facilities and equipment to materials such as needles, thread, blackboards and other materials which are basic to non-formal education, training, literacy classes, youth groups, women's groups and clubs. Field staff feel that the people cannot be asked to dig latrines

and wells when they have no pick-axes, hoes, nails or other tools to work with. The people cannot be called upon to participate in the repair of roads and bridges when there are no culvert pipes or materials, and no conveyances to bring the necessary stones or timber to the work site. Teaching new skills, which might lead to income generation and employment, such as tie and dye work, requires cloth, dyes and chemicals, but the Department generally does not have sufficient funds or supplies. There are no funds for maintaining and running community centers. In summary, the Department is severely handicapped in trying to carry out its work.

The Nsamizi Community Training School was badly run down in the 1970s, and for a time during and after the 1979 War its facilities were occupied by military personnel. It has recently started to function as a training school again at a time when training for new personnel, and skills upgrading and refresher courses, are critically needed if officers and the Department in general are expected to carry out the enormous task of handling community development affairs effectively.

Every Community Development Officer in the surveyed areas was able to describe vividly the projects which should be undertaken, and which are needed to improve the lives of the people in the communities and villages. Each DCO also talked about the number and kinds of projects which have been started, but had to be abandoned because of the lack of funds, materials or both. In some instances, water projects and child care projects initiated and supported by UNICEF, with Department of Community Development participation, have helped to keep the District Community Development Offices functioning in the field.

Given the closeness of the Department of Community Development to the people, as outlined in the objectives, one would expect the people in the villages to consult the Community Development Office for advice and assistance with some frequency, particularly in an era of scarcity and need. The survey results reveal that only four informants in Busoga, fifteen in Kigezi, and two in Teso had received advice or assistance from Community Development Office personel. This measure of relatively scarce contact with farmers and rural people cannot be directly attributed to the staff, four of whom in the sample having served for over twenty years each. It is perhaps more accurately attributable to the lack of resources of the Department, and the general neglect of community development. The Department of Community Development has endured more neglect, or received less attention and support, than any other government department in the past fifteen years. To date, the recovery program has yet to focus on community development in a serious way, yet it is an area which is intimately linked with the lives of the farmers and rural village people, who are important figures in Uganda's economy.

J. POLITICAL PARTIES

At independence in 1962, there were two major political parties in the political arena in Uganda, namely, the Democratic Party (DP), which led the first elected government, and the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), which won the 1962 elections in alliance with Kabaka Yekka (KY), a Buganda Monarchist Party. (See Low, Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-1962. University of London Press, 1962.)

In 1964 the alliance between UPC and KY broke up, and subsequently events leading to the 1966 crisis restricted free political activity. Most of the opposition members crossed party lines and joined UPC, so that by 1971 Uganda was virtually a one-party system. A political eclipse overshadowed Uganda during the Amin era, until political parties were actively revived in 1980. At that time, two new parties emerged. These were the Uganda Peoples Movement (UPM) and the Conservative Party (CP), although neither had a wide base of support. UPM managed to win one parliamentary seat in the 1980 elections.

The 1980 elections were won by UPC even though there continue to be doubts among the opposition parties that elections were "free and fair," as declared by the Commonwealth Team of observers. The DP now acts as the official opposition party in Parliament, with UPC in charge of government. With this brief background, the important issue in the context of the survey is the role political parties play in rural change and development in Uganda.

The country is divided into 126 one-member constituencies. The Members of Parliament (MPs) of the ruling party are publicly known to distribute scarce commodities in their constituencies as political largesse. From the survey findings, however, it seems that very few agricultural inputs reach the farmer through these channels. Only fourteen respondents in Kigezi obtained hoes through the constituency, the only cases in the sample. One respondent received a panga in Teso. When commodities such as soap, salt or sugar were extremely scarce, some MPs tried to get supplies for their constituencies, but in many cases a better market was found elsewhere. In practice, some MPs have become agents of industries supplying goods from their shops and warehouses in the local town, rather than through a constituency office.

The impact of politics is most apparent in the allocation of positions in a District. The Minister of Local Government nominates the District Councillors. The direct involvement of MPs in the appointment of chiefs, and in the transfer of unacceptable people from the constituency or District, especially when they are considered bandits, or associates of guerillas, is prevalent.

The role of the ruling party Chairmen, and party functionaries in the form of youths and intelligence in organizing rallies and mobilizing the rural population is an important one. On occasion, however, the party functionaries overstep their powers and tend to harass ordinary citizens, particularly when they are suspected of being supporters of other parties. This has tended to introduce an element of disquiet into areas which had been, for the most part, relatively tranquil and free from disturbance.

Since the 1980 elections, other parties have not been active, with the exception of UPM, whose leader is known to be leading an anti-Government force in the bush. This problem perhaps helps to explain why political activity tends to be more anti-dissension rather than accommodative of political differences in a multi-party setting. There is, therefore, a tendency toward unnecessary harassment in the villages, which does not augur well in the context of the drive towards reconstruction, rehabilitation and increased production.

One senior official in Masaka lamented the fact that the District is not represented in government and therefore has no voice, Masaka having been overwhelmingly a DP area at the last election polls. The chiefs, who are appointed on party lines, and the party functionaries, are very often asked to organize rallies which require large turnouts, and have reportedly used methods other than persuasion to turn out the crowds. The same official in Masaka referred to general apathy as a problem, "because this is a predominantly DP area." This in part may explain why the data on Masaka, as discussed in other sections of this report, tend to indicate a move to opt out of the formally government dominated institutions. It should also be noted, in the same context, that Masaka is part of the central region where political armed dissent is most concentrated.

On the whole, the political climate in Masaka at the present time and in the recent past is too chilly or negative to be conducive to the farmer to invest all of his energies in production.

Chapter IV - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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30. S. B. Peterson, in Leonard and Marshall's Institutions of Rural Development for the Poor.

31. Ibid, p. 116.

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CHAPTER V. ANALYSIS

A. Household Perceptions of Change

The SIP survey started with the assumption that there had been major social changes in response to the revolutionary national events which have taken place over the past one or two decades; in particular policy changes of the first Independence Government, the military coup and its concomitants, and the War of 1979 and its aftermath. The section on institutions has identified how these events have affected the public sector institutions most involved with administration and development of the rural majority. The effects of these changes on rural societies may now be examined.

Various changes in the rural economy are implicit or have been explicitly described in the preceding pages. It will serve to concentrate and underline these several separate commentaries by presenting a summary of informants' own ideas about the changes that most affect their villages, their farms and their lives. Essentially, these are superficially perceived changes and few identify changes in lifestyle. To some extent this is their reality. The result of coups, economic collapse and war do not, in most places, fundamentally revolutionize the general order of family organization, kinship roles, land tenure and inheritance laws, or even work organization. If such changes have occurred it is more probably through urbanization and through inflating costs, shrinkages of goods or insecurity in the rural areas.

Many informants could identify no remarkable changes in agriculture, in their villages or on their own farms. There are comparable dimensions in responses between all areas except Masaka. In Masaka fewer informants responded negatively to the fact that more violence has been done to Ganda political institutions and economic organization by the events of the past 20 years. Table 53 compares the incidence of negative responses in the four areas.

TABLE 53

Percentage of No Response/No Change Responses by Area*

Question/Subject	Busoga	Kigezi	Masaka	Teso
Agricultural Change	25%	32%	17%	21%
Other Change	44	41	29	41
Change on Own Farm	29	34	27	40
Effect of Changes on Life Generally	38	29	11	29

*A small number of negative responses were due to the fact that the informants stated they had not lived in the village long enough.

The level of non-response to questions on change is significant and reflects the static condition of rural society in many respects. There is no apparance of change in many places, and for the majority the tenor of their life is the same as it ever was. The houses, the tools, the markets, and their relations with others are largely what they were 20 or even 30 years ago. It also seems to someone who has lived through the last two decades that present circumstances of inflation and insecurity, and of difficulties in obtaining some of the needs of daily life, have gone on forever. For the young, especially, what is now is what always was. To deal with present problems people utilize customary networks of relationships. It is possible that such traditional linkages are strengthened by the urgency of present needs.

Only in Masaka is there any real indication of incipient or partial breakdown of community and kinship relations. It is difficult to measure the degree to which this is a result of recent rather than more enduring conditions, as the literature of the baseline period was too selective in the examination of social characteristics. It is impossible to directly compare the operation of the kinship system now with that of the more recent past.

Not only do informants more specifically mention social organization in relation to obseved change, but it was also difficult to identify persons in leadership roles in the three Masaka communities. Few names were suggested and there was little agreement about their suitability as key informants. In addition, key informants themselves could often not identify those with the most influence in their village. One such informant said: "I would have said the chief, but he is never here--he lives somewhere else--and they keep getting changed. I might have also mentioned Mr. X, a local DP official, but he seems to have lost popularity recently"-- most probably as the DP lost the election of 1980, and now has no largesse to distribute. People were surprised we should ask if they had a Constituency Office.

While a substantial minority of informants could think of no change to comment upon in their areas, the majority were able to identify several. Some were eloquent, others fumbled for words. The questions about change were open-ended and we attempted in each area, when coding, to group answers into broad categories. For example, to code as one all those questions relating in some way to loss of fertility of the land. Responses to each question were different in each area, so they are tabulated separately. While categories of answers are used, all resposes are listed, although sometimes the same answer was expressed differently. Where an informant gave more than one answer, only the first listed was coded.

Table 54 gives informants' responses about changes in their communities having to do with agricultural activity, while Table 55 records their perceptions of other, non-agricultural changes in the community.

TABLE 54

Separately Tabulated Positive Answers On Perceived Agricultural Changes

1. Busoga

Production loss due to loss of fertility	74 (28%)
Production loss due to pests, lack of inputs	36 (18%)
Marketing, transport more difficult	34 (14%)
Produce more food crops	13 (5%)
Produce more coffee, high prices now for cash crops	12 (5%)
Produce fewer cash crops, less money from crops	6 (2%)
Produce more livestock/pigs	1 (0%)
Other: weather changes, more agricultural commodities at higher prices, increased producer price does not keep pace with increased consumer prices, poor methods due to lack of technical advice, sickness lowers production	29 (9%)

2. Kigezi

Less yield, less food production, land exhausted	77 (29%)
Weather, rain and sun not at right time	47 (17%)
Less land, overcultivation, fragmentation	17 (6%)
Increased pests/diseases	9 (3%)
New cultivation patterns, grow new crops, no fallowing	6 (2%)
Less government assistance/advice	3 (1%)
Swamp clearance	2 (1%)
Other: less food, tools, shortage of land, farming now main source of income, new cooperative society, lack of inputs	22 (8%)

3. Masaka

Switch to food crops, neglect coffee, no more cash crops, increased general cultivation	75 (28%)
No fixed prices, reduced production/profits, lack of inputs	54 (20%)
More interest in improved farming, more interest in coffee due to high price, use new techniques	31 (11%)
Reduction of yields, less fertility, more pests	29 (11%)
Drought, weather changes	11 (4%)
Reduced acreage, increased population, lack of land	9 (3%)
Livestock loss due to theft	9 (3%)
Other: lack inputs/labor, cash not paid for crops	

bad roads, young people do not cultivate now, low development	14 (5%)

4. Teso

Less cultivation/yield, food production, land exhausted	85 (31%)
Weather not regular, drought	40 (15%)
New cultivation pattern, grow new crops/cassava for cash, leave cotton, plant more food, use better methods	33 (12%)
Less production due to lack/cost of tools/inputs	24 (9%)
Increase in pests/diseases, cattle deaths, lack of pesticides	11 (4%)
Less land, overpopulation	7 (3%)
Less government assistance/advice	2 (1%)
Other: high prices, high cost of living, reluctance to accept agricultural change, reversion to hand digging due to death of oxen, everything bad now	11 (4%)

N.B. For those unfamiliar with agriculture in East Africa, it should be noted that rainfall patterns have indeed changed in the past decade or more. The main rains start later and are generally sparser.

TABLE 55

Separately Tabulated Positive Answers On Perceived Other Changes

1. Busoga

Increase of cost of living, lower standard of living, more poverty	45 (17%)
Other agricultural changes	34 (13%)
New development projects	30 (11%)
Increased deaths	13 (5%)
Improvement in living standards	11 (4%)
Emigration	3 (1%)
Political changes	1 (0%)
Other: insecurity, more in school, fewer in school, scarcity of commodities, population collapse	15 (5%)

2. Kigezi

Increased disease, more deaths	30 (11%)
Increased cost of living	27 (10%)
More schools	26 (10%)
More poverty and hunger	10 (4%)
Swamp reclamation, pressure on land, enclosure of	

common grazing, erosion	12 (4%)
Lack of security, more crime	2 (1%)
Transport improvement	2 (1%)

Other: more peace and plenty, new church, grow less due to lack of tools, poor administration, political changes, grow more, repetition of answers under agricultural change, get cooperative, vehicles, new dispensary.

3. Teso

Poorer living conditions, more poverty, hunger, shortage of food	41 (15%)
Increased disease, more deaths of people and livestock	29 (10%)
Agricultural changes, crop deterioration, improvement, more pigs, population density	26 (10%)
Lack of security, cattle raiding, more theft, government changes, disunity, lack generosity, lack of peace and welfare	21 (8%)
Increased cost of living, taxes, magendo, scarcity of goods	20 (7%)
Trend to involvement in trade, business, instead of agriculture	7 (3%)

Other: new schools, more interest in education, more children in school 14 (5%)

4. Masaka

Increased insecurity, theft, lack of cooperation, political conflicts, corruption, loss of hope, murder	87 (32%)
Increased poverty, high cost of living, shortages of goods, food shortages, money worthless, shortages of farm tools	39 (14%)
Increased disease, death	21 (8%)
Migration out, shortages of land, decreased acreage cultivated, increased acreage cultivated, migration in, taking up charcoal burning, inability to cultivate as much as before	13 (5%)
More food production, improved cooperation, more effort to educate children	12 (4%)
Lack of improvement generally, no jobs, increased laziness, increased drunkeness	4 (1%)
Lack of firewood	2 (1%)

Other: more iron houses, increased education, less education, increased size of trading center, fall of Idi Amin, delay payment for crops, change to food crops, youths formed cooperative 12 (4%)

The themes common to all areas are increasing poverty, disease and disorder. Informants paint a picture of gradually shrinking agricultural output and the same reasons are given in different proportions in each place, as Table 56 below demonstrates.

TABLE 56

Percentage Degree of Commonality of Answers On Agricultural Change

Area	Less Production Due To Various Reasons	Change in Weather	Shift to Cultivate New Crops
Busoga	43%	17%	11%
Kigezi	38	4	3
Masaka	34	4	39*
Teso	47	15	12

*Responses indicated change had brought about improvement.

Only a few people in two areas responded in optimistic terms that there had been improvement of any kind, although more noted without qualitative judgement that changes had occurred in emphasis on different crops.

Taken in total, responses to all questions on change express the frustration, despair and even outrage of the rural population over a situation which they cannot control, and the erosion of the hard-won improvements of earlier years. They express their fears over the shrinkage in quantity and deterioration in quality of the land from which most must wrest a livelihood, and on which nearly all depend for their staple foods.

Many tell of a situation in which they cannot get tools to work with, or of increases in pests and diseases of plants and animals, but no pesticides or other agrochemicals with which to fight them. As far as the two cash crops are concerned, responses more often confirm informants' disinterest due to marketing problems and the overall lack of impact recent price increases have had, rather than a positive reorientation to coffee growing. Cotton is not mentioned at all.

B. Household Survival Strategies

The study has described how rural households in four areas of Uganda survive. The major enterprises in each area for food and money have been identified and the subsidiary sources of income indicated. In the following discussion of poverty levels, four

component variables in these survival strategies will be evaluated as they have bearing on relative wealth. These variables are: (1) the nature and composition of the household; (2) the extent and content of the material resource base; (3) the availability and level of financial capital and technical resources; and (4) the structure and organization of the institutional support system.

1. Nature and Composition of the Household

The household may be seen as both the unit of production and of consumption. The ages, sex, skills and relationships of its members determine to a large extent what may be produced and what is needed for consumption. Housenolds in all four area samples can be differentiated by size in terms of number of members, by dependency ratio, and by sex and kinship composition, as well as by degree to which members can engage in off-farm occupations.

Not only do households vary considerably in size but also in internal organization both between and within areas. First, the membership composition of those of similar size has been shown to differ in an appreciable number of cases. They also vary in the degree to which individual members of the same age group and kinship category maintain independent networks of relationships and activities which are not necessarily integrated into the family economy. In addition, there are differences in the system of property holding and use in respect to both land and livestock which did not fully emerge from responses to the questionnaire. One example is land held by wives outside the household property; another is that goats and chickens are owned by children as well as wives.

About one-third or more of households have nine or more members, while more than 30% in all areas but Kigezi have four or fewer members. Family size is significant in respect to command over labor, although the larger households may also have a much higher dependency ratio. The fact that at least two-thirds of school age children are probably in school has already been discussed.

A proportion of households are female-headed. The majority of such households are found in Masaka, although Busoga also numbers 10% of households headed by women. In Kigezi the number is insignificant and in Teso only 5%. Female-headed households may utilize different strategies to those headed by males. They may depend more on other adult household members or grown-up sons and daughters living elsewhere.

2. Material Resource Base

The material resource base includes the manpower of the household; the land they occupy, its size, location and relative fertility; and the nature of tenure rights. It has been

observed that the majority of households occupy very small holdings under forms of traditional tenure, and that there are differences between areas and villages in what can be successfully grown, and readily marketed.

Some households have few farm enterprises while others have many more. Fewer than half incorporate livestock other than poultry into their farm management system even in Teso, the most traditionally cattle-oriented farm area. Some have adopted innovations to replace traditional cash crops. This is mainly confined to Teso and parts of Busoga, althogh there has been a long-term trend in Kigezi away from maize. Unless forced to do so by the absolute closure of markets, farmers do not appear hasty to switch completely to alternative crops as cash earners. Only in Teso has cassava completeley replaced cotton, and groundnuts have been relegated to minor importance. In Busoga, coffee and cotton are still the most common cash crops, although cotton is grown and sold by fewer households than before. In Masaka, coffee and bananas continue to be the main cash earners, while in Kigezi there is merely a shift to greater concentration on some crops which were already a major element in cropping systems in the baseline period.

Many households are not solely or even mainly dependent upon agriculture. Either the household head and/or other household members have other money-earning occupations. The more striking contemporary fact is the degree to which households now resort to off-farm occupations. This may sometimes be a ploy to deal with inadequate resources of land. It may also be a means for some to improve their overall economic status.

3. Capital and Technological Resources

The capital resources include the stock of money, tools and buildings which may be used for cultivation or other enterprises. In this category one can for some purposes include livestock. It has been demonstrated that the resources of capital available to most households is very limited. Money in the form of savings, if it existed, was made worthless by the thousand-fold devaluation and stagflation. Tools are few; buildings old and in poor repair. Only livestock has maintained its real value, although due to disease and theft, herds are much diminished in the two areas of Masaka and Teso. Only a minority of households husband large livestock, although a bigger proportion keep small animals and even more have chickens.

4. Institutional Support System

The institutional context in which households operate may facilitate, constrain or have little effect on the way they utilize their resources. It has been seen that most formal institutions do not function effectively at the village level and some informal institutions, such as "magendo", often operate to

negate efforts to assist the rural poor. On the other hand, some non-government or informal institutions, particularly churches and traditional burial societies, have been identified which are supportive in limited ways.

A number of survival strategies have already been described. The salient characteristics of these may be enumerated, although they cannot be said to form a definite typology of exclusive categories. Reduced to basic components, they include alternative choices for land use in terms of cropping and livestock, and alternative forms of labor use and organization of household members and outside supplements. The strategies available to households to maximize their welfare by utilizing the resources at their disposal are limited. These limitations are largely dictated by the physical features of their agroecological environment and the ratio of size of landholding to size of household, taken together with the size and reliability of the market for any crop and its price in relation to both cost of production and marginal advantage over other alternatives. Another major factor is the nature and availability of technology and labor, and the existence of other opportunities for labor.

The extent to which any of the variables enumerated are important, and alternatives are utilized, is analyzed in the following disaggregation of poverty levels. It must be stressed that the data do not supply a typology of exclusive categories of strategy, either between or within areas, but rather provides an indication of the variety of alternatives which may be utilized by households of any type. It is furthermore unclear both from the description of these strategies and the analysis which follows whether any are successful in achieving a better than average standard of living. Success may perhaps lie only in the degree to which households manage to satisfy minimal needs, rather than achieving a modest and relative prosperity.

5. Disaggregation of Poverty Levels

Any economic disaggregation of rural households must take account of the fact that with few notable, or perhaps notorious, exceptions, all are poorer than they were in the past. The most visible evidence of this is the condition of houses of whatever quality of construction, and in particular, the age and rusting of iron roofs.

It is also a fact that the problems presently faced by households of all strata are the same, and felt equally. It is difficult to target programs at the most deprived groups. In the Uganda situation, heavily subsidized aid tends to find its way to the open market and to provide profits to "traders" rather than benefits to the poor.

The disaggregation of the samples of households by poverty level uses a number of wealth indicators: level of annual expenditure,

level of monthly expenditure, number of different items from a list of purchases made during the week previous to the interview, and ownership of a radio or bicycle. There are difficulties in using all or any one of these. The first is the veracity of informants. It was suggested that some exaggerate to show how poor they are. Secondly, memory may be faulty. Thirdly, our list of categories was not exhaustive. Masaka was surveyed just after Easter and so weekly purchases may have been more than usual. No record was made of the working order of the radios or bicycles.

Another measure of economic status is the nature and construction of houses. This is a measure of the level of poverty between as well as within Districts. At the top of the scale are the permanent brick or block houses. Fewer than 10% of the sample own houses of this kind. More than half of these are in Masaka District and represent earlier development. They do not necessarily demonstrate current prosperity, although most of these households still appear to maintain an economic advantage through trade or agricultural innovation. A further 48% of the total sample have improved houses, mud and wattle walls with iron roofs. These are more evenly distributed through Busoga, Kigezi and Masaka. Only 7% of this type of house is to be found in Teso, where the traditional round grass thatched roofed, mud and wattle hut has hardly been replaced. Most of these construction improvements were effected in the 1960s and early 1970s. Few can afford the price of building a more permanent house today.

It must be stated at the outset that few simple correlations were found between any of the independent variables, taken singly, and the wealth indicators. As has been said, none of the variables operate independently but either in conjunction with or through other variables. As an example, size of land holding must be considered in relation to size of household and this relationship may be modified by off-farm sources of income. Not only household size but household composition and dependency ratio should also enter into this equation. However, due to time and resource constraints it has not been possible to make all the comparisons and cross-tabulations we would have liked from the data collected. The operation of some variables, more particularly those relating to institutions, are dealt with descriptively.

6. The Factor of Household Aids

The smallest household may more often be the poorest. They are at a disadvantage in respect to labor supply due to the nature of their composition: single widows or widowers; old couples at the end of their strength; or young married couples with small children, trying to establish themselves independently. These smallest households were observed to be among the most disadvantaged by the enumerators and the team.

On the other hand it cannot be assumed that the largest households with several adult sons are necessarily the best off. Other adult household members, as has been shown earlier, do not always assist with cultivation or contribute financially to the household. This is particularly true of Kigezi and Masaka. These young adults may be merely drones. It has been pointed out earlier that the degree to which members of the household may contribute, be dependent, or be relatively independent, varies widely. It is also the case that unless the acreage of land controlled by the household is proportional to the size of the household, household size will be a burden and not an asset.

It is not meaningful to do a straight cross-tabulation of annual or monthly expenditure with household size, since inevitably the bigger the household, to a natural and large extent, the greater the expenditure, and it has not been possible in the time available to do a comparison of per capita expenditure in small versus larger households. However, Table 57 shows relative percentages owning radios and bicycles for the small households as compared with ownership of radios in the total sample. This partly confirms the hypothesis that small households are poorer.

TABLE 57

Percentage of Households by Size of Household Owning Radios and Bicycles

Area	Size of Household: 0-4 Members		5-8 Members		9+ Members		
	% of sample	%w/radio or bike	% of sample	%w/radio or bike	% of sample	%w/radio or bike	Total % Owning
1. Radio							
Busoga	34%	21%	37%	33%	29%	46%	18%
Kigezi	16	15	51	47	33	28	25
Masaka	31	16	34	33	35	51	36
Teso	33	8	31	19	36	72	13
Bicycle							
Busoga	34	22	37	21	29	47	22
Kigezi	16	19	51	42	33	39	20
Masaka	31	11	34	31	35	58	25
Teso	33	16	31	26	36	58	26

N.B. Households recorded as having no members are included as single person households as this was a common recording error.

There is a consistent bias for smaller households to have fewer bicycles and radios. Except in the case of Kigezi where percentages of households owning these items correspond to per-

centages of other sizes of household in the total sample for the area. The trend in Teso is particularly pronounced, demonstrating a clear relationship between size of household and poverty level as measured by these two indicators.

7. The Factor of Land--Size of Holding

Land is the basic resource of the cultivator households and the first variable to be considered is the size of land owned in relation to the size of household. A cross tabluation of these two variables shows that larger households tend to occupy larger buildings, though not necessarily in proportion to their number of members. It also demonstrates that possibly 50% or more of households are below the statistical poverty line, using Allan's (1) assumptions of the amount of land needed merely to feed one adult. In Busoga and Teso it is .5 and .9 acres respectively. It is probable that requirements in Masaka are similar to those in Busoga, while those of Kigezi are nearer to those in Teso. This assessment is based on yield statistics and dietary preferences. Table 58 shows percentages of households in each area below, at, or above, food sufficiency level on the basis f these estimates.

TABLE 58

Percentages of Households by
Area by Food Self-Sufficiency Level

Area	Less than Sufficient	Sufficiency only	Double Sufficient	Triple Sufficient
Busoga	3%	85%	7%	4%
Kigezi	10	81	6	3
Masaka	6	88	3	3
Teso	21	68	8	3

N.B. See table of calculations in Appendix V.

It may be assumed that many of the households with an acreage below sufficiency level for food production are very poor. However, few of those at sufficiency level are wealthy. Thus, it may be calculated that at least 60% of households in all areas have a marginal standard of living.

8. The Factor of Land--System of Tenure

The system of land tenure can also be a critical constraint on households. In Uganda for the most part there was never, and is not now, a system whereby large landlords hold the peasantry in

perpetual or increasing indebtedness through exactions of rent. In only one area, Masaka, did large landholders and landlordism emerge. The Busulu and Envujo Ordinance of 1928 restricted their exactions to minimal proportions, which reduced in value over the years (2), so that such indebtedness is not a problem. The 1969 Law abolished rent payments altogether. In fact, through the African systems of family aid, few informants have borrowed--11% of the total sample, measuring total number of possible incidences of borrowing by total cases of borrowing. Assistance creates clientage obligations rather than indebtedness and most borrowing is also from neighbors or kin.

While the system of landholding does not lead to indebtedness, nevertheless in Masaka there is a degree of insecurity in present unregistered, untitled tenure that may inhibit investment in develoment.

In Kigezi there are other problems. The system of land tenure has resulted in extreme fragmentation so that it is difficult to cultivate to a high standard. Much time is spent walking between distant tiny plots and cooperation over soil conservation measures is all the more difficult when any one hillside may involve a multiplicity of owners.

On the other hand, acquisition of land by purchase is not restricted in any area, although it may be less common in Teso and Kigezi than in Busoga and Masaka. Such purchases are, however, possible even in Kigezi due to differential quantities inherited by different families. Those with more land seem more often to sell, rather than to try to develop it themselves, perhaps through lack of capacity to do so. As we have seen, in Busoga 34% purchsed all their land and 3% some of their land. The corresponding percentages for the other areas are Kigezi 5% and 61%, Masaka 29% and 1%, and Teso 7% and 5%.

However, for many, purchase is a theoretical option as land prices have escalated with inflation. No cross-tabulation was made between nature of tenure and the wealth indicators. Differences between households are more evident in an area comparison.

The Land Law of 1969 facilitates the acquisition of very large acreages for development by the political elite and others with access to adequate development finance. Sometimes this acquisition is serving to dispossess the peasantry of valuable common lands as in Kigezi, and in Masaka to lead to actual eviction. It was said that there was individual development and not general development. These agricultural entrepreneurs do not generally stimulate, support or assist in the development of their communities, with the one exception seen in Kigezi. Otherwise they tend to contribute to the increasing high level of poverty of the mass of cultivators.

9. The Factor of Labor

While land is the basic resource, and both its absolute and relative size of underlying importance, it is the ability to utilize it effectively which distinguishes the more affluent from the poorer household, as was stressed by Joan Vincent in her Teso study (3). The capacity to farm the land effectively is dependent on command of adequate resources of labor to supplement that of the household itself.

It also depends on the entrepreneurial ability and personality of the household head. The families which prosper most are also those which are able to sustain and consolidate growth from one generation to the next in spite of the process of the family development cycle, and the tendency to segment and divide resources when a man dies, so that not only is land fragmented but wealth is frittered away.

The command over a larger amount of labor is particularly important in relation to the present nature, level and supply of technology. As has been said, the hoe is virtually the only tool used. Of the total sample in all areas, 1.8% had no tools, 26% one or two tools, either a hoe only or a hoe and a panga, and a further 52% had three or more items--usually in addition to the former an axe, or a spade or a plow. The tractor hire scheme collapsed in the early 1970s, and in Teso not only has CBPP decimated herds and reduced ownership of oxen--in some places from somewhere in the region of 50% of households to probably 20%--but plow spare parts which are most in demand are difficult to get. New plows are difficult to obtain, very expensive, and are of an unpopular and rather unwieldy and fragile type. In fact, as a result, we think that it will be difficult to maintain the present acreage in Teso under continued cultivation in the immediate future.

It is not possible to demonstrate through a simple cross tabulation of employment of casual labor with any of the wealth indicators that there is a consistent positive correlation between wealth and the number of laborers employed. As will be further discussed, and has already been indicated, this is because the household is too complex an entity to permit such single variable analysis. Poverty levels have to be measured through a comparison of household categories and further refined by a greater quantitative knowledge than is possible to acquire on such a limited field visit. In this connection it is known that in Masaka it was common to employ labor, not to augment the household resources, but to work instead of family members. In Teso traditional types of working groups may be more important as an additional labor supply than hired workers. Employment of hired labor also has to be considered in conjunction with the family size and composition and the total size of land-holding controlled by the household.

While it is suggested that differences in labor supply and level

of technology are major determinants of the relative success of survival strategies, and therefore the relative poverty level of the household, there are other factors which may serve to modify or vary the direct causal relationship of command over a larger labor force and degree of prosperity. One such factor already discussed is the size of the basic resource of land in relation to the size of the family it supports. This factor also has to be taken together with the fact that some rural households are not dependent on cultivating for their money income, as has already been mentioned.

10. Factor of Employment

It was originally supposed that supplementary sources of income through employment or business for the household head, or other household members, might positively affect household survival strategies, and therefore the households in which household heads and/or other members have other occupations than cultivating the family land would be among the more prosperous. No correlation can be shown between this variable and any of the wealth indicators in terms of levels of expenditure or possession of luxury items. This is probably because the work available to most householders and members of their families is of a menial nature, and wages for even managerial posts at the time of the survey were almost invisible (e.g., US$30 per month). It may even be the case that with laboring work this is a necessary part of income due to lack of sufficient land, rather than being a supplement to a reliable and reasonable farm income.

This suggests that further analysis and breakdown is necessary in respect to this variable. In other words, some types of supplementary occupation only may have a positive bearing on the wealth of the household, while others do not. Evaluation of data on women-headed households indicates brewing to be such an occupation, and on the basis of Joan Vincent's work in Teso, brewing by wives is a major element in the dynamics of the farm economy of the "big men." (4) As has been noted, in those households in Teso where one other person is working, it is more often a wife who is brewing.

There are some households whose major source of livelihood is not farming but some other enterprise. The land of such households is merely used to provide a site for their dwelling and perhaps some food. Such enterprises are hypothesized to include trading ventures (especially running shops and bars), brewing and distilling, fishing, charcoal making, milling, tailoring and carpentry. The size of the landholding as a ratio of size of household is not a factor in the relative prosperity of such families.

11. The Factor of Diversification of Farm Enterprises

It was also thought that those households which maximize all

alternatives, i.e. grow a wider range of crops, and additionally keep a number of livestock, as well as having supplementary sources of income through the household head, would have the most successful survival strategy. A cross-tabulation of number of farm enterprises by wealth indicators shows some positive correlation. The extent of this is demonstrated in Tables 59 and 60 on the following pages.

There are a much larger percentage of households with both fewer enterprises and smaller expenditure, while a greater proportion of those with higher annual expenditure in all areas also have a larger number of enterprises. The same trend is also evident, but slightly less directly so, in respect to monthly expenditure, but it is not insignificant, especially taking the other variables into consideration. Table 60 illustrates the relationship between numbers of enterprises and monthly expenditures.

As has been said, one of the problems of analysis has been the lack of multivariate statistics. The households which seek to maximize the number of farm enterprises appear to be among the better off, but it would be good to see if these are also the households which command supplementary sources of labor, whether they are small or larger households, and if the educational level of the household head, or his age, are additional factors which also influence their comparative advantage.

12. The Factor of Innovation

Agricultural innovation may also be an element in household survival strategies. It has been noted that new enterprises in the survey areas include pig-keeping and cultivation of cassava for sale. It may be hypothesized that innovators are among the upper level of our disaggregation. Table 61 examines the relationship between ownership of pigs and annual expenditure.

TABLE 39

Percentage of Households by Number of
Farm Enterprises by Annual Expenditure by Area

Number Enterprises	Expenditure in 000s Shs											
	Busoga			Kigezi			Masaka			Teso		
	Up to 10	50-100	100+	Up to 10	50-100	100+	Up to 10	50-100	100+	Up to 10	50-100	100+
0-10	55%	21%	19.5%	96%	64%	56%	67%	33%	25%	77%	46%	33%
11-15	44	52	50	4	31	36	33	47	41	20	50	42
16-30	1	27	31.5	0	20	34	0	20	34	3	4	25
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 60

Percentage of Households by Number of Farm Enterprises
by Monthly Expenditures by Area

Number Enterprises	Expenditure in 000s Shs.															
	Busoga				Kigezi				Masaka				Teso			
	Up to 15	15-55	55-100	100+	Up to 15	15-55	55-100	100+	Up to 15	15-55	55-100	100+	Up to 15	15-55	55-100	100+
0-10	56%	27%	28%	21%	84%	79%	82%	61%	90%	61%	42%	33%	84%	63%	67%	43%
11-15	39	56	47	47	16	17	14	35	10	36	40	43	16	30	31	43
16-30	5	17	25	32	0	4	4	4	0	3	18	24	0	7	2	14
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 61

Percentage of Households Owning Pigs by Annual Expenditure as Compared with Annual Expenditure of Total Sample of Households

Area	Annual Expenditure in 000's Shs.							
	10 and Less		10-50		50-100		100+	
	% total sample	% pig owners	% total sample	% pig owners	% total sample	% pig owners	% total sample	% pig owners
Busoga	29	19	51	60	12	15	8	6
Kigezi+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Masaka	24	11	37	39	17	22	22	28
Teso	44	27	43	55	8	10	4	8

+ Not a statistically significant number of owners

There is a slight tendency, more pronounced in Teso, for a greater proportion of pig owners to be among the more affluent, but it is not big enough to be significant, and therefore does not give support to a hypothesis that innovators will be among the upper levels of the poverty hierarc' , nor is there a stronger correlation when numbers of pigs owned are taken into consideration. The same negative picture is seen in re' 'on to those who have taken up cash cropping of cassava in Tes

13. The Factor of Sex

In the competition for labor, the woman-headed household might be considered at a disadvantage, especially where it is composed of a grandmother and young grandchildren only, even though the children may make contributions of money from time to time. Only 3.7% of the total sample admitted to getting a substantial proportion of their money needs from relatives. Nearly three-quarters of these households are in Masaka, which also has the highest incidence of female household heads. On the other hand, Masaka has the highest annual expenditure rate, while Teso, with the second fewest number of female household heads. has the lowest. Again, other factors may intervene, not least the more advantageous position Masaka occupied in economic development in the baseline period. It is also not known whether the women-headed households mainly fall into the lowest expenditure bracket or not.

However, the Masaka expenditure statistics shown in Table 41, taken together with the fact that 25% of households are female-headed, appears to indicate that female-headed households cannot as a group be assumed to be at the lowest poverty level.

14. The Affluent Minority

The majority of households are poor by any objective criteria. Our disaggregation has pointed to those who may be the most disadvantaged, or are managing only to subsist, and conversely the factors which distinguish the more affluent. Certain families were observed to have a measure of rural eminence. These are in two categories: those who held good jobs in earlier days, or are politically prominent now, and those who have invested in farming and in a substantial rural residence. In this category are also those who used the "magendo" opportunities of the Amin period to lay the basis for a fortune which was wisely invested. Secondly there are those, rather less conspicuously affluent, whose wealth is rooted in the village, the "big men" who had used inherited land and possibly also the opportunities afforded by the Progressive Farmer programs of the 1950s and 1960s, to emerge from the common heap of their neighbors, and who have subsequently continued to maintain that economic lead. The progressive farmer was usually rather better educated than the average. (5) Others within this category are government extension staff living in their own home areas, who used their modest income in the past to build the basis for a

current, sometimes tenuous and ill-sustained prosperity in the present.

It is demonstrable that the wealthier families are also, to a greater extent, to be found in those Districts in which agricultural development and particularly the cultivation of the more valuable crop of coffee took place earlier. With few exceptions the basis of present prosperity lies in the past. Table 62 compares the numbers of households reporting spending more than Shs. 10,000 on each of a range of selected major items of expenditure. Only in the case of house repair and construction has any other area a lead over Masaka in spite of what has been said of the greater depredations in the District from recent events.

These top households represent a very small minority of our samples. Altogether only 11% spend $330 or more a year on all major items and 25% spent $35 or more a month on regular expenditures. Both figures are weighted by the Masaka figures. The corresponding percentages for Masaka are 22 and 44.

The preceding analysis points to the pressing poverty of the majority of households and the ineffectiveness of particular strategies to effect substantial improvement. Altogether 76% of households report spending less than $170 per year. We have indicated that 10% of households do not have enough land to sustain their household living, and a further 81% have enough for food sufficiency only, with for some perhaps a small surplus. This is further borne out by the numbers of households which do not sell any crop at all, or only one or two.

One strategy for dealing with the shortfall in land is to resort to non-farm income-earning occupations, since all households need money for some of their needs. It has been indicated that most of such occupations earn little for the household and do not substantially improve their material status. They help to provide for the bare necessities.

It has also been argued that because a household has a large landholding does not necessarily mean that it is among the more affluent. This depends on having the labor to work it profitably. Sixty-eight percent of householders never employ labor, including 60% in Masaka, where hired workers are the only source of supplementary assistance. In Tesc, where there has been a greater reliance on traditional work groups, 69% of households never supplement their own resources by this means.

These statistics are set out for comparison in Table 63.

TABLE 62

Number of Households Spending More Than Shs. 10,000/- in the Previous Year by Each Category of Expenditure (i.e. $32)

Area	Clothes	School Exp.	Farm Tools	Domestic Goods	Medical Exp.	House Construct/ Repair	Radio or Bike
Busoga	69	38	3	15	57	11	16
Kigezi	62	43	5	23	32	50	8
Masaka	90	72	7	34	100	9	23
Teso	40	23	4	12	22	10	20

TABLE 63

Percentages by Area of Selected
Measures of Poverty

Area	Inade-quate Land+	Don't Employ Labor	Don't Use Trad. Labor	HH has Other Work	Others Have Other Work	4 Members & Fewer in Household	Expenditure Under 50,000/- Per Annum*
Busoga	88%	81%	93%	23%	18%	34%	78%
Kigezi	91	65	77	27	10	16	74
Masaka	95	60	100	36	66	29	61
Teso	89	65	69	50	33	32	87

+ At or below food sufficiency level

* (i.e.) Annual expenditure less than $160

HH= Household Head

In terms of two key variables of survival strategy, ownership of land and of the means to utilize it effectively, a very large proportion of rural households fall into the lowest poverty level. This is ameliorated to only a very limited extent by subsidiary sources of income. Under such circumstances a typology of survival systems and a disaggregation of poverty level is somewhat artificial since all most households do is manage to subsist. In seeking to maximize his income, both in money and in kind, the individual household head has available a number of assets and can, theoretically, make choices about their disposition. In fact, practical limitations imposed by the national economic and political system, particularly in the marketing sector, together with the very small size of his resources and small scale of individual enterprises, place real limitations on the range of choices open to him.

C. Community-Level Interactions

A convenient way to visualize and to analyze community-level interaction is by using the concepts of "resource system" and "reciprocity." A resource system is a formal or informal group or organization which holds needed resources, and supplies those resources to individuals or other groups which need them. Reciprocity describes the action of giving a benefit with the expectation of receiving a similar or other kind of benefit from the recipient in the future.

Implicit in this study's definition of the household is the recognition of the fact that a household is an open system. (6) Individual members of a household commonly provide economic or other assistance to, and receive similar or other assistance from, members of other households in the community. The various formal and informal groups and organizations which exist in a community may be viewed as resource systems for the household in that community. In the same sense, households may be viewed as resource systems for one another. It is this analytical perspective that is applied here to the identification and analysis of community-level interactions and their economic significance in Uganda. (7)

Resource systems with which rural households have significant socio-economic linkages or interactions fall into the following five categories:

1. Governmental organizations
2. Formal non-governmental organizations
3. Membership organizations
4. Informal village mutual support groups
5. Kin households

Households do conduct exchange relationships with these various types of resource systems. The nature of the interactions varies from those that are largely compulsory, such as those

with governmental agencies, to those that are purely voluntary, such as those with membership organizations. It is necesary at this point to give examples of the resource systems which fall into the above categories in rural Uganda.

Examples of governmental resource systems with which rural households interact at the village level include: appointed village chiefs; field workers of central government departments, such as agricultural extension agents; school officials; and health service providers at the nearest government health center. The exchange relationships which exist between the household and these resource systems are rather subtle with respect to what is exchanged. In a normal exchange relationship, the incentives underlying the interaction are desired beenfits that are voluntarily exchanged. In the case of governmental resource systems, the household has to pay the tax for services which it cannot choose, and which are provided by officials who have no contractual, family or friendship obligation to the household.

David Leonard (8) has categorized linkages or interactions that are relevant to assisting the poor according to the central purposes of the linkages: for control, for assistance and for representation. The currently dominant subject matter of government-household interaction seems to be control. Few services are flowing from the government to the household, be it in the form of production advice, health services, or education. Households are paying heavily for these services in addition to the taxes. To raise morale and incentives for government workers, households are making informal payments to them in order to receive services. From the observations in this survey it was common to hear well-off farmers say that they have been able to make use of extension staff by paying their perdiems and their transportation costs.

Formal non-government resource systems include church-sponsored organizations, indigenous social services organizations and international agencies, like CARE, OXFAM, EIL and International Christian Aid, which are deeply involved in rural development activity in Uganda. These resource systems are interacting with the rural household rather indirectly. They do so by sponsoring or supporting village level membership organizations (clubs) or project management committees, in which members of rural households participate. In this sense membership organizations are intermediary resource systems linking households to formal non-governmental organizations. Examples of these membership organizations include womens' clubs, like the Mothers' Union clubs, and the Village Development Committees sponsored by the Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme of the Busoga Diocese of the Church of Uganda.

Informal village mutual support groups include immediate neighbors, village funeral organizing groups, rotating labor-sharing groups, and beer-drinking groups. These are very important and

influential resource systems. It is in these groups that members from different households meet to share ideas, opinions, feelings, attitudes and resources. Immediate neighbors are the providers of first-aid and social services. Village funeral organizing groups, which consist of all households within a one mile radius of a household which has lost a member, are responsible for mobilizing resources to meet funeral expenses and for getting everyone in the neighborhood to provide emotional support to the bereaved. Rotating labor sharing groups, which commonly consist of young men, are useful for providing fast field-clearing services on the household farm. These are especially common in Teso, Busoga and Kigezi. Beer-drinking groups are leisure-time groups and are a most striking feature of the Teso community life.

A most significant aspect of these informal village mutual support groups is that they are accessible to all households, and participation is voluntary. Individuals participate in them primarily because they find it expedient to do so. In this sense they are a linkage for the rural household to the larger community. These resource systems have one limitation, how ... The upper limit of their resources is determined entirely by the resources that are locally available within the community. They do not at the moment have a linkage with any national-level resource system. The great potential of these village resource systems is awaiting the Department of Community Development and other national-level development agencies for mobilization for welfare and development purposes.

Finally, it should be noted that interactions and exchanges of benefits among kin households are still important. Tables 64 and 65 below, which display the survey data on the inter-household flow of remittances and loans, help to illustrate the continuing importance of both village solidarity groups and the kinship system.

TABLE 64

Total Number of Loans Received by Households for Various Purposes by Area and Source

	Source of Loan and Number						
Area	Neighbor	Relative Here	Relative Elsewhere	Money-Lender	Bank	Coop.	Other
Busoga	41	26	16	4	0	2	9
Kigezi	67	111	7	63	0	34	6
Masaka	63	53	13	3	1	12	12
Teso	25	69	8	5	0	2	12

TABLE 65

Proportion of Households Receiving Remittances from Relatives by Size and Area

Size of Remittances*	Proportion of Households Receiving Cash Gifts by Area			
	Busoga	Teso	Kigezi	Masaka
None	243 (92%)	218 (81%)	252 (93%)	198 (73%)
Very little	16 (5%)	35 (13%)	14 (5%)	35 (13%)
Less than half	2 (1%)	6 (2%)	3 (1%)	12 (5%)
About half	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	8 (3%)
More than half	2 (1%)	9 (3%)	1 (1%)	17 (6%)
Totals	265 (100%)	270 (100%)	270 (100%)	270(100%)

*Of total household income

Kin households are still a very important resource system for the rural household. Vital resources continue to be exchanged on the strength of moral, kinship obligation, in spite of the growing commercialization of the rural economy. (9) Rural households send gifts of food to their urban kin households, while urban households make cash remittances to their rural kin households, thereby maintaining continuing links and mutual support. At the village level, kin households exchange various services in the form of role substitution in order to cope with emergency situations, like providing child care services in the case of a mother's illness.

Thus, the household interacts with a wide range of resource systems, some of which are more facilitating than others in the household's attempt to survive. Any program which seeks to assist rural households needs to identify these various linkages and strengthen them in ways that would be beneficial to the household. Of vital relevance in this regard is the design of appropriate incentives that would generate the necessary commitment to the welfare of the rural household on the part of the resource systems and staff personnel who interact with it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Allan, W., The African Husbandman, Oliver and Boyd, London, 1965. Revised 1967.

2. Mukwaya, A.B., Land Tenure in Buganda: Present-day Tendencies. East African Institute of Social Research, East African Study No. 1, 1953.

3. Vincent, Joan, An African Elite, Columbia University Press, 1968.

4. Vincent, ibid.

5. Uchendu, V.C. and K.R.M. Anthony, Agricultural Change in Teso District. East African Literature Bureau, 1975.

6. For an insightful analysis of the family as an open system see Safilios-Rothschild, "The Role of the Family: A Neglected Aspect of Poverty," in Peter T. Knight (ed.) Implementing Programs of Human Development. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 403, 1980.

7. This analysis has benefited from Peter Blau's version of social exchange theory in his book Exchange and Power in Social Life, (1964).

8. See David Leonard's sensitive and comprehensive analysis of organizational linkages appropriate to effective design and implementation of programs for the poor: Leonard, David K. and R. Marshall (eds.). Institutions of Rural Development for the Poor: Decentralization and Organizational Linkages. Institute of International Studies, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1980.

9. For an extended discussion of the impact of commercialization of the rural economy on traditional mutual social support groups see Muzaale, P.J., Famine and Hunger in Rural East Africa: Analysis and Intervention. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1980. Chapters 2 and 5.

CHAPTER VI. POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of issues seem to arise as priority concerns for Government of Uganda officials and development assistance agencies from the information and analysis presented in the preceding pages. In this final chapter we shall briefly review the significant issues and offer some broad recommendations for policy direction and program consideration. We have deliberately avoided making project or sector-specific recommendations. More information needs to be gathered before initiating a particular project. The data presented in this study should serve as a comprehensive general baseline, to be supplemented by more detailed technical information and analysis as particular projects warrant.

A. Key Issues

1. Uganda's rural population is getting poorer, despite improvements in the national economic picture.

While most households are able to feed themselves, they are unable to purchase even the most basic consumer items. The increase in cost of consumer items far surpasses the increase in producer prices, thus dampening the incentive to the farmer to produce more. Agricultural production is shrinking, due to a number of apparent causes: population increases which reduce the available acreage per head; increasing competition between humans and animals for scarce resources; loss of soil fertility; and increase in insect pests and crop and animal diseases, with few, if any, chemicals with which to fight them; and shortages of basic tools.

2. There is a critical increased pressure on land.

This has resulted in both a reduction in soil fertility as well as a decrease in the size of individual landholdings. In such a setting, rural development programs shoul concentrate on projects which involve intensive cultivation o_ the most high value and high yielding crops, and stress veterinary programs for small animals or poultry. All projects should involve land conservation and household level agro-forestry measures.

3. Basic agricultural inputs are still lacking.

Despite assistance by donor agencies over the past four years, small farmers still report their number one need to be agricultural tools and other inputs. There are two possible reasons for the supply to date not having satisfied the demand. It is well known that not all inputs reached their intended targets. Some disappeared into neighboring countries; others benefitted the trader or shopkeeper rather than the small farmer. It was also pointed out that a number of the donated

tools were not technologically appropriate to the environment. Secondly, and probably the more accurate rea on, the demand was simply grossly underestimated.

Any campaign to increase or further diversify productive efforts must be accompanied by massive and more effective distribution of production tools.

4. Small farmers have diversified their farm enterprises, away from large-scale reliance on traditional cash export crops.

Coffee and cotton are no longer the sole cash income crops for farmers. While coffee still commands a primary position in some areas, sales of food crops, and to some extent livestock, are increasingly important as sources of cash. In addition, a significant number of households have turned to non-agricultural activities as their principal source of livelihood.

The implications of this shift are several. The expansion of small livestock husbandry demands a readjustment of thinking and of extension programming efforts by Veterinary Officers. No proper extension program for small livestock was found. Provision of veterinary inputs also needs to be increased accordingly. Methods must be devised to assist farmers to market their food crops more reliably and efficiently. With the exception of maize and cassava, little has been done to develop export outlets for other food crops. Internally, distant areas are at a competitive disadvantage vis-a-vis the main urban markets of Jinja and Kampala, when vegetables can be readily grown in their immediate hinterlands. A few local businessmen have tried to market fruits and vegetables outside, but bottlenecks at the airport as well as unclear quality standardization procedures were cited as major problems.

5. Rural households are increasingly engaging in non-agricultural activities.

The range of non-agricultural activities has been described in the main body of this report. Donor assistance should encourage development of local initiative through provision of tools, raw materials and technical training to local village craftsmen. Promotion of cottage industries through skill training, production organization and marketing assistance would broaden the range of income sources and would help to meet immediate manufactured consumer needs.

6. Institutional delivery of services to the rural household is inadequate at best, non-existent at worst.

While the administrative structure and a full complement of personnel are firmly in place, their ability to assist the rural population is severely limited. Government officers at the District level lack resources - vehicles, program funds,

housing and office facilities, and administrative resources - to carry out their jobs. The present structural arrangements both in terms of raising and disbursing funds, and monitoring personnel and programs, seem ill-suited to present District development needs. The present District Team and Planning Committee is not fulfilling the need for coordinated development planning and implementation. Lack of such a coordinated planning body at the District level causes duplication of function and confusion of responsibility.

In light of these and other issues raised in the body of the study, we offer the following short-term development actions and long-term development objectives. They are by no means exhaustive; further analysis of the data will certainly yield more recommendations, especially as that analysis is grounded in more specific project or sectoral ideas.

There is an urgent need to train local level administrative personnel, especially county, sub-county and parish chiefs. Presently these officers are politically appointed to their positions; they receive no administrative, leadership, management, financial or development training. Yet they are expected to carry out precisely such duties.

B. Short-Term Recommendations

1. Assistance to Local Level Manufacturers

A program should be established to assist very small entrepreneurs, at the community level, with training, raw materials and other capital expenses. Similarly, encouraging and expanding cottage industries by improving on existing craft skills and assisting with marketing both internally and for export should be undertaken.

2. Agriculture

a. Increase the supply of inputs such as tools, fertilizers and pesticides to rural areas. In order to prevent re-direction of the inputs to unintended beneficiaries, distribution should be on a massive scale, thus discouraging hoarding or buying up of large lots of the commodity for redistribution elsewhere. It is also possible that commodity distribution be linked with particular production initiatives so that inputs are distributed as a package. Distribution through other than cooperative societies should be considered: church groups, or other ministry extension agents such as Agriculture and Community Development.

b. Develop new agricultural technology on the basis of farm-level information about technological needs and priorities.

Abandon the "grow more X" approach that simply exhorts farmers to grow more traditional export crops.

c. Revitalize the extension services using technically trained personnel already in place. This may include agricultural shows and demonstrations, experimental or demonstration farms to be visited by farmers, and other activities. These should be at regional and national levels, with prizes and other incentives to outstanding farmers.

3. Manpower

a. Refresher courses, seminars and conferences should be organized in a systematic manner for field officers and their subordinates at different levels in all development-related ministries.

b. A training-of-trainers program should be established in each development-related ministry to facilitate the above skill upgrading.

c. Various NGOs should be engaged to work side by side with government personnel responsible for implementing development training programs, in an effort to ensure resources are used as designated.

4. Transport

This is a major constraint to local level development personnel working with rural people, and to the movement of inputs, produce for market, and consumer goods in rural areas. An assessment of transport availability and requirements should be undertaken country-wide, and a coherent plan for capital and recurrent expenditures on transport developed.

5. Office Supplies and Equipment

A further impediment to abilities of formal development service organizations is insufficient office supplies and equipment. Staff housing is also either delapidated or non-existent. Capital investment in equipment and accommodation should be undertaken.

6. Private Sector Trade

There is high demand in the rural areas for consumer goods, for health facilities, and for improved water supplies, both for humans and for animals. A policy or program that makes trading in the rural areas more attractive to the private sector should be pursued.

7. Cooperatives

The role of Government in cooperatives should shift from control to more regulatory and facilitative. Direct GOU involvement in the cooperative movement should be sharply diminished.

C. Long-Term Development Objectives

1. A structural overhaul of all public formal development institutions should be undertaken with a view to recommending changes and establishing new linkages to enable a smooth running of government services. A comprehensive manpower assessment should form the basis on which the restructuring is grounded.

2. Local-level administration must be simplified. At present there is significant overlap between the responsibilities of the District Commissioner and the local representatives of the Ministry of Local Government. Moreover, local representatives of other line ministries such as Agriculture, Veterinary Department, and others do not seem to communicate at all with the hierarchy of local-level government entities. The role of the chiefs and local community elders should be enhanced and returned to its former apolitical status. In effect, there are a series of administrative units that are pulling in separate directions rather than functioning as a whole.

3. A training program or manpower development scheme for the long-term creation of a pool of highly trained technical, research and administrative personnel should be drawn up. The research cadres are inadequate in almost every ministry.

4. More and better information on rural and national life is needed. Systems for regularly collecting and using information must be established.

5. To elicit participation, development activities should be demand-driven. Government and donors should be more attuned to local initiatives (such as school building) and take advantage of these initiatives, using local leaders and local groups to assist in planning and mobilizing resources for development. Such involvement of local groups in the planning process will help to give local residents a sense of responsibility for maintenance of development efforts once a "project" has ended.

6. Much more emphasis should be given to forestry and fisheries development. There is great concern over depleting forest

resources. Simultaneously, there is an abundance of fish resources that is currently underexploited.

7. Government should develop a food policy that addresses food self-sufficiency, interregional trade and export potential.

8. Government should think more about a coherent land tenure and land use policy. This might include:

-- Simpler procedures to acquire land titles by reducing costs and administrative processes;

-- Land settlement or other facilitation of rural-to-rural mobility.

9. Some attention should be paid to the rapidly growing urban poor population, both by GOU and by donors. These people often have important links with rural communities. There is not a sharp rural/urban dichotomy in Uganda.

10. There must be a radical reorganization and rethinking about development by the GOU, and such thinking must filter down to and involve planners at the District level. The mentality has been focussed on rehabilitation and restoration to the former days of glory, rather than toward opportunities and goals for the year 2000.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

1. Social and Institutional Profile Study for Northern Uganda and other parts of Uganda.

This SIP was selective in respect to ethno-ecological factors, and is not representative of conditions in all parts of the country. A major need, therefore, is to carry out a similar study of the other areas.

Acholi and Lango have already been mentioned as more typical of the north of Uganda as a whole. In addition, there are the Districts of the West Nile Region, which produced tea, tobacco and grade sheep in the late 1960s. Toro is the main tea producing area, and in Ankole one finds a cattle zone of quite different cultural traditions to Teso. Bugisu/Sebei in the east also exhibit major contrasts of culture and agriculture, being cultivators of Arabica coffee, wheat and maize.

2. Study of the role of Government entities in District-level development planning and implementation.

The current SIP identifies a number of crucial administrative constraints to development arising from current uncertainties of jurisdiction and linkage in the administrative apparatus, both vertically and horizontally. It also points to anomalies between job descriptions created in the past, and the present thrust of development programs. Included would be addressing the need for a comprehensive manpower study of the whole civil service system, including key Government Ministries and Parastatals. Such a study could make recommendations for more effective linkage and communication between the Government Ministries at the national level, all District offices, and their field-based responsibilities and programs. Such a study would review and make recommendations on the planning and implementation of development-related projects at the District level, and would include:

a) Management and manpower survey of existing Government Ministries and Parastatals.

b) Linkages (or lack) between Ministries.

c) Examination of functions which various authorities exercise at the District level.

d) Structural recommendations, based on survey data and analysis, regarding more effective structural arrangements.

3. Micro-studies of local-level marketing processes.

Although the SIP examined marketing to a certain extent, this was a superficial overview of present organization, pricing and outlets. Micro-studies are needed on individual crops and commodities to map more exactly the pricing structure from farm to consumer, including seasonal variations and long-term trends. The purpose would include a determination of the local market and export potential, as well as the involvement of individuals and groups at different stages in the market process.

4. Detailed study of Fisheries and Fishing Cooperatives.

The current SIP reveals that a seriously neglected sector is that of Fisheries and Fishing Cooperatives. Little is known of the socio-economic organization of fishing communities. There is also a major information gap regarding the present condition of fishing grounds, and the availability of specific varieties of fish. The Fisheries Department lacks water-borne transport and equipment for such surveys. Both technical and sociological studies are needed, as well as a more detailed examination of fish marketing potential.

5. Socio-economic study of Agro-Forestry at the homestead and community level.

Agro-Forestry has been cited as both an area of neglect, and an enterprise not only of potential economic benefit, but of urgent national priority. There is a need for social studies to establish the best means of incorporating tree husbandry, including wood-lot management and utilization, into small farm systems in different areas. Such studies should also review the present structure of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry from the perspective of establishing a more integrated field program.

6. Study of small animal, livestock and poultry management.

The SIP identifies small animals and poultry as valuable economic components in small farm systems. There is a need for management studies to generate information and advice for the small farmer. There is also a need for more research into the disease problems and into disease control for such livestock. Such studies should establish strategies to meet the defined training needs of both staff personnel and farmers in the areas of management, technical information and disease control.

7. Socio-economic studies of the urban poor.

The present study shows that urban problems have been neglected, despite the fact that there are an increasing number of urban poor, and possibly especially needy subgroups. Future studies should focus on: Housing and

Health; Economic and Leisure Activities; and Social Welfare. Emphasis should be placed on single-parent families, and on the special problems of youth in towns. Such studies should not be confined to Kampala and Jinja, but should include medium-sized and smaller towns throughout the country.

APPENDIX I

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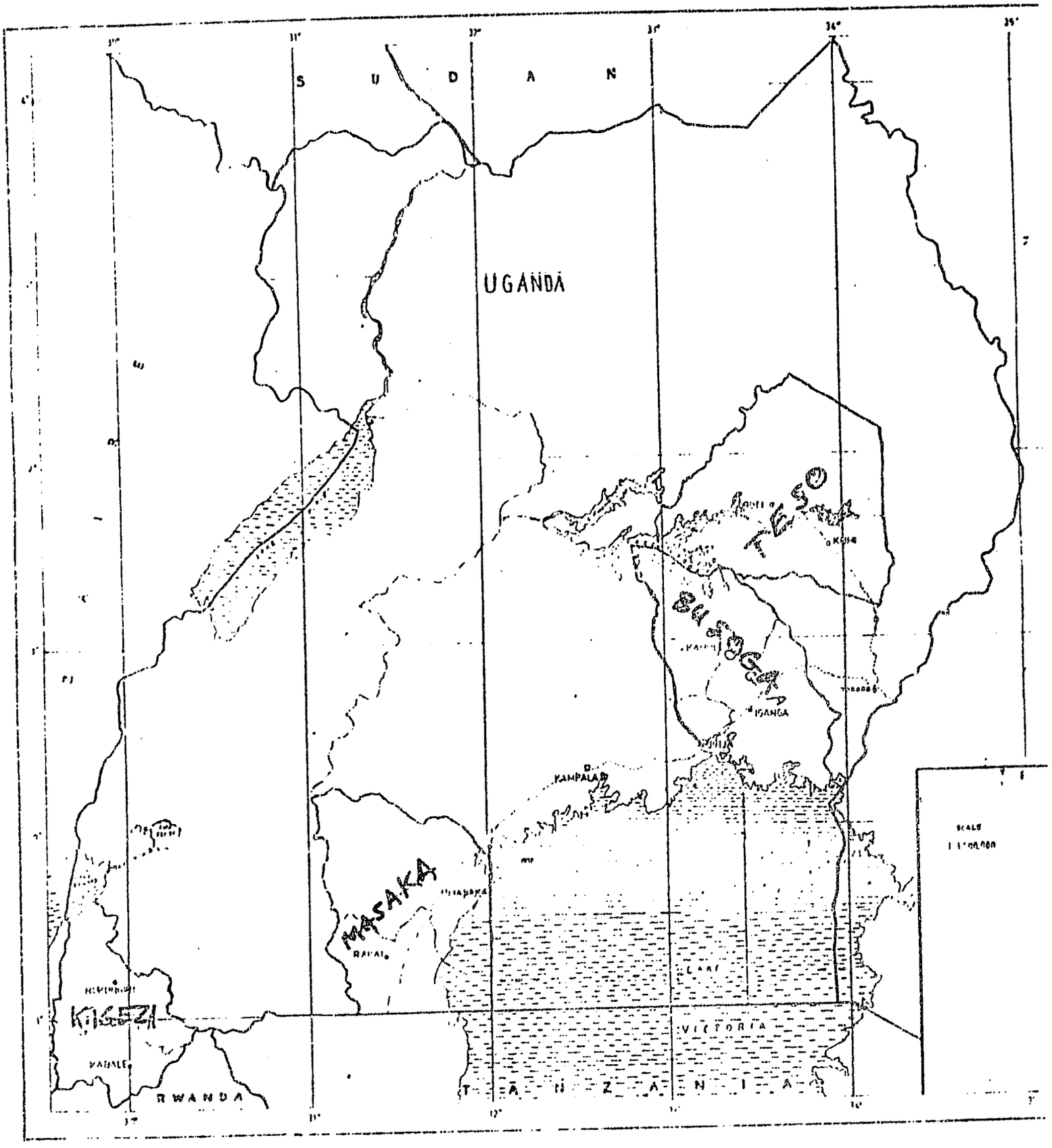
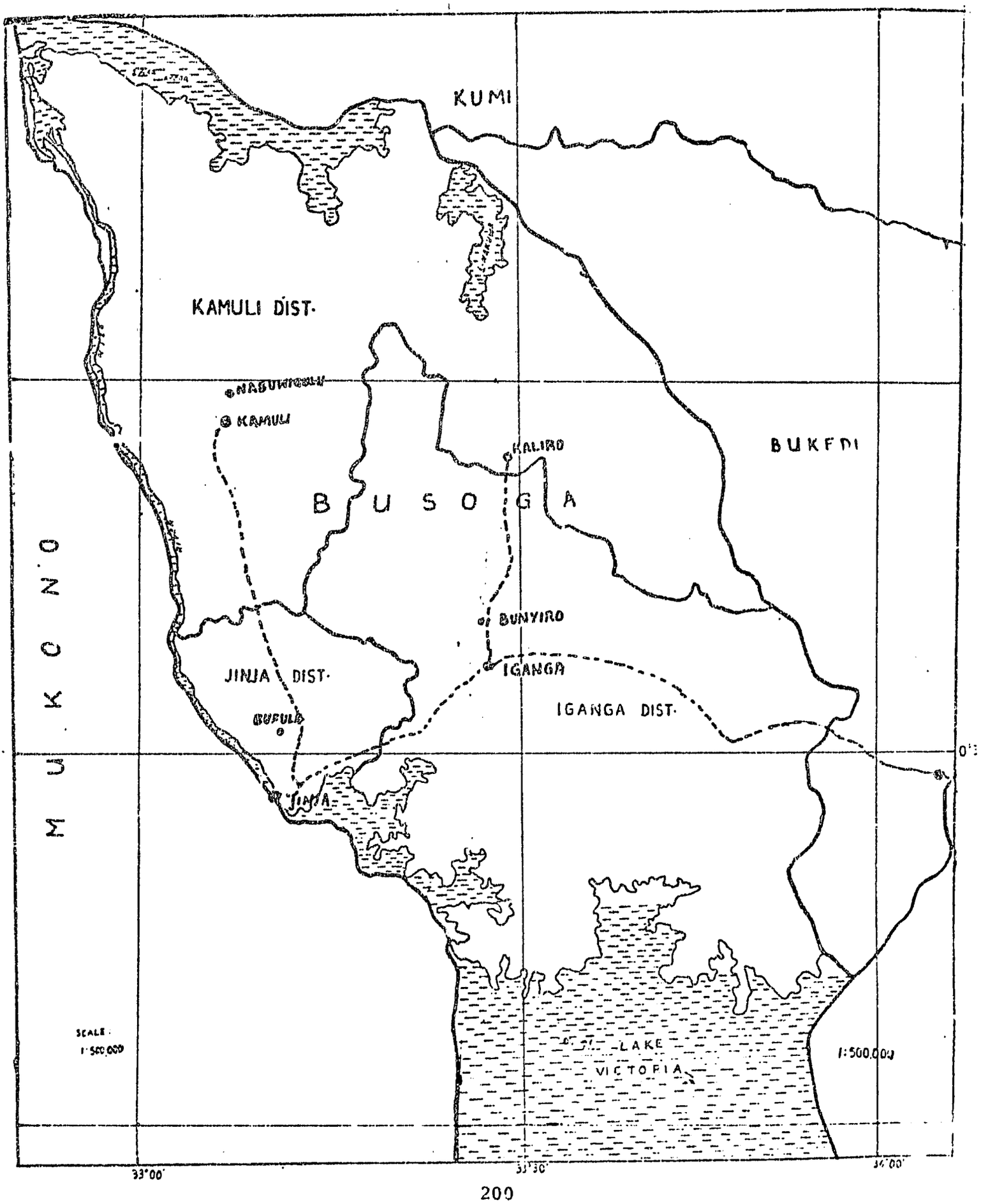
APPENDIX II

Maps

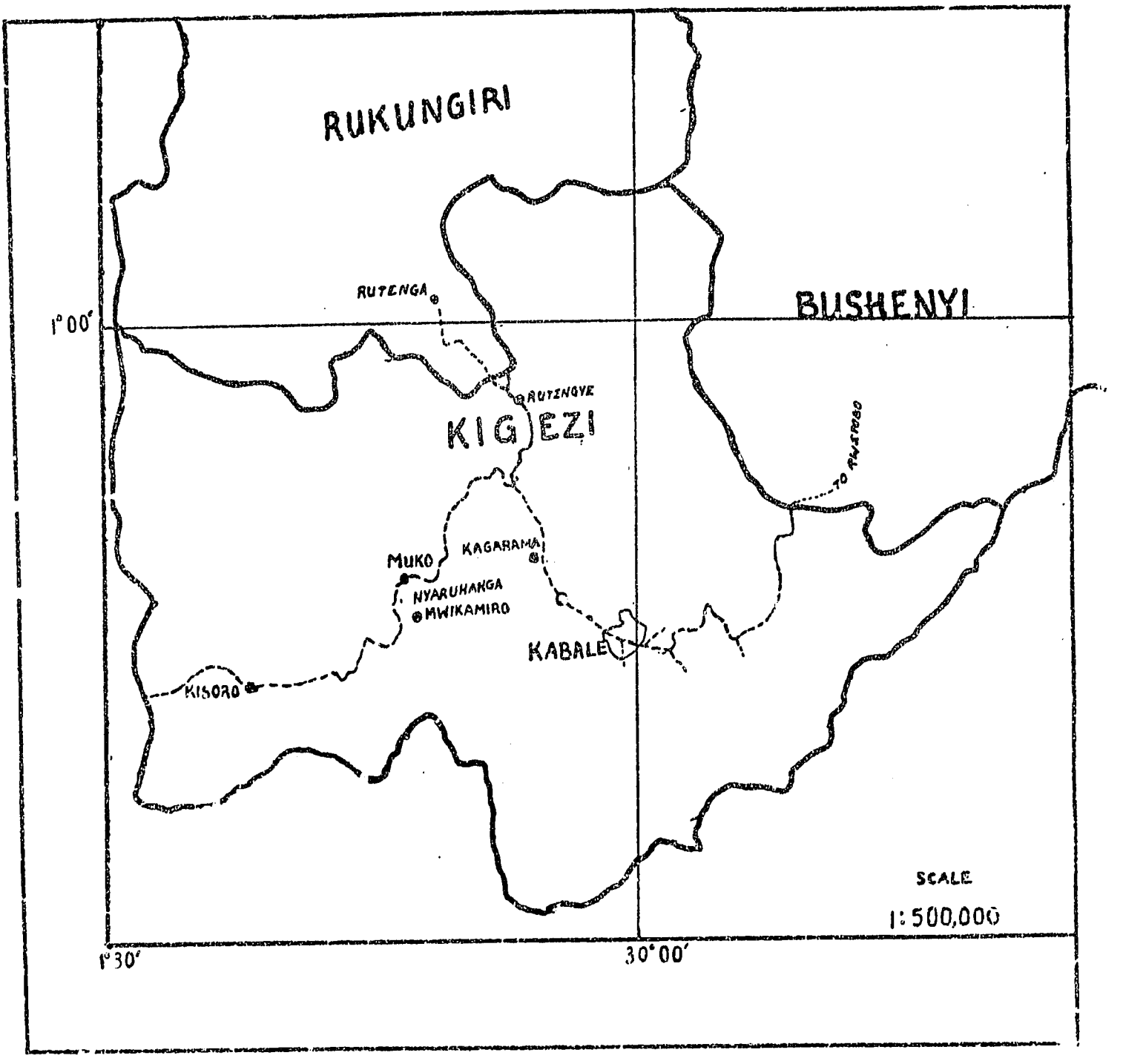
MAP OF UGANDA WITH SURVEY AREAS: KIGEZI, BUSOGA, TESO, MASAKA



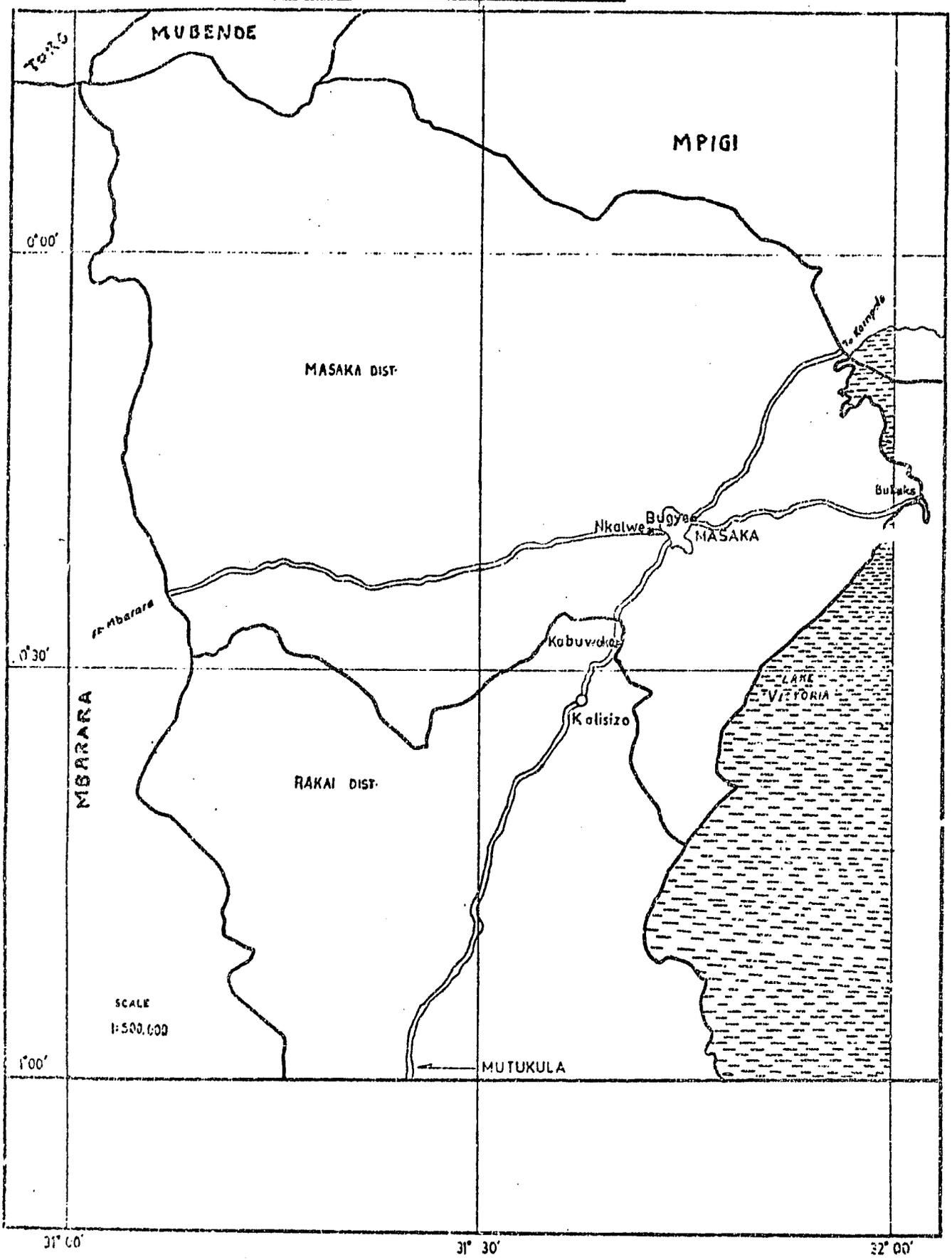
BUSOGA - JINJA, IGANGA AND KAMULI DISTRICTS

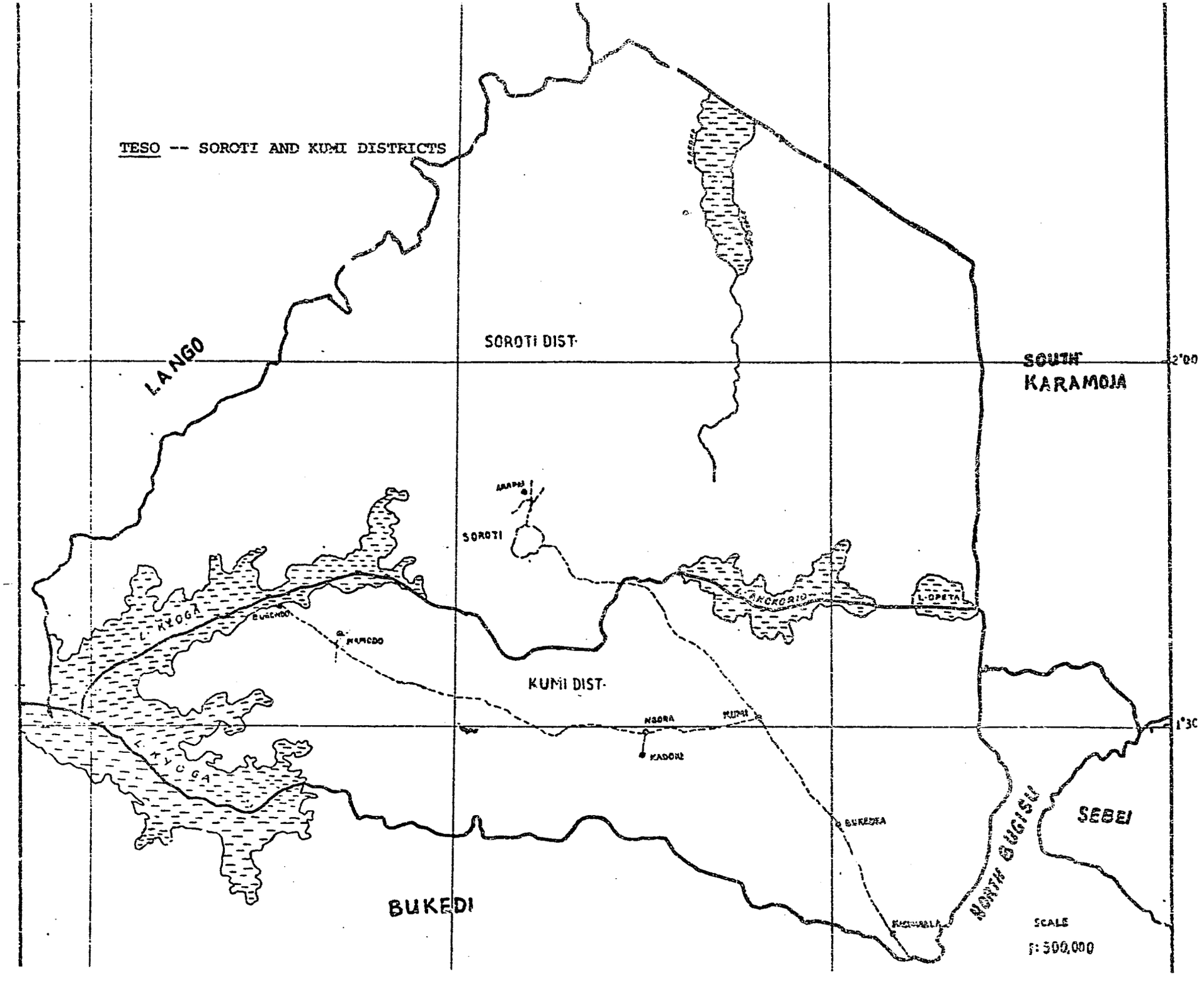


KIGEZI- KABALE AND RUKUNGIRI DISTRICTS



MASAKA MASAKA & RAKAI DISTRICTS




TESO -- SOROTI AND KUMI DISTRICTS
SOROTI DIST.
LANGO
SOUTH KARAMOJA
2°00
SOROTI
L. KYOGA
L. ANCORIO
L. OPETA
KUMI DIST.
NGORA
KUMI
KADONI
BUKEDEA
BUKEDI
NORTH BUGISU
SEBEI
1°30
SCALE
1:500,000

APPENDIX III

STATE OF DEVELOPMENT BY DISTRICT* 1969

		BUSOGA	KIGEZI	MASAKA	TESO
Employment		31,428	3,933	10,733	223
	Agric.	2,895	1,056	3,645	No info
	Indust.	9,866	1,222	576	" "
Industries		88	4	14	10
Roads					
	Primary	98km	210	198	160
	Second.	136km	68	142	90
	Tertiary	276km	136	236	216
	Other	1036km	298	301	1100
Traffic	Ave. # vehicles per day	597	72	958	1[illegible]
Electricity	Consumption	10547kmh	941.4	6677.6	4680
Education	Proportion 5-14 yrs in Primary School	24.9	20.0	29.0	34.1
	Proportion 15-19 yrs in 2ndary School	5.4	2.6	5.3	2.5
Medical	Hospitals	4	5	3	3
	Other/Dispensaries, etc.	17	26	20	28
	# Beds	1292	857	793	808
Community Centers		15	18	9	28
% Total national population living in District		9.9%	7.4%	6.7%	6%

State of Development by District 1969 (continued)

	BUSOGA	KIGEZI	MASAKA	TESO
Population Density	101/sq. mile	130/sq. mile	66/sq. mile	51/sq. mile
Income levels				
% earning 500/ per annum or less:				
Urban	2.6%	21.5%	41.8%	15.4%
All	33.9%	85.1%	no info	70.9%
% earning from 501/ to 2000/ per annum				
Urban	31.5%	27.9%	40%	49.2%
All	58.1%	10.2%	no info	26.3%
% earning 2001/ to 6000 Shs per annum				
Urban	33.6%	31.1%	26.7%	18.9%
All	5.5%	3.8%	no info	2.1%
% earning 6000/Shs or more per annum				
Urban	27.4%	19.5%	27.5%	16.5%
All	2.5%	.9%	no info	.7%

* Source: General Assessment of the Level of Development by District, Part III, Compiled District Informations. Regional Analysis and Planning for Plan II Sub-Committee, internal document, 1970.

APPENDIX IV

AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BY PLAN SINCE INDEPENDENCE

A. Second Five-Year Plan 1966-67 to 1970-71

Agriculture, Forestry and Cooperatives

Group Farms and Tractor Hire Service
Cotton Insecticide Subsidy Scheme
Coffee Development in Western Region
Arabica Coffee Research Station
Kinyala Sugar Project
  (1) Estate Development
  (2) Factory Development
Establishment of the Uganda Tea Growers' Corporation
Groundnut Grading Scheme
Flue-Cured Tobacco Development Scheme
Cocoa Development Scheme
Citrus Development Scheme
Irrigated Rice Development Scheme
Seed Multiplication Scheme
Pilot Irrigation & Swamp Reclamation Schemes
Development of the Aringa Valley
Expansion of the Land Planning Service
District Farm Institutes
School of Agricultural Mechanics
Co-operative Enterprise Development Training Institute
Establishment of the Produce Marketing Board
Storage Facilities for Primary Cooperative Societies
Forestry Development Program
Reconstruction of Nyabyeya Forestry School

Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries

Veterinary Dispensaries
Tsetse Reclamation
Tick Eradication
Tick-Borne Disease & Tick Control Research Project
Epidemic Disease Control
Stock Routes and Quarantines
Improvement of Livestock Marketing
Livestock Equipment Subsidy Scheme
Information and Visual Aids Centre for the Ministry of Animal Industry, Game & Fisheries
Aswa Fact-Finding Beef Ranch
Ankole/Masaka Ranching Scheme and Ruhengeri Field Station
Beef Breeders' Loans
Dairy Breeding Farms
Artificial Insemination Service
Exotic Cattle for Institutional Farms
Dairy Farmers' Loans
Dairy School

Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries (continued)

Establishment of the Dairy Corporation
Pig and Poultry Farming Development
Sheep and Other Small Stock Farming Development
Development of the Hides and Skins Industry
Bee-Keeping Development
Fisheries Training Institute
Lake Victoria Fisheries Research
Launches for the Fisheries Department
Improvement of the Manjanji Fishing Village
Improvement of Other Fish Landings
Development of Rural Fish Markets
Commercial Boatyard
Fishing Equipment Subsidy
Fisheries Staff Housing
Regional Fisheries Headquarters, Entebbe
Miscellaneous Fisheries Development Schemes
Development Programme of the Game Department

B. Third Five-Year Plan 1971-72 to 1976-77

Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

Seed Multiplication Phase I
Seed Multiplication Phase II
Tractor Hire Service - Operating Costs
Ox Cultivation
Crop Farming Subsidies
Mubuku Irrigation Development
Labora and Atera Irrigation Schemes
Omunyal and Okokorio Irrigation Schemes
Swamp Reclamation in Kigezi and Other Areas
Agoro Irrigation Scheme
Assistance to Miscellaneous Irrigation Works
Cooperative Settlement Schemes
Bush-Clearing Units - Replacement of Equipment Department of Agriculture
Bush-Clearing Units - Operating Costs Department of Agriculture
Expansion of Agricultural Research Sub-Stations
Expansion of Variety Trial Centres
Horticultural Research Programme
Tobacco Research Programme
Plant Quarantine Station
Information and Visual Aid Centres Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry & Cooperatives
Expansion of Land Planning Services
Expansion of Bukalasa and Arapai Agricultural Colleges
Establishment of National College of Agricultural Mechanization
Development of District Farm Institutes, Rural Training Centres and Cooperative Wings
Cotton Spraying Subsidy Scheme
Fire-Cured Tobacco Programme

Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (continued)

Cocoa Development
Citrus Development
Silk Development
Kibimba Irrigation and Rice Production Scheme
Haricot Beans Development
Horticultural Development
Sim-sim Development
Softwood Afforestation Programme
Forest Roads
Additional Equipment (Forestry Department)
Katugo, Charcoal Unit
Demonstration Saw Mill - West Nile
Non-Project Housing (Ministry of Agriculture & Forestry)
Additional Vehicles (Ministry of Agriculture & Forestry)
Livestock Equipment Subsidies
Tsetse Fly Eradication
Bush Clearing Units - Operating Costs (Department of Veterinary Services)
General Animal Husbandry Research Facilities
Aswa Valley Fact-Finding Beef Ranch
Transfer of Animal Health Research Centre/Livestock Experimental Station
Regional Animal Health Research Laboratory
Veterinary Dispensaries
Information and Visual Aid Centres (Ministry of Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries)
Veterinary Training Institute (Development of new site)
Tick Control
Foot and Mouth Disease Control
Mobile Epidemic Disease Control Scheme
Rinderpest Campaign
Stock Routes and Quarantines
Development of Ankole/Masaka Beef Ranching Scheme
Development of New Beef Ranches (other than Ankole/Masaka)
Development of Mbarara Stock Farm and other on-going Ranching Schemes
Importation of Exotic Cattle
Dairy Breeding Farms
Artificial Insemination Services
Dairy Supplies and Storage Facilities
Improvement of Livestock Markets
Pig Development
Goat Development
Bee-Keeping Development
Poultry Development
Hides and Skins Development
Fisheries Equipment Subsidy
General Fisheries Research
Fish Processing Research
Expansion of Fisheries Training Institute
Deep-Water Fisheries Development

Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (continued)

Fish Landing and Marketing Improvements
Fish Farming and Exploitation of New Species
Launches for Demonstration and Experimental Work
Fisheries Department Patrol Launches
Entebbe Zoological Gardens
Anti-Poaching Equipment
Refrigerated Transport and Cold Storage Units
Eland Ranching Pilot Project
Introduction of Training Programmes in Wildlife Management
National Parks Development Programme- Improvement and Construction of Roads
National Parks Development Programme - Light Aircraft Landing Strips
National Parks Development Programme - Launches, Ferries and Hiring Vehicles
National Parks Development Programme - Staff Housing and Facilities, Miscellaneous Equipment and Conservation Centres
National Parks Development Programme - Institute of Ecology
National Parks Development Programme - Establishment of New National Parks
Non-Project Housing (Ministry of Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries)
Additional Vehicles (Ministry of Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries)

C. Revised Recovery Programme - 1982-1984

Agriculture Projects

Rehabilitation of the Coffee Industry
Rehabilitation of the Tea Industry
Rehabilitation of Cotton Industry
Rehabilitation of Cotton Ginneries
Integrated Food Production and Rural Development in Eastern and Northern Uganda
Manufacture of Agricultural Equipment for Small Farms
Integrated Food Production and Rural Development in Karamoja
Rice Development
Rehabilitation of the Seeds Industry
Agricultural Research
The National Food Plan
Forest Inventory, Surveys and Monitoring
Livestock Disease Control
Rehabilitation of the Dairy Industry
Rehabilitation of Valley Tank Excavation/Bush Clearing Unit

Revised Recovery Programme- 1982-1984 (continued)

Rehabilitation of the Fisheries Industry
Rehabilitation of Ranching Schemes
Rehabilitation of Poultry Industry
Rehabilitation of Pig Industry
Construction of Workshops for Uganda Cooperative Transport Union
Facilities for Primary Cooperative Societies
Central Storage Project
National Census of Agriculture and Livestock
Integrated Food Production and Rural Development in South West Uganda
Rehabilitation and Development of the Oilseeds Industry
Rehabilitation of the Cocoa Industry
Forestry for Rural Communities
Rehabilitation of Cotton
Rehabilitation of Livestock Markets, Stock Routes and Quarantine Facilities
Bee-Keeping Rehabilitation and Development
Communal Livestock Facilities
Tsetse Fly and Trypanosomiasis Control
Rehabilitation of the Animal Health Research Centre
Rehabilitation of the Veterinary and Fisheries Training Institutes

APPENDIX V

ACREAGE NEEDED FOR FOOD SUFFICIENCY

(.9 in Teso; .75 in Kigezi; .15 in Busoga and Masaka)

Number in Household*	Busoga & Masaka	Kigezi	Teso
1	.5	.75	.9
2	.75	1.125	1.4
3	1.25	1.875	2.3
4	1.50	2.25	2.76
5	2.00	3.0	3.65
6	2.25	3.375	4.1
7	2.75	4.125	5.0
8	3.0	4.5	5.45
9	3.5	5.25	6.35
10	3.75	5.625	6.8
11	4.25	6.375	7.7
12	4.50	6.75	8.1
13	5.0	7.5	9.0
14	5.25	7.875	9.45
15	5.75	8.625	10.35
16	6.0	9.0	10.8
17	6.50	9.75	11.7
18	6.75	10.125	12.1
19	7.25	10.875	13
20	7.50	11.25	13.5
21	8.0	12.0	14.4
22	8.25	12.375	14.85
23	8.75	13.125	15.75
24	9.0	13.5	16.2
25	9.50	14.25	17.1

* Calculated to have 50% children with 50% adult food requirements. This may underestimate rather than overestimate actual needs.

APPENDIX VI

DISTRICT MOTORIZED TRANSPORT AVAILABLE

District	DEPARTMENT					
	AGRI	VET	COOP	CD	FISHERIES	FORESTRY
Jinja	0	U*	NI**	0	NI	NI
Kamuli	2	3	5 49 bi-cycles	0	0	0
Iganga	0	2	10 some bikes	0	NI	NI
Kigezi	3	2 some bikes	U	0	NI	2
Kumi	2	1(?)	NI	0	0	0
Masaka	NI	2	6 some bikes	0	1	0
Soroti	1	3	U	0	0	0

* U = Unknown

**NI = No Information

APPENDIX VII

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS

In the course of general discussions with both District and field staff, a number of points were made in respect to salaries and allowances as they affect not only motivation but also ability to work.

The first point, which hardly needs mentioning to those who live in Uganda, is that salaries are totally unrelated to the cost of living, and at the District level the provision of heavily subsidized housing (at the rate of approximately $1 or less per month) is more important than the salary itself. The minimum wage of Shs. 1500/- at the time of the survey would purchase 3 kg. of sugar in most areas, or one or two debes of beans, approximately 30 Kg.

Salaries are normally paid to the bank accounts of established officers, and the banks are only located at the District headquarters. The prevailing security situation will not permit mobile banks. Travel costs are high, and often disproportionately so for those away from the main roads. To travel to the District headquarters to collect salaries can take a substantial portion of an officer's salary. The same applies to non-established staff, who are also generally paid, for security reasons, at their own District headquarters office. Such group employees are also only paid when money is made available from a Ministry's head office, and this is not on a regular basis.

One or two of the personnel interviewed complained of the cost of collecting their salaries, with the result that most do so only occasionally.

Many individual officers at both the District and village level complained in personal conversations about allowances for travel. This complements the statistical information on this point. Most Ministries at present are not paying any allowances. This is understood to be at the instigation of the IMF. Travel is costly. The average journey to and from any of the villages and District headquarters is between Shs. 600/- and Shs. 1200/-. The vehicles available are not always regular. When a field officer's salary for the month may be at most Shs. 5000/-, the disincentive to travel for any reason is evident. Not only is the officer underpaid, but is expected to subsidize government from the little he does receive by paying for his own travel and his own stationery. It is not surprising that field staff are difficult to find, and are generally not functional. It is only surprising that there is still an interest on the part of so many of them to continue serving the country.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in Payment of Allowances	Lack of Program Funds	Other notes
Iganga				
Agric.				Coops not buying coffee
Vet.				Political problems. No national program No statistics
CD			No funds	Lack working materials No stationery No typewriter Lack trained personnel.
Coops		4 years delay in payments Up to 7 years delay	Not enough money	Lack housing Lack office Lack stationery.
Jinja				
Agric.				No loans or subsidies for farmers. Shortage of equipment. Farmers distrust Dept.
Vet.		No allowances are paid.	No money to run transport.	Lack of housing. Drugs too expensive. Lack of incentives for field workers.
CD		Travel claims remain unpaid	No funds to buy materials	No transport. Staff morale low. People do not organize themselves.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary payments	Delay in Payment of Allowances	Lack of Program Funds	Other Notes
Commerce			No funds for courses	Lacktransport. Inequitable distribution of goods due to wrongful orders to factories outside authority structure. Lack of capital by traders.
Rehab.				Lack transport. Lack amenities. Lack commodities to distribute.
Admin. Secretary			Resources slim	Lack transport. Too frequent restructuring of administration.
Reg. Market				Lack office. Lack information about marketing system.
Kabale				
Agric.		Non payment		Control of vehicles from Mbarara Regional office. Untimely supply inputs.
Vet.			Lack of program funds	Lack transport for technical staff. Lack accommodation. Lack good animal stock. Lack some inputs
CD			Lack of funds	Lack transport. Lack of staff.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in Payment of Allowances	Lack of Program Funds	Other Notes
Kabale (continued)				
Coops	Inadequate salaries	Non-payment		Transport. Housing. Lack trained staff. High cost of living.
Commerce			Lack of program funds	Lack of teaching materials.
Forestry		Allowances for 1981 now ready for payment.	Lack of funds.	General slackness of people. Lack heavy vehicles.
Admin.			Lack financial resources	Central Govt. policies interfere with our budget.
Kamuli				
Agric.				Lack farm inputs. Poor marketing of cash crops.
Vet.				None.
CD		Allowances not paid.	Lack funds.	Lack materials.
Coops		Unable to pay claims		Need Landrover. Lack of houses; also need repairs. Motorcycles are not enough.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in payment of allowances	Lack of program funds	Other notes
Kamuli (continued)				
Forest			Lack of funds	Lack of education for masses. Encroachment on forests. Illegal felling of mvule.
Fisheries			Lack of funds	Lack staff and vehicles. Lack accommodation. Bad roads.
Rehab.				No transport. Magistrates no longer understand probation.
Admin.	Unpaid in 4 months			Lack transport, building materials.
Kumi				
Agri.				Poor productivity of soil. Inadequacy of implements and tools. Same cotton strain for 20 years. Lack plant varieties.
Vet.				Illegal livestock movement. Lack of acaricides. Lack of AI. Lack of land for dairy farming, and reluctance of people to fence land. Traditional attitudes to cattle. Price of milk discouraging.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in payment of allow-ances	Lack of program funds	Other notes
Kumi (continued)				
CD				No transport. Not enough materials.
Forestry			Lack of funds.	Lack education for people about trees. Lack seedlings. Lack transport.
Fisheries			Lack funds. Lack control over finance.	Lack transport. Institutional collapse i.e., roads. People unprepared for voluntary work. Few qualified staff.
Masaka				
Agric.	-	-	Missing	-
Vet.				Lack transport. Lack farm inputs. Lack capital. High costs.
CD			Lack finance.	Lack transport.
Marketing				Duplication of licensing. Market surveys hampered by need for introduction.
Coops	Too small	No travel allowances		Lack incentives for staff.
Forestry		Lack allow-ances. Just recovered 1981 claims.	Lack funds.	Lack transport.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in Payment of Allowances	Lack of Program Funds	Other Notes
Masaka (continued)				
Fisheries				Lack fishing inputs, nets engines, etc. Lack staff training. Lack research.
Admin.				Lack of coordination between political and administrative. Apathy of the people.
Soroti				
Agric		Missing		
Vet		Missing		
CD			Lack of funds	Lack of materials. Lack transport.
Coops			Lack of finance	Weather for cotton. Poor capital formation. Incompetent management. Lack of storage. Lack of transport. Lack office equipment.
Forestry		Allowances not paid	Limited funds.	Too much bush burning. No fire fighting equipment. Lack forest reserve targets. Poor soil management for all District. Cattle raiding. Political pressure to degazette forest reserves.

PROBLEMS EXPRESSED BY DISTRICT-LEVEL OFFICIALS
(continued)

District/ Ministry	Delay in Salary Payments	Delay in payment of allowances	Lack of program funds	Other notes
Soroti (continued)				
Fisheries				Lack transport. Lack staff. Lack fishing inputs. Lack housing for staff.
Admin.			Lack of money. Flaws in revenue collection, also.	Lack of morale of the people. Lack of leadership among personnel.

APPENDIX VIII

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

STRUCTURE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

There are 27 Government Ministries in Uganda including the President's Office. Each Ministry has administrative staff and a professional staff appropriate to its responsibilities. Each Ministry has a Minister, and in some cases a Deputy Minister or Minister of State.

The chief administrative officer of each Ministry is the Permanent Secretary, and the chief Permanent Secretary is for the President's Office. Professional Departments of a Ministry may be headed by a Commissioner, or by an officer of similar rank, but of different designation, such as the Chief Medical Officer, or by an officer of lower rank and title. This occurs when the particular section of a Ministry, although reporting directly to the Permanent Secretary, is not accorded the status or importance of a Department.

Some Ministries have very large staff establishments and others are very small. The largest are the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, responsible for the security apparatus. Of the Ministries dealing with civil affairs, the three with the greatest numbers of staff are Education, Health and Agriculture and Forestry, followed by Livestock Resources and Fisheries.

The authority structure of each Ministry closely resembles those of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries, shown in the attached organizational charts. At the Regional and District levels, the professional sections of Departments are represented individually. Not all Departments post officers at the Regional level. Thus the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has Regional Agriculture Officers but not Regional Forestry Officers. There are District Agricultural and District Forestry Officers. In the same way, the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries has no Regional Veterinary Officers, nor any for Tsetse Control or Fisheries. These three have officers in charge of Districts. There are, however, Regional Cooperative Officers as well as District Cooperative Officers. The Ministry of Culture and Community Development does not have regional staff.

UGANDA GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND SENIOR STAFF

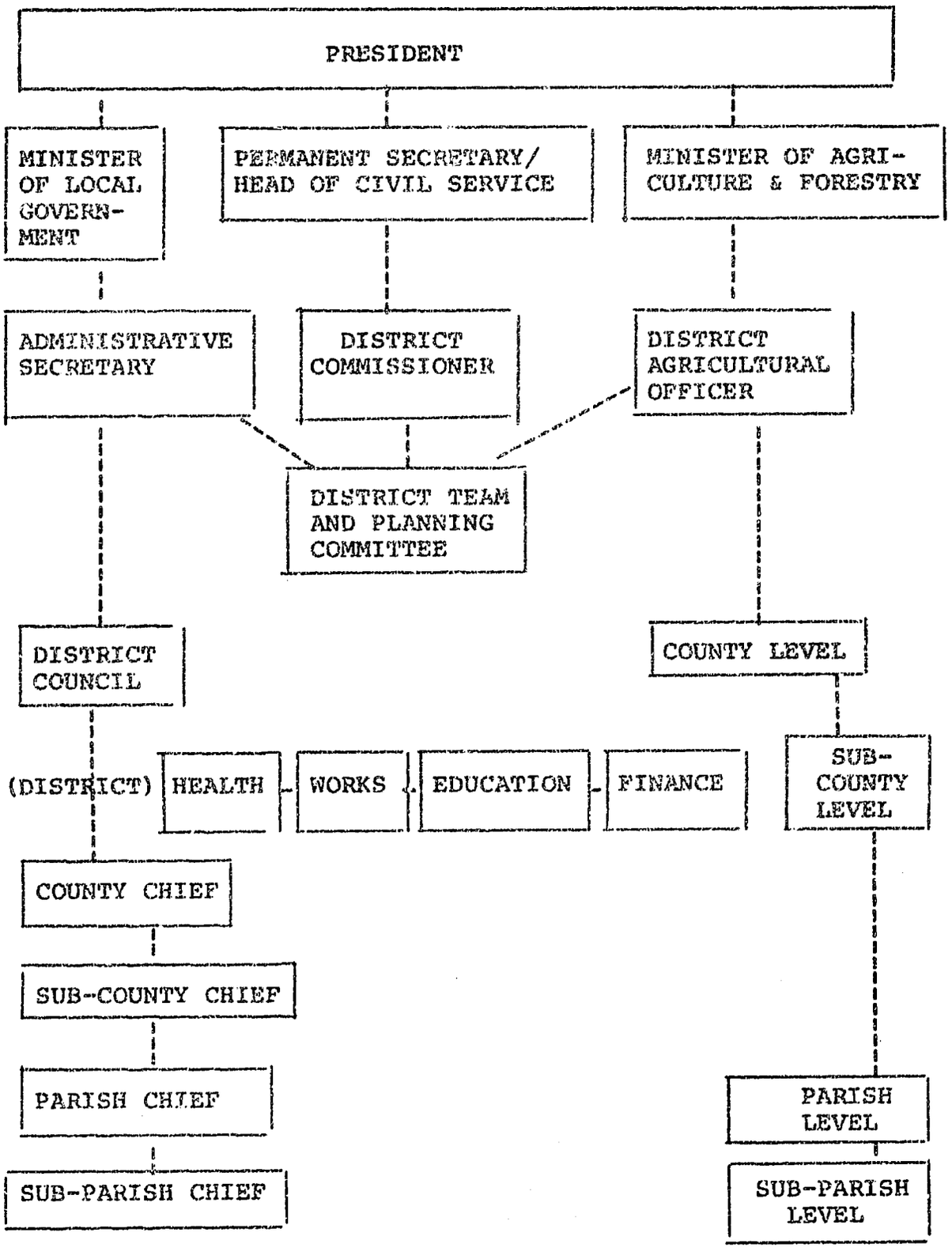
President's Office:	President, Principal Private Secretary Minister of State Minister of State for Supplies Minister of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs Minister without Portfolio Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Permanent Secretary, President's Office Permanent Secretary Ministry of Supplies Government Printer
Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry	Minister Minister of State Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (to FAO of UN) Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Agriculture Chief Forest Officer
Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Veterinary Dept. Commissioner for Fisheries Commissioner for Tsetse Control
Ministry of Commerce	Minister Permanent Secretary External Trade Permanent Secretary Internal Trade
Ministry of Cooperatives and Marketing	Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Cooperatives Commissioner for Marketing Director Smallholders Tobacco Project
Ministry of Culture and Community Development	Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Community Development Principal Culture Officer Principal Youth Officer Conservator of Antiquities
Ministry of Defense	Vice President and Minister Minister of State Secretary for Defense

Ministry of Education	Minister Minister of State Permanent Secretary Chief Education Officer Chairman Teachers Service Commission Chief Inspector of Schools Secretary General Uganda National Commission for UNESCO
Ministry of Finance	President and Minister Deputy Minister Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Financial Secretary to the Treasury Commissioner for Budget Commissioner for Taxation Commissioner for Economic Affairs Commissioner for Aid Coordination Commissioner to the Treasury Commissioner for Inland Revenue Commissioner for Income Tax Commissioner for Customs and Excise Commissioner for Management Services Manager Data Processing
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	President and Minister Minister of State Permanent Secretary Director Chief of Protocol and Marshal of Diplomatic Corps Personal Assistant to the Minister Director International Organizations Director Administration and Finance Director Africa and Middle East Director Eastern Europe, Asia and Pacific Director Treaties and Legal Director Western Europe Director Consular and Information Director Americas and Caribbean Director Protocol
Ministry of Health	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Chief Medical Officer
Ministry of Housing and Urban Development	Minister Deputy Minister Secretary for Housing

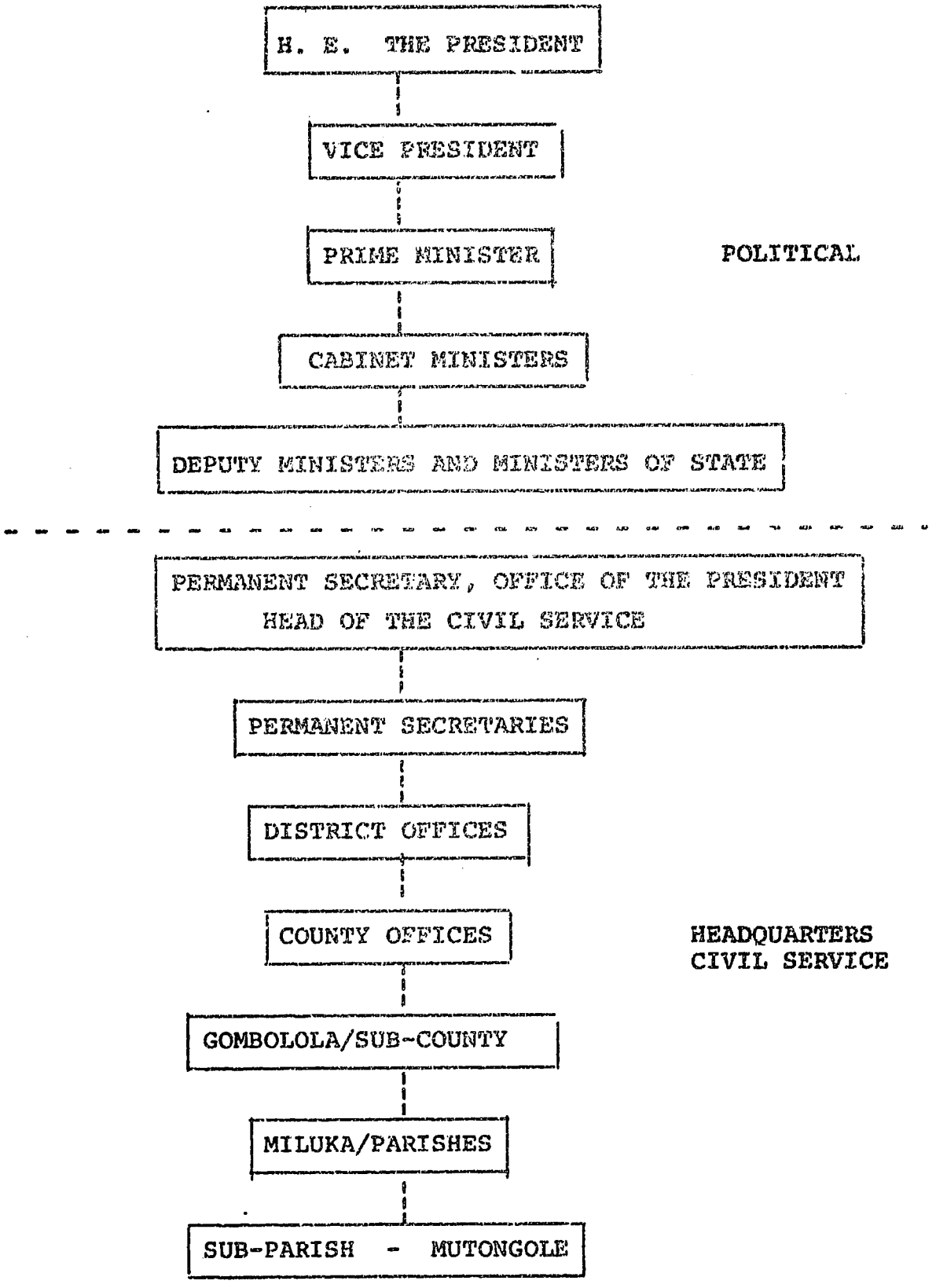
Ministry of Industry	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Industry
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Director of Information Director of Broadcasting Director of Planning and Training Controller of Engineering
Ministry of Internal Affairs	Minister Minister of State Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Police Commissioner for Prisons Principal Immigration Officer Chief Fire Officer Chief Government Chemist
Ministry of Justice and Attorney Generals Office	Minister and Attorney General Solicitor General Director of Civil Affairs Director of Public Prosecutions Administrator General Under Secretary
Ministry of Labour	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Labour Chief Factories Inspector
Ministry of Lands, Minerals and Water Resources	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Lands and Surveys Commissioner for Geological Surveys and Mines Commissioner for Water Development
Ministry of Local Government	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Planning and Economic Development	Minister Permanent Secretary Chief Development Economist Chief Planning Economist

Ministry of Power, Posts and Telecommunications	Minister Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs	Minister (see also President's Office) Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Establishments Commissioner for Training Chairman Public Service Commission
Ministry of Regional Cooperation	Minister Permanent Secretary Chief Construction Engineer
Ministry of Rehabilitation	Minister Permanent Secretary Commissioner for Rehabilitation
Ministry of Supplies	(see President's Office)
Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife	Minister Permanent Secretary Chief Game Warden
Ministry of Transport	Minister Deputy Minister Permanent Secretary Director of Civil Aviation Director of Meterology
Ministry of Works	Minister Permanent Secretary Engineer in Chief
High Court of Uganda	Chief Justice Puisne Judges
National Assembly	Clerk to

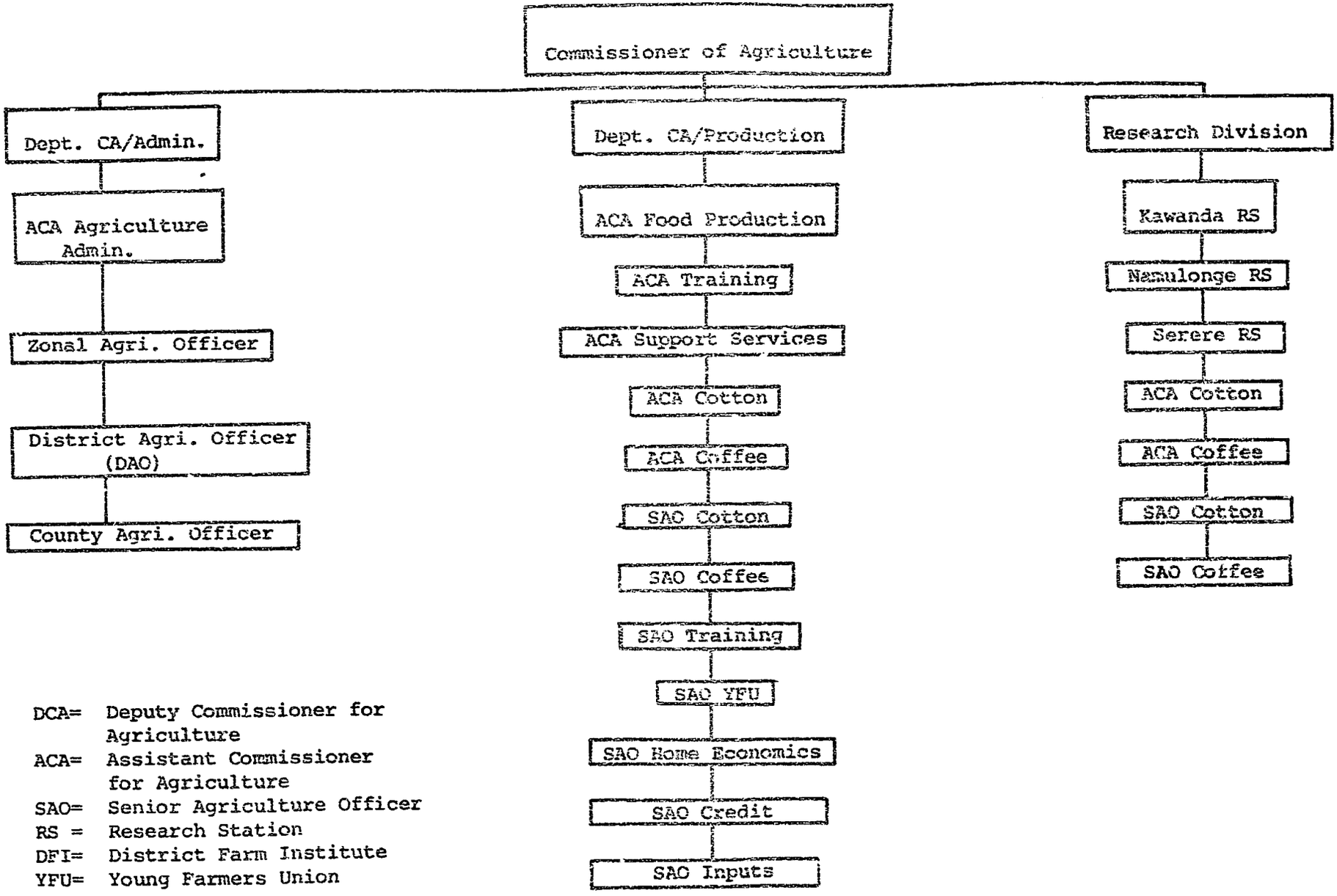
Note: Ministers of State are Cabinet Ministers and thus are senior to Deputy Ministers who are not.


PRESIDENT
MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERN-MENT
PERMANENT SECRETARY/ HEAD OF CIVIL SERVICE
MINISTER OF AGRI-CULTURE & FORESTRY
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL OFFICER
DISTRICT TEAM AND PLANNING COMMITTEE
DISTRICT COUNCIL
COUNTY LEVEL
(DISTRICT)
HEALTH
WORKS
EDUCATION
FINANCE
SUB-COUNTY LEVEL
COUNTY CHIEF
SUB-COUNTY CHIEF
PARISH CHIEF
PARISH LEVEL
SUB-PARISH CHIEF
SUB-PARISH LEVEL

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT - LINE MINISTRIES

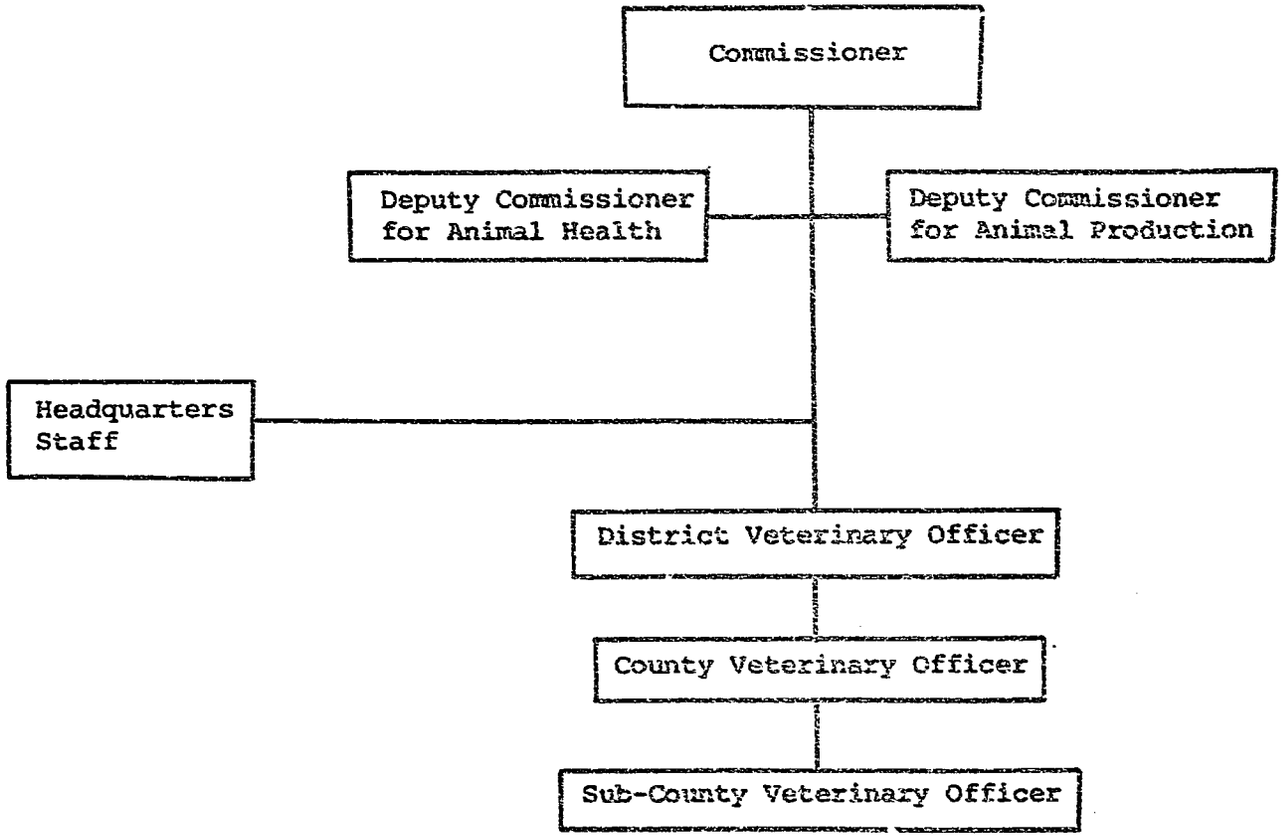


DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE



DCA= Deputy Commissioner for Agriculture
ACA= Assistant Commissioner for Agriculture
SAO= Senior Agriculture Officer
RS = Research Station
DFI= District Farm Institute
YFU= Young Farmers Union

VETERINARY DEPARTMENT

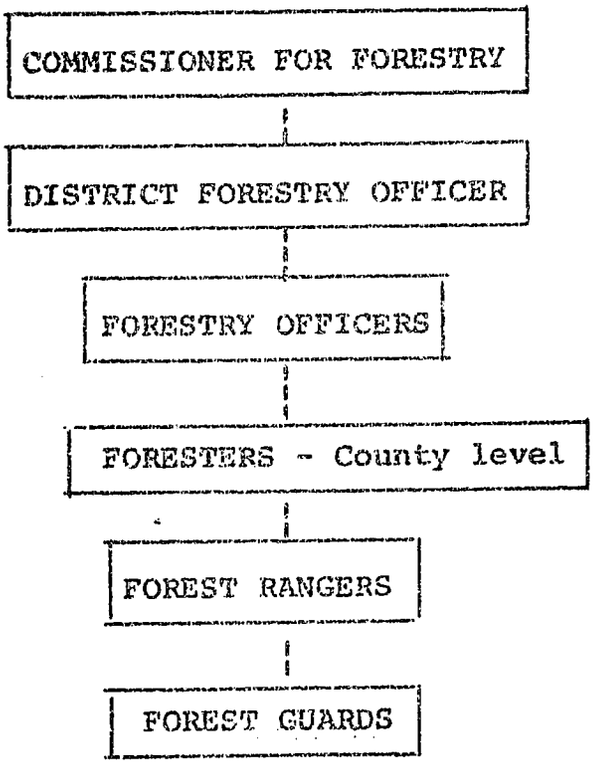


DVO= District Veterinary Officer

County Officer= Senior Veterinary Officer, Senior Animal Husbandry Officer, or Animal Husbandry Officer

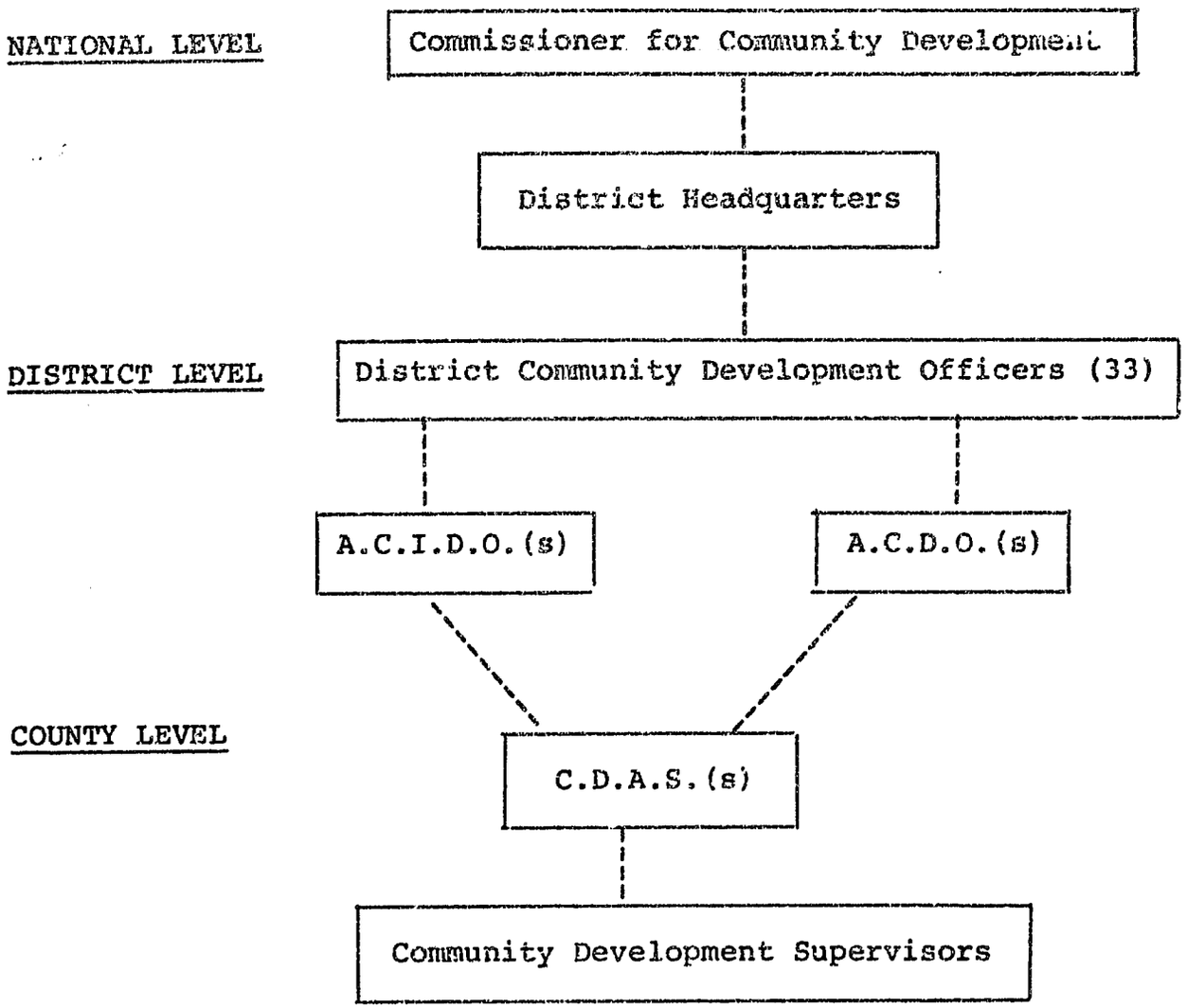
Sub-County Officer= Veterinary Scouts Veterinary Assistants or Animal Husbandry Assistants

DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY - ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

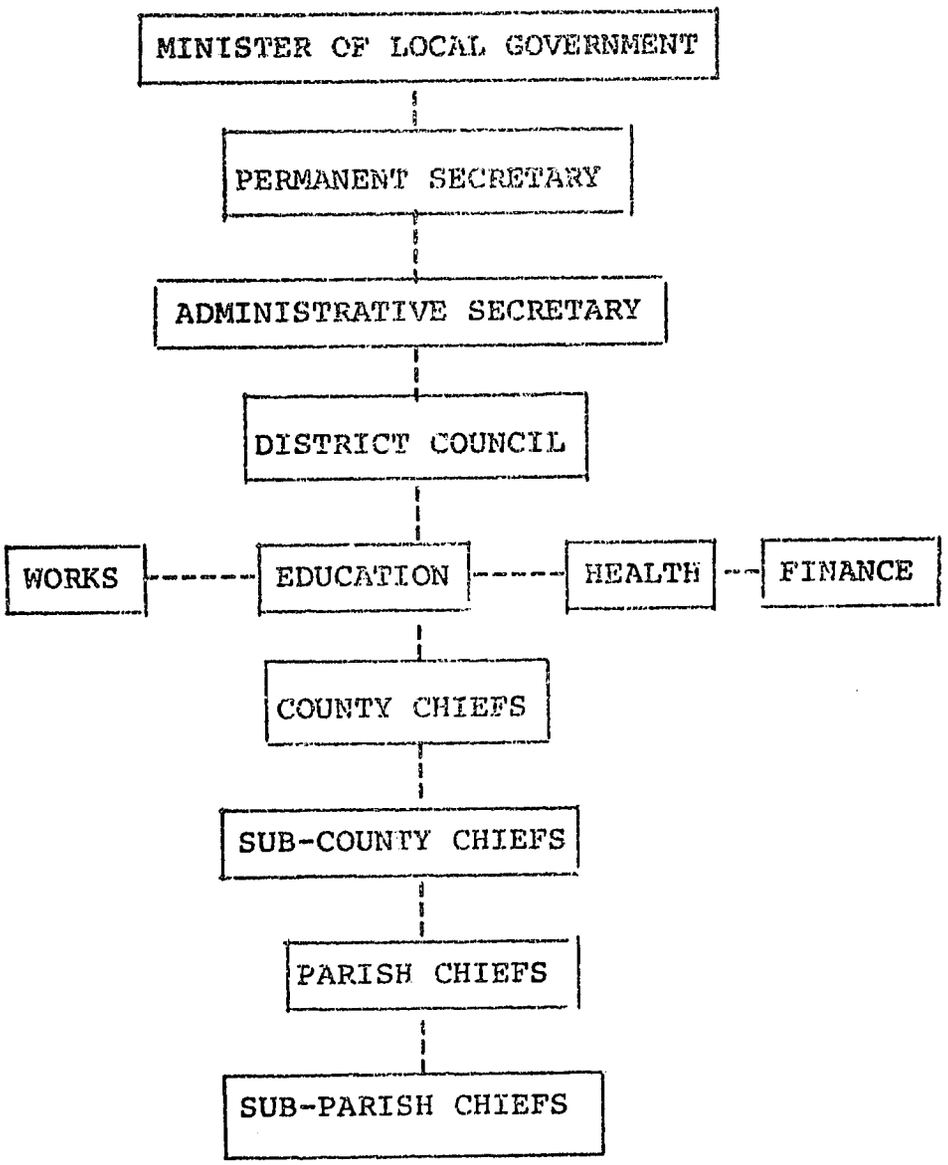


DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

The Department of Community Development is part of the Ministry of Culture and Community Development. It has an office in each District, where it is represented by a District Community Development Officer (DCDO), and has representation down to the grassroots level. Its structure parallels that of other Ministries, as follows:



LOCAL GOVERNMENT - ORGANIZATION CHART



APPENDIX IX

TOTAL ESTABLISHED STAFF OF GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AT DISTRICT LEVELS, EXCLUDING CLERICAL STAFF (NON-ESTABLISHED STAFF NOTED IN BRACKETS)

Dept.	IGANGA	JINJA	KABALE	KAMULI	KUMI	MASAKA	SOROTI
AGRIC	63 (30)	20 (9) plus 1 for @ parish	Incomplete	45 & project officers	90	Sched. missing	Missing
Vet	20(30)	Incomplete	30 (?)	21 (53)	Same as Soroti	No info	No info
CD	29(39)	9	37	No info	16	10	Incomplete
COOPS	35(32)	No interview	Incomplete	29	No interview	No info	61
COMMERCE	4	5	2	No interview	"	No intervw.	No info
FOREST	-	-	34(2)	26(28)	11(3)	No inf	21(12)
FISHERIES	-	-	-	8	7 (1 mentally disturbed)	"	42
MARKETING	-	2	No intervw	No intervw	No intervw	1	No intervw
REHAB	-	5	No intervw	2	No intervw	No intervw	No intervw
LOCAL* GOVT	-	114	2500 employees	408	No info	Incomplete	No info

Incomplete = No numerical data

No info = Officer interviewed but not questioned re number of staff

No interview = Officer not interviewed

* Figures for Jinja and Kamuli include Administrative Secretary and all Chiefs. Figure for Kabale includes all Local Government personnel, including drivers, clerical staff, night-watchmen, etc.

APPENDIX X

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Baraza	A gathering of people to meet and listen to an official speaker.
Debe	A 20 litre kerosene tin, used as a measure.
Exchange rate	At the time of the SIP study, the Uganda Shilling ranged from 280/ to the dollar to 320/ to the dollar, at the Window II rate.
Shilling	Variously expressed as Shs 100, for example, or Shs 100/, or Shs 100/-, or 100/-
CBPP	Contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia.
CBD	Disease which affects coffee, i.e., coffee berry disease.
Gazetted	Usually in relation to land; declared legally; given recognition and legal status.
Gombolola	Section of a District, a Sub-County, larger than a Parish.
Miluka	Parish.
Mutongole	Sub-Parish.
Mailo	Refers generally to "mailo land", meaning roughly one square mile. Local parlance for a tract of this size, given in perpetuity to chiefs and others; about one square mile.
Panga	Machete-like implement.
Magendo	Long-standing illicit or black market economy.
Matatu	Pick-up truck with built-up body for transport of passengers and goods.
Sim-sim	Sesame
Established Personnel	Civil Servants
Non-Established Personnel	Not tenured, not officially members of civil service; often used to denote consultants, other non-permanent personnel.

APPENDIX XI - ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A. DISTRICT TEAM AND PLANNING COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO MET WITH SIP TEAM

BUSOGA

Jinja District

Mr. E.K. Bafaki, Asst. District Commissioner, President's Office
Mr. Boniface M. Teboola, Min. of Cooperatives
Mr. Anthony Adome, Ministry of Cooperatives
Mr. S.J. Ibanda, Acting District Agricultural Officer, Min. of Ag & Forestry

Iganga District

Mr. Charles G. Tugeineyo, Asst. District Commissioner, President's Office
Mr. Peter B.K. Byaruhanga, Asst. District Commissioner
Mr. Martin W. Zirabamuzale, Treasurer, Ministry of Local Government
Dr. Dawson B. Mbulamberi, District Medical Officer, Ministry of Health
Mr. G.W.M. Isabirye, Community Development Officer, Ministry of Culture and CD
Mr. G.W. Musembya, Businessman
Mr. E. Matende, Ministry of Agriculture
Mr. Y.J.B. Namayo, District Health Inspector, Ministry of Health
Mr. Muchere Nanima, Acting Trade Development Officer, Ministry of Commerce
Mr. V. Kiguwa-Wakooli, Ministry of Cooperatives
Mr. S. Nsubuga-Nabweteba, Manager, Uganda Commercial Bank (Iganga)

Kamuli District

Mr. Christopher T. Kafura, Asst. District Commissioner, President's Office
Mr. S.W. Igaga, Administrative Secretary, Ministry of Local Government
Dr. J.P. Saamanya, Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries, Veterinary Dept.
Mr. J.O.B. Emuto, Ministry of Agriculture & Forestry, Forestry Department
Mr. Adullam M. Kirya, District Agricultural Officer, Ministry of Ag & Forestry
Mr. S.P. Zirayo, District Cooperatives Officer, Ministry of Cooperatives & Marketing
Mr. Charles Balaza, District Commissioner's Office
Dr. Munaaba, District Medical Officer, Ministry of Health
Mr. Kadambi Akim, Min. of Culture and CD
Miss Harriet Namwebya, District Information Officer, Min. of Information & Broadcasting
Mr. Mathias Namunungu, District Fisheries Officer, Min. of Animal Resources & Fisheries

TESO

Kumi District	Mr. Balamu Bakwasa-Amooti, Asst. District Commissioner, President's Officer Mr. Athanasus Etiang Onginany, Admin. Secretary, Ministry of Local Government Dr. G.E. Apuro-Okol, District Veterinary Officer, Min. of Animal Resources & Fisheries Mr. Billy James Kisambira, District Fisheries Officer, Min. Animal Industries & Fisheries Mr. George Omute-Eitasi, Manager, Uganda Commercial Bank, Kumi. Mrs. Felicity M. Adongo, Community Development Officer, Ministry of Culture and CD Mr. Ogwang O. John Kockas, Acting District Ag. Officer, Min. of Ag and Forestry Mr. Joseph B.E. Ochai, District Education Officer, Ministry of Education
Soroti District	No meeting

KIGEZI

Kabale District	No meeting

MASAKA

Masaka District	Mrs. L.M. Tamale, Assistant District Commissioner, President's Office Mr. Ponny K. Kityamuweesi, Asst. District Comm. Miss Tabisa D. Mawano, District Culture Officer, Min. of Culture & CD Mr. Kagimu-Bikanda, District Labor Officer, Ministry of Labor Mr. Edward Semijja Kalyango, District Information Officer, Min. of Information and Broadcasting Mr. G.A. Okettor, District Special Branch Officer, Min. of Internal Affairs Mr. Mulindwa Yosamu Ms. Florence Sekabaye, Agricultural Officer, Min. of Agriculture & Forestry Mr. Edward Mugume, Asst. District Commissioner Mr. Gerald Kivu Mbaziira, Admin. Secretary, Ministry of Local Government Mr. C.O. Mungao, Officer in Charge of Prisons, Ministry of Internal Affairs Mr. Martin Nyaika, Probation Officer, Ministry of Rehabilitation Mr. R. Kawuki, Asst. District Police Commander, Ministry of Internal Affairs Mr. H.B.K. Bitakaramire, District Education Officer, Ministry of Education Mr. G.W. Blick, Officer in Charge, Ministry of Works

Masaka District (continued)	Mr. E.S. Bbaale, Town Clerk Mr. J.C. Tabelamule, Works Supervisor, Ministry of Works Dr. Kizito, District Medical Officer, Ministry of Health

B. LIST OF ENUMERATORS

BUSOGA

Wilber Mukisa	B.M. Naigere
Miriam Ibanda	Nkomo Ndurugendawa
Sam Kirya	Stephen Muganza
Sam B. Kitimbo	Mrs. A.M. Kagoda
James Bagyawa	John H. Mukambo

KIGEZI

Zachary Bigirimana	Sebikari Bigirimana
Joseph Tworekirwe	George Bahemurwabusha
Wycliffe Saturday	David Tumuslime
Justus Rurihoona	Richard Beyendera
Dallington Kakoote	

MASAKA

Joseph Muwonge, Dep. Headmaster, St. Henry's Kitovu
Fred Bamutalira, Dep. Headmaster, St. Henry's
Herman Kibirige, Headmaster, St. Johns Senior Secondary, Kabuoko
Richard Ssenyonga
Thereza Nakonde
R. Steven Bogere
John Baptist Ssamula
Vincent Kalibala
J.B. Mujjumba
P. Kimbowa, Headmaster, Mikoni Senior Secondary
S.K. Seruwagi, key informant interviews and translation of questionnaire

TESO

J.Y. Osomon	Mrs. F. Omongole
J.S.L. Angura	F.S. Okulo-Okwany
C. Eeru	G. Opit
F. Opolot	P.A. Okubo

C.S.E. Ebitu
Silas Oluka, Vice Principal, Bishop Kitching College
S. Okelo, Kamodo Primary School
Silvester Otim, Kadoki village
Emmanuel Okorio, key informant interviews and questionnaire translation

APPENDIX XII

UGANDA SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE

FARM LEVEL INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer's name . . . . . .

Name of Informant . . . . . .

1. Are you the Head of this Household
   Wife of Head of Household

2. Interviewer to note sex of Informant: Male. . .Female. . .

3. Are you (or Head of Household if not Informant:
   Single. . .Married. . .Widowed. . .Divorced. . .
   Married and Widowed. . .Married and Divorced. . .
   Married Widowed and Divorced. . . .

4. How old are you (or Head of Household if not Informant)
   No response/don't know. . .Under 20. . .21-30. . .
   31-40. . .41-50. . .51-60. . .61-60. . .71+. . . .

5. Have you ever been to school? If you went to school what standard did you reach?
   Did not go to school. . .Primary but did not complete. . .Finished Primary but did not go to Secondary. . .Junior Technical. . .
   Secondary but did not complete S IV. . .
   Completed S IV. . .Completed S VI. . .Senior Technical or TTC. . .University. . .Other (specify)

6. (If Informant not Head of Household) Has the Head of Household ever been to school? If he went to school what standard did he reach?
   Same questions sets as No. 5

7. How many people including children live with you here? (Write acutal number) . . . .

8. How many are: Under 5 years. . .6-15 years. . .16-20. . .
   21-40. . .41-60. . .

9. Of the adult members of your household, how many have been to school?
   Primary only. . .Secondary. . .Senior Technical. .
   TTC or University. . .

10. Of the children, how many are now in school?
    In Primary. . .Secondary. . .Senior Technical. . .
    TTC or University. . .

11. How are the people in your Household related to you? (to Head of Household if Informant is wife)

Wives. . .Adult sons. . .Children. . .Wives of sons. . .Grandchildren. . .Brothers. . . Brothers' wives. . .Brothers' children. . . Mother. . .Father. . .Other (specify). . .

12. Where were you born? (If not Head of Household, where was Head of Household born?)

No response/don't know. . .In this village. . Different village, same Gombolola. . . Different County, same District. . .Different District, same Region. . .Elsewhere (specify)

13. (If not born here) How many years have you (HH) lived here?

No response/don't know. . .Born here. . . 5 years and less. . .6 years to 10. . .11 to 20 years. . .21 to 40 years. . .More than 40 years. . .

14. Has any member of this Household left to go to farm outside this village in the past ten years? (Write actual number). . .

15. If yes, Where did they go to?
(Tick number of persons in each actual category below)

a. Different Village, same County

No response/don't know
None
One person
Two people
Three people
Four people
Five people
Six people
Seven people
Eight people or more

b. Different County, same District

No response/don't know
None
One person
Two people
Three people
Four people
Five people
Six people
Seven people
Eight or more

c. Elsewhere (specify). . . . . .

Same question sets, No response/don't know and none through eight or more.

16. How were they related to you?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .Son(s). . .
Son(s) and Brother(s). . .Other (specify). . .

17. How did you get the land you are living on and cultivating here? (If in more than one way tick seven and see Q. 18)

No response/don't know. . .Inheritance. . .
Purchase. . .Rent. . .Borrow. . .New Settler. . .
Lease. . .More than one way. . .Other (specify)

18. (If acquired in more than one way) In what several ways did you get this land?

No response/don't know. . .Obtained in one way only. . .Inheritance/Purchase. . .
Inheritance/Borrow or Rent. . .Purchase/Borrow or Rent. . . Other (specify). . .

19. Do you have a registered Title?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes all. . .
Yes some. . .

20. (If any is rented or borrowed) From whom did you Rent or Borrow it?

No response/don't know. . .Not rented or borrowed. . .Full brother. . .Clan brother. . .
Wife's brother. . .Unrelated person. . .
Other (specify). . . .

21. Do you own or cultivate any land elsewhere? (If yes) How many pieces?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .One other piece. . .Two. . .Three. . .Four. . .Five. . .
Six. . .Seven. . .Eight or more. . .

22. How did you get these other pieces?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .
Inheritance. . .Purchase. . .Rent or borrow. . .
Inheritance/Purchase. . .Inheritance/Rent or Borrow. . .Purchase/Rent or Borrow. . .Lease. . .
Other (specify). . . . . .

23. Do you cultivate all your land?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes. . .

24. Are you renting or lending any of your land to other people?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes 1 plot. . .
Yes 2 plots. . .Yes 3 plots. . .Yes 4 plots. . .
Yes 5 plots. . .Yes 6 plots. . .Yes 7 plots. . .
Yes 8 plots or more. . .

25. How many acres do you think you have here?

No response/don't know. . .Less than 2 acres. . . 2.1 to 4. . .4.1 to 6. . .6.1 to 10. . . 10.1 to 15. . .15.1 to 25. . .25.1 to 50. . . 50.1 acres and more. . . . .

26. How many acres do you think you have altogether?

No response/don't know. . .Less than 5. . . 5.1 to 10. . .10.1 to 15. . .15.1 to 20. . . 20.1 to 25. . .25.1 to 50. . .50.1 to 75. . . 75.1 to 100. . .100.1 and more. . . .

27. (If more than one adult male in Household) Does this land belong to the whole Household or does each man have his own land?

No response/don't know. . .Only one man. . . Land is for whole Household. . . Each man has own land. . .

28. (If other members of Household have own land) About how many acres do the others have altogether?

No response/don't know. . .Only one man. . . Land is for whole Household. . .Less than 5 acres. . .5.1 to 10 acres. . .10.1 to 20 acres. . .20.1 to 50 acres. . .50.1 to 100 acres. . .100.1 acres and more. . .

29. (If more than one adult male in Household) Do all the men in the Household cultivate land together or does each cultivate his own land?

No response/don't know. . .Head of Household only adult male. . .Cultivate together. . . Each has own land. . .Other arrangement (specify)

30. (If each man cultivates independently) Does each man keep his harvest for himself or do you use the harvest jointly?

No response/don't know. . .HH only adult male. . . All men cultivate together. . .Keep harvest individually. . .Use harvest jointly. . .

31. (If other men in Household cultivate together) Do you divide the harvests among you or use them jointly?

No response/don't know. . .HH only adult male. . . Each man cultivates independently. . .Divide the harvest. . .Use them jointly. . .

32. (If more than 1 wife of the HH) Do all the wives cultivate together, or does each cultivate separately, or both depending on the crops or fields?

No response/don't know. . .No wife(s). . .Only one wife. . .Cultivate separately. . .Cultivate together. . .Both. . .Other (specify). .

33. Do the wife(s) of the Household sell any of the harvests independently to get money for themselves?

No response/don't know. . .No wife(s). . .
Yes. . .No. . .

34. Do you have any permanent crops on any of your land? (If yes) how many acres of each now?

Acreage	Coffee	Bananas	Tea
No response			
None			
Less than 1			
1.1 to 2			
2.1 to 4			
4.1 to 6			
6.1 to 8			
8.1 to 10			
10.1 to 20			
20.1 and over			

35. What crops did you plant last year? About how many acres of each did you plant? (In case of crops planted more than once in the year put the total both or more plantings and indicate with an "x" next to the tick. In case of interplanting indicate with a "y" next to tick).

Acres	Millet	Sorghum	Beans	Groundnuts	SP Potato	IP Potato	Cassava	Cotton	Maize	O* Other	
No response/ don't know											. . . . .
None											. . . . .
Less than 1											. . . . .
1.1 to 2											. . . . .
2.1 to 3											. . . . .
3.1 to 4											. . . . .
4.1 to 6											. . . . .
6.1 to 8											. . . . .
8.1 to 10											. . . . .
10.1 and more											. . . . .

*List the crops included under "other" in the next column; these can include Rice, Simsim, Soya, Cow peas, Pigeon peas. Acreage for all others should be given as one total

36. Did you plant any of the following fruits or vegetables last year? (If yes) Did you grow them mainly to eat, mainly to sell, or for both reasons equally?

	NR/DK	None	Mainly eat	Mainly sell	Both
Tomatoes					
Onions					
Cabbages					
Field peas					
Egg plant/endagi					
Pineapple					
Other (specify)					

37. Do you have any fruit trees now? (If yes) How many of each kind do you have?

# of trees	Cit	Mngo	Avoc	Cashew	Pawpaw	Other
No Res/DK						
None						
Less than 5						
6-10						
11-20						
21-30						
31-50						
51-100						
101 +						

(Ask Informant if he has any livestock but do not write the answer. If answer is Yes, then ask...)

38. Do you have any land as permanent pasture? (If yes) How many acres?

No response/don't know. . .No livestock. . .
None. . .Less than 2 acres. . .2.1 to 5. . .
5.1 to 10. . .10.1 to 20. . .20.1 to 50. . .
50.1 and more. . . .

39. (If Informant has livestock but no permanent pasture ask) Where are you herding your livestock now?

No response/don't know. . .No livestock. . .
Has permanent pasture. . .Own temporary
fallow. . .Relative's land. . .Neighbor's
land. . .Communal grazing. . .Public land. . .
Other (specify). . . . . .

40. (If has livestock and permanent pasture) Do you also herd your livestock on other land than your own?

No response/don't know. . .No livestock. . .
Has no permanent pasture. . .Only on own land. . .
Also elsewhere. . .

41. What tools do you have to cultivate with now? (Tick those owned) (Tick code No. for number of different items owned)

Items: Hoe, Panga, Axe, Slasher, Spade, Wheelbarrow, Rake, Plough, Karai, Seeder (hand or ox), Spray pump, Oxcart.

Codes: No response/don't know. . .None. . .
1 or 2 items. . .3 or 4 items. . .5 or 6 items. .
7 or 8 items. . .9 or 10 items. . .

42. Where did you buy/obtain and of the following items?

	Hoe	Panga	Spray pump
NR/DK			
None			
Market Auction			
Shop			
Coop			
Admin			
Church			
Constituency			
Town			
Other			

43. Who helps you to cultivate your land in addition to your wife(s) and children?(Do not include hired labor)

No response/don't know
Only wife(s) and children
Other adult Household members
Kibina
Traditional group
Other (specify)

44. Are there some tasks for which you always use the same group? (If yes) What type of work is always done by which group?

	NR/DK	No	Yes all Household	Yes Kibina	Yes Trad. Group	Other Specify
Clearing						
Digging						
Planting						
Weeding						
Harvesting						

45. Do you only cultivate or do you do any other work? What other work do you do?

No response/don't know. . .Only cultivate. . .Farm labor. . .Trading. . .Manufacturing. . .Processing. . . Brewing. . .Local employment. . .Town employment. . . Other (specify). . . . . .

46. (If does other work ask the following questions as appropriate and tick the answers in the table)

(Labor) Who do you work for?

(Trading) What do you trade in?

(Manufacture) What do you make?

(Processing) What do you process?

(Local employment) What job do you have?

(Town employment) What job do you have?

- -

Labor	NR/DK	No	Local Farmer	Plantation	Govt.	Other (Specify)	
Trade	NR/DK	No	Buying Local Produce	Local Duuka	Licensed Buyer	Other (Specify)	
Manu-facture	NR/DK	No	Carpen-try	Pots	Brooms	Ropes	Baskets	Other (Specify)
Proc-essing	NR/DK	No	Maize Mill	Dry Fish	Jaggery	Other (Specify)	
Local Employ.	NR/DK	No	Government	Company	Church	Other (Specify)	
Town Employ.	NR/DK	No	Manual	Technical	Clerical	Manage-rial	Other

47. Who usually does the following tasks in your Household?

	NR/DK None	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children Under 10	Boys 10+	Girls 10+	All Child-ren	Women & Children
Collect Water								Other (Specify)
Collect Firewood								
Cook								
Wash Clothes								
Care Small children								
Clean house/compound								

48. Do any other members of your Household do other than cultivating at present?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes one person. . . Yes two people. . .Yes three. . .Yes four. . .Yes five. . . Yes six. . .Yes seven. . .Yes eight or more. . .

49. (If yes) What work do they do? (If more than 6 write details in space next to last column. Each column is one person)

No response/don't know

None

Farm labor

Trading

Manufacturing

Processing

Local wage employment

Town wage employment

Other (specify)

50. Are you hiring any laborers at present on a monthly basis? (If yes) How many?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .One. . .Two. . . Three. . .Four. . .Five. . .Six. . .Seven. . .Eight or more. . .

51. Are you hiring any laborers at present on a monthly basis? (If yes) For what work?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .Cultivating crops. . . Herding cattle. . .Both herding and cultivating. . . Other (specify). . . .

52. Do you employ casual laborers sometimes? (If yes) How many did you employ the last time you did so?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .One. . .Two. . . Three. . .Four. . .Five. . .Six. . .Seven. . .Eight and more. . .

53. (If yes) When was the last time?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .Employing now. . . Last week. . .In the last month. . .In the last three months. . .In the last six months. . .In the last year. . . Longer ago than that. . . .

54. What work did you hire this labor to do?

No response/don't know. . .Don't hire anyone. . .
Clearing. . .Digging. . .Weeding. . .Harvesting. . .
Clearing and digging. . .Digging and weeding. . .
Digging, weeding and harvesting. . .All tasks. . .

55. What crops did you hire this labor to cultivate?

No response/don't know. . .Don't hire anyone. . .
All crops. . .Coffee. . .Bananas and/or potatoes. . .
Maize, beans or groundnuts. . .Millet and/or
Sorghum. . .Other (specify). . .

55A Do you ever use a tractor? (If yes) When was the last time you used one?

No response/don't know. . .Never use. . .This year. . .
Last year. . .The year before last. . .Before that
(1981 and earlier). . . .

56. Do you ever use oxen for cultivation? (If yes) When was the last time you used them?

No response/don't know. . .Never use. . .This year. . .
Last year. . .The year before last. . .Before that
(1981 and earlier). . . .

57. (If uses tractor and/or oxen) Do you own your own tractor or do you hire them?

No response/don't know. . .Don't use either. . .
Own tractor. . .Own oxen. . .Own both. . .Hire
tractor. . .Hire oxen. . .Hire both. . .Own oxen/
hire tractor. . .Own tractor/hire oxen. . .

58. What crops did you sell from your farm last year and where did you sell them? (First tick each crop marketed then ask where and tick code numbers)

	NR/DK	None	At Farm	Market	Coop Office	Trad. Ctr.	Ginnery/ Factory	Other (Specify)
Coffee								
Cotton								
Tea								
Bananas								
S/Potatoes								
I/Potatoes								
Cassava								
Millet								
Sorghum								
Maize								
Beans								
G/nuts								
Other (specify)								

(Ask specifically about simsim, sugarcane, rice, soyabeans, cowpeas & leaves. If not marketed in same place, write under elsewhere).

59. (If sells any of the following crops) To whom were they sold?

	NR/DK	None	Small Trader	Big Trader	Coop	Duuka	Licensed Buyer	Other (Specify)
Coffee								
Bananas								
Irish Potatoes								
G/nuts								
Cassava								
Maize								

60. Do you own any Cows/Sheep/Goats/Pigs/Chickens or other animals? (If yes ask for each owned) How many do you have? (Tick first those owned)

	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Chickens	Other (specify)
NR/DK						
None						
Less than 5						
6-10						
11-20						
21-50						
51-100						
101-250						
251-500						
501 and more						

61. (If more than one adult male in the Household) Are these for the whole Household or does each man have his own animals?

No response/don't know. . .Only one adult male. . .
For whole household. . . Each man has own animals. . .

62. (If owns any animals) Have any of your animals been sold in the past year? (If yes) To whom did you sell them?

	NR/DK	Owns None	None	Neighbor	Local buyer	Buyer else-where	Other (specify)
Cattle							
Sheep							
Goats							
Pigs							
Chickens							

63. (If sold any animals) How many of each did you sell in the last 6 months?

	NR/DK	Owns None	None	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51+
Cattle										
Sheep										
Goats										
Pigs										

64. (If has cattle) Do you sell any milk? (If yes) How much did you sell yesterday?

No response/don't know. . .Has no cattle. . .None. . .
Yes but not yesterday. . .1 bottle or less. . .
2 to 3 bottles. . .4 to 6. . .7 to 10. . .11 bottles
and more. . .

65. (If sells milk)Where do you sell it?

No response/don't know. . .Has no cattle. . .Does
not sell. . .Neighbors. . .Local trader. . .Trader
from elsewhere. . .Dairy Corpn. . . Duuka. .Other. . .

68. (If has cattle) Is any milk consumed in the home? (If yes) How many bottles did you use yesterday?

No response/don't know. . .Has no cattle. . .None. . .
Yes but not yesterday. . .1 bottle or less. . .2 to 3
bottles. . .4 to 5 bottles. . .6 and more . . .

69. (If has chicken(s)) Do you sell any eggs? (If yes) About how many last month?

No response/don't know. . .Has no chickens. . .Doesn't
sell any. . .Sells less frequently than monthly. . .
1 or 2 only. . .3 to 10. . .11 to 20. . .21 to 50. . .
51 and more. . . .

70. (If has chickens) Are any of the eggs eaten in the home? (If yes) About how many last week?

No response/don't know. . . Has no chickens. . .
Doesn't eat any. . .Eats but not last week. . .
1 or 2. . .3 to 10. . .11 to 20. . .21 and more. . .

71. What do you consider to be your main source of income?

No response/don't know. . .
Sale cash crops (i.e., coffee, cotton, tea)
Sale of food crops
Sale of livestock and livestock products
Casual labor
Business
Gifts from relatives in town
Wage employment
Other (specify). . . .

72. How much of your income do you think you got from relatives elsewhere last year?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .Very little. . .
Less than half. . .About half. . .More than half. . .

73. How much do you think you spent for your Household on any of the following items in the past year?

	NR/DK	None	Under 2000/	2001/ to 5000/	5001/ to 10,000/	10,001/ to 20,000/	20,001/ to 50,000/	50,001/ to 100,000/	101,000/ to 250,000	250,000/ and more
Taxes										
Clothes										
School Expenses										
Farm Tools										
Domestic Utensils										
Medical Expenses										
House Repair/ Building										
Radio/Bike										
Other major expense (specify)										

73. How much do you remember spending last month on any of the following items?

Food	Categories:	NR/DK
Kerosene		None
Travel		Under 1000/
Medicine		1001/ to 2000/
Fertilizer/ Chemicals		2001/ to 5000/
		50001/ to 10,000/
Repairs to farm tools		10,001/ to 15,000/
		15,001/ to 20,000/
Beer or other beverage		20,001/ and more

74. Did you buy any of the following items last week?

	NR/DK	None	Yes
Sugar			
Tea leaves			
Cooking oil			
Salt			
Maize flour			
Beans			
Vegetables			
Milk			
Soap			

75. Are there usually times of the year when members of your Household do not have enough food?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes. . .

76. Was there a time last year when you did not have enough food for the Household? (If yes) When was that?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .January/ February. . .March/April. . .May/June. . . July/August. . .September/October. . .Other(specify)

77. (If yes to Q 76) What did you do to get food?

No response/don't know. . .Never without enough. . . Used own money to buy food. . .Borrowed money from relative. . .Borrowed money from neighbor. . . Get food from relative. . .Get food from neighbor. . .Borrowed money from moneylender. . .Sold livestock to buy food. . .Other (specify). . .

78. Have you ever borrowed money for any of the following purposes in the last 6 months? (If yes) From whom did you borrow?

	NR/DK	None	Rel. here	Rel.in town	Neigh-bor	Money lender	Bank	Coop	Other
Buy land									
Build house									
Culti-vating expenses									
Buy live-stock									
School expense									
Medical expense									

79. How do you decide what to plant each year?

No response/don't know

Discuss with friends/neighbors

See what has been getting a good price

Discuss with wife(s)

Get advice from Government leaders

Get advice from Church leaders

Get advice from Agriculture Assistant

From reading newspapers or listening to radio

Plant the same every year

Other (specify)

80. Have you ever attended any agricultural training course? (If yes) When was that?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .1983. . . 1982. . .1979 to 1981. . .1971 to 1978. . . 1970 or earlier. . . . .

81. Has anyone in your Household ever attended an agricultural training course since the 1979 War? (If yes) Who?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Wife(s). . . Son(s). . .Brother(s). . .Father or Mother. . . Both son(s) and Brother(s). . .Both Wife(s) and Son(s). . .Both Wife(s) and Brother(s). . . Other (specify). . . . .

82. In the past year have you received any advice on cultivating or managing your farm? (If yes) From whom?

No response/don't know. . .Agricultural staff. . . Veterinary staff. . .Community Development staff. . .Another farmer. . .A relative. . . Both Agricultural and Veterinary staff. . . Other (specify). . . . .

83. In the last year has anyone else in your Household received any advice on farming from Agriculture staff? (If yes) Who?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Wife(s). . . Son(s). . .Brother(s). . .Father or Mother. . . Both Son(s) and Brother(s). . .Both Wife(s) and Son(s). . .Both Wife(s) and Brother(s). . . Other (specify). . . . .

84. Has this Household been visited in the past year by either Agriculture or Veterinary staff to advise on your farm?

No response/don't know. . .No. . . Yes Agriculture. . .Yes Veterinary. . . Yes both. . .

85. Has anyone else come to advise you or any members of your Household in the past year about the farm? (If yes) Who?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Community Development. . .Church worker. . .Other (specify)

86. Have you or any member of your Household ever been helped on your farm by any non-Government agencies? (If yes) Who were they?

No response/don't know. . .None. . .Church. . . International agency. . .Constituency. . . Other (specify). . . .

87. Do the people of this village discuss their farm matters together? (If yes) Where do they meet?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Community Center. . .Church. . .Bar. . .Club. . .Under a tree. . .Private homes. . . Other (specify). .

88. When was the last time you talked about farm matters?

No response/don't know. . .Don't discuss. . . In the past week. . .In the past month. . . Within the past three months. . .Longer ago. . .

89. Does any member of your Household ever read a newspaper? (If yes) How often?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Daily. . . Weekly. . .Every two weeks. . .Monthly. . . Less often. . .

90. Have you or anyone of your Household read anything about farming in the past 6 months? (If yes) Where did you read about it?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Newspaper or magazine. . .Book. . .Pamphlets of Agriculture Department. . . Pamphlets of Chemical Companies. . Other (specify). . . .

91. Do you ever listen to programs about agriculture on the radio? (If yes) When was the last time?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes in the last week. . .Yes in the last month. . .Yes in the last 6 months. . .Longer ago. . . .

92. Have you seen an Agricultural demonstration since the 1979 War? (If yes) Where?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .On own farm. . . On another farmer's farm. . .District Farm Institute. . .Other Government Farm. . . Other (specify). . . .

93. Are you a member of a Cooperative Society? (If yes) How long have you been a member?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .1 year or less. . .2 to 3 years. . .4 to 10 years. . . 11 or more years. . .

94. (If yes to Q 93) Are you an office bearer? Or have you ever been an office bearer?

No response/don't know. . .Not a Cooperative member. . .A member but not an office bearer. . Yes now. . .Yes in the 1980s. . .Yes in the 1970s. . .Yes in the 1960s and earlier. . . Yes overlap 1970s and 1980s. . .Yes overlap 1960s and 1970s. . .Yes other period (specify). . .

95. Are you a member of any Church or Religion? (If yes) Which one?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Church of Uganda. . .Catholic. . .Orthodox. . .Friends. . . Salvation Army. . .Moslem. . .Traditional . . . Other (specify). . . .

96. Do you hold any official position?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Yes. . .

97. Are you a member of any other club or organization? (If yes) What is it called?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .Name. . . .

98. (If yes to 97) What does it do?

No response/don't know. . .No not a member. . .
Function. . . . . .

99. (If yes to Q 97) Are you an office bearer?

No response/don't know. . .No not a member. . .
No not an office bearer. . .Yes an office
bearer. . .

100. Is your wife a member of any club? (If yes) What is it called?

No response/don't know. . .No. . .
Yes, name . . . . . .

101. (If yes to Q 100) What does it do?

No response/don't know. . .Not a member. . .
Yes, function. . . . . .

102. (If yes to Q 100) Is she an office bearer?

No response/don't know. . .Not a member. . .
A member not an office bearer. . .Yes an
office bearer. . . .

103. What is your main problem in respect to farming?

No response/don't know. . .No problems . . . .
Problems. . . . . .

104. In your opinion what is the main problem in this village?

No response/don't know. . .No problems. . . .
Problems. . . . . .

105. What do you think you need most to help you with your farm?

No response/don't know. . .Do not need. . .
Need. . . . . .

106. What do you think you need most to improve life in this village?

No response/don't know. . .Do not need
anything. . . Need. . . . . .

107. What do you think has been the main change in farming in this village in the past ten years to fifteen years?

No response/don't know. . .No special changes. . .
Changes. . . . . .

108. What have been any other changes in this village in the past ten to fifteen years?

No response/don't know. . .No particular
change. . . Changes. . . . . .

109. If you were farming here ten years ago what has been the main change for you personally?

No response/don't know. . .No particular change. . . .Change. . . . . .

110. What have been the effects of these changes on life here?

No response/don't know. . . . Does not think there have been changes. . . . . Effects of changes. . . . . .

Name of Interviewer . . . . . Date. . . . .

Village. . . . . .

Uganda Social and Institutional Profile

Key Informant Questionnaire
Village Level

1. Name of Informant . . . . . .
2. Occupation (if any)? . . . . . .
3. Organization worked for (if any)? . . . . . .
4. Where were you born? . . . . . .
5. How old are you? . . . . . .
6. Where is your permanent home? . . . . . .

(The following questions are only for those working for organizations)

7. How many years have you worked for your organization?. . .
. . . . . .
8. How many years have you worked here? . . . . . .
9. How many years have you lived here? . . . . . .
10. What are the objectives of your organization? . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
11. What work do you do in this community? . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
12. What facilities do you have to work with?
(transport, office space, equipment and supplies, finance)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
13. What problems have you encountered in your work here?
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

14. Who do you report to? (title) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

15. How often do you report? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

16. Where do you report and do you do so in writing or verbally?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

17. Do you receive regular instructions about your work?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

18. When was the last time? . . . . . .

19. What was it about? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

20. What contacts do you have with the people here?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

21. Can you describe a typical working week?
(What did you do for each day last week for instance?)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

22. How many farmers (other clients) do you visit in a month?

. . . . . .

23. How do you think you could make your work more effective?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

(For all informants)

24. What community institutions are there to serve this village and how far are they from (agreed central point)?

Churches (which denominations) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Schools . . . . . .

Dispensary/Health Centre . . . . . .

Market/Cattle Auction . . . . . .

Trading Centre (how many shops) . . . . . .

Administrative Centre (Gombolola Chief) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Cooperative Store or Office . . . . . .

Constituency Offices . . . . . .

Clubs . . . . . .

Borehole/well/protected spring . . . . . .

25. Is it easy for people to sell their crops here? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

26. What crops are most commonly sold? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

27. Where do they sell them, and who do they sell to?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

28. What is the present price for these crops? (for each crop mentioned)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

29. Is that much more or less than 6 months ago?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

30. I year ago? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

31. Do people sell many of their livestock? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

32. What prices are they getting at the present time? . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

33. Is that much more or less than 6 months ago? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

34. 1 year ago? . . . . . .

35. Is it easy for people here to get things they need to cultivate with?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

36. What things do they usually buy? (check list: hoes, pangas, slashers, axes, spades, karai, spray pumps, wheelbarrows, rakes, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, fungicides)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

37. Where do they get them? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

38. What are the present prices of (those listed)? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

39. Do many people hire labour on a monthly basis? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

40. On a casual basis? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

41. What do you have to pay now to hire on a monthly basis?

. . . . . .

42. What do you have to pay now to hire casually? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

43. Do people use tractors in this village? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

44. About how many people in this village use tractors? . . . .

. . . . . .

45. Do anyone in this village own a tractor? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

46. What is the cost of hiring a tractor(ploughing, harrowing, transporting)? . . . . . .

47. Do people use oxen? . . . . . .

48. About what percentage of people in this village use oxen?

. . . . . .

49. What percentage own their own oxen and plough? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

50. What do they use them for (ploughing, planting, transporting)?

. . . . . .

51. What is the cost of hiring oxen and plough (or other implement)?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

52. Is it easy for people to buy what they need for themselves and their homes here?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

53. Where do they buy these things? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

54. Who brings things to sell nearby? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

55. What transport is there to the nearest town? (bus/taxi/cooperative lorry, private lorry)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

56. How often do they pass here? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

57. How much does it cost to the nearest town for passenger/goods?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

58. Have you any development projects in this village (describe)?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

59. In the Gombolola? (describe) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

60. What development projects have you had here in the past? (describe)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

61. Who do you think is most helping in the development of this village among the local people?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

62. Who do you think are the most influential people here?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Name of Interviewer . . . . . Date . . . .

Region . . . . . .

Uganda Social and Institutional Profile

Institutional Questionnaire
Regional/District Level

1. Name of Organization? . . . . . .

2. Name of Interviewee? . . . . . .

3. Title of Post Held? . . . . . .

4. Number of years worked with Organization? . . . . . .

5. What is the function of the Organization? . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

6. In what way is the Organization concerned with the development of the country?

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

7. Are there any Reports on the work of the Organization from 1962 to date still available, if so where can they be obtained?

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

8. Over the years what have been the major objectives of the Organization?

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

9. What have been the major obstacles to the achievement of the development objectives? . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

10. Has its programme been less or more effective since the Liberation War? What has happened to improve/reduce the effectiveness of its programmes?

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

   . . . . . .

11. What development projects are you currently involved in? (Give title, location, sponsor if any, size of budget, and present status of implementation)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

12. Can you give a brief description of the structure of the Organization? (Number and disposition of staff from national to village level, location of branches or field offices, transport and stores if appropriate?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

13. What are your links to rural people? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

<u>For Marketing Boards</u>

14. Number of licences issued to buyers in past year, in current year?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

15. Total weight of each item of produce purchased last year and total value of each crop purchased?
(a) through buyers, and (b) direct by organization.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

16. Estimated proportion of each product dealt in by the Board not sold through Institutions but through other channels?

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

17. Number of vehicles for transport of produce? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

18. Number of stores/purchasing outlets? . . . . . .

. . . . . .

19. What particular problems do you have with the purchase, transport, storage, pricing or financing?

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<u>For Government Ministries and NGOs</u>

20. What programmes do you presently have in the rural areas especially for the provision of farm inputs?

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. . . . . .

21. What programmes of advice do you have for farmers? What is the content of advice being given?

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22. How often do you communicate with field staff? and by what means (visits, verbal contacts HQ, or written communications)

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23. How much money is being spent for programmes in each Gombolola and what is it being spent for?

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24. What are the major developments taking place in the rural areas of this Region?

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25. (For Ministry of Agriculture) How many tractors are there in the District?

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For Banks

26. What contacts do you have with small farmers (if any)?

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27. Do many farmers have accounts with you? How many? What percentage are small farmers and what percentage are large-scale farmers?

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28. How many loans did you give for farming last year? . . . . .

. . . . . .

29. How many loans did you give for other rural development projects? . . . . . .

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30. What was the total value of loans for farms?

. . . . . .

31. What proportion is this to total loans given?

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APPENDIX XIII - LITERATURE REVIEW & BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX XIII - LITERATURE REVIEW

SIP ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

UGANDA - INSTITUTIONAL

Amann, V.F.: Experiences in Small holder Dairy Production in Uganda as a Basis for Setting Production Policy Objectives. Agric. Policy Issues in E.A. 1973.

It is asserted in the paper that a profitable potential for small scale dairy farming exists in Uganda as has been demonstrated by many instances. Success in dairy production depends on many factors but the level of pasture and cattle management is of crucial importance in an intensive smallholding. The paper points out that in the past government has put emphasis on disease control and tick eradication but did little in the area of extension training relating to calf rearing on small scale farms. Some initiative has been taken in this direction but it is not sufficient.

Various schemes and programs which have been undertaken by government in order to increase milk production to meet a target of 105 million gallons in 1970/71 are discussed. Experimental smallholding training institutions are described as having been primarily concerned with better farm organization, wiser choice of crop and livestock enterprises, and improved management. The experience of the Veterinary Training Institute, Entebbe, in teaching techniques of dairy herd management and pasture management is presented emphasizing its achievements. It is suggested that a replication of such a dairy unit should be carried out.

Aspects of pasture management in smallholder dairy production, improved grass seed, concentrate feeding, credit and calf rearing have all been discussed, indicating existing gaps, and forming a basis for the policy recommendations made.

Belshaw, D.G.R. and Stent, W.R.: "An Overview of the Agricultural Sector" Paper 2, in Commonwealth Secretariat, Rehabilitation of the Economy of Uganda. A report by a Commonwealth Team of experts, Marlborough House, London S.W.1. Vol.2 (1979)

The paper identified three factors as the aspects of the agricultural sector which (a) fundamentally affect productivity and income distribution of land ownership, (b) choice of production techniques and (c) operation of the intersectoral terms of trade. The effect of these three on agricultural production together with the effects of the Liberation War, and the policies of the military regime (1972-1979) are the roots of the current problems.

Their recommendations concern policies and rehabilitation projects. Policies concern producer prices of the major cash crops, policies on the administration of produce marketing boards, and agricultural mechanisation policy. The rehabilitation projects concern coffee, tea, cotton, sugar, tobacco, food crops, livestock and the Ministry of Agriculture itself.

Brock, B.: "Customary Land Tenure Individualization and Agricultural Development in Uganda". East African Journal of Rural Development Vol. 2 No. 2, 1969.

This is an examination of widely held assumptions about the relation between land tenure and agricultural development. The author calls for a fresh look at the customary land tenure systems in Uganda in terms of: "who can do what with the land", not in terms of concepts of "communal" or "individual" tenure that are inappropriate to these systems. He suggests that a detailed survey of the customary tenure systems should be carried out to isolate those areas where the traditional systems of land holding are under severe strain and are in fact impeding agricultural development. The main argument of the paper is that many of the land problems are not amenable to solution by change in the legal form of land holding alone. Changing people's ideas about land use may be much slower, much less dramatic, and much more complex, but very essential for long-term development. It argues that certain assumptions derived mainly from the English Law and Western Social systems, arbitrarily restrict thought about land policy and possible measures of reform. These assumptions include: the necessity of individual title for agricultural development, the identification between possession of a title and access to agricultural credit and in general the fixation on ownership rather than rights to land use.

Bibangamba, H.J.R.: An Analytical Overview of the Rural Development Problem in Uganda. Conference Paper on Rural Rehabilitation and Development, M.U. Sept. 1981. (A copy of this paper may be obtained from the author himself).

A summary of Uganda's economic performance indicators between 1960 and 1978 with particular reference to GDP food production exports and imports is given. The paper also tries to give theoretical proxies of rural poverty or underdevelopment. They include: average farm size, average yields, wage rates of rural workers, average calorie availability, percentage of post harvest food losses, land carrying capacity, and the extent of new out-migration. The paper then turns to the three main components constituting past and present strategies

undertaken by the government to improve rural people's life and the modernisation of the rural sector. These are: (a) administrative arrangements, institutions and infrastructure; (b) policies including price and marketing policies; (c) projects/programs. These are discussed with particular emphasis on price and marketing policies from which the author makes the conclusion that the state and the marketing boards have benefited from agricultural exports at the expense of the peasant farmer in their bid to maximize development resources.

The paper also reviews the history of the research effort on rural Uganda and the criticisms which have been levelled against it. It also looks at the rural education, rural extension, land tenure, and rural credit and their effect on rural development. The author ends the paper by posing a question; whether it is possible to design policies or strategies that will secure equal progress in the two fields of economic progress and social welfare (growth and equity).

Campbell, C.F.: Agricultural and co-operative credit in Uganda. Lecture to course organized by the Bank of Uganda, June, 1967.
(A copy of this paper may be obtained from Miss J. Harmsworth's Library)

The paper describes the actual operation and scope of the co-operative Credit Scheme in Uganda at the time, and gives proposals for its development in future. It also discusses thrift and the place of a Co-operative Bank in Uganda. The paper begins with definitions of general principles of agricultural credit, types and uses. A detailed analysis is directed to production credit in Uganda with particular reference to its time horizons, possible uses, and forms of security required. Since peasants do not have title to the land and no realizable assets which can be put up as collateral, consideration for credit is based on integrity and ability of the borrower to pay as well as the size and the fertility of his fields and the marketability of his produce plus a number of sureties or guarantors. The history of agricultural credit, schemes, their regulations, merits and demerits, successes and failures are discussed. Also discussed in the paper are the borrowing procedures by various clients such as individuals, and societies; interest arrangements, sources of funds and repayment record. Two special cases of co-operative credit schemes for Group Farms and for Tobacco are discussed.

It also enumerates three prongs of cooperative savings to encourage the virtue of thrift among the members of the co-operative movement. These are: (a) the development of the existing co-operative thrift and loan societies for salary

and wage earners (b) the co-operative savings scheme in rural savings (c) the development of school savings groups.

The paper concludes with proposals for future development of the co-operative credit scheme.

HUNT, D.: "A Critique of the 1966 Plans for the Expansion of Agricultural Credit Through the Co-operative Movement, With Particular Reference to Short-term Credit." R.D.R. no. 45.

Lays out the proposed structure of the Co-operative credit scheme for the provision of short term and medium-term loans. The scheme plan is criticized point by point. Three "cotton packages" designed for areas in Buganda, Eastern, and Western regions are also discussed in light of profitability projections from input/output relations. The whole proposed scheme is criticized for containing no clear cut projections of extension staff requirements and staff availability as a basis of the plan. The proposed ratio of one agricultural assistant for 300 borrowers is also considered difficult to operate because of the scattered nature of cooperatives; in addition it would constitute the single biggest cost factor as a result of salary and training expenses, transport and allowances.

A crude financial analysis of the scheme shows that government revenue would fall short of the cost of operating an expanded and intensively supervised short-term credit system. The author suggests that injections of credit should only be made in enterprises identified as being capable of yielding high returns such as dairy farming and tea out-growing. Other suggestions made include costing of the operation of the scheme, consideration of ways in which government can carry part of the risk of introducing innovations, relating of provision of credit to provision of extension service, study of markets and implementation of the findings of agricultural research.

Hunt, D.: "The Uganda Agricultural Co-operative Credit "Scheme" East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 5 Nos. 1 and 2, 1972.

This paper deals with the operation of the Ugandan Co-operative Credit Scheme introduced in 1962 to channel loans to farmers through primary co-operative marketing societies with an objective of raising agricultural production. It sets out the regulations of the scheme, the processing and administration of the loan. A more detailed discussion of the operation of the scheme in Lango and Masaka is given, with its shortcomings. The paper presents results of case studies showing

revenue and expenditure of some primary societies as a result of the scheme. It analyzes loan use for various recommended agricultural techniques such as mulching, hiring tractors, cotton spraying, and also the diversion of loans to non-agricultural uses. The successes or failures of these credit uses are evaluated.

The author concludes that there is no evidence that the cooperative credit scheme in Lango and Masaka had an impact on crop yields or the incomes of borrowers. The reason is partly due to the fact that credit was being used for the production of crops which were of quite low profitability, and partly due to the failure to combine the use of complementary techniques with the techniques for which credit was provided, and to the diversion of some of the credit to non-agricultural uses.

Kazungu, D.K.: "Administration and Implementation of the Young Farmers' Program in Uganda." East African Journal of Rural Development Vol. 10 no. 1 and 2, 1977.

This is a presentation of the findings of part of a wider study carried out to evaluate the Young Farmers of Uganda (YFU) program in 1974. The study is based on a combination of observation, interviews and questionnaires administered to the agents of YFU. The aims are:

1. to identify some of the socio-economic characteristics of the YFU.

2. to determine the extent to which YFU agents had taught farm and home practices relating to improved nutrition, better health, higher standards of living and agricultural production.

3. to find out the agents' perception of some YFU problems.

4. to identify and analyze the administrative set up of YFU. The paper discusses the 4 program objectives of YFU and the categories (3) of YFU personnel namely: volunteer leaders, YFU youths and the agents (or the officers). The last category of YFU personnel is the major concern of this paper. It analyzes their staff adequacy, their characteristics, and duty performance, and discusses the implications of the findings.

The following conclusions were drawn.

1. The administrative set up of YFU is far less than ideal.

2. YFU agents' performance was biased against nutrition and health, and slanted in favour of production promotion activities.

3. YFU agents were generally well-informed about extension methods but improvements should be effected in the use of group methods.

4. YFU agents perceive staff improvements as a top priority in the YFU improvement program.

Nelson, R.E., and Kazungu, D.K.: An Evaluation of the U.S.A.I.D. Extension Saturation Project in Uganda. Report I P - 54, Office of the International Programs, West Virginia University (1973) (A copy of this may be borrowed from Assoc. Prof. J.R. Bibangambah, Dept. of Agric. Econ. Makerere Univ.)

The report first reviews in brief the purpose and method of evaluation, Uganda's economy, Uganda's agricultural extension service and the basic requirements of an effective extension service. Lastly, the report discusses the evaluation of the ESP's contribution to improving the basic requirements of an effective agricultural extension service in Uganda, and its statistical evaluation.

The five objectives of ESP which were evaluated in this study were: increased efficiency of the majority of farmers, increased yields and overall productivity, changes in the attitudes of the people toward progressive farming and relief of social pressures which hold back progress, improvement of staff efficiency by involving them in an effective extension program, and gaining information and finding the most effective type of extension program to use in Uganda.

According to the results of their evaluation, changes in the attitudes of the people toward progressive farming is the only objective that was not achieved by the ESP.

Nsubuga, H.S.K. "Dairy Development in Uganda. Policy and Institutional Matters". Agricultural Policy Issues in East Africa. V.F. Amann (ed.) M.U. 1973.

Some of the policy and institutional matters that have been identified in this paper are the successful control of the tickbourne diseases, reclamation of 15,000 sq. km. of the original 45,000 sq. km infested with tsetse, enlargement of veterinary staff, and increased extension service coverage. Land tenure as an institutional factor is regarded as very crucial to livestock development because it influences improved practices such as enclosures to control disease and ticks, and it affects improved water supplies. The author

argues that traditional farms where the land belongs to a community are not conducive to these improved practices, and that only land tenure reform should aim at producing a system of tenure which is conducive to the fullest possible economic exploitation of the land. The paper also discusses livestock industry, the personnel and their qualifications, duties and capabilities.

It is argued that the current level of extension staff is not adequate to meet the demand for their services. The author also discusses the importance of credit and the function of the Uganda Dairy Industry as a marketing organization in the dairy industry.

Nsubuga, H.S.K.: "Dairy Farming in Busoga, East and West Mengo Districts of Uganda." M.SC. (1970). Africana.

The study surveys dairy cattle production in Busoga, East and West Mengo Districts; shows and discusses research that has been done, identifying gaps in the fields of pasture production, dairy cattle nutrition, breeding, disease control and management areas, including the economics of production. Assesses priorities to different areas of development in dairy production; and evaluates patterns of animal husbandry practices at the levels of small, medium, and large scale farming.

It looks specifically for such issues as the Development of the Dairy Industry in Uganda, focusing on diseases, introduction of exotic cattle and their contribution, artificial insemination, research in management and types of management patterns, pasture management, policy and institutional matters, extension services, marketing and processing cost, and return for various production scales.

Okoreke, Okoro The Economic Impact of the Uganda Co-operatives. East Africa Literature Bureau (1974).

The main theme of the study is to scrutinize the impact of cooperatives on the country under state patronage. It pinpoints some of the problems cooperatives face and suggests policy options applicable to the socio-economic conditions prevailing. First, it takes a theoretical line by dicussing the requirements for the success of cooperatives, the cooperative as an ideology for development, and then moves on to the history of cooperatives in Uganda. Crop marketing -- cotton, coffee, and secondary crops are discussed. Their processing and pricing policies are given attention. Assessment of the efficiency of these cooperatives is based on the evaluation of the economic performance in terms of profitability, improvements offered to members, achievement of economic growth and diversification of programs, and the degree of African participation in business through cooperatives.

The evaluation shows that cooperatives in Uganda are inefficient in terms of profitability; some cooperatives have failed to provide improved services to their members; contribution to economic growth and diversification programs by cooperatives is noticeable, especially in terms of their increased turnover in coffee; and that Ugandanization of business through cooperatives has been limited in extent.

The author concludes that:

1. the movement owed its growth to the growing commercialization of peasant agriculture, an increasing social and political consciousness in the country and the systematic promotion and supervision by government;

2. too much emphasis has been placed on the cooperatives as one of the instruments in re-structuring the economy at the expense of the private sector. Individual initiative needs more encouragement than it has received in the past;

3. the weakness of the cooperatives has been due to their poor economic performance, which could be overcome by strengthening the skills of the organization by appointing men with the prerequisite experience and technical knowledge, guaranteeing the cooperative office holders and the staff of the cooperative department some security in their risks; improving members' understanding of their role in the movement; protecting members from abuses by office holders; and adequate support from the members themselves by regular payments of their dues to build up sufficient capital funds.

SIP ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buganda

Allanson, G. and Phipps, R.P.: Large Scale Commercial Dairy Farming in Uganda: A Farm Management Case Study. R.D.R. Paper No. 116 (1970). (All R.D papers are found in the Dept. of Agric Econ. Library.)

This paper is a guide to farmers intending to take up large scale dairy farming. It first sets physical performance standards which should be achieved. They are:

a. Milk yield per cow per year of 450-600 gallons;

b. Calving intervals of not more than 390 days on average;

c. Mortality of not more than 8% of live calves born, and not more than 4% of mature cattle;

d. Stocking rates initially of one acre of established pasture per adult animal;

e. Supplementary feeding to cost not more than 30% of the value of milk produced;

f. Labor initially at one man per 10-13 cows according to milk yields, when milking is by hand, plus field workers;

g. Size of business should be adequate to justify a full-time farm manager and an appropriate range of tractor drawn implements.

It then turns to a case study and illustrates how to measure physical and financial performance, analyzes the problems and suggests remedial management measures.

According to the authors' calculations, attainment of the above standards would lead to a profit of between shs. 500/- and shs. 900/- per cow.

Barlow, J.N.: An Inventory Description and Evaluation of Extension Teaching Methods Used in East Buganda District. Unpublished Special Project M.U. (1973/74).

A description of the general methods used to teach farmers better farming, processing and marketing is presented, stressing the important considerations to be made when choosing the method to use in order to achieve maximum results.

These considerations are, the geographical setting, economic status, social and cultural attitudes of the farmers, and government policy.

The study then reviews the objectives of extension in the area. Among these objectives are soil conservation, higher productivity and improved farming systems. Methods used to achieve these objectives are discussed indicating which approach is emphasized. These approaches are then evaluated in terms of the extent to which they achieve the set objectives.

A number of proposals are made with a view to make extension more effective and to achieve the objectives at a faster rate.

Bazira, R.J.: The Provision of Some Selected Foods for the Kampala Markets: A Geographical Analysis of the Supply Areas in East and West Buganda and Mubende. M.A. Thesis, M.U. (1976).

The thesis deals mainly with the food production and supply in relation to the urban markets of Kampala before the Asians left Uganda. The aim is to study the conditions which prevail in the Kampala markets and the rural supply areas in order to find out how the supply fluctuations of foods could be controlled. Some of the factors which impede the steady flow of foods into the Kampala markets include farmers' attitudes, unfavorable physical conditions for certain crops, poor management of crops, pests and diseases, and lack of capital to invest in land.

Two market surveys and one survey in a supply area were carried out. From these surveys several conclusions were made.

First, the West Kampala markets were largely supplied with foods by areas beyond a ten mile radius. Only a small amount of minor items like dodo and pepper come from within the ten mile radius. Tomatoes, cabbages and cucumbers come from areas ten to fifteen miles from the city. Farmers close to the city try to be self-sufficient in food production in spite of their comparatively small farms. Production of cassava is popular within the ten mile radius.

Second, food production for markets has had some influence on the majority of farms. Single crop specialization does not occur in the area because of the risks involved in production and marketing.

A tendency for intensive use of land very close to the city but with declining production for the urban market and declining intensity of land utilization farther away from the city was observed.

Bowden, E. and Moris, J. "Social Characteristics of Progressive Baganda Farmers." East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1969).

The paper is based on a study conducted in Gombe and Mukono to establish the characteristics of farmers who had adopted a number of specific farming practices.

Analysis shows that "progressive" Baganda farmers are people who are willing to experiment, they visit the town more frequently than the other farmers, they tend to have lived in town, to have worked for wages, to have some skill which they could practice instead of farming, and to have some kind of training. Other characteristics which distinguished progressive Baganda farmers were: contact with the outside, contact with the local administrative, government and farming officials. They visit farm institutes, research stations and cooperatives.

Age, sex and education did not distinguish them from others.

Bukenya, J.M.: The Study of Availability and Use of Purchased Inputs in Commercial Poultry Production in Central Masaka District. Unpublished Special Project, M.U. (1972/73).

Investigates the production aspects of poultry in Masaka with special emphasis on breed types and their origins, feeds and feed sources, feed supply, feed cost, feeding practices, housing and equipment and several other management aspects. Disease control and marketing are considered.

According to the findings of the study, the following are some of the problems facing farmers in the District:

1. The supply of chicks was very difficult and often delayed for many months because Entebbe is the only supplier.

2. Feed was difficult to obtain, expensive, and badly used by farmers because they did not know the proper feeding programs and feed ration.

3. Management was poor. No records were kept and feed requirements could not be estimated. This resulted in unexpected shortages.

4. There is no organized marketing, resulting in price fluctuations in time and space, and also making it difficult for some farmers to sell their birds.

The author recommends cooperative marketing of inputs and poultry products.

Butters, B. and Clegg, D.E.H.: "Improved Methods of Weed Control in Robusta Coffee in Uganda." East African Agricultural and Forestry Journal, Vol. 29, 1963. (This journal is available in Periodicals section Makereke Univ. Main Lib.)

The principles affecting the adoption of a sequence of operations for a "clean-weeding" policy for robusta coffee in Mengo are discussed.

Two dry season slashings and two mid-season cultivations followed by a slashing in September and a further cultivation in November are recommended. Slight modifications of the basic scheme allow strip weeding to be practiced when desired. The methods described should be suitable for other areas if allowance is made for local conditions and crop behavior.

Costs of individual hand and tractor operations referred to as mandays and tractor hours per acre are given. In Mengo, the expected yield increase resulting from the adoption of the improved recommendations in place of one cultivation and four slashings is three to five hundred weights of clean coffee per acre, of which no more than 1½ cwt. is equivalent to the additional cost of their implementation.

Hall, M.: "Agricultural Planning in Buganda 1963-66." East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1968). (This journal is available in "Africana." M.U. Library.)

This is an overview of the administrative and financial arrangements in the Buganda Kingdom before its abolition in 1967. It describes the planning process and institutional reforms which were undertaken in order to accelerate agricultural development. Some of the reforms undertaken were in the areas of: statistics and economic planning procedures, and land tenure. The study also highlights the major achievements and failures of the kingdom's Ministry of Planning and assesses the agricultural planning.

The paper enumerates a number of advances made by agricultural planning in the area and these include: (a) the creation of conditions for analysis of costs and benefits, (b) memoranda on many aspects of the economy out of which emerged a complete development plan.

The major problem seems to have come from the inability of the kingdom government to work together with the central government efficiently under the financial and administrative arrangements.

Harker, K.W.: "A Stocking Rate Trial on Rough Grazing in Buganda." East African Agricultural and Forestry Journal, Vol. 29, 1963. (This Journal is available in Periodicals Section, M.U. Main Library.)

This is an investigation of cattle/grass relationships on rough grazing in the long grass area of Buganda. The size of grazing area per beast was varied and the live weight gain recorded. There were three stocking rate trials:

One beast to two acres
One beast to one acre
One beast to half an acre

Results support the suggestion that Teso bullocks can be fattened at a stocking rate of a beast to two acres but that a beast to half an acre barely provides for maintenance.

The rotation grazing practiced was not a success and resulted in unequal grazing pressures.

Hillman, M.: The Experimental Smallholding Approach to Rural Development in Uganda: The Example of Its Use in Agricultural Diversification in the Hinterland of Urban Buganda. M.S. Thesis, M.U. 1973. (Available in Africana.)

The Kabanyolo Experimental Smallholding Project which was set up in 1968 is used to illustrate how agriculture can be improved through smallholdings.

The outlining of the physical setting in Buganda by identifying some important social aspects and summarizing the economic background puts the study into context.

The problem facing the smallholder is identified as the diversification away from overwhelming dependence on coffee and bananas and the semi-stagnation caused by static coffee prices and production techniques. The study undertakes a physical and financial analysis showing the performance of the three farm systems; i.e. stall feeding, paddock grazing and horticulture, it identifies the three factors critical to the development of the dairy and horticultural enterprises at the smallholder level.

Hunt, D.: "The Introduction of Single Axle Tractors in Peasant Coffee Farms in Masaka Division, Southern Buganda." East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. 8, No. 1 and 2, 1975.

An examination of the background and the consequences of the introduction of walking type tractors for cultivating and weed slashing on coffee farms. The scheme and the factors which led to its failure are carefully analyzed. The advantages of

the tractor were that a range of implements could be fitted, comparatively cheaply, and are easy to operate.

Factors which contributed to its failure include cost, technical design, unsuitablity to soils, lack of mechanical expertise and inadequate briefing of the extension staff.

Kaddu, S.M.D.: An Analysis of the Rural and Milk Marketing Structure in Uganda. R.D.R. Paper No. 128 (1974).

Production, consumption and marketing of dairy products in the Kampala-Entebbe-Jinja (Kyaggwe) area are the aspects which this paper analyzes.

It identifies three main constraints to dairy farming in this area: lack of capital, shortage of land and shortage of water. The findings of the study show that milk yield is still low because of poor performance of lactating cows, low stocking density, low animal quality, and poverty situation of the farmers.

Low physical performance which may be due to poor management, particularly improper feeding or inherent in the strain, or breed may be reversed by a change in stock, or by a slow process of herd improvement which will also lead to the need to train farmers in overall management to cope with the required standards of the animals. The market structure for fluid milk of which the Uganda Dairy Industry Corporation is the main component is described. Three principal leakages in the system are discussed.

Kisamba-Mugerwa, W: Assessment of the Farming System--Kyaggwe District. Planning Division, Min. of Agric. and For. (1978). (This report may be obtained from Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library or Entebbe, Min. of Agric. Library.)

Based on 108 farms the study examines the current farming system in the area. It looks at resource use and resource requirements for different agricultural enterprises and the factors which affect agricultural diversification. The Cocoa Development Scheme and its performance is given special attention.

The aspects of land investigated include: size of holding, cultivated area per crop per holder, cultivated acreage per person, and productivity of land by crop yield per acre. The study also looks at other aspects of land like the land tenure systems until 1975 Land Reform Decree, land availability, determinants of land distribution for utilization, and land use.

The report also contains data on labor per acre, sex, age, annual total labor profile, and labor productivity with respect to each crop. Marketing aspects, price structure, and processing of the

Cocoa Development Scheme are analyzed. Farm income and farm expenditure are also considered.

A linear programming technique is used to determine the optimal plans. The study also identifies the following as obstacles to agricultural development in the district. Shortage of land, shortage of farm labor, low income, unsuccessful and misguided diversification, limitations on mechanization and intermediate technology imposed by dominance of perennial crops and the deficient pricing policy of cash crops.

The author also proposes ways to mitigate the influence of these obstacles.

Kiwanuka, R.M.: Cotton Growing in West Buganda: The Role of Women (1900-60), Graduate Research Essay, Dept. of History, M.U. (1972/73). (Available in "Africana".)

This is an attempt to establish the role of women in cotton growing development in Kyadondo County, Buganda until 1960. The essay looks at the economy of Buganda before the introduction of the cash economy with particular reference to women's roles. Matoke production which was relatively an easy task was left to women. Baganda women were the chief food growers while men occupied themselves with hunting, herding, building, bark clothmaking, blacksmithing, and warfare.

The husband-wife relationship during that period is depicted as one of dependency, absolute obedience and subservience on the part of the women.

The introduction of cotton as a cash crop into the economy begins with the loss of Britain and American cotton sources. The other reason for introducing cotton in Buganda was to provide a tax base for the Protectorate.

In its initial history, cotton was left to men because it was considered taxing and too involved to leave women enough time to attend to food crops.

Methods used to compel men to grow cotton are discussed.

1900 to 1940 is a period during which both men and women's interest in cotton growing increased mainly because of the luxury goods it enabled them to get. Such goods included cloth material, soap and sugar. Women worked longer hours in order to include cotton growing in their daily schedule; in addition, some women supported polygamy in order to cope with labor demands of cotton thinning, weeding and picking. It also induced migratory labor. From 1940-60 women's interest in cotton had increased so much that they now had their own plots. This had a social consequence of loosening women's dependence on men.

The crop was, howevever, later abandoned by many women in favor of coffee because of its heavy demands on labor for planting, and picking compared to the less arduous coffee which can be sold for most of the year.

Kyeyune, A.L.: Labour Organisation and Productivity on a Tea Estate in Buganda. Special Project (1964/65).

This is a study of labor characteristics in the eight tea estates constituting the Salama Group. It looks at various labor aspects in these estates such as the total labor force on the estates, distribution of labor between different estates, national and tribal composition of labor force, labor requirements and availability, and labor employed on crops other than tea. It also looks at the labor organization with respect to time of starting work, causes of absenteeism, range of tasks done, working hours and supervision as well as the methods of remuneration. These factors were investigated in order to understand labor characteristics that affect its productivity before ways to improve productivity can be suggested. In conclusion, the author proposes various ways of improving productivity of labor such as mechanical harvesting of tea, more efficient use of labor, and financial incentives.

Lubega, D.: An Evaluation of Masaka District Farm Institute Programmes. Unpublished Special Project, M.U. (1973/74).

Identifies four programs in this study.

1. The Recruitment Programme
2. Farmers' Training Programme
3. Young Farmers of Uganda Programme
4. Double Production Campaign

The District Farm Institute carries out these programs in order to implement the policy of the Department of Agriculture to the farming community. The effectiveness of these programs in getting farmers to adopt new farming practices is the objective of this study. The problems facing each of these programs are also discussed. Findings show that each of these programs had achieved some success particularly the Young Farmers of Uganda Programme and the Double Production Campaign. The cost-benefit analysis of these programs could not be attempted because the necessary data was lacking.

Menezes, J.A.: Sugarcane Production by African Outgrowers in the Lugazi Area of Kyaggwe County, Buganda. Unpublished Special Project, Faculty of Agriculture, M.U. College (1964).

Briefly outlines the general farming pattern of Kyaggwe indicating in particular the dominant role of bananas. It reviews the

origin and history of sugarcane in Uganda's economy. Its climatic and soil requirements are outlined, and it briefly describes the cultural practices of sugarcane farmers in the Lugazi area.

By way of case studies the author investigates the characteristics of sugarcane farmers' holdings including size of the farm, crops grown on the holding, labor problems, management of the farm, area grown to sugarcane as well as a breakdown of the cost of establishing an acre of sugarcane.

The author concludes that sugarcane growing should be attractive because the costs of production are low, husbandry techniques are relatively simple, and returns per acre high. These advantages should make sugarcane a competitive crop in relation to coffee and cotton.

Musisi, V.: A Study of the Local Farming Practices in Mumyuka Sub-County, Bulemezi County, East Mengo District. With Special Reference to Soil Fertility and Conservation. Special Project, M.U. (1970/71). (All special projects are available in the "Africana" section, M.U. Library.)

The hand hoe, axe and panga are the most common implements used. Hired labor is widely used irrespective of size of holding. Coffee occupies the largest area on most holdings while cotton is regarded as a minor crop. Other crops include maize, sorghum, millet, beans and cassava.

The recommended practices by the extension staff for the major crops, bananas and coffee, are described. Recommendations to conserve soil fertility in the area are also described.

It was observed that depleting of soil fertility and low crop yields resulted from a practice of interplanting crops which competed for the same soil nutrients. In general, soil conservation is poor, cow dung is scarce, no fertilizers are used and mulching is minimal.

Musoke, A.V.: Quality, Curing and Marketing of Hides and Skins in Kyaggwe, Bugerere, and Bulemezi Counties in East Buganda. Unpublished Special Project, M.U. (1971/72). (All special projects are available in "Africana" section, M.U. Main Library.)

Factors affecting the quality of hides and skins is the main focus of this study. Theoretically, the factors affecting quality of hides and skins are divided into (a) those factors which affect quality when the animal is still alive, and (b) those factors which affect quality when the animal is dead.

Under (a) are included such factors as: type and purpose for which the animal is bred, climate, feeding, age, sex, diseases, mechanical effects; under (b) there are such factors like incomplete bleeding during slaughter, improper flaying, delayed curing, storage methods, method of transport and others.

These factors were then investigated in the area including visits to abattoirs.

As far as live animals about to be slaughtered are concerned it was observed that many of them had ticks and tickbites, particularly those animals coming from Ankole. Others had whip marks. During slaughter hides and skins were not given due care. There was improper bleeding, bad flaying and delayed curing resulting in putrefaction.

It was also observed that quality is lowered during transport as a result of improper packing.

Namayanja, J.: A Study of Food Consumption Behavior in Kyaggwe County. A Case Study of Fifteen Households. M.Sc. Thesis, M.U. (1974). (Available in the Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library.)

Fifteen households from a rural area were selected for a detailed study of food consumption behavior with an objective of finding out the factors which affect it, therefore, affecting the nutrition of the people.

Children of the age group 0-10 years were particularly concentrated on and actual food consumption for this group was determined by weighing. The weights and heights of this group were measured in order to relate food consumption of children to their growth.

It was found that the people practiced a subsistence economy and were totally dependent on the land for their supplies. They live chiefly on plantain, sweet potatoes and cassava, all of which are high calorie foods with a very low protein content The complementary foodstuffs consumed include groundnuts and beans, which have a high protein content. But these could not sufficiently supplement the highly carbohydrate staples because they are consumed in very small quantities, leaving a protein deficiency. Furthermore, the consumption of vegetables was found to be seasonal.

Although there is an indication of nutritional deficiencies, there were no obvious symptoms of malnutrition among the children. Nevertheless, comparison of food consumption with recommended foods by Mwanamugimu clinic makes it clear that these children are undernourished. Sub-nutrition and undernutrition were related to poverty, inadequacy of food supplies, food habits, traditions, beliefs, taboos, and lack of knowledge about nutrition. Nutrition is also affected by food conservation methods, storage and preparation.

Oloya, J.J. and Poleman, T.T.: The Food Supply of Kampala. A Study in the Marketing of Basic Foodstuffs in An African Metropolitan Area. Makerere Institute of Social Research (1972). (This pamphlet may be obtained from MISR Library or Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library.)

This study attempts to examine the efficiency of the marketing of basic food stuffs namely: matoke, sweet potatoes and fresh cassava in Kampala area. First, distribution of these foods were identified specially and seasonally during the year. As a result, it was possible to indicate that Bugerere County accounts for most of the matoke supply, followed by Kyaggwe, Singo and Buddu Counties in that order. It was also indicated that the supply of this commodity exhibits seasonal variation with peak months around March and June, and a drop in supply in December/January. In case of sweet potatoes and fresh cassava Kyadondo comes out as predominant supplier of nearly 50% of the total supply of each of these two commodities. There was also some evidence of seasonal substitution within food groups as for example between matoke and sweet potatoes at certain periods.

The authors try to explain the pre-eminence of Bugerere as a supplier of matoke in terms of its fertile soils, a good transport and communications network, climatic conditions and ready marketing outlets in Jinja and Kampala. The preeminence of Kyadondo as a supplier of potatoes and fresh cassava is attributed to its proximity to the market as these commodities are bulky, perishable and have low unit value.

Mulago and Nsambya markets were used to analyze the marketing efficiency. It was found that the allocation of these commodities between the two markets was less than optimal. Results suggested that the two markets are not integrated reflecting poor market intelligence or transport factors.

The authors conclude with a discussion of the policy implications of the results. They suggest greater marketing efficiency to facilitate development and saving of resources for other uses, promotion of marketing intelligence to promote efficiency, giving of credit to traders so that they can improve their transport system.

Parsons, D.J.: The Plantain-Robusta Coffee Systems with a Note on the Plantain-Millet-Cotton Areas. Uganda Protectorate, Dept. of Agric. Memoirs of the Research Division, No. 2 (1960). (A copy of this may be borrowed from Miss J. Harmsworth.)

The plantain-Robusta coffee systems of Uganda are described. The history, geography, soils, climate and vegetation of the area are briefly summarized.

Details of human and livestock populations are discussed in so far as they affect the utilization of the land. Land tenure and other social customs which condition land use are also considered. A detailed description of the present systems of agriculture practiced including crops grown, crop rotations, cultivated land area per person, crop husbandry, crop storage, pests, livestock, farm management, marketing, etc. is given.

The author isolates factors limiting production. Finally, the study touches on the plantain-millet-cotton areas, which include North Busoga, North Buganda and Bunyoro. Their soils, climate, and agricultural systems are described.

Sekabembe, B.M.: An Economic Analysis of the Coffee Cooperative Marketing Societies in Kyaggwe District, Uganda. M.Sc. Thesis, M.U. (1976).

An investigation of the factors affecting the efficiency, productivity and profitability of coffee marketing cooperatives.

Theoretical approaches of measuring marketing efficiency are first discussed, some of which are then applied to twenty-one cooperative societies in the area.

All the expense items of each of the twenty-one cooperative societies were discussed separately and expressed as cost per Kg. of coffee. Cost per unit of coffee bought by the cooperatives was highest where volume of business was low. It was also found that transport was the largest single item of expense for most of the societies. The biggest profit was made by those cooperatives which combined large business volume with good management.

The author concludes that societies must secure greater volumes of coffee combined with efficient operation to reduce costs in order to improve marketing efficiency.

Senteza Kajubi, W.: "Coffee and Prosperity in Buganda. Some Aspects of Economic and Social Change". Uganda Journal Vol. 29, No. 2. (1965)

The paper provides a brief survey of the development of coffee growing in Buganda and its relationship to the political, economic and social development of Buganda. It argues that the introduction of a cash crop economy and the emphasis placed on the small producer had a disintegrating effect on the fabric of the Kiganda village community. Examples of ways in which the Kiganda fabric was disintegrated are enumerated. The results were: a spirit of individualism, a reversal of roles with consequent conflict and a loosening of contact between the chief and his subjects. There are also problems which have originated from the changing pattern of farming. Some of these are shortage of land, conflict between the landlord and the

small farmer arising from the nature of land tenure, replacement of cotton with coffee, and heavy reliance on hired labor by the Baganda which maintains a barrier between extension workers and farm practices and has the effect of reducing Baganda income because of its high cost.

The author asserts that increased returns to the coffee growers in future will depend on more efficient production methods which will increase the productivity of the Baganda themselves and minimize manpower requirements. He ends the paper with a warning that if the people of Buganda want a higher standard of living they can achieve it but they must be prepared to sacrifice some of the attitudes and customary modes of thought which are prejudicial to economic change.

Smith, J.A.: "The Production of Sugarcane by Outgrowers in East Mengo District, Uganda".
East African Geographical Review
No. 8, 1970
(Available in Africana).

Describes the outgrowing system of the farmers in the vicinity of Lugazi Works. They contribute a small percentage of the sugar processed at Lugazi.

Among the factors determining the distribution of outgrowers, proximity to the sugar factory is the most influential.

The outgrowers produce on a very small scale of about 10 acres or less, but acreage has been rising because of falling prices of robusta coffee.

The paper identifies two of the outgrowers problems as: shortage of labor especially for harvesting, and high cost of transport.

The present and the future of the outgrowers do not seem to be bright mainly because of a limited market for their crop.

Wallace, T.: "Working in Rural Buganda; A study of the Occupational Activities of Young People in Rural Villages."
African Review, Vol. 3, 1973
(This Journal is available in "Periodicals" Section of M.U. Main Library)

Employment, (formal and informal) opportunities of the young people in Buganda in the focus of this study. It looks at the occupational opportunities in terms of the formal-informal distinction; the difference between these two in recruitment criteria; actual jobs done; and financial returns.

The paper begins by distinguishing between formal and informal employment sectors. Formal sector includes people working in government paid jobs, whereas the informal includes peasant farmers, fishermen, traders, tailors, builders, butchers and transporters. The influence on recruitment in these sectors of factors like education, sex, age, and family background is then compared. The differences between these two sectors with respect to income, job-satisfaction and location are also investigated.

The study reveals that:

- Boys over 17 years have a greater access to formal jobs.
- Rural youth with less than school certificate often leave formal occupations and enter informal sector.
- Informal sector is open to boys and girls of all standards. Entry is determined by the opportunities and market demands of that area and by the holding of informal acquired skills. Financial returns are often low because of lack of capital, lack of technical skills such as accounting and dealing with credit.
- Young people move between jobs to maximize status and income.

Vail, D.J.: "Induced Farm Innovation and Derived Scientific Research Strategy: The Choice of Techniques in Developing Smallholder Agriculture in Land Abundant Areas." East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol. No. 19.

The central argument of this paper is that without prior investigation of the economic and technical problems of a particular farming system it is not possible to choose the most effective line of applied research. The problem must be identified first and qualified.

The author picks on Teso's experience to illustrate how to approach the problem of labor shortages. After analyzing the problem he argues that labor shortage cannot be overcome merely by exhorting farmers to greater worker effort. Instead it might be overcome through better health and nutrition, easier access to fuel and water, and a higher marginal return to farm work.

He argues that even though it is true that plant breeding research can contribute to higher labor productivity in a land abundant system thereby easing labor shortages by releasing for other uses, there is still a strong case for research or directly labor saving and task speeding innovations in form of implements which either make hand labor more efficient or replace it with other power sources.

The author then lists a package of implements which should be capable of rapid adaptation to areas like Teso to harness animal power in order to put efficiency in the whole farming system.

Wabwire, L.: Some Economic Aspects of The Broiler Meat Industry in Uganda. With Particular reference to Greater Kampala Area.
M. Sc. Thesis, M.U. (1974).

An examination of the factors affecting the profitability of the broiler production enterprises, the nature of government policy towards them, and an evaluation of the future prospects.

Factors affecting production of poultry meat, as identified by this study are: high feed costs, high chick costs, high chick mortality, uncertainty of poultry prices, limited veterinary services, and medicines, labor and capital. A detailed discussion of how these factors affect production is undertaken, and a number of proposals on how to overcome these constraints.

Wankoko Co-operative Society is used to illustrate co-operative operation in a broiler industry, and also to illustrate the economic considerations that must be taken into account by producers, traders, and co-operatives interested in poultry business. The implications of government policy of regulating foreign currency and setting maximum prices for poultry and poultry products are critically examined.

Future demand and supply of poultry meat, and factors on which they depend are analyzed.

SIP ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BUSOGA

Balyejusa, V.: Problems of Groundnut Production in Busoga for Home Consumption and Cash. Special Project M.U. (1972/3). (All special projects are available in "Africana" section, M.U. Library.)

A study based on observation of 25 farmers and six case studies. According to the observations made, planting is done late and at large spacing intervals leading to rosette disease. Improper weeding in the early stages and using the same plot throughout the seasons without application of fertilizer or even manure was very common. Drying and storage were not done properly and this caused fungal attack.

Groundnut production is women's domain.

The author suggests the solution to these problems lies in the use of more trained extension staff to keep farmers informed about practices that will lead to higher yields. Incentives should be given to farmers through better prices and cooperative marketing facilities.

Brandt: Farm Management Under the Impact of Urbanization and Industrialization in the Jinja Area. Some First Impressions. RFR No. 142 (1968).

The paper discusses briefly the problem of matoke supply to the industrial and urban center of Jinja. Three main supply areas are identified, their suitability as matoke exporters is analyzed by looking at their soils and soil fertility, competing crops, farm size, land and labor availability.

Most of the matoke comes to Jinja from areas removed farther and farther away from Jinja town because land near the town tends to be overcropped and subdivided as the employees in this town try to reduce their cost of living by acquiring small shambas near the town.

Brandt, H., Schubert, B., and Gerken, E.: The Industrial Town as a Factor of Economic and Social Development. The Example of Jinja/Uganda. (Weltforum Verlag. Munchen, 1971.)

A study in three parts. Part one is about the organization of peasant farms under the influence of industrial town. This part tries to isolate the effects which the town of Jinja may have had on the peasant farms and its nearness with respect to the way agricultural resources have been

allocated. It also tries to identify any effects the town may have had on these farmers' personalities and other behavioral characteristics which would affect farm organization. The ultimate aim of the study is to show whether or not a new industrial settlement in a developing country plays a role in rural development. Part two is about the impact of urbanization and industrialization on food marketing. It investigates the adaptation of food marketing sytems to the changes in demand induced by urbanization and industrialization. The marketing of two staples--maize and matoke--is used for the investigation. This analysis begins with the supply structure, and shows which marketing organizations, market control organizations and market structures have developed to perform these functions. The authors make several proposals for the improvement of the marketing systems.

Social structures and the industrial town is the subject of the third part. This part attempts to identify the changes that are observable in rural social structures as a result of the establishment of industries nearby.

These three studies lead to the evaluation of the strategy of regional industrialization's contribution to development policy.

Fallers, L.A.: Bantu Bureaucracy. A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda. The University of Chicago Press (1965).

This is a study of conflict and integration in the Soga political institutions both under traditional and modern conditions. Integration between institutions is defined as a situation whereby persons satisfying the demands placed upon them by one institution would at the same time be satisfying the demands placed upon them by another institution. Conflict on the other hand is taken to mean a situation where this conformity of norms does not exist. Conflict and integration contributed to the maintaining of a total society in persistence and change for the provision of the basic human requirements as well as the intergenerational functions of reproduction and the rearing of children.

The political institutions during the traditional period were corporate lin age, and state. The author illustrates how the structuring of authority in terms of these two institutions resulted in conflict. For instance, in lineage there was lack of institutionalization of differential authority. In the state, on the other hand, authority was the property of individuals arranged in a hierarchy of superiors. This means that the society lineage norms and the state norms governing authority were inevitably in conflict. Of these conflicts, those centered upon the ruler had the most pervasive consequences because they involved authority over the state as a whole.

In the modern period an institution of bureaucracy was superimposed upon the traditional tension between the state and lineage and produced a new conflict arising out of structural incompatibilities between the civil servant and these two institutions. The problems of those exercising authority are discussed at length in this book. Also discussed is the structuring of kinship groups, village communities and their administrative structure, and the economic life of the Soga people.

Fallers, L.A.: Clan and Lineage in Busoga. East African Institute of Social Research (E.A.I.S.R.) Conference Paper 1951. (This paper may be found in Miss Harmsworth's library.)

Brief description and analysis of the role of kinship and clanship in the structuring of behavior in Busoga Society. It identifies inconsistencies and conflicts of roles and features of coherence and complementarity. The study is put into context by a brief description of Basoga kin groupings and occupation. The three kin groupings identified are: patrikin, matrikin and affines. In the kinship structuring of roles, the paper looks at the politico-economic and kinship roles. The group of the patrikin is ideally the most solidified group in the society. They stand together for protection of group prestige, power and the inviolability of the ancestral land.

The findings of this research did not support the general belief of a picture of unity expressed in the ideal roles of the authoritarian, protective father, the obedient son and the loyal brothers. It showed widespread evidence of conflict within the patrikin.

Relations with the mother's kin are in many ways just the opposite of what they should be. There is also a high incidence of instability in Soga marriages.

The kinship structuring of roles in Busoga does not form a completely consistent and harmonious pattern, and there is obvious inconsistency between the accepted norm and concrete behavior.

The paper also suggests the causes of these tensions centering around various roles.

Fallers, L.A.: Village Chiefs in Busoga. E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper (1952). (This paper may be obtained from the library of Miss J. Harmsworth.)

A number of conflicts and problems inherent in the present position of the village chiefs in Busoga are described. These

conflicts are placed under two categories. Conflicts in the day-to-day life of the village, the African local government and the District administration. Conflicts under this category arise from conflict of role of the same official. For example, the village chief is the upholder of traditional justice and morality in the village, yet he often turns to illegal manipulations in land because the Buganda pattern of mailo land denies him the income which he desires as a symbol of his status.

The village chief is also in conflict with government, with the African local government, with his own people, and even with himself, simply because he is the foundation of the African local government, but has grievances against the government which he is expected to support.

Conflicts under the second category are of a long-term nature, and are connected with the direction that social and economic change will take in Busoga. For example, the activities of the chief on the land result in the dissipation of its soil fertility, through insecurity of tenure and a high turnover of tenants. This poses a threat to the welfare of the future generations.

The author asserts that the problems of the land tenure system in Busoga would cause problems even if it worked according to the formal rules because it seems inadequate for economic development. This is because land rights in Busoga are distributed among four groups instead of the peasant and are therefore not freely transferrable properties.

Harmsworth, J.: Cows for Christmas. (The paper may be obtained from the author.)

This paper is based on field work in four areas of Uganda (Nabwigulu in C. Busoga, Budondo in Busoga, Bulangira in N. Bukedi, and Kadoki in South Teso). In these areas cotton plays a very important role in the peasants' economy because it is the main source of cash. The paper's main concern is why there has been stagnation in cotton production and productivity in these areas for so long in spite of exhortation and aid.

The study identifies four main factors affecting cotton output in these areas. These are: shortage of land; shortage of labor; lack of entrepreneurial skills and general knowledge; and bad husbandry methods. The author concludes that the people in the areas have the incentive but they are constrained by many factors. Without an agricultural revolution, farming cannot be an economic undertaking.

Harmsworth, J.: Dynamics of Kisoga Land Tenure. E.A.I.S.R. (1962). (The paper may be obtained from the author.)

The author argues that all the different land tenure systems

which exist in Busoga are changing seemingly in the direction of individual ownership, free sale and rent of land, and the bequeathing of property by written wills.

The five ways of acquiring individually owned land, namely, purchase, gift, inheritance, loan and rent, are described, indicating the role of the Kisoko chief during the transaction, as well as the rights of the holder. Land use is described indicating the difficulties posed by the type of land tenure.

The paper finally discusses the factors affecting the system of land tenure, such as historical factors, e.g., invasions and conquests, as well as economic factors like migrations, markets for food crops, and the higher standard of education which implies higher cash requirements.

Harmsworth, J.: Peasant Agricultural Labor Organization in Four Selected Areas of Eastern Uganda. E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper (1962). (A copy of the paper may be obtained from the author.)

This paper is about labor organization on peasant farms in Ngora (South Teso), Bulangira (Budaka Bugwere), Budondo (Busoga) and Kamuli (Central Busoga). It is divided into two parts: one dealing with a wide range of aspects of the nature of the farm holdings with respect to food and cash crops grown, population and farm size, and the pattern of settlement. Differences in four areas are pointed out where they occur. This section also describes the incentive to work on these holdings. Farming is regarded as a way of life rather than an occupation. It is geared toward the minimum requirements of food, money for taxes, and a few clothes. People work because they have nothing else to do, and because they have to get food and pay taxes. In general, incentives tend to be negative rather than positive.

The author explains that the general lack of incentives in these areas is because the hoe is the main tool. Hoeing is back-breaking, arduous and never-ending. Hoeing does not arouse people's enthusiasm because it is not a pleasant activity. It was observed that many people in these areas, especially women, created excuses to avoid hoeing, thereby reducing labor for farm work.

Work patterns in these areas are also described indicating where there are differences. Activities include burning of bush (which is common in Kamuli), digging the land with hoes, planting and other subsequent cultivation and harvest activities.

Part two of the paper looks at the labor organization in these areas. About ten different types were observed. They include: single farmer; man and wife; work groups based on members of the same homestead; extended family groups; true brothers, and other cooperative work groups including Kibiina. Hired labor is also used, especially in areas where there is no solidarity

of kin groups and where farming is profitable. The paper discusses these labor groups, indicating their fluid nature and the ways in which they make decisions.

The paper ends with some case studies which illustrate various aspects discussed.

Harmsworth, J.: Reaction to Extension Advice in Four Areas of Eastern Uganda. R.D.R. Paper No. 93. (Most of the R.D.R. papers are available in Dept. of Agricultural Economics Library.)

This is a paper which examines a range of factors influencing acceptance or rejection of extension advice in four areas of Eastern Uganda, including Central and South Busoga. Cotton is used to illustrate the point. People's reactions to four recommendations on planting time, spacing, spraying and mechanization were investigated. In Busoga, five reasons were identified for late planting. They include:

a. The hand hoe, the main tool, was slow in land preparation, leading to late planting.

b. Because of shortage of land, particularly in Central Busoga, farmers had to wait to plant cotton until after other crops had been harvested.

c. Some feared the risk of losing all the crop if it was planted all in one month.

d. Early planted cotton was believed to give rise to too bushy plants, resulting in reduced yields.

e. In South Busoga, cotton is a minor cash crop compared to coffee, and therefore gets minimal attention. Inaccuracies in measurements in the field led to wrong spacing; lack of pumps led to no spraying; and mechanization was not adopted, mainly because the available equipment did not meet the needs of lightening the farmers' labor for those specific operations where they themselves feel their work is hardest and most difficult.

The author suggests that the Department must consider the examination of farmers' needs in particular places and ability to develop the suitable equipment as one of the conditions for the acceptance of its recommendations.

She also recommends: examination of the basic assumption on which the Department bases its extension program because this assumption is largely erroneous. She identifies two factors which are crucial to the success of an extension program:

a. Adequate demonstration of the effectiveness of particular techniques.

b. A well-defined return, large enough and sufficiently certain, to make the additional effort worthwhile.

Langlands, B. W.: The Population Geography of Busoga District. Occasional Paper No. 40. (1971)

This is a summary of population and population densities of Busoga counties from 1911 to 1969. Accompanying maps are provided. Population densities are broken down further by subcounties and parishes according to the 1969 population census. The urban populations of Jinja, Bugembe and other towns are given.

The factors in the population distribution of Busoga are considered. They include physical, historical and demographic elements.

Mukacha, A.S.N.: Cotton Production in the Busoga District, Uganda. Special Project (1960/61)

First describes the physical, institutional and edaphic conditions of the area. The methods of cotton production are discussed in detail, including cultural practices, marketing and limiting factors. The author emphasizes that achievement of higher yields should be through the adoption of better farming practices, such as proper rotation, soil conservation, early planting, correct spacing, proper weeding, thinning and active picking. In his view, unless the confidence of the peasant farmer in the extension agents is combined with adequate staff training, nothing will be achieved.

Mulepo, E.H.: The Study of Pasture Management on Dairy Farms in South Busoga. Special Project, Makerere University. (1972/73).

Ten farmers in Busoga form the basis of this research into the use of supplementary feeding and concentrates. The research also looks at the management of pasture in the area, and analyzes its availability both in quality and quantity. The findings of the study show that neither concentrates nor supplementary feeding is used to a large extent. Fertilizer, the use of borehole water, plowing and reseeding are not common, either, However, farmers weeded pastures quite often, practiced rotation, and used pond water.

Proposals for better farm management are made.

Nsubuga, H.S.K.: Dairy Farming in Busoga, West and East Mengo Districts of Uganda. R.D.R. Paper No. 61, Makerere University. (1967). (Most of the R.D.R. papers are available in the Dept. of Agricultural Economics Library.)

Attempts to establish inputs and returns from dairy enterprises in Busoga, East and West Mengo Districts.

It points out that owing to lack of competent staff, the Department of Veterinary has put emphasis on the control of ticks, and on ensiled paddocks with sufficient water and pasture, and has neglected organizational and management skills and competence, all of which are equally important for successful dairy farming. He recommends earlier findings by Harker (1963) in respect to pasture management, and P.K. Moberly (1965) and H.R. Berunga (1967), the authors of useful material for use by extension workers.

Nsubuga's calculations show that July milk yields are generally the highest, probably because of the high dry matter content of the herbage during the June-July dry spell, leading to a higher intake, compared to the plentiful supply of grass during the wet season with high water content.

Other factors which contribute to low milk yield in the wet season are:

a. The effect of heavy storms in interrupting grazing.

b. Presence of surface rainwater which also interrupts grazing.

c. Incidence of parasites during the rainy season, which may affect intake.

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KIGEZI

Bukwira, J.S.: A Survey of Crop Production as Related to Soil Fertility and Farming Practices in Kigezi District. Special Project, M.U. (1973/74).

Relates the present crop yields to current farming practices and soil fertility. Firstly, soil samples were analyzed to find out its nutrient status. Secondly, the effect of farming practices such as spraying, on yields. Factors affecting crop productivity in Kigezi are discussed. Some of these are water availability, land tenure, population density, land fragmentation, topography, overgrazing, capital, farming practices, marketing facilities and adequacy of extension services. The study concludes that poor farming practices were largely responsible for the low yields in the District. Soil fertility on the other hand did not seem to be the source of low yields as most soils were found fertile.

Bunqutsiki, B.: Traditional Crop Storage Methods in Bufumbira County of S.W. Kigezi and Their Effect on the Stored Product Pest Populations. Special Project, M.U. (1974/75)

A range of the traditional methods used in Bufumbira is described and the storage pests associated with them identified. The study concentrated on sorghum, maize and beans, the commonest grains in Bufumbira.

Twenty different methods of storage were identified, eight pest families and one wasp parasite. The type of storage was found to influence the pest population very significantly. Sorghum stored in the granary over 10 months was found to have lost 31.63% of its weight due to associated pests. Maize stored in the granary over 6 months lost 26.36% in weight, and beans stored in the immobile baskets over 6 months had lost 9.53% in weight. Peas and millet were not affected.

Pest control measures were found inadequate and limited to traditional methods. Improvement in the storage methods is emphasized in preference to new methods because of people's low incomes.

Byarugaba, B.M.: A Study of Local Farming Practices in Rujumbura County in Relation to Soil Fertility and Conservation. Special Project, M.U. (1975/76)

The area practices the montane type of system with the banana as the most staple food crop. Shifting cultivation is dominant

in low population areas like Bugangari. Food and cash crops are grown and cattle are kept. In the South, the banana dominates followed by sweet potatoes. On the other hand, sweet potatoes dominate as a food crop in the North followed by millet. Maize and beans, however, are common in both North and South. Coffee is the main cash crop in the South, tobacco in the North. Other crops include cassava, sorghum, Irish potatoes, field peas, groundnuts and cotton, which is a relatively new crop.

In the North bush fallow is practiced, while the South practices crop rotation, strip cultivation, contour cropping as well as inter-cropping as common farming practices.

The report then looks at the farming practices in relation to soil fertility by assessing the adequacy of crop rotation, expecially in the South; and mulching in banana and coffee fields; use of farm yard manure, compost manure, crop residue.

Livestock numbers are limited by the presence of the tsetse fly. Communal grazing is very common but fencing is gaining ground. Soil erosion is mostly caused by communal grazing. The author makes a number of proposals on how to improve farming in the area.

Byagagaire, J.: Agriculture in Kigezi District, W. Province. Special Project (1953).

This is a descriptive report touching on a wide range of issues impinging on agriculture in Kigezi District. The area has been divided into 5 small geographical regions which are discussed one by one.

The tribal groupings and livestock populations are presented. Livestock improvement is discussed under the headings: feeding, management, and control of diseases, rearing of calves, and breeding.

Production of major crops like Irish and sweet potatoes, finger millet, sorghum, maize, legumes and many others is described, placing emphasis on areas where they grow, labor requirements, and growing methods.

The relative importance of various crops in the area is calculated in percentages. Seasons, land tenure, experimental agriculture, soil conservation and the resettlement scheme are all discussed.

Some proposals are then made as to what needs to be done to improve production of food and cash crops as well as livestock.

Hakiza, J.: Potato Production in Southern Kigezi. Special Project M.U. (1970/71)

Reviews present potato production methods, agronomic practices, and outlines improvement proposals. Topography, climate and soils of the area are said to favor potato growing but production is hindered by blight and bacterial wilt.

It was also found that the extension service was trying to teach farmers to use better methods of production than the present traditional ones.

Among the proposals made, the author emphasizes provision of disease-free, improved varieties, the improvement of marketing channels and price standardization.

Katarikawe, E.S.: Agricultural Aspects of the Kiga Resettlement Programme in Western Uganda. R.D.R. Paper No. 31.

The paper identifies the causes of overpopulation in South Kigezi and discusses its effect on land and land use.

Three important measures undertaken by the government to relieve this population pressure are discussed:

a. Swamp reclamation;

b. Education on methods of better farming to increase productivity;

c. The opening up of resettlements in outlying districts.

Concentration is put on the last measure--the resettlement scheme. The agriculture practiced in the overpopulated South is compared with the agriculture of North of the district.

The South is characterized by high population pressure, an intensive system which has replaced shifting cultivation, a high percentage of crop mixtures, continuous cultivation of some plots without resting, a reduction of soil fertility to low levels, soil erosion, and competition for land between crops and livestock.

On the other hand, the North is not overpopulated, shifting cultivation is practiced, there is bush fallow to allow land to recuperate, farm size is large, but there are also signs of soil exhaustion on some farms.

Katarikawe, E.S.: Some Preliminary Results of a Survey of Kiga Resettlement Schemes in Kigezi, Ankole and Toro Districts Western Uganda. R.D.R. Paper No. 31

This paper compares four areas in Kigezi, Ankole, and Toro in order to show the differences or similarities between agricultural practices of the Kiga in the resettlement areas and those in South Kigezi.

Focus is on land and labor as factors of production. It compares land availability in the four areas, farming systems, labor inputs, labor availability, hired labor, physical product and cash income.

The findings show that:

a. Resettlement has not improved farming practices;

b. Shortage of labor in resettlement areas has broken the sex specialization on the farm;

c. Income from cash crops is higher in the resettlement areas than in the home areas.

Finally, the author suggests that a long-term development strategy for South Kigezi consisting of soil fertility, introduction of higher value crops and institutional arrangements like credit, is needed.

Kalyeija, F.: The Problems Associated with Tick Control Programs in South Central Kigezi. Special Project, M.U. (1972/73).

The study was carried out in Ndorwa and Rubanda Counties with the following objectives:

--To identify the social, economic, technical and administrative problems affecting efficiency of tick control programs in the area.

--To assess the damage or loss caused by ticks and tick-borne diseases to livestock.

--To assess the possible benefits from tick control.

Major observations during the study were:

a. Tick control programs are affected by the land tenure system.

b. It is hindered by high human population densities and topography.

c. Government subsidy was properly used and has contributed to the success so far achieved.

d. The program is more successful on fenced farms than in communal grazing areas.

The conclusion emphasizes the need for continuation of tick control programs and to supplement it with control programs of other diseases, improved management and nutrition.

Kururagire, A.R.: "Land Fragmentation in Kigezi." Uganda Journal Vol. 33, Part 1 (1969)

It is argued in this paper land fragmentation underlies the economic inertness which exhibits itself in a mounting population overdependent on a stagnating subsistence agriculture.

A typical area, Rugarama is described, highlighting its subdivision into small fragmentary holdings, overpopulation, and cropping patterns.

The author, however, argues that fragmentation does not have only one side but two. It has disadvantages but some advantages as well.

The following are its disadvantages:

a. Time is wasted in walking to each plot.

b. Fragmentation prevents provision for grazing land.

c. Fragmentation makes difficult any form of scientific farming dependent upon manuring and fertilizing.

d. Cash crop farming and land mechanization are inhibited.

Two advantages are identified:

a. In Kigezi it has permitted a breakdown of clan attachments to land, and has paved the way for private land ownership.

b. It enables each farmer to have a variety of plots at different locations with different soils and different agricultural suitabilities.

Langlands, B.W.: The Population Geography of Kigezi District. Dept. of Geography, Occasional Paper No. 26 (1971). (These occasional papers are available in the Dept. of Geography and "Africana" section of the Main Library.)

In this paper statistical data is given with respect to population densities of Kigezi District, by counties, stretching

from as far back as 1921 up to 1969. The paper also presents land areas for each county. Population densities of parishes as of 1969 as well as the urban population of the major towns like Kabale and Kisoro are also given. It also discusses briefly the low population areas of Northern Kigezi.

Finally, the study discusses some factors in the population distribution of the district, especially the physical, historical and demographic circumstances.

The paper is concluded with a few proposals on land use policy in Kigezi, especially the extensive areas of forest land, swamp and game parks. He also suggests an encouragement of inter-district migrations as one of the solutions to land pressure.

Mandelbaum, May E.: The Chiga of Western Uganda. Thomas Nelson (Printers) Ltd. 1969, London and Edinburgh. (This book is available in the I.P.A. Library.)

This is an exhaustive account of the Kiga life as it was being lived in 1933. In very great detail the author describes the social structure, starting with the household, lineage, clan and relationships outside the clan. Kinship, marriage, education and religion are also covered adequately.

On the economics of the Kiga (Chiga) society, emphasis is put on the importance of land, crops grown, planting times, sex-task differentiation, storage, marketing, land rights, wealth and many other aspects of the Kiga economic life described in a very illuminating manner.

Mwebesa, L.B.: The Relative Importance of Factors Affecting Market Value of Hides and Skins in Kigezi District. Special Project, M.U.

The factors are put under several broad categories namely:

a. Factors which lead to damage when the animal is alive;

b. Factors which lead to damage during killing;

c. Those which are caused by disease;

d. Damage caused to hides and skins after flaying, during drying, during baling and transport.

The value of hides and skins in the area was found to be low due to damage by ticks, incomplete bleeding, dirty flaying conditions and careless flaying.

Mwenebirinda, W.: A Review of Some Aspects of Tobacco Production in Northern Kigezi, Uganda. Special Project, M.U. (1970/71)

The report reviews the historical background of tobacco in North Kigezi. It also lays down the recommended growing methods.

The Master Growers' Scheme which was operated by the Department of Agriculture is discussed. It treats in detail the role of cooperatives, field operations, diseases and their control, finance, harvesting, curing and marketing.

Some of the problems in production are: pests and diseases, too early or too late harvesting, and limited extension service.

The author believes that the Scheme has helped people to get more cash but the Scheme as a whole suffers from insufficient funding.

Mugyenzi, A.N.: Study of Production, Curing and Marketing of Flue-Cured Tobacco in Kigezi District. Unpublished Special Project, M.U. (1972/3) (All Special Projects are found in "Africana" Makerere University Main Library).

Begins with a review of the historical development of the tobacco industry in Kigezi from 1949. The role of the Department of Agriculture in finance and supervision is emphasized. As a background to the study, the author describes the ecological conditions, the place of tobacco in contributing to farmers' revenue, and its relationship with other crops, especially with regard to its rotation with other crops in the farming system.

The study looks at many other aspects of tobacco, such as curing and marketing, diseases, and indicating where success has and has not been achieved.

According to the survey, land devoted to tobacco is limited to a tiny portion of about ½ acre in general. Extension services through cooperatives were fairly adequate but yields were still low. Farmers who grow tobacco are unable to grow some of the other cash crops like cotton because of the high labor requirement.

Some of the factors determining the size of returns from tobacco in the area were identified by looking at the factors that directly affect it. These include: farm size, farm operations, wood fuel availability, capital, credit availability, cooperative societies and marketing.

The author also suggests ways to relax some of these where they exist as constraints.

Ntare, B.R.: A Study of the Production Methods of Sorghum, Beans, Peas, and Irish Potatoes in Rubanda County of South Kigezi District. Special Project (1974/75), M.U

The study has four objectives:

a. to review the currently used methods of crop production
b. to identify the major constraints in production
c. to estimate production levels
d. to suggest ways of increasing production.

The whole range of agronomic practices for each of the four crops were looked into with special emphasis on land preparations, time of planting, crop rotations and crop protection.

The major findings of the study were: Sorghum and peas are the most important food crops followed by beans and Irish potatoes; subsistence production is predominant.

The agronomic practices were poor. Most farmers grew their crops in mixtures. Low yielding varieties were mostly used. Fields are highly fragmented. Use of fertilizer and chemicals was absent.

The author recommends better seed bed preparation, early planting, proper spacing, timely and adequate weeding, improved seed varieties and maintainance of soil fertility.

Yeld, R.: "Land Hunger in Kigezi"
Nkanga No. 3
(This publication is available in MISR Library).

The paper begins with a discussion of the factors that have given rise to the population explosion in Kigezi. Some of these are:

a. Widely practiced polygamy
b. Early marriage for girls
c. Inheritance of widows
d. Great value attached to birth of children.

An external factor which has played a big part is the large scale immigrations and settlement by people from Rwanda. The nature of the political and geographical boundaries of the mountainous Kigezi area is also regarded as having prevented free expansion of settlements into surrounding districts.

Fragmentation of land is said to be a consequence of social and population factors which led to the subdivision of man's most important property, land and cattle.

The resettlement policy between 1946 and 1950 is shown to have failed to bring about a large scale re-organization of agricultural land use and land consolidation.

The paper discussed the reasons for this failure. The author, however, notes that in spite of land fragmentation there have been improvements in agriculture, such as control of soil erosion.

The paper concludes with a number of proposals to reduce population pressure and land re-organization. They include: provision of employment by establishing light industries such as coffee pulperies, vegetable drying; re-introduction of settlement schemes taking care to ensure that controlled agricultural development both in the settlement area and in the home area is planned; consolidation of holdings as a prerequisite for efficient cash crop farming through the buying up of land by a minority of specialized farmers who would provide conditions of security for industrial or agricultural employment for the majority.

Yeld, E.R.: The Family in Social Change
A study among Kiga of Kigezi District, South-West Uganda.
Ph.D. Thesis, University of East Africa (1969).

This is a study of the Kiga family in social change. The analysis is in two dimensions. The first dimension traces changes in family patterns and relates them to changes in political, social, economic and religious systems which took place between 1900 and 1967. Changes in these systems include the incorporation of Kigezi into a wider administrative structure, population increase, the resettlement scheme, the Kiga economy up to 1930's, the money economy, labor migrations, traditional religious cults, Christianity, and the elite.

Differences between the overpopulated South and settlement communities in the North form a framework for a comparative analysis of change in family patterns of the Kiga society. This is the second dimension of the study. It looks at the labor aspects, patterns of neighborhood co-operation, the local elite in South Kigezi who are compared with those in North Kigezi.

SIP ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

TESO

Akishule, J.W.: An Evaluation of Local Storage Techniques and Assessment of Damage of Stored products by Insects to Grain Legumes and Oil Crops at the Peasant Farm Level in Soroti County of Teso District. Special Project (1971/72)

An attempt to evaluate the local storage techniques in Teso as typified by Soroti county. It is argued in this study that cheapness of construction is of paramount consideration in Teso, and this generally implies the use of local materials because the cost of constructing a modern storage building is beyond the means of most peasant farmers. Cost consideration is also the reason for inadequate drying.

The study takes an inventory of storage methods in Soroti, describes them and the crops for which they are used. Ten different methods ranging from granary to sack are identified.

For each storage method the commonest insect attack was investigated as well as the damage caused. The results showed that:

1. The granary was the method used to store grain for up to 12 months. Others were used for shorter periods.

2. Damage was over 90% depending on length and method of storage and type of grain stored.

3. Control of insect attack includes sundrying, mixing with ashes, storing the grain in its sheath or pod, and use of smoke.

4. Insect attack results in loss in weight, loss in nutritive value, loss of monetary value, loss of good seed for proper germination and loss of quantity available for beer.

Amajo, M.O.: An analysis of the Performance of two Primary Growers' Co-operative societies in Kaberamaido, Teso District.
Unpublished Special Project, M.U (1973/4)
(All Special Project are available in "Africana" Section, M.U. main Library)

The economic performance of two co-operatives and their effectiveness as channels of inputs and other services are analyzed. Effective management is treated as the key factor that determines the co-operative's performance. For this reason the characteristics of the society's officials such as their abilities, honesty, integrity and devotion were investigated.

Several criteria for measuring economic performance were used. These include:

a. Volume of business handled
b. Society's turnover according to the trading account
c. Gross Profit ratio
d. Difference between total assets and liabilities
e. Current ratio (index of strength of working capital).
f. Ratio of fixed assets to total assets.

Some of the findings of this study were:

The performance of the two societies had been unsatisfactory mainly because of low volume of business handled, poor management, low morale of members, and embezzlement.

Carr, S.: The Impact of Government Intervention on Smallholder Development North and East Uganda. Agrarian Development Unit Occasional Paper No.5, (1982) (This paper may be borrowed from any member of staff in the Department of Agriculture, Econ. Makerere).

Seeks to trace the relationship between the interventions of government and the managerial decisions made by farmers in response.

The paper first attempts to show that farmers in the four areas of Eastern Uganda (including Teso) have been innovative and adaptive through history. This is accomplished by analyzing changes in their farming systems with particular reference to crop rotation, labor use, farm size, and work patterns.

Intervention by government falls into two broad categories; non-specific and specific interventions.

Non-specific intervention includes law and order, taxation and construction of communication network. Specific intervention includes agricultural research, extension, input supplies, and other factors intended to modify farming practices.

These interventions are given a detailed treatment in the study and their impact on farming practices is assessed.

The study concludes that agricultural research over the 50 years since 1920 had no effect on most crops except cassava and to a small extent maize and sorghum.

Cotton is singled out and used to assess the impact of extension and tractor hire service. The conclusion is that between 1929 and 1969 no discernible substantial change in cotton was due to these two forms of intervention. Government intervention through credit schemes, processing and marketing are all analyzed pointing out the causes of their failures.

The paper then turns to the actual cause of changes in the pattern of farming which has occured in the area such as; adoption of cotton, adoption of ox-cultivation, changes in farm size and changes in food crops.

Finally, the paper ends with a discussion of the implications of Uganda's experience for the future development by analyzing causes of failure of various forms of intervention and suggesting proposals.

Edvau, J.P.: Spatial Relations of Local Markets in Kaberamaido County, Teso, Uganda. Occasional Paper No. 19. Department of Geography (1971)
(This Occasional Paper is also available in "Africana", Makerere University Library.)

An examination of the spatial relationship of local markets including their distribution. The study reveals that local markets in Kaberamaido are dominated by women mainly because the markets handle agricultural produce which in African culture is the responsibility of women. This is an important role which women play in the economy because local markets are the last points in the distribution system of agricultural produce.

The study confirmed that the distribution of these markets tends to reflect factors like the communication network, population distribution and density, and settlement and administrative influence of government policy.

Epeju, W.F.: The potential for Poultry Production in Teso District, Uganda. Unpublished Special Project, M.U. (1971/2)
(All Special Projects are found in "Africana" section M.U. Main Library).

Mainly a description of the marketing channels for poultry and poultry products in Teso District. These marketing channels are divided into 4:

a. Rural trading centers
b. Livestock markets
c. Government Institutions
d. Urban markets.

The major problem in the marketing process is identified as the difficult transport to urban centers like Soroti, Mbale, Jinja and Kampala which would constitute a major market. The study also touches on the production aspect and identifies two major obstacles. These are: a distant source (Jinja) of feeds for improved types of birds making it irregular and expensive, and lack of high quality feed from local sources.

Several other factors are briefly discussed. They include social attitudes, disease, and lack of capital.

Funnel, D.C.: "Patterns of Spatial Linkage in Teso". East African Geographical Review No. 10, 1972 (This publication may be obtained from Dept. of Geog. Library, or "Africana" Section M.U. Main Library.)

An attempt to estimate the relationships between given enterprises in Teso and their suppliers so as to establish a distinct hierarchical pattern of dominance in retail trade and service provision.

From the study, the organization of retail outlets showed that:

a. The area is partitioned between Mbale and Soroti, the latter having clear dominance in the northern part of Teso District.
b. The pattern of linkages is in approximate conformity with the trade areas suggested by the "Reilly Gravitational Model".
c. Many lowest order centers are located at the boundary points of trade areas in a manner suggested by the concepts of spatial competition.
d. The second order centers do not seem to have developed their systems as fully as might be expected.

Uchendu, V.C. and Anthony, K.R.M. : Agricultural change in Teso District. East African Literature Bureau (1975) (A copy may be obtained from Msemakweli)

This in an examination of a complex of economic, cultural and technical factors determining agricultural change in Teso. The study attempts to answer a wide range of questions which include: the technical possibilities for increasing farm productivity in Teso, extension policy and contact with farmers' response, the influence of the social system on the acceptance or rejection of agricultural change, the influence of government policy through co-operatives, marketing boards, credit, subsidies and communications.

The authors attempt to explain why some innovations in Teso have been accepted and why others have been rejected.

They conclude with suggestions for improvement needed in the Teso institutional structure and the economic environment.

Uchendu, V.C.: "The Role of Intermediate Technology in East African Agricultural Development". East African Journal of Rural Development, Vol.8, No. 1 and 2 (1975)
(This Jnl. is available in "Africana" and Makerere Univ. and also in Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library)

A distinction is made between two types of technology within which farm technical innovations fall.

1. A technology-centered farm adaption in which operations of a farm unit are determined by the available imported technology, and;

2. a farm-centered adaption in which the bottlenecks faced in a farming system determine the kind of technology, particularly its timing.

Group farms are cited as an example of a technology-centered adaption. Teso Cotton Cultivation is used to illustrate technical innovations which predetermine the farming operations.

He argues that early achievements in cotton output in this district resulted from expansion of acreage rather than rising productivity. He then discusses reasons why these technology-centered innovations which have been recommended to the Teso cotton farmers have not been adopted. He asserts that the farmer has been unable to utilize farming practice innovations like row-planting, correct spacing because of lack of labor-saving equipment.

He concludes that the two innovations of 1950's and 1960's - the introduction of the Tractor Hire units and the Group Farms based on tractor mechnization failed because they failed to meet the criterion of efficient sequence of technical innovations which fosters cumulative technology that in turn sustains agricultural development.

The concept of efficient sequence of technical innovations requires agricultural administrators to recognize when available technical innovation creates a number of bottlenecks which must be relieved by subsequent technical innovations.

The farmer also must learn to exploit technical linkages which have an imbedded economic component.

Vail, D.J.: The Public Sector as Stimulus of Innovation Adoption in African Smallholder Agriculture: A case study in Teso District Uganda. Ph.D. Thesis (1971), Yale Univ.
(A copy of the thesis may be found in Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library M.U.)

This is a study about the diffusion of agricultural innovations in the Teso peasant's economy. It reviews the agricultural history of Teso in three time periods, namely pre-colonial, colonial and post independence.

It delineates features of the natural environment, the Teso culture, and social organizations which are important determinants of patterns of farming activity.

It also summarizes the results of an intensive survey of the farming systems and recent farmer responses to innovational opportunities in two parishes of Teso, giving a picture of local agriculture, including farm resource endowments, resource allocation to crops, use of purchased inputs, crop income, non-farm income sources and many other aspects. It also suggests the constraints limiting cash crop production.

It presents and interprets case histories of specific technical innovations as recommended to farmers. It identifies characteristics of new practices which affect their appropriateness to the area's farming conditions and indicates necessary components of a growth-directed strategy, such as field demonstrations, credit, and marketing facilities.

A discussion of minimum modification necessary in the Ministry of Agriculture organization, staff levels and programs required for rapid diffusion of "packages" of farming innovations are discussed. He suggests that farmer education, input supply, credit, produce marketing, and some form of public insurance against risk of crop failure would all contribute to rapid adoption.

Finally, the author uses the Linear Programming technique to present a package of optimum practices which is consistent with farmers' knowledge, values, and financial resources.

Vincent, J.: Teso In Transformation. The Political Economy of Peasant and Class in Eastern Africa. University of California Press (1982).

This study is a good example of how international capitalism transformed an indigenous tribal and mainly pastoral group of people in Uganda and eventually integrated them into the world economy producing cotton for the world market. The central thesis of the book is that the history of Teso can only be understood within the framework of international capitalism.

It is also in part an analysis of a dynamic situation, taking Teso through Kakungulu era until after the establishment of European colonialism. Throughout this narration the transformation of Teso economy and society is analysed at various stages in history. The main agents in the change process and their role are described in detail. Some of these agents include Kakungulu, the Christian missionaries, and the colonial chief. The social consequences of the transformation approach were an emergence of classes, conflict, and many contradictions.

Watts, E.R.: Staffing Aspects of the Extension Saturation Project in Uganda: Preliminary Results. Rural Development Research Paper No. 90 (1980). All (except a few) R.D.R. Papers are found in Dept. of Agric. Econ. Library.

These preliminary impressions of the staffing aspects of the Project are based on a study of farmers in Miroi Parish, Teso, with Aligoi parish serving as a control area.

The paper defines the basic aim of the ESP as the concentration of effort in a limited area which should have some important effects on the clients as well as the change agents: the paper then attempts to assess the achieved as well as the potential benefits to extension staff effectiveness. First, the factors limiting the effectiveness of extension are enumerated. They include:

a. Factors derived from the nature of the clients;

b. Factors primarily concerned with extension staff or their organization; and

c. The content of extension.

The potential benefits in extension staff effectiveness from the use of ESP are considered, and they include: mobility of staff, group contacts with farmers, new extension methods, District Farm Institute (D.F.I.) recruitment, morale of extension staff, and many others.

Some of these potential benefits were investigated in order to show the extent to which they had been achieved.

The paper also gives a summary of reasons why some areas covered by ESP achieved greater progress than others.

For example, four areas under ESP namely, Chelekula, Miroi, Bukasa and Kibibi were compared in terms of ESP achievements. Miroi in Teso was the most successful. In Buganda, however, performance was poor, and reasons for this were: the decline of coffee price, the surplus of coffee and consequent de-emphasis in extension, lack of government progress in diversification, farmers' own diversification efforts, general shortage

of viable information leading to non-viable practices, and an apparent tendency toward concentrating on Progressive Farmers. These are contrasted with the advantages of Niroi, which include, land availability, ox-cultivation, which eases labor shortages, and better prospects of cotton as a cash crop.

Finally, seven tentative conclusions as to the key factors determining the success of the Extension Saturation Project are made.

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APPENDIX XIV

SURVEY TEAM

Ms. M. Carol Jaenson, a resident of Jinja, Uganda, and staff member of The Experiment in International Living. Ms. Jaenson has been Co-Director of an integrated rural development program in Busoga Province since 1980. She received her M.A. and M.Ed. in Applied Anthropology from Teachers College, Columbia University, where she is a candidate for the Ph.D.

Ms. Josephine Harmsworth, also a resident of Jinja, is a Development Consultant. She holds a Masters Degree in Economics from the London School of Economics.

T. B. Kabwegyere. Professor Kabwegyere is a political sociologist on the faculty of Makerere University. He holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Essex in England.

P. J. Muzaale. Professor Muzaale is Chairman of the Department of Social Work and Administration at Makerere University. He received his training in the United States and earned his DSW degree from the University of California at Berkeley.

L. Msemakweli. Mr. Msemakweli conducted the literature review. He is a Lecturer in the Department of Agricultural Economics at Makerere University.