

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

BY

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A Thesis submitted as a partial fulfilment for the Degree  
of Master of Arts in the University of East Africa

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## A B S T R A C T

This thesis aims at analysing the distribution of migrant peoples in Uganda, and to map these distributions as they are revealed in the 1959 Uganda General African Census. For the purposes of this thesis, a migrant is considered a person living outside the area of origin of his/her tribe; this definition includes, therefore, international and internal movements of people. Each group is examined separately on a sub-county (gombolola) basis. The main reception areas are then examined on a county (saza) basis.

The sequence of events leading to the 1959 distribution of migrants is considered by the analysis of earlier "Census" data; but these distributions have not been mapped. The thesis is primarily a study in population geography in which a consideration is given to the conditions in the "home" areas that have promoted migration, and in the "reception" areas which have made it possible to accommodate these migrants. Population movement will be seen to be a major factor in the understanding of the current distribution of people in Uganda.

## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

It was possible to do the research for this work because I was offered a Research Assistan<sup>t</sup>ship by the African Studies Programme, Makerere University College, and also received occasional financial support from two friends, Dr. Johannes and Mrs. Nanna Koznild of Copenhagen, Denmark. My thanks to all of them.

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## S U M M A R Y

Before the establishment of British rule in Uganda, there was a limited migration by some tribal groups. This was done either intentionally, as in the case of the Iteso, for instance, who founded small colonies among the Padhola, Bagwe and Samia of Eastern Uganda, or unintentionally as with the Hima, who in pursuit of grazing areas for their animals, found themselves in other tribal areas. But it was in the early 1920's that the international and internal migrants began to converge on certain parts of Uganda, particularly Buganda and western Busoga. These areas attracted migrants initially because of their favourable geographical positions, but mainly because of expansion in economic development. Rainfall is adequate for most parts of the year; the soil is fertile, and a variety of crops, both for food and cash, can be grown with little effort. Thus the immigrant population found it easier to make a living here than in their areas of origin, either as "porters" on Ganda and Soga farms, or employees in industries of Kampala, Jinja, Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Plantations, or as herdsmen in northern Buganda and Teso. Some migrants also took up cultivation of cash crops on their own where land was available at little or no cost, especially in Buganda.

The influx of migrants to certain parts of Uganda was helped by two other situations, namely, the improvement of transport facilities between areas of emigration and those of immigration; secondly, information about work in the former was easier to obtain, because the Government and associations of employers set up recruiting organisations in areas of potential labour supply. Migration in Uganda, therefore, was of two types; the organised one, and that / which resulted from spontaneous movement of people to areas of economic opportunities.



The lack of economic development schemes and critical land shortage in areas of emigration prompted the flow of migrants from their home areas. This was particularly the case with the Rwandans, Rundi, Lugbara and the Luo. The Hima section of Nkole often left their areas in pursuit of herding practices. Besides reasons mentioned above as motivating emigration, social problems were also responsible. Among these are family quarrels, disagreement with the administration, witchcraft and poisoning.

International migrants treated here are from the neighbouring countries, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Tanzania, Kenya and the Sudan. The Kenya migrants are examined in two parts: Kenyans without tribal specification, and the Luo who have been consistently returned as a separate group in the Uganda Population Censuses. With regards internal migration, consideration is given to what were regarded as the "main tribes" in 1959 with a separate chapter being devoted to each in turn. The minor tribes are treated in a single chapter at the end. Judging by their male/female ratios, most migrant groups in Uganda were permanently settled in areas of immigration by 1959.



S E C T I O N .   O N E

I N T E R N A T I O N A L   M I G R A N T S

## DISTRIBUTION OF RWANDANS AND RUNDI MIGRANTS

Background to their presence in Uganda

The Rwandans and Rundi are inhabitants of Rwanda and Burundi respectively. In Uganda, however, Rwandan, or Munyarwanda applies to the inhabitant of that part of Kigezi District, which was allocated to Uganda by the 1910 Brussels Convention. The fluidity of international frontier between Bufumbira and Rwanda kept the people on both sides of the border in close contact and the name "Rwandan", or "Munyarwanda" remained stamped on all of them. Now, with realisation of the inconvenience caused by applying "Rwandan" to a domicile of Rwanda and an Ugandan indiscriminately some people refer to Uganda Rwandans as Bafumbira. In 1921 Rwanda inhabitants of Kigezi numbered 47,851. They were all in Bufumbira, except for seven who lived in Ankole District. It is this group of Rwandans that have spread to other counties of Kigezi and eventually to Ankole, although they could have been joined by Rwandans from across the border at a later date. The 1931 census results give a total of 76,844 Rwandans in Uganda; only 103 of them were enumerated on non-native schedules, but the rest were in Kigezi.<sup>1</sup> In 1948, Kigezi with 96,207 Rwandans accounted for about 33.3% of all Rwandans enumerated in Uganda in that year. This ration was reduced to 27.2% in 1959 Uganda General Census, showing that there were more Rwanda migrants in Uganda at the last date, or the rate of natural increase of Rwandans in Buganda was higher.

In the treatment of the Rwandans, an assumption will be made that all members of this group in Kigezi District up to 1959 were originally of Bufumbira county, and Kigezi-Rwanda migrants in the rest of Uganda will be discounted. The following analysis, therefore, only concerns those Rwandans outside Kigezi, on the assumption that these were all migrants either from Rwanda or from their own area in Kigezi.

The states of Rwanda and Burundi had, and still have many things in common that it is proper to treat the background to Rwanda and Rundi

migration to Uganda together. Placed in the heart of Africa, Rwanda and Burundi remained hidden from European explorers, the harbingers of European colonisation, until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Consequently, it was only in 1892 that Germany effectively imposed her rule on them. Both were an enigma even to geographers, who up till the beginning of the nineteenth century, represented them on maps, "either by a white patch or by a lake... from which flowed the Nile, Congo and Zambesi Rivers".<sup>2</sup> The two countries were forced out of German rule after First World War and became a mandated territory as Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. At the end of Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi was transferred to the United Nations Organisation as a Trust Territory still under Belgian authority. It remained so till July 1962 when the two states of Rwanda and Burundi emerged to independence. For many centuries both countries were kingdoms ruled by monarchs with absolute powers.<sup>3</sup> These Kings were from the Tutsi, a Hamitic tribe commonly believed to have migrated from Ethiopia. In 1956 the Tutsi formed about 16% in Rwanda and below 10% in Burundi. The largest tribe, the Hutu, of Bantu origin were 83% of all Rwandans, and about 90% of Rundi, while the third tribe, the Twa, were numerically insignificant. The Hutu are agriculturalists, while the Twa are hunters and are engaged in pottery. The Twa are believed to be the oldest inhabitants of Rwanda and Burundi; they resemble the Pygmies and live in mountains and forested areas. The Tutsi aristocrats are pastoralists and devote much of their time to their famed cattle. In both countries, the Tutsi posed as the ordained masters of the land and exacted feudal dues from the Hutu and Twa. The successive European administrations did not stop these feudal practices.

Physiographically, Rwanda and Burundi consist of a high land cut into by numerous streams. The elevation, which reaches 6,750 feet to 9,000 feet above sea level, separates the drainage basins of the Nile and Congo. The influence of elevation gives the greater part of these countries a temperate climate. The area that makes up Rwanda and Burundi is divided roughly into three rainfall regions, western, middle and

eastern, with an average annual rainfall of over 50 inches, 40—50 inches and less than 40 inches respectively. Generally, there is a great relief variation, which in turn influences climate; but the average annual temperature is 68°F. The soil is poor, except in the valleys where it is quite fertile. As a result of torrential rains, land has been subjected to denudation. A large cattle population has helped in the destruction of the soil. On the whole, erosion and soil impoverishment have considerably affected human occupation of the land. Crops cultivated include beans, peas, sorghum, finger-millet, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize pumpkins, tomatoes, pepper and bananas. The irregularity of rainfall has been responsible for droughts and famines in Rwanda and Burundi. The last two famines of 1927-1929 and 1943-44 caused deaths and reduced the population of both countries.<sup>4</sup>

Rwanda and Burundi are among the most heavily populated countries in Africa, and the land is not endowed with great natural resources to support this population, which in absence of fertility, has been growing at the rate of 3% a year. Earlier, it was believed that Rwanda and Burundi were "lands flowing with milk and honey... in the literal as well as the metaphorical sense".<sup>5</sup> In its report to the United Nations in 1950, the Belgian Government, however, summed up the real conditions of these countries: "Ruanda-Urundi has always been a country of famine and shortage. The country as a whole is poor. The irregularity of rainfall is a serious disadvantage. A too dense and ever-increasing population has to live on the very rugged land, which erosion, either agricultural or geological is impoverishing year by year. These basic facts condition Ruanda-Urundi's whole economy and cannot be too frequently recalled".<sup>6</sup>

So economic reasons underlay the need for migration; but there were others of nearly equal importance. The administration was strict; feudal dues persisted in both countries till 1949 in addition to taxation; the Belgian administration forced Africans to grow food and cash crops, especially with the introduction of coffee. In 1948 the Belgian Govern-

ment put the reasons for migration clearly to the United Nations:

"The causes of these migrations have been explained many times: the wish for political or family independence, the wish to escape work on public projects (roads, anti-erosion measures), the wish to return with much money, and the necessity for a young man to have been in Uganda at least once before he can marry since these journeys are regarded as proof of maturity".<sup>7</sup>

#### RWANDANS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE KIGEZI DISTRICT:

For several decades, Rwanda has been a kind of labour divide from where able-bodied men flowed to the adjacent countries of Uganda, Congo (Kinshasa) and to a lesser extent, Tanzania. Of these countries, Uganda attracted more Rwandan migrants because of her internal prosperity and because the Congo, which could have absorbed more labour, was associated with Belgian administration whose strictness deterred Rwandans. In Uganda, a labourer could leave his employer at any time. This amount of freedom to a people who have long been used to forced labour meant a lot. On the other hand, in the Congo there was a tendency to create a permanent labour force even if this went against the desire of the employees. Also Uganda was given preference by the Rwandans because there are people of the same ethnic origins there with whom they still maintained close links, and among whom they could feel more at home.

The presence of Rwandans began to be felt in Uganda as early as 1920's. This was the period of expansion in acreage under cotton, coffee and sugar; it was also the time of construction of Tororo-Mbulamuti Railway. There was labour shortage for government services, because "Kasanvu", one month free labour for government from chiefs and their subjects, was abolished. In general, there was an economic boom in Uganda which demanded more labour that could not be supplied from within. The Rwandans came to Uganda in search of paid jobs at the time when their labour was most needed. Buganda proved the greatest attraction to most of them because here they got employed on Ganda farms as porters. In

addition to this, Labour Department and Uganda Planters' Association recruited Rwandan labourers for work on government projects and large non-African plantations. In 1925, Labour Department alone recruited 11,771 labourers from the southwestern districts of Uganda, the great majority of whom came from Belgian territory.<sup>8</sup> The number kept on increasing until it was estimated that about 100,000 migrants from Rwanda went to Uganda every year.<sup>9</sup> To many Rwandans, Uganda in general, and Buganda in particular, became a beacon of economic hope. Some of them returned to Rwanda after equipping themselves with money and other necessities; but others decided to settle temporarily on plots where they were allowed to cultivate cash crops on their own. Up to 1931 there was hardly any sign of migrant Rwandans settling permanently, because in that year there were 76,844 Rwandans in Uganda. Only 103, nearly all men, were away from Kigezi district.<sup>10</sup> With continued prosperity and availability of good agricultural land, more Rwandans decided to settle permanently in Uganda. In 1933, there were 9,000 Rwandans in Uganda who were not expected to return.<sup>11</sup> These were mainly in Buganda as confirmed by the Report of an Investigation Committee into Unskilled Labour in 1937: "Many Banyarwanda are now settled in Buganda, and it is understood that a considerable number have brought their families with them, intending not to return to their own country".<sup>12</sup>

By 1943 about 15,000 Rwandans were permanently settled in Buganda alone. There were some more in Ankole.<sup>13</sup>

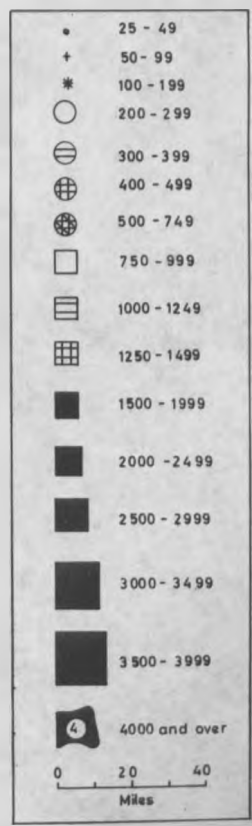
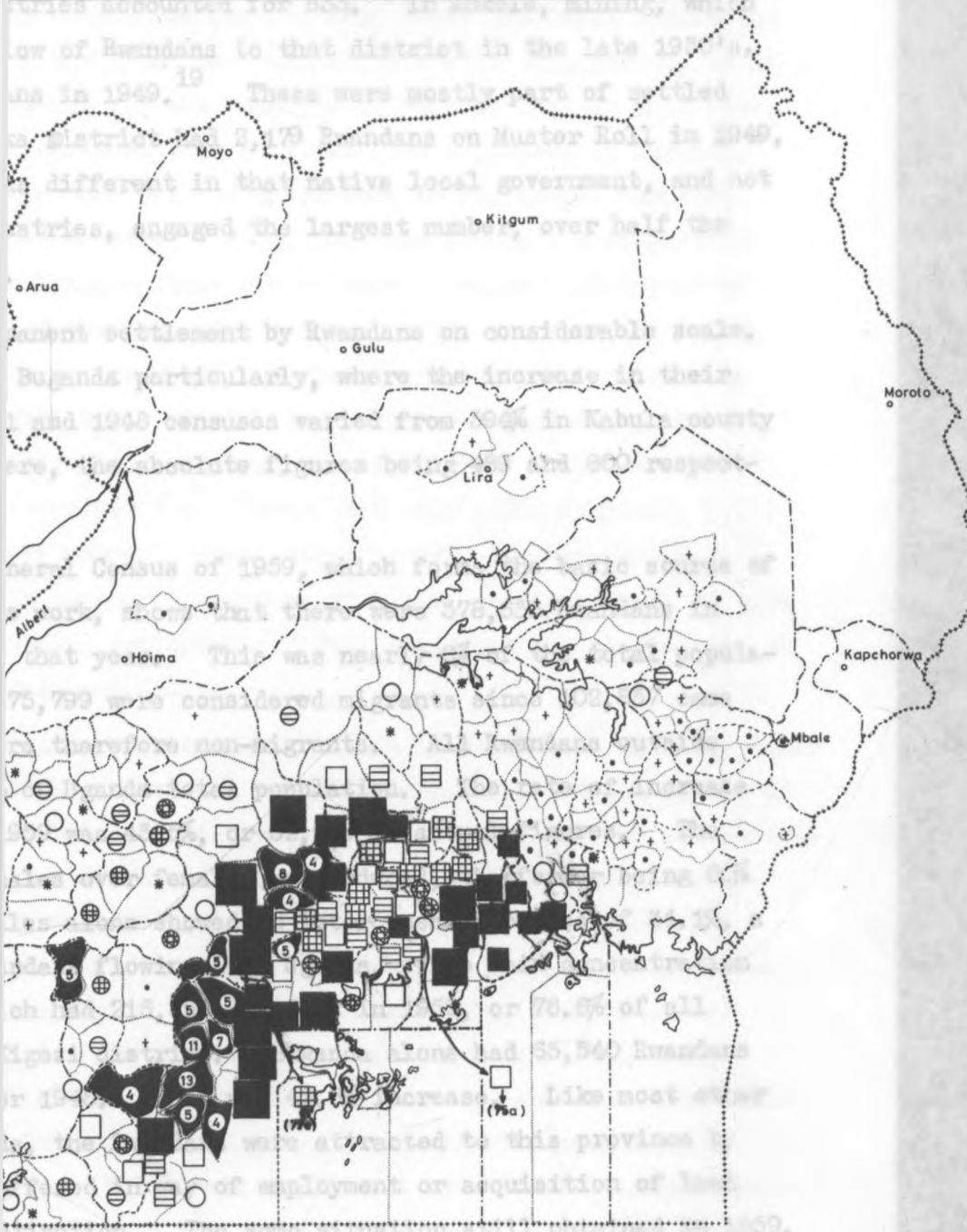
At one time attempts were made to discourage Rwanda labour immigration to Uganda for health reasons. In his annual report for 1926, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services came out strongly against the presence of Rwandans in Uganda: "Any further recruiting of Ruanda should be prohibited and... any settlers of this tribe should be repatriated",<sup>14</sup> because, "they were prone to malaria, relapsing fever and enteritis".<sup>15</sup> This failed, however, to check the waves of Rwandans flowing into Uganda. The employers stood against this move on the argument that stopping Rwandans from entering

Uganda would create a vacuum in the labour force. The influx of Rwandans to Uganda fluctuated with years of shortage and prosperity in either country. In 1928-1929, for instance, when there was serious famine in Rwanda, immigration to Uganda was in "formidable proportions",<sup>16</sup> while in 1950 the number of Rwanda migrants to Uganda dropped:

"...due chiefly to the fundamental changes which have occurred in the system of customary contributions, particularly of work, payment for which was made compulsory at the beginning in 1949. Furthermore, there is a great demand for labour and it is better paid. Compulsory work on the roads has been replaced by an annual road tax, the Uganda currency has been devaluated and there has been an exceptionally good coffee harvest".<sup>17</sup>

In 1948 there was no doubt that the greater proportion of Rwanda migrants in Uganda had settled permanently. The census results for that year gave a total of 289,051 Rwandans in Uganda. This formed 5.9% of Uganda population and placed the Rwandans fifth in numerical strength after Baganda, Iteso, Basoga and Banyankole. Most of this group were, however, migrants and totalled 192,844 or 3.9% of Uganda population. Males numbered 123,203 or 63.6% of Rwandan migrants. About 78.5% of all Rwandans outside Kigezi, or 151,356, were in Buganda. Ankole followed next with 34,841 or 18%. The remaining few were in Basoga district, where they worked on Kakira Sugar Plantation, or as porters to Soga farmers. The number of Rwandans in Kakira Sugar Works must have been small, because they did not appear among the main tribes of Mutuba IV gombolola of Butembe-Bunya county. Masaka district accounted for 63,472 or nearly 42% of total number of Rwandans in Buganda. Jugazi Sugar Works had 4,705 or 3.1% of Buganda Rwandans. This was 25% of the population of Mutuba VII gombolola, Kyagewe county. In Jugazi, male ratio was quite high among Rwandans, being 88.3% of the total. This is an indication that they were there temporarily. Most of Rwandans in Buganda were settled on their own "kibanja"; but there were some employed by industries and agriculture. In 1949<sup>18</sup> Mengo District alone employed 11,298 Rwandans; 3,789 worked in agriculture, and 3,083 in

# OF RWANDANS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE KIGEZI.



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industries. The same year Busoga employed 2,157 Rwandans; agriculture had 1,067 and industries accounted for 833. In Ankole, mining, which influenced the inflow of Rwandans to that district in the late 1930's, employed 863 Rwandans in 1949.<sup>19</sup> These were mostly part of settled population. Masaka District had 2,179 Rwandans on Muster Roll in 1949, but the emphasis was different in that native local government, and not agriculture or industries, engaged the largest number, over half the total employees....

There was permanent settlement by Rwandans on considerable scale. This was marked in Buganda particularly, where the increase in their number between 1931 and 1948 censuses varied from 394% in Kabula county to 2,500% in Bugerere, the absolute figures being 489 and 800 respectively.<sup>20</sup>

The Uganda General Census of 1959, which forms the basic source of statistics for this work, shows that there were 378,656 Rwandans in Uganda in March of that year. This was nearly 6% of the total population. But only 275,799 were considered migrants since 102,857 came from Kigezi and were therefore non-migrants. All Rwandans outside Kigezi formed 3.9% of Uganda total population. The rate of increase between 1948 and 1959 was 43.5%, or 82,955 in actual figures. The preponderance of males over females was reduced, the former being 60% of the total. Males alone showed an intercensal increase of 34.1%, a result of more Rwandans flowing into Uganda. The main concentration was in Buganda which had 213,896 Rwandans in 1959, or 78.6% of all Rwandans outside Kigezi district. Buganda alone had 65,540 Rwandans over the figure for 1948. This was 42.6% increase. Like most other migrants to Buganda, the Rwandans were attracted to this province by opportunities it offered in way of employment or acquisition of land for cash crops cultivation. The same situation still obtained in 1959. Some Rwandans worked as porters on Ganda farms while others were settled and grew cash crops on their own. It is not easy to draw a line of division; but in general, Rwandans in Buddu - western Buganda and some in Bugerere were settled in 1959. Those in the counties surrounding

Mengo (Omukulu w'Ekibuga) and Kyaggwe were mostly porters. These counties fall mostly within the fertile arc, where the Ganda population is very heavy. Land has been under occupation over a long period, and it was definitely difficult for the Rwandans to acquire land in this area. In 1957, out of 818 concerns with at least five employees in Buganda, Mengo had 693. More than half of these were in and around Kampala. This trend could have endured to 1959, and many Rwandans were possibly employed here. In Kyaggwe there are reasons to suggest that part of Rwanda population had settled. The ratio of males to the total Rwanda migrants in that county was 69.7%, but large proportion of males were concentrated on Lugazi Sugar Plantation, which accounted for 11.6% (2,121) of Rwanda male figure in Kyaggwe and 70.2% of Rwandans (2,797) in Lugazi. Kakira, another Sugar Works, had only 1,384 Rwandans, 1,132 or 81.7% of whom were males. Apparently, by 1959 the Rwandans had become familiar with economic structure of Uganda and knew where to take up financially rewarding employment. This accounted for the decline of their number in Lugazi and Kakira.

The settled Rwanda population was higher in Buddu more than any other county. This could have been due to several factors. Buddu is one of the richest counties that owed its prosperity to cotton and coffee cultivation. This attracted Rwandans to work as porters since Buddu was a focus of routes from western Uganda. But Rwanda settlement was encouraged by fertile empty land in that county. In fact, large areas in Buddu remained unoccupied till the intensification of cash crops cultivation when Ganda from counties less endowed with fertile soil migrated there. With 34.7% of Rwandans in Buganda, and eight gombololas each having over 4,000 Rwandans in 1959, Buddu was already a home to members of this group. Males were 44,301 out of a total Rwandan population of 75,433. This was 57.4%. The settled Rwandan population was thinner eastwards away from Buddu. As cultivators and banana eaters, the Rwandans would have liked to be within the fertile arc, the elephant grass area where the rainfall is at least 40 inches a year. But since the largest part of it had been settled, the Rwandans had to content

themselves with second best land on the fringes of the fertile arc. This accounted for the rather heavy Rwandan settlement in Mumyuka, Sabagabo and Sabawali gombololas of Gomba county, and the southern gombololas of Singo and Bulemezi counties. Few Rwandans could have been settlers in Bugerere.

Another area of heavy Rwandan settlement in 1959 was Ankole, which had 46,045 Rwandans, about 16.8% of all Rwandans outside Kigezi. Most of this number was possibly a result of infiltration from Kigezi, but there were Rwandan migrants who first went into this district through employment opportunities offered by mining in the late 1930's as well as availability of land for settlement. Female figure surpassed that for males among the Rwandans in Ankole in 1959, providing 24,340 or 52.8% of the total. The concentration of Rwandans was particularly high in the counties of Kajara and Rwampara. Two gombololas in Kajara and one in Rwampara had over 4,000 Rwandans. In numerical importance, the Rwandans came second to Banyankole in the district.

The Rwandans were essentially rural in their distribution in 1959. There were only 3,072 of them in Kampala with Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo) and Jinja. The male ratio to the total population of Rwandans in these areas was 73%; Omukulu w'Ekibuga accounted for 1962 or about 63.9% of the total. The Rwandans in the peri-urban centres were employed in industries; a few could have been domestic servants.

In 1959 there were 826 Rwandans in Mutuba III gombolola of Busongora county, Toro. The males accounted for 79.1% of this group and they must have been employed in the Kilembe mines, which is centred on this gombolola. Elsewhere in Toro, the distribution was mostly limited to Burahya county, just near Fort Portal. These were possibly engaged in coffee and tea plantations in the area.

Apart from areas so far dealt with, the number of Rwandans in other parts of Uganda was scattered in gombololas that did not seem to have any particular attraction. In addition to Rwandans in Kakira and Jinja, there were 2,693 more in Bugsoya; 1,720, or about 64%, were males.

These were possibly porters working on Soga cotton farms. The same could be said of the few Rwandans scattered in the gombololas of Bukedi, Teso and Bugisu districts. The Northern Province as a whole had few Rwandans, and they were concentrated in southern Lango, and possibly a spill over from the neighbouring southern districts.

The general conclusion that could be drawn about the presence and distribution of Rwandan migrants in Uganda in 1959 is that they are here to stay. The 1959 pattern of distribution may change a little when some of them then in the heavily populated counties move north to sparsely settled counties of Buganda. Some Rwandans already think of themselves as Buganda by virtue of the fact that they had stayed in Buganda for several years.<sup>21</sup> Since 1959 Rwandans in Uganda have been joined by members of their group who sought political asylum. And it appears that these refugees are destined to permanent settlement in Uganda.

#### RUNDI DISTRIBUTION IN UGANDA

Burundi, the home country of Rundi, is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa. In 1962 it had 233 persons per square mile. The land is poor. Coffee forms the bulk of export. The greater proportion of the population have found it difficult to live off this "inhospitable" land.<sup>22</sup> So many Rundi migrated to areas of economic opportunities within and outside Burundi. Economic reasons were in main responsible for Rundi movement to other places, but these have been supplemented by social, political and administrative dissatisfaction. Rundi migration took place at two levels, internal and international. Internal migration was first to "extra-customary centres"<sup>23</sup> where industries and commerce provided wage employment; but afterwards the Rundi were attracted to economically better endowed areas in seasonal rhythms. Thus, an estimated 1,000 migrants a year used to move from Burundi to Rwanda to work on Tutsi farms in the vicinity of Astrida.<sup>24</sup>

This could be considered part of internal migration since Burundi at the time formed part of Belgian administered mandate of Ruanda-Urundi. The internal migration was, however, an infinitesimal fraction of the Rundi that went beyond the borders, the greatest proportion of which was directed to Uganda.

Large scale Rundi migration to Uganda started in the 1920's when economic prosperity in that country, particularly Buganda, stimulated labour inflow from outside. There has been a tendency in Uganda to treat the Rundi as Rwandans or Banyarwanda.<sup>25</sup> This was encouraged no doubt by the fact that ethnologically, Burundi has the same tribes as Rwanda, and both countries operated as one under the Belgian administration. But the Belgian government tried to keep the Rundi migration figures separate, especially in their annual reports to the League of Nations and the United Nations. Thus in 1929 there were 5,000 Rundi in Uganda as labour migrants. The figure rose to 43,500 in August 1937 and fell to 20,535 in December of the same year.<sup>26</sup> This indicates that by December Rundi used to return to their country. There were Rundi in Uganda definitely in 1931; but they were not shown by the census results for that year. The possible explanation is that they were enumerated either as Rwandans, or as Ganda, since they were predominantly in Buganda. The latter is likely to be the case, because the Rwandans themselves did not appear as a separate group in significant number outside Kigezi.<sup>27</sup>

In 1948 there were 56,504 Rundi in Uganda, or 1.1% of total population of that country. Males were 42,887 or 75.9% of total Rundi population in Uganda. Mengo and Masaka had 54,982 or 97.3%; Mengo alone accounted for 74.5% of total Rundi. They were 4.5% of population of Mengo district, coming third after Ganda and Rwandans. Masaka provided 12,848 or 22.7% of all Rundi in Uganda. The high ratio of male population to total Rundi in Uganda in 1948 is an indication that they were still temporary. They came to Uganda only to get cash and other goods and return to their country. Buganda was therefore preferred for employment opportunities it offered at the time. Most of

DISTRIBUTION OF RUNDI IN UGANDA OUTSIDE KIGEZI DISTRICT.

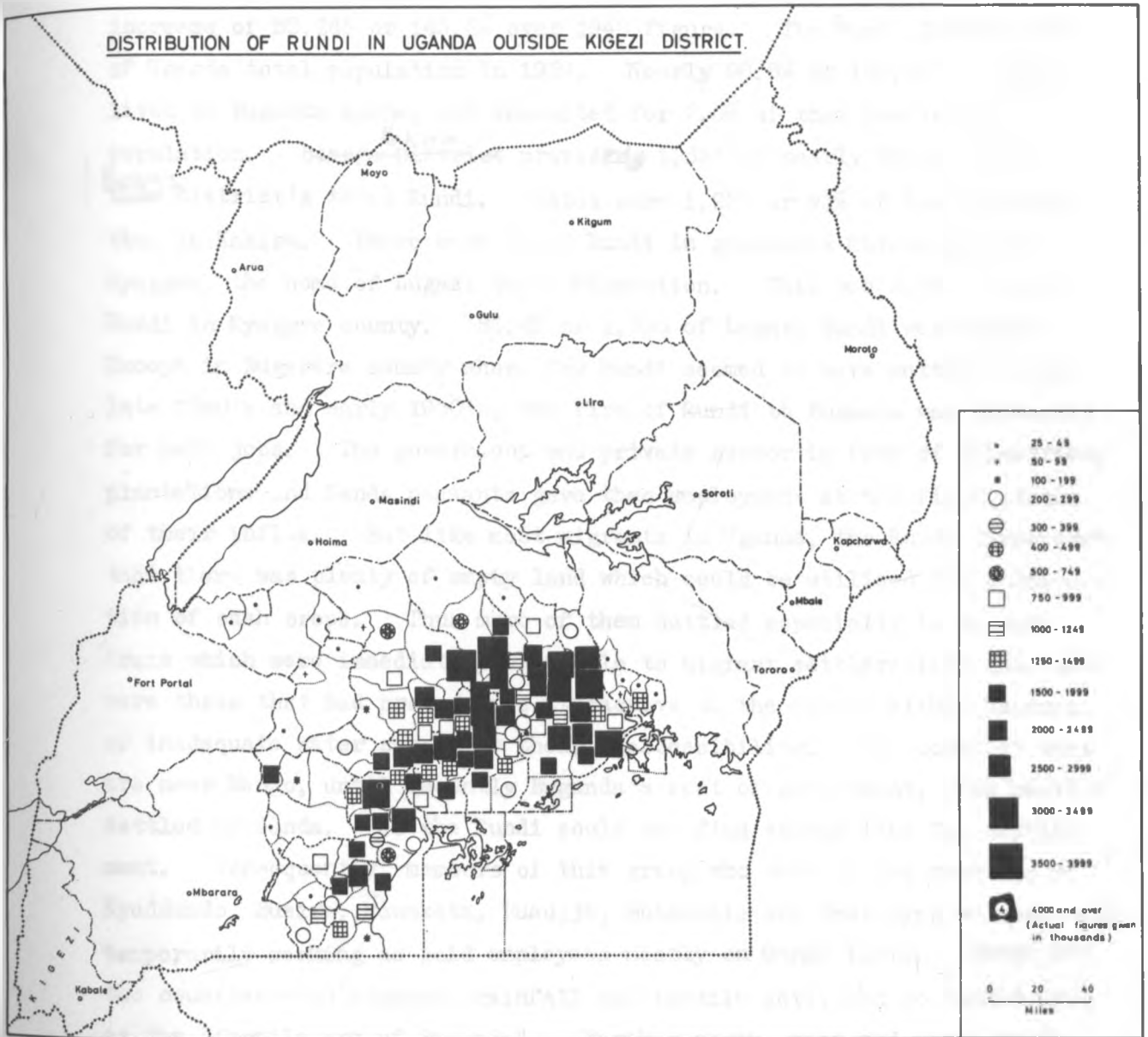


FIG. 3

them seemed to have been employed as porters on Ganda farms, because Lugazi Sugar Plantation showed only 756 Rundi, 612 of whom were males.

By 1959 the number of Rundi in Uganda had risen to 138,749, an increase of 82,245 or 145.5% over 1948 figure. The Rundi formed 2.2% of Uganda total population in 1959. Nearly 98.6% or 136,855 of them lived in Buganda alone, and accounted for 7.5% of that province's population. ~~Busoga District~~ <sup>Kakira</sup> provided 1,354 or nearly 76.4% of all ~~Busoga~~ District's total Rundi. Males were 1,232 or 91% of Rundi population in Kakira. There were 2,152 Rundi in gombolola Mutuba VII of Kyaggwe, the home of Lugazi Sugar Plantation. This was 8.8% of total Rundi in Kyaggwe county. 83.4% or 1,796 of Lugazi Rundi were males. Except in Bugerere county where few Rundi seemed to have settled in the late 1940's and early 1950's, the flow of Rundi to Buganda was primarily for paid jobs. The government and private sector in form of industries, plantations and Ganda peasants gave them employment at the first stages of their influx. But like most migrants in Uganda, the Rundi discovered that there was plenty of empty land which could be utilised for cultivation of cash crops. Thus more of them settled especially in Buganda. Areas which were immediately available to migrant settlers like the Rundi were those that had proved less attractive to the Ganda, either because of inadequate water supply or their inaccessibility. The counties that are near Mengo, until recently Buganda's seat of government, were heavily settled by Ganda. So the Rundi could not find enough land for settlement. Consequently, members of this group who were in the counties of Kyaddondo, Busiro, Mawokota, Busujju, Butambala and West Kyaggwe were only temporarily working as paid employees mostly on Ganda farms. These are the counties with adequate rainfall and fertile soil, and so looked upon as the "fertile arc of Buganda". Further north, east and west, Rundi were found in considerable numbers. Buddu county with 22,645 or 16% of all Rundi in Buganda in 1959 was favoured by members of this tribe because it is the converging point of roads from Burundi on Buganda. Besides, Buddu is a rich county itself as a result of coffee cultivation. Males were 13,435 or 68.4% of total Rundi in Buddu. The county of Gomba had

6,560 Rundi; they were mostly concentrated in Mumyuka, Sabaddu and Sabawali gombololas. Mumyuka and Sabawali gombololas are within the fertile arc of Buganda and therefore receive better rainfall than the rest of the county. Gomba is one of Buganda counties where immigrant population outnumbered the Ganda in 1959, and the Rundi formed 23.7% of all migrants in Gomba in 1959. Although the Rundi were confined to Buganda, they had special areas of concentration in this Province. The main clusters of their population were mostly in a belt running from south Singo, through north Busiro, south Bulemezi, north Kyaggwe to south Bugerere. This area lies in the peripheries of the fertile arc of Buganda. The distribution of Rundi in Buganda contrasts rather sharply with that of their kith and kin, the Rwandans, in this Province. Except for east Kyaggwe, with Lugazi as the base the Rwandans were concentrated in an area starting from Buddu and running northwards through Butambala, east Gomba, Busujju, south Singo and south Bulemezi. The main area of Rwandans were Buddu and south Singo. The Rundi on the other hand were mainly in south Bulemezi, north Kyaggwe and Bugerere. In Bugerere county, the Rundi had a preponderance over the Rwandans of nearly two to one, 6,499 and 3,342 respectively. Other counties where Rundi were more dominant over Rwandans were Busiro, Butambala and Bulemezi. Besides Buddu, the Rwandans were more in Kyaddondo, Singo, Mawokota, Gomba, Busujju and Kyaggwe. The number of both groups is quite close in Kyaggwe; 26,131 for Rwandans and 24,323 for Rundi. Perhaps the main fact behind differences in distribution of Rundi and Rwandans in Buganda is due to the early settlement by the Rwandans, whereby they were able to acquire land for settlement in western Buganda, especially Buddu. By 1959 a considerable number of Rundi, especially in Bugerere and Bulemezi seemed to have settled permanently. More will be lured into a permanent stay by economic contrasts between their country and Uganda. A similarity between Rundi and Rwandan population distribution in Uganda is provided by the fact that both people are mostly settled in rural area. In 1959 there were only 283 Rundi in Kampala and Mengo (Omukulu w'Ekibuga), and 72 in Jinja.



NOTES

1. There were two separate schedules used in the 1931 Uganda Population Census, one for Africans and another for Europeans; but a few Africans were registered under non-native schedules.
2. U.N.O.: The Population of Rwanda - Urundi, (1953) p.2.
3. Both Rwanda and Burundi are Republics now.
4. Maquet, J.J., The Premise of Inequality in Rwanda, (Oxford University Press) London, 1961 p.13.
5. Shantz, H.A., Urundi, Territory and People, Geographical Review, Vol.12, No.3, July 1922, p.329.
6. Belgium: Rapport Soumis par le Gouvernement Belge à l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies au sujet de l'administration du Rwanda - Urundi pendant l'année 1950, (1951), p.89.
7. Belgium: Rapport ..... op. cit. pendant l'année 1967. (1948) p.144.
8. Powesland, P.G., History of the Migration in Uganda, in A.I. Richards: Economic Development and Tribal Change, (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge), 1954, p.30.
9. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Labour situation in the Uganda Protectorate, 1938. p.17.
10. This is not a true picture. In 1928 about 35,000 people entered Uganda from "Belgian territory" - largely Rwanda - Urundi. Some of these could have returned to Rwanda - Urundi by 1931; but in Buganda many of them probably were returned as Ganda.
11. Belgium: Rapport ... op. cit. pendant l'année 1933, p.124.
12. Report of the Committee of Enquiry .. op. cit. 1937, p.34.
13. Kuczynski, R.R., Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, Vol.II, (O.U.P.) 1948, p.247.
14. Uganda: Annual Medical and Sanitary Report, 1926, p.27.
15. Powesland, P.G. op. cit. (1954), p.32.
16. Powesland, P.G. op. cit. (1954) p.36.
17. Belgium ... op. cit. 1950 (1951), p.140.
18. East African Statistical Department: Report on the Enumeration of African Labour, (March 1949) appendix I, Table I.
19. Report of the Committee of Enquiry .. op. cit. 1938 pp.17-18.
20. Fortt, J.M., The Distribution of the Immigrant and Ganda Population within Buganda, in A.I. Richards, Economic Development and Tribal Change, (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge), 1954, pp.101 & 108.

## DISTRIBUTION OF CONGOLESE MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

The presence of immigrants from Congo (Kinshasa) was first noticed in Uganda in the mid 1920's. They came as labour migrants, and infiltrated Uganda through West Nile and Kigezi Districts. Consequently the Uganda Department of Labour grouped them with domiciles of West Nile District and Sudanese, or as Rwandans, depending on whether the Congolese came into Uganda from northwest or southwest. In their early days of immigration, the Congolese were recruited by the Department of Labour for government services, or worked in non-African industries and on plantations in Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga. As time passed on, and economic expansion became more pronounced, Ganda farmers recruited some Congolese migrants as porters on their farms.

The Congolese immigrants to Uganda came from the eastern Congo, and were mainly Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa, Logo, Kaliko, Okebo and Lendu. The first three groups are found in both Uganda and Congo, as also are very few Lendu and Okebo. Other Congolese immigrant groups came from the tribes of Ituri Forest, who are believed to be related to the Bamba of Western Uganda. Eastern Congo, the home of Congolese immigrants to Uganda, forms the boundary between Congo Central lowland and western arm of the Rift Valley of East Africa and comprise the Congo-Nile watershed. The region is crossed by the equator, and typical equatorial climatic conditions prevail throughout the whole year in most parts of this area.

Economically, eastern Congo is still behind the rest of the Congo. Agriculture is the mainstay of economy, although gold-mining is carried out in Kilo-Moto, near the town of Watsa and except for European plantations which produced export crops in the pre-independence era, agriculture is for immediate consumption. The region is capable of

producing coffee, rubber, palm oil, bananas, groundnuts, tea and rice. Cotton was introduced in the early 1920's, in the hope that the cultivation of this crop would curb "rural depopulation, which in some Congolese regions had reached catastrophic proportions".<sup>1</sup> Two types of cotton, "Triumph Big Boll", and Stoneville proved successful; but they were cultivated on a limited scale.

The flow of Congolese migrants to Uganda was motivated principally by lack of economic opportunities in eastern Congo to provide cash for taxes and other necessities. The Belgian administration directed manpower from this part of the Congo to Katanga and Kasai mining centres; but these areas proved rather distant for some residents of eastern Congo. Hence the oozing out of Congolese labour force into Uganda. Apart from economic situation, the harsh Belgian Administration was responsible for the exodus of some Congolese. Forced labour, especially in the way of cultivation of crops, was a common practice in the Congo under the Belgian rule. In Uganda, on the other hand, the British administration was less harsh and economic development was much more rapid than in the adjacent parts of the Congo. These factors encouraged the influx of Congolese to Uganda. Also the fact that some tribal groups live astride the Congo-Uganda border could have influenced the immigration of members of these tribes into Uganda. Like the Rwandans and Rundi, the number of Congolese migrants fluctuated with economic good and bad years in either Uganda or the Congo. Normally, the rate of exchange between the sterling and Congolese franc had tended to keep the number of Congolese immigrants in Uganda high, because the former currency was depreciated. But after the devaluation of sterling, for instance, in 1946 the number of Congolese Alur in Uganda dropped from 1,287 in 1947 to 781 in 1948.<sup>2</sup>

The 1911 and 1921 Uganda population counts registered no members of Congolese community in Uganda. But in 1931 census, 1,585 Congolese were returned.<sup>3</sup> Of this number, 1,335 or 71.4% were males. It is

possible that there were more Congolese in Uganda at the time; but some of them were included among tribes like Alur and Lugbara. The Report of the census puts it: "The name 'Congo' is unknown as the name of a tribal unit. If it occurs in the count of a district other than the West Nile, Toro, or Kigezi it probably refers to Alur from the West Nile who are indigenous. If it occurs in the count of one of the districts specified above, it may more likely refer to settlers who have immigrated from the Belgian Congo in the comparatively near past... (and) have clearly settled".<sup>4</sup>

The ratio of males did not suggest that they were a settled people. In Buganda and Western Provinces, the Congolese male figures were 492 and 390, or 85.8% and 73.8% of total Congolese populations in those respective provinces. In the way of distribution, Toro District had the largest number of Congolese of all the districts. There were 456 members of this group in the district, of whom 353 were males. Busongora county alone had 393 Congolese, with females being under 100. In the same year there were 348 Congolese in Mengo District. Kyaddondo county with 150 of them had the largest concentration. Masaka District had 72 Congolese, all of them returned in Buddu; while in Mubende District 153 members of this group were returned, with Singo county, than part of Mubende, accounting for 135 of this total. There were 65 Congolese in Kigezi, all of them registered in Rukiga county; Busoga returned 48, all males; Bunyoro had 32 only. There were 20 in Karamoja, while the number of Congolese in Ankole, West Nile, Lango, Budama and Teso was negligible.

By 1948 the number of immigrants from Congo, had gone up by more than 12 times that of 1931, to 19,671 and accounted for about 0.04% of the total population of Uganda. Males were 11,324 or 57.6% of the total number of Congolese in the country. In contrast with 1931, the low percentage of male population in 1948 was enough indication that the Congolese in Uganda had permanently or semi-permanently

settled. As early as 1938, the Labour Commissioner Report said that 9% of labour in non-African plantations, excluding sugar, was "from the Congo and Sudan".<sup>5</sup> So the 1948 census only confirmed that the immigration of Congolese to Uganda was a continuous and growing trend, although there were indications that the devaluation of sterling two years earlier had unfavourably affected the number of Congolese coming to Uganda to seek employment.

The distribution of Congolese migrants in 1948 was solidly in the Western districts of Uganda. West Nile had 9,469 member of this group, Bunyoro 3,730, Toro 3,701 and Mubende 1,333. Outside these districts, Mengo returned 803 Congolese and Ankole 605. The lowest male ratio of Congolese migrants was in West Nile District, where only 42% were male. This suggested permanent settlement. All the Congolese in West Nile were registered in three counties only: Okoro with 6,794, Vurra 2,338, and Koboko 337. In Zeu and Kango gombololas, Okoro, the Congolese were 2,873 and 1,609 respectively and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total population of the respective sub-counties. The number of Congolese was also high in Nyapea, which had 1,450 or 17% of the total population in the gombolola. In Vurra gombolola, Vurra, there were 1,292 Congolese; and 1,046 in Logiri. These represented 15% and 18% of the population of the respective gombololas. Many of these Congolese in West Nile must have infiltrated across the border, and may ultimately have been returned as Ugandan Alur and Lugbara by 1959.

With the exception of 411 Congolese migrants returned in Burahya county, all the Congolese in Toro were registered in Bwamba areas on the border with the Congo. Of the 3,730 Congolese estimated to have been in Bunyoro District in 1948,<sup>6</sup> about 2,270 or 74.2% were males. Similarly, 774 out of 1,364 Congolese in Mubende were males. The Congolese returned in Mengo District were mostly in Mumyuka gombolola, Kyaddondo, which had 357 of them, and Musale gombolola, Kyaggwe, with 353. About 250 Congolese in Mumyuka gombolola of Kyaddondo were

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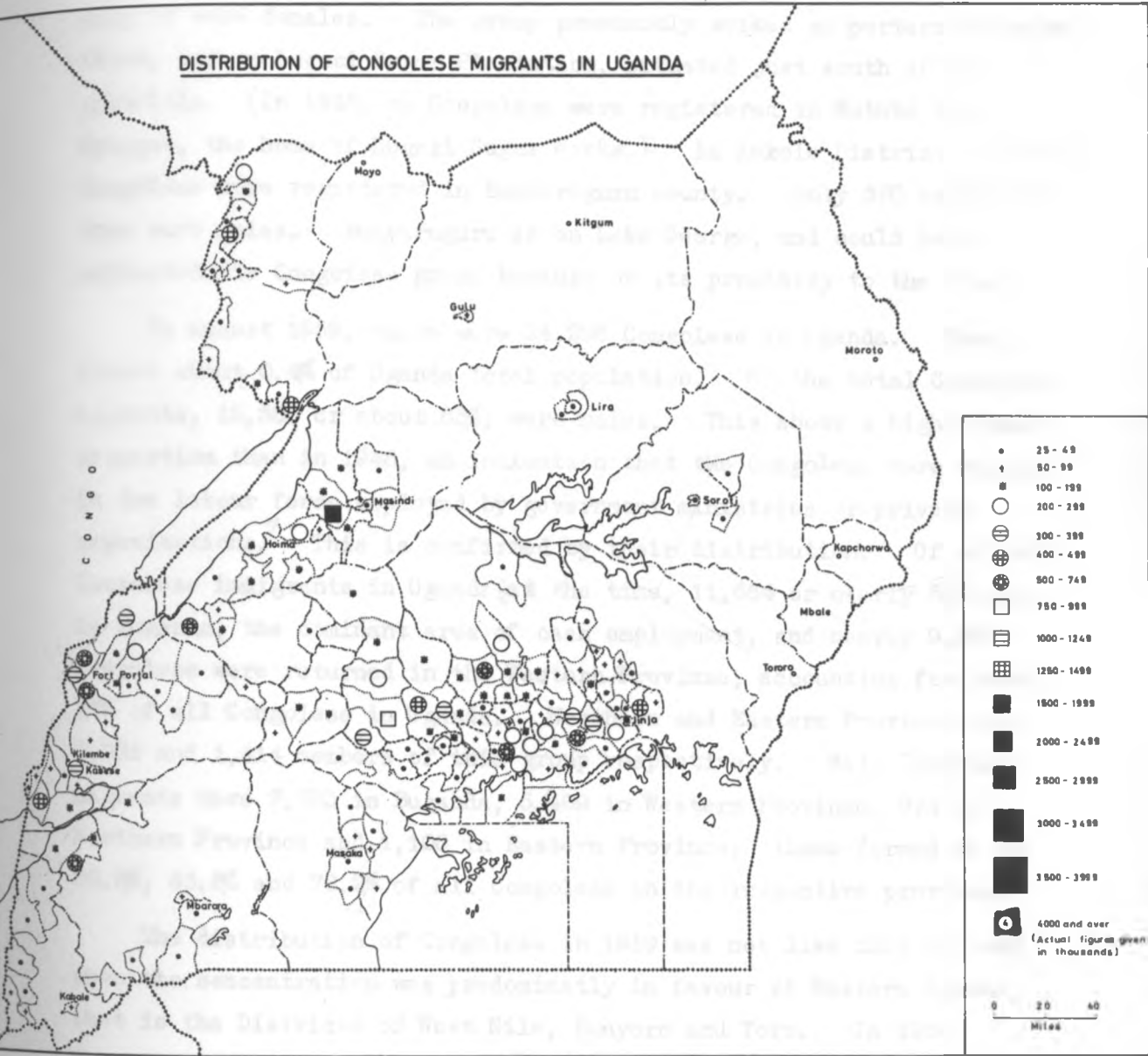


FIG. 4

males, and probably employed in Kampala Municipality and Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo). Of the Congolese in Musale gombolola, Kyaggwe, only 57 were females. The group presumably worked as porters on Ganda farms, and on Lugazi Sugar Plantation, situated just south of the gombolola. (In 1948, no Congolese were registered in Mutuba II, Kyaggwe, the home of Lugazi Sugar Works.) In Ankole District, all the Congolese were registered in Bunyaruguru county. Only 370 or 61% of them were males. Bunyaruguru is on Lake George, and could have collected its Congolese group because of its proximity to the Congo.

In August 1959, there were 24,296 Congolese in Uganda. They formed about 0.4% of Uganda total population. Of the total Congolese migrants, 15,332 or about 63%, were males. This shows a higher male proportion than in 1948, an indication that the Congolese were mostly in the labour force employed by government ministries or private organisations.<sup>7</sup> This is confirmed by their distribution. Of all the Congolese immigrants in Uganda at the time, 11,664 or nearly 50% were in Buganda, the dominant area of cash employment, and nearly 9,000 Congolese were returned in the Western Province, accounting for about 37% of all Congolese in Uganda. Northern and Eastern Provinces had 2,223 and 1,414 members of this group respectively. Male Congolese migrants were 7,783 in Buganda, 5,469 in Western Province, 974 in Northern Province and 1,106 in Eastern Province; these formed 66.7%, 60.8%, 43.8% and 78.2% of all Congolese in the respective provinces.

The distribution of Congolese in 1959 was not like that of 1948 when the concentration was predominately in favour of Western Uganda, that is the Districts of West Nile, Bunyoro and Toro. In 1959, Buganda, mainly eastern and western Mengo showed the largest number of Congolese in any Province. There were 5,567 in West Mengo, and 4,155 in East Mengo. Mubende<sup>8</sup> and Masaka had 1,370 and 572 Congolese respectively. Nearly 2,800, about half of all the Congolese in West Mengo, were returned in Singo county. Sabaddu gombolola of that

county had 968 Congolese, the largest of any sub-county there. In the same county, Mutuba V Gombolola, which returned 193 Congolese in 1948, registered 339 members of this group in 1959. With 1,719 or 61.4% of their number being males, most of the Congolese in Singo had probably settled permanently because there was plenty of unoccupied land with adequate rainfall. Kyaddondo county was next to Singo with 1,704 Congolese. Only 418 of them were females. Mumyuka gombolola, which had 357 Congolese in 1948, returned 294 in 1959. It is possible that some of those registered in the former year were counted in Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo), which had 617 Congolese in 1959. There were 240 members of this group in Sabagabo gombolola, and 209 in Kampala Municipality. Outside the two counties of Singo and Kyaddondo, the number of Congolese in other counties of West Mengo was small: Busiro had 537, Mawokota 198, Busujju 175, Gomba 118 and Butambala 38. In the last county, no gombolola had figure for Congolese above 25.

In East Mengo, the Congolese were mainly in Kyaggwe, which had 2,211 of them, and Bulemezi with 1,605. There were 249 Congolese in Bugerere, and 87 in Buruli. Kyaggwe attracted Congolese migrants because of its position as one of the chief coffee producers in Uganda, although Lugazi Sugar Works could have been the initial attraction. In 1959 there were 675 Congolese in Mutuba VII, the home gombolola of Lugazi Sugar Plantation. Of this number, 591 were males. The dominance of males over females among the Congolese migrants, not only in Mutuba VII gombolola, but in the whole of Kyaggwe shows the temporary nature of this group. In that year, 1,757 or 79.5% of the Congolese in Kyaggwe were males. Other gombololas in the county with high numbers of Congolese were Mutuba II with 355, Musale 340, Mutuba V 231, Mutuba IV 205, and Mutuba I, 101. It is possible that the Congolese living in gombololas near Jinja Township worked in that town where opportunities existed in industries. The proportion of males among Congolese immigrants in Bulemezi in 1959 was much lower than that of Kyaggwe, an indication that the Congolese in the former county were with



their families, and at least semi-permanently settled. They were presumably porters on Ganda farms, especially in the southern part of the county, or had taken up cultivation of crops on their own. The heaviest concentration of this group appeared in Sabagabo gombolola, which registered 514 Congolese. The male population among them was high, being 299 or about 72% of the total group. Mumyuka with 203 Congolese had the next largest number of any gombolola in the county. Sabawali returned 167 Congolese, Mutuba VI 152, Mutuba III 125, Sabaddu 124, and Mutuba II 105. The rest of gombololas had fewer Congolese. In Bugerere, gombolola Musale returned 153 Congolese. The number of Congolese in Bugerere's northern gombololas was small because of drier nature of these areas, and, therefore, their inability to provide employment opportunities for members of this group.

In Mubende the total number of Congolese and the proportion of males for 1959 coincided with the estimates of Congolese total and males for 1948. Of all the Congolese in Mubende District in 1959, 913 were registered in Buyaga, 372 in Buwekula and 85 in Bugangazzi. The first county is nearest Lake Edward, and probably collected the Congolese immigrants because of its nearness to part of the eastern Congo just on the western side of the lake. Sabaddu gombolola, Buyaga returned 610 Congolese. Other gombololas in the same county that high figures of this group were Mutuba I and Mutuba II with 151 and 93 respectively. In Buwekula, 156 Congolese were counted in Mutuba I, 119 in Mumyuka and 87 in Sabagabo. The rest were not large enough to map. The Congolese in Masaka were predominantly men and were presumably porters on Ganda farms. Their concentration was in Buddu where 472 of them were registered; and it was only in six gombololas that they could be mapped. The fact that the Congolese were few in Masaka could have been due to the Congolese leaving that district as area of influence of Rwandan and Rundi immigrants.

In Eastern Province, Congolese were mainly in Busoga District, another area of greater employment opportunities. Of the 1,414 Congolese migrants in the province, 1,106 were males; and 1,194 of the total and 970 of the male population were registered in Busoga District. Butembe-Bunya county, the home of Jinja Town and Kakira Sugar Plantation, returned most of them - 780, with these places accounting for 130 and 410 respectively. Bugabula county had 278 Congolese. In other counties they were sparingly distributed. The Congolese in Busoga were employed in Kakira, Jinja and on Soga farms. Few, if any, had settled permanently. Other districts of Eastern Province returned few Congolese. This is perhaps accounted for by distance from the Congo and lack of employment opportunities. Thus Teso had 128 Congolese, Bukedi 44, Bugisu 29, and Mbale Township 19. Most of these were probably farm-hands, although towns absorbed a number of them. For instance, Soroti alone returned 29 in 1959.

In Western Province, Toro with 4,366 Congolese had the largest number of any district. Of this figure males were 2,587, or 59.3%. This shows a rise of the male proportion over that of 1948. Bwamba,, as a single county in the district, returned the biggest number again. There were 2,032 Congolese there, nearly half of them being males. It is very probable that they were permanently settled there, having infiltrated across the border. Busongora county returned 1,261 Congolese. In contrast with Bwamba, the male population was proportionally large, being 831. This was definitely the influence of Kilembe Mines, which are centred in this county. Mutuba III, where the mines are based had 345 Congolese, and only 72 were females. There were 411 Congolese registered in Musale gombolola, however, probably because it was sparsely settled by the indigenous people. The Congolese also favoured Burahya county. In 1959, 572 of them were found there. These were either employed on tea plantations, or in Fort Portal Township, where 122 of them were returned in that year. In other counties of Toro, the number of Congolese was much less. Bunyangabu had 158 of them, Kibale 152, Mwenge 99 and Kyaka 88. Most of these were presumably settled.

The 1959 census returned 3,035 Congolese in Bunyoro. Of this number, 2,035 or 66.4% were males. Free land for cultivation was perhaps the main attraction. Bujenje county registered nearly half the total Congolese number in the district. This county is the main producer of tobacco in the district, and it is possible that the Congolese had settled as tobacco-growers since fertile land was available, especially along the Waki Valley. The largest concentration of Congolese was found in Sabawali gombolola where there were 1,534 of them. Bughaya county registered 704 Congolese. There were 186 Congolese in Buruli, and 176 in Kibanda. It is surprising that the Congolese who had been exposed to urban migration in their country were not found in large numbers in the two main towns of Bunyoro. In 1959, there were 58 Congolese in Masindi and only 13 in Hoima.

In Ankole where 1,276 Congolese were found in 1959, Bunyaruguru alone had 880 of them; 435 of the Congolese in this county were males. This is enough indication that they were settled. The concentration of this group was in Mumyuka gombolola where 562 of them were registered. Kashari county accounted for 109 Congolese in Ankole, Isingiro 70, Kajara 65, Rwampara 54, Mitoma 48 and Igara 27. Buhweju, Shema and Nyabushozi had a combined total of 22 only. The District of Kigezi had 927 Congolese in 1959. Of this number, 444, or less than half were males. The small number of Congolese in Kigezi was perhaps a result of the fact that the district had already been heavily settled and could accommodate no more people. But there is no doubt that the Congolese who were there in 1959 were settled. Rujumbura returned 156 Congolese, Kinkizi 79, Ndorwa 67, and Ruzhumbura 38.

The number of Congolese in the Northern Province had fallen from the level of 1948 of nearly 9,500 to only 2,223. This could have been a result of some of them returning to the Congo between the two dates, or some Congolese were registered as members of their tribal groups in the West Nile District of Uganda. The males were only 974, far below half the total in 1948. West Nile District alone accounted for most of the Congolese in the province - 2,020 of all migrants and

868 of the males. The rest were distributed in other districts in the following manner: Lango 104, Acholi 68, Madi 23, and Karamoja 8. Gulu and Lira had 59 and 41 members of this group respectively. In West Nile, the Congolese were mainly in three counties: Jonam with 478, Maracha 459, and Koboko 450. Except for two gombololas, Panyimur of Koboko, and Oluvu of Maracha, which had over 400 each, the Congolese were not found in large numbers by gombololas. Arua Township returned 93 members of this group only out of a total of 238 for Ayivu county. Akoro county which had 6,794 Congolese in 1948 registered only 118 in 1959, Madi Okello 105, Vurra 51, Aringa 17, and Terego 4. The Congolese here were presumably mostly members of tribes found in West Nile District - mainly the Alur and Lugbara.

Events in the Congo since 1960 have not only encouraged permanent settlement of Congolese in Uganda, but also it sent more members of this group into Uganda to seek political asylum. Most of the Congolese who came to Uganda made their way through West Nile, thus increasing the Congolese population in this country. This group is dealt with separately in the section dealing with refugee communities.

#### N O T E S

1. "The Belgian Congo Today", (Brussels) Vol. VI, no.2, April 1957.
2. Richards, A.I. (Ed.), "Economic Development and Tribal Change", Heffer 1957, p.151.
3. In the same year 124 members of the Bakongo tribe were registered in Uganda. They are not counted among the non-specified Congolese migrants.
4. "Report on the Census of the Population of Uganda Protectorate On the Night of 27th May, 1931", Entebbe, (1931) p.23.
5. Quoted in A.I. Richards (Ed.), op.cit., p.212.
6. The General Census Forms for Bunyoro and Mubende Districts got lost on the way to Kampala.
7. The Congolese in West Nile might have counted themselves as Ugandans in 1959.
8. Still then part of Buganda.

SUDANESE MIGRANTS IN UGANDA<sup>1</sup>

Migration temporary or permanent, has been, and still remains one of the most effective means of solving political, economic, social, religious, cultural or racial problems. As one of the neighbours of the Sudan, Uganda has been a country of asylum to Sudanese fleeing their country for nearly eighty years. This immigration was influenced by well defined factors, mainly political and economic.

Since the establishment of British rule in Uganda and the Sudan, physical and social boundaries between the adjacent parts of both countries seemed to have become more fluid. Tribes, especially Acholi, ~~Kakwa~~, and Madi remained straddling the newly erected boundary between the two countries, and inter-tribal movement of people was made easy. The presence of one overlord, and subsequent peace in both countries tended to undermine the effectiveness of the international frontier as a barrier between them. Besides, British policy in the Sudan gave the southern part of that country no defined political status, until 1946. Before this date, Southern Sudan was encouraged to look southwards. Southern Sudanese used to have their secondary education in Uganda; even a few slipped into Makerere College in the late 1930's. And the Sudanese districts bordering Uganda served as a hinterland for the recruitment of contracted labour for Lugazi and Kakira.

The first wave of Sudanese migration to Uganda took place unwittingly. It all started with Dr. Eduard Schnitzer, immortalised by the name of Emin Pasha, who as Governor of Equatoria led his soldiers and their families southwards to avoid the violent consequences of Mahdist revolt of 1881. He established his headquarters at ~~Wadelai~~ on the west bank of Albert Nile in what is now West Nile District, but in 1884 formed part of Equatoria Province under Egyptian suzerainty. These soldiers remained there expecting their pay, ammunition and other

equipments, and further hoping that after the revolt was crushed in the Sudan they would return to Rejaj, the provincial headquarters. In 1888, Emin Pasha yielded to the persuasion of Stanley and went to Europe, leaving his soldiers under the command of one Selim Bey, with the same expectations. This was the situation in which Captain Lugard found the Sudanese soldiers in 1891, when he "borrowed" them for the British East African Company, and eventually the British rule in Uganda. There were about 600 soldiers; but with their families and dependents, they numbered nearly 9,000 in all.<sup>2</sup> These troops provided the main support for Lugard's administration of Uganda till some of them mutinied in 1897. The mutiny cost the Sudanese troops not only their job, it also shattered their hope of going back to the Sudan. It is probable that if the re-conquest of the Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian troops in 1898 were to take place while Emin Pasha's soldiers in Uganda were still under arms, they would have asked for repatriation to the Sudan and this could have been effected. But as it turned out, after the mutiny they were disbanded and scattered. Some were sent to the coast while those who remained in Uganda were settled in Entebbe, Hoima and later Bombo. Their service to Britain, and therefore to Uganda, was acknowledged by many people, but voiced more laudably by "The Manchester Guardian":

"They had enabled Lugard to crush the Catholic revolt of 1892; they had helped Colvile break the power of Kabarega; they had beaten back hostile raids of the Nandi in Kavirondo; they had fought loyally against the Congo mutinies in the west and they had saved the government when Mwanga's rebellion was highly dangerous. Britain owed them a great debt".<sup>3</sup>

Thus disarmed and scattered, Emin Pasha's soldiers found it physically impossible to make the journey back to the Sudan. For their return they would have to rely heavily on the Government of Uganda; but the mutiny robbed them of the sympathy and co-operation of that Government.

They, therefore, accepted their new lot and settled in Uganda. Formerly a motley of Southern Sudanese tribes, who came to be commonly regarded as "Lendu" in Uganda, they are now distinct community under the name of "Nubi",<sup>4</sup> and have a language which is a cross-breed between Arabic and Southern Sudanese languages.

Another group of Sudanese in Uganda in 1959 was that of labour migrants. Since 1930's labourers from the Southern Sudan have been crossing into Uganda to look for employment. It is difficult to get the exact figures for Sudanese labour migrants, because they used to be recruited and attested for in West Nile and Acholi. Most of these labourers used to return to the Sudan after finishing about a year; but since the eruption of violence in the Southern Sudan in August 1955, most of them saw fit to remain in Uganda. Some of them have settled on their own in parts of Northern Province and Buganda where good agricultural land was available. This group was re-enforced by those who fled the Southern Sudan to seek safety in 1955. These were camped as refugees at first; but they were given the freedom to settle anywhere in Uganda afterwards, and the 1959 Population Census found them scattered all over Uganda.

According to the 1911 Uganda population estimate, there were nearly 7,000 Sudanese, or Nubis, in Uganda.<sup>5</sup> Of this number, 2,959 were in Buganda, 2,791 in the Northern Province, 1,042 in Western Province, and 94 in Eastern Province. Bulemezi and Kyaddondo counties with 1,567 and 984 Nubis respectively, had the greatest number of this group in Buganda. In the Northern Province 1,916 were found in Bunyoro, most of them settled on Crown Lands and Omukama's lands; and 264 in Gulu District. Ankole with 768 Nubis had the majority of this people in Western Province; nearly half of them were in Mbarara Township. There were 274 Nubis in Toro. Only 80 of them were in Fort Portal; these were the remnants of this group when they served in the area prior to the mutiny of 1897. Of the Sudanese in the Eastern Province 62 were in Jinja Township, the rest were in Bukedi. All the Sudanese counted in 1911 were "Nubis".

In 1921 the Sudanese population had dropped to only 4,775. This could have been due to a wrong estimate of the number of Sudanese in 1911, or some of the groups who identified themselves with the Nubis in that year were returned under different tribes in 1921. Buganda had 2,685 "Nubis"; this was below the figure for this Province in 1911. There were 2,387 of them in Mengo District, with Bulemezi registering 1,758 and Kyaddondo 294. Kyaggwe accounted for 105 of them. Entebbe District had 225, with Entebbe Town accounting for most of them. There were only 57 Sudanese in Masaka District; 50 of them were in Buddu. And Mubende registered 16 Sudanese only. Northern Province had the second largest number of Sudanese next to Buganda. As in Buganda, this was a settled population as indicated by the preponderance of females over males - nearly 1,000 out of 1,824. All the 795 Sudanese in Gulu District and 254 in Chua District, were on Crown Lands; similarly 443 of this group that were found in Bunyoro were divided into two. The 229 in Masindi Township and 193 in Hoima were on Crown Lands. Arua Township returned all the 332 Sudanese in West Nile. There were 159 Sudanese in Western Province, of whom 154 resided in Fort Portal. In Eastern Province 81 out of a total of 107 Sudanese were in Bukedi District; and Busoga, which registered the majority of this group in 1911, had only 11 of them. Mbale Township had 58 Sudanese. One thing that emerges from the distribution of Sudanese in Uganda between 1911 and 1921 is that they were still fluid. Apart from certain areas in Buganda, mainly Bulemezi, the pattern of distribution in 1911 had little in common with that of 1921. By the latter year, there still does not appear to have been labour migration from the Southern Sudan.

Although there was an overall increase in the number of Sudanese in Uganda by 753 to 5,528 between 1921 and 1931, this seems an infinitesimal rise when the period of time is put into consideration. 6



# DISTRIBUTION OF SUDANESE IN UGANDA

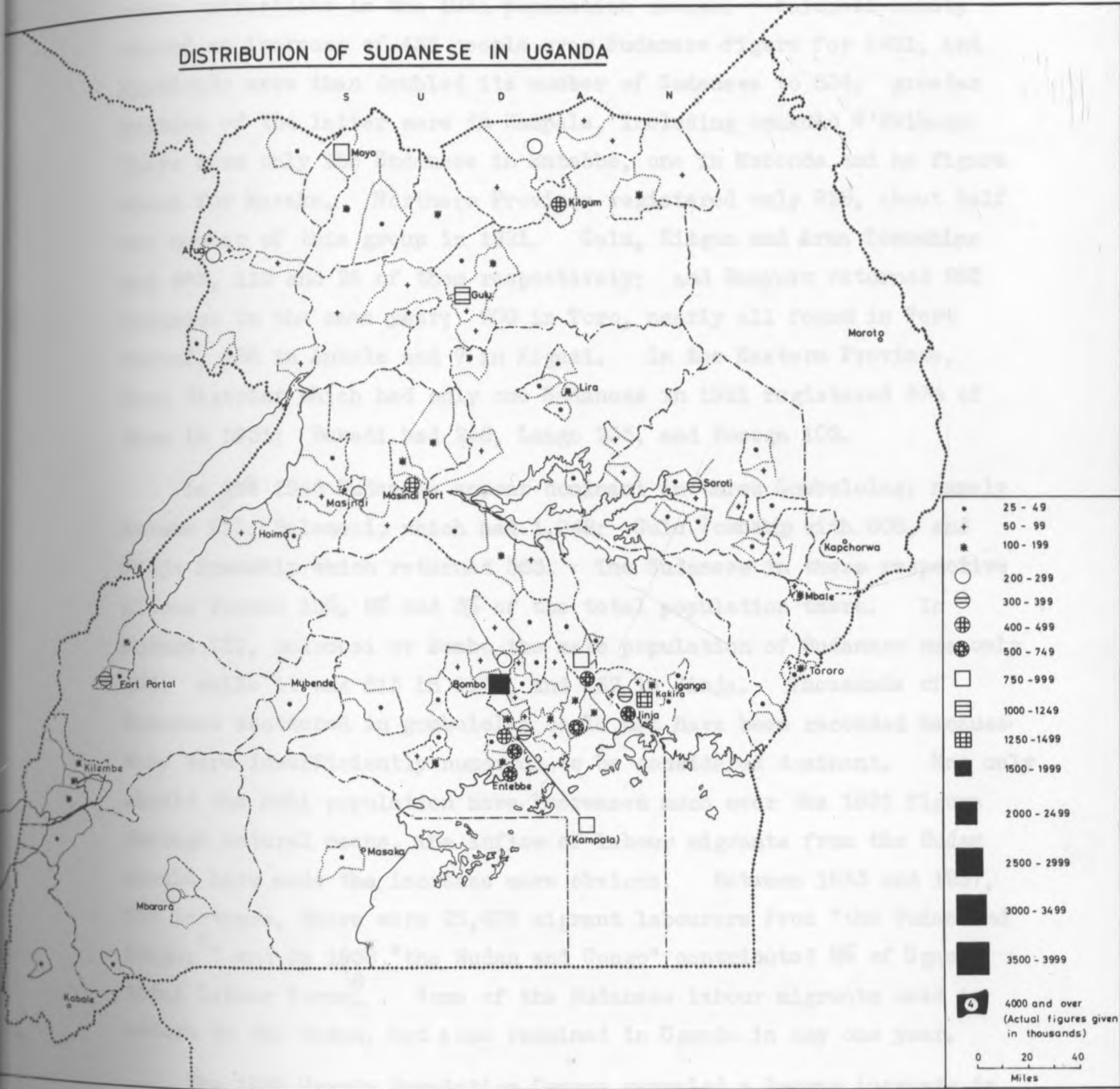


FIG. 5

Some of the people returned as Sudanese in 1921 must have claimed other extractions in the 1931 population census. Bulemezi county showed an increase of 435 people over Sudanese figure for 1921, and Kyaddondo more than doubled its number of Sudanese to 634; greater portion of the latter were in Kampala, including Omukulu W'Ekibuga. There were only 153 Sudanese in Entebbe, one in Mubende and no figure shown for Masaka. Northern Province registered only 928, about half the number of this group in 1921. Gulu, Kitgum and Arua Townships had 493, 110 and 25 of them respectively; and Bunyoro returned 263 Sudanese in the same year; 200 in Toro, nearly all found in Fort Portal, 166 in Ankole and 7 in Kigezi. In the Eastern Province, Teso District which had only one Sudanese in 1921 registered 374 of them in 1931; Bukedi had 248, Lango 235, and Busoga 102.

In ~~the~~ 1948 Sudanese appear dominant in three Gombololas; namely Mutuba III, Bulemezi, which had 1,948; Gulu Township with 608, and Jinja Township which returned 363. The Sudanese in these respective places formed 15%, 5% and 3% of the total population there. In Mutuba III, Bulemezi or Bombo the male population of Sudanese was only 263; while it was 313 in Gulu, and 187 in Jinja. Thousands of Sudanese scattered in gombololas could not have been recorded because they were insufficiently numerous to be considered dominant. Not only should the Nubi population have increased much over the 1931 figure through natural means, the inflow of labour migrants from the Sudan should have made the increase more obvious. Between 1933 and 1937, for instance, there were 25,478 migrant labourers from "the Sudan and Congo;<sup>7</sup>" and in 1938 "the Sudan and Congo" contributed 9% of Uganda total labour force.<sup>8</sup> Some of the Sudanese labour migrants used to return to the Sudan, but some remained in Uganda in any one year.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census revealed a larger increase in the number of Sudanese in that country in relation to 1931. In all there were 23,339 Sudanese, accounting for about 0.04% of Uganda total population. Of this number, 13,816 or nearly 55% were males. This

preponderance of males over females was a result of more labour immigrants from the Sudan. Alone, the Nubis had a surplus of females over males in 1911, 1921 and 1931. In the latter year there were 108 females for every 100 males. But although there was no distinction made between the Nubis and the Sudanese labour migrants, there was a clear division in their pattern of distribution. The Nubis, a people occupied in trade, were mostly found in towns and trading centres. Bombo, remained their main centre of concentration. A considerable number of them were also returned in Kampala Municipality together with Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo) and Mumyuka Gombolola. Some of the 1,863 Sudanese found there in 1959 could have been labour migrants; but the majority were Nubis. A large number of them were presumably settled on or around Kibuli Hill, which today has their mosque, a Teachers' Training College and a Senior Secondary School for their children. Other towns with large Nubi population were: Gulu with 1,090; Jinja 565; Entebbe 518; Masindi Port 408; Soroti 333; Fort Portal 323; Arua 287; Mbarara 253; Masindi Township 231; Tororo 166; Mbale 143; and Lira 108. There were possibly Sudanese labour migrants in these towns, especially in Kampala and Jinja working in industries and Government Ministries, but their number was much smaller. At the same time there were Nubis in the rural areas, especially along the main routes where they kept small shops.

The main areas where Sudanese labour migrants were registered were Kakira and Lugazi Sugar Plantations and Buganda. In the latter area they worked as porters on Ganda farms or cultivated cash crops on their own. They were also found where opportunities for employment existed, such as in the Kilembe mines of Toro District. In the early 1950's, it was observed that "the great majority" of labour recruited in West Nile and Madi Districts for Lugazi and Kakira Plantations have been coming "from the Sudan and Congo". In 1959 Kakira had 1,257 Sudanese, and Lugazi 630; the number of males was

high, 1,005 and 419 respectively. In another place of high labour demand, Kilembe mines, only 102 Sudanese were returned. Most of them were males, and it is assumed that they were labour migrants from the Sudan. There was also a large number of Sudanese in the county of Bugerere, which returned nearly 1,600 members of this group in 1959. Bugerere formed an area of special attraction to the Kuku, Kakwa and Fejulu of Yei District. The concentration was in Mumyuka and Musale Gombololas. There were some of this group employed by Ganda and Soga farmers, but the majority of them had settled and cultivated cash crops of their own. Of the total number of these people in Bugerere, 998 or about 62%, were males. In the trading centres of Bugerere like Kayunga, there were some Nubis established in trade. In addition to the two groups mentioned, there was a third group of Sudanese, namely the Acholi, Madi and Kuku who infiltrated across the border into Uganda through Acholi and Madi Districts respectively. These infiltrations were encouraged by political instability more than lack of economic activities in the Southern Sudan. This factor was responsible for most of the 2,943 Sudanese in Acholi and 1,079 of them in Madi. Included in the 1959 Census also were the Sudanese who sought political asylum in Uganda after the Southern Sudanese disturbances of August 1955. At the end of the latter year, there was an estimated number of 5,000 refugees from the Southern Sudan resident in the Northern Province.<sup>9</sup> The flow of this group into Uganda had continued although it was reduced to a trickle between 1958 and 1960. With the outbreak of serious violence in Southern Sudan in 1960, more refugees crossed into Uganda but the number of Sudanese seeking asylum in Uganda reached the maximum in 1965 when an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 crossed into Uganda in the middle of that year.

It is difficult to predict as to what will become of the Sudanese in Uganda. So far, the grand-children of Emin Pasha's soldiers have accepted Uganda as their country and are permanently settled; but even those Sudanese who came as labour migrants have been turned into refugees by the political situation in the country. All will have to wait for a political solution to the problem.

#### N O T E S

1. The concentration is on the Southern Sudanese. Few, if any Northern Sudanese are in Uganda as migrants.
2. Sudanese soldiers married among tribes that now belong to Uganda. So the number could not have been originally Sudanese.
3. "The Manchester Guardian" 4th March, 1897.
4. The word "Nubi" is possibly derived from "Nuba" of Western Sudan rather than "Nubian" of extreme Northern Sudan and Southern Egypt. The former provided soldiers for successive administrations in the Sudan, and some of them could have been among Emin Pasha's soldiers.
5. In 1911 Bari, Latuka, Lokoya and Toposa were still within Uganda. They were not ceded to the Sudan until 1914; but they are ~~not~~ treated here as migrants in Uganda.
6. In 1921 most of the Nubis were probably elderly. So the birth rate of the Nubis was low.
7. Kuczynski, P.R. (1949). "Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire", Oxford University Press, p.245.
8. Uganda Annual Report (1956), p.133.
9. " " " (1955), pp.124-125.

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF LUO MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

The Jaluo or Luo, as they are popularly known, numbered 37,648 in Uganda in 1959, forming 0.6% of the total population. The second largest tribe in Kenya, the Luo were 1,148,335 in 1962. The presence of the Luo in Uganda is part of their movement from home in search of economic opportunities. This movement may be seen as a result of economic development and urbanisation in Kenya and neighbouring African countries of Uganda and Tanzania.<sup>1</sup>

Except for those who have left because of lack of economic opportunities, and several thousands who have crossed the boundary and settled in Musoma and North Mara Districts of Tanzania, the Luo are found in the Kenya Districts of Central Nyanza and South Nyanza. The Luo are the most southerly branch of the Nilotic group of tribes. They are believed to have settled in their present area between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their home of origin has been a subject of controversy between historians and anthropologists; but it is generally agreed that they came into East Africa from the Southern Sudan through what is now Acholi and eastern Uganda. Their area of settlement on the shores of Lake Victoria is one of the most heavily populated regions of Kenya. In 1962 Central Nyanza had a density of 366 persons per square mile, and South Nyanza had 218 persons per square mile. Luoland comes next to Kenya Highlands and Kakamega—Kisumu area where population densities reach over 1,000 and 8,000 persons per square mile (1962) as the most heavily populated region. It is fortunate that in most of this area, high population figures coincide with fairly fertile soil, heavy rainfall, moderate temperatures and gentle relief. In 1962 Nyanza Province had 52% of all land of high potential in Kenya, that is the area with over 35 inches of rainfall, good soil and moderate temperatures.<sup>2</sup> As a

result of heavy population, pastoralism which was the traditional occupation of the Luo has been eclipsed by agriculture. The latter now form the basis of livelihood and is carried out on intensive scale. Crops grown include maize, cotton, coffee and groundnuts. Pastoralism, however, is still the main occupation in areas which are not ecologically suited to agriculture. From the cattle, ghee, hides and skins are sold for cash. Fishing, plays an important role in the economy, the Luo being dependent both on lake and river fisheries.

There is no doubt that Central and South Nyanza Districts can no longer contain the Luo. Land shortage was noticed earlier. Petitioning a Land Commission in 1933, the Kavirondo Tax Payers Welfare Association expressed the view that their land was already overcrowded, and reminded the Commissioners: "... As the

Europeans and Indians have come to Africa because their lands are full of people, we beg that they remember that our land will be full of people also, and we cannot leave Africa as the Europeans and Indians leave their lands".<sup>3</sup>

Naming locations and divisions in Central Nyanza among those over populated, Archdeacon Owen told the same Commission that the fact that Africans were "cultivating the most rocky and sceningly hopeless hillsides speaks in striking terms of the pressure of population on the soil".<sup>4</sup>

In 1948 Central Nyanza was believed to have had 233,854 people more than the land could support economically; and South Nyanza could economically support about 23,500 more people.<sup>5</sup>

Prior to British rule among the Luo, the answer to land shortage has been for the larger clans to acquire land at the expense of the weaker ones. But with the establishment of British Administration expansionism through use of force ceased to solve the problem of land shortage. Migration, temporary or permanent, replaced war as the

best solution to land hunger. According to Oninde, Luo migration to other areas was the result of a "complex interaction of population both human and bovine", producing population pressure on available land.<sup>6</sup> So migration came as an answer to release the congestion. In fact, Oninde reduces historical migrations of the Luo to quest for more land; he observes that Luo history is full of stories of quarrels and breakup of clans, even families, but whatever the immediate excuse for the quarrel and eventual separation, "throughout the story that emerges is a constant struggle for land within the context of social and political organisation".<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the only difference between the past and current Luo migrations is that the latter does not include group organisation on a large scale; but land shortage remains the main cause for migration. Ogot also suggests that historically the Luo are a migratory people and their present "... movements to towns and outside employment, apart from a primary economic drive, may also have this traditional basis".<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, economic reasons, are also a factor in Luo migration. Some of them have rationalised their presence outside Luoland by pleading personal difficulties like family quarrels or witchcraft practices against them by their neighbours, social and political dissatisfactions; but most of these are mere facades which hide the economic realities behind their movement.

The presence of Luo in Uganda was noticed in 1931, when in the general census 365 of them were returned. Buganda, Eastern and Western Provinces had over one hundred each. Kyaggwe, with 93 Luo, had the main concentration of this tribe in Buganda. These were probably employed in Lugazi Sugar Estate, or worked as porters on coffee plantations, or as employees of the railways. About 100 Luo, were found in Bujenje county, Bunyoro. These were possibly engaged on European plantations, steamer and road services, especially at



Masindi Port and Butiaba. Six were in Kashari county, Ankole. In Eastern Province, there was no point of concentration as marked as in Buganda and Western Provinces. There were only seven Luo in Butembe-Bunya county, and 49 and 36 in Samia-Bugwere and Budama respectively. The presence of Luo in the last two counties was due to their proximity to Luoland and fishing prospects along Lake Victoria and contributory streams. On the whole the Luo people in Uganda at the time were temporary; 306 or 84% of the total were males, a sure sign of their non-permanence.

The Uganda 1948 census results show the main tribes in gombololas only. So the total number of Luo in Uganda is not given. Seven gombololas where Luo appeared among the main tribes had a total of 3,419 of that tribe. About 4% or 633 people of Mutuba VII (Lugazi), Kyaggwe were Luo. Munyuka gombolola of Kyaddondo, on the eastern edge of Kampala municipality, had 403 Luo. This was 3% of total gombolola population. Jinja Town had the single highest concentration of Luo in Uganda that year, numbering 1,024, or about 8% of all inhabitants of that town. Tororo with 664 Luo followed. This was 5% of Tororo's entire population. Eastern Province had more Luo, appearing as one of the numerically significant tribes in four gombololas. Of all the Luo population in seven gombololas mentioned, 2,351, or 68.7% were males. This showed a more permanent trend than in 1931, or it could have been a result of better means of communications between Luoland and areas of economic opportunities in Uganda, which encouraged the Luo migrants to bring female members of their families.

Before 1948 remittances from Luo migrants were essential to supplement produce from family farms where they existed in Luoland.<sup>9</sup> It was therefore important that their wives remained at home on these farms. Most of Luo migrants in Uganda at the time remained temporary.

**DISTRIBUTION OF LUO IN UGANDA**

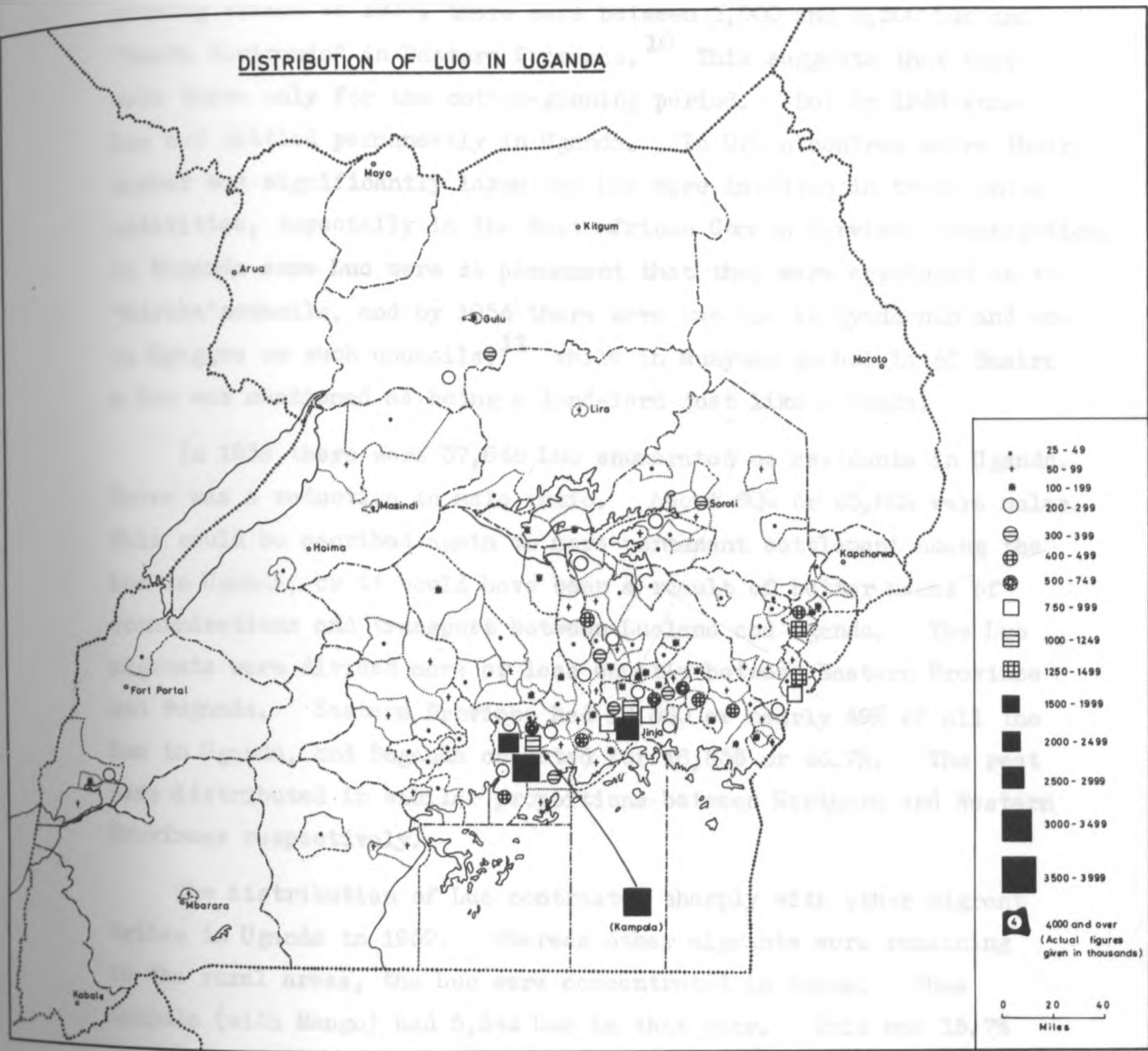


FIG. 6

The number of Luo migrants in the past fluctuated seasonally, with employment opportunities. For instance, during the cotton, ginning season in 1937, there were between 2,000 and 2,500 Luo and "Bantu Kavirondo" in Eastern Province.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that they were there only for the cotton-ginning period. But by 1948 some Luo had settled permanently in Uganda. In Urban centres where their number was significantly large the Luo were involved in trade union activities, especially in the East African Common Services Organisation. In Buganda some Luo were so permanent that they were appointed on to 'Miruka' councils, and by 1954 there were two Luo in Kyaddondo and one in Kyaggwe on such councils;<sup>11</sup> while in Munyuka gombolola of Busiro a Luo was mentioned as being a land-lord just like a Ganda.

In 1959 there were 37,648 Luo enumerated as residents in Uganda. There was a reduction in male ratio. About 60% or 23,605 were males. This could be ascribed again to more permanent settlement among the Luo in Uganda, or it could have been a result of better means of communications and transport between Luoland and Uganda. The Luo migrants were divided more or less equally between Eastern Province and Buganda. Eastern Province had 18,380 or nearly 49% of all the Luo in Uganda, and Buganda accounted for 16,835 or 44.7%. The rest were distributed in similar proportions between Northern and Western Provinces respectively.

The distribution of Luo contrasted sharply with other migrant tribes in Uganda in 1959. Whereas other migrants were remaining in the rural areas, the Luo were concentrated in towns. Thus Kampala (with Mengo) had 5,544 Luo in that year. This was 15.7% of all Luo migrants in the whole of Uganda, and 32.9% of Buganda Luo. Males were 3,807 or 68.4% of the total Luo figure for Kampala. There were 2,756 Luo in Jinja; 1,867 or 67.7% were males. Together Jinja and Kampala accounted for 8,300 Luo, or 22% of all Luo in Uganda in 1959. Kampala, Jinja, Mbale, Tororo, Gulu and Lira had

9,193 Luo, or 24.3%, nearly a quarter of their population in Uganda. There were still more Luo in smaller townships outside those already mentioned. In urban and trading centres, the Luo were mostly employed by firms, and factories. They had also been involved with the railways and transport. In addition to employment in the above mentioned sectors, the Luo carried out petty trade, in the towns.

Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Estates had 481 and 962 Luo respectively. Apparently the work in these places was not especially attractive to the Luo. Kilenbe Mines in Toro accounted for 299 Luo in 1959, nearly 50% of all the Luo in that district. In general the Luo preferred to work on the machines,<sup>11</sup> and this is the role they were carrying out in Lugazi, Kakira and Kilenbe. This fact accounted for their presence in considerable number in the railways and transport services.

In the Eastern Province, outside the towns already mentioned, the number of Luo in the border gombololas of Saria-Bugwe and Budana counties had grown because of the nearness of these places to Kenya. It is probable that most of the Luo in these counties were already settled. Several of them were resettled on Busoga resettlement schemes. Gombololas along the shores of Lake Victoria had an additional attraction to the Luo as fishing sites. In 1963 there were 22 Luo in the lake side village of Bukoba in Busoga out of a total of 47.<sup>12</sup> The Luo were also found scattered in the Northern Province, even as far north as Gulu. Lango and Acholi are inhabited by Luo speaking tribes, and the Luo migrants could have found themselves at home here.

The Luo are an industrious people, and this has given them a sense of organisation wherever they are in reasonable number. Wherever they were there also existed the Luo Union branch.<sup>13</sup> In addition to this in Uganda, there was Luo Traders Association with its centre in Kampala. The main cluster of Luo traders was in Kampala Municipality and Mengo. And they were found in large numbers especially in Nakawa and Naguru Housing Estates, Kibuli and Makerere villages.

## NOTES

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11. Richards, A.I. (1954), op.cit., p.227.
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13. Luo Union (East Africa) is a cultural, social and economic organisation which aims at the advancement of all Luo in East Africa.

## DISTRIBUTION OF KENYANS (EXCLUDING THE LUO) IN UGANDA

The Uganda Population Census for 1959 returned 43,255 Kenyans (excluding the Luo) in the whole country. The flow of this large number of Kenyans to Uganda was economically motivated, but it had been facilitated by the administrative set up which forged a close tie between the two countries over a long period. Areas of co-operation, like the East African Common Services Organisation, strengthened these ties and encouraged the immigration of Kenyans to Uganda as workers on the railways and marine services particularly.

The reasons for emigration of Kenyans from their country can best be seen in the geographical and economic conditions of Kenya. In 1962 there were 8,633,634 persons on a land area of 219,789 <sup>sq. miles</sup> or a density of 39 persons per a square mile. This low density is not significant, because over 80% of the population was found on only 15% of the land, mainly in the Western, Rift Valley and Central Provinces. These areas have a reasonably fertile soil and adequate rainfall to support large populations, in some cases reaching 1,500 persons per square mile (1962). About 77% of the land is arid and accounted for only 11% of Kenya total population. Most Kenyans practise subsistence agriculture; but unfortunately the plot owned by one family has been uneconomic in most areas of high population density. People pushed out by land shortage, and those expropriated <sup>by</sup> land consolidation and the registration of individual titles afterwards could not be absorbed by the urban centres of Kenya. So some of this surplus population from the rural area had to go beyond the boundaries of Kenya. Uganda offered the best alternative outside Kenya as an area of reception of these people for several reasons. Firstly, it had employment opportunities in both agricultural and industrial sectors, demand for which could not be satisfied from within Uganda alone. Secondly, there was enough land available for Kenya immigrants to settle and cultivate crops for immediate consumption and cash. Many Kenya

immigrants to Uganda came from the Western Province, because this is the area with largest population concentrations, and it borders Uganda. In some instances too, since the boundary divided kindred peoples, the Kenya Samia crossed the boundary and settled in Samia-Bugwe. Similarly the Vugusu who are akin to the Gisu and the Pokot who are related to the Karamojong became settled in Bugisu and Karamoja Districts respectively.

The Kenya population in Uganda has been concentrated mainly in the Eastern and Buganda Provinces. They were first attracted to these places by employment on cotton fields; but with more employment opportunities offered by the erection of sugar industries at Lugazi and Kakira, introduction of coffee cultivation, the extension of the Railway line to Uganda, industrial expansion in Jinja and Kampala, and availability of land for settlement and cultivation of cash crops by migrants, more of them migrated into Uganda. In spite of the fact that what is now Western Province of Kenya had ceased to be part of Uganda since 1902, about 40,000 Kenyans were registered in Uganda in 1911 under the names "Nandi" and "Bakavirondo". The Nandi, numbering nearly 25,000, were recorded in Bukedi, and the Bakavirondo were living in Busoga District. These were, certainly, domiciles of Uganda at the time, what is inexplicable is why they were registered as Nandi and Bakavirondo when members of these groups were nationals of Kenya. In 1921 about 5,230 Kavirondo (Kenyans) were recorded in Uganda. Of this number, 3,375, or 64.5% were males. Buganda accounted for 2,952 Kavirondo in that year, with 1,444 in Mengo District where half of them were registered in Kyaggwe. The rest were distributed more or less equally between Bulemezi and Kyaddondo counties. Entebbe District had 1,242 Kavirondo, 626 of whom were in Mawokota and 569 in Busiro. The 265 Kavirondo counted in Masaka District were all in Buddu county. Except for the 46 Kenyans in the Northern Province and 3 in Western Province, the rest of Kenyans living outside Buganda were found in the Eastern Province, mainly in Busoga. They were in two counties, Bukoli with 1,182, and Bugabula 780. In addition to the Kenyans returned as Kavirondo in

### DISTRIBUTION OF KENYANS (EXCLUDING THE LUO) IN UGANDA

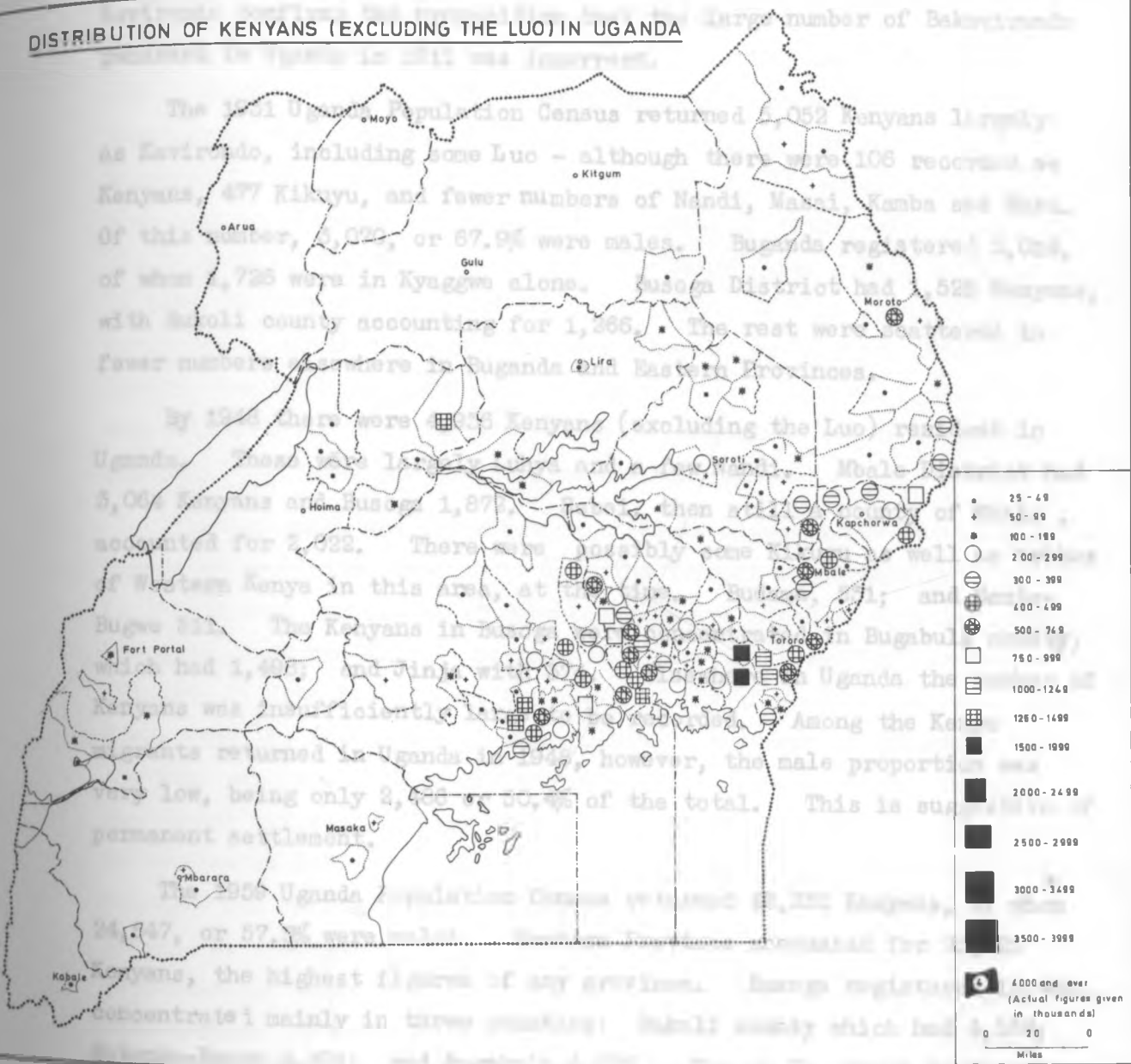


FIG. 7



Uganda in 1921, there were a handful of Kikuyu recorded separately. The relatively small number of Kenyans in Uganda in 1921 returned as Kavirondo confirms the proposition that the large number of Bakavirondo recorded in Uganda in 1911 was incorrect.

The 1931 Uganda Population Census returned 5,052 Kenyans largely as Kavirondo, including some Luo - although there were 106 recorded as Kenyans, 477 Kikuyu, and fewer numbers of Nandi, Masai, Kamba and Embu. Of this number, 3,070, or 67.9% were males. Buganda registered 2,016, of whom 1,726 were in Kyaggwe alone. Busoga District had 1,526 Kenyans, with Bukoli county accounting for 1,266. The rest were scattered in fewer numbers elsewhere in Buganda and Eastern Provinces.

By 1948 there were 4,936 Kenyans (excluding the Luo) resident in Uganda. These were largely Luhya and a few Nandi. Mbale District had 3,064 Kenyans and Busoga 1,872. Sebei, then still a county of Mbale, accounted for 2,022. There were possibly some Kikuyu as well as tribes of Western Kenya in this area, at the time. Budama, 531; and Samia-Bugwe 511. The Kenyans in Busoga were concentrated in Bugabula county, which had 1,498; and Jinja with 374. Elsewhere in Uganda the number of Kenyans was insufficiently large to be recorded. Among the Kenya migrants returned in Uganda in 1948, however, the male proportion was very low, being only 2,486 or 50.4% of the total. This is suggestive of permanent settlement.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census returned 43,255 Kenyans, of whom 24,847, or 57.5% were males. Eastern Province accounted for 25,721 Kenyans, the highest figures of any province. Busoga registered 15,485, concentrated mainly in three counties: Bukoli county which had 4,566; Butembe-Bunya 4,301; and Bugabula 4,090. Except for those in Butembe-Bunya, who were employed in Jinja and Kakira Sugar Estate, the Kenyans in Busoga were settled peasants. Most of the 4,308 Kenyans in Bukedi District were recorded in the southern part of the district; Samia-Bugwe 2,551; and Tororo county 1,098. The 2,568 Kenyans in Bugisu District were there more because of that district's proximity to Kenya and avail-

ability of land for settlement, especially in Sebei, rather than a reflexion of the existence of opportunities for cash employment. Sebei accounted for 1,079; and North Bugisu had 826. Mbale Town registered 555. As in Bugisu, the 2,805 Kenyans in Teso were largely found in the northern part of the district, where Bukedea county had 1,118, and Amuria 557. Nearly all the 11,075 Kenyans in Buganda were found in three counties of Mengo District: Kyaddondo with 4,119; Kyaggwe 3,966; and Bugerere 1,109. Northern Province recorded 3,987 Kenyans, 3,024 of whom were in Karamoja District. It is probable these were largely nomadic or pastoral Kenya groups akin to the Karanojong. With 2,472 Kenyans in 1959, Western Province had the least number of this group of all provinces. About 1,668 of them were recorded in Bunyoro, where Kibanda county accounted for 1,308 Kenyans registered in Bunyoro. Most of these were Maragoli who had already settled at Kigumba; but there were possibly some Nandi pastoralists on the Kafu plains.

The map shows the distribution of Kenya migrants (excluding Luo) in Uganda at gombolola level in 1959. The largest concentration was found in the western gombololas of Butembe-Bunya and Bugabula counties, Busoga, along the Victoria Nile. Kenyans came into the area first as labour migrants on Soga farms; but the availability of good agricultural land encouraged the settlement of this people. The area in the vicinity of the Nile was less settled earlier by the indigenous people, because it was tsetse infested. There were also Kenyans in southern Busoga, with the gombololas of Bukoli county as the area of large concentrations. In fact, Sabagabo and Sabaddu gombololas, Bukoli, returned the highest number of Kenyans at gombolola level in the whole of Uganda, 1,538 and 1,506 respectively. Most of the Kenyans in southern Busoga had their own cultivations, but in addition they carried out fishing on Lake Victoria, and worked as porters on Soga farms. Illingworth suggests that the flow of Kenyans to southern Busoga was in a way encouraged by the chiefs of newly settled areas, because for every non-Soga settler, the chief received the customary enkoko fee.<sup>1</sup> But the truth seems to be that the Soga chiefs took advantage of Kenyans' eagerness for land, and

charged a high enkoko fee. The presence of Kenyans in Buganda was confined to Kampala and the neighbouring gombololas, the northeastern gombololas of Kyaggwe and the southern gombololas of Bugerere. In the latter two counties there tended to be a continuation of Kenya settlement observed earlier in western Butembe-Bunya and Bugabula counties. Elsewhere in Uganda, the number of Kenya migrants was large in the areas bordering Kenya, namely Samia-Bugwe, Tororo, Central and Northern Bugisu, Sebei and the county of Upe, Karamoja. Away from these areas, there were a few Kenyans in Teso, which, except for Soroti, were probably a continuation of the Kenya settlers in Bugisu District. In 1959 the Kenyans (excluding Luo) in Uganda were largely settled in the rural areas, although a few of them were in the industrial centres of Kampala, Jinja, the Sugar Plantations of Lugazi and Kakira and the towns of Tororo, Mbale and Moroto. They contrasted sharply with the Luo who, in the same period, were largely found in the urban areas.

#### N O T E S

1. Illingworth, S.J. Resettlement schemes in Uganda. unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1964, p.3.

## DISTRIBUTION OF TANZANIAN MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

Since the early 1920's, Tanzania,<sup>1</sup> or Tanganyika as it was then known, has been one of the sources of Uganda labour force. The migration of Tanzanians to Uganda was a continuation of their internal movement in search of paid employment on sisal and coffee plantations, fishing, industrial and commercial establishments along the coast and in the Eastern Region.<sup>2</sup>

Tanzania is not well endowed economically. Soils are poor in most parts of the country; and water resources and rainfall are not adequate to support population over large areas. In addition to these factors, there was tsetse infestation. Because of these physical limitations, the population of Tanzania has been confined to a little over one-third of the country. Consequently, large numbers of male adults had sought economic opportunities elsewhere. Uganda had proved a special attraction to the tribes of north and northwestern Tanzania, especially the Nyanwezi, Haya, Ha, Ziba and Zinja.<sup>3</sup> Members of these tribes entered Uganda via Kyaka Ferry on River Kagera, or took steamers from Bukoba and Mwanza to Port Bell. A few of them used to appear in the Easter Province, after passing through western Kenya. In Uganda, most of them worked on Ganda farms and sugar plantations of Lugazi and Kakira. Government services and private firms also absorbed some of them. Some later took up cultivation of cash crops on their own in Buganda. Two other groups of Tanzanians that would figure, especially in the 1948 and 1959 censuses, were Haya prostitutes and pupils in private schools in Buganda.

Before 1959, Uganda population censuses returned Tanzanians by their tribal names. In 1911, Ziba were the dominant group registered. They numbered 6,841, and were mainly in Masaka District, Buganda.

The Ziba were dominant again in 1921. About 5,835 of them were recorded in Uganda. The male population was not particularly large - being only 2,992, or 51.3% of the total Ziba migrants. Of all the Ziba in Uganda, 5,705 were found in Buganda. Masaka District alone accounted for 5,082 of them, and nearly all of them were recorded in Buddu county. In 1931, about 359 Tanzanians and 23,693 Ziba were registered during the Uganda Population Census; this time the Ziba were recorded as an indigenous people. But their male/female ration - 100 to 35 - was a clear indication that they were a labour immigrant group. Except for Rakiga county, Kigezi, which had 9,208 Ziba,<sup>4</sup> the highest concentrations of this group were in the counties of Mengo and Entebbe Districts - Mawokota 4,419; Busiro 2,465; Butambala 1,463; and Kyaddondo 1,044. Buddu county which registered over 90% of the members of this tribe in 1921, returned only 1,875 or less than 10% in 1931. In the same year, about 2,282 Zinja were recorded; they were all in Mengo, with Kyaddondo accounting for 916 of them; Bulemezi 827; and Kyaggwe 539. They probably served as porters on Ganda farms, although some of those in Kyaggwe could have been working on Lugazi Sugar Plantation.

The main source of 1948 Uganda Population Census gives no figures for Tanzanians in Uganda during the census. But as in the previous censuses, they were returned under tribal names. Thus about 5,602 Zinja and 821 Ziba were recorded. All of them were in Mengo. Of the total number of Zinja, 4,106 or 73.3%, were males. They were still a typical labour migrant population. Bulemezi alone recorded 2,319 Zinja; Busiro 2,225; Kyaddondo 723; and Bugerere 335. All the Ziba were returned in Kyaddondo. Between 1931 and 1948, the inflow of Tanzanians was quite high, although no records were kept; but occasional statistical data available confirmed this influx. In 1936 about 19,110 Tanzanians were resident in Uganda, mainly Buganda; 14,000 in 1937; and 11,000 in 1938.

# DISTRIBUTION OF TANZANIAN MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

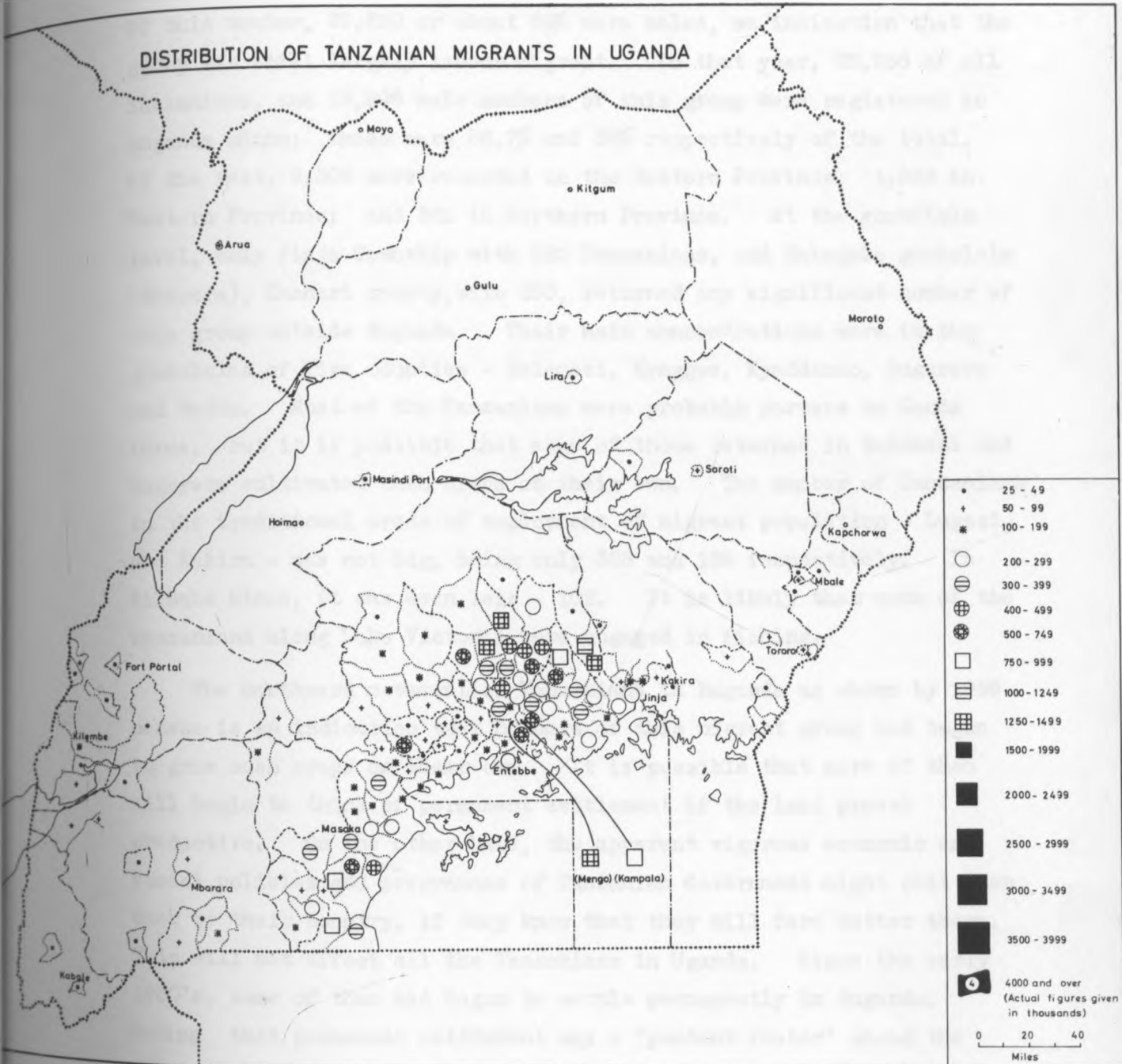


FIG. 8

According to 1959 Uganda Population Census, there were 33,570 Tanzanians. These were not broken down into their tribal components. Of this number, 22,829 or about 68% were males, an indication that the group was still largely labour migrant. In that year, 28,956 of all Tanzanians, and 19,996 male members of this group were registered in Buganda alone; these were 86.7% and 88% respectively of the total. Of the rest, 2,305 were recorded in the Eastern Province; 1,948 in Western Province; and 361 in Northern Province. At the gombolola level, only Jinja Township with 223 Tanzanians, and Sabagabo gombolola (Mbarara), Kashari county, with 253, returned any significant number of this group outside Buganda. Their main concentrations were in the gombololas of five counties - Bulemezi, Kyaggwe, Kyaddondo, Bugerere and Buddu. Most of the Tanzanians were probably porters on Ganda farms; but it is possible that some of those returned in Bulemezi and Bugerere cultivated cash crops on their own. The number of Tanzanians in the traditional areas of employment of migrant population - Lugazi and Kakira - was not big, being only 328 and 189 respectively. In Kilembe Mines, it was even less - 102. It is likely that some of the Tanzanians along Lake Victoria were engaged in fishing.

The northward movement of Tanzanians in Buganda as shown by 1959 census is an indication that members of this migrant group had begun to grow cash crops on their own. It is possible that more of them will begin to think of permanent settlement if the land proves productive. On the other hand, the apparent vigorous economic and social policies and programmes of Tanzanian Government might call them back to their country, if they know that they will fare better there. This will not affect all the Tanzanians in Uganda. Since the early 1930's, some of them had begun to settle permanently in Buganda. Noting that permanent settlement was a "pontent factor" among the migrants in Buganda, the Report of Committee of Enquiry (1938) mentioned that about 15,352 Tanzanians had virtually settled.<sup>5</sup> Not only could this people have rooted themselves in Uganda in the two decades (1938 to 1959) but more members of their group could have joined them in regarding Uganda as their own country.

## NOTES

1. Tanzania as used here refers to the mainland only.
2. United Nations' publication. The Population of Tanganyika, New York, 1949, p.39; states that about 300,000 people used to be employed in such establishments at one time.
3. Richards, A.I. Economic Development and Tribal Change. Heffer, Cambridge, 1957, p.2.
4. This was probably because of the proximity of Kigezi District to Ziba country in northwestern Tanzania.
5. Report of the Committee of enquiry into the labour situation in the Uganda Protectorate, 1938; quoted in R.R. Kuczynski, Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, Oxford University Press 1949, Vol.II, p.242.



S E C T I O N   T W O

INTERNAL MIGRANTS

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALUR IN UGANDA OUTSIDE WEST NILE AND  
MADI DISTRICTS

The Alur are found on both sides of Uganda--Congo border. In Uganda, they occupy the area north-west of Lake Albert in West Nile and Madi districts. In 1959, they numbered 133,378. The Alur are a Nilotic people, who in their westward movement have found themselves among a Sudanic people, the Lugbara, Logo, Madi, Okebo and Lendu. They have tended to absorb the weaker of these tribes, especially the Okebo and Lendu.

Before they were finally split up by international frontier, the Alur were subjected to different European administrations. Alur land was annexed to Equatorial Province in 1878 by Enin Pasha. It was during this administration that Wadelai was established. Between 1888 when Enin Pasha left and 1893, when it became part of Leopold's Congo Free State, the Alur land remained unadministered. There was no effective administration, however, until the Belgians occupied Wadelai in 1897. Nominally, west bank of Lake Albert was part of Uganda till 1910, when it was ceded to the Congo on the death of Leopold II, after the lease over the Lado Enclave terminated. In the same year, Major Stigand took over Alur land north of Mahagi and west of the Nile from the Belgians on behalf of the Anglo-Egyptian governments, though the southern Alur near Mahagi were administered by Belgians since 1910. It was not until 1914 that the Alur of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were incorporated within Uganda in exchange for Bari and Latuko north of Nimule and east of the Nile, who were given to the Sudan. The first British administrator, A.E. Weatherhead, took over as District Commissioner of West Nile the same year. This was the time when Alur now in that district came into effective contact with European administration. Between the time when Enin Pasha added their area to Equatorial Province of the Sudan and 1914, when the British administration was established among them, the Alur had

some of their harshest experiences. During this period, European and Arab elephant-hunters and slave-traders ravaged the land. Inter-chiefs' feuds were exploited by these foreigners, who would give their support to chiefs that promised them a free-hand to hunt elephants or men in their areas as rewards. There was no proper administration. It was a period of confusion, and as Southall puts it:

"Governments' agents appeared, chiefs submitted, revolted, fled to the bush and finally submitted again. The administrations of first one power and then another had hardly time to start gaining before boundaries were altered, territories exchanged and new masters took over".<sup>1</sup>

Alur land consists of three belts from northeast to southwest: the lowland, midland and highland. The lowland borders Lake Albert and the Nile; the highland lies further west; and the midland is intermediary between the two. Physiographically, the differences are blurred in the southern part. The highland is the most important part. It starts at an altitude of 4,500 feet above sea-level, with Mt. Aburu, 8,000 feet, as the highest point. Rainfall is heavy, averaging about 60 inches a year. The soil on hills and ridges is red with granitic outcrops; but in the valleys rich, black soil is found. This belt is mainly grassland. Crops cultivated are fingermillet, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, cassava and maize. Cassava has increased in recent years to displace finger-millet as the basic food stuff. Cotton and Arabica coffee are grown as cash crops, though the latter has only reached any success in the last few years. Local iron works among the Alur were mainly found here, with the Okebo being traditionally the chief iron workers.

The midland, 3,000 feet to 4,500 feet in altitude, is not very attractive to settlement as it is tsetse-infested. It has 30-45 inches of rainfall per annum. The soil is less fertile, but it is good for cotton, which is grown in greater quantity here than in the highland. Other crops cultivated are sorghum, sinsin, beans, groundnuts, fingermillet, cassava and maize.

Lake Albert and the Nile form the north-eastern border of Alur land. The lowland starts here and runs inland for about three miles. Day temperatures sometimes rise up to 100°F., and night temperatures never fall below 70°F. Average annual rainfall is slightly below that of the midland. Cotton and cassava are the main crops grown. This area is less healthy than the midland and several types of diseases including hookworm and bilharzia are prevalent. Population is concentrated along the shores of Lake Albert and the Nile, where fishing forms an important part of the economy. Further inland, the population becomes thinner.

The Alur were exposed to labour migration much more early than any other tribe of West Nile, excepting perhaps the Lendu, who served as porters for Emin Pasha and his soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Southall thinks that Alur migration for paid jobs started with their recruitment to the King's African Rifles in 1916.<sup>3</sup> The 1911 census returns gave a grand total of 2,910 Alur in Uganda. They were all in east bank of the Nile, in what is now Kilak county of Acholi. Actual Alur labour migration began in 1919/1920 in earnest, and was mainly directed towards Bunyoro. Uganda population census for 1921 showed that 1,000 Alur, or 1.8% of Alur tribe in Uganda, were away from West Nile. Only 3% of this number were women, an indication that they were temporary residents in the areas of immigration. Out of these migrants, 891 or 89.1% lived in Bunyoro. The rest were scattered in Gulu, Chua, Busoga, Mengo and Mubende districts. Bunyoro attracted Alur migrants for two reasons mainly. First, Bunyoro was the nearest place of labour demand in the form of large European plantations. Secondly, the Alur think they are related to the Banyoro, particularly through the latter's royal clan.

Between 1921 and 1931 the number of Alur moving out of West Nile increased considerably due to better economic opportunities in other districts - the building of Mbulamuti railway, the opening of Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Works, and Masindi Port Sisal Estates. In 1931, about 9% of total Alur population was away from West Nile. Males constituted 78.7% of these migrants. This shows that more women were going out with

DISTRIBUTION OF ALUR OUTSIDE WEST NILE DISTRICT.

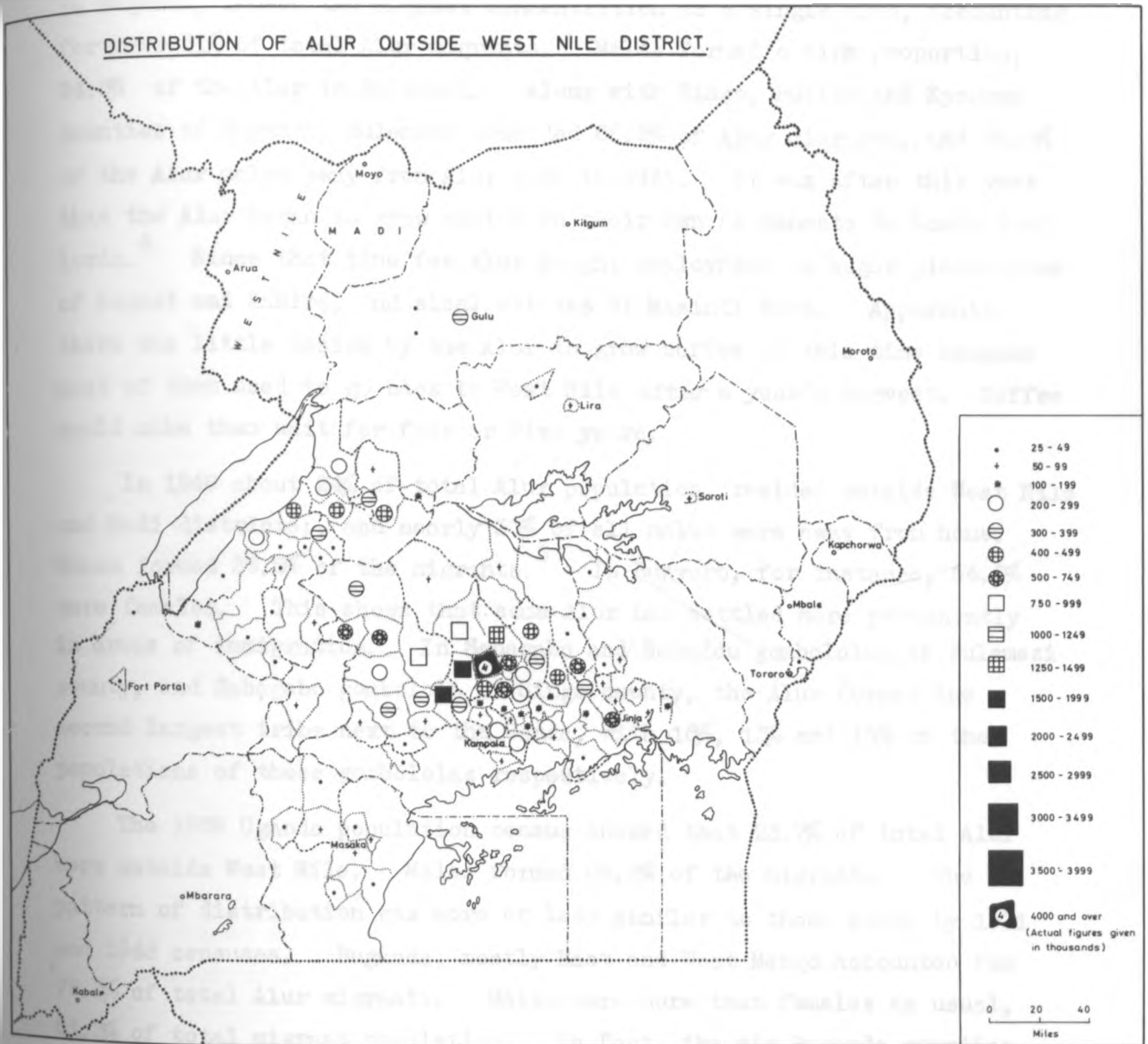


FIG 9

their husbands to areas of economic opportunities. Bunyoro had dropped as the area of dominance for Alur labour migration, and Bulemezi county in Buganda, showed the highest concentration as a single area, accounting for over 31% of total Alur migrants. Males formed a high proportion, 94.5% of the Alur in Bulemezi. Along with Singo, Busiro and Kyaggwe counties of Buganda, Bulemezi provided 68.5% of Alur migrants, and 53.8% of the Alur males away from Alur land in 1931. It was after this year that the Alur began to grow cotton on their own as tenants to Ganda land lords.<sup>4</sup> Since that time few Alur sought employment on sugar plantations of Lugazi and Kakira, and sisal estates of Masindi Port. Apparently there was little desire by the Alur to grow coffee at this time because most of them used to go back to West Nile after a year's harvest. Coffee would make them wait for four or five years.

In 1948 about 24% of total Alur population resided outside West Nile and Madi districts; and nearly 30% of all males were away from home. Women formed 36.6% of the migrants.<sup>5</sup> In Bunyoro, for instance, 54.5% were females. This shows that some Alur had settled more permanently in areas of immigration. In Sabagabo and Sabaddu gombololas of Bulemezi county, and Sabagabo gombolola of Singo county, the Alur formed the second largest tribe next to the Ganda, with 16%, 13% and 13% of the populations of these gombololas respectively.

The 1959 Uganda population census showed that 23.7% of total Alur were outside West Nile. Males formed 68.7% of the migrants. The pattern of distribution was more or less similar to those shown by 1931 and 1948 censuses. Buganda, mostly East and West Mengo accounted for 78.3% of total Alur migrants. Males were more than females as usual, 61.3% of total migrant population. In fact, the six Buganda counties of Bulemezi, Kyaggwe, Singo, Kyaddondo, Busiro and Bugerere were the most heavily settled by the Alur. Together, these counties provided 73.8% of all Alur outside West Nile. Bulemezi alone had 38.2% of total Alur migrants; but the male ratio to the total was low, being only 58.2%. This meant that most of them were now more permanent there.

In 1959 nearly 37% of all Alur in Bulemezi county, or 14% of all Alur migrants in Uganda outside West Nile were found in Sabagabo gombolola of Bulemezi. With a population of 4,111 Alur, this was the most heavily settled gombolola by Alur outside West Nile. Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Works, popular to most migrants in Uganda, seemed to have had little attraction to the Alur. Kyaggwe in which Lugazi is baded had 7.7% of all Alur migrants. Only 80 Alur were found in Lugazi; 66 of them were males. About 12.8% of all Alur migrants in Uganda lived in Busoga district in 1959; nearly 70.4% of them came from Butembe-Bunya county. Only 136 Alur were found in gombolola Mutuba IV, the home of Kakira Sugar Works. Most of the Alur in the gombolola of Butembe-Bunya county showed no signs of being permanently settled; the male ratio to the total population was high, about 73%. So they must have been either porters on Songa farms, or casual labourers on sugar plantation, where the gombololas are near Kakira.

The most important incentive for Alur migration to other districts of Uganda has been the lack of effective cash-earning opportunities at home.<sup>6</sup> Cash for taxation, marriage and clothes could only be had outside West Nile in considerable amount. But once migration starts, other reasons tend to enforce it. These include what Gulliver calls the "last straw" type,

"which affect individuals in their family and social life which go to tip the balance and induce a man to leave home for a spell at a particular time".<sup>7</sup>

Common among these reasons are family and community quarrels, political and administrative dissatisfaction, desire to see the outside world, and encouragement from employing agents like the West Nile Recruiting Organisation, which is still operating in West Nile and Madi districts now. Some Alur left their home district as a mild protest against kinship obligation with regards to individual wealth. Southall emphasises this fact in his work on Alur migrants. An Alur he interviewed said that if they grew cotton in their own country the girls would

deceive them into spending all the money they made in buying beer for them, so that in the end they would never be able to save any to buy cattle and get married. This is not confined to girls either: the property of a young man, among the Alur, by right belongs to his father or his elder brother. The effect of making money away from home gives the Alur an advantage in that he can accumulate more money without his father or elder brother interfering with it. Another reason closely connected with the main economic factor is that, soil in Buganda is fertile and therefore easier to till. Besides, there is plenty of rainfall. In the case of women who preferred to move with their husbands, they were lured into migration by the fact that they would do less work there, and receive better treatment than they would normally get at home. For instance, they would get better clothes because of environment, especially in Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and urban areas. Alur children have also moved out of their home district. Their migration seemed to have been determined by two main factors, namely to look for means and ways of furthering their education, and to help their parents in their cultivation. Children are particularly suited to cotton picking. But there were Alur children outside West Nile because their parents had taken up permanent residence in other parts of Uganda.

Most of Alur migrant population was in the rural areas particularly in Buganda and Bunyoro. In Buganda land was easily acquired for rent at 8 shillings, or 20 shillings in time of good harvest. Here the Alur had a reputation for hard work and the Ganda landlord was often willing to rent or lease his land to the Alur because he was sure to get his rent. Besides, it was assumed that the Alur always had the idea of returning to his district and would not therefore take up permanent use of the land rented or leased to him. With the "bakopi", the Buganda peasant, the Ganda landlord had his doubts in way of immediate payment of rent and eventual return of his land to him. In Bunyoro, the Alur felt more at home than in other districts outside West Nile, because the people of this district were more friendly to



them and there was plenty of land to encourage permanent settlement. The Alur were mostly concentrated in areas surrounding and between the chief towns of Masindi and Hoima, the gombololas of Sabagabo and Mutuba VI of Bughaya county, and Sabaddu and Sabagabo gombololas of Bujenje county. This is the area of tobacco cultivation, especially in the Waki Valley where some of the best tobacco in the whole country is produced. Outside the districts of West Mengo, East Mengo, Bunyoro and Busoga, Alur migrant population was small. It is in the above mentioned districts that they were found cultivating cotton, tobacco and, to a lesser extent, coffee. Cotton cultivators were found in Buganda districts of West Mengo and East Mengo and Busoga. The Alur in Bunyoro grew tobacco mostly. In Buyaga county, Bunyoro, they were found in the gombololas of Mumyuka, Sabaddu and Sabawali. The first two are near the southern boundary of Bugahya county, the population of Alur in them could possibly have crossed from the latter county. Masaka is another district with a similar number of Alur. These were concentrated mostly in Buddu county which had 78.3% of Alur population in the district. Buddu is one of the richest counties in Uganda as a result of cotton and coffee growing. The Alur here could have been working as porters on coffee plantations, or as in other parts of Buganda, they might have acquired their own plots for cultivation of coffee in the case of those permanently settled, or cotton where they were less permanent. In Acholi district, a few Alur have crossed the Nile and settled in the gombololas of Lamogi, Anaka, Koich and Koro. This was perhaps an attempt to reclaim the eastern shore of the Nile which was occupied by the Alur in the past. The largest Alur concentration in Acholi, however, was in Gulu town and its periphery. Speaking more or less the same language with Acholi, perhaps the Alur felt more at home once tribal prejudices were overcome.

A small portion of Alur migrant population lived in what constitutes urban areas in Uganda. These are the districts' capitals and a few other towns like Entebbe, Hoima and Bombo. These towns with parts of

gombololas in which they are based comprised nearly 10% of total Alur migrant population in 1959. But the actual population in the towns is smaller than that. Kampala municipality and Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo) had 1.6% of total Alur migrants. Jinja had 202 Alur. The Alur in Kampala and Jinja were probably employed in factories and companies. The number of Alur in towns is bound to grow with time. At the moment Alur are still traditional minded and would like to do jobs that will not subject them to being ordered about by others.

If economic opportunities are created in Alurland in form of expansion of cash crops like tobacco, coffee, cotton and sun-flower, the rate of migration could slow down. But as it is now, Alur will still look for empty lands with better soil and plenty of rainfall elsewhere in Uganda. Buganda districts and Bunyoro, where the government officially encourages resettlement of formerly tsetse infested areas in Buruli and Kibanda counties, are of special attraction to Alur for permanent settlement. This assumption is supported by the fact that transport and communications have so much improved that Alur settlement outside West Nile and Madi districts are considered by them as extensions of Alurland proper.

N O T E S

1. Southall, A.W. Belgian and British Administrations in Alurland, Zaire, (April 1954), p.469
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Alur Migrants, in A.I. Richards, Economic Development and Tribal Change, (Heffer & Sons Cambridge, 1954) p.143.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Alur Migrants, in A.I. Richards, op.cit., p.141
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Alur Migrants, in A.I. Richards, op.cit., p.142
5. The 1948 census figures for Bunyoro were estimates, because most of general census forms were lost in transit.
6. In his survey of the Alur in 1951, Professor A.W. Southall found that the rate of migration among the Alur was higher in the highlands, and lower in the midlands. He attributed this to lack of cash earnings in the highlands, and the high cash earnings from cotton in the midlands.
7. Gulliver, P.H. Labour Migration In a Rural Economy, (East African Studies, No.6, 1956) p.32

DISTRIBUTION OF LUGBARA IN UGANDA, OUTSIDE WEST NILE AND  
MADI DISTRICTS

The Lugbara are a Sudanic people related to the Madi, Logo, Keliko and other smaller tribes near the Sudan-Congo boarder. They live along the Nile-Congo divide, and are consequently split by the boundaries that separate Uganda, Sudan and Congo (Kinshasa). Uganda and Congo (Kinshasa) have larger concentrations - 236,270 (1959) and 60,700 (1948) respectively. The Sudan has a few hundreds only. Along with the neighbouring tribes of Alur, Kakwa and Made, the Lugbara of Uganda are situated in West Nile and West Madi. The two districts are separated from the rest of Uganda by the Albert Nile.

Lugbaraland is mostly a plateau that slopes from north to south from 6,000 to 4,000 feet near the Nile-Congo divide. Except where the population spills into the Aringa Plains of the Sudan and the Nile lowlands to the east, Lugbara settlements are mostly at 4,000-5,000 feet above sea-level.

The Lugbara remained isolated from other groups of people for a long time because of the plateau nature of their land. But at the end of the nineteenth century, this isolation was shattered by the annexation of Lugbaraland to the Congo Free State of King Leopold II. In 1908, except for a small portion which remained in the Belgian Congo, it became part of the Sudan under Anglo-Egyptian administration. At the beginning of 1914, it was ceded to Uganda Protectorate by the Sudan in exchange for Bari and Latuko areas east of the Nile and north of Minule. According to the reports of A.E. Weatherhead, their first British administrator, the Lugbara were a stubborn people, who submitted to the new administration after "severe measures" were taken against them.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the establishment of British administration among the Lugbara, the African Inland Mission and the Verona Fathers followed. Besides the propagation of their faiths, these missionaries introduced

book-learning and started employing a limited number of people in their stations. These groups brought Western enlightenment, including its economic system, to the Lugbara.

Another cultural group that came into contact with the Lugbara were the descendants of Emin Pasha's soldiers, now popularly known as 'Nubis' in Uganda. There are over 3,000 of them in Arua.<sup>2</sup> They are Moslems by faith and have taken up petty trade in the district. The Nubis have exerted much influence on the Lugbara. This is evidenced by their steady assimilation of the local people into their group. Members of the Lugbara tribe who have not gone to school, but wish to acquire a higher, social status, have tended to become moslems, after which they are 'transformed' into Nubis. With Christianity, unless one has gone to school, one does not expect to be changed much by baptism. However, the largest part of Lugbara remained relatively unchanged by the new contacts with foreigners until their economic life was affected.

Lugbaraland is cut into low ridges by streams draining to the Nile Basin or Congo Basin. Basement complex forms the parent rock. There is little soil on hill-tops, and grey granites and gneisses are left exposed in many places. Elsewhere, soil depth is not more than 4 feet; it is fairly fertile, especially in the valleys; but suitability differs with crops. Rainfall total is 50-55" per annum, with the heaviest rains experienced in August, and a dry season occurring from December to early March. A variety of crops are grown. Finger-millet (elensine) is the staple crop; but cassava introduced since 1920 and intensified particularly after 1942-43 famine is fast replacing it. Other crops are sorghum, simsim, peas, beans, groundnuts, pumpkins, sugar-cane, bananas, maize, cotton and tobacco.

On the whole, West Nile and Madi Districts are not among the most heavily populated districts of Uganda. Towards Uganda-Congo border, however, population density is quite high, particularly in the Lugbara counties. In 1959 Maracha and Ayivu had 323.7 and 267.4 persons per square mile respectively.<sup>3</sup> At gonbalola level, there is what could be considered

respectively.<sup>3</sup> At gombolola level, there is what could be considered a very high density for a peasant economy in an underdeveloped country, where the use of fertilisers is principally still much limited. Land pressure is therefore a real problem among the Lugbara. In the past shifting cultivation was used by the Lugbara, as in other parts of Africa, for resting land when it has become exhausted. This is no longer the case in a large part of Lugbaraland, because there is not much land that can be brought under agriculture. Where land exists, it is either ruined by erosion, or owned by a clan exclusively. Thus at the centre of land-pressure is the lack of cultivable land in a clan.

Prior to the advent of British administration, the Lugbara had two ways of solving land shortage. A clan could allow its sisters' sons and sons-in-law to acquire land for settlement and cultivation if they had failed to get land in the areas of their respective clans. Since the introduction of money economy, kinship links have weakened, and sisters' sons and sons-in-law no longer enjoy the privilege of acquiring land in the homes of their mothers and fathers-in-law respectively. Another way of solving land pressure among Lugbara in the past had been for the clan that is short of land to cross the boundary into another clan. This meant fighting in a number of cases; but conquest would result in the land ownership being changed to the winning clan. With political change, there also came a change in the solution of land shortage. No clan could move across its own boundary to open up land in another area. The best solution to land pressure therefore is to move away from the area completely. This is what the Lugbara have been doing for several decades. Thus after the establishment of British administration, and the introduction of money economy among the Lugbara, solution to land problem has changed. Middleton puts it:

"A system of which an essential part was a very fluid type of land use has been 'pertrified', both by shortage of land and by administrative measures designed to change a fluid political system into one with orderly fixed boundaries and populations".<sup>4</sup>

Population pressure, introduction of taxation, desire for consumer goods, principally clothes, and the refusal of British administration to have the Lugbara solve land shortage in 'traditional' manner, have amounted to what Arnold Toynbee once called, "events of catalysmic dimensions," affecting Lugbara's economic life very unfavourably.<sup>5</sup>

This resulted in over-all critical land shortage for that peasant community, so that there is now an "inability of the land to produce sufficient to support the people living on it, both as food and as means to acquire consumer goods".<sup>6</sup>

That land shortage is an important factor which influences the rate of migration among the Lugbara is shown by the fact that counties with high population densities per square mile among the Lugbara are those with high rates of emigration. Again, the rate of male adult emigrants is higher in these counties where the density of persons per square mile is high.

But it would be erroneous to suppose that the Lugbara leave their area principally because of land shortage. Were this so, no or few people would emigrate from Aringa county. In his survey of the Alur migrants in 1950's, A.W. Southall found that the relative ease with which one can cultivate a large area elsewhere than in West Nile has tended to encourage more people to leave the latter district.<sup>7</sup> This is one possible explanation why Lugbara leave thinly populated areas like Aringa county.<sup>8</sup> Rates of migration among the Lugbara have fluctuated with availability of earning money at home. Often money earning opportunities in West Nile have meant fewer Lugbara going out of the district. As early as 1925, the Governor of Uganda Protectorate was quoted to have said that: "The production of cotton should not be actively stimulated by propaganda in the West Nile... until such time as labour difficulties in the more central districts of the Protectorate become less acute".<sup>9</sup>

In his investigation into effects of labour recruitment on West Nile tribes in 1934 (and the Lugbara provided 4,908 or 66.7% of the total labour force from West Nile for Lugazi and Kakira Sugar works that year),

Major N. Lowth reported that emigration had been checked by official encouragement of planting economic crops in the area.<sup>10</sup> In 1953, nearly two decades later, this view was confirmed by the Provincial Commissioner for Northern Province in his Annual Report:

"Labour recruited in West Nile for work on the sugar estates and elsewhere down-country dropped by 25% during the year, the result of greater opportunities of earning money within the district from cotton, tobacco or sun-flower cultivation".<sup>11</sup>

No figures are available to show the effect of this situation on the Lugbara, but they must have been considerably affected since their counties of Terego, Ayiva and Maracha are among the best producing areas in West Nile. With further expansion in the production of cotton and tobacco the number of recruits from West Nile for work on sugar estates "down-south" kept on diminishing so that in 1956 it was considered "usual" for domiciles of West Nile and Madi to accept recruitment for labour.<sup>12</sup> Despite the drastic drop in the number of recruits for labour, however, Lugbara still found their way to other districts to look for employment or to cultivate cash crops on their own where land was available. But in general there was a close correlation between the availability of economic opportunities, mostly through cultivation of cash crops, in Lugbara counties and the rate of emigration from these counties. The more expansion there was in cash crops cultivation, the lower the number of Lugbara that left their homes.

There are two types of Lugbara migrants. There are the contracted labourers that are found on the sugar estates of Lugazi and Kakira. The length of contract is about a year, but it is renewable. The other category is the group that leaves Lugbaraland on its own. This divides into two: smaller proportion seeks employment with other people in areas of immigration; and the larger part settles on their own, cultivating cash crops like cotton, tobacco and coffee where land is available. It is in this manner that Lugbara have settled in Bunyoro, Bugerere, Bulemezi and Kyaggwe semi-permanently. In these areas each Lugbara



settlement was composed predominantly of a clan as in Lugbaraland with which it maintained contacts. These settlements were in effect used as bases for making money, and the Lugbara regarded them more or less as extensions of Lugbaraland. Land for settlements is rented on two systems, "Pangisa", or rent computed on value of crops grown and paid after sale is done, and "Kibanja" in which land is acquired for so long as it is used by single payment which puts the payer in the status of client and tenant of the land-lord. These systems operate mostly in Buganda. In Bunyoro where population is sparse, land has been used as a mean of attracting more settlers by local government. A certificate of occupancy is given to a person who acquires land. This "forbids the holder to sell, transfer or sub-let any portion of the land or to collect any tribute in respect of it; but provision is made for his heir to inherit his rights under the certificate.... Discontinuance of cultivation or occupation results in the cancellation of rights."<sup>13</sup>

These land regulations give a considerable amount of security to the Lugbara settlers in Buganda and Bunyoro.

Economic motives are at the centre of Lugbara migration to other districts. But social and political reasons are responsible for some Lugbara emigrating from West Nile. People dissatisfied with the administration seek refuge in other districts. Similarly persons deeply involved in family quarrels, and those accused of witchcraft or those that incur personal misfortune like pregnating a girl, all go 'south'. Response to such developments in Lugbara traditional society had been for those, who now emigrate to other districts, to go to the homes of their mothers, or to the homes of rich men. This is no longer the case among the Lugbara partly because of the new economic set up, but mainly because another outlet is available in the form of migration to other districts. Besides these groups who leave Lugbaraland for specific reasons, there are a number of Lugbara who drift 'south' along with the wave of movement. Migration is one of these processes that tend to be self-preserving once started. To some Lugbara, movement to the 'south' is made not because

economic goals could be achieved there, or social inconveniences could be avoided at home. They go out of West Nile because they see other people emigrate from the district. This group is small in number definitely, but the bulk of its members are easily 'lost' to the people at home, and tend to make Lugbara settlements in the southern districts more permanent. Again this semi-permanent number outside Lugbaraland acts like a snowball which is on the move; it keeps adding more to itself.

The history of migration among the Lugbara goes as far back as early 1920's. Out of 96,161 Lugbara enumerated in 1921 census - the first since Lugbaraland formed part of Uganda Protectorate - only 14 people were out of West Nile. Eight were in Busgoa, three in Bunyoro, two in Ifengo and one in Mbale Township. No mention is made of the work they were doing, but it is probable that most of them were porters, because portering provided main employment for labour in Uganda at the time. Up to about 1921 there was not much need for money among the Lugbara. Taxation, introduced in 1918, apparently, was not very demanding and the Lugbara tended to keep away from paid labour, even for local needs. When Arua was being built in 1914, for instance, most of the labour was supplied by the Banyoro. In 1922, still "very few Lugwari" went "outside their own country for employment", while "the Alur and Madi continued to go down country... to earn money for poll tax".<sup>14</sup> Situation changed soon, however, when in 1923 labour recruitment was officially encouraged. In his Annual Report for 1925, the District Commissioner for West Nile noted with some satisfaction that the "Lugbara in particular have responded well to calls for labour".<sup>15</sup> But the efflux of Lugbara seems to have started in earnest in 1924, and was mainly directed towards the railway construction at Mbulamuti and Namasagali, or European owned plantations in Bunyoro. Lugbara labour migration was, thus, stimulated by, or coincided with rapid economic development in other districts of Uganda. Railway construction was taking place on a large scale, and Lugazi Sugar Works opened in 1924. More employers interested in Lugbara labour increased with the opening of Kakira Sugar Works and Masindi Port Sisal Estates in 1929. These were soon to be followed by Tobacco Factories and Timber Estates in Bunyoro.

In the course of time the Sugar Plantations of Lugazi and Kakira proved a special attraction to the Lugbara; but the attraction is perhaps mutual. As early as 1931, the sugar estates recognised the hard-working quality in the Lugbara, and set up recruiting organisations among them. Established in relatively economic advanced areas whose inhabitants have taken up cash crops cultivation on their own, or found employment in Jinja and Kampala, the sugar plantations had to, and still rely almost entirely on migrant labour. West Nile has been one source of this labour, and since 1931 recruiting organisations have been active there. In 1952 there were 65 recruiters in West Nile under an agent stationed at Arua. Fifty-one of these operated mainly among the Lugbara.<sup>16</sup> Among the Lugbara in the past Lugazi and Kakira were synonymous with southward movement of Lugbara labour migrants. They had a special appeal to youths, who associated going to Lugazi and Kakira with maturity. Where land was readily available near these sugar plantations some Lugbara settled on their own and supplied casual labour to the sugar works, especially during harvest times.

According to the results of 1931 census, about 2% of total Lugbara population was away from West Nile District. Over 94% of these migrants were adult males. This high ratio of men to the total migrants, shows clearly the temporary nature of migration. Of the total number of Lugbara away from Lugbaraland, 71.4% were resident in Kyaggwe. No separate figure is available for Lugazi Sugar Works; but there is no doubt that the latter place was the main area of concentration, since before the opening of Lugazi Sugar Estates there was hardly a single Lugbara in Kyaggwe county. In 1948 the percentage of Lugbara migrants away from West Nile had risen to 12. Men accounted for 71.2% of the total migrants. Nearly 28% of all Lugbara migrants were in Kyaggwe and Butembe-Bunya, the sites of Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Estates respectively. Lugazi alone had 1,800 males or 57% of all Lugbara in Kyaggwe, and Kakira employed 40% or 1,200 adult males out of 3,080 Lugbara in Butembe-Bunya. An estimated figure of 10,720 Lugbara were living in Bunyoro District in

DISTRIBUTION OF LUGBARA IN UGANDA OUTSIDE WEST NILE AND MADI DISTRICTS.

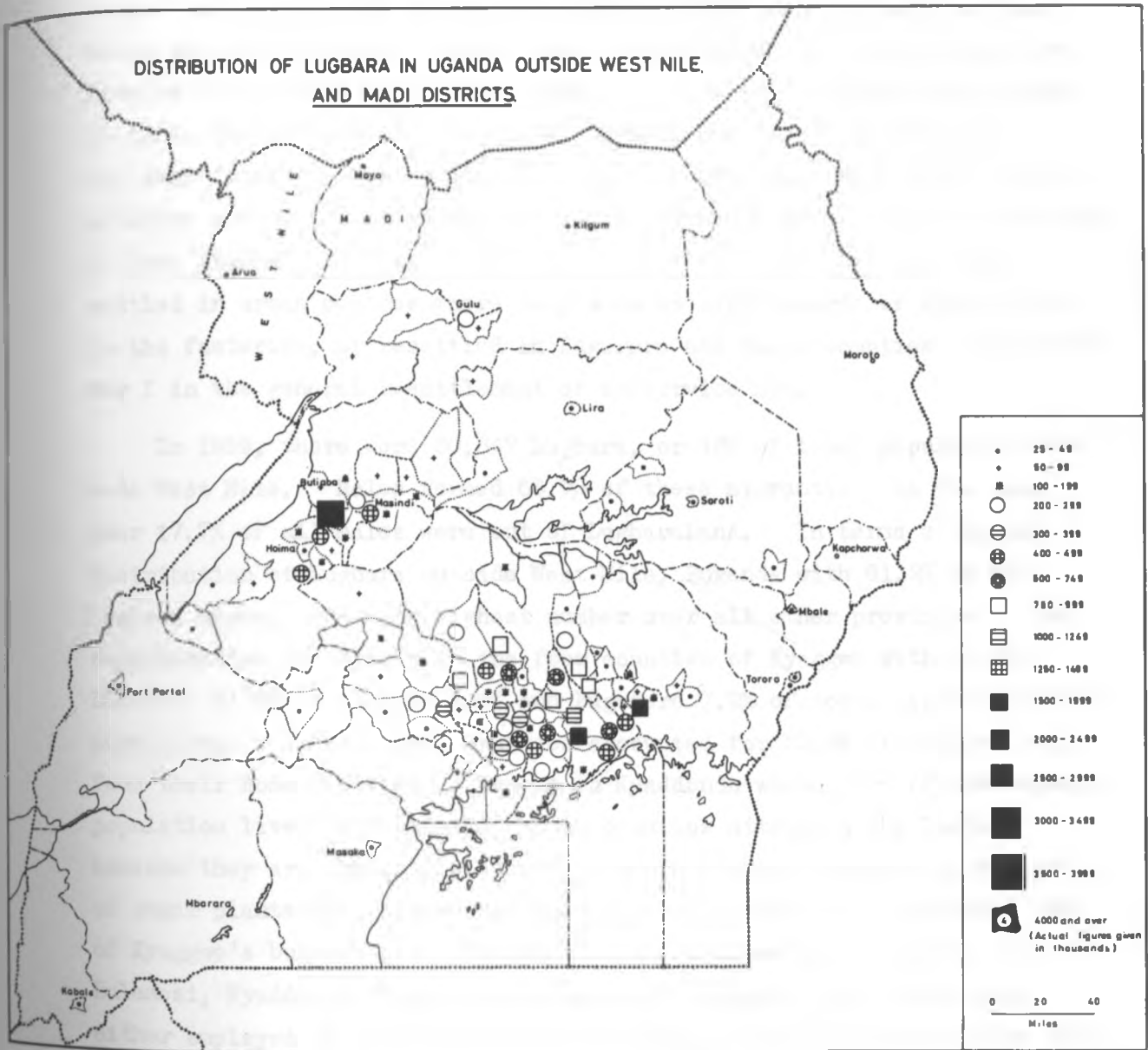


FIG. 10

1948.<sup>17</sup> This is 48% of total Lugbara population away from West Nile in that year. Marindi Port sisal estates absorbed 250 males; the largest proportion was engaged in tobacco cultivation in Bujenje county along the Waki Valley. Another way through which the Lugbara have been flowing out of West Nile is the army. In his survey among the Lugbara in 1952, Middleton found that 2,491 Lugbara had been recruited to the army "over the past years."<sup>18</sup> It is very likely that some of these soldiers are no longer in the army. A number of them could have returned to West Nile after their terms of service; but most have possibly settled in urban centres where they work as night guards or got employed in the factories, or resettled in Bugerere and Buddu counties after World War I in the general resettlement of ex-service men.

In 1959, there were 30,847 Lugbara, or 13% of total population outside West Nile. Males formed 68.7% of these migrants. In the same year 17.7% of all males were out of Lugbaraland. In terms of actual distribution of Lugbara outside West Nile, Buganda with 61.2% of all Lugbara migrants had the highest number over all other provinces. The concentration was mainly in the four counties of Kyaggwe with 25.4%, Bulemezi 11.4%, Kyaddondo 9.4% and Bugerere 7.2% of total migrant Lugbara population. In all these counties accounted for 53.4% of Lugbara away from their home district. Except in Kyaddondo where part of the Lugbara population lived near Kampala, these counties attracted the Lugbara because they are physically suited to agriculture. Kyaggwe is the site of sugar plantation centred on Lugazi. This sugar estate employed 21% of Kyaggwe's Lugbara and 5.3% of all Lugbara migrants in Uganda. In Bulemezi, Kyaddondo, Bugerere and parts of Kyaggwe, the Lugbara were either employed by Ganda farmers as porters, or were peasant farmers themselves on land rented from the Ganda. As peasant farmers the Lugbara were cultivating cotton mostly, except in Bugerere where some of them grew coffee. The cultivation of cotton was imposed upon them by several factors. Most of the area of concentration, south Bulemezi and north Kyaggwe, has a low rainfall of 30-45" per annum and cannot support a crop

like coffee. But perhaps the most important reason is the mobile character of most Lugbara migrants. Cotton would be suited to their purpose because it is ready for picking in 5 to 6 months, while coffee with a long gestation period would not be suitable for people who spend less than a year in one place.

Mention of coffee cultivation by Lugbara migrants brings the special position of Bugerere to members of this tribe. Enclosed by Lake Kioga from the north, Victoria Nile from the east and Sezibwa depression with its tsetse-infested swamps, and the now diminishing Mabira Forest from the south, Bugerere remained an isolated area until 1950 when all obstacles to healthy human settlement were removed. Bugerere is divided into two parts roughly. The north is dry and flat. Pastoralism and fishing are the main occupations. The southern area is moist and more fertile. Plantains, cotton and coffee robusta are grown here. The first Lugbara that went to Bugerere were porters to Ganda and Soga farmers in Mumyuka and Musale gombololas; but with availability of suitable land, they began to grow cash crops, cotton first and then coffee, on their own. Part of the land, especially in Musale gombolola was Crown Land later turned into Public Land by government. Some Lugbara seem to have acquired plots from this land. In 1959 there were 2,215 Lugbara in Bugerere. Over 98.5% were concentrated in the three southern gombololas of Mumyuka, Musale and Sabagabo. Males formed 62.88% of them. This is an indication that most of the Lugbara were there with their families, and therefore more permanent. Some of the Lugbara in Bugerere in 1959 were seasonal migrants and formed part of what Robertson calls "part time migrants" who had "perpetual link with one piece of land, even to the extent of leaving a wife here perennially and having a regular full ticket".<sup>19</sup> Bugerere, in spite of its being in Buganda, could be regarded as a melting pot of migrant tribes in 1959.<sup>20</sup> The Ganda themselves were recent immigrants to the area. So perhaps the Lugbara might feel at home here, and instead of being "part time migrants", they could settle in Bugerere permanently.

Busoga with 2,932 Lugbara in 1959 had the highest number over all districts in Eastern Province. This was 89% of all Lugbara in this Province. Mutuba IV gombolola, the home of Kakira Sugar Works accounted for 54.4% and 48.4% of Lugbara population in Busoga and Eastern Province respectively. Jinja had 458 members of this tribe; the number has increased definitely since then. Most of the Lugbara outside Kakira and Jinja were porters working on Soga farms. Cotton was grown on one third of the land in Busoga; this required labour.<sup>21</sup> That most of the Lugbara outside Kakira Sugar Estate and Jinja Township in Eastern Province were porters is supported by the fact that land is scarce in that province and not many Lugbara would settle to cultivate cash crops on their own as they were doing in Buganda and Bunyoro. Male Lugbara population was considerably large in Kakira, Busoga and the Eastern Province as a whole with 80%, 76.8% and 75.4% respectively of total Lugbara migrants in them.

The distribution of Lugbara in Western Province was almost entirely limited to Bunyoro District in 1959. Outside this district only a few of them were found mainly near Kabale and Fort Portal. The concentration of Lugbara in Bunyoro was due to several factors, the most important being land laws which protect the interests of a land-holder. The Lugbara were found mostly in Bujenje, Bugahya and Buruli counties. Together they accounted for 92.5% of Lugbara in Western Province, and 95.3% of those in Bunyoro. Males were 62.1% of Lugbara in Bunyoro, an indication that most of them had settled in the district. Bujenje county alone had 3,939 Lugbara, or 64% of all members in Western Province, and 64.3% of Bunyoro's total. Sabawali gombolola of Bujenje, just west of Masindi had a large number of Lugbara, providing 49.3% and 50.9% of the tribe in Western Province and Bunyoro District respectively. This concentration was a result of tobacco growing in the area. In 1958 Bunyoro produced half the crop grown in Uganda. Most of it was grown by Lugbara migrants, who were found in considerable number along Waki Valley, where there exists to this day a kind of regional specialisation in tobacco cultivation. In the vicinity of Budongo and Bugoma Forests, the presence of

Lugbara was possibly due to their being employed for felling trees. And near Masindi Port, some Lugbara were still employed on sis<sub>3</sub>' estates. On the whole, tobacco cultivation seems to have encouraged the inflow of Lugbara to Bunyoro. Tobacco is a common cash crop in both Bunyoro and West Nile, and a Lugbara with experience in growing the crop but without land in his home district would cross into Bunyoro where there would be a sure plot for him. The immigration of tobacco growers to Bunyoro was encouraged, apart from ease of acquiring land, by hail compensation from the government to tobacco growers, whose crop was destroyed by hail, and the Waki Valley Cooperative Society, which facilitated the marketing of tobacco after harvest.<sup>22</sup>

The number of Lugbara in Bunyoro is likely to grow in future. The sparse population in the district had encouraged the growth of bush which in turn became the breeding place of tsetse-fly. More settlement will reduce, if not eliminate, the effect of tsetse-fly because the area will be cleared making it less suitable for the fly. Thus the government still welcomes more settlers from elsewhere. The chances are that not only will the Lugbara found in Bunyoro in 1959 remain in that district, but more will join them if the regulations for acquiring land are still favourable.

In the Northern Province outside West Nile and Madi Districts, few gombololas in Acholi and Lango districts had Lugbara migrants. Gulu had 250 and Lira 88. Apart from these towns with urban employment opportunities, other areas in the province seemed to have had less attraction for the Lugbara. In Karamoja district there was not a single gombolola in 1959 for Lugbara figures that could reach minimum requirement for mapping, that is 25 persons from the tribe concerned.

The general picture that is had of Lugbara distribution outside West Nile and Madi Districts is that the Lugbara were mostly in the rural areas. According to 1959 census results, only about 8% of the Lugbara migrants were in towns and their peripheries.<sup>23</sup> Kampala and Omukulu w'Ekibuga had 914 Lugbara, and Jinja had 458. Together these



towns provided 53.4% of all the Lugbara migrants in urban centres. In Uganda, as in most parts of Africa, towns are fairly new and they seem to be regarded by most of the people in rural areas as dwelling places for non-Africans. The Lugbara are among the tribes least touched by Westernised way of life, which has its centre in town where commercial and industrial businesses are carried out. To a majority of them it seems that town life has little appeal as long as there is enough land for growing crops for food and cash.

Another general remark that should be made about the Lugbara in districts other than West Nile and Madi is that more of them seem to be going to areas of economic opportunities with their families. This is a sign of more permanent settlement in areas of immigration, or a result of better communications between West Nile and other districts. The ratio of men to the total Lugbara migrants remains high in their traditional areas of employment, mainly Lugazi and Kakira. This may be because these places employ young men who are not yet married or the contract nature of work does not allow many people to take their families with them. In West Nile, the exodus of the Lugbara has not been viewed favourably by the tribe and the administration, and attempts were made to curb it by legislation, but without success. There has only been a change of preference from contract labour, destined for Lugazi and Kakira Sugar Plantations, to cash crops cultivation in areas where fertile land was available. This is likely to be the trend in future; with the possibility that those Lugbara, who have so far obtained land under certificate of occupancy in Bunyoro, and under the Busulu and Envujo law in Buganda will become more permanent in these areas.

TABLE 1  
MIGRANT ABSENTEE RATES (1951)\*

<u>County</u>	<u>Density/sq. mile</u>	<u>Per cent. of total population away</u>	<u>Per cent of adult males away</u>
Maracha	160	7.8	26.5
Ayivu	159	7.5	20.9
Terego	80	5.2	17.8
Yurra	65	5.8	13.7
Aringa	16	5.2	12.4

\* Derived from Tables by J. Middleton: Labour Migration and the Lugbara (1952).

TABLE 2

MALE ADULTS AS RATIO OF TOTAL POPULATION AWAY FROM HOME (1951)

<u>County</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men as per cent of total migrants</u>
Maracha	2447	188	690	3325	73.6
Ayivu	1917	304	702	2923	65.6
Terego	1325	95	480	1900	69.2
Vurra	693	151	335	1179	58.7
Aringa	876	223	689	1788	48.4
TOTAL	7258	961	2896	11115	65.1

## NOTES

1. Middleton, J. The Lugbara of Uganda, (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965,) p.4.
2. Middleton, J. 1965. op.cit., p.5
3. Results of 1959 Uganda Census.
4. Middleton, J. Labour Migration and the Lugbara. A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council Committee on Anthropology and Sociology (Mimeo.) 1952, p.13
5. Toynbee, A. A study of History, Vol.III, Annex II-III, (London, 1934).
6. Middleton, J. and Greenland, D.J. "Land and Population in West Nile District, Uganda, (Geographical Journal, 120, Dec.1954), p.448.
7. Southall, A.W. Alur Migrants in A.I. Richards, Economic Development and Tribal Change, (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1954), p.151.
8. Aringa county presents some anomaly. It had a low density of population, 44.7 (1959) but a relatively high rate of population emigration in 1951, (the only figures available) with 12.4% of all adult males away from home. This was possibly a result of lack of economic opportunities as well as historical events. It was the only area in Lugbaraland affected by Arab slavers and then by the influence of Emin Pasha's soldiers. This left a considerable Islamic influence in the place. In 1920's and 1930's, Aringa was seriously affected by sleeping sickness, and the people had to be moved by government to areas free from disease.
9. Powesland, P.G. History of the Migration in Uganda, in A.I. Richards, 1954, op.cit., p.30.
10. Powesland, P.G. op.cit. in A.I. Richards, 1954, op.cit., p.39.
11. Provincial Commissioner's Report (1953), Northern Province, in Uganda Annual Reports, p.127.
12. Provincial Commissioner's 1956 Report, Northern Province, in Uganda Annual Reports, p.133
13. Baker, S.J.K. Bunyoro: A Regional Appreciation (Uganda Journal Vol.18, no.21, Sept. 1954, p.106).
14. Middleton, J. 1952, op.cit. p.4.
15. \_\_\_\_\_ 1952, op.cit. p.4.
16. \_\_\_\_\_ 1952, op.cit. p.17.
13. This figure is not reliable since it is an estimate. Most of the census forms for Bunyoro were lost in transit.
18. Middleton, J. 1952, op.cit., p.24.
19. Robertson, A.F. Historical Aspects of Current Migration into Bugerere, (E.A.I.S.R. Conference Papers, January 1966, p.5).

20. In 1959 Census there were 35 tribes in Bugerere. These excluded tribes from the Congo, Sudan, Kenya and Tanganyika.
21. O'Connor, A.M. An Economic Geography of East Africa, (Bell, London, 1966) p.84.
22. Hail compensation by government has been stopped.
23. This is the Lugbara population of towns in gombololas that contain these towns. Included in this are: Kampala, Jinja, Gulu, Mbale, Soroti, Lira, Moroto, Hoima, Masindi, Entebbe, Bombo, Kabale, Fort Portall, Mubende and Masaka.

DISTRIBUTION OF KAKWA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE WEST NILE  
AND MADI DISTRICTS

The Kakwa are a Nilo-Hamitic people, living in Koboko county, West Nile and west Madi county, on the northwestern extremity of Uganda bordering the Sudan and Congo. Part of the tribe is found in these two countries. In 1959 the Kakwa numbered 37,828 in Uganda, and formed 0.6% of that country's total population. In the home areas Koboko accounted for 52.3%; West Madi 6.7%, and the whole of West Nile 67.6% of all Kakwa in Uganda. The Kakwa were first counted separately in Uganda in 1931. The earlier two population counts excluded them. In 1911 West Nile still formed part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and in 1921 the Kakwa were returned as Lugbara or Madi.

In 1931, of the 16,515 Kakwa returned in Uganda, only 367 could be said to be migrants. The rest were in West Nile District, and what is now Madi, but then part of Gulu District. Of this figure, 205 were living in Buganda, largely Kyaddondo; the rest lived scattered in other parts of Uganda. The Uganda population census of 1948 recorded about 21,000 Kakwa in West Nile and Madi Districts, and 539 mostly males in Kyaggwe county of Buganda. The total figure for Uganda is not available, since Kakwa was considered a minor tribe at the time. All the Kakwa found in Kyaggwe were registered in Mutuba VII gombolola, the home of Lugazi Sugar Plantation. These were the only Kakwa in a sufficiently large group to be recorded outside the northwest. It is certain that there were more Kakwa living outside West Nile and Madi Districts in 1948, but their numbers were insufficiently concentrated to be recorded. Migration affected this group much later than the neighbouring tribes of Lugbara and Madi. But by 1948 the rate of emigration among the Kakwa should have been quite high, especially when putting into consideration the fact that economic opportunities in the area were offered by tobacco cultivation which was not well established then.

**DISTRIBUTION OF KAKWA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE WEST NILE AND MADI DISTRICTS.**

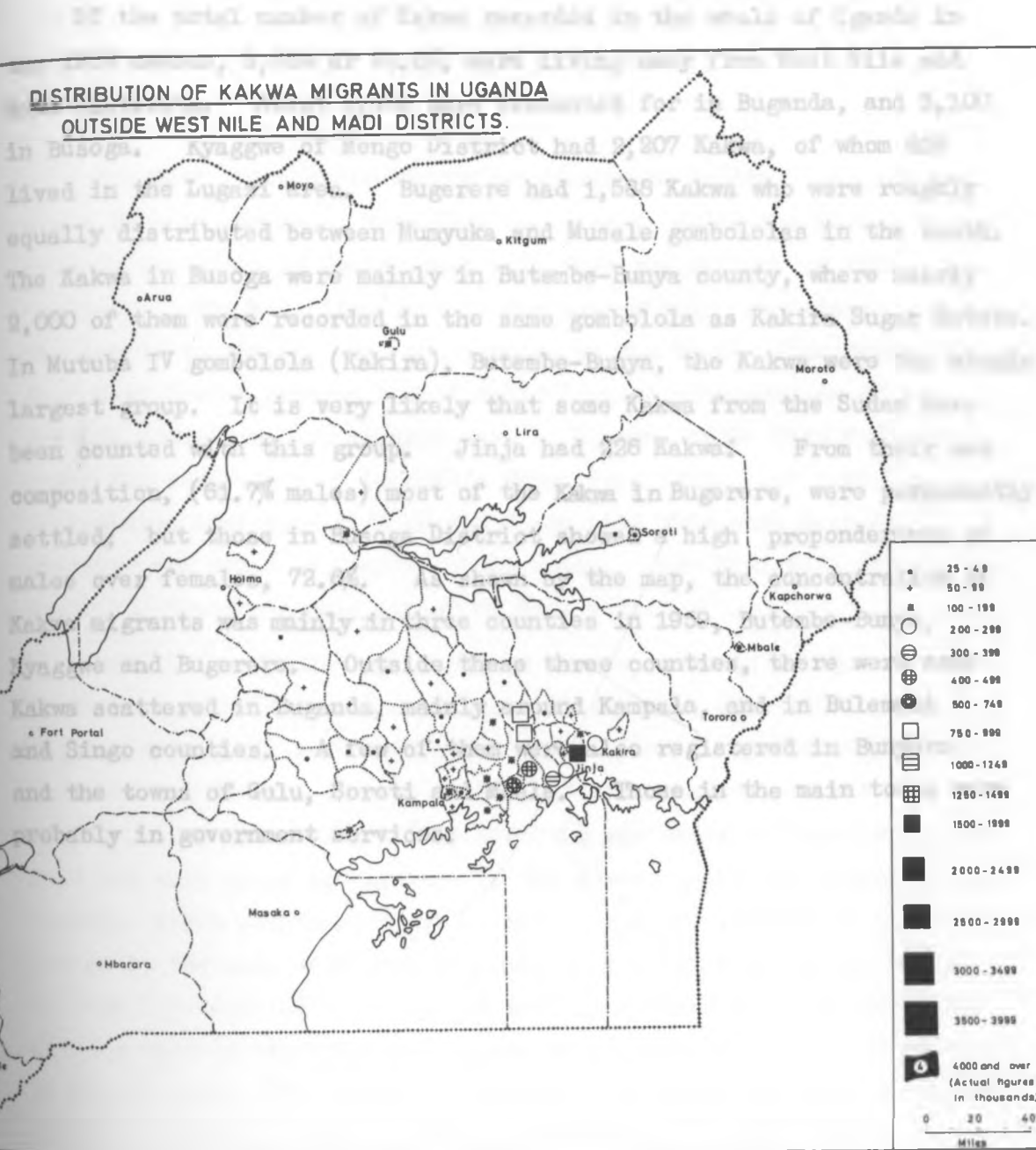


Fig. 11

Of the total number of Kakwa recorded in the whole of Uganda in the 1959 census, 9,654 or 25.5%, were living away from West Nile and Madi Districts. About 5,400 were accounted for in Buganda, and 3,100 in Busoga. Kyaggwe of Mengo District had 2,207 Kakwa, of whom 639 lived in the Lugazi area. Bugerere had 1,588 Kakwa who were roughly equally distributed between Mumyuka and Musale gombololas in the south. The Kakwa in Busoga were mainly in Butembe-Bunya county, where nearly 2,000 of them were recorded in the same gombolola as Kakira Sugar Estate. In Mutuba IV gombolola (Kakira), Butembe-Bunya, the Kakwa were the single largest group. It is very likely that some Kakwa from the Sudan have been counted with this group. Jinja had 226 Kakwa: From their sex composition, (61.7% males) most of the Kakwa in Bugerere, were permanently settled; but those in Busoga District showed a high preponderance of males over females, 72.6%. As shown by the map, the concentration of Kakwa migrants was mainly in three counties in 1959, Butembe-Bunya, Kyaggwe and Bugerere. Outside these three counties, there were some Kakwa scattered in Buganda, mainly around Kampala, and in Bulemezi and Singo counties. A few of them were also registered in Bunyoro and the towns of Gulu, Soroti and Mbale. Those in the main towns were probably in government services.

DISTRIBUTION OF MADI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE MADI AND WEST NILE DISTRICTS

The Madi, like their closest neighbours in Uganda, the Lugbara, are a Sudanic people. Some Madi are also found in the Sudan; but it is only the group in Uganda that will form the subject of this analysis. The Madi live astride the Albert Nile, sandwiched between the Acholi to the east and the Lugbara to the West. Consequently, East Madi formed part of Acholi following the introduction of the British administration to this part of Uganda, while West Madi was under the suzerainty of Leopold's Congo Free State, and later the Condominium Administration of the Sudan till 1914 when West Nile District was ceded to Uganda by the Sudan. Now Madi is a separate district, though closely linked to West Nile.

Madi is an undulating grassland varying between 4,000 feet to 5,000 feet in height. Annual rainfall averages about 45 inches, falling from April to October, and a dry season is experienced between November and March. Except in the valleys, the soil is not very fertile. In 1958, only 11% of the land was under cultivation. Both food and cash crops are grown; in the former group are finger millet, cassava, sweet potatoes, sorghum, maize, simsim, groundnuts and beans. Cotton is the only cash crop of importance cultivated by the Madi. But the introduction of cotton to Madi took place when the Madi were already used to migration as a means of getting cash which could not be had at home. The effect of cotton cultivation was only to reduce the rate of emigration from Madi, not to stop it completely.

The main reason for Madi emigration from their area was mainly economic. The introduction of taxation seemed to have posed some difficulties to this people. The District Commissioner, West Nile, favourably contrasted the Madi with the Lugbara in the early 1920's.



According to him, to acquire the money for taxation, the Madi "continued to go down the country".<sup>1</sup> Originally started as a means of getting cash for poll-tax, labour migration also became the easiest way of acquiring money for the newly introduced European manufactured goods among the Madi, as well as money for buying animals for marriages. Reasons of social nature, like family quarrels and disagreement with the administration, no doubt contributed to many people leaving Madi for the southern districts of Uganda. In most written accounts of labour migrants, the Madi are treated collectively with other tribes of the West Nile District, and sometimes the neighbouring tribes of the District used to absorb them. Southall quotes such a case in rural Buganda where the Madi used to form part of the Alur immigrant society.<sup>2</sup> This was probably for protection, since the Alur, more than any other tribe from West Nile, were often more established in rural areas. The effect of such an association is to obscure the numerical strength of the Madi in areas of immigration.

The first Uganda population estimate of 1911 returned only 5,400 for the whole country. All of them were found in Gulu District, part of which was not under effective British administration at the time. What is now West Madi county was not included, because it still formed part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The 1921 Uganda Population Census registered 41,062 Madi. Apart from 9 recorded in Chua District, all the Madi were found in their home areas in what are now East Madi and West Madi, but then parts of Gulu and West Nile Districts respectively. By 1931, the number of Madi migrants in Uganda had risen to 2,170. This accounted for about 5.4% of the 40,307 Madi in the whole country. The male migrants alone were 1,522, or 70% of all the Madi away from their home areas. This high proportion of the males is an indication that the Madi were largely short-term labour migrants. Most of the females were returned in Chua District which bordered Gulu District. There were about 600 Madi in that District. Mengo, which accounted for all the Madi in Buganda, had 542. Bulemezi returned the largest

**DISTRIBUTION OF MADI IN UGANDA OUTSIDE WEST NILE AND MADI DISTRICTS**

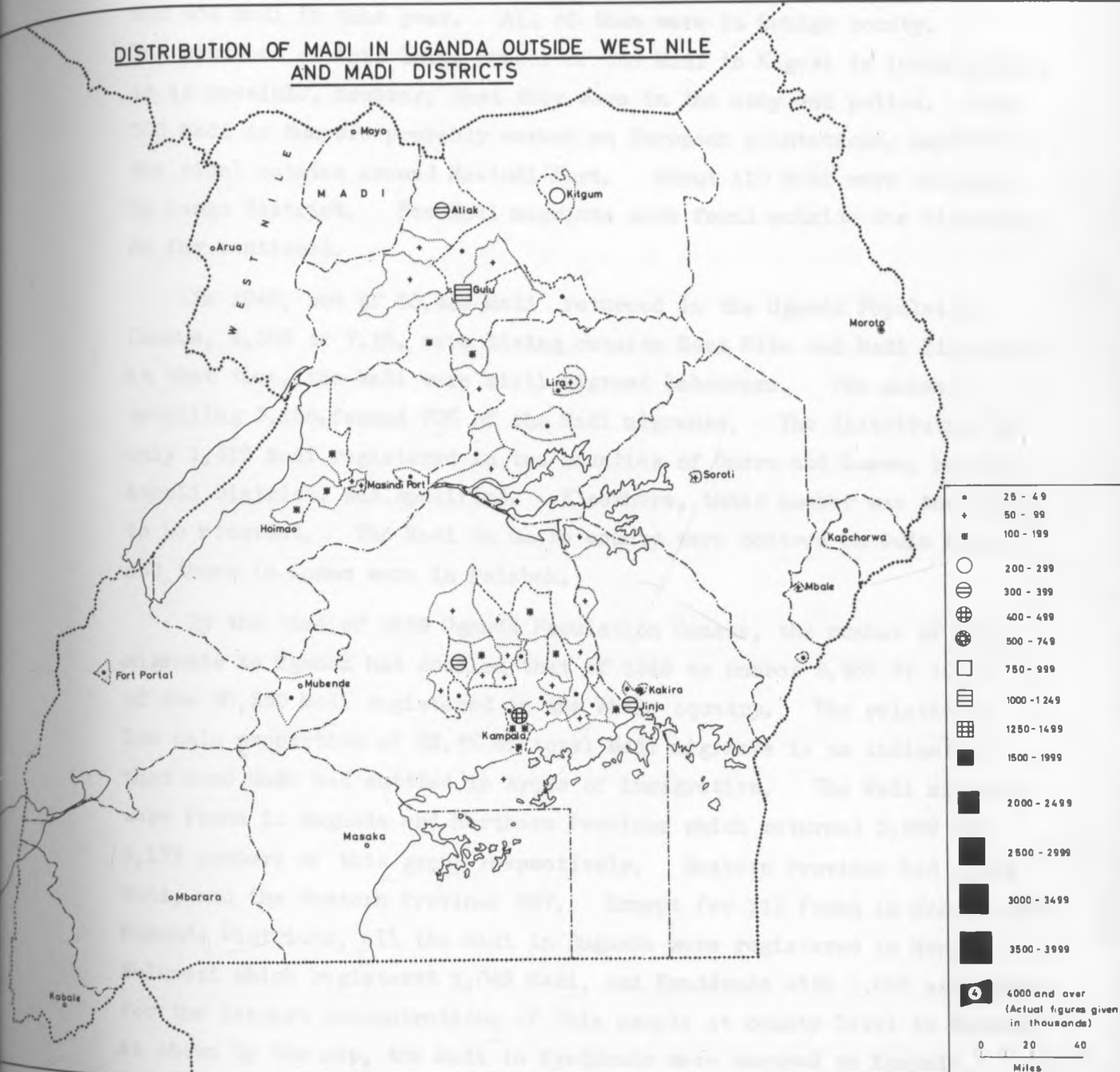


FIG. 12

number as a single county; it is likely that they were porters on Ganda cotton fields, or cultivators on their own. Kigezi District had 454 Madi in that year. All of them were in Rukiga county. The presence of this large number of the Madi in Kigezi is inexplicable; it is possible, however, that they were in the army and police. The 306 Madi in Bunyoro probably worked on European plantations, especially the sisal estates around Masindi Port. About 110 Madi were recorded in Lango District. Few Madi migrants were found outside the districts so far mentioned.

In 1948, out of 63,439 Madi returned in the Uganda Population Census, 4,502 or 7.1%, were living outside West Nile and Madi Districts, at that time, the Madi were still migrant labourers. The males, totalling 3,138, formed 70% of the Madi migrants. The distribution of only 1,419 Madi registered in two counties of Omoro and Lamwo, both in Acholi District, was specified. Elsewhere, their number was too small to be recorded. The Madi in Omoro county were centred on Gulu Town, and those in Lamwo were in Palabek.

By the time of 1959 Uganda Population Census, the number of Madi migrants in Uganda had doubled that of 1948 to number 8,432 or 10.5% of the 80,355 Madi registered in the whole country. The relatively low male proportion of 62.3% of total Madi migrants is an indication that some Madi had settled in areas of immigration. The Madi migrants were found in Buganda and Northern Province which returned 3,269 and 3,172 members of this group respectively. Eastern Province had 1,134 Madi, and the Western Province 857. Except for 112 found in Masaka and Mubende Districts, all the Madi in Buganda were registered in Mengo. Bulemezi which registered 1,043 Madi, and Kyaddondo with 1,036 accounted for the largest concentrations of this people at county level in Buganda. As shown by the map, the Madi in Kyaddondo were centred on Kampala, which had 463 members of this group. The 329 Madi shown in Sabaddu gombolola, Bulemezi, were probably a settled people. Another large number of Madi was in the southern districts concentrated in Jinja Town where 355 were residing. This was half the total number of Madi

returned in Busoga District in 1959. Most of the 727 Madi shown scattered in the gombololas of Bunyoro District, were probably cultivators of tobacco attracted here by abundance of fertile land. The Lango area, along the Victoria Nile is part of the same zone which was sparsely settled by the indigeneous people. Consequently, it attracted some Madi, among other migrant groups. The Madi in Acholi District were nearly all returned in the towns: Gulu had 1,032, Atiak 666, and Labongo (Kitgum) 286. These were largely the Madi of the East Madi county, who would have an urge to work or settle in towns, and would consider Moyo or Arua rather far or lacking in opportunities.

In general the distribution of Madi migrants in 1959 tended to be centred on or around towns, with few exceptions as in Sabaddu gombolola, Singo. In the whole of the Eastern Province, the number of the Madi was large enough to be mapped, that is, above 25, in the towns, and their immediate surroundings - Jinja, Kakira, Namasagali and Kidera in Busoga. Other towns are Tororo, Mbale and Soroti. This was also the case in Masaka and Mubende Districts where the main towns returned relatively large Madi concentrations. In Toro, Fort Portal accounted for the largest number of this group. So did Lira in Lango, and Moroto in Karamoja. Only in Mengo and Bunyoro were Madi found in considerable number in the rural areas. The main areas of employment, Kakira and Lugazi returned few Madi in 1959, about 123 and 84 respectively.

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2. Southall, A.W. Alur Migrants - in A.I. Richards "Economic Development and Tribal Change", Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1957, p.143.

## DISTRIBUTION OF ACHOLI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE ACHOLI DISTRICT

The Acholi of Uganda inhabit a district of the same name in the Northern Province, but the Acholi as a tribe are found astride the Uganda-Sudan boundary. It is only the Acholi of Uganda that will be the subject of this analysis. The Acholi are a Nilotic~~o~~ people, who are believed to have reached their present land following the Luo separation in the Southern Sudan in about the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Except for Karamoja, Acholi District, with 10,783 square miles, is the largest district in Uganda. After Karamoja it has the next lowest population density, registering about 27 persons per square mile in 1959.

Acholi is a plateau country varying from 3,000 to 4,000 feet high. Generally the land tilts from east to west descending to the Nile. The Eastern part of the district is dotted by inselberges rising to about 4,000 feet above the surrounding country. The land is cut by numerous small streams, draining into the Victoria and Albert Nile. The largest of them, Aswa and Unyama run parallel and enter the Nile near the Uganda border within the Sudan. The rainfall averages about 50 inches a year, and falls between April and October, with peaks in April-May and August. Dry season is experienced between November and March. The area around Gulu has higher rainfall, about 60 inches a year, while in the east and west it drops to 45 inches. Acholi has a typical savanna vegetation, but trees are found in the valleys and on hill-slopes.

The Acholi were formerly pastoralists; but after the destruction of their animals by the ivory raiders toward the end of nineteenth century,<sup>2</sup> they took up agriculture as their main occupation. Attempts to revive pastoralism have been frustrated by rinderpest epidemics and cattle trypanosomiasis. Food crops grown include millet, cassava,

sesame, sweet-potatoes, groundnuts, beans and peas, while cotton and tobacco are the main cash crops. Agriculture, however, does not seem to be new to the Acholi. As early as 1881 Emin Pasha knew<sup>it</sup> to be "the granary of the whole country from Dufile to Mruli", and tobacco grown there was the best "he had seen anywhere else in Africa".<sup>3</sup> But tobacco then was for local consumption.

Acholiland was under the suzerainty of Egypt from about 1862 to 1899. It was at this time that it served as the meeting place of slave-traders and ivory-raiders from the Coast of East Africa and Khartoum. Egyptian rule, with its emphasis on heavy taxation, did much to change the Acholi economy; but it was not until the advent of British administration at the beginning of this century that the Acholi adopted a money economy.

Acholi migration was motivated mainly by economic reasons. In 1919, the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, was reported to have expressed satisfaction with the ability of Bunyoro planters to attract labourers from the three districts of West Nile, Gulu and Chua - latter two districts were incorporated in Acholi District. Powesland writes that "this was the first trickle of what later became a large and much valued flow from the West Nile and Acholi to the more central areas of the country".<sup>4</sup> Acholi did not have industrial and commercial enterprises capable of employing many people, so money for taxation and marriages, by those who could not afford them within the district, had to be sought elsewhere. They were not necessarily confined to Uganda. Some of them are known to have migrated to large towns of Kenya and Southern Sudan to look for cash and animals respectively. When the way was found to Southern Uganda and elsewhere, it was always possible for people with other motives to leave Acholi. Among these were criminals who wanted to avoid being brought to justice, those who were afraid of magic at home, and sheer adventurers who wanted to see Jinja and Kampala. Others still went away from Acholi because they

wanted to avoid paying taxes. At first the Acholi migrants to southern Uganda worked on European plantations and government services like road construction; but later most of them shifted to the security forces as in the army, police and prisons. In 1945 there were about 5,600 Acholi in this profession.<sup>5</sup> This accounted for about 20% of Acholi poll-tax paying adult males at the time. After demobilisation at the end of World War II, many Acholi ex-servicemen joined industrial establishments and government services as labour overseers, watchmen, messengers and domestic servants. Others took up employment with the railways. About this time also more western educated Acholi began to move out of the district as government servants, in form of teachers, clerks and medical personnel. Even so the reputation of Acholi as the basis of army and police still continues.

The 1911 Uganda population estimate gives the number of Acholi in Uganda as 37,345. Of this figure, 13,758 were males. Only 49 Acholi were listed as living outside the district in the year; they were all in Hoima, Bunyoro, and 31 of them were males. The estimate of 1911 leaves much to be desired because Acholi area was then partially administered.

By 1921, the number of Acholi in Uganda had risen to 115,388. Males alone were 58,373, a little over half of the total. In that year, only about 200 Acholi resided outside their district, 150 of whom were males. Buganda returned 66; Eastern Province 48; Western Province 7; and Northern Province (Acholi apart) 75, most of whom were registered in Arua Township.

In 1931 there was a noticeable rise in the number of Acholi migrants recorded by census. Of the 137,792 Acholi returned in Uganda, 4,118 or about 3% were living away from the district. Male migrants alone were 3,025 or 73.4% of total Acholi migrants, and accounted for about 4.8% of all the Acholi males in that year. Eastern Province, which included Lango and Karamoja Districts at the time, recorded the

highest number of Acholi migrants of any province. In all, there were 1,879 members of this group there. About 800 were registered in Busoga District; Teso 320; Lango 370; and Karamoja 260. The Acholi in Karamoja were probably pastoralists. The rest of Acholi migrant population in Eastern Province was scattered in the districts of Budama, Bugerere and Bugisu. Buganda had nearly 1,500 Acholi, 1,210 of whom were males. They were largely returned in two counties, Kyaddondo with 663, and Bulemezi 477. Only 169 of them were returned in Kyaggwe, the home of Lugazi Sugar Plantation. It appears that the 710 Acholi registered in Butembe county were mainly in Jinja Township, where they were probably in the army barracks.

According to 1948 Uganda Population Census, out of 209,161 Acholi population returned in the whole country, nearly 7,000 or 3.3% were living outside the district. Male migrants were about 4,700, or 68% of the Acholi migrant population. They also accounted for 4.5% of all Acholi males in 1948. This is slightly lower than that for 1931, and could have been due to the effect of demobilisation after World War II, which released a large number of Acholi servicemen, who returned to their district. Of all Acholi migrant population, in 1948, only 2,155, or less than half had their distribution specified. Of this number, 650 were recorded in Buganda, all of them were living in Mumyuka gombolola, Kyaddondo. It is likely that they were employed by industries and government services in and around Kampala. The 490 Acholi in Busoga District were all in Jinja Township, and they could have been largely soldiers and their families. Lango returned 306 Acholi, all in Erute county, and most were found in Lira Township. They could have been in the government service. East Madi with 710 Acholi, 325 of whom were males, had a settled population of this group. These were likely a *spill-over* population since Acholi and Madi Districts share a common boundary. In fact, East Madi was part of Gulu District in the past.



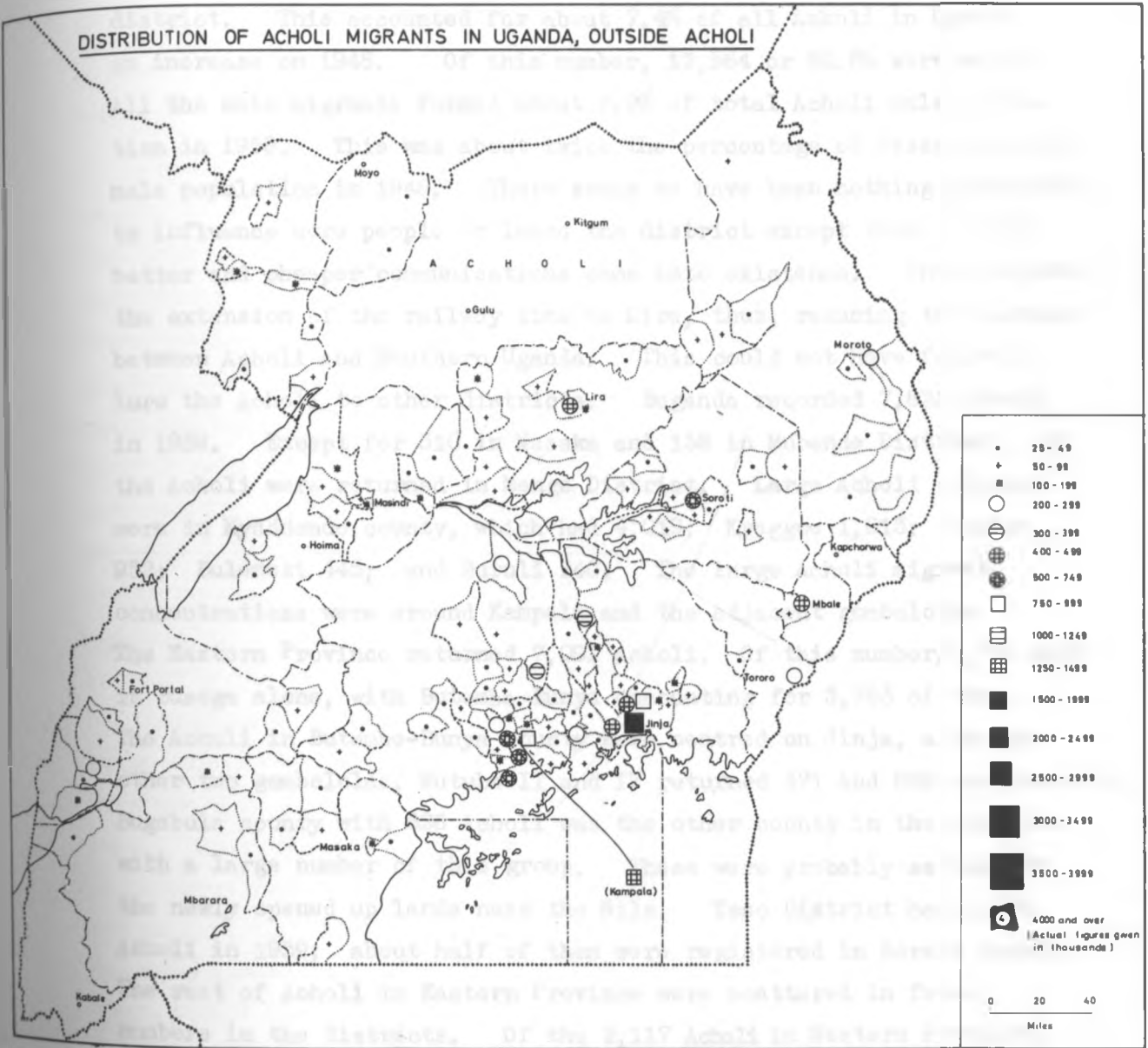


FIG. 13

The Uganda Population Census of 1959 returned 284,929 Acholi in the whole country. The males were 141,643, slightly less than half the total. In that year 20,058 Acholi were living outside their district. This accounted for about 7.4% of all Acholi in Uganda - an increase on 1948. Of this number, 12,564 or 62.6% were males. All the male migrants formed about 8.9% of total Acholi male population in 1959. This was about twice the percentage of absentee Acholi male population in 1948. There seems to have been nothing particular to influence more people to leave the district except that in 1959 better and cheaper communications came into existence. This included the extension of the railway line to Lira, thus, reducing the distance between Acholi and Southern Uganda. This could not have failed to lure the Acholi to other districts. Buganda recorded 7,823 Acholi in 1959. Except for 510 in Masaka and 158 in Mubende District, all the Acholi were returned in Mengo District. Large Acholi colonies were in Kyaddondo county, which had 4,019; Kyaggwe 1,013; Busiro 952; Bulemezi 445; and Buruli 240. The large Acholi migrant concentrations were around Kampala and the adjacent gombololas. The Eastern Province returned 7,091 Acholi. Of this number, 4,754 were in Busoga alone, with Butembe-Bunya accounting for 3,763 of them. The Acholi in Butembe-Bunya county were centred on Jinja, although other two gombololas, Mutuba II and IV returned 471 and 886 respectively. Bugabula county with 626 Acholi was the other county in the district with a large number of this group. These were probably settled in the newly opened up lands near the Nile. Teso District had 1,302 Acholi in 1959; about half of them were registered in Soroti county. The rest of Acholi in Eastern Province were scattered in fewer numbers in the districts. Of the 2,117 Acholi in Western Province, Bunyoro registered 967; Toro 697; Ankole 417; and Kigezi only 36. Elsewhere in the Northern Province, there were 3,027 Acholi migrants; about half of them were males. Lango District with 1,429 Acholi

in that year, recorded the highest number of any district in the province. Karamoja had 838; West Nile 640; and Madi 120.

At the gombolola level, as shown by the map, the Acholi were largely in towns or stations with industrial enterprises that would keep them engaged. There were still many of them on the sugar plantations of Lugazi and Kakira, which returned 205 and 886 of them respectively. Kilembe Mines in Toro registered 221 members of this group in that year. The largest Acholi concentrations were around Jinja and Kampala. Most of those in Jinja could have been in the Armed Forces and Police. It is likely also that the Acholi of Entebbe were members of this profession. Those in and around Kampala were probably largely engaged in industries. Other towns with considerable Acholi population were Mbale, Soroti, Lira, Moroto, Tororo and Namasagali. Most of them were possibly in government service, especially the railway and marine services. In spite of the relatively low male/female ratio of the Acholi migrants, it is thought that a large number of them were not permanent in areas of immigration. Wherever they were, they still regarded themselves as being away from home. Among the Acholi living away from home there were organisations whose responsibilities were to care for new-comers from Acholi, and to make sure that an Acholi of importance who died away from home was transported back for burial. They still exist in all the places where Acholi migrants are found in considerable numbers. But it is possible that the number of Acholi outside their district will still increase, due to intake to the civil service and the security forces, as well as more absorption by industrial and commercial enterprises.

## N O T E S

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See also B.A. Ogot's review of Nilotic migration in 'History of the Southern Luo,' Vol.I, East African Publishing House, 1967, Chap.2.

2. It was estimated by Sir Samuel Baker that a station sending 1,000 loads of ivory to Khartoum a year, consumed about 5,000 head of cattle in the same period. Quoted in E.K. Girling, "The Acholi of Uganda", London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1960, p.131.
3. Emin Pasha quoted in F.K. Girling, op.cit., 1960, p.59.
4. Powesland, P.G. in A.I. Richards, Economic Development and Tribal Change, Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1957, pp.24-25.
5. Girling, F.K. op.cit., 1960, p.179

DISTRIBUTION OF KARAMOJONG MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE KARAMOJA DISTRICT

Karamojong is the name generally given to the indigeneous tribes of Karamoja District. Within the district, however, some differences is made. Apart from the real Karamojong, there are also the Labwor, Suk, Tepeth, Jie, Dodoth, Tobur, Teutho and Nangia. In 1959, the first three were counted separately, while the rest were grouped with Karamojong. It is the latter that will be dealt with in this analysis. The Karamojong have been less able to pick up the westernised way of life than the other Nilo-Hamites, the Iteso. Consequently their number outside their home district has been small. In 1959, there were only 1,317 Karamojong in districts of Uganda other than Karamoja. Cattle remains the centre of life of the people. The nature of the land encourages such an occupation.

The District of Karamoja is situated in the extreme northeastern corner of Uganda, where the country shares common boundaries with Kenya and the Sudan. The land is a flat plain with an altitude of 3,500 feet to 4,000 feet and a ridge 8,000 feet to 9,000 feet high, running from north to south. This ridge forms a water divide of streams draining west into the Nile Valley and east into Lake Rudolf. Rainfall is experienced from April to August, and averages 20 inches to 40 inches per year. Dry season is November to March. Karamoja is predominantly a dry savanna area, with some derived grassland. The main occupation is cattle keeping, but there are also sheep and goats. Although sorghum and some finger millet and maize are grown, there is little cultivation. No crops are grown for cash. In 1959, with only 14 persons per square mile, Karamoja was the least settled of all the districts of Uganda, In 1958, less than 5% of the land was under cultivation. This meant plenty of land for the Karamojong and his animals. And as long as the cattle still prosper, the Karamojong would see no threat to his economic system. But the money economy, enhanced

DISTRIBUTION OF KARAMOJONG MIGRANTS OUTSIDE KARAMOJA

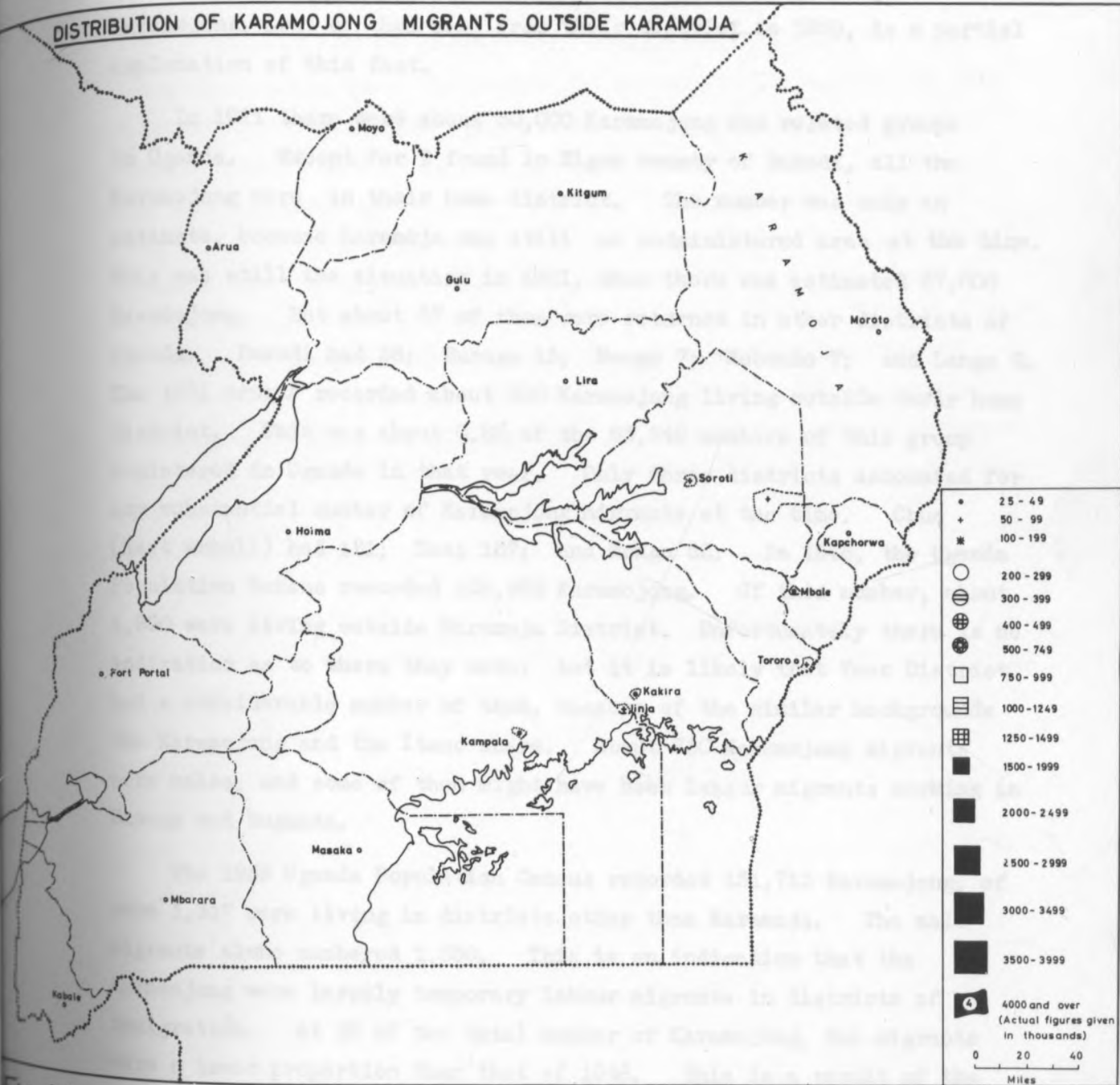


FIG. 14

by the presence of towns and trading centres in Karamoja, has begun to erode the traditional economy. The absence of nearly 1,320 Karamojong, most of them men, from their district in 1959, is a partial explanation of this fact.

In 1911 there were about 50,000 Karamojong and related groups in Uganda. Except for 2 found in Elgon county of Bukedi, all the Karamojong were in their home district. The number was only an estimate, because Karamoja was still an unadministered area at the time. This was still the situation in 1921, when there was estimated 67,000 Karamojong. But about 67 of them were returned in other districts of Uganda. Bukedi had 38; Busoga 13; Mengo 7; Mubende 7; and Lango 2. The 1931 census recorded about 500 Karamojong living outside their home district. This was about 0.8% of the 63,849 members of this group registered in Uganda in that year. Only three districts accounted for any substantial number of Karamojong migrants at the time. Chua (East Acholi) had 181; Teso 167; and Mengo 53. In 1948, the Uganda Population Census recorded 108,282 Karamojong. Of this number, about 1,200 were living outside Karamoja District. Unfortunately there is no indication as to where they were; but it is likely that Teso District had a considerable number of them, because of the similar backgrounds the Karamojong and the Iteso share. About 730 Karamojong migrants were males, and some of them might have been labour migrants working in Busoga and Buganda.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census recorded 131,713 Karamojong, of whom 1,317 were living in districts other than Karamoja. The male migrants alone numbered 1,030. This is an indication that the Karamojong were largely temporary labour migrants in districts of immigration. At 1% of the total number of Karamojong, the migrants were a lower proportion than that of 1948. This is a result of the fact that in the later year Tepeth and Labwor were returned as Karamojong, whereas in 1959 they were counted separately.

Teso District had 422 Karamojong; Bukedi 105; Busoga 170; Bugisu, including Mbale, 68. There were 341 Karamojong in Buganda, of whom 216 lived in Mengo District. In the Western Province, Bunyoro registered 34 members of this group; in the Northern Province, Acholi and Lango recorded 192 and 71 respectively. As shown by the map, except for those found in the bordering Teso counties of Amuria and Usuku, the Karamojong migrants were in towns - Soroti, Mbale, around Tororo, Kakira Sugar Plantation, Jinja and Greater Kampala. Elsewhere they were scattered in numbers less than 25. It is almost certain that they were largely labour migrants in the towns, although a few of them could have been in the army and police.



## DISTRIBUTION OF LANGI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA

In 1959, there were 363,807 Langi in Uganda, or 5.6% of the total population. Of this number, 33,459 or 9.2% were resident outside their home district of Lango. Like most other migrants, their own geographical environment could have contributed to the motives that made them leave their district. Lango District is situated between Acholi to the north and Teso to the south. Consequently members of Lango tribe adjacent to these districts have been subjected to influences of the main tribes of these districts. Nearly fifty years ago Driberg wrote that the Langi bordering River Tochi, "have lived in close and continuous contact with the Acholi and have to some extent assimilated their language and to a lesser extent their manners and customs".<sup>1</sup> This, however, is not the only contact the Langi have had with the Acholi and Iteso, nor is it the most important one. The Langi are an amalgamation of two ethnic groups; linguistically they are a nilotic people, but in some respects they bear resemblance with the Nilo-Hamitic Iteso. Outside Mengo District, which had attracted different types of migrants because of its economic opportunities, Acholi and Teso Districts accounted for the largest numbers of the Langi outside their district in 1959. This could have been due to the long standing cultural connexions between them with the Acholi and Iteso. Economic motives, in the main, prompted more Langi to leave their district. This is inspite of the fact that Lango District is not poor or overcrowded.

Lango is generally flat, with few rock outcrops, which tend to become more numerous in the north. The land is cut by many streams, draining into Lake Kioga and the Victoria Nile to the southwest, and River Moroto to the east. The streams are sluggish because of the flat nature of the land and the effect of swamp vegetation; but towards the north, the vegetation in the river courses lessens, river-beds are more

marked and the water flow is less retarded. The soil is generally fertile, consisting of a red loam with clayey sub-soil interspersed with black cotton soil. In areas where swamps predominate, sandy soil is abundant. The rainfall, which averages about 55 inches a year, is experienced between April and November. The rains fall earlier in the southern part of the district. A dry season begins in December and lasts until the end of March. Except for sandy areas and Namasale peninsula, which are relatively deficient in vegetation, Lango District is largely covered with grass, 8 feet to 10 feet tall. Although trees are found along streams, especially Moroto, the only forest of any size is a small one north of Lira.

In 1958 about 20% of the land in Lango District was under cultivation. Cotton alone accounted for half of this area. Other crops grown in the district are finger millet, cassava, sorghum, sweet potatoes, simsim, groundnuts and maize. The Langi also keep large numbers of livestock, some of which is sold to the southern districts of Uganda, particularly Mengo and Busoga. Cotton, first introduced to the district in 1909, has remained the main only significant crop in Lango ever since. The cultivation of cotton, till recently, seemed to have given the Langi the cash they needed for taxation and other small items brought into the district by Asian traders.

The contribution of Lango to the labour pool in Uganda had been negligible during days when labour was in high demand. This reluctance of the Langi to provide labour for portage runs through most of the annual reports of the district. The reason often given was that they preferred to work on their own cultivation.<sup>2</sup> Some time this aversion to labour recruitment was so strong that labourers for the district used to be imported from West Nile and Madi Districts. In his Annual Report for 1929, the District Commissioner wrote that "voluntary labour so far as the Lango are concerned may almost be said not to exist at all".<sup>3</sup>

This meant that only few Langi have been going out of their district till recently. These few were forced out by the "Kasanvu" system,

which provided free labour for the government contributed by chiefs every year up to 1923. The First World War was the first time when Langi were taken outside their district in substantial numbers. At that period, 3,312 Langi (and Kumam) were taken as carriers for the soldiers - though some of them were declared medically unfit and allowed to return to their homes.<sup>4</sup> It appears that in the early 1920's some Lango were able to live in other districts of Uganda working on road construction particularly. In 1925 about 1,855 labourers were recruited "from Lango and Acholi".<sup>5</sup>

When the first population estimate was made in 1911, there were 234,991 in Uganda. Only two people from this group were living outside Lango and Bululu, then the home districts of the Langi. But the Langi were only partially under British administration at the time, "and the information with regard the Lango has been compiled partly from incomplete enumeration conducted by native agents and partly from conjecture and general averages obtained from data available".<sup>6</sup> The Langi included Kumam in 1911. The 1921 Uganda Population Census returned 214,217 Langi in the country - about 30,000 below the figure of 1911. This is in spite of the fact that the Kenyi, who were recorded separately in 1911 were added to the Langi together with the Kumam. In 1921, about 12,782 Langi were living outside Lango District.<sup>7</sup> The male migrants were nearly 6,000, or half the total Langi migrant population. The Langi migrants were mainly in Gulu and Teso Districts, which registered 7,086 and 5,671 members of this group respectively. The Langi in Acholi were under one chief Andereya Olal. Males were slightly less than females, an indication that they were permanently settled. It is possible that they were in this place in 1911 when the first official population estimate of Uganda was made. It is likely to have been the case with the Langi in Teso Also. All of them were recored in Omoro county. Although it formed part of Teso, at the time, Omoro was a Lango county. This fact was realised by the authority later when in 1923 it was incorporated in Lango. There were 376 Langi in Bunyoro

District. Most of them were returned in Kibanda county, adjacent to Lango District. Buganda had only 22 Langi; all of them were in Kyaddondo county.

The 1931 Uganda Population Census gives the Lango population as 176,406 in the whole country. This fall was due to the fact that the Kumam and Kenyi, returned as Langi in 1921, were now recored separately. Of this number, 17,961 or about 10.2% were living outside Lango District. Male migrants were nearly 10,000, and formed about 55% of all Lango migrants. With 11,587 Langi recored, Gulu District had the largest number of this group of any district. Of this figure, 10,244 were returned in Paranga county, where the Langi formed the single biggest tribe according to the census returns of 1931. This was possibly the area of chief Andereya Olal which rēgistered a large number of Langi in 1921. Paranga was just across Lango border with Gulu and these Langi were certainly cut away by the boundary. Outside Gulu District, Lango migrants were returned in considerable numbers in Mengo which had 2,645 of them, and Bunyoro with 2,290. Bulemezi county accounted for 1,083 of Buganda total; Kyaggwe 115. In the last three counties the Langi were largely males; but in Bulemezi and Buruli, there was a relatively low male/female ratio. This is indicative of semi-permanent settlement due to spill-over by the Langi from their district which is adjacent to Buruli county. The Langi in Bunyoro were largely a result of similar circumstances, since they were mainly in Buruli and Kibanda counties - 1,124 and 944 respectively. With the transfer of Omoro county to Lango District in 1923, Langi population in Teso was reduced to only 863 in 1931. Elsewhere in the Eastern Province the number of Langi was negligible. There were 324 Langi registerēd in West Nile District; about 313 of them lived in Okoro alone. Cultural affinity with the Alur might have encouraged their stay there. Lango population was very small in Western Province in 1931.

In 1948 the Uganda Population Census recorded 265,296 Langi in the country. Of this number, 22,239 or 8.4% were living outside Lango District. Except for a large number of the Langi registered in Busoga District, the pattern of distribution of Lango migrants followed that of 1931. Acholi returned over 6,673 Langi in Omoro county (with Omoro being the name given to Paranga county by 1931). Buganda had 8,777 Langi, all in areas opposite Lake Kyoga in Bulemezi and Buruli counties, which more than doubled their numbers of this group since 1931 to 6,717 and 2,060 respectively. Largest figures were recorded in Sabagabo gombolola, Buruli, with 1,164 Langi; and in Bulemezi; the 'gombololas of Mumyuka recorded 3,864 Langi, Mutuba II, 1125; and Sabagabo 864. As in 1931, the Langi in Buruli and Bulemezi counties were largely a settled people. Langi numbered only 12 in Busoga District during the census of 1931; but by the time of 1948 Census, their number had gone up to more than 1,661. These were registered in two gombololas of Bugabula county, Musale with 1,238 and Mutuba IX 423. The low male/female ration suggests that the Langi here were semi-permanent. The males formed about half of the total number. Both gombololas, Mutuba IX and Musale, along the bank of Victoria Nile, which had encouraged immigration in Busoga and Buganda. Langi immigration to this area took place after attempts had been made by the government to clear it of tsetse-fly which limited large-scale settlement in the past. The Langi in Teso were recorded in Amuria county and Kaberamaido. These counties are bordering Lango District, and the Langi here could have been<sup>9</sup> spill-over population. Besides, Kaberamaido was part of Lango till after 1931 census, so the long association could have encouraged the Langi to live among the Kumam. There are many more Langi whose distribution was not specified in 1948. Bunyoro made no mention of the Langi because the census forms were lost. It is probable that there were some Langi still in the district in 1948.

# DISTRIBUTION OF LANGI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA, OUTSIDE LANGO

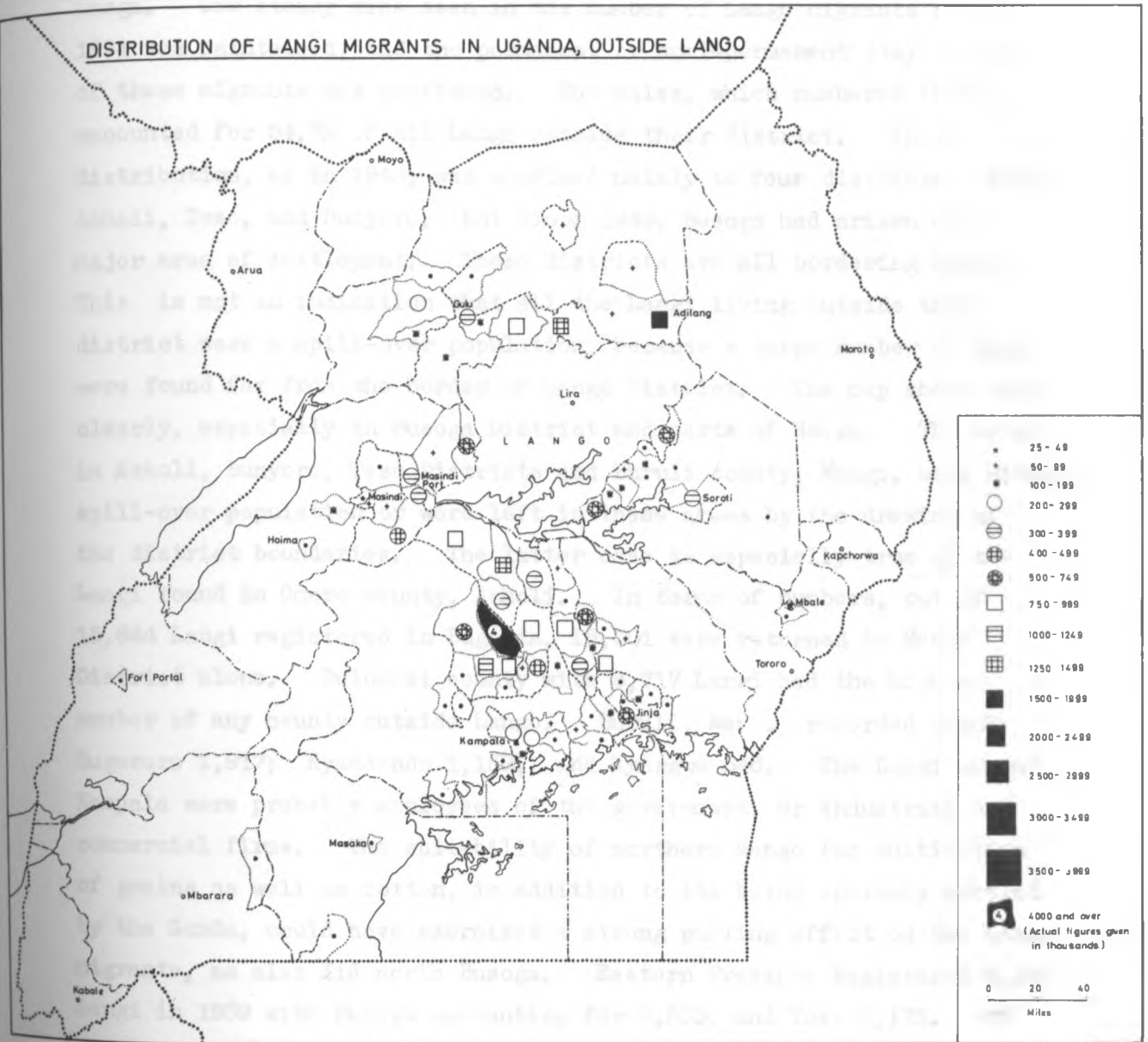


FIG. 15

By 1959, migration seemed to have become more common amongst the Langi. The steady rise seen in the number of Lango migrants since 1921 was maintained, and the permanent or semi-permanent stay of most of these migrants was confirmed. The males, which numbered 18,305, accounted for 54.7% of all Langi outside their district. Their distribution, as in 1948, was confined mainly to four districts - Mengo, Acholi, Teso, and Bunyoro; but since 1948, Busoga had arisen as a major area of settlement. These districts are all bordering Lango. This is not an indication that all the Langi living outside their district were a spill-over population, because a large number of them were found far from the border of Lango District. The map shows this clearly, especially in Busoga District and parts of Mengo. The Langi in Acholi, Bunyoro, Teso Districts and Buruli county, Mengo, were either spill-over population or were left in these areas by the drawing of the district boundaries. The latter case is especially true of the Langi found in Omoro county, Acholi. In terms of numbers, out of 15,644 Langi registered in Buganda, 15,501 were returned in Mengo District alone. Bulemezi county with 8,717 Langi had the highest number of any county outside Lango. Buruli, Meru recorded 2,838; Bugerere 1,917; Kyaddondo 1,152; and Kyaggwe 546. The Langi around Kampala were probably employees of the government, or industrial and commercial firms. The suitability of northern Mengo for cultivation of grains as well as cotton, in addition to its being sparsely settled by the Ganda, could have exercised a strong pulling effect on the Lango migrants, as also did north Busoga. Eastern Province registered 6,158 Langi in 1959 with Busoga accounting for 2,533, and Teso 3,175. Of the Langi in Busoga, 1,658 were registered in Bugabula county, and 768 in Butembe-Bunya. The Langi in Anuria and Kaberamaido counties of Teso seem to have been largely a result of natural increase over the 1948 population of this group. Similarly, the 2,424 Langi in Kibanda and Buruli counties of Bunyoro in 1959 confirmed the continuous presence of Langi in this area since 1931. Acholi District registered 8,876

Langi out of the 9,042 for Northern Province, excluding Lango. The concentration was in Omoro and Agago counties which registered 6,154 and 1,777 Langi respectively. Outside the districts enumerated, the Langi were very few, and they lived largely in the main towns - Mbale, Tororo, Moroto, Masaka and Fort Portal. Lango migrant population was not large in towns, except for Jinja and Kampala with 478 and 453 Langi respectively. The largest single number of Lango migrants were 4,423; this was recorded in Mumyuka gombolola, Bulemezi, which in 1948 returned 3,846 Langi. There is little doubt that most of Lango migrants were permanent by 1959 in districts of immigration bordering their own district.

#### N O T E S

1. Driberg, J.H. The Lango - A Nilotic Tribe of Uganda. Fisher Unwin, London, 1923, pp.25-26.
2. Lango District - Extracts from Annual Reports: 1909-1935, for the year 1909, p.1.
3. Lango District - Extracts, op.cit. (1909-1935). Report for the year 1929, para.86.
4. Lango District - Extracts.... (1909-1935), p.13.
5. Richards, A.I. (Edit.). Economic Development and Tribal Change. Heffer and Sons, London. (1957), p.30.
6. Uganda Government: Census Returns 1911 (1911), p.54.
7. In 1921 the Kumam and Kenyi were returned as Langi. This explains why the number of Lango migrants was high in that year.



## DISTRIBUTION OF KUMAM MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE TESO DISTRICT

The Kumam are mainly found in the county of Kaberamaido, Teso. They claim ethnic affinity with the Iteso; but their language is similar to that of the Langi who live to the north of Kaberamaido. It is probably because of this linguistic identity that the British Administration, in its early days, grouped the Kumam with the Langi in one district, and counted them as Langi in the 1911 and 1921 Uganda Population Censuses.

Physically, Kaberamaido is similar to the rest of Teso District. The land is suitable for the cultivation of sorghum, finger millet, beans, simsim, cassava, groundnuts and maize. Cotton is grown for cash. The Kumam, unlike their neighbours the Iteso, have more land suitable for further utilisation. In 1958, only about 26% of the land in Kaberamaido county was utilised, nearly half of which was under cultivation. This estimate includes the grazing area for cattle, goats and sheep. In 1958 cattle population of Kaberamaido numbered about 80,000. There is quite a high demand for cash. Among the Kumam for the education of children and vocational training, marriages, building better houses, buying ploughs and ca . . . . . But the availability of good soils, adequate rainfall, relatively low population density (98 persons per a square mile in 1959), and the use of ploughs for cultivation seem to have worked well in producing the greater part of personal cash required from within the home area. Consequently few of them have been leaving Teso in pursuit of economic opportunities.

Before the abolition of "Kasanvu", or compulsory labour for the government, the Kumam, like members of other tribes in Uganda, used to be forced out of their area to do jobs and services allocated by the government. During the First World War, for instance, 3,313 men, mostly Kumam, were recruited as carriers with the K.A.R., but some of them were sent back as medically unfit, and those who survived the war

DISTRIBUTION OF KUMAM IN UGANDA OUTSIDE TESO DISTRICT

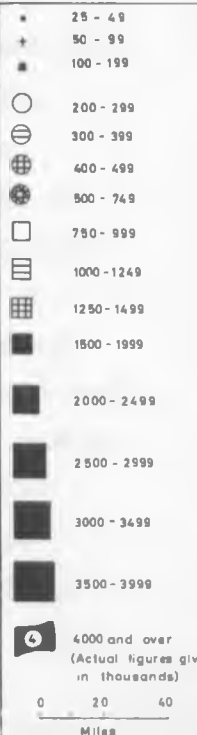
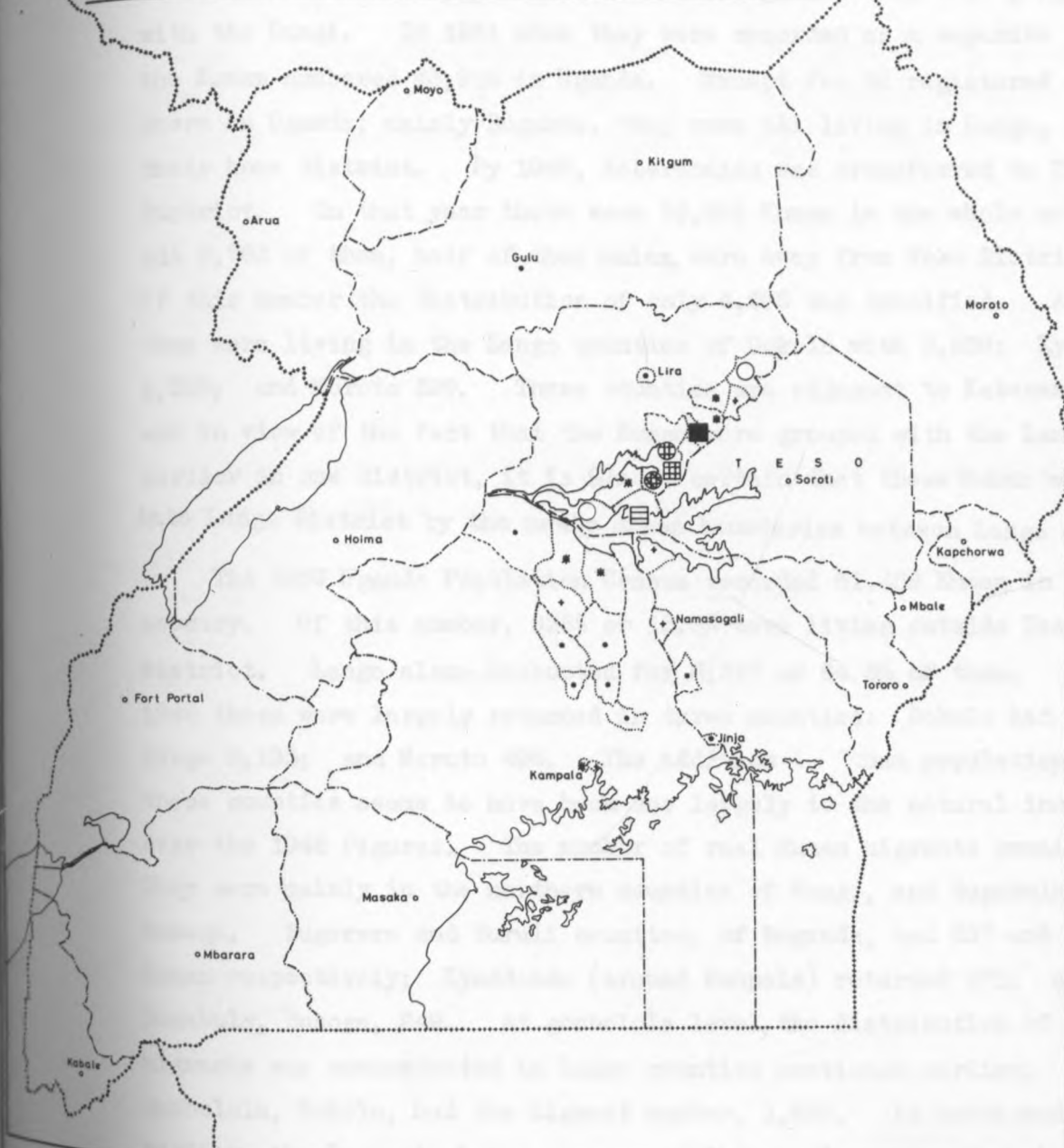


FIG. 16

returned to their homes.<sup>1</sup> There might have been a few Kumam living outside their area of origin by 1921; but this could not be detected because in the first population counts of Uganda, they were grouped with the Langi. In 1931 when they were recorded as a separate group, the Kumam numbered 43,916 in Uganda. Except for 46 registered elsewhere in Uganda, mainly Buganda, they were all living in Lango, then their home district. By 1948, Kaberamaido was transferred to Teso District. In that year there were 55,924 Kumam in the whole country; but 6,763 of them, half of them males, were away from Teso District. Of this number the distribution of only 4,576 was specified. All of them were living in the Lango counties of Dokolo with 2,859; Kyoga 1,318; and Moroto 399. These counties are adjacent to Kaberamaido, and in view of the fact that the Kumam were grouped with the Langi earlier in one district, it is almost certain that these Kumam were cut into Lango District by the newly drawn boundaries between Lango and Teso.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census recorded 61,459 Kumam in the country. Of this number, 8285 or 13.5% were living outside Teso District. Lango alone accounted for 6,327 or 64.3% of them. As in 1948 these were largely returned in three counties: Dokolo had 3,543; Kyoga 2,193; and Moroto 496. The addition of Kumam population of these counties seems to have been due largely to the natural increase over the 1948 figures. The number of real Kumam migrants remained small. They were mainly in the northern counties of Mengo, and Bugabula county, Busoga. Bugerere and Buruli counties, of Buganda, had 357 and 350 Kumam respectively; Kyaddonáo (around Kampala) returned 271; and Bugabula, Busoga, 249. At gombolola level, the distribution of Kumam migrants was concentrated in Lango counties mentioned earlier. Dokolo gombolola, Dokolo, had the highest number, 1,859. As mentioned earlier, the Kumam in Lango were a settled people. As shown by the map, they could still maintain contact and communication with their kith and kin in Kaberamaido. It is likely that most of the Kumam

scattered in northern Bugerere, Buruli and Bugabula were more or less permanently settled. Kuman migrants, distant from their home district, were mainly in towns - Kampala, Jinja and Gulu.

#### N O T E S

1. Lango Annual District, Report for the year ending March 1918, para. 74.

THE ITESO MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE TESO DISTRICT  
AND PALLISA AND TORORO COUNTIES

The Iteso are the second largest tribe in Uganda, numerically coming next to the Baganda. In 1959 there were 524,716 Iteso in Uganda.<sup>1</sup> This was 8.1% of Uganda total population. In the same year 85,460 Iteso, or 16.1% of the whole tribe were outside Teso District, Pallisa and Tororo counties. For an understanding of the motives of these migrants, it is important to have a look at their ecological, social and historical background.

Physiographically, Teso District, the home of the Iteso, is a low, gently undulating country intersected by a vast network of streams and swamps draining into Lakes Kioga and Banisa. Granitic outcrops are found in plenty, especially in the southern part of the district, where they rise up to 600 feet above the surrounding country. Soils vary from hard ironstone outcrops, often on top of slopes, to swamp/sands with nurrans, erodable sandy mixtures, swampy black cotton soils and clays intervening in between. The average altitude of the country is about 3,500 feet above sea-level, with the maximum height being only 3,900 feet.

The district experiences an average rainfall of 50 inches a year, with a well defined dry season from October/November to March/April, and a less marked dry season in June and July. Teso lies in a short grass-woodland zone; but some grasses, particularly Hypparhenia species grow up to 9 feet high. Along the swamps and streams, Inperata cylindrica, Echinochloa pyramidalis and papyrus are common. Crops grown include finger millet, sweet potatoes, cassava, sorghum, groundnuts, beans, sinsin, maize, bulrush millet, rice and Barbara groundnuts. Cotton is the chief cash crop in the district. Some of these crops are grown in rotation for the purpose of soil conserva-

tion. Cotton and finger millet alternate in the first two years with groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes and beans in the third year. This is followed by a three years resting period. Strip cropping on contours with grass bunds between strips is also practised.

The Iteso are a Nilo-Hamitic people believed to have come into their present country from Karanoja. They are ethnically related to the Jie, Karanojong and the Kuman, and remotely to the Langi, Toposa of the Southern Sudan, and the Turkana of northwestern Kenya. They settled in Teso between 1700 and 1800,<sup>2</sup> beginning first at Usuku and expanding southwards to their present areas of dominance. Teso District is divided into two by the channel that forms Lake Baniisa. The northern part consists of Kaberamaido, Serere, Soroti Anuria and Usuku counties, while in the south are found the counties of Ngora, Kuni and Bukedea. The county of Pallisa, though administratively part of Bukedi District, is physically part of the Southern Teso homeland, and the large Ateso population in Tororo county is part of a thin line of Ateso settlement which extends from Teso District through eastern Bukedi to western Kenya.

Population is heavier in the southern counties of Teso, at 181 persons per square mile in 1959 compared to 95 persons per square mile in the north, the latter being more pastoral than the south. As a result, there has been a north-south emigration of families in the recent past. But this is in spite of the fact that soils, climate and vegetation are similar in both parts of the district.

The Iteso, essentially a cattle people in the past, have changed from nomadic pastoralism to subsistence agriculture, and then to a cash crop economy. It is very rare for a cattle or nomadic people to make such progressive strides in so short a period. The fact that the Iteso were able to do so, makes them one of the most progressive tribes of East Africa, if not of the whole of Africa. Previously the Iteso regarded cattle, apart from marriage purposes, as objects for ritual functions. Now these animals have acquired economic

importance and they are often sold for acquisition of other goods, though pastoral tradition is still strong in Northern Teso than in the Southern part. This change of attitude among the Iteso resulted mainly from foreign contacts.

The first significant encounter with foreigners took place at the close of the nineteenth century when some Baganda irregulars under Senei Kakunguru, himself a Muganda, established administration on behalf of Central Government in the area.<sup>3</sup> By 1904 the Iteso had accepted the administrative set up introduced by their new rulers. As an agricultural people the Baganda rulers forced their economic way of life on the Iteso; but instead of taking up agriculture and cultivation of food crops because it was desired by the rulers, the Iteso, it appears, had little alternative. Their cattle, the centre of their life, were now the greatest source of income to their Baganda overlords. Lawrance wrote: "Kakunguru and his dependants accumulated cattle in large numbers, and many of them seen to have regarded the country as a sort of El Dorado, to which resort might be had in times of failure or disgrace at home."<sup>4</sup>

The only difference here is that instead of being the land of gold, Teso, as it came to be known afterwards, was the land of cattle. This could not fail to disrupt the social and economic life of the Iteso, thus making them susceptible to economic changes.

Kakunguru and his Baganda soldiers were, however, harbingers of the most important group of foreigners to leave their indelible influence on the Iteso - the British. These came in form of administrators and missionaries, both Catholics and Protestants. The British administration brought about political stability to a country that had not know it since her subjugation by Kakunguru and his soldiers. A few years after the establishment of their rule, the British took over the direction of economic life of the Iteso, concentration being on the cotton crop which was introduced to the

area by the Church Missionary Society in 1904.<sup>5</sup> In 1909 the Protectorate Government appointed cotton instructor. This was followed by a ploughing school at Kumi in 1910. Two decades after the introduction of cotton to the district, Teso was believed to be "the richest cotton growing area in the Protectorate".<sup>6</sup> Cotton cultivation reached such a height that by 1957 there were about 40,000 ploughs in Teso District.

Thus, with the introduction of cotton to Teso, there came economic awakening with money economy as its central feature. Family sizes were thinned down to the minima, instead of the extended ones of the past; and where there was need, son parted with father temporarily or permanently. The need was often better economic opportunities. In some cases these desires were satisfied within Teso District; but some times the people had to move out to other districts where such opportunities existed.

Like most other migrants in Uganda during the same period, the Iteso migrants have gone to other districts predominantly for economic reasons. Land had proved inadequate for the would-be cultivators, particularly in the counties of Ngora, Kumi and Bukedea, where "there is a very heavy population in relation to the productivity of the soil."<sup>7</sup> The introduction of taxation by the new administration created some difficulties among the Iteso, who saw little difference between the sweeping powers of Kakunguru and his soldiers who collected their cattle by force and the British administrators asking for cash.



Taxation, however, could not have caused much migration among the Iteso were it the only economic factor involved here, because for the vast majority, proceeds from cotton sales were enough to meet it. For a large number of the Iteso who fled from their district, bride price was responsible. Prior to the introduction of cash economy into Teso, marriage was the responsibility of the family, that is, the extended one. Uncles contributed to the bride price for the nephew; so did responsible cousins. But with the advent of cash economy, the effective family circle shrank, and marriage became the duty of the father, or older brother where the former had died. This resulted in two situations among the Iteso: the poorer young men who wanted to marry had to work hard at cotton cultivation at home; but where land of good quality was not available they were forced to go to other districts to work for cash, or take up cash crop cultivation there. The other result of shrinking family circle among the Iteso, has been the disruption of marriage regulations on a larger scale. Where a young man and his father or brother could not afford bride price, he would elope with his prospective wife and go to another district. The district of immigration was often economically well endowed so that the young man would work and buy cattle to repay his in-laws. There were few cases, however, when elopements were genuine attempts to avoid payment of bride price. The Iteso migrants in the latter case often kept out of Teso District as long as conditions in areas of immigration favoured their stay.

Other motives for Iteso migration were cattle thefts and witchcraft.<sup>8</sup> The latter was limited to a small number, and in most cases it was the witch-doctors who fled to other districts because they were hated by their neighbours for their evil practices. Cattle theft has been checked now; but in the past it was a common occurrence. According to the District Commissioner's Reports, brisk "trade in stolen cattle was organised across the Protectorate Boundary into the Nyanza Province of Kenya where high prices made disposal easy and profitable."<sup>9</sup>

A number of the Iteso involved in this illicit trade used to flee to other areas when they suspected knowledge of their activities. Some Iteso have emigrated from their home counties and district as a result of family quarrels; and some more for no specific reasons, except that the spirit of adventure drove them on to see other lands and other people.

The first population count of Uganda in 1911, which was more of an estimate than real census, gave the number of Iteso as 233,974. These were all found in Bukedi District, then the home district of all Iteso of Uganda. There is a possibility, however, that a handful of Iteso could have escaped notice in other districts under the general name of "Bakedi", which applied to all tribes resident in Eastern Uganda at the time. In 1921 there were 5,643 Iteso away from Teso District. All of them could not, however, be considered migrants since 5,206 were in Bukedi District. These are the Iteso population that formed the bulk of this tribe in the counties of Pallisa and Tororo. That this was a permanently settled Iteso population is confirmed by the fact that only 2,334 or 45% of all Iteso in Bukedi in 1921 were males. But an allowance could be made. Mbale county with 4,565 Iteso, was the home county of this group, while 530 Iteso in North Bugisu, 85 in Bugweri and 26 in Mbale Township were probably migrants. Outside Bukedi District, there were only 437 Iteso migrants. Except for 2 men who were returned in Buddu county, Masaka District, all these migrants resided in Bulanogi county of Busoga. The male ratio of these Iteso in Bulanogi was high, being 330 or about 76% of the total. Bulanogi lies west of Pallisa; and both counties are separated by the Mpologona swamp. There is nothing particular about Bulanogi that it should have attracted migration from Teso. The possibility is, therefore, that the Iteso migrants in Bulanogi in 1921 were a spill over from what is now Pallisa county and Teso District.

The 1931 population census for the Protectorate of Uganda revealed a greater increase in the number of Iteso migrants outside their areas of origin. As in 1921, Eastern Province had more migrants of this group; but Buganda showed a high increase. In all there were 22,425 Iteso away from their areas of origin; this formed about 5.8% of the whole Iteso tribe. In the way of distribution Eastern Province with 21,799 Iteso migrants, or about 97% of All Iteso away from their counties of origin, had the highest concentration. Of this number 11,564 were in Busoga alone; this was 51.5% of the total number of Iteso migrants. Bugabula county accounted for 4,600 Iteso, the highest figure for Iteso migrants in any county. The Iteso male population was not dominant in the county, being only 2,400 or just over half of the total Iteso there. This is an indication of permanent settlement, which was presumably encouraged by the fact that Bugabula, especially the northern part adjacent to the shores of Lake Kioga, was less accessible to the Soga, therefore creating more room for Ateso expansion. The county of Bulamogi, which had 435 Iteso in 1921, the largest migrant group of the tribe outside Bukedi in that year, had 2,299 Iteso in 1931. Of this number 1,144, or just under half of the total, were males. There is little doubt that the Iteso here, just as those in Bugabula, were permanently settled. Another county with a large Iteso migrant population was Kigulu, which had 2,358 of this group. The male ratio to the total Iteso migrant figure was 54%. Luuka county had 932 Iteso, Bukoli 765, Bugweri 552, Bunya 39 and Butembe 19. In each of these counties, the Iteso male population accounted for a little over half. Thus in general the Iteso migrant population in Busoga was characterised by more permanent settlement, and presumably cultivated land on their own. Even Kakira Sugar Plantation was not an attractive source of employment to them.

Elsewhere in the Eastern Province, Budana District, now a county of Bukedi District, had 4,100 Iteso, of whom 1,976, or nearly 63% were males. (In fact Budana had 31,463 Iteso in 1931, but 27,363

were in Tororo county, which is here considered a permanent home of the Iteso.) Bugwere District, also part of Bukedi District now, excluding Pallisa and Bukedea, had 3,535 Iteso migrants; Mbale county alone accounted for 3,003. There were 815 Iteso in Bugisu District, with north Bugisu county supplying 748 of this number. These could have been infiltrators to this county from its northern neighbour of Bukedea. Another area with a high Iteso population in 1931 was Karanoja which had 1,595 of them; of this number half were males. Historically the Iteso came from Karanoja. This factor coupled with the desire for cattle, was possibly responsible for luring these Iteso back to the land of their ancestor. Another 190 were also found in Lango, then part of Eastern Province, with Kaberamaido and Dokolo counties accommodating 97 and 54 Iteso respectively.

Outside Eastern Province, Buganda with 1,153 Iteso migrants had the largest concentration in 1931. Of this number 951 or about 82% were males. Kyaddondo alone accounted for 524 Iteso, followed by Kyaggwe with 253 Iteso, Bulenzezi 205 and Bugerere 68. The high preponderance of males over females is an indication that the Iteso in Buganda were largely labour migrants who were there on a temporary basis only. They were presumably porters on Ganda farms; but a few could have been in Kampala and Mengo peri-urban areas. In Kyaggwe all the Iteso, excepting one, were males. These were possibly employed on the Lugazi Sugar Plantation. Gulu District had 17 Iteso and Chua 13; of these 13 and 8 respectively were males. In the Western Province, Ankole returned 20 Iteso, Kigezi and Bunyoro one each. Of the 20 Iteso in Ankole, 18 were females. It is possible that some of these were wives to Hina of Mitoma county in which they were found.

The 1948 Uganda Population Census revealed a substantial increase in the number of Iteso migrants. In all there were 76,838 Iteso away

from Teso and what now constitute the counties of Pallisa and Tcroro. This was about 16.5% of all the Iteso in Uganda, about three times as much as the figure for 1931. Of this number 41,086 or about 53% were males. The male migrants also formed a little over 18% of all Iteso male population. As in 1931, the low male/total migrant population ratio in 1948 is an indication that the Iteso migrants were away from their areas of origin on a permanent basis.

Again the pattern of distribution resembled that of 1931, in that the bulk of Iteso migrants was in the Eastern Province. Alone, Eastern Province had 55,287 or about 64%. This proportion was much lower than that for 1931; but the lowering of the figure is accounted for by the fact that census figures for 1948 were only available for large tribal groups in gombololas. Where the number was small, it could not be shown in most cases. In Eastern Province, Busoga with 25,840 Iteso migrants had the highest number of this group of all the districts. This was 33.6% of all the Iteso migrants, and 46.7% of this migrant group in Eastern Province. The Iteso migrants in Busoga formed 5% of the total population of the district, and came second to the Basoga in numerical strength. The Iteso male population was 14,527 or 56% of all the Iteso in Busoga. Within Busoga District the distribution of Iteso population had slightly changed in 1948. Instead of being largely confined to the northern part of the district, the Iteso moved further southwards to the southern counties of Butembe-Bunya and Bukoli in much larger numbers than in 1931. Again as in 1931, Bugabula county with 11,303 Iteso in 1948 showed the highest concentration in the district. This was 43.7% of all the Iteso migrants in Busoga; of this number 5,840, or 51.6% were males. The Iteso male population in Bugabula formed about 40% of all Iteso male migrants in Busoga. The number of Iteso in Bukoli county more than trebled in the years between 1931 and 1948. In the latter year there were 2,627

Iteso of whom 1,354 or 51.5% were males. In that year the Iteso in Bukoli accounted for about 10% of all the number of this migrant group in Busoga. Both Bugabula and Bukoli remained the least densely populated counties in Busoga. So the increase of Iteso population in 1948 could have been encouraged by availability of land here. Bulamogi county showed a decline in the number of Iteso population in 1948 over the figure of 1931. In 1948 there were only 1,861 Iteso in this county, half of them being males. It is possible that some of the Iteso found in Bulamogi in 1931 had moved down to other areas, especially Bugabula and Bukoli between that date and 1948. Similarly, Kigulu county with only 1,785 Iteso of whom 1,133 were males showed a decrease in the number of this group between 1931 and 1948. Luuka and Bugweri counties had 1,331 and 966 Iteso in 1948. There were 714 Iteso male migrants in Luuka, and 558 in Bugweri. These were slightly more than half of the total Iteso population in the respective counties. The most spectacular increase in the number of the Iteso of any county in Busoga in 1948 was in Butembe-Bunya. In 1931, Butembe and Bunya as separate counties had a total number of 58 Iteso only; but in 1948 as one county, Butembe-Bunya had 1,778 Iteso. Of this figure, 1,511 were males. The Iteso population of this county mentioned here were returned in two gombololas only - Sabaddu, just north of Kakira Sugar Plantation, and Sabawali gombolola of Jinja Town, with 1,120 and 658 Iteso respectively. There were 957 male Iteso in gombolola Sabaddu, and 554 in Jinja. In both gombololas there was a high preponderance of male population, accounting for about 85% of all the Iteso here. It is almost certain that most of the Iteso in Butembe-Bunya were employed in industries in Jinja or Kakira Sugar Plantation. In fact, Sabaddu gombolola is so near to Kakira that plantation employees could have been residing there and walking to work in the morning. Census of the employees in 1949,<sup>10</sup> revealed that in Busoga alone there were 2,037 Iteso employed in both Government

Departments and private enterprises. Of this number 768 worked in the industries, 673 in Government Departments and 469 in agriculture. It is surprising that the number of Iteso employed in agriculture was small, since Soga farmers should have employed many of them as porters. This, however, is a more certain indication that the Iteso in Busoga at the time were largely a settled population cultivating crops on their own.

In 1948, Mbale District, with 106,844 Iteso had by far the largest concentration of this tribe outside Teso District; this was 18% of Mbale's total population. But this figure included the Iteso of Pallisa and East Budama (Tororo) counties. Without the Iteso of these counties, Mbale District had 29,447 Iteso migrants in 1948. This comprised about 53% of all Iteso "migrants" in the Eastern Province. There were 14,538 Iteso migrants here, or 49.3% of the total Iteso in the district. The county of Budaka accounted for 12,183, or 41% of Mbale's Iteso. In this same county there were 6,147 Iteso male migrants, or 50.5% of all the Iteso there. Kadana gombolola alone returned 3,932 Iteso, about 42% of gombolola's total population, coming next to Bagwere which formed 45% of the population. Iteso males in this gombolola were 1,982, just over half their number here. Iki Iki gombolola had 4,291 Iteso, making 36% of the population in the sub-county; and 2,845 Iteso were counted in Bulaangira. The low figure of the Iteso males here is an indication that the Iteso were more permanent. West Buda county had 5,942 Iteso, and Samia Bugwe 5,787; these counties had 2,852 and 2,671 Iteso male migrants respectively. In both cases the males were less than half the total number of the group. The number of Iteso was much less in North Bugisu, where 1,663 of this tribe were returned; of this number 901 or about 54% were male migrants. South Bugisu had 2,276, Central Bugisu 264, and Mbale Township 198 Iteso. Except in Mbale Township where the Iteso male migrants formed about 72% of

the Iteso population, the last named counties had preponderance of female Iteso over males.

Outside the Eastern Province, Buganda returned the largest number of Iteso migrants in 1948. But as in the rest of the districts, the figures for 1948 census are not complete for Buganda districts. Only in Kyaggwe and Bugerere were the Iteso migrants registered as being significant. Hence, the total number quoted for Buganda was in fact only for the two counties mentioned. Kyaggwe had 3,430 Iteso, of whom 2,228 or about 65% were males; and Bugerere had 1,222 Iteso, 768 or 62.8% of whom were males. In all both counties had 4,652 Iteso. This formed about 6% of all the Iteso migrants. Gombolola Mutuba VII, Kyaggwe, the home of Lugazi Sugar Plantation, did not show a large number of Iteso migrants in 1948. This was also the case in 1931. The gombololas that had a large concentration of Iteso population in Kyaggwe were Munyuka with 1,032 Iteso, Mutuba IV 350, Mutuba V 944, and Mutuba VI with 1,083 Iteso. Most of these must have been porters on Ganda farms, except perhaps for those in Mutuba V where some presumably worked in industries in Jinja. In Bugerere's relatively southern gombolola of Munyuka, the Iteso could have been largely porters on Ganda and Soga farms; but in Sabagabo and Sabaddu gombololas they were probably cultivating crops on their own as a settled population. After all, Bugerere in terms of population composition was not strictly Baganda since the migrants outnumbered the Baganda in 1948. In 1949 there were 671 Iteso employed in industries and Government services in Mengo District. In 1948 two counties of Lango - Moroto had 1,472 Iteso and Dokolo returned 366. This was a combined total of 2,260, of whom 1,061 or about 47% were males. These counties were the immediate northern neighbours of Teso District, it is possible that the Iteso were lured into these counties by the similarities of ecological set up of the two areas.



As mentioned earlier, the figures given here for 1948, are far from being complete due to the fact that the main source<sup>11</sup> for these statistics does not show the numbers of people below a certain figure. So the 1948 distribution of the Iteso as given here shows the trend rather than actual pattern of migrants within Uganda. And the districts' lists also give only the figures for dominant tribal groups.

The 1959 Population Census of Uganda revealed that the Iteso were the second largest tribe in Uganda coming next to the Baganda. They numbered 462,664, and formed about 9.4% of Uganda's total population. This was an increase of about 13% over the 1948 figure, the lowest increase among the main tribes of Uganda. In 1959, the Iteso accounted for 26.6% of the whole population of Eastern Province; they were the largest single tribe in the province. Besides Teso where the Iteso were the most significant group, Bukedi District also returned 102,631 Iteso to make them the largest tribe in that district. The District of Teso and counties of Pallisa and Tororo, the home areas of Iteso, had 439,253 members of this tribe in 1959. This leaves a total of 85,460 Iteso as migrants in other areas of Uganda. Of this number 46,079 or 53% were males. In all, the migrants were 16.3% of Iteso total population, and the male Iteso away from their home areas formed about 18% of all Iteso males.

Eastern Province apart from Teso, Pallisa and Tororo, accounted for 59,486, or about 69.6% of total Iteso migrants. Of this number, 31,495 or 53% were males. As in the previous censuses, Busoga District returned the largest number of Iteso migrants of any district in 1959. There were 34,649 Iteso in Busoga, of whom 18,983 or 54.7% were males. Busoga alone had 58.2% of Iteso migrants in Eastern Province. The rest were distributed as follows: Bukedi 19,011 or 32%; Bugisu 5,168 or 8.7%, and Mbale Township 658 or 1.1%. Except in Mbale Township where there was a dominant Iteso male population -

**DISTRIBUTION OF ITESO MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE TESO DISTRICT, PALLISA AND TORORO COUNTIES.**

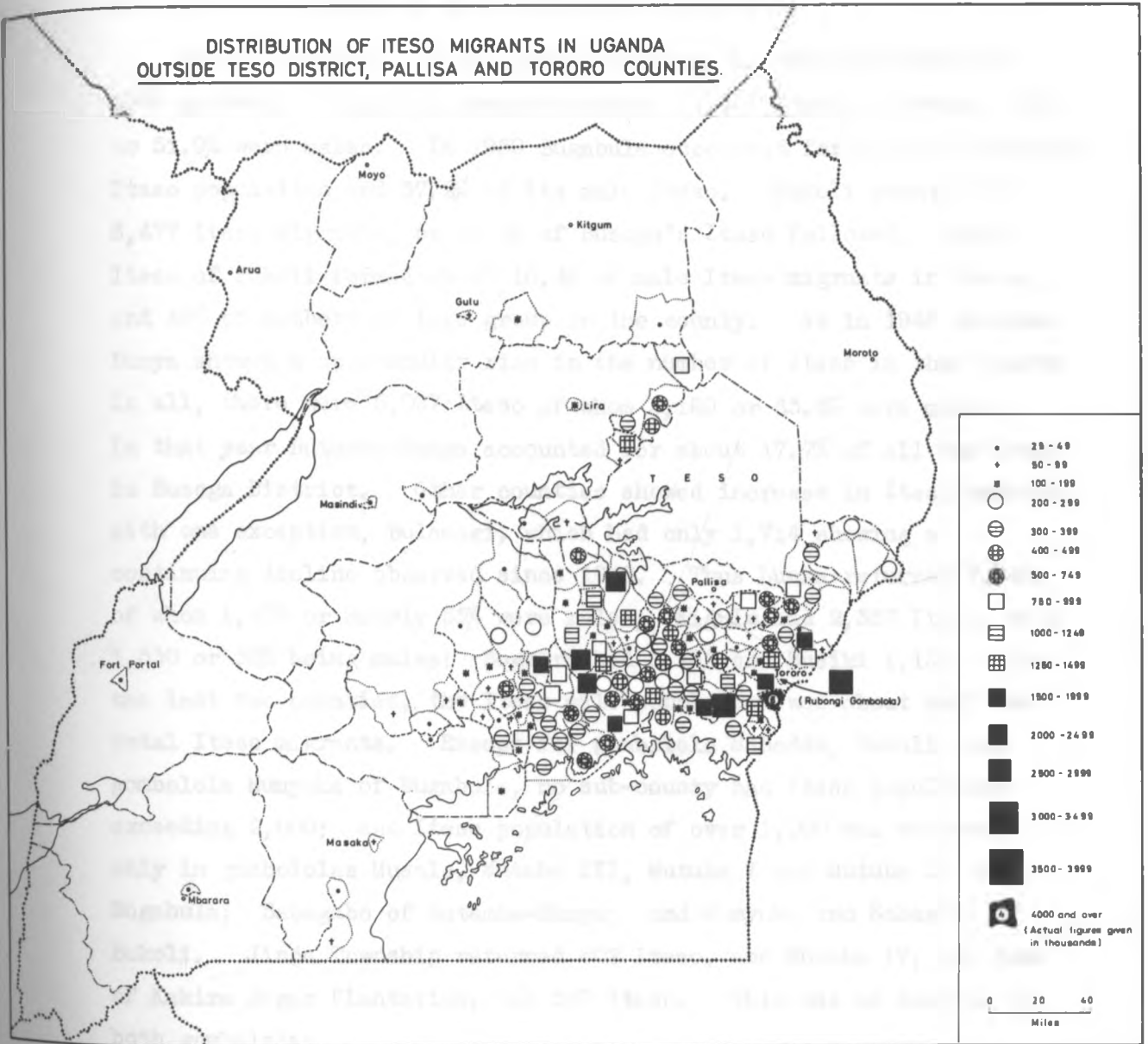


FIG. 17

469 or 71.2% of the total Iteso there - the male population among the Iteso migrants in Bukedi and Bugisu was low, being 9,353 or 49.2% and 52% of the Iteso in those respective districts.

The distribution of the Iteso in Busoga in 1959 followed the 1948 pattern. Bugabula county returned 13,407 Iteso, of whom 7,062 or 51.9% were males. In 1959 Bugabula accounted for 38.7% of Busoga's Iteso population and 37.2% of its male Iteso. Bukoli county with 6,477 Iteso migrants, or 18.7% of Busoga's Iteso followed. Male Iteso of Bukoli formed about 16.4% of male Iteso migrants in Busoga, and 4.9% of members of this group in the county. As in 1948 Butembe-Bunya showed a spectacular rise in the number of Iteso in that county. In all, there were 5,027 Iteso of whom 3,189 or 63.4% were males. In that year Butembe-Bunya accounted for about 17.7% of all the Iteso in Busoga District. Other counties showed increase in Iteso numbers, with one exception, Bulamogi, which had only 1,714 showing a continuing decline observed since 1948. Thus Luuka returned 2,746, of whom 1,509 or nearly 55% were males; Kigulu had 2,357 Iteso, with 1,330 or 56% being males; Bugweri had 1,762 and Busiki 1,159. In the last two counties, the Iteso male population was about half the total Iteso migrants. Except for gombolola Sabaddu, Bukoli, and gombolola Munyuka of Bugabula, no sub-county had Iteso population exceeding 2,000; and Iteso population of over 1,000 was recorded only in gombololas Musale, Mutuba III, Mutuba V and Mutuba IX of Bugabula; Sabagabo of Butembe-Bunya; and Munyuka and Sabagabo of Bukoli. Jinja Township returned 802 Iteso, and Mutuba IV, the home of Kakira Sugar Plantation, had 547 Iteso. This was an increase in both gombololas.

In Bukedi, outside Pallisa and Tororo, Samia Bugwe county had the largest number of Iteso in 1959. There were 9,104 Iteso, 47.9% of all Iteso migrants in the District. Of this number 4370, or nearly 48% were males. West Budama with 6,738 Iteso was the second county

with heavy population of this group, accounting for about 35.4% of all Iteso migrants in the district. The male Iteso were 3,337 or 49.5% of all the Iteso in the county. Budaka Bugwe had 2,813 Iteso or 14.8% of Bukedi's Iteso immigrants, and Bunyole returned the least number of this group of any county, only 356. In the distribution by gombololas, Buteba gombolola of Samia Bugwe with 6,497 Iteso had the highest concentration. This accounted for 71.2% of the Iteso in Samia Bugwe county, and 39.4% of Iteso immigrants in Bukedi. The only explanation for the presence of such a huge number of this group in this gombolola is historical. Being south of Tororo county, Buteba was probably the main route of Iteso edging their way to the Western Region of Kenya. Some of them could have remained behind in this way. Another gombolola with a high number of the Iteso immigrants in Bukedi was Rubongi, West Budama, which had 2,537 members of this group. Then gombololas Iyolwa with 1,805 Iteso, and Kisoko with 1,348 Iteso, both of west Budama; gombololas Bulumbi and Masafu of Samia Bugwe, had 1,278 and 1,041 Iteso respectively.

South Bugisu alone accounted for 2,446 or about 47.3% of the Iteso in Bugisu District;<sup>12</sup> of this number 2,297 or 94% were returned in the two gombololas of Bugobero and Butiru. The presence of Iteso here is again historical. Bugobero alone had 1,507 Iteso migrants, or 61.6% South Bugisu's Iteso population. Central Bugisu accounted for 1,412 or 27.3% of all Iteso immigrants in Bugisu District, North Bugisu returned 858 or 16.6% and Sebei had 472 or 9.1%. Apart from Bugobero county mentioned earlier, no gombolola in Bugisu had an Iteso population of over 1,000. However, Nakoloke gombolola, Central Bugisu, had 843 Iteso or 60% of the county's total number of that group.

Outside the Eastern Province, Buganda had the largest number of Iteso migrants in 1959. In that year 20,556 or 24% of all Iteso migrants in Uganda were registered in Buganda. Of this number,

11,832 or 57.6% Buganda's Iteso migrants were males. East Mengo with 17,140 Iteso or 83.4% of all Buganda Iteso had the highest number of this group. Of this number, 9,523 or 55.6% were males. 1959 Census also returned 3,129 Iteso in West Mengo; this was about 14.7% of all Iteso in Buganda. Of this number, 2,097 or 67% were males. Masaka District had only 250 Iteso, of whom 188 were males, and Mubende returned 37 with 24 being males. Excepting 22 Iteso found scattered in other counties of Masaka, all the Iteso in that district were returned in Buddu county. They were presumably porters on Ganda coffee farms. At county level, Kyaggwe with 7,624 Iteso had the largest number of this group of any county. Alone, Kyaggwe accounted for 37.2% of all Iteso in Buganda, and 44.2% of this tribe in East Mengo. Of this number 4,391 or 58.9% were males. Bugerere followed with 5,678 Iteso, contributing 27.6% of all the Iteso in Buganda and 33.1% in East Mengo. Iteso males were 3,083, or 54.5% of this group in Bugerere. Bulemezi was the third county with the largest concentration of Iteso immigrants in Buganda in 1959, accounting for 3,760 or 18.3% of all Iteso in the province, and 21.9% of this group in East Mengo. Of this number 2,003 or 53.2% were males. Further west, the Iteso immigrant population tended to diminish to the extent that in West Mengo, Masaka and Mubende Districts, only Kyaddondo county had any significant number of this group, accounting for 2,327 or 11.3% of all Iteso in Buganda, and 74.4% of the Iteso in West Mengo. Kyaddondo had preponderance of Iteso male population over female - 1,576 or about 67.7% of Iteso population in the county, and 75.2% of West Mengo's Iteso. Kampala Municipality and Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo) were responsible for this high Iteso population of Kyaddondo. Together they accounted for 1,321 Iteso, or 56.8% of this group in Kyaddondo. Male Iteso formed a high ratio of this number, being 892 or 67.5%. These Iteso worked either in government ministries or industries. Excepting Busiro and Singo which returned 449 and 238 Iteso respectively, other Buganda counties so far unmentioned accounted

for below 50 Iteso each. At the gombolola level, the Iteso were sparingly distributed in Buganda. It is only in Bugerere that gombololas Mumyuka and Musale returned 2,078 and 2,218 Iteso respectively. Sabagabo gombolola of the same county had 1,130 Iteso, Mutuba VI, Bulemezi, 1,683 and Mutuba VI, Kyaggwe, 1974 Iteso. These were the highest figures for Iteso in any gombolola of Kyaggwe and Bulemezi. Even at the time of the census in 1959, there seemed to have been no change in Iteso's attitude towards work in the Lugazi Sugar Plantation. Mutuba VII, the home gombolola of Lugazi had only 380 Iteso as compared, for instance, with 2,797 Rwandans or 2,152 Rundis at the same period. It is probable that the Iteso in Kyaggwe were porters on coffee plantations. The presence of Iteso females in large numbers in the county was due to easy means of communications which encouraged the Iteso to bring their families after the former had found jobs. On the other hand, most of the Iteso in Bugerere and Bulemezi were presumably settled as supported by low male ratios. This would especially be the case in Bugerere, a large part of which was opened up only in the late 1940's, and provided settlement areas for diverse tribal groups. It is assumed that the Iteso scattered in other counties in fewer numbers were there on a temporary basis.

In August 1959 there were 5,091 Iteso in the Northern Province, of whom 2,532 or 49.5% were males. The Iteso migrants in this province accounted for 4.8% of all the Iteso migrants in Uganda. Lango District with 3,724 or 73.1% of the Iteso in the Northern Province returned the largest number of this group in that province. Of this number 1,774 or 47.6% were males. As in 1948, the concentration of Iteso population in Lango were mainly in Moroto and Dokolo counties with 2,121 and 1,347 respectively. In both counties, the ratio of Iteso male population was below half their total number there, being 43.3% in Moroto and 45.4% in Dokolo. Batta gombolola, Dokolo, had 1,261 Iteso, the largest number of any gombolola in Lango; gombolola Olilim, Moroto, returned 757 Iteso; and the census revealed

a total of 56 4 Iteso in Omoro, and 478 in Amugo, both in Moroto county. These Iteso showed signs of permanent settlement. There were 107 Iteso in Lira. Karamoja District had 984 Iteso in 1959 540 of them being males. The concentration was in two counties mainly: 357 in Pian, and 316 in Labwor. The counties of Upe and Matheniko with 119 and 149 respectively. Acholi District had 340 Iteso, of whom 181 or slightly over half lived in Omoro county; and only 43 Iteso were found in West Nile and Madi District. The number of Iteso was small in the Western Province - only 327, of this number 220 or 67% were males.

The Iteso migrants in Uganda as revealed by the 1959 Census were predominantly rural. The two urban areas of Kampala (including Mengo) and Jinja accounted for 2,123, or 2.5% of all Iteso migrants. Another important characteristic of the Iteso was that more than any other migrant group so far studied, they migrated quite often with their families. Thus the high preponderance of male migrants that characterised other migrant groups in Uganda over the same period, was not found among the Iteso away from their areas of origins. This is perhaps a sign that the Iteso were permanently or semi-permanently settled in areas of immigration.

The Iteso in part of what Ogot calls "the ancient migration corridor" <sup>13</sup> between Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda needs a special consideration. This is the area that comprises the counties of Tororo, West Budama and Samia Bugwe. The Iteso first settled in Budama, of which Tororo formed part then, in about 1810-1840, <sup>14</sup> but the hostilities of the Padhola, who were owners of the land, drove some of them further south. In about 1840-1880 <sup>15</sup> the first Iteso crossed River Malawa and settled in what is now Samia-Bugwe county. Again the Samia and Bagwe resented the presence of the Iteso among them. Some Iteso were forced to retreat northwards towards Tororo in reverse migration; but others remained in Samia-Bugwe. The Iteso among the Padhola, Samia and Bagwe attached themselves to clans of

these tribes. Some were even adopted by, and grafted onto these clans, especially among the Padhola.<sup>16</sup> This remained the situation till the establishment of the British administration in Uganda, when Ateso tribal consciousness was aroused and they exerted themselves as a separate group. The Iteso in Samia-Bugwe in 1959 could not, therefore, be called migrants in the sense that the Rwandans or Lugbara were migrants in Uganda in 1959, since some of the Iteso clans have lived in the area for over a century. Thus the Iteso in Samia-Bugwe were just as permanently settled there as their kith and kin in Tororo, Pallisa, and even in Teso District.



## NOTES

1. The Kenya Population Census of 1962 revealed that there were 41,121 Iteso in Western Kenya. These are Kenya citizens.
2. Ogot, B.A. History of the Southern Luo, Vol.I, Migration and Settlement; East African Publishing House (1967), p.113.
3. Uganda Protectorate, Report of the Commission of Inquiry In the Management of the Teso District Council, Government Printer, Entebbe (1958), p.2.
4. Lawrance, J.C.D. The Iteso, Oxford University Press, London (1957), p.21.
5. Lawrance, J:C.D. op.cit., p.25.
6. Teso District, Annual Report of Eastern Province, 1916/17.
7. Uganda Provincial Commissioner's Annual Report, 1939-46, p.42.
8. This information was given by Ateso students in Makerere University College.
9. Uganda Provincial Commissioner's Annual Report, op.cit., p.38.
10. Uganda Protectorate, Report on The Enumeration of African Labour, March 1949; East African Statistical Department (1949), Appendix I, Table II.
11. Geographical and Tribal Studies - Statistical Department, East Africa, Nairobi, 1948.
12. Iteso desire to be incorporated with Bukedea county in 1960.
13. Ogot, B.A., op.cit., p.114.
14. Ogot, B.A., op.cit., p.116.
15. \_\_\_\_\_ op.cit., p.118.
16. Southall, A.W. Padhola, E.A.I.S.R., Conference Paper, 1957.

DISTRIBUTION OF GWERE, NYULI AND SAMIA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE BUKEDI DISTRICT

Background to Emigration

Bukedi District is the home of a "heterogeneous polyglot community", which was generally known as "Bakedi" <sup>1</sup> at the beginning of the British Administration. The group includes the Iteso, mainly in Pallisa and Tororo counties; the Gwere largely in Budaka-Bugwere county, but with a large number in Pallisa; the Nyuli in Bunyole county; the Jopadhola, or Dama, mainly in west Budama, but with some in Tororo county; and the Samia and Gwe in Samia-Bugwe county. In addition there are insignificant groups like the Kenyi and the Hehe. The latter are slowly being absorbed by the neighbouring tribes of Samia and Gwe. The 1959 Uganda Population Census shows that large proportions of these tribes of Bukedi were living elsewhere in Uganda. But this analysis will concern itself with the Bantu groups of Gwere, Nyuli and Samia. The Gwe, who are also a Bantu people, are dealt with in a section devoted to the minor groups because few of them appeared as migrants in 1959. The Nilo-Hamitic Iteso are treated with the Iteso of Teso District; and the Nilotic Jopadhola are analysed separately. Some of the motives of the emigration of the Gwere, Nyuli and Samia could be found by examining the ecology of Bukedi District.

The District of Bukedi is a flat plain, 4,000 feet in height, and rises towards Mount Elgon. Annual rainfall varies from 45 inches north of Mbale to over 60 inches south of Tororo, and it is experienced between the end of March or early April to November, with dry season intervening from December to February. In general the soils are of low productivity. The productive capacity of the soil had been further worsened by erosion and soil exhaustion. Crops grown include banana, finger-millet, simsim, groundnuts, cassava and sweet-potatoes. The main cash crops are cotton and coffee. Fairly large numbers of cattle, sheep and goats are found in the district. In 1958, a little below 60% of the land was utilised

for crops cultivation. About 20% to 30% of the cultivable area was under cotton. There was more land cultivated in the northern part of the district than in the south. In 1959 Bukedi District had a total population of 400,441, or 254 persons per a square mile. This made it the second heaviest settled district in Uganda to Kigezi, but an area with much poorer soils. It is clear that there was population pressure on the land, resulting in population movement out of the district. Besides the high population density, there have not been large industries in the district to provide employment opportunities for the surplus population. A small industrial complex has developed at Tororo, following the opening of a cement works in 1953. But the temptation to migrate to other districts of Uganda was still difficult to overcome. Another reason that probably encouraged the outflow of the people of Bukedi to other areas of Uganda, is the easy means of communications with the main areas of immigration - Busoga and Mengo Districts. Railway lines and main roads, used by public transport, pass through the district on their way to central Uganda. The rate of emigration is believed to have been <sup>higher</sup> during periods of food shortage in Bukedi than in years of relative prosperity.<sup>2</sup> Emigration from the district was probably responsible for the small intercensal increase (1948-1959) of only 68,000 or 1.8%. This would be especially the case in the northern part of Bukedi than in the south.

#### GWERE MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI.

The Gwere live in Budaka-Bugwere and Pallisa counties of Bukedi District. The history of this area, being one of the most intensively cultivated and settled parts of the district goes as far back as 1935/36 when Maidment carried out a survey there.<sup>3</sup> He found that in the cultivable areas of Bwase and Kachumbala mitala, Budaka-Bugwere, had densities of 464 and 228 persons per a square mile respectively. Both areas were classified as overcrowded at that time. This population pressure was not confined to Bwase and Kachumbala, it affected the whole of the county and was largely responsible for the outflow of the Gwere to other districts of Uganda where economic opportunities were better.

DISTRIBUTION OF GWERE IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI

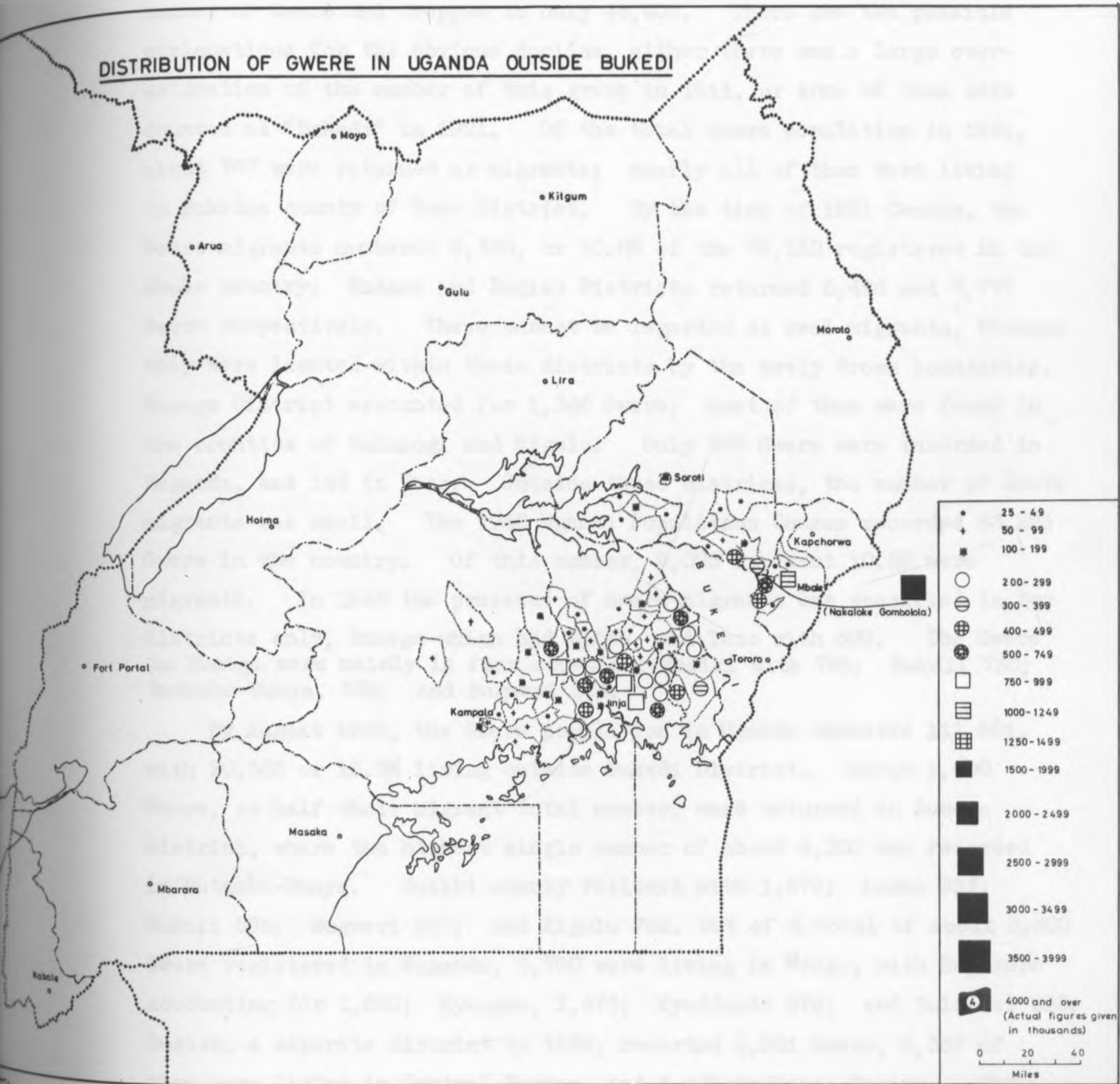


FIG. 18

In 1911, the Uganda population count returned 59,372 Gwere in the whole county. All of them were in Bukedi District. In 1921, the number of Gwere had dropped to only 44,405. There are two possible explanations for the obvious decline, either there was a large over-estimation of the number of this group in 1911, or some of them were counted as "Bakedi" in 1921. Of the total Gwere population in 1921, about 767 were returned as migrants; nearly all of them were living in Bukedea county of Teso District. By the time of 1931 Census, the Gwere migrants numbered 8,380, or 10.6% of the 79,250 registered in the whole country. Budama and Bugisu Districts returned 3,426 and 2,775 Gwere respectively. These cannot be regarded as real migrants, because they were located within these districts by the newly drawn boundaries. Busoga District accounted for 1,346 Gwere; most of them were found in the counties of Bulamogi and Kigulu. Only 258 Gwere were recorded in Buganda, and 145 in Teso. Outside these districts, the number of Gwere migrants was small. The 1948 Uganda Population Census recorded 83,223 Gwere in the country. Of this number, 9,025 or about 10.8% were migrants. In 1948 the presence of Gwere migrants was specified in two districts only, Busoga which had 2,545, and Teso with 389. The Gwere in Busoga were mainly in four counties, Busiki with 795; Bukoli 730; Butembe-Bunya, 536; and Bugweri 284.

By August 1959, the Gwere population in Uganda numbered 111,681, with 20,383 or 18.3% living outside Bukedi District. About 1,000 Gwere, or half their migrant total number, were returned in Busoga District, where the highest single number of about 4,200 was recorded in Butembe-Bunya. Busiki county followed with 1,572; Luuka 917; Bukoli 898; Bugweri 817; and Kigulu 762. Out of a total of about 3,800 Gwere registered in Buganda, 3,760 were living in Mengo, with Bugerere accounting for 1,682; Kyaggwe, 1,473; Kyaddondo 276; and Bulemezi 220. Bugisu, a separate district by 1959, recorded 4,501 Gwere, 3,337 of whom were living in Central Bugisu, and 1,102 in North Bugisu. The Township of Mbale registered 547 Gwere, and Teso District 1,525; Bukedea county returned 884 Gwere. There were only 32 Gwere in the Northern Province, and 17 in the Western Province. The distribution of

Gwere migrants at gombolola level in 1959, as shown by the map, was mainly in the districts of Busoga, Mengo and Bugisu. The Gwere in Bugisu and Mbale were probably located in that area by the boundaries that separated Bukedi and Bugisu Districts in 1954. Nakaloke gombolola registered 2,788 Gwere in 1959, to return the highest figures of this group in any gombolola outside Bukedi District. It is likely also that the Gwere in Busiki county, Busoga, were part of a spill-over population from Bukedi District. This is similarly the case with Gwere in Bukedea county, Teso. The Gwere migrants were mostly found in southern Busoga and East Mengo. The Gwere in these two areas were a settled people, although there might have been few working in Jinja and Kakira Sugar Plantation who still had the intention of returning to Bukedi District. The Gwere population was very small in towns in areas of migration. Only 189 of them were registered in Jinja; 47 in Kakira; Greater Kampala had 222; and Lugazi only 29. In 1959, there was a very low male ratio among the Gwere migrants, being 50.3% of the total. This suggests a permanent settlement by the group.

#### NYULI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI.

The Nyuli are found in Bunyole county, Bukedi District. In 1911 they numbered 33,192, and they were all in their home district. By 1921, of the 34,393 Nyuli registered in the whole of Uganda, 1,837 were living away from Bukedi District. Nearly all of them were in Bukoli county Busoga. These Nyuli migrants had already settled, judging by their sex composition. Bukoli was less settled earlier by the Soga because it was tsetse infested. The abundance of land was possibly the reason why it was an attraction to the Nyuli and other tribes of Bukedi District. By the time of the 1931 Uganda Population Census, Bukedi District was split up into three districts, Budama, Bugwere and Bugisu. The Nyuli, as a result, were split by the newly drawn boundaries. About 5,000 Nyuli were living in Bugwere District, and 500 in Bugisu. These could not be regarded as migrants. In 1931 the number of Nyuli migrants in Busoga had risen to 4,561. Bukoli alone accounted for 3,376 Nyuli.

DISTRIBUTION OF NYULI MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI

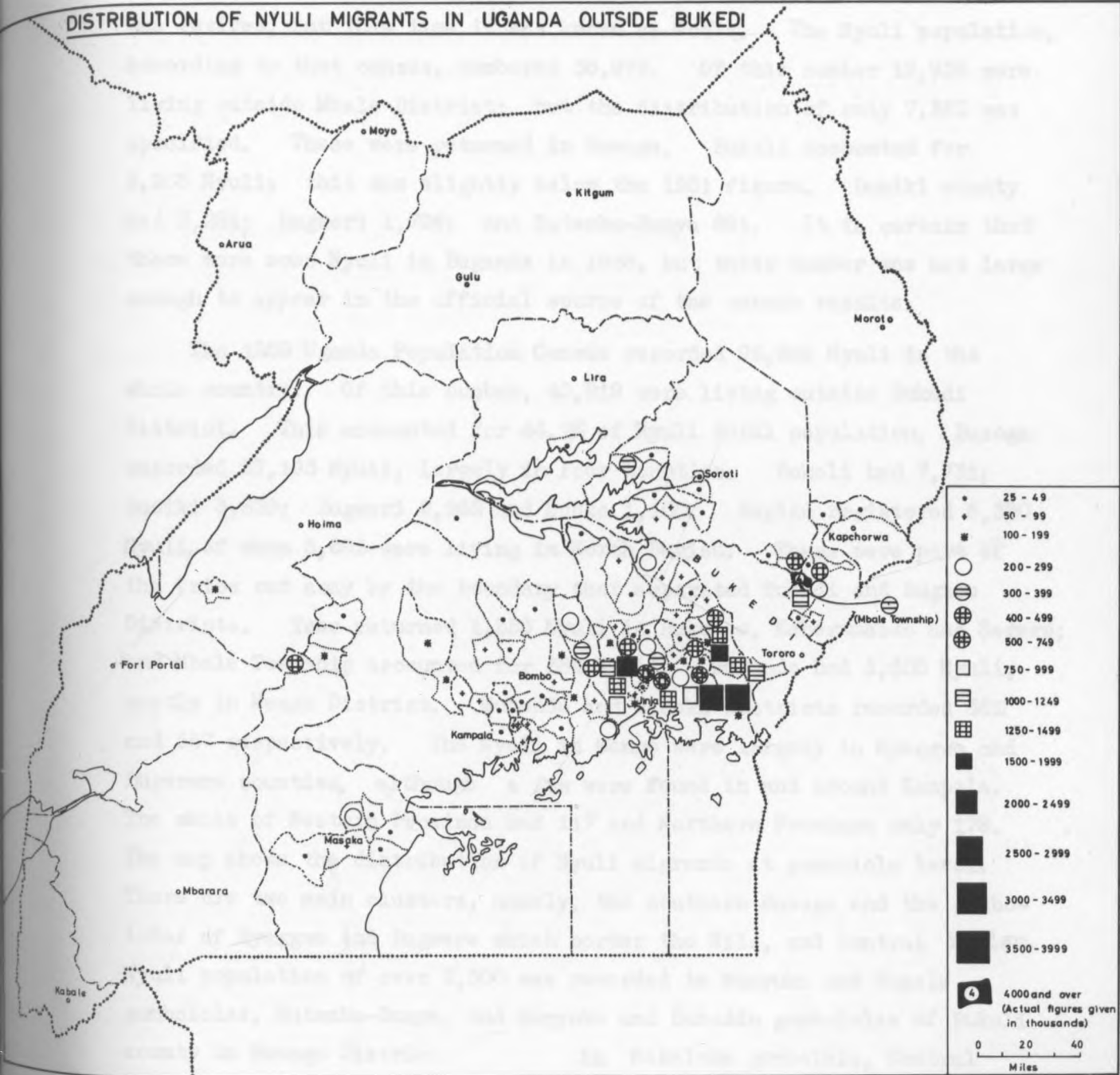


FIG. 19

The rest were registered in Bugweri, Kigulu and Bugabula counties. Buganda had only 102, and elsewhere the number of Nyuli was negligible. In 1948, when the Uganda Population Census took place, Bukedi District was revived, but this time it was known as Mbale. The Nyuli population, according to that census, numbered 56,975. Of this number 12,939 were living outside Mbale District; but the distribution of only 7,382 was specified. These were returned in Busoga. Bukoli accounted for 3,305 Nyuli; this was slightly below the 1931 figure. Busiki county had 2,281; Bugweri 1,796; and Butembe-Bunya 891. It is certain that there were some Nyuli in Buganda in 1948, but their number was not large enough to appear in the official source of the census results.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census recorded 92,642 Nyuli in the whole country. Of this number, 40,819 were living outside Bukedi District. This accounted for 44.1% of Nyuli total population. Busoga recorded 27,193 Nyuli, largely in four counties. Bukoli had 7,731; Busiki 3,829; Bugweri 2,262 and Luuka 1,100. Bugisu registered 6,390 Nyuli, of whom 5,693 were living in North Bugisu. These were part of the tribe cut away by the boundary that separated Bukedi and Bugisu Districts. Teso returned 1,355 Nyuli in Bukedea, Kaberamaido and Serere; and Mbale Township accounted for 384 Nyuli. Buganda had 5,305 Nyuli, mostly in Mengo District. Mubende and Masaka Districts recorded 681 and 587 respectively. The Nyuli in Mengo were largely in Kyaggwe and Bugerere counties, although a few were found in and around Kampala. The whole of Western Province had 117 and Northern Province only 178. The map shows the distribution of Nyuli migrants at gombolola level. There are two main clusters, namely, the southern Busoga and the gombololas of Kyaggwe and Bugwere which border the Nile, and Central Bugisu. Nyuli population of over 2,500 was recorded in Mumyuka and Musale gombololas, Butembe-Bunya, and Mumyuka and Sabaddu gombololas of Bukoli county in Busoga District. In Nakaloke gombolola, Central Bugisu, 4,359 Nyuli were returned. The Nyuli were not found in large numbers in towns like Kampala and Jinja, although they were registered in relatively larger numbers in Mubende Township, around Masaka, and in Kaberamaido. Most of the Nyuli migrants were engaged in agriculture



but those along the shore of Lake Victoria might have been engaged in fishing. In 1959 the Nyuli living in Busoga District were a settled people, judging by the low male/female ratio (50.1 : 49.9). But elsewhere, they appeared to have been still largely labour migrants. Among the Nyuli migrants in Uganda the females accounted for 30.3% of the total.

#### SAMIA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI.

The Samia live in Samia-Bugwe county, Bukedi District, though part of the tribe is found across the boundary in Kenya. The Samia are an agricultural and a fishing people; they grow maize for food and cotton as cash crop. There is a long history of migration among the Samia. It was prompted by lack of economic opportunities in their area and land pressure. Where there was relative prosperity, for instance, along the shores of Lake Victoria, resulting mainly from fishing, the amount of emigration has been lower.

The Samia do not appear in the records of 1911 Uganda population estimate. It is likely that they were returned as Bakedi, who numbered about 50,000 in that year. In 1921, there were 6,704 Samia registered in the whole of Uganda. All of them were in Bukedi District. By 1931 the Samia totalled 26,938 in Uganda. This high increase was perhaps due to grouping the smaller neighbouring tribes with the Samia. Nearly 2,000 Samia were living outside Budama District. Of this number 1,890 were returned in Bukoli county, Busoga; the rest were scattered elsewhere, mainly in Busoga and Bugisu. Bukoli accounted for many Samia because it was relatively less settled by the Soga, and the Samia were either spill-over population or genuine migrants. The 1948 Uganda Population Census does not give the total number of Samia for the whole country, because they were treated as a minor group. In Mbale District 34,657 Samia were registered, but this figure included the Gwe and Hehe. It is, therefore, difficult to get the Samia population for 1948. Outside Mbale District 3,183 Samia were returned in Busoga; about 2,550 of them were accounted for in Bukoli, and the rest in Jinja Township.

**DISTRIBUTION OF SAMIA IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUKEDI DISTRICT**

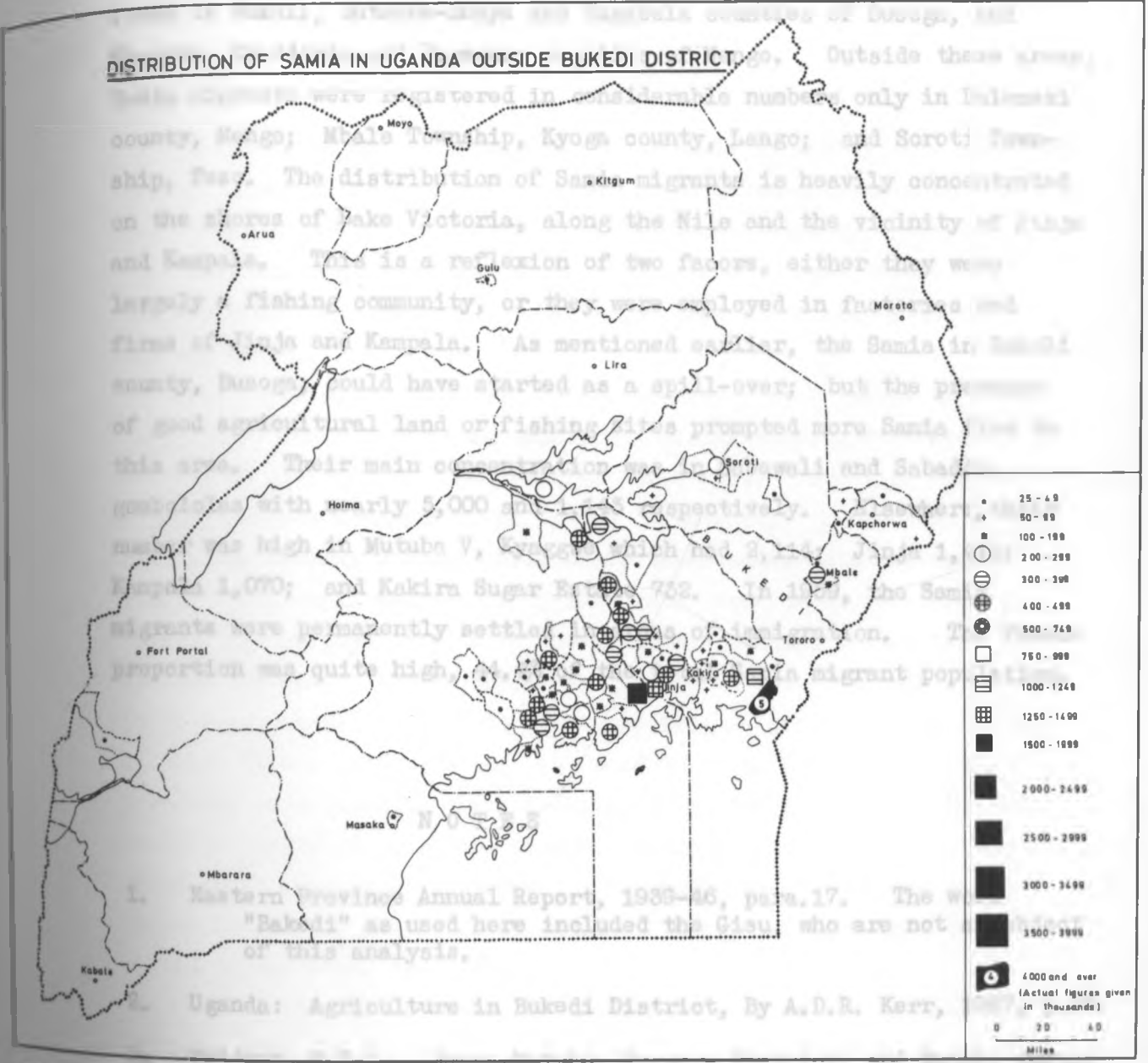


FIG. 20

of Kachumbala, in J.D. Tothill, a report on intensive surveys  
 done in small agricultural areas in Uganda with a view to  
 determining the position with regard to soil deterioration,  
 Uganda Government Printer, 1959, pp. 127-128.

In 1959 of the 47,759 Samia registered in Uganda, 24,596 or 51.5% were living outside Bukedi District. These Samia migrants were largely found in Bukoli, Butembe-Bunya and Bugabula counties of Busoga, and Kyaggwe, Kyaddondo and Bugerere counties of Mengo. Outside these areas, Samia migrants were registered in considerable numbers only in Bulemezi county, Mengo; Mbale Township, Kyoga county, Lango; and Soroti Township, Teso. The distribution of Samia migrants is heavily concentrated on the shores of Lake Victoria, along the Nile and the vicinity of Jinja and Kampala. This is a reflexion of two factors, either they were largely a fishing community, or they were employed in factories and firms of Jinja and Kampala. As mentioned earlier, the Samia in Bukoli county, Busoga, could have started as a spill-over; but the presence of good agricultural land or fishing sites prompted more Samia flow to this area. Their main concentration was in Sabawali and Sabaddu gombololas with nearly 5,000 and 1,143 respectively. Elsewhere, their number was high in Mutuba V, Kyaggwe which had 2,114; Jinja 1,415; Kampala 1,070; and Kakira Sugar Estate 732. In 1959, the Samia migrants were permanently settled in areas of immigration. The female proportion was quite high, 44.4% of the total Samia migrant population.

#### N O T E S

1. Eastern Province Annual Report, 1939-46, para.17. The word "Bakedi" as used here included the Gisu, who are not a subject of this analysis.
2. Uganda: Agriculture in Bukedi District, By A.D.R. Kerr, 1967, p.29.
3. Maident, W.T.O. Bwase Mutala, Bugwere District, and Mutala survey of Kachumbala, in J.D. Tothill, a report on nineteen surveys done in small agricultural areas in Uganda with a view to ascertaining the position with regard to soil deterioration, Uganda Government Printer, 1938, pp.167-187.

DISTRIBUTION OF JOPADHOLA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE BUKEDI DISTRICT

The Jopadhola, sometimes known as Padhola or Budama, are a Nilotic tribe. They settled in their present area between the first half of the sixteenth century and the end of nineteenth century, emigrating from what are now Acholi and Lango Districts.<sup>1</sup> Ogot thinks that the Jopadhola were part of the Luo group that eventually settled in western Kenya.

The Jopadhola mainly live in the county of west Budama of Bukedi District. Their land is an undulating plain, sloping from east to west at an altitude of 3,600 feet to 4,000 feet. The rise becomes steeper towards Mountain Elgon in the north-east. The county is drained by several streams which carry their water into Mpologoma swamp. Jopadhola country is divided into three parts ecologically, namely, the western area, with low altitude and high fertility. It is also forested; the southern part, known to the Jopadhola as "Mawele". It is less watered, and parts of it are tsetse-infested. As a result of this, it was late settled; the eastern part, or "Yo Woko", (in the direction of outside) to the Jopadhola, with higher altitude, but less fertile. Formerly a cattle people, the Jopadhola favoured settlement where their animals would thrive. Naturally they chose the western region in spite of its being forested. It is from here that they spread to the other two areas.

Annual rainfall averages 55 inches, falling mainly between April and October. In 1958 only about 45% of land was under cultivation. Of this cultivated land, cotton claimed about 15% to 20%. The rest was used for other crops, especially cassava and finger millet. Cotton appears to be the main crop that could provide cash to the Jopadhola in their country. It seems, therefore, that their emigration from their homeland has been encouraged by lack of economic opportunities there.

In the first population estimate of Uganda in 1911, there were about 57,438 Jopadhola in the protectorate; but all of them were in their home district of Bukedi. In 1921, there were 52,821 Jopadhola returned for the whole of Uganda. According to the count of that year, only 280 members of this group were away from their home district. Of this small migrant population, 262 were in Busoga District - 96 in Luuka county; Bugweri had 76; Bukoli 60; and Bugabula 21. The 1921 census shows a drop in Jopadhola population below that of 1911 by 4,617. Between the same dates the Jopadhola male population was reduced by 9,137. The possible explanation is that, most of Jopadhola migrants in Uganda were registered as Bakedi. The figures support this point. The people recorded as Bakedi showed an intercensal increase of 13,383 or 26.5%. Male population alone rose by 10,733 or 52.2%. The Jopadhola almost certainly must have contributed to this steep rise.<sup>2</sup>

In 1931 there was an overall drop again in the Jopadhola total population by about 3,138 below the 1921 figure. This is in spite of the fact that in 1931 the Bakedi were not returned as a tribal group. Inaccuracies could have been partially responsible for this large fall in the Jopadhola population. The 1931 Uganda Population Census, however, shows that about 7,894 of the Jopadhola were outside their home district in that year. Of this number, 4,549 or about 57.6% were males. Buganda returned the largest number of this migrant population of all the provinces - accounting for about 4,000 of them. Jopadhola male migrants in this province were proportionally more than the females, being 2,574 or 64.3% of the total. Most of these migrants were returned in Kyaggwe county, which had nearly 3,000. Lugazi Sugar Estate and coffee plantations were probably responsible for the presence of Jopadhola in this county. Bulemezi county recorded the next highest figure in the province - 755, of whom 530

were males. The rest were mainly in three counties: Kyeddondo 160; Busiro 85; and Mawokota 77. Outside Bukedi District in the Eastern Province, both Busoga and Bugisu Districts returned a total of 3,769 Jopadhola migrants. The latter district had 2,170; nearly all of them were found in south Bugisu county. These probably had settled permanently since the ratio of males to females was like that for the tribe in the whole of Uganda in that year, that is 100 to 106<sup>3</sup>. There were about 1,600 Jopadhola migrants in Busoga District in 1931, and nearly half of them came from Bugweri county which returned 767. Bugweri shares the boundary with west Budama, and Jopadhola there could have been an over flow from the latter county. The rest were distributed in four counties: Bukoli with 338; Kigulu 263; Bunya 117; and Luuka 114.

The distribution of Jopadhola migrants in 1948 closely resembled that of 1931. In 1948, of the 73,037 Jopadhola returned in the census, 16,332 or 22.4% were away from their home district. This is much higher than the 16% of 1931. About 9,078, or 55.5% of Jopadhola migrants in 1948 were males. All the Badama in Buganda were found in the county of Kyaggwe alone which had 6,784 members of this group in that year. Sabawali gombolola, close to Lake Victoria, returned 2,153 of them. This was the largest number of any gombolola, and was 10% of the total population of Sabawali. Gombolola Mutuba VI recorded 1,422 Jopadhola; Mutuba V 998; Sabagabo 988; Mutuba II 653; and Musale 570. The source of this data does not record any figures for Mutuba VII, the home of Lugazi Sugar Plantation. It is likely that the number was not large enough. Apart from Kyaggwe, no county in Buganda had Jopadhola migrants worth recording. The next largest concentration of Jopadhola migrants in 1948 was in Busoga District, which registered 2,272 of this group. Except for 924 of them found in Mumyuka, Bukoli county, all the Jopadhola recorded in Busoga were in Bugweri county. The number of Jopadhola in both counties rose

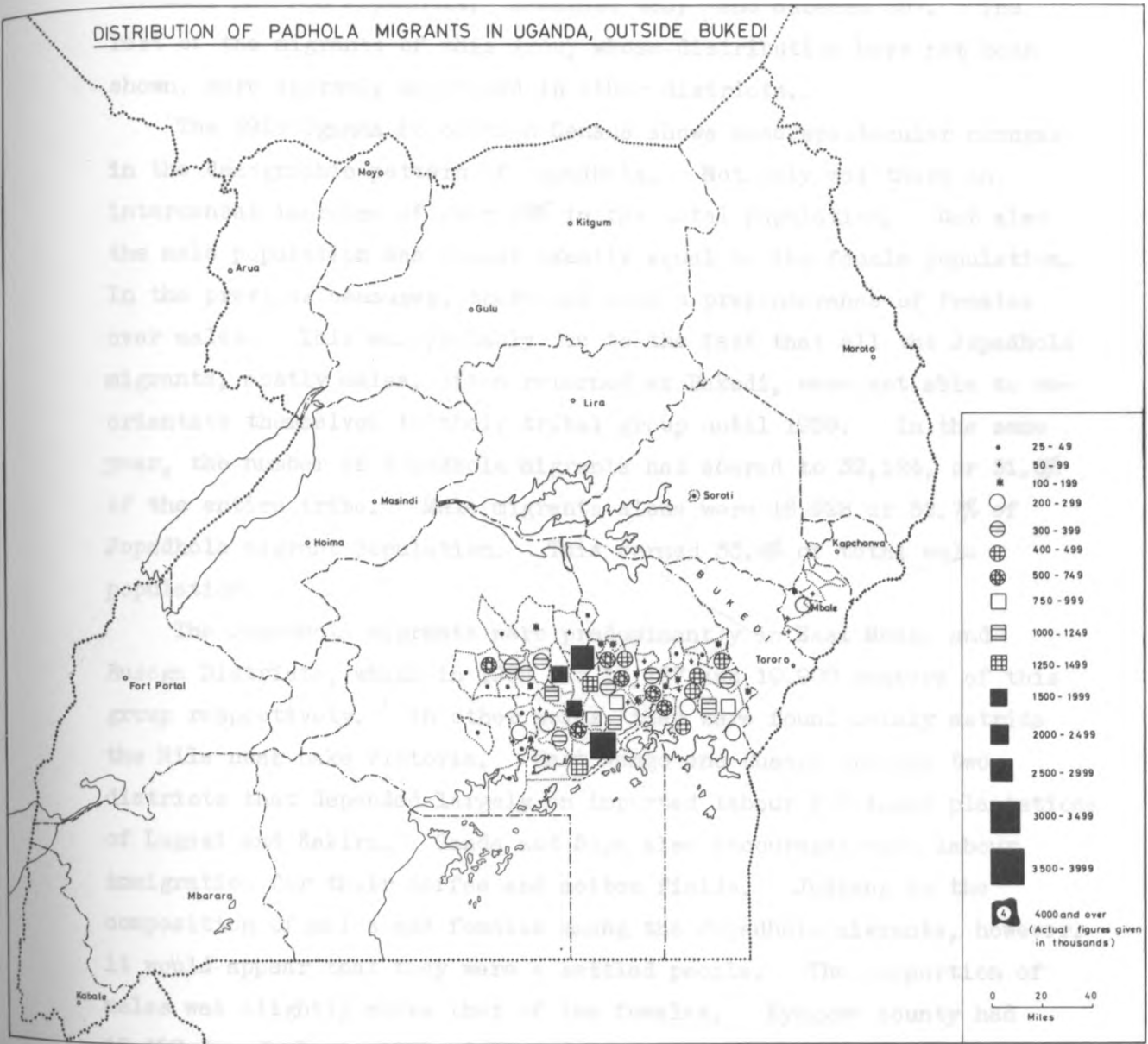


FIG. 21

considerably between the two dates of census. In Bugweri county, Sabawali had 500 Jopadhola; Sabagabo 485; and Sabaddu 357. The rest of the migrants of this group whose distribution have not been shown, were sparsely scattered in other districts.

The 1959 Uganda Population Census shows some spectacular changes in the demographic pattern of Jopadhola. Not only was there an intercensal increase of over 28% in the total population, but also the male population was almost exactly equal to the female population. In the previous censuses, there had been a preponderance of females over males. This was probably due to the fact that all the Jopadhola migrants, mostly males, often returned as Bakedi, were not able to re-orientate themselves to their tribal group until 1959. In the same year, the number of Jopadhola migrants had soared to 32,124, or 31.6% of the entire tribe. Male migrants alone were 16,928 or 52.7% of Jopadhola migrant population. This formed 33.4% of total male population.

The Jopadhola migrants were predominantly in East Mengo and Busoga Districts, which in 1959 had 19,167 and 10,900 members of this group respectively. In other words, they were found mainly astride the Nile near Lake Victoria. East Mengo and Busoga are the two districts that depended largely on imported labour for sugar plantations of Lugazi and Kakira. Ganda and Soga also encouraged such labour immigration for their coffee and cotton fields. Judging by the composition of males and females among the Jopadhola migrants, however, it would appear that they were a settled people. The proportion of males was slightly above that of the females. Kyaggwe county had 12,492 Jopadhola in 1959, followed by Bugerere with 4,537, and Bulemezi with 2,099. In Busoga District, the county of Butembe-Bunya had 3,824 Jopadhola. Jinja Township and Kakira Sugar Plantation which would be expected to employ members of this group, returned only 289 and 100 of them respectively. It seems to have been a general



characteristic of the Jopadhola that they preferred self-employment. There were only 541 of them in Lugazi Sugar Plantation during the same period. Elsewhere in Busoga, Jopadhola were returned in relatively large numbers in Bukoli with 2,641; Bugabula 1,550; and Bugweri 1,185. Those registered in Mbale Township, were the single largest group outside East Mengo and Busoga Districts.

In 1959, the Jopadhola were almost entirely rural migrants. The 819 of them registered in Kampala, Jinja and Mbale, formed a very small percentage of their migrant population. Their rate of migration was alarmingly high, and as a Luo group, it is easy to agree with Ogot that the Jopadhola still have some traces of "migratory vein".<sup>4</sup> Economic explanation of their migration apart, such movement could be an unconscious continuation of the Luo migratory tradition.

#### N O T E S

1. Ogot, B.A. - History of the Southern Luo, Vol.I. (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967) p.66.
2. Bakedi were not one tribal group but only "a term used to describe travellers from the Eastern Province such as the Dama (Jopadhola), the Gishu and kindred tribes." Audrey I. Richards: (Economic Development and Tribal Change, Heffer, Cambridge, 1957) p.2.
3. The Jopadhola spilt-over into Bugisu District seems to be long outstanding, and could have been enhanced by the fact that Bukedi and Bugisu were one district until 1954. Most of the area of South Bugisu county, where the Jopadhola were returned in 1959, was disputed between Bukedi and Bugisu on account of the fact that both "Kedi" and Gisu were predominant there. In 1962 a Commission appointed to review the boundary between the Districts of Bugisu and Bukedi reported that the tribes in the area were so confused "that no exact tribal division could not be made." (Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Boundary between the Districts of Bugisu and Bukedi. Uganda Government, (1962) p.9)
4. Ogot, B.A. (1967) op.cit. p.239.

## DISTRIBUTION OF GISU MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUGISU DISTRICT

The Gisu are a Bantu people living in Bugisu District on the western slopes of Mount Elgon. Bugisu borders Bukedi District to the west. In 1959 the Gisu numbered 329,257 in Uganda; but of this figure, 37,682 or 11.4% were living outside their home area - mainly in Busoga and eastern Mengo. The Gisu are believed to have appeared as labour migrants in Buganda in 1919 - and possibly earlier in Busoga. But by 1959 the Gisu migrant population in Uganda were a settled people; their low male/female ratio, 50.7:49.3, was a clear indication of this fact.

Formerly the Gisu lived on the slopes of Mountain Elgon; but after the advent of British Administration and subsequent peace, the Gisu expanded their settlements to the plains west of the mountain. Thus they occupy an area extending from 4,000 feet to 8,000 feet above sea-level. The main occupation of the Gisu is agriculture; but they keep some cattle. Rainfall in the area is lower at the foot of the mountain - about 45 inches - but rises to about 55 inches on the slopes of Mountain Elgon. Rainfall is experienced in two periods, March to June and September to October, with dry seasons in the intervening months. Bugisu has fertile volcanic soils capable of yielding good banana, millet, beans, peas, maize, groundnuts and yams. Most of the hill slopes are fully occupied with banana plots, and bananas are the main food. Coffee is grown for cash on the slopes of Mount Elgon, and cotton on the plains. After a review of the ecological set-up of the area, the picture one gets is that Bugisu could have contained its population satisfactorily. But this did not happen because of land pressure. In 1959 Bugisu had a density of 327 persons per a square mile, to be the most densely populated district of Uganda.<sup>1</sup> The population density was higher on the slopes of Mount Elgon than on the lower area, and two administrative sub-counties had densities of 1,000 per a square mile.

Land pressure was therefore mainly responsible for Gisu emigration. Another reason, believed to have contributed to many Gisu leaving their home area, is connected with the rite of circumcision. The Gisu practise male circumcision. If a man misses being circumcised, and his son is circumcised afterwards, the traditional practice is that he flees his home to settle elsewhere. The number of dissidents would be expected to be high with increasing Western influence among the Gisu; this would in turn swell the number of Gisu emigrants. Land pressure often generates disagreements among members of the community. It is probable that some Gisu migrants left Bugisu as a result of such quarrels.

The first Uganda population estimate, carried out in 1911, returned about 138,600 Gisu in the country. Of this number, only 80, mostly males, were living outside Bukedi District, then the home district of the Gisu. Except for 16 of them recorded in Busoga District, all of them were in Buganda. In 1921 out of 141,121 Gisu registered in the whole of Uganda, 735 were living outside Bukedi District. The small intercensal increase among the Gisu was probably due to the fact that more Gisu were returned as "Bakedi" in 1921, or the Sebei counted separately in 1921 were grouped with the Gisu in 1911. Of the Gisu migrants in 1921, 373 were counted in Busoga District and 362 in Teso. It is possible that there were Gisu migrants in Buganda in that year, but they were returned as "Bakedi". By the time of <sup>the</sup> 1931 Uganda Population Census, Bukedi was split up into three separate districts - Bugwere, Budama and Bugisu. The Gisu population returned in Bugwere and Budama Districts in 1931 would not be migrants in the normal sense of the word. In 1931, however, of the 174,776 Gisu recorded in Uganda, 18,674 or about 17% were living in districts other than Bugisu; Bugwere District accounted for 4,712 Gisu, of whom 3,158 lived in Mbale county; and Budama District had 2,104. Busoga District returned 1,577 Gisu in the same year. Buganda had 9,137, mainly in Mengo, where Kyaggwe county alone registered 7,383 Gisu; most of them were probably working as porters on Ganda farms, or were engaged by the Lugazi Sugar Estate.

DISTRIBUTION OF GISU MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUGISU

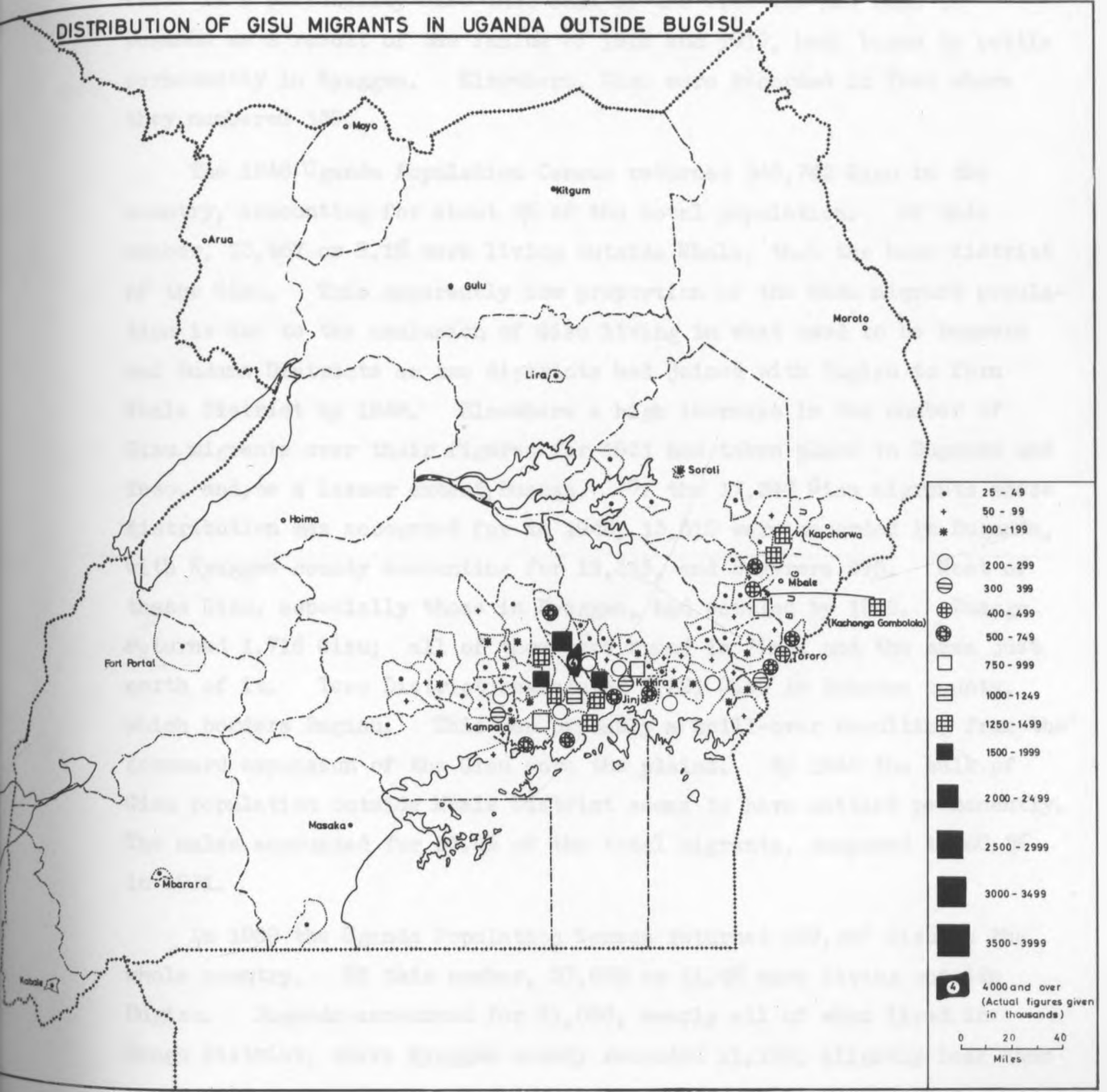


FIG. 22

There is a possibility also that some of the Gisu who had come to Buganda as a result of the famine of 1916 and 1919, had begun to settle permanently in Kyaggwe. Elsewhere, Gisu were recorded in Teso where they numbered 139.

The 1948 Uganda Population Census returned 243,742 Gisu in the country, accounting for about 5% of the total population. Of this number, 23,467 or 9.1% were living outside Mbale, then the home district of the Gisu. This apparently low proportion of the Gisu migrant population is due to the exclusion of Gisu living in what used to be Bugwere and Budama Districts as two districts had joined with Bugisu to form Mbale District by 1948. Elsewhere a high increase in the number of Gisu migrants over their figures for 1931 had taken place in Buganda and Teso, and, to a lesser extent, Busoga. Of the 17,347 Gisu migrants whose distribution was accounted for in 1948, 13,310 were recorded in Buganda, with Kyaggwe county accounting for 12,315, and Bugerere 995. Most of these Gisu, especially those in Kyaggwe, had settled by 1948. Busoga returned 1,716 Gisu; all of them were found in Jinja and the area just north of it. Teso District registered 2,321 Gisu in Bukedea county, which borders Bugisu. This was probably a spill-over resulting from the downward expansion of the Gisu onto the plains. By 1948 the bulk of Gisu population outside Mbale District seems to have settled permanently. The males accounted for 53.4% of the total migrants, compared to 60.3% in 1931.

In 1959 the Uganda Population Census returned 329,257 Gisu in the whole country. Of this number, 37,682 or 11.4% were living outside Bugisu. Buganda accounted for 21,086, nearly all of whom lived in Mengo District, where Kyaggwe county recorded 11,120, slightly less than

for 1948. This might have been due to some Gisu identifying themselves with the Ganda, or some may have moved out to Bugerere county which had 7,078 members of this group in 1959 - a marked increase over the figure for 1948. The Gisu were the third largest group in Bugerere after Ganda and Soga. Kyaddondo returned 1,246 Gisu, and Bulemezi 836. Of the 6,802 Gisu living in Busoga in 1959, about 5,00 were found in Butembe-Bunya county, and 711 in Bukoli. The rest were scattered in other counties of the district. Bukedi District accounted for 6,197 Gisu, where Bunyole county had 2,233; Tororo 1,631; Pallisa 813; and Budaka 617. Teso District registered 3,321 Gisu, of whom 2,884 were living in Bukedea county. Only 154 Gisu were found in the Western Province in 1959, and 124 in the Northern Province.

The map shows the distribution pattern of Gisu migrants by gombololas in 1959. The main cluster was close to the banks of the Victoria Nile in the counties of Kyaggwe and Bugerere in Mengo, and Butembe-Bunya, Busoga. Musale gombolola, Bugerere had 4,369 Gisu, the largest number of this group in a gombolola outside Bugisu. Another area of concentration was found along the Uganda-Kenya border, in the counties of Tororo and Samia-Bugwe. The third belt of high Gisu migrant population was at the border of Bukedi and Teso with Bugisu. Outside these three areas, there were few Gisu migrants scattered in Uganda significantly around Kampala and in the Eastern Province. The Gisu were permanently settled in other parts of Uganda in 1959. Most of them were in the rural areas where they had taken up land. The industrial centres seemed to have less attraction for the Gisu; the Greater Kampala area had only 710; Jinja 681; Kakira and Lugazi Sugar works 303 and 339 respectively. It is possible that by 1959 some Gisu who had stayed in Buganda for a long time might have been registered as Ganda with whom they have a linguistic affinity.

*NOTES*  
1. This density excludes what is now Sebei District.

DISTRIBUTION OF SOGA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE BUSOGA DISTRICT

Busoga District, home of the Soga, is a combination of what were small and independent states prior to the advent of the British. Topographical characteristics of Busoga are low, flat-topped hills with swampy papyrus in between them. The land slopes gently northwards; consequently the streams, which are slow-running, drain into Lake Kioga. Soils are fairly fertile, especially in the southern part of the district. Annual rainfall averages between 50 and 55 inches in the south and east along the Mpologoma Swamp and 45 inches in the north and western part. The rain falls mainly between April and October. And it is more effective in the south where monthly variations are less marked. Plantain is the staple food crop; but millet, maize, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts and cassava are grown. Beans are also cultivated, especially in the north where conditions are not very suitable for other crops. Cotton and coffee are grown by the Soga for sale. And sugar, introduced by Madhvani and Company, is also produced in the district.

The Soga have been known to live outside their district in larger numbers earlier than most other tribes of Uganda. This could have been due to several factors, namely, the way from the coast to most of Uganda to the west passed through Busoga; so the district could have experienced some disruptive European influences since the days of the first explorers. Secondly, during the period of Buganda political and territorial expansion, the Ganda raided Busoga and carried off Soga as slaves.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, Fallers suggests that Soga themselves undertook voluntary migration to Buganda, especially, to Kyaggwe.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the population census of 1911 estimated 12,417 Soga living away from their district. This was about 5.7% of the total Soga population in that year. Of this number, 5,635 were males; and they accounted for about 45.4% of all the Soga migrants.<sup>2</sup> Buganda had 6,442, or half of the Soga living outside Busoga in that year; and Kyaggwe alone returned 3,633; Bulemezi 867; Kyaddondo 601, and Bugerere 411. Masaka and Entebbe Districts, in west Buganda, registered only 240 and 227 respectively. Except for 129 in the Western Province, Bukedi District accounted for the rest of the Soga migrants in 1911.

The 1921 Uganda Population Census returned 214,418 Soga in the whole country. This was less than the number recorded by 1911 census by nearly 3,000 persons. As in 1911, there was a preponderance of male population over males - 54 to 46 by ratio. In 1921 about 12,559, or 5.9% of total Soga population were living outside Busoga. Of this number, 5,921 were males. This constituted 6% of Soga male population, and 47% of their migrants. Bukedi District alone registered 7,022 Soga, with Mbale county accounting for 2,264; and Mbale Township 526. Other counties of the district returned fewer figures. About 3,142 Soga were recorded in Teso District, with the largest concentrations in Serere and Kumi counties - 1,524 and 1,211 respectively. Buganda, and particularly Mengo District, which returned the largest numbers of this group in 1911, had only 2,394 of them in 1921. The distribution was still in favour of the counties which returned most of them in 1911; but the figures were much reduced. Kyaggwe county, which had nearly half the Buganda total Soga population, registered 1,159 of them; Bugerere 315; Bulemezi 222; and Kyaddondo 206. There were no Soga migrants living outside Eastern Province and Buganda according to the 1921 Uganda Population Census.



In 1931, the Uganda Population Census registered 352,798 Soga. Of this number, 11,628 or about 3.3% were living outside Busoga. This showed a drop since 1921. Most of the Soga migrants were returned in the districts of Eastern Province. In Bugwere District 1,516 of them were recorded in Mbale county; Pallisa had 884; Bugwere 597; and Bukedea 351. Budama District returned Soga in substantial numbers only in Budama and Bunyoli counties - 1,357 and 246 respectively. In Teso, there were 1,060 Soga in Serere county; Kasilo recorded 671; Kumi 256; and Ngora 217. Kaberamaido county, then still part of Lango District, registered 224 Soga. The concentrations of Soga in Buganda were still predominantly in Kyaggwe with 1,539 members of this group; Kyaddondo 436; Bugerere 367; and Bulemezi 213. The drop in the number of Soga migrants between 1921 and 1931, was probably due to discontinuation of the practice of "Kasanzu", or compulsory paid labour for the government, which used to force many Soga men out of their district.<sup>4</sup> During the First World War, for instance, many of them were known to have helped as porters to British troops in what is now Tanzania.<sup>5</sup> And in 1920, about 23,000 "were supplied to government and over 4,000 to private employers"<sup>6</sup>.

In 1948, the Uganda Population Census registered some rise in the percentage of Soga migrants. Of the 426,608 Soga returned for the whole country, 21,498 or about 5% were living outside Busoga; male migrants formed 4.8% of all Soga males, and 47% of all migrants of this group. The effect of abolition of "Kasanzu" is noticeable here, since the percentage of male migrants has dropped relative to that of all migrants. Of the Soga migrants recorded in 1948, the distribution of about 11,011, a little over half, was specified by the main source of the census data.<sup>7</sup> These were considered large enough in a gombolola. The rest were scattered in smaller numbers.

DISTRIBUTION OF SOGA IN UGANDA, OUTSIDE BUSOGA.

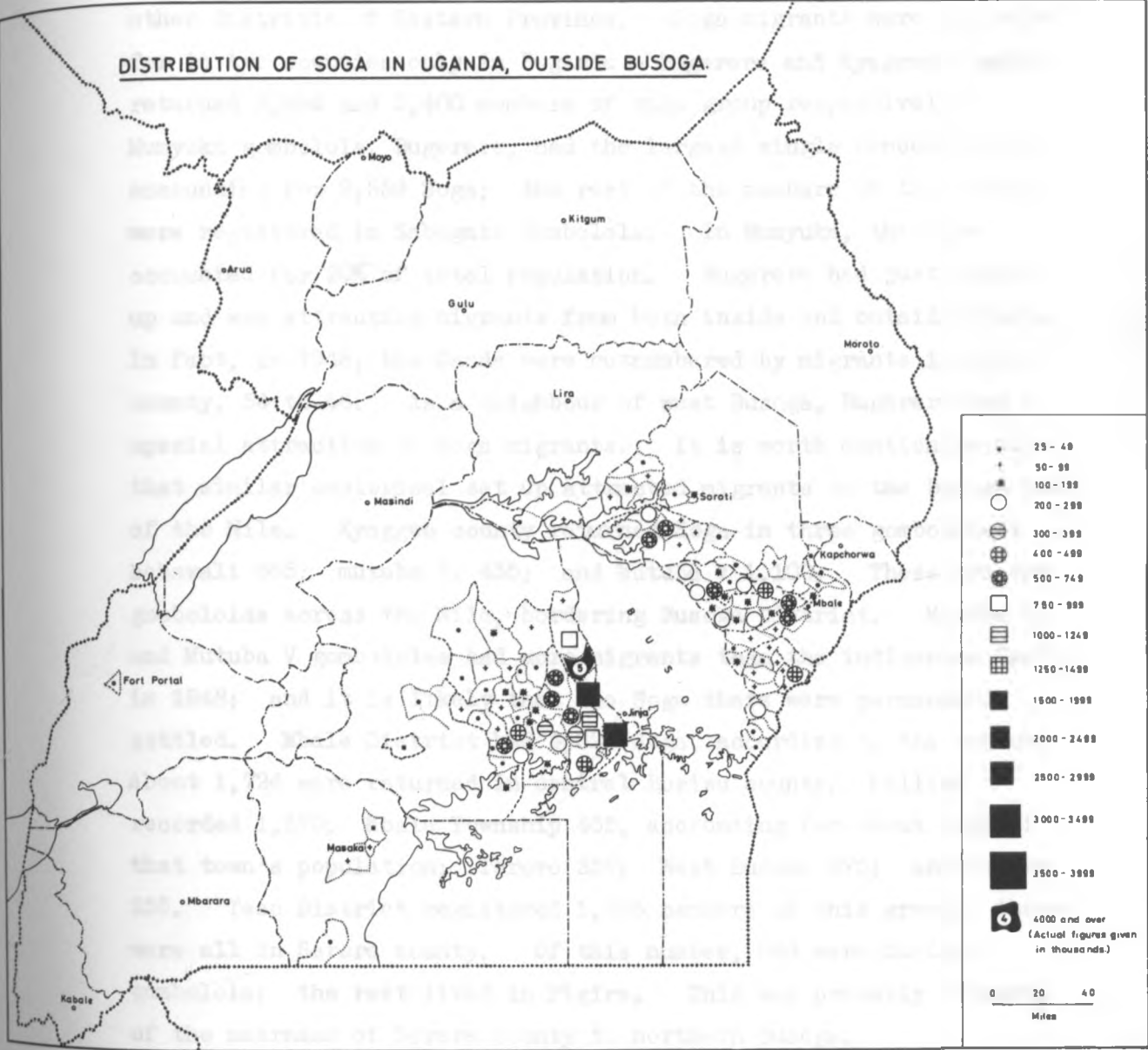


FIG. 23

It is probable that they lived in Buganda, particularly Mengo, and other districts of Eastern Province. Soga migrants were accounted for in two counties only in Buganda - Bugerere and Kyaggwe - which returned 2,994 and 2,400 members of this group respectively. Mumyuka gombolola, Bugerere, had the largest single concentration, accounting for 2,559 Soga; the rest of the members of this group were registered in Sabagabo Gombolola. In Mumyuka, the Soga accounted for 20% of total population. Bugerere had just opened up and was attracting migrants from both inside and outside Uganda. In fact, in 1948, the Ganda were outnumbered by migrants in that county, 54 to 46. As a neighbour of west Busoga, Bugerere was a special attraction to Soga migrants. It is worth mentioning also that similar ecological set up attracted migrants to the Busoga bank of the Nile. Kyaggwe county returned Soga in three gombololas: sabawali 865; mutuba II 435; and Mutuba V 1,100. These are the gombololas across the Nile, bordering Busoga District. Mutuba II and Mutuba V gombololas had more migrants than the indigenous Ganda in 1948; and it is likely that the Soga there were permanently settled. Mbale District had 4,828 Soga, according to the census. About 1,726 were returned in central Bugisu county; Pallisa recorded 1,570; Mbale Township 465, accounting for about 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of that town's population; Tororo 537; West Budama 275; and Budaka 255. Teso District registered 1,355 members of this group; these were all in Serere county. Of this number, 896 were in Olio gombolola; the rest lived in Pigire, This was probably because of the nearness of Serere county to northern Busoga.

Of all the Soga registered during the 1959 population census, 31,915 or about 6.4% were living outside Busoga District. This was a big increase since 1948. The males comprised about 47% of this migrant population, and 6% of the total Soga male population in that year. Buganda had 20,097 Soga migrants, or about 62% of all Soga

resident outside Busoga. Except for 268 and 45 of them returned in Masaka and Mubende Districts respectively, all Soga registered in Buganda were in Mengo District. Counties with the largest numbers of this group were: Kyaggwe 8,365; Bugerere 8,042; Kyaddondo 1,764 and Bulemezi 724. These counties, particularly those adjacent to the Nile, had been returning Soga in the earlier censuses. The Soga were no doubt permanent there. The highest concentrations were registered in the gombolola immediately bordering Busoga District: hence Mutuba V gombolola, Kyaggwe with 2,896 Soga; Mutuba II and Sabawali of the same county had 1,201 and 866 of them respectively. In Bugerere County, Muniyuka gombolola returned 4,620 members of this group; Musale gombolola 2,558; and Sabagabo gombolola 785. The Soga in Kyaddondo were centred around Kampala. Both the municipality and Omukulu W'ekibuga registered a little over 1,000 Soga in 1959. The males totalled 572; they were probably employed in industries, firms and government services. Only 382 Soga were recorded around Lugazi Sugar Estate in that year; about half of them were males.

Except for 283 and 229 Soga scattered in different parts of Northern and Western Provinces respectively, the rest of Soga migrants were registered in Eastern Province in 1959. Bukedi District returned 5,273; Teso 2,807; Bugisu 2,537; and Mbale Township 689. In Bukedi District about 2,316 Soga were recorded in Pallisa county, adjoining Busoga across River Mpologoma, with Kakoro gombolola accounting for the highest figure as a single gombolola - 685 Budaka Buwere had 1,320. The largest figure was 274 registered in Kibuku gombolola. Budaka followed with 210 Soga. Outside Pallisa and Budaka Buwere counties, Soga migrants were returned in fewer numbers in Bukedi District; Tororo had 552; West Budama 391; Bunyole 363; and Samia Bugwe 331. The preponderance of females over males amongst this people in the district is enough indication that they were permanently settled here. Of the Soga returned in Bugisu District

in 1959, about 2,170 were registered in central Bugisu county alone; north Bugisu had 292; and south Bugisu only 66. The distribution of Soga migrants in central Bugisu was weighted in favour of Nakaloke and Bungokho gombololas with 1,431 and 663 members of this group respectively. Their settlement here could have been influenced by the nearness of Mbale Township. In Teso District, Serere county with 1,722 Soga migrants, had the largest number of this group of any county. The rest were distributed in other counties. The Soga were found in Serere because of its proximity to Bugabula county of Busoga. Olio and Pigire gombololas had the highest figure of Soga migrants, 690 and 553 respectively. The same gombololas registered high Soga population figures in 1948 also.

The distribution of the Soga in 1959, as shown by the map, remained mainly confined to the neighbouring counties of Kyaggwe and Bugerere, Mengo District; Pallisa, Bukedi District; and Serere, Teso District. In addition to these, there were a considerable number of them centred on Kampala and the towns of Mbale and Tororo. The presence of Soga in these places had been persistent for a long time, and it is almost certain that most of them, particularly those in Kyaggwe, Bugerere, Pallisa and Serere counties had permanently settled. The Soga in Kampala, Mbale and Tororo probably found their way into these towns to do skilled labour and white collar jobs.<sup>8</sup> But there is no doubt that they were less permanent than those in the rural areas. In the latter places, the Soga seemed to have become established and it is likely that more of their number from Busoga will join them after 1959.

N O T E S

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2. \_\_\_\_\_ (1960) op.cit. p.24.
3. Soga male/female ratio was 42/58 in that year.
4. The practice of "Kasanzu" system was abolished first in Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro in 1922, and by March 1923 in the rest of Uganda.
5. Report of the Provincial Commissioner for the month of August 1915.
6. Report of the Provincial Commissioner for March 1920.
7. "Geographical and Tribal Studies", published by The East African Statistical Department, Dec. 1950.
8. Fallers, M.C. (1960) op.cit. p.28.

## DISTRIBUTION OF GANDA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUGANDA

Although Buganda has been the centre of immigration in Uganda since the beginning of this century, the Ganda themselves had shown a tendency of reciprocal movement to other districts. Ganda emigration could not have been motivated by lack of economic opportunities in their province, since Buganda has land of rich quality and adequate rainfall to facilitate cultivation of both food and cash crops over wide areas. Annual rainfall varies from 60 inches around Lake Victoria to 30 inches away from the lake. It is believed that the present relative prosperity of Buganda had existed prior to the coming of the Europeans;<sup>1</sup> the latter only enhanced it, especially with the introduction of cotton and coffee cultivation.

The outward movement of the Ganda began with their contact with foreigners - the Arabs and Europeans - in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The motives were different; with the Arabs, the Ganda went among other tribes in search of ivory and slaves, while the Europeans used them to extend British rule over Uganda and to convert Africans to Christianity. Wrigley succinctly puts it:

"Ganda chiefs served as the mediators in every sphere between Europe and a large tract of barbarian Africa. They communicated their wants and their ideals to vast numbers of Africans - not only in Buganda".<sup>2</sup>

Thus, to the Europeans who first came into contact with it, Buganda was not only the geographical heart of Africa, but also the fulcrum which could be used to make East and Central Africa accept European concepts and way of life. Hence, Ganda were recruited as soldiers, and later as chiefs, by the British to bring other tribes of Uganda

under British rule. This was done in the belief that "no local or tribesmen of sufficient ability and loyalty could be found" elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> One of the most famous of Ganda soldiers used by the British to conquer eastern Uganda is said to have settled in Mbale with 5,000 Ganda followers in 1904.<sup>4</sup> Some of these settled permanently in the Eastern Province. Ganda, appointed as chiefs and administrators elsewhere in Uganda by the British administration, encouraged more Ganda to move out of their home area. These were often recruited into local administration as tax-collectors. Ganda manned positions of chiefs in many districts of Uganda up to 1930's, and in some instances descendants of these people are still found outside Buganda. Closely connected with these elite migrants, were Ganda catechists, evangelists and teachers sent out by both Catholic and Protestant Missionaries.<sup>5</sup> This transfer of Ganda elite to other districts of Uganda was continued afterwards by members of this group going to do skilled labour and clerical jobs in these districts.

In addition to this elite migrants, some Ganda went out of Buganda to avoid taxes, "or else to earn wages with which to pay them".<sup>6</sup> Another Ganda migrant group were the former cattle raiders who settled in Ankole after the establishing of British rule. By 1902, "such immigrants were a cause of concern to the administration" in Ankole.<sup>7</sup>

The 1911 Uganda population estimate gives a total of 22,179 Ganda migrants scattered in different parts of Uganda. This was about 4% of total Ganda population in Uganda at the time. Of this number, 13,149 or about 60% were males. Western Province accounted for 14,320 Ganda migrants in that year, and Ankole alone returned 12,054. These were probably some of the Christian refugee remnants from late 19th century, or some of the Ganda who began to settle there as early as 1902. Rwampara with 2,836; and Bukanga 2,863. Toro District had 2,266 Ganda in that year; of this number, 847 were returned in Mwenge and 439 in Burahya. The rest were scattered in the



counties. Eastern Province returned 5,555 Ganda, with approximately 2/5 of them in Busoga, and 3/5 in Bukedi District. Of the Ganda in Busoga, 1,240 were found in Bugabula, and 1,041 in Kigulu. In Bukedi District, Elgon county with 1,162 Ganda showed the highest number of this group. The total number of Ganda, estimated to have been in Northern Province, was 2,304; nearly 2,100 of them were in Bunyoro District, then part of this province, where Hoima alone had 1,441. During this period more Ganda served in Bunyoro as chiefs and tax-collectors than in other districts of Northern Province.

Although there was an intercensal increase of 3,710 Ganda migrants between 1911 and 1921, the proportion of Ganda migrants to the total number of the tribe remained constant. Male Ganda migrants were 13,441, or about 52% of all this group outside their province. Apparently the prevalence of peace in districts where Ganda were found seemed to have induced them to take their families with them. As in 1911, Western Province accounted for the largest number of Ganda migrants of all provinces. There were 15,558 Ganda in that province in 1921, of whom 7,353, or below half, were males. Ankole alone had 14,105 Ganda - an increase on 1911. Some of these were employees of Ankole administration, but most of them were migrants who settled in the district on their own. Toro District registered only 855 Ganda, and Kigezi had 598. Eastern Province recorded 9,124 Ganda, with Busoga accounting for 3,408 of them. The county of Bugabula had 2,230 Ganda, and Kigulu 632. The rest of the counties recorded fewer members of this group. Bukedi and Teso Districts registered 3,342 and 2,296 Ganda respectively. This is a big increase over the 1911 figure, and was probably due to the transfer of more Ganda administrative and religious personnel to eastern Uganda. Of all the Ganda returned in Bukedi, 1,159, or about one-third were found in Mbale county which incorporated Mbale Township. Some of them were remnants of Semei Kakunguru's soldiers. In Teso District,

1,215 Ganda were found in Serere county alone, and 555 in Soroti. Lango District had 78 Ganda in 1921. Northern Province recorded 1,217 Ganda in the same year. Bunyoro had only 849. This big decrease since 1911 was probably due to the fact that by the end of the First World War, all the Ganda chiefs in Bunyoro were replaced by the Nyoro.<sup>8</sup> By 1921 most of the Ganda who were in Bunyoro administration had returned to Buganda. About 150 Ganda were found in Gulu District, and a similar number in Chua. All these were resident on Crown Lands.

According to the 1931 Uganda Population Census, there were about 32,995 Ganda who resided outside Buganda. This was 4.2% of total Ganda population in that year. Of this number, 14,341 were returned in Ankole alone, where the counties of Rwampara with 2,880, Kashari 2,806, and Bukanga 2,496, showed largest concentrations of this group. Other counties in Ankole with moderately big Ganda population were Kajara with 1,517; Mitoma 1,045; and Ishingiro 1,044. In Toro, only Burahya with 515 Ganda; Busongora 25; and Mwenge 249, showed relatively high concentrations of this group, while in Kigezi, Ndorwa had 182 Ganda - the highest figure of all counties in the district. There was a large Ganda population in the Easttrn Province. In Busoga, Butembe county recorded 1,113 members of this group; most of these were probably in and around Jinja Township. Other high returns were in Kigulu with 436; and Bugabula 352. These two counties, however, showed a drastic decrease in their Ganda population below the 1921 figures. There were 2,557 Ganda in Budama county; 530 in South Bugisu; and 452 in North Bugisu. In Bugwere District, Mbale county registered 1,779 Ganda; Bukedea 509; Pallisa 432; and Bugwere 328. Soroti county of Teso had 489 Ganda, the highest number of any county in the district; and Kwania county, Lango, returned 4,092 Ganda. This large number probably crossed over from Buruli county. Elsewhere, Ganda were returned in fewer numbers.

In 1948 the Ganda population outside Buganda must have been larger than the census figures given by the source of the data, since only groups of relatively greater concentrations appear in it.<sup>9</sup> According to this publication, 48,372 Ganda, or 5.2% of this group, were returned in provinces other than Buganda. Of this number, 25,848 or about 51.4% were males. This suggests a semi-permanent or permanent settlement of this migrant group in their areas of residence. This was specially so in Ankole where 6,005 males were returned out of a total Ganda population of 12,037. Ishingiro and Kashari counties had 2,432 and 2,013 members of this group respectively. In the former county, 1,384 of them were registered in Mumyuka gombolola, and 1,048 in Musale where they formed 31% of that gombolola's total population. In Kashari, 1,781 Ganda were resident in and around Mbarara, and the rest in Sabaddu gombolola. This large Ganda population in Mbarara shows their shift to urban centres where a number of them began to take up trade, often in brisk competition with the Asians. In 1948 the Ganda formed 24% of the total population of Mbarara. Kajara county registered 915 Ganda - 460 in gombolola Sabagabo, and 455 in Mutuba I. Shema county had 832 Ganda, all in Sabaddu gombolola. Rwampara with only 515 members of this group, showed a big drop from 1948 figures; and Bunyaruguru had 183. About 4,780 Ganda were estimated to have been resident in Bunyoro by the 1948 census, and 278 in Toro. In the latter district they were around Lake Katwe, and probably engaged in salt trade and fishing.

The whole of Eastern Province had 16,676 Ganda in 1948. About 9,090 of them were returned in Busoga District; 4,800 in Lango, then still part of Eastern Province; 2,518 in Mbale District; and Teso had 888. In Busoga, the Ganda were registered largely in Butembe-Bunya and Bugabula counties - 3,672 and 2,430 of them, about 18% of the whole population there. Sabaddu gombolola, Butembe-Bunya, recorded 1,270 Ganda; Sabagabo, Bugabula, 2,032; and Mutuba IX, Bugabula, 398. The rest have scattered elsewhere in the district. The largest

DISTRIBUTION OF GANDA IN UGANDA, OUTSIDE BUGANDA.

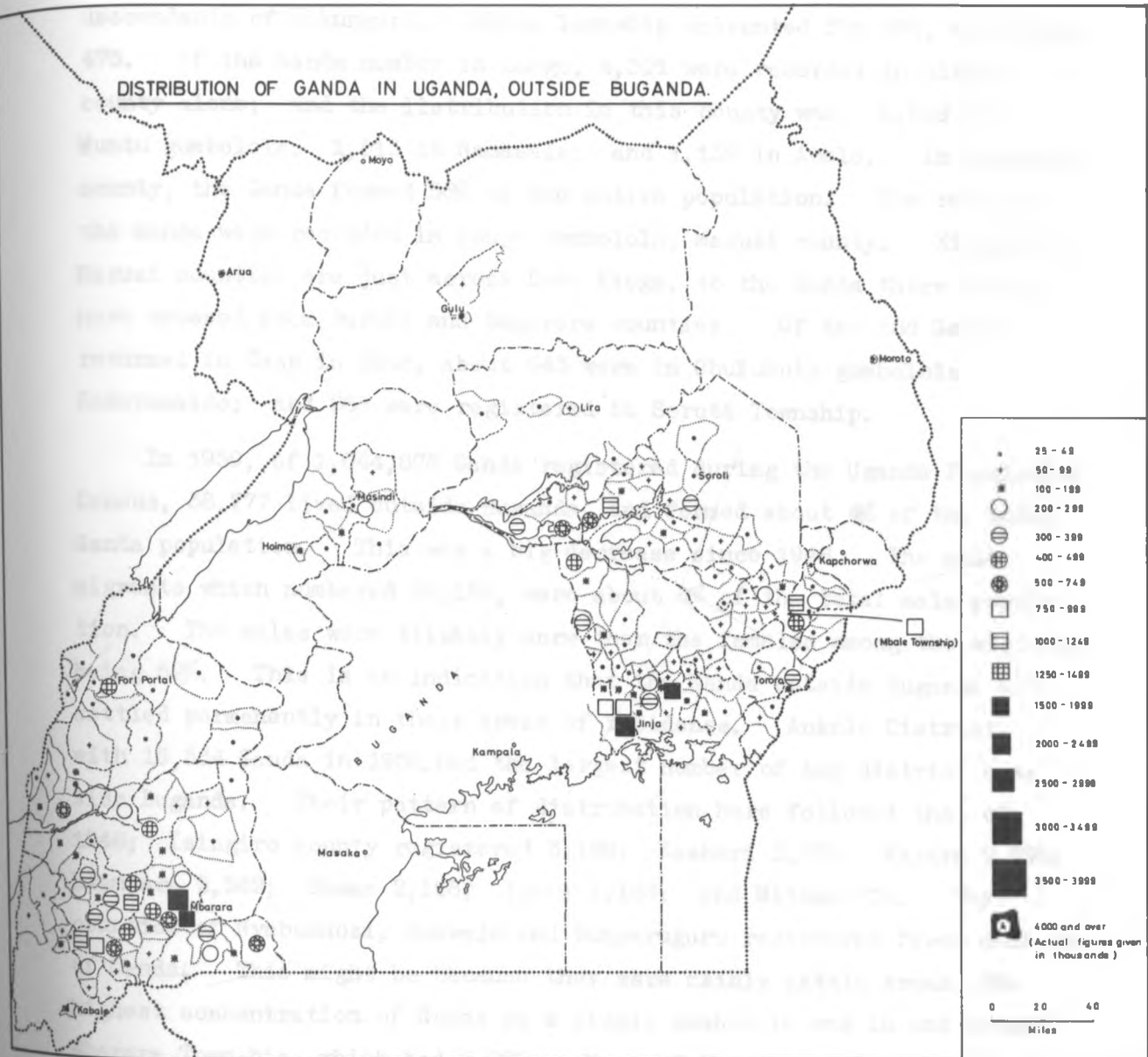


FIG. 24

Ganda concentration in Mbale District was in Nakaloke gombolola, Central Bugisu, which returned 1,316 of them. Most of them were descendants of Kakunguru. Mbale Township accounted for 465, and Tororo 475. Of the Ganda number in Lango, 4,301 were recorded in Kioga county alone; and the distribution in this county was: 1,649 in Muntu gombolola; 1,513 in Namasale; and 1,139 in Awelo. In Namasale county, the Ganda formed 56% of the entire population. The rest of the Ganda were recorded in Ibuje gombolola, Maruzi county. Kioga and Maruzi counties are just across Lake Kioga, so the Ganda there could have crossed from Buruli and Bugerere counties. Of the 888 Ganda returned in Teso in 1948, about 643 were in Obulubulu gombolola, Kaberamaido; and 268 were registered in Soroti Township.

In 1959, of 1,044,878 Ganda registered during the Uganda Population Census, 38,777 lived outside Buganda, and formed about 4% of the total Ganda population. This was a big decrease since 1948. The male migrants which numbered 20,182, were about 4% of the total male population. The males were slightly more than the females among the migrants being 52%. This is an indication that the Ganda outside Buganda had settled permanently in their areas of residence. Ankole District, with 15,334 Ganda in 1959, had the largest number of any district outside Buganda. Their pattern of distribution here followed that of 1948; Isingiro county registered 3,189; Kashari 2,755; Kajara 2,299; Rwampara 2,582; Shema 2,106; Igara 1,128; and Mitoma 716. The counties of Nyabushozi, Buhweju and Bunyaruguru registered fewer members of Ganda. This might be because they were mainly cattle areas. The highest concentration of Ganda in a single gombolola was in and around Mbarara Township, which had 2,070. Most of them were there because of trade. This seems to have been the case with most of Ganda migrants in 1959. Trade was responsible for their concentrations in towns. Mumyuka gombolola, Isingiro, registered the next largest group - 1,790. This is close to Mbarara Township, and the growth of their number could have been encouraged by the services of the town. Alternatively, most

of them might have been living just north of Gayaza, a smaller town on the southern border of Mumyuka gombolola. The Ganda in Ankole in 1959 owed their presence there to historical reasons. They were largely the families of Ganda, who went to this district during the practice of Ganda agents or as missionaries. Except for their cultural and historical connexion with Buganda, they were regarded as people of Ankole. Many of them had taken up commercial life, especially in the counties of Kashari and Shema. In 1959, about 2,552 Ganda were returned in Toro District, where Busongora county alone recorded 1,097. This is the home of Kilembe Mines; but in 1959 only about 159 Ganda were returned around the mines. Their largest number, 575, was found centred round Katwe in Musale gombolola. Most of them were engaged in fishing in Lakes Edward and George. About 421 Ganda were returned around Fort Portal; they were traders probably. There were 580 Ganda in Kigezi District in 1959 of whom 282 were scattered around Lake Edward in the county of Ruzhumbura, and 193 in Ndorwa county. Kabale Township returned 167. In the same year there were 882 Ganda in Bunyoro District. Except for Masindi Township, which returned 222 of them, the Ganda were found in smaller numbers in gombololas. They were possibly lured there by the prospects of trade.

In 1959 there were about 17,805 Ganda in the Eastern Province. Of this number, 9,692 resided in Busoga District; Teso had 3,459; Bugisu 2,365; Bukedi 1,496; and Mbale Township 793. In Busoga, the Ganda population was largely returned in Butembe-Bunya with 4,752 of them; Kigulu 2,344; and Bugabula 1,521. At the gombolola level, each of these counties recorded largest Ganda concentrations in towns. Among the Ganda migrants, there was a tendency to live in towns, especially where their presence outside was not a product of historical reasons. Hence, in Butembe-Bunya, 2,253 Ganda were recorded in Jinja Township, an important commercial and industrial centre, and the largest town in the district. Of Kigulu's total Ganda population 1,975 lived in and around Iganga, the second largest town in Busoga.

In Bugabula county, the gombololas of Sabagabo and Mutuba IX returned 404 and 335 Ganda respectively. These centred round Kidera Township in Sabagabo gombolola, and Namasagali in Mutuba IX. The Ganda, not only in the counties mentioned above, but in most parts of Busoga, were living in towns, or in rural areas, where daily communications with towns were easily available. As at home, the Ganda in Busoga were not attracted by employment opportunities offered by the Sugar Plantation at Kakira. Only 126 of them were registered there in 1959. In general, the distribution of Ganda in Busoga favoured the southern portion of the district. Attraction offered by towns like Jinja and Iganga apart, the concentration of Ganda here could be correlated with the availability of "matoke" in this part of the district. Further north, rainfall becomes less, and banana cultivation diminishes with it. In the district of Bukedi, 1,496 Ganda were returned. Except for Tororo Township with 325 Ganda, and Kakoro gombolola, Pallisa, which had 227 members of this group, the gombololas of this district showed the Ganda scattered in smaller numbers. Mbale Township had 793 of them. The Ganda in both Mbale and Tororo were probably traders or in government service. In 1959 the Ganda numbered 2,365 in Bugisu District. About 1,815 were found in Central Bugisu county, which surrounds Mbale Township. It is very likely that the presence of most Ganda here resulted from historical reasons. The heirs of Kakunguru still resided in Nakaloke gombolola. Only Bungokho gombolola in this county had a high number of this people - about 500. The Ganda were certainly settled permanently. The availability of plantain in this district would attract a large Ganda population. Of Teso's total Ganda population, about 1,857, or more than half, came from Kaberamaido county alone; Soroti had 518; Serere 429; and Bukedea 313. The Ganda registered in the first three counties probably found their way there over many years from Buruli and Bugerere counties through the southern counties of Lango District, especially Kioga. Ocheri, Kaberamaido, with 527 Ganda, had the highest number of this people as a single gombolola. Soroti Township came next with 326. The Ganda

in Teso District owed their presence there to historical factors; and most of them were permanently settled. The Northern Province with 1,624 Ganda migrants had the least number of this group of all provinces. Lango District alone accounted for 1,282 of this number; Acholi returned 229; West Nile and Madi 60; and Karamoja 53. In the last two districts, the Ganda were largely found in the townships of Arua, Moyo and Moroto respectively. Of the Ganda in Lango, 978 were recorded in Kioga county. The rest were scattered in other counties, with Erute accounting for 142 of them mostly centred on Lira Township. The number of Ganda registered in Kioga county was only about one quarter of that returned in the same county in 1948. Ganda in southern Lango were an established people. The local people here used to refer to them as "Baruli", or people of Buruli.<sup>10</sup> This is an indication that most of them came from the Ganda county of Buruli, bordering Lango District to the southwest. Although Ganda were recorded in all the four gombololas of Kioga, their numbers were larger in Muntu and Namasale which had 545 and 316 respectively. In Acholi District, the Ganda were in and around Gulu.

As shown by the map, the Ganda migrants were more widely scattered, than any migrant group in Uganda in 1959. Their main concentrations were towns. This was especially the case with recent Ganda migrants who had tended to settle in areas where they could easily carry out trade. Many Ganda from among these whose migration took place during the period of Ganda agency, resided in rural areas; but they had good communications with towns or trading centres. Some members of the Ganda migrant population seemed to have identified themselves with the indigeneous people in areas of immigration. One result of such identification is that the Ganda population outside Buganda will slowly be assimilated by the indigeneous tribes. This is especially so in areas where cultural similarities exist with the Ganda, as in Busoga and Ankole Districts. In the latter district the small increase in Ganda population of about 1,000 between 1931 and 1959 could partially be explained in terms of this identification.



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## DISTRIBUTION OF NYORO IN UGANDA OUTSIDE BUNYORO AND MUBENDE DISTRICTS

In August 1959 there were 188,374 Nyoro in Uganda. Of this number, 30,855 were living outside Bunyoro and Mubende Districts, which according to this analysis, shall be treated as the home area of the Nyoro.<sup>1</sup> This Nyoro population, which accounted for 16.4% of all Nyoro, cannot be regarded as migrants in the sense the word is used here. Some of the areas bordering Bunyoro District, particularly the Lake Kyoga region, had shown evidence of persistent presence of Nyoro long before the setting up of British Administration in Uganda and the subsequent drawing of administrative boundaries.<sup>2</sup> These were later joined by Nyoro who left their home area to look for economic opportunities elsewhere in Uganda.

Bunyoro District is not a poor area, nor does it have a land pressure problem. On the contrary, there is plenty of land for settlement and cultivation - though much of the district has been tsetse-infested until recently. The northern part forms the Murchison Falls National Park. The land rises from Lake Albert eastwards to a plateau at an altitude of 3,600 feet. Rainfall also varies, being 30 inches at Butiaba on Lake Albert, and 56 inches at Hoima on the plateau. The soils are fairly fertile inland, but less so on the lake shore. Some big forests are found in the western part of the plateau, the best known of which are Bugoma and Budonga. These forests produce some good timber, including mahogany. Because of unoccupied land and a land tenure system, which seems to have been designed to attract people from outside Bunyoro has become a home of many migrants, especially from West Nile, the Congo and Kenya. Agriculture is the main occupation. Crops grown include cassava, finger millet, sorghum, sweet-potatoes, plantains, beans, maize, simsim and vegetables. Tobacco, cotton and, to a lesser extent, coffee are grown for cash. In the past there were a lot of cattle in Bunyoro, but their number had been drastically reduced by the political unrest that preceded the establishing of British rule in the district, and by the occurrence of

rinderpest and trypanosomiasis. In addition to agriculture, fishing is carried out along Lake Albert. Some fish used to be exported to the eastern Congo, but now most of it goes to north Uganda. A little salt industry exists near Kibiro Village on Lake Albert. A few plantations exist in Bunyoro and tobacco cultivation has also attracted immigrant community.

In 1911 Bunyoro was still in a poor state as a result of the war with the British administration. Many Nyoro people were returned outside their home area. Of the 270,557 estimated for the whole country, 71,578 or 26.5% were living outside Bunyoro and Mubende Districts. This high proportion of the Nyoro away from home loses significance, however, because most of them were found in the Lake Kyoga region and northern Buganda - an area which has been part of the larger Bunyoro-Kitara empire of the mid-nineteenth century. Northern Buganda, the counties of Buruli, Singo, Bulemezi and Bugerere, had 33,368 Nyoro; and the southern part of the province, mainly Kyaddondo, Buddu and Kyaggwe recorded 8,547. Of the 18,926 Nyoro counted in the Eastern Province, 16,400 were living in Bukedi District. Most of them were found in Bululu. The 1914-1915 Annual Report for Lango District, which then incorporated Bululu, suggests that the Banyara and Baruli, both Nyoro groups, had lived in the junction of Lake Kwana and Victoria Nile for a long time, and prior to the establishing of British administration in that region, they were used as soldiers to keep law and order among the indigenous people.<sup>3</sup> About 1,820 Nyoro were counted in the Northern Province, and 6,061 in the Western Province. The northern part of Ankole, which recorded a large number of Nyoro, about 6,000, was probably an extension of the Bunyoro-Kitara domain earlier. As a cattle area also, it probably gave refuge to the pastoral elements among the Nyoro during the latter's confrontation with the British Administration.

The Uganda Population Census of 1921 returned 208,337 Nyoro in Uganda, of whom four-fifths were living in Bunyoro and Mubende Districts. This leaves about 37,000 Nyoro outside the home area. As in 1911, the

largest number of this group outside their home area was recorded in Buganda as a single province. Of the 27,478 Nyoro in Buganda in 1921, two-thirds were living in the northern part of the province, in the counties of Buruli, Singo, and Bugerere. The rest were mainly in Entebbe District, Bulemezi, Kyaddondo and Kyaggwe counties. Most of the Nyoro in southern Buganda were probably labour migrants working on Ganda farms. Eastern Province accounted for 6,356 Nyoro, of whom 4,249 were found in Northern Busoga. The rest were largely found in Serere county, Teso. Bukedi District which recorded a large Nyoro population in 1911 returned only 263 members of this group in 1921. It is likely that after the return of peace to their homeland, the Nyoro who were living in Bukedi had gone back to Bunyoro. There was a similar situation in the Western Province which had only 208 Nyoro, all of them in Toro. It is possible, however, that some of the Nyoro who were in northern Ankole were assimilated by the Nkole, with whom they share common cultural background. Northern Province had nearly 2,000 Nyoro, of whom 1,711 were in Gulu District.

In 1931 the total Nyoro population as well as that of the Nyoro resident outside their home areas dropped far below the figures for 1921. This was especially the case in Buganda. In the three counties of Mubende District, for instance, only 282 Nyoro were recorded. When compared with the 1921 and 1950 population figures for the same counties, the conclusion arrived at is that in 1931 a large number of the Nyoro were returned as Ganda. This was not confined to Mubende District alone; it seems to have happened throughout Buganda. In Mubende, no doubt, the manipulation of the census figures was meant for use as evidence that what were then regarded as "the Lost Counties" by the Nyoro had been fully incorporated into Buganda by the Nyoro population there opting on their own to become Ganda. Anyway, all the chiefs who did the census returns in the district were Ganda. Of the 124,426 Nyoro in Uganda, 19,678 or about 16%, were living away from their home area. It is possible that the political stability in

Bunyoro District could have encouraged some Nyoro in areas of immigration to return to their district; but statistically this did not show in the population of Bunyoro. In 1931 Buganda still had the largest concentration of Nyoro, with 6,826 in the counties of Kyaddondo, Kyaggwe, Bulemezi and Busiro. Northern Buganda, which returned large numbers of Nyoro in 1911 and 1921 population counts, had negligible figure in 1931. This was similarly the case in Eastern Province. Except for Kaberamaido county, formerly Bululu, which had 1,902 Nyoro, the Lake Kyoga region returned fewer members of this group. In the Western Province, Mitoma county, Ankole, which accounted for a large Nyoro population in 1911, returned 715 Nyoro in 1931, then the highest number at county level in the province. Only one county in the Northern Province, Paicho, had more than 250.

The Nyoro population of Bunyoro District in 1948 was only an estimate, because the census forms were lost in transit between that district and Kampala,<sup>4</sup> and the census results for Mubende District for the same year could not be made use of because they "showed an unbelievably proportion of Baganda and too few Banyoro".<sup>5</sup> A recount done in Mubende District in 1950 returned 70% of the population of that district as Nyoro. Because of the difficulties of determining the Nyoro number in their home areas in 1948, the Nyoro migrant population cannot be stated with any accuracy. However, the estimated number of Nyoro in Bunyoro in 1948 was 80,690, and Nyoro in Mubende District, according to the 1950 recount, numbered 59,434. If Mubende figures are transferred to 1948, this would give a total Nyoro migrant population of about 40,486, or nearly one-third of the whole group. Of this number, the distribution of 26,148 was specified. Buganda accounted for 6,855 concentrated in Singo and Kyaddondo counties mainly. In Eastern Province, 3,098 were registered in Busoga, largely in Bugabula county; and 8,952 were found in Mbale District, around Lake Kyoga region. And 2,926 were recorded in Teso District; all of them were in Serere and Kaberamaido as in 1931. The Nyoro in Western Province were all found in Kyakk county, Toro. In the Northern Province Lango District accounted for 752, and Acholi had 519 in Gulu.

DISTRIBUTION OF NYORO MIGRANTS OUTSIDE BUNYORO AND MUBENDE DISTRICTS

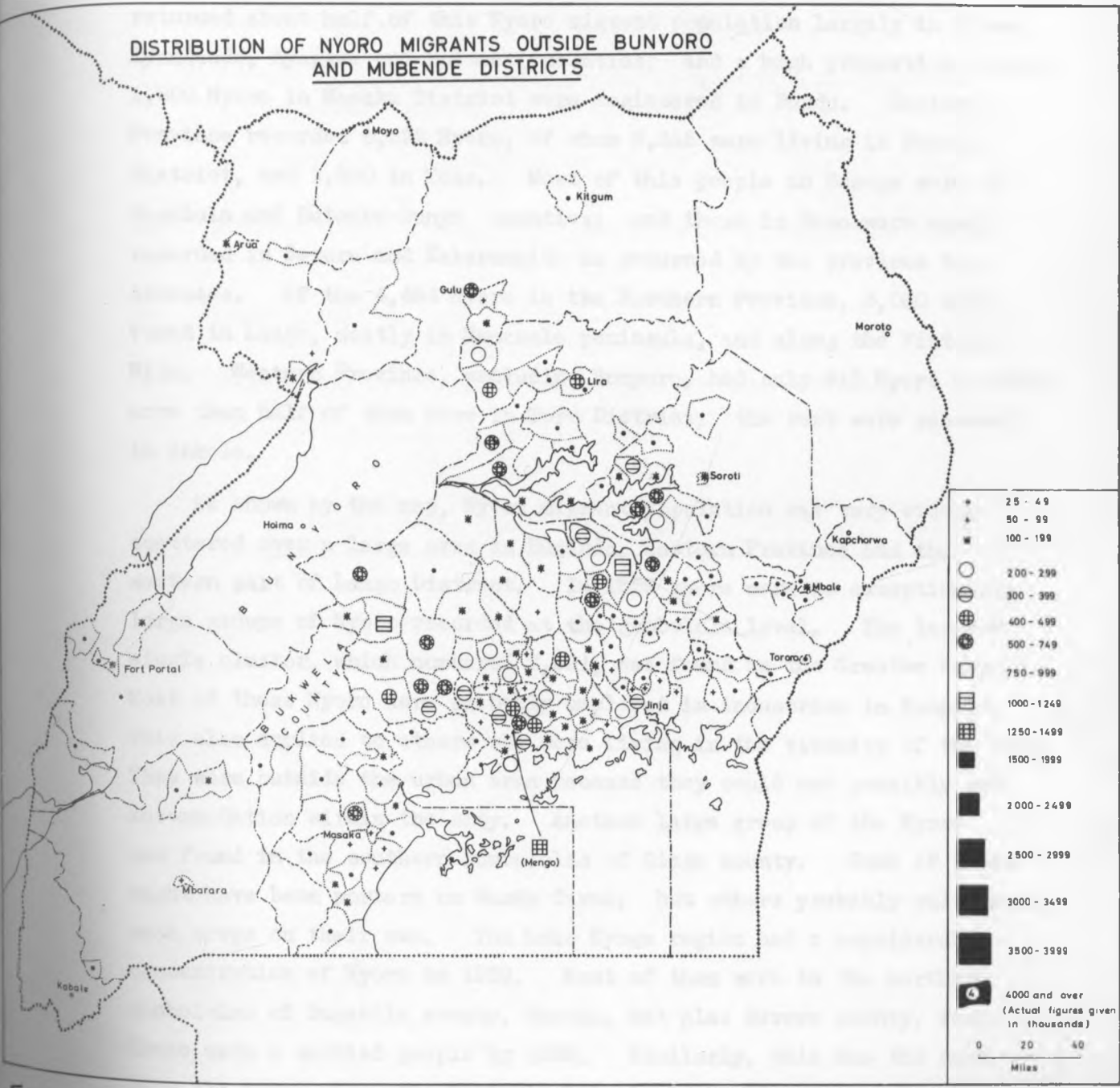


FIG. 25

In 1959 there were 188,374 Nyoro in Uganda. Of this number, 30,855 or 17% were living outside their home area. Mengo District returned about half of this Nyoro migrant population largely in Singo, Kyaddondo, Kyaggwe and Bulemezi counties; and a high proportion of the 1,800 Nyoro in Masaka District were registered in Buddu. Eastern Province recorded 8,522 Nyoro, of whom 5,318 were living in Busoga District, and 2,590 in Teso. Most of this people in Busoga were in Bugabula and Butembe-Bunya counties; and those in Teso were again recorded in Serere and Kaberamaido as returned by the previous two censuses. Of the 4,494 Nyoro in the Northern Province, 3,060 were found in Lango, mostly in Namasale peninsula, and along the Victoria Nile. Western Province, excluding Bunyoro, had only 913 Nyoro in 1959, more than half of them were in Toro District; the rest were recorded in Ankole.

As shown by the map, Nyoro migrant population was very widely scattered over a large area in Buganda, Eastern Province and the western part of Lango District. In 1959 there were no exceptionally large groups of Nyoro recorded at the gombolola level. The largest single cluster, which numbered 2,321, was found in the Greater Kampala. Most of these Nyoro were probably employed in industries in Kampala. This also applied to others who were living in the vicinity of the city. They were outside the urban area because they could not possibly get accommodation within the city. Another large group of the Nyoro was found in the southern gombololas of Singo county. Some of these might have been porters on Ganda farms; but others probably cultivated cash crops on their own. The Lake Kyoga region had a considerable concentration of Nyoro in 1959. Most of them were in the northern gombololas of Bugabula county, Busoga, but also Serere county, Teso. These were a settled people by 1959. Similarly, this was the case with the Nyoro along the Victoria Nile in Lango District. In addition to Kampala, there were some Nyoro in Jinja, Lira and Gulu. In 1959 most of the Nyoro population outside their home area were permanently settled.

## N O T E S

1. Most of Mubende District was part of Bunyoro till the 1900 Agreement between the British Administration and the Ganda leaders transferred it to Buganda. But in 1964 the two counties of Bugangazzi and Buyaga were returned to Bunyoro.
2. Dunbar, A.R. A History of Bunyoro-Kitara, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1965, p.XI.
3. Lango Annual Reports for 1914-15, p.20.
4. Bunyoro was included in the Western Province in the 1948 Uganda Census; in the earlier censuses, it had been treated as part of the Northern Province.
5. The East African Statistical Department: African Population of Uganda Protectorate - Geographical and Tribal Analysis, p.19.



DISTRIBUTION OF TORO MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE TORO DISTRICT

The Toro people live in the district of that name in the extreme west of Uganda, bordering Congo-Kinshasa. Their district lies between Lakes Albert to the north, and Edward and George to the south. The Toro are the single largest tribe of Toro District; other large tribes are the Konjo on the eastern slopes of Ruwenzori and Amba, who live on the west of Ruwenzori. The analysis in this section excludes these two groups. The counties mainly inhabited by the Toro people are Burahya, Mwenge, Kyaka, Kibale and Bunyangabo. These counties form the eastern and central parts of Toro District. The north-western region of the district towards Lake Albert is relatively scantily inhabited because it is dry. The Toro are culturally and historically related to the Nyoro who are found in Bunyoro District to the north of them.

Physiographically, Toro District is a plateau country, averaging about 4,000 feet above sea-level; it rises to the west where the highest peak of Mountain Ruwenzori is reached at about 17,000 feet. Towards the western arm of the Rift Valley in the north-west and south-west, the land falls to 2,000 feet above sea-level. The nature of land in Toro District influences rainfall a great deal. Except for the shores of Lakes Albert, Edward and George where the rainfall is below 40 inches a year, all Toro has an annual rainfall of 40 inches at the lowest. The rainfall figures rise towards the Ruwenzori Mountains. Most of the area inhabited by the Toro receives an annual rainfall averaging 50 inches. The soils have a high iron content, and are fairly fertile, supporting a large variety of crops - finger-millet, plantains, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, beans, fruits and vegetables. In addition to these, newly introduced crops have fared well also. Among them are cassava, maize and English potatoes.

The most important cash crops grown include cotton coffee and tea. At the moment tea, which is grown on both estates and small holdings is the most important cash crop. Toro District is rich in natural resources and it is the sole producer of copper and salt centred on Kilembe and Katwe respectively. The fishing industry thrives on Lakes Edward and George, and to a lesser extent on Albert. There is plenty of land for the domiciles of Toro District. In 1959 there were 74 persons per a square mile there.

In spite of these advantages Toro people were registered outside their home district in each of Uganda Population Censuses. As in other parts of Uganda the introduction of money economy to Toro brought about some social and economic disruptions. The Toro as Taylor puts it "have been drawn into a wider form of economy maintained by principles they can hardly understand, and over which they have very little control".<sup>1</sup>

The number of Toro migrants was small at the beginning, but increased with time. In the first Uganda Population estimate of 1911, out of a total number of 110,030 Toro registered for the whole of Uganda, only 18 members of this group were living outside their district. Except for four of them recorded in Ankole District, all of them were returned in Buganda.

In 1921, although there was a drop in the number of Toro returned in the census to 96,847, members of the tribe living outside Toro District had risen to 3,204, or 3.3% of the total. Males formed about half of these migrants. All, but 23, Toro migrants in that year lived in Ankole District. Taylor observes that because of the death of their cattle, the Toro "migrated permanently into Ankole, Congo and elsewhere".<sup>2</sup> It is almost certain that the Toro recorded in Ankole in 1921 were largely the type of Toro migrants who had moved into Ankole following the deaths of their animals.

By 1931, Toro migrants elsewhere in Uganda rose by 5,124 over 1921 figures, totalling 8,328. This formed nearly 5% of all the Toro registered in Uganda. These migrants were largely males, and this partially explains their wider distribution.<sup>3</sup> In 1931 Buganda had 3,725 Toro. Kyaddondo county returned 731, Busiro 438; and Bulemezi 287. Mubende District registered 850; this probably resulted from the fact that Mubende is the immediate neighbour of Toro District. The population of Toro migrants in Ankole fell to 1,456 only, less than half of the 1921 figures. It is likely that in 1931 some Toro in Ankole were registered as Nkole; but some might have returned to Toro District.

The Uganda Population Census of 1948 returned 162,659 Toro for the whole country. This was about 3.3% of Uganda total population; but it was below their number of 1931 by about 6,000. The explanation is that the Konjo were returned as Toro prior to 1948.<sup>4</sup> Of all the Toro recorded outside their district in 1948, only 4,283 or 2.6% were significant enough to be specified in the main source of the census data. There is no doubt that the Toro migrants in 1948 were largely migrant labourers. The males numbered 11,082 and formed 68.5% of the migrants, and accounted for about 14% of total Toro male population. Among those whose distribution was recorded, 2,770 were recorded in Kampala and 1,276 in Entebbe. They formed 3% in each of these towns, and came next to the Ganda in numerical strength. The Toro here were possibly largely domestic servants in homes of Europeans and some Asians. Some could have been absorbed by industries. Sabadu gombolola or Bunyaruguru registered 237. They show signs of being a settled group - only 158 were males. It is probable that most of Toro migrants whose distribution is not account for were largely in Buganda, working as porters on Ganda farms. In fact, of an estimated 30,000 Toro adult males who worked for cash in industries in 1951, about three-quarters were believed to have been mainly in Buganda.<sup>5</sup>

DISTRIBUTION OF TORO IN UGANDA OUTSIDE TORO DISTRICT.

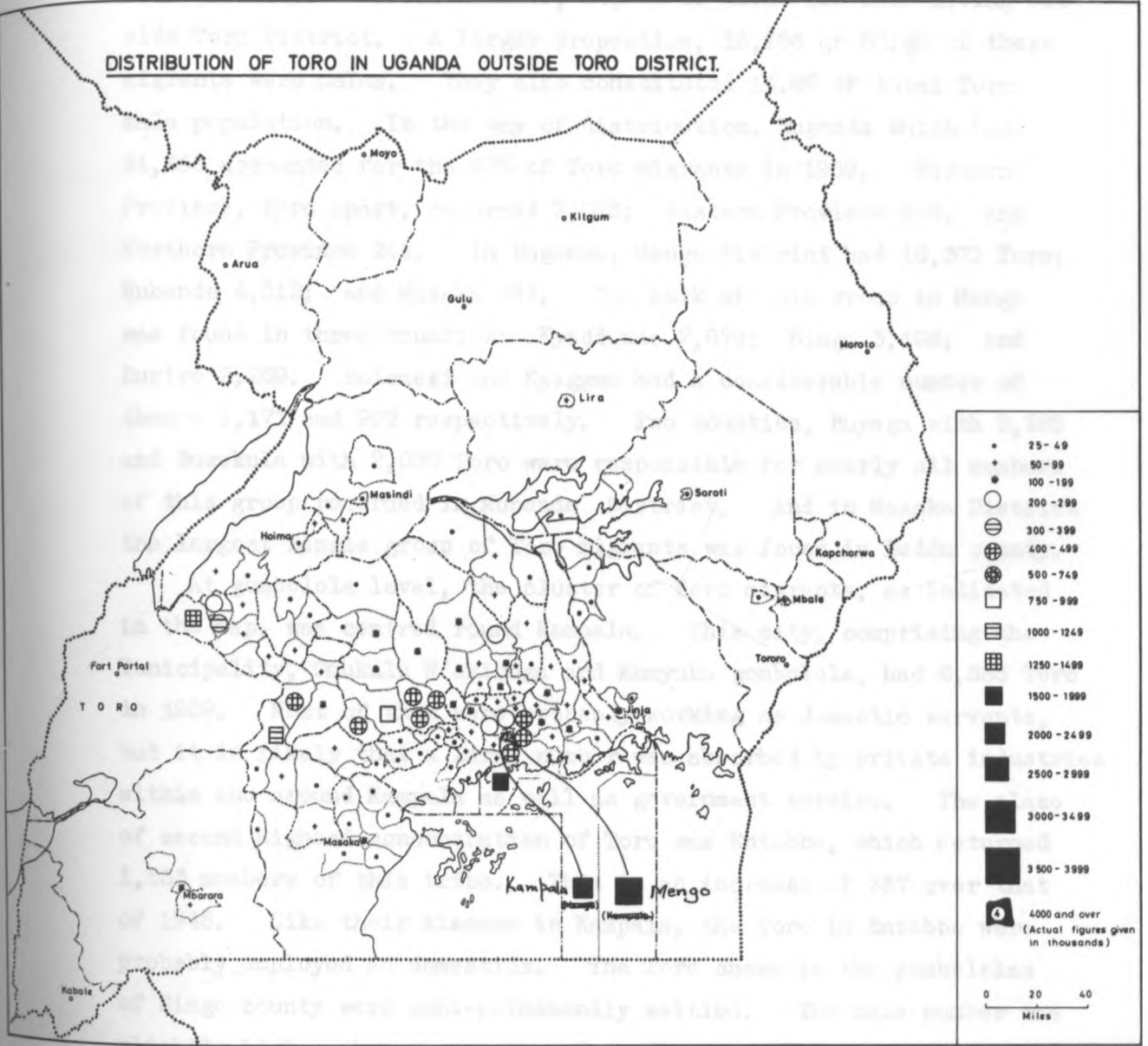


FIG. 26

The 1959 Uganda Population Census returned 208,300 Toro in the whole country. Of this number, 24,808 or about 12% were living outside Toro District. A larger proportion, 15,103 or 60.4% of these migrants were males. They also constituted 14.6% of total Toro male population. In the way of distribution, Buganda which had 21,638 accounted for the 87% of Toro migrants in 1959. Western Province, Toro apart, returned 2,023; Eastern Province 905; and Northern Province 242. In Buganda, Mengo District had 16,379 Toro; Mubende 4,512; and Masaka 747. The bulk of this group in Mengo was found in three counties: Kyaddondo 7,679; Singo 3,198; and Busiro 2,269. Bulemezi and Kyaggwe had a considerable number of them - 1,171 and 992 respectively. Two counties, Buyaga with 2,285 and Buwekula with 2,030 Toro were responsible for nearly all members of this group recorded in Mubende District. And in Masaka District the largest single group of Toro migrants was found in Buddu county.

At gombolola level, the cluster of Toro migrants, as indicated in the map, was centred round Kampala. This city, comprising the Municipality, Omukulu W'ekibuga and Mumyuka gombolola, had 6,385 Toro in 1959. Most of them were probably working as domestic servants, but it is likely that a large number was absorbed by private industries within and around Kampala as well as government service. The place of second highest concentration of Toro was Entebbe, which returned 1,533 members of this tribe. This is an increase of 257 over that of 1948. Like their kinsmen in Kampala, the Toro in Entebbe were probably employed as domestics. The Toro shown in the gombololas of Singo county were semi-permanently settled. The male number was slightly higher than the number of females. It was similarly the case in Buwekula and Buyaga counties of what was then Mubende District. The Toro in Buyaga could have been attracted there initially by fishing industry along the southern shore of Lake Edward. Outside Buganda the small numbers of Toro were all found in urban centres.

One of the reasons for Toro movement out of their district was their unwillingness to do manual labour in Kilembe Copper Mines. They seemed to have lived up to this reputation in 1959. In that year, a large proportion of Toro migrant population lived in towns. If most of them were employed as domestics, as concluded earlier, it is possible that more and more of them will in future be attracted to towns in hope of getting this type of employment.

#### N O T E S

1. Taylor, B.K. The Western Lacustrine Bantu, (London), International African Institute 1962, p.68.
2. ————— op.cit. (1962) p.44.
3. In 1931 about 1,220 Toro were registered on non-native schedules. These were living in towns, probably as employees of Europeans.
4. The Uganda Population Census of 1911, recorded Konjo and Amba with Toro. In 1921 these two tribal groups were returned separately, the 1931 census registered Konjo with Toro; and Amba separately. But in 1948 and 1959 both of them were returned separately.
5. Taylor, B.K. op.cit. (1962) p.68.

## DISTRIBUTION OF KONJO MIGRANTS IN UGANDA OUTSIDE TORO DISTRICT

The Konjo are found on the eastern slopes of the Ruwenzori Mountains in Busongora county, Toro. Part of the Konjo trace their origin back to one Prince Konjo of Sesse Islands, who fled to seek protection in Ruwenzori after his quarrel with the Kabaka of Buganda a long time back. He and his small number of followers were absorbed by the Banande tribe, who were indigeneous in the area; but the tribe has been known as Konjo since then. Because of the protection offered by the Ruwenzori, the Konjo have remained out of touch with the neighbouring groups, and consequently with the westernised way of life. Since the advent of British administration, however, some change has taken place among the Konjo. Formerly a mountain people, the Konjo have moved as far down as the shores of Lakes Edward and George and the connecting Kazinga Channel. Busongora county, the home of the Konjo, rises from about 2,000 feet in the vicinity of the lakes to 1,700 feet above sea level - the peak of Ruwenzori Mountains. Rainfall averages about 36 inches per annum around the lakes, but towards the Ruwenzori, it increases due mainly to relief. The soil, with a high iron content, is fertile. A variety of crops are grown by the Konjo; they include finger-millet, cassava, plantains and sweet potatoes. Tea and coffee are cultivated on a limited scale for cash. The presence of Kilembe Mines in Busongora, seemed to have had little effect on the economy and life of this people.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911, the Konjo were grouped with the Toro; but they were returned separately in 1921, and numbered 13,270. Of this figure, only 33 were registered outside Toro District; 12 lived in Buganda, mostly Mubende District; Bunyoro had 7; and West Nile 14. In the 1931 Uganda Population Census, the Konjo were again counted with the Toro. The 1948 census recorded 73,745 Konjo in Uganda. About 1,173 of this number were living outside Toro District. The areas where they lived are not specified, but it is probable that most of them were in Buganda.

DISTRIBUTION OF KONJO MIGRANTS OUTSIDE TORO DISTRICT

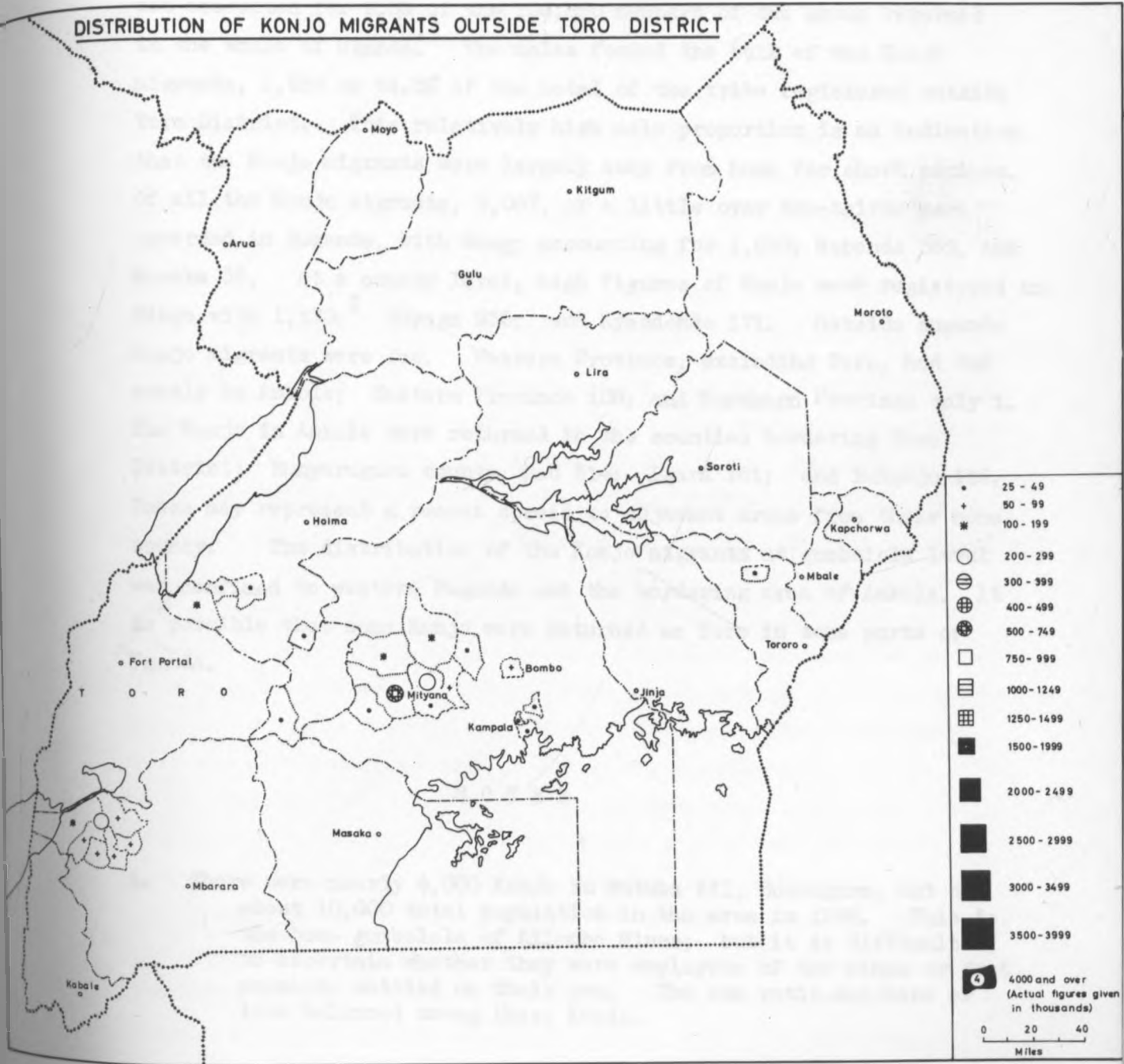


FIG 27



By 1959, the Konjo living outside Toro District numbered 3,022, and accounted for 2.8% of the 106,890 members of the group returned in the whole of Uganda. The males formed the bulk of the Konjo migrants, 1,856 or 61.5% of the total of the tribe registered outside Toro District. This relatively high male proportion is an indication that the Konjo migrants were largely away from home for short periods. Of all the Konjo migrants, 2,067, or a little over two-thirds were recorded in Buganda, with Mengo accounting for 1,650; Mubende 362, and Masaka 55. At a county level, high figures of Konjo were registered in Singo with 1,170;<sup>2</sup> Buyaga 253; and Kyaddondo 171. Outside Buganda Konjo migrants were few. Western Province, excluding Toro, had 846 mostly in Ankole; Eastern Province 108; and Northern Province only 1. The Konjo in Ankole were returned in the counties bordering Toro District: Bunyaruguru county had 514; Igara 161; and Buhweju 119. These may represent a recent spread to adjacent areas from their home county. The distribution of the Konjo migrants at gombolola level was confined to western Buganda and the bordering area of Ankole. It is possible that some Konjo were returned as Toro in some parts of Uganda.

#### N O T E S

1. There were nearly 4,000 Konjo in Mutuba III, Busongora, out of about 10,000 total population in the area in 1959. This is the home gombolola of Kilembe Mines; but it is difficult to ascertain whether they were employees of the mines or just peasants settled on their own. The sex ratio was more or less balanced among these Konjo.
2. The Konjo in Singo county were probably labour migrants engaged on tea plantations around Mityana.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BANYANKOLE MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE ANKOLE

The term Banyankole applies to all indigeneous people of Ankole District. They belong to two different ethnic groups, the pastoralist Hima, who are Hamitic in origin, and the agriculturalist Bairu who are Bantu.<sup>1</sup> The Hima have become an influential and aristocratic tribe, and remained the ruling group till recently when their powers were removed by the new Uganda Republican Constitution.

Most of Ankole is an extension of the highland of western Uganda which borders the western arm of the Great Rift Valley of East Africa. Consequently the climate is moderated by altitude. Rainfall is heavier in the northern and western parts, varying from 36 inches to 56 inches a year. In most of southern and eastern Ankole, rainfall is below 36 inches per annum. In a large part of eastern Ankole, annual rainfall expectation is below 20 inches in 9 years out of 10. The soil is poor except in the eastern portion of the district where it is relatively fertile. Though some areas, mostly in the southwest, are suitable for agriculture where banana, coffee, groundnuts, maize and soya-beans are grown, Ankole in general is suited to cattle rearing. Good pasturage and adequate water supply for animals have tended not only to perpetuate a semi-nomadic way of life in Ankole, but also the zonal division between the pastoral and agricultural people in that district. The Hima are in the Eastern part of Ankole where conditions are suited to grazing, while the Bairu live in western Ankole where agriculture is the main occupation because of higher rainfall and more fertile soil. In the Hima counties of Mitoma and Nyabushozi, the population is scanty as a result of semi-nomadic nature of the people and the effect of past tsetse infestation of the area. On the other hand, Bairu areas of

Shem and Igara, are more heavily settled, with densities between 150 and 200 persons per square mile..

In 1959 there were 519,283 Banyankole in Uganda, 104,350 or 21% of whom lived outside Ankole District. The number of Banyankole who then lived outside Ankole District, and hence included here as migrants fall into three categories, namely:

- a) those, who in pursuance of transhumance practice found themselves in the adjacent counties of other districts, especially western Masaka;
- b) those, who, because their land was ceded to other districts, were transferred with the land; this group was mostly found in Kabula county of Masaka District which went to Buganda at the beginning of this century because some Ganda resided there;<sup>2</sup> and
- c) those who made a decision to migrate to other districts. The distribution of Banyankole in other districts of Uganda was greatly influenced by their occupation in Ankole. In areas of migration some Banyankole were employed on farms as porters; but the majority were either pastoralists, or had settled on their own to cultivate food and cash crops where good agricultural land was available; the latter were predominantly Iru. Cash employment opportunities existed in Buganda where peasant agriculture was developed on a sophisticated scale. The settled Banyankole farmers were found largely in the peripheries of Buganda fertile arc where the soil is fertile and rainfall is adequate. The pastoralists, on the other hand, were often in the drier short grass zone where water and pasturage was available for animals. They either moved with their own cattle or looked after animals of other people mostly Baganda and Iteso, for payment partly in cash, but often in form of a bull or heifer. They also always kept the milk of herds under their charge.

The main reason for the Banyankole migration was economic due to land shortage either for agriculture or pastoralism. In the areas where agriculture is the main occupation, land-tenure was based

on family holdings. After the death of the family head, his land is divided among his off-springs. This generational segmentation continues till family land becomes uneconomic to till. The overall result is migration, often by male members of the family, to supplement the produce of the small holdings or to settle in the area of economic asylum indefinitely. With the advent of "Pax Britannica", and the introduction of health services among the Banyankole, death rate dropped, the population increased and economic problems generated by land pressure in agricultural areas grew larger. In addition to land shortage, the introduction of taxation and the change of bride price from cattle to money had encouraged migration in search of the needed cash. Taxation and marriage occur almost at the same age among the Banyankole - 18 years. This has tended to send young men outside the district. Eighteen is also the age of adventure when youth itches for new things, places and ideas. Among the agriculturalist Banyankole, greater economic opportunities outside their district had acted as incentives to migration. Buganda provided the greatest of these opportunities in form of vast unoccupied land and cash employment.

The pastoralists were often motivated by desire to feed their cattle. In the course of grazing, little heed was paid to boundaries between Ankole and other districts, especially Masaka and West Mengo. They went to any area not given to cultivation. In this way the Banyankole were able to penetrate into other districts. There were also Banyankole who went to other districts and got employment as herders of animals. The habit of movement among the Banyankole pastoralists, however, seems to have acquired some religious significance. John Roscoe writes that the pastoral chief is not supposed to spend two or three years in one place or else the cattle will contract disease.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, if a person dies in the kraal, the place is deserted. The consequent movement may be beyond the borders

of their district; but these Banyankole remained close to Ankole.<sup>4</sup> The journey further afield was mostly done by the young men, who went to Buganda in particular,

"... not to seek their fortunes but to raise their tax for the year, to meet bride-wealth and wedding obligations, or to find cash for house-holding. They are for the most part short-term emigrants whose absences are measured by the month not the year, and they prefer rural to urban employment. But they are persistent emigrants returning year after year to the same locality if not to the same employer".<sup>5</sup>

In the rough population estimate, the so called first census of Uganda Protectorate of 1911, there were 230,171 Banyankole returned. In That year, no distinction was made between the Hima and the Iru. There were estimated to be about 21,082, or 9% of all Banyankole away from Ankole District. Of these migrants 18,012, or 84.5% were in Buganda. Masaka had 8,117, and 8,635 lived in Mengo. A little over 4,500 were returned from western Maaka in the counties of Kabula, Koki and Mawogola, with Banyankole populations of 2,396, 994 and 1,129 respectively. Buddu alone had 3,583 Banyankole. In Mengo District, Bulemezi county had 2,423 Banyankole, followed by Gomba with 1,735, and Buruli with 1,170. The Banyankole in Buddu and Mawogola were part of the number that crossed into adjacent districts in search of pasturage for their animals, while most of those in Kabula were settled residents of that county transferred with the land when Kabula was ceded to Buganda at the beginning of this century. This group of Banyankole belonged largely to the pastoralist Hima. Similarly, those in Gomba and Buruli counties were primarily pastoral; but some of the Banyankole in Bulemezi could have been porters. In 1911, it appears that the Banyankole outside their district enjoyed a certain amount of permanency, because male ratio to the total migrant Banyankole was only 57.7%. Alternatively, this

could have been a result of nomadic way of life which often does not distinguish between men and women when it comes to movement from place to place. In fact, the male/total ratio outside Ankole was smaller in the counties bordering this district. Masaka, for instance, had 55% male ratio to the total Banyankole number there

In the 1921 Uganda Census returns, there must have been some discrepancies in the enumeration. The figure for Banyankole, was given as 237,894<sup>6</sup> in the whole of Uganda and 232,542 in Ankole District. There was a distinction made between the Banyankole and Hima, but no figure was given for the latter group in Ankole District itself. All the Hima in Ankole at the time of 1921 census were returned as Banyankole, and the domiciles of Ankole in other districts were assumed Hima, except in Western Province where the Banyankole were returned in equally large numbers. Kigezi District for instance had 3,112 Banyankole that year, and there were 1,354 in Toro. There were only 705 Banyankole in Buganda, of whom 398 or 56.4% were males. Of all the Banyankole enumerated in Buganda, 652 or a little over 90% of the total were in Mubende District. It appears that these were Hima listed as Banyankole. These were nearly all in the county of Buwekula which is adjacent to the Hima counties, and where land is more suited to cattle rearing.

In 1921, Hima outside Ankole were mainly in Buganda and Kigezi with 18,131 and 5,360 members of this group respectively. With nearly 10,000 Hima, Masaka District had the largest number of Buganda's Hima. The rest were shared between Entebbe and Mengo - 5,568 and 2,587 respectively. The Hima population in Masaka and the border counties of Gomba and Mawokota were largely pastoralists. The Hima figure for Buddu county was similar to that recorded for Banyankole in 1911 - 8,141. In 1921 no Banyankole were returned. The Hima in Mengo counties away from the border of Ankole District and those in Entebbe were probably herdersmen of Ganda cattle, or porters on Ganda farms. In 1921 there were no Hima in Teso and northern Buganda.

There was a change in the system of enumeration in the 1931 Uganda Census.<sup>7</sup> The Banyankole were split into their tribal components, the Hima and Bairu, and enumerated as such in Ankole. But those outside the District of Ankole were mostly returned as Banyankole. The terms ahima and Bairu were, however, used in a few cases outside Ankole. In all, there were 748 Bahima enumerated in other districts: 218 in Mengo, 49 in Masaka, 566 in Toro, 12 in Teso and 3 in Kigezi. The number of Bairu in such districts was only 37 nearly half of which came from Mubende District, the rest were in Mengo and Toro. A total of 31,784 Banyankole were returned. This was a little over 13% of the combined figure for Bairu, Hima and Banyankole. In that census 224,438 Bairu and 31,784 Hima were registered, a ratio of 7 Bairu to one Hima. Buganda with 23,972 Banyankole or 75.4% of this group returned, had the largest number. Their distribution closely followed that of the Hima in Masaka District and western counties of Mengo and Entebbe Districts as revealed in the 1921 census. The only difference was in the change of name from Hima to Banyankole. These could not have been Bahororo, because the latter were enumerated as a separate group in 1921 and 1931. Kigezi District with 2,232 Banyankole followed, and Toro came next with 1,861. In 1931 there was a rise in the ratio of males to the total Banyankole population outside the district. There were 22,303 or just over 70%. This could have been due to more young men migrating to work in Buganda as porters or employees of Lugazi Sugar Estate. In fact, there were 2,229 Banyankole in Kyaggwe in that year, 1,881 or about 84.4% of them being males. Presumably, most of them were working on Lugazi Sugar plantation. But the Banyankole outside Ankole remained mostly of nomadic type which roamed the bordering counties for the welfare of their animals. The migrant population returned in 1931 in the western part of Masaka were all Banyankole. Busoga District had 567 Banyankole, nearly half or 248 of whom were in the drier Kigulu county probably employed as cattle herders by the indigenous population. Further east, the

number of Banyankole tended to thin down probably because of distance from their district. But at the same time the presence of this people in the eastern districts of Eastern Province was influenced by occupation of the area and land use. Thus, the districts of Teso, Lango, and Budama had 296, 221 and 220 Banyankole respectively. There were 120 members of this group in Bugerere, and only 21 in the predominantly agricultural Bugisu. The Banyankole returned in these districts were presumably Hima who went to these areas because of the importance of cattle among the Nilo-Hamites of Eastern Uganda. This eastward spread of the Banyankole was noticed on a wider scale only in 1931. In 1921 there were no members of this group in this part of Uganda. This was the case particularly in Teso and Lango districts. Apart from 69 Banyankole in Bunyoro District (Kihukya county) and two in Kitgum Township, Chua District, there were no members of this group enumerated in the Northern Province.

In 1948 there were 387,529 Banyankole in Uganda. This was nearly 8% of total population of the Protectorate. Of this number 55,680, or 14.4% were away from Ankole District. The migrant male population was 35,716, or 64.3% of total Banyankole migrants. This formed 19% of the whole Banyankole male population. Buganda was the home of 45,245 Banyankole migrants. This was about 80% of all Banyankole away from their home district; 29,991 or 66.3% of all Banyankole in Buganda were males. And 26,635 or 58.8% of migrant Banyankole in Buganda were enumerated in Mengo District, 17,088 or 37.7% in Masaka District, and 1,522 or 3.5% in Mubende District. Migrant Banyankole during 1948 census were identified as Banyankole; but several thousands were enumerated as Hima, mainly in Kabula and Mawogola counties, Masaka, where 2,221 and 3,655 of this group were recorded. Gombolola Mutuba VII of Buddu also had 640 Hima in that year, an increase over 1931 figure. There could have been other Hima population which were considered insignificant enough to appear in the list of main tribes of gombololas. In general, the Hima were more



numerous in the short grass zone because it suited their pastoral way of life best. This is why they were found in large numbers in Mawogola and Kabula counties. These two counties formed a kind of nomadic belt wherein the Hima moved between Ankole and Buganda in search of water and pasturage for their animals. These areas were also important to Hima when the tsetse invaded their areas. In Sabagabo gombolola of Mawogola alone 4,364 people were returned in 1948; 52% of these were Hima. The presence of the Hima in large numbers like this could have been encouraged more by the building of four tank dams in the gombolola between 1939 and 1942.<sup>8</sup> In Kabula county the construction of 13 tank dams and one bore-hole between 1931 and 1948 accounted for the large numbers of Hima in that county.<sup>9</sup> Mutuba III gombolola, Singo county, had nearly 600 Hima or 5% of total population. This was probably the population lured into that county by the drier conditions, which are favourable for stock rearing; and they were presumably herdsmen for Ganda cattle.

Apart from these areas of Hima concentration, all the migrants who originated from Ankole were returned as Banyankole. Some of them were pastoralists and found mostly in the drier counties like western Buddu, Kabula, Mawogola, Gomba and parts of Singo; but others worked as porters on Ganda farms, or had settled and cultivated cotton on their own. In fact, as early as 1937, within Uganda, next to West Nile, Ankole District was the most important labour contributor to Buganda.<sup>10</sup> In that year, it supplied 10,000 labourers. The 1948 distribution of Banyankole in the fertile arc of Buganda could have been influenced by employment opportunities of the past. The Banyankole were spread out in all the southern and central counties of Buganda - Kyaddondo with 1,492, in Mumyuka and Sabaddu gombololas; 2,799 in Sabaddu, Mutubas I, II and III, Busiro county; Busujju had 665; there were 364 in Mawokota, and 319 in Butambala. These were either porters on Ganda farms, or cultivators on their own where fertile land was available. Gomba county with 4,653 Banyankole had

mixed agricultural, and pastoral migrants from Ankole. Towards the drier western side, there was a preponderance of the pastoral group, while the agriculturalists were more in the eastern gombololas of Mumyuka and Sabawali. Gombololas Sabaddu and Sabagabo had 3,270 Banyankole, and the eastern Gombololas of Mumyuka and Sabawali had only 1,383 Banyankole. As a single county, Buddu had the highest number of Banyankole, 12,810, enumerated as being significant in gombololas. It is probable most of them were porters on Ganda farms, especially those in the gombololas furthest from Ankole. There were no Banyankole shown in the final list of tribes that constituted the main tribes of Kyaggwe county. This may only mean that the number was not large enough to be recorded, and therefore a decrease from 1931.

The 1948 census figures for Mubende District were not reliable enough to be recorded because they showed a preponderance of Baganda over Banyoro when the reverse should have been the case. Another recount done in 1950 came after some administrative changes affecting the boundaries of counties and gombololas.<sup>11</sup> The result was that these census figures could not be tabulated along with those of 1948, although estimated percentages were given for gombololas. Mubende as a whole had 1,522 Banyankole, or 2% of total population of the district. Males were 779, a little over 50% of all Banyankole in Mubende. All these were in Buwekula county.

Outside Buganda, few Banyankole migrants were recorded in significant numbers in 1948. Busoga District, expected to harbour more of them because of abundant employment opportunities accorded by Kakira Sugar Plantation and commercial firms and companies in Jinja, had only 329 Banyankole; and all these were returned from Sabawali gombolola (Jinja Township), Butembe-Bunya. All of them, except 12, were males. Kioga county of Lango District had 1,039 Banyankole concentrated in Awelo, Muntu and Namasale gombololas on the northern shores of Lake Kioga. East of these counties in Ochero gombolola, Kaberamaido county of Teso, 229 Banyankole were returned. In both

DISTRIBUTION OF NKOLE IN UGANDA OUTSIDE ANKOLE

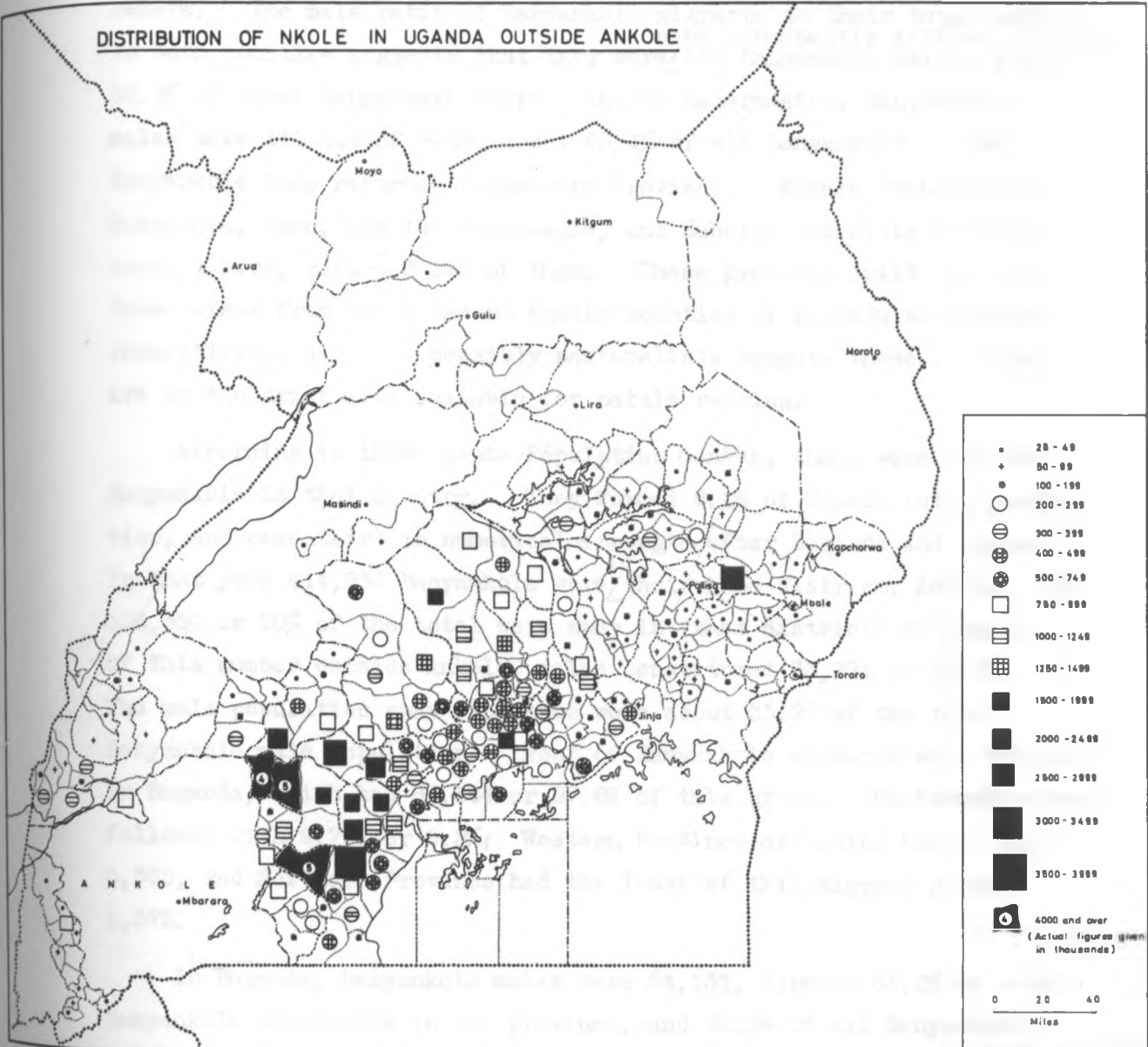


FIG. 28

Kioga and Kaberamaido, it is almost certain that the Banyankole were the pastoralist Hima serving as herdsmen for Iteso and Lango cattle owners. The male ratio of Banyankole migrants to their total number in both counties suggests that they were <sup>more permanently settled.</sup> In Kioga 522 Banyankole males, about 50.2% of total Banyankole there; and in Kaberamaido, Banyankole males were 111 out of 229, about 48.4% of all Banyankole. Few Banyankole were returned in Western Province. Musale Gombolola of Busongora, Toro, had 185 Banyankole, and Sabairu Gombolola of Kibale county, Toro, returned 322 of them. These probably spilt over into these areas from the adjacent Ankole counties of Buhweju and Mitoma respectively, and were possibly pastoralists because these counties are in the drier area suitable for cattle rearing.

According to 1959 Uganda Population Census, there were 519,283 Banyankole in that country. They formed 8.1% of Uganda total population, and came third in numerical strength after Baganda and Iteso. In that year 414,933 Banyankole were <sup>in</sup> their home district, Ankole; but 104,350 or 20% of the total were away in other districts of Uganda. Of this number outside Ankole, males constituted 63,291 or 60.7%. The male population away from home were about 33.2% of the total Banyankole male population. Most of Banyankole migrants were returned in Buganda, which had 88,344 or 87.6% of this group. Eastern Province followed with 9,752 or 9.3%; Western Province excluding Ankole had 3,565, and Northern Province had the least of this migrant group, 1,375.

In Buganda, Banyankole males were 54,131, forming 61.2% of total Banyankole population in the province, and 28.5% of all Banyankole males in Uganda. Masaka District had the highest concentration of migrant Banyankole of all districts in Buganda with 37,259, or 36.6% of all Banyankole migrants, and 42.1% of the Banyankole in Buganda. This is due to the fact that west Masaka was considered part of Banyankole homeland. West Mengo was next in the order of Banyankole

numerical concentration with 27,552 or 31% of Buganda Banyankole. East Mengo and Mubende Districts had 19,957 and 3,576 respectively, or 22.5% and 4% of the Banyankole migrants in Buganda. In terms of distribution by counties, Buddue with 21,735 Banyankole had the highest concentration of this group outside Ankole. This was 24.5% of all Banyankole in Buganda. Mawogola came second with 11,481, or nearly 13% of Buganda's total. Other counties with high figures were Bulenzezi 10,458, Gomba 6,499, Singo 6,071 and Kyaddondo 5,980. Three gombololas, Mutuba VII of Buddu, and Sabaddu and Sabawali of Mawogola, each had over 4,000 Banyankole. These were the areas frequented by members of this group when in search of water and pasturage for their animals, although in the case of Buddu most of Banyankole could have been porters on coffee plantations. This heavy concentration of Banyankole at gombolola level is limited to Buganda counties adjacent to Ankole—Buddu, Mawogola and through these, Gomba and Buwekula. Outside these counties <sup>it</sup> was only in Omukulu w'Ekibuga (Mengo), of Kyaddondo, Mutuba I of Bulenzezi, and Kibale gombolola of Pallisa that a figure of over 1,500 Banyankole was reached in 1959.

The "home counties" of Buganda had scattered Banyankole population of lesser concentration. This ranged from those resident in Kampala and Mengo, and therefore employed by commercial firms, to porters who worked on Ganda farms, and perhaps settlers. The last group could have been quite small in these counties, but further north in the areas less suited to banana cultivation and, therefore, less appealing to the Ganda, their number was greater. This was specially so in Bulenzezi, Singo, Bugerere, Buruli and northern part of Kyaggwe. In the northern gombololas of Bugerere and Buruli, conditions become more ideal for pastoralism with the eradication of tsetse which killed cattle in the late 1940's. So here the Banyankole were probably pastoralists.

Outside Buganda counties and gombololas those of Busoga followed. But the Banyankole population were scattered in smaller numbers, and apart from Jinja Township, not exceeding 200 in a gombolola. It was similarly the case in other districts of Eastern Province where they were found in significant numbers - Bukedi and Teso. It is probable that the Banyankole migrants were porters in Busoga, and cattle herders in Teso and Bukedi. Pallisa county, an Iteso area in Bukedi District, had 2,994 Banyankole in 1959. There is little doubt that most of these were Hina who herded Iteso cattle. The Banyankole here were divided almost into equal number of males and females - 1,495 and 1,499 respectively. Most of Banyankole population in Pallisa were found in Kibale gombolola which had 2,746 of this group. This is a very high figure for a place so far away from Ankole, and one without an industry of established reputation. But the explanation could be that having been lured into Kibale by cattle herding as an employment, the Hina found the area a favourable one for cattle rearing and decided to settle there permanently. To the north of these districts, Lango, especially the area that borders Lake Kioga had a substantial number of Banyankole. In 1959 there were 1,106 of them in this district, about 81% of all Banyankole in the Northern Province in that year. These were mostly pastoralists. Acholi District had 265 returned south and west of Gulu. This was a new area opened up for settlement after tsetse clearance in the late 1940's. In Western Province, Toro had the largest number of Banyankole migrants. There were 3,408 members of this group in the district in March 1959. Of the total number of Banyankole migrants in Toro, 2,261 or 66.3% were male. Busongora county with 1,445 Banyankole migrants, 1,144 of who were males, had the largest number of all Toro counties. However, only 311 Banyankole were found in Mutuba III gombolola, the home of Kilenbe mines; and of this number, 254 or 81.4% were males. This is an indication that the Banyankole here were seasonal migrants, employed by the mines. Kigezi District returned 1,314 Banyankole in

1959 census; 596, below half the total number, were males. These were found near the Ankole-Kigezi border and were permanently settled, at least by the proponderance of female/male ratio. Another possibility is that these were members of Bahororo who are akin to the Bairu. There were only 157 Banyankole in Bunyoro, 114 of who were males. Only in two gombololas, Mutuba I of Bugahya, and Munyuka of Buruli, were the figures large enough to map. These were probably porters or forestry workers.

The distribution of Banyankole in 1959 was characteristic of those of other migrant tribes in Uganda, except the Luo. They were mostly found in the rural areas. There were only 2,492 of them in Kampala Municipality and Mengo and 415 in Jinja Township. This gives a total of 2,907 of them in the urban areas in that year. They were predominantly rural in their settlement in area of immigration. This was a result of their being largely pastoral. This pastoral attitude of the Banyankole perhaps accounted more for their small number in areas of traditional employment in Uganda, namely Iugazi and Kakira Sugar Estates and Kilembe mines where only 110; 95 and 311 Banyankole were returned respectively in 1959. Where the Banyankole were far from home, as in Pallisa and Kioga county (Lango), the trend have been towards a permanent settlement. In these areas, they have accumulated much wealth in form of cattle which they could not drive back home because of distance, and which they could not sell without big economic loss. So they were often faced with a choice either to return to Ankole and lose the wealth they have accumulated over years, or maintain the acquired wealth and stay away from home.

Apart from the rural distribution which they shared with other tribal migrants in Uganda, the Banyankole migrants had a unique characteristic of their own. Pastoralism seems to have influenced their distribution, such that a large number of them were found in areas where agricultural and other sources of employment were least practised. In such places, the Banyankole reared their own cattle, or herded animals belonging to other people. In places like western Masaka and parts of West Mengo, adjacent to Ankole District, the Banyankole still had their own animals; but further afield in northern Buganda counties of

Buruli, northern Singo, Bulemezi and Bugerere, and among the Iteso, the Banyankole herded the Ganda and Iteso cattle. It is difficult to tell as to what proportion of Banyankole migrants were pastoral in 1959. But if it is assumed that the Banyankole in western Masaka, two western gombololas of Gonba county, Mubende, Buruli, northern gombololas of Singo, Bulemezi and Bugerere counties, Teso and Pallisa and Northern Province, practised mainly pastoral economy, about 61,046 people were involved. This meant a ratio of 58.4% of all Banyankole migrants in Uganda. This pastoral element among the Banyankole seems to have been responsible for a wider dispersal of this group, with large numbers of immigrants in parts of Eastern Uganda, especially Pallisa and Teso.

#### N O T E S

1. Although the Bairu are traditionally an agricultural people, they now have more cattle than the Hima.
2. Fortt, J.M. "The Distribution of the Immigrant and Ganda population within Buganda", in Richards, A.I., *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, Heffer, Cambridge (1954), pp.114-115.
3. Roscoe, J. *The Banyankole*. Cambridge University Press (1923), p.17.
4. Between 1904 and 1950 tsetse invasion of south and east Ankole forced out Banyankole pastoralists to western Masaka.
5. Stenning, D.J. *Coral Tree-Hill (Report of Land Tenure Study In Central Ankole)* E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper, (1958) p.2.
6. This figure excluded the 23,491 Hima migrants in Buganda and Kigezi.
7. This was a reverse of the 1921 Uganda Population Census.
8. Fortt, J.M. op.cit., (1954), p.96.
9. Fortt, J.M. op.cit., (1954), p.109.
10. Labour Commissioner's Report, (1938), Para.18.
11. *African Population of Uganda Protectorate, (Geographical and Tribal Studies)*, The East African Statistical Department, 1950.



DISTRIBUTION OF KIGA MIGRANTS IN UGANDA  
OUTSIDE KIGEZI DISTRICT

The Kiga live in Kigezi District, in the south-western part of Uganda bordering Rwanda. Kigezi is generally hilly, averaging about 6,000 ft. above sea-level, and sloping from south to north towards Lake Edward. Parts of the area around Lake Edward are tsetse-infested, and are an extension of Queen Elizabeth Park.

The Kiga are peasant farmers. The rainfall of the district about 45-50 inches per annum, is experienced throughout the year, except for a short spell of dry season in July and August. Soil is favourable for many crops - finger millet, sorghum, cassava, sweet and English potatoes, beans, peas, maize, wheat, coffee, and tobacco. Vegetables are also grown mostly for export to urban centres elsewhere in Uganda. Some of these crops were recently introduced to Kigezi. The Kiga contact with the Europeans, especially the latter's introduction of money economy, though less so than in some districts, had a big influence on the tribe. This relatively new influence made the Kiga more aware of their economic limitations, especially with regards to land. The overall result has been a spontaneous emigration of the Kiga to areas of better economic opportunities. In 1959, Kigezi with 260 persons per square mile, was the most densely settled district in Uganda. This is in spite of the fact that 72,880 Kiga lived outside Kigezi at that time.

Kiga migration was dictated by economic reasons, and was encouraged by the government and private industries, especially the Lugazi and Kakira sugar plantations, which set up recruiting agencies in their district. Kiga migration was not a simple movement to look for cash employment only, although it was the main reason at the beginning. Population transfer was involved as well, for resettlement in Ankole

and Toro Districts. This was undertaken because of the high natural increase in the population, estimated at 13,000 per annum at one time.<sup>1</sup> In the past, concern had been shown by the administration in Kigezi at this high increase. And the solution was thought to be resettlement of people from densely peopled areas in Kigezi. Consequently, about 23,000 of such people were settled on the Kigezi-Ankole Resettlement Scheme between 1947 and the end of 1953.<sup>2</sup> But most were resettled in northern Kigezi, not Ankole.

In 1921, the Uganda population census returned only 15 Kiga living outside Kigezi. Nearly all of them were in Kampala. But by 1931, the Kiga migrants in Uganda were nearly 8,000. About 5,026 of them were returned in Western Ankole alone, and were probably squeezed out by population pressure in Kigezi District into the relatively thinly populated area of Mpororo. The county of Kajara had the largest number of Kiga - 3,278; Rwampara followed with 916; Bunyaruguru and Shema had 66. Thus most of the Kiga in Ankole were in areas immediately adjacent to Kigezi District. Most of the remainder were recorded in Buganda; but no single county had more than 100 Kiga. Kyaddondo which registered the largest number had only 94, and Buddu, Masaka, returned 79.

The 1948 Uganda Population Census shows that the Kiga were 271,738 in Uganda; but 22,006, or about 9% of them were living outside Kigezi. The male migrants numbered 12,367, and formed 9.7% of all male Kiga, or 56.2% of the total Kiga migrant population. This low male/female ratio is an indication that most of Kiga migrants were outside with members of their families, and had possibly settled permanently. This was definitely the case with the Kiga who were resettled in Ankole since 1947. In fact, in 1948 Ankole returned 15,185 Kiga, nearly 70% of all Kiga migrants in Uganda. About 7,963 of this number were registered in Kajara county; 3,437 in Rwampara; 1019 in Shema; 347 in Bunyaruguru; and 153 in Buhweju. There was no indication of the distribution of the rest of Kiga migrant population;

DISTRIBUTION OF KIGA IN UGANDA, OUTSIDE KIGEZI.

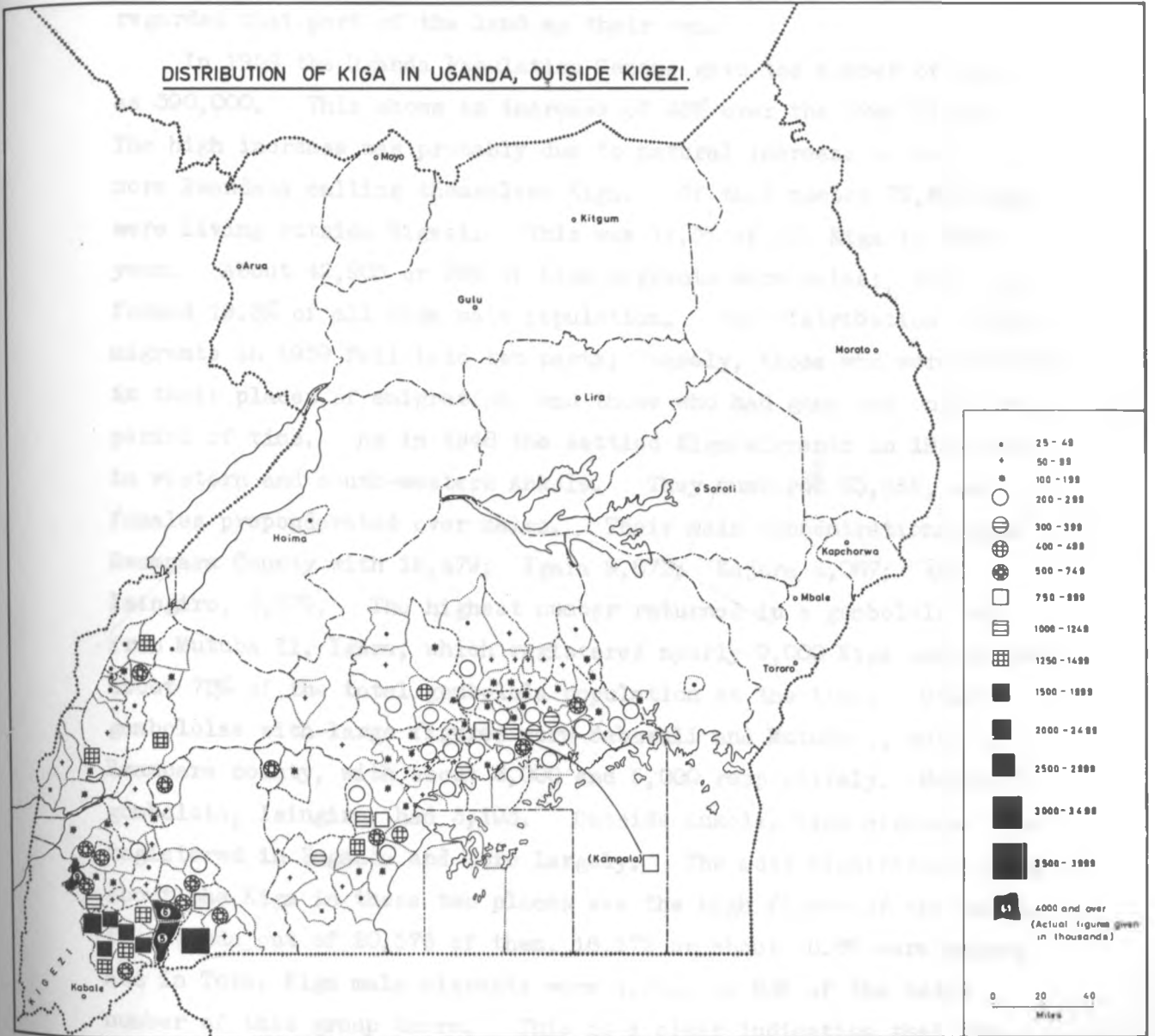


FIG. 29

but it is probable that they were scattered in Buganda and Toro. The Kiga in the counties of western Ankole were a settled people and regarded that part of the land as their own.

In 1959 the Uganda Population Census gave the number of Kiga as 390,000. This shows an increase of 46% over the 1948 figure. The high increase was probably due to natural increase as well as more Rwandans calling themselves Kiga. Of this number 72,880 Kiga were living outside Kigezi. This was 11.5% of all Kiga in that year. About 42,905 or 59% of Kiga migrants were males; they also formed 19.5% of all Kiga male population. The distribution of Kiga migrants in 1959 fell into two parts; namely, those who were settled in their places of emigration, and those who had gone out only for a period of time. As in 1948 the settled Kiga migrants in 1959 were in western and south-western Ankole. They numbered 45,665, and females preponderated over males. Their main concentrations were Rwampara County with 18,479; Igara 9,872; Kajara 8,067; and Isingiro, 4,679. The highest number returned in a gombolola was from Mutuba II, Igara, which registered nearly 9,000 Kiga and formed about 75% of the total gombolola population at the time. Other gombololas with large figures were Sabawali and Mutuba I, both of Rwampara county, with about 6,000 and 5,000 respectively. Mutuba I gombolola, Isingiro, had 3,193. Outside Ankole, Kiga migrants were registered in Buganda and Toro largely. The most significant thing about the Kiga in these two places was the high figure of the males. In Buganda out of 20,576 of them, 16,172 or about 78.6% were males; and in Toro, Kiga male migrants were 4,711, or 83% of the total number of this group there. This is a clear indication that the Kiga in Buganda and Toro were largely labour migrants. A similar indication was seen with the few Kiga in Busoga in 1959, where 456 out of 589 of their number were males. A look at the map of their distribution shows that the Kiga migrants returned in Buganda, Toro and Busoga largely congregated where they were likely to get cash

employment, namely, around Kampala, and the southern counties of Mengo in general, the gombololas of Buddu county in the immediate neighbourhood of Masaka Township in Buganda; the Kilembe mines of Toro; the vicinity of Lake George and near Fort Portal in Toro; Jinja and the Kakira Sugar Plantation in Busoga District. The Kiga found in Buganda, probably worked as porters on Ganda farms, or were absorbed in private industries in Kampala, Masaka and the Lugazi Sugar Estate. The last place returned 227 Kiga in 1959; but members of this group recorded in nearby gombololas could have been working on the sugar industry as well. In Toro, some of the Kiga were employed as miners in Kilembe; fishing industry, especially around Lakes George and Edward absorbed some of them, while those found near Fort Portal were primarily working on tea plantations. The northern-most limit where Kiga were found in 1959 was near Hoima, Bunyoro District. Professor S.J.K. Baker believes that these were probably labourers engaged by one D.N. Stafford on his plantation.<sup>3</sup> The latter had a good opinion of Kiga as a hard-working people, so he took the trouble of recruiting them from their district.

The high density of population in Kigezi made the emigration and population transfer from that district imperative. It appears that the eastward move by the Kiga to settle in western and southern parts of Ankole District and their migration for cash employment in Buganda and Toro will continue in future. At the moment, the relatively empty land in the northern part of Kigezi is tsetse-infested and forms part of Queen Elizabeth National Park and Kigezi Game Reserve. Industries to employ man-power is lacking. So both space for settlement and employment opportunities will have to be found outside the district.

## NOTES

1. Annual Report on the Western Province for the year ended 31st December, 1953, p.96.
2. Annual Report on the Western Province for the year ended 31st December,
3. Personal communication. This is confirmed by the Report for the district (Kigezi) for the year 1947 in which "Mr. Stafford of Hoima" is reported to have recruited 25 Kiga. (Annual Report on the Western Province for the year ended 31st December, 1947.

## THE MINOR GROUPS

Included in this group are some ten tribes, Jonam, Lendu, Labwor, Suk, Tepeth, Sebei, Gwe, Kenyi, Amba and Twa. One thing these tribes have in common in 1959 was their small number in Uganda and outside their districts.<sup>1</sup> Most of them were not seriously affected by emigration to areas of economic opportunities. This was especially the case with the Karamojong sub-tribes, the Sebei and the Amba.

Jonam. The Jonam are Nilotic people closely related to the Alur. They live in a county of that name along the Nile in West Nile District. Jonam means "people of the river", and they could have got this name because of their present location on the west bank of the Albert Nile. Fishing was the most important industry in Jonam county, but a certain amount of cotton is grown. The Jonam, like the neighbouring tribes of West Nile District, were exposed to labour migration quite early. Before 1959 they were treated as part of the Alur and some may have been counted as Alur migrants in 1959. In 1959 they numbered 27,422 in Uganda; but 2,677 or 9.8% were living outside West Nile and Madi Districts. Of all the Jonam migrants, 1,129 were scattered in Buganda, and 780 across the Nile in Acholi. In the latter case, the Jonam are making a return to what was originally part of their "home"land.

Lendu. The Lendu are found in West Nile and Madi Districts. They are believed to have been more in number before the beginning of this century, but some of them were absorbed by the Nubis, or children of Sudanese soldiers who settled in what is now West Nile and Madi after the Mahdi revolt in the Sudan in 1882. Others still identified themselves with the Alur. In 1959, there were only 4,744 Lendu in Uganda. Of this number, about 2,000 or 42% were living outside West Nile and Madi Districts. Buganda, with 1,344 Lendu migrants, had the largest

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Lendu. The Lendu are found in West Nile and Madi Districts. They are believed to have been more in number before the beginning of this century, but some of them were absorbed by the Nubis, or children of Sudanese soldiers who settled in what is now West Nile and Madi after the Mahdi revolt in the Sudan in 1882. Others still identified themselves with the Alur. In 1959, there were only 4,744 Lendu in Uganda. Of this number, about 2,000 or 42% were living outside West Nile and Madi Districts. Buganda, with 1,344 Lendu migrants, had the largest



number of any province of this group in 1959. The concentration here was in Singo county which registered 639 Lendu.

Labwor, Suk and Tepeth. These are sub-tribes of the Karamojong, but they were returned separately in 1959. Of the 10,042 Labwor recorded in the 1959 Uganda Population Census, only 503 were away from Karamoja District; about 280 of them lived in Buganda and 163 in Acholi. In the same year, only 192 Suk were recorded as migrants out of a total of 21,850 for the whole country. The Tepeth migrants were even fewer, only 113 in the same period, out of the 4363 members in the whole country. Like the whole group of the Karamojong, these sub-tribes were less exposed to a westernised economy. They, therefore, had little need for money. Predominantly these peoples are cattle-keepers, though the Labwor engage in cotton growing and metal working. The Tepeth particularly have made little contact with outsiders.

Sebei. Although they have a district of their own now (Sebei District), the Sebei were treated as members of Bugisu District in 1959, because what is now Sebei District was a county of Bugisu. And for convenience Bugisu will be considered as the home area of the Sebei. The 1959 Uganda Population Census recorded 36,800 Sebei in the whole country. Of this figure only 1,379 or about 3.8% were away from Bugisu. No area had a heavy concentration of this people in areas of migration; about 600 were living in Buganda. In Bugisu, outside Sebei county, 1575 Sebei were registered.

Gwe. The Gwe are found in the Samia-Bugwe county together with the Samia. Both groups are culturally closely related, and it is possible that in the near future they will form a single group. In 1959 the Gwe numbered 36,130 in Uganda. Of this number, 8006 or about 22.2% were recorded outside Bukedi District. Major groupings were registered in Bukoli county, Busoga, and Kyaggwe, Mengo, which had 3,857 and 1,817 respectively.

Kenyi. The Kenyi live around the margins of Lake Kyoga and its associated waters. Most of them live in Kaberamaido county of Teso District, but prior to the transfer of the county from Lango, many of the Kenyi would have been counted in with the Langi. In 1959 the Kenyi numbered 23,707, of whom 10,540 or 44.5% were living outside Teso District. It is, however, not possible to regard these as migrants in the true sense since the 6,087 in Busoga and 2,861 in Bukedi were still in their original homeland. Although initially a predominantly fishing community, they have spread during the course of the century as agriculturalists in the adjacent lands. No more than 1,600 can live away from these regions bordering the Kyoga system so that very few can be classified as migrants.

Amba. The Amba live in Bwamba county, Toro District, on the western side of Ruwenzori range. The land experiences heavy rainfall and the soil is fertile. Coffee, cotton, cocoa and rice are grown for cash. Consequently the Amba are endowed with better economic opportunities than most tribes of Uganda. In fact there is more immigration into Bwamba than the Amba emigrating to other areas. In 1959, of the 34,506 Amba in Uganda, only 1,640 or under 5% resided outside Toro District. Nearly all of them were in Buganda, 800 in Mengo and 700 in Mubende.

Twa. The Twa are essentially a pygmoid group of Burundi and Rwanda. But with the incorporation of what is now Bufumbira county in Uganda at the beginning of this century, some Twa were incorporated in Uganda. Their number is small, and it is likely that most of the Twa outside Kigezi District in 1959 originated as labour migrants from Rwanda and Burundi. The 1959 Census registered only 2,592 Twa in Uganda. Of this number, 1,665 were living outside Kigezi. About 880 of them resided in Ankole District and 640 in Buganda, largely Mengo District.

#### N O T E S

1. Each of these tribes had less than 10,000 migrants in Uganda outside their home districts in 1959.

## C O N C L U S I O N

In spite of the unreliability of early Uganda Population Censuses, the survey of distribution of migrants, both internal and international, has shown a constant rise in the volume of migration between the first days of British Administration and 1959. Population migration was first directed to southern Uganda in the early 1920's mainly as a reaction to economic activities in that region. By 1923 "Kasanvu", or free labour for the government, was abolished, thus creating a shortage of labour in Buganda particularly. At about the same time there was a remarkable rise in the cotton prices - and Buganda was the chief producer of this crop in Uganda then. More labourers were recruited to work on the Turbo to Mbulamuti railway in 1925 and the later extension to Kampala in 1929 - 1930. Lugazi Sugar Plantation was opened in 1924, also with a high demand for labour. These economic activities could not recruit all the required labour in Buganda and Busoga; most of the labour had to come from outside, particularly Rwanda, Burundi (Ruanda-Urundi) and West Nile District.. Southern Uganda, especially Buganda, was experiencing a rapid increase in the number of immigrant population. In the intercensal years, 1931 to 1948, for instance, the immigrants in Buganda nearly trebled to number 441,000, accounting for about 34% of the total population of Buganda. Busoga, the other area with high rate of immigration had 20% of its total population composed of migrants. Outside these two regions the number of migrants was considerable in Bunyoro, western Ankole and Lake Kyoga region of Lango, Teso and Bukedi Districts.

Between 1948 and 1959, there was a further increase in the number of migrant population in Uganda. This was especially the case in the traditional areas of immigration, Buganda and Busoga. The immigrants numbered 585,000 in Buganda, an intercensal increase of about 80%; and in Busoga they numbered 80,000, a growth of 75% over the figure for 1948.

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT POPULATION IN UGANDA BY COUNTIES

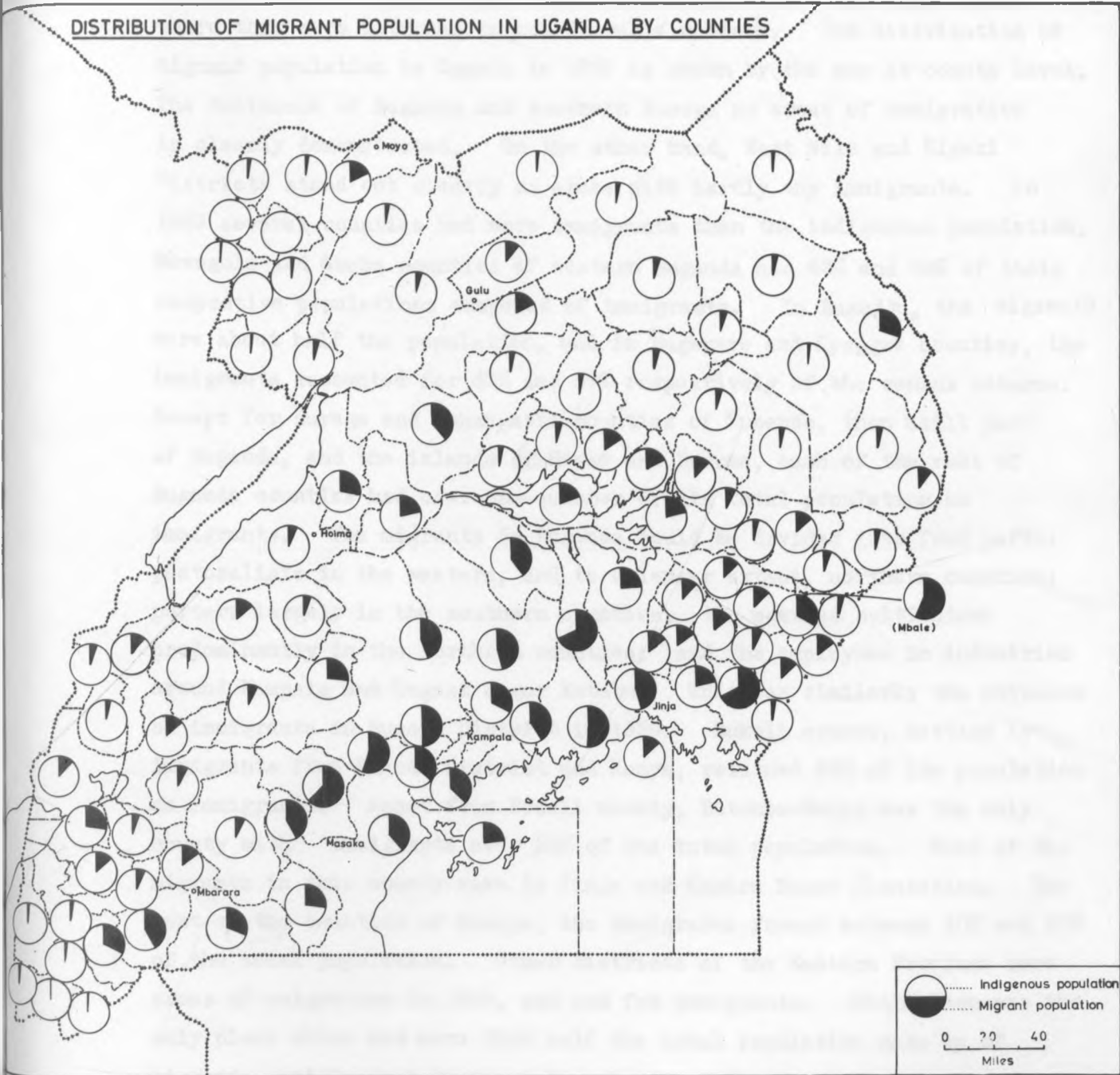


FIG.30

In areas other than Buganda and Busoga, migrants were fewer, except in southern Ankole, Bunyoro, the area around Lake Kyoga and Mbale Town where they were returned in considerable numbers. The distribution of migrant population in Uganda in 1959 is shown by the map at county level. The dominance of Buganda and southern Busoga as areas of immigration is clearly demonstrated. On the other hand, West Nile and Kigezi Districts stand out clearly as areas with hardly any immigrants. In 1959 several counties had more immigrants than the indigenous population. Mawogola and Gomba counties of western Buganda had 63% and 54% of their respective populations composed of immigrants. In Busujju, the migrants were about half the population, and in Bugerere and Kyaggwe counties, the immigrants accounted for 65% and 57% respectively of the census returns. Except for Buyaga and Bugangazzi counties of Mubende, then still part of Buganda, and the islands of Sesse and Buvuma, each of the rest of Buganda counties had over one-quarter of its total population as immigrants. The migrants in Buganda could be divided into four parts: pastoralists in the western, and to a lesser extent, northern counties; porters largely in the southern counties; the settled cultivators predominantly in the northern counties; and the employees in industries around Kampala and Lugazi Sugar Estate. This was similarly the division of immigrants in Busoga District in 1959. Bukoli county, settled by immigrants from Bukedi District and Kenya, returned 62% of its population as immigrants. Apart from Bukoli county, Butembe-Bunya was the only county with immigrants over 25% of its total population. Most of the migrants in this county were in Jinja and Kakira Sugar Plantation. The rest of the counties of Busoga, the immigrants formed between 10% and 25% of the total population. Other districts of the Eastern Province were areas of emigration in 1959, and had few immigrants. Mbale Town was the only place which had more than half the total population made up of migrants, and Central Bugisu had about a third of its population as migrants. The two Teso counties of Serere and Kaberamaido, both in the Lake Kyoga region, an area which had shown a high degree of tribal mixing in the past, had a considerable number of

immigrants. Similarly, high proportions of immigrants were shown in Lango counties of Kyoga and Dokolo on the other side of the boundary. Outside these counties, only three other counties in the whole of Northern Province, namely Matheniko of Karamoja, Omoro in Acholi and West Madi showed significant proportions of immigrants. The immigrants in Matheniko county were largely Kenyans, while the Langi formed the largest migrant group in Omoro, and the Sudanese in West Madi. In the Western Province the northern counties of Bunyoro - Kibanda, Bujenje and Buruli showed a high proportion of migrants; with immigrants comprising more than 25% of total population in Kibanda and Bujenje. This is the result of a land tenure policy which is attractive to migrants. In other districts of the Province only the counties of southern Ankole - Kajara, Rwampara and Isingiro - and Bunyaruguru in the west, had 25% of their respective population made up of immigrants. The rest of Ankole and Kigezi were areas of emigration and had few immigrants. Toro, in spite of Kilembe Mines, salt and fishing industries showed few migrants in 1959.

The pattern of distribution of the migrant groups considered showed some similarities in 1959. Most of them were predominantly rural. The Luo of Kenya were the only exception, however, in that they preponderated in the urban areas of Jinja, Kampala and other smaller towns. It has been difficult to determine the permanence of the immigrant population in areas of immigration; but the high female/male ratio has been taken as the best indication of this fact. In general, the 1959 Uganda Population Census revealed a preponderance of males over females among the immigrants. But western and northern Buganda showed signs of permanent or semi-permanent settlement by the migrants. Similarly, so did parts of Busoga, southern Bukedi, Ankole and Lango. The sex-equalisation among most migrant groups has to be interpreted cautiously, because by 1959, the improvement in means of communications between areas of origin and those of reception may have led to an increase in the number of women and children in the reception areas, even if they were not permanently settled. Good communications possibly encouraged

some migrants to bring their wives and other members of their families to areas of immigration to cultivate food crops and help in the growing of cash crops, but to go back home after specified periods or after harvests.

Two types of migrants were observed in Uganda throughout the analysis, namely, the short distance migrants and the long distance migrants. The former, excluding those located outside their district by the boundaries, had tended to settle near their home areas but in neighbouring districts. This is the case with the Kiga who, pressured out by land shortage in their home district, spilt over the boundary in Ankole and availed themselves of relatively empty land. The long distance migrants, on the other hand, were dominant where economic opportunities existed in abundance, namely the urban centres of Kampala and Jinja, the Sugar Estates of Lugazi and Kakira, and to a lesser extent Kilembe Mines, and Buganda and Busoga where they were employed as porters on farms, or acquired land to cultivate cash crops on their own. It has also been observed that where the migrants had a choice of either settling in an empty land less endowed with economic opportunities near their home area, and going to rich areas far from home, the choice has been overwhelmingly in favour of the latter. Thus the Iteso, or Gisu for that matter, settled in Busoga and eastern Buganda instead of expanding northwards.

In the course of analysing of the distribution of African migrant peoples in Uganda, several problems presented themselves. The first of these arises from the difficulty of defining "home" areas of migrants. Among the international migrants, people who straddle the border might pass themselves off as Ugandans. This was possibly the case with Rwandans, the Lugbara and Alur from the Congo; Kakwa, Madi and Acholi from the Sudan, and the Samia from Kenya. With regards to internal migrants, although each of the major tribes is found in a district of its own, some tribes live in more than one district. The Iteso are an example. In addition to being in Teso District, they are also found in Bukedi District, where they formed the single largest group in 1959,

so they had to be treated as domiciles of Bukedi as well. Closely connected with this problem is one resulting from the location of tribes outside their "home" districts by the drawing of boundaries by the British Administration. The Nyoro were included in western Buganda and the environs of Lake Kyoga; in a similar way the kole were located in western Masaka; and the Langi in Omoro county of Acholi. Where the population of these internal "migrants" was large, the groups concerned were considered to be at "home."

Migration is an interdisciplinary subject, and although this investigation has been geographical and, to a lesser extent historical, the social economic and political aspects have also been touched upon in as far as they were involved in motivating migration in areas of origin or those of destination. Another aspect of migration which would have been of interest, but which falls outside the scope of this work, is the effect on agriculture in home areas of the exodus of a large number of male adults, for instance, estimated at 50% and 40% of total male adults in Kigezi and West Nile respectively in 1955. It is certain that the results would not be favourable; but this would, in the long run, be off set by cash and other goods brought back from the areas of immigration, and by the payment of taxes in the area of origin, rather than in the area of work.

After the investigation of migrant population in Uganda approximately from the early days of British Administration to 1959, perhaps one pertinent conclusion could be made. The majority of international migrants in Uganda were well established and could be considered de facto citizens. This tendency may have increased even further since 1959; and may particularly be the case with migrants from Rwanda, Burundi, Congo and the Sudan because of the political troubles in those countries. These problems, besides confirming the stay of these groups away from their countries of origins, sent out more of their tribesmen to Uganda in form of political refugees. The assimilation or integration of these



groups will be made easier by the fact that they have their tribesmen in Uganda, the Uganda-Rwandans in Kigezi; the Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa and Madi in West Nile and Madi, and the Acholi in Acholi. With regards the internal migrants, their distribution in 1959 has disturbed the simple picture of administrative units based on dominant tribes. The fact<sup>that</sup> many Ugandans lived outside their home areas in 1959 may be taken as an indication of a degree of national integration.

# 228 POPULATION AND AVAILABILITY OF LAND

District	Area of land excluding open water, swamps and reserved forests	Cultivated area	Population*	Population Density	Cultivated head of population	Estimated available land per head of population
	Sq. miles	1,000 acres		Per sq.mile	Acres	Acres
	9,221	1,199	1,499,000	163	0.8	4.1
	3,649	485	501,000	137	1.0	4.7
	2,570	185	107,000	42	1.7	15.4
Sebei and Township	3,133	994	736,000	234	1.4	2.7
	1,170	630	402,000	344	1.6	1.9
	1,533	784	431,000	281	1.8	2.3
	4,249	943	475,000	112	2.0	5.7
	8,094	125	194,000	24	0.6	26.7
le/Madi	10,347	580	319,000	31	1.8	20.8
	4,333	920	395,000	91	2.3	7.0
	5,252	788	481,000	92	1.6	7.0
	4,025	230	134,000	33	1.7	19.2
	3,920	350	391,000	100	0.9	6.4
	5,378	553	592,000	110	0.9	5.8
	1,689	546	538,000	319	1.0	2.0
	68,563	9,312	7,195,000	105	1.3	6.1

ates for January, 1964, based on 1959 Census of Population and inter-censal rates of growth. Population does not take into account internal migration between districts. Figures to nearest '000.

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