

BUYAAYE AS AN ADAPTIVE RESPONSE TO SOCIAL,
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DISORGANIZATION IN
KAMPALA DURING THE PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE
IN UGANDA //

by

NGABO-LUTAAYA, LEONARD

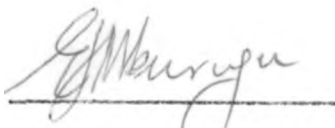
A Thesis submitted in part fulfilment for the
requirements of the degree of Masters of Arts
in Sociology in the University of Nairobi

This thesis is my original work and has not been
presented for a degree in any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'L. Ngabo-Lutaaya', written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned above a horizontal line.

NGABO-LUTAAYA, LEONARD

This thesis has been submitted for examination
with our approval as University supervisors


DR. E.K. MBURUGU


DR. J.J. AKONG'A

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY

0100485 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge the various forms of assistance I received in preparing this thesis. Particular mention is made of Professor Kabwegyere and Dr. Mushanga for all their assistance during the most trying times of the research.

Drs. Mburugu and Akong'a made informed criticism of this work at various stages of its preparation. I appreciate their encouragement which motivated me to work all the time.

The World University Service sponsored the post-graduate course of which this thesis is the final part.

Rose Muchina typed the final work. I am very grateful for all the effort she made, despite her workload elsewhere.

The views expressed in this work are entirely mine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i
LIST OF TABLES	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	6
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	27
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	38
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS	52
CHAPTER SIX: THE BAYAAYE YOUTHS: A CASE STUDY ^{3/}	74
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	99
APPENDIX:	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	109

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
TABLE 1: Age Distribution of <u>Bayaaye</u> Youths	79
TABLE 2: Regional Distribution of <u>Bayaaye</u> Youths	81

ABSTRACT

In this study a definition of buyaaye is developed. Its historical origin, manifestation, causes and objective basis are presented. Its upsurge during military rule is the major focus.

The study was guided by research hypotheses pertaining to social disorder, human response and adaptation. It was further underpinned by a behavioural theoretical model, developed from a selective review of relevant literature.

The observation method was the major tool of data collection, supplemented with interviews, questionnaires and use of secondary data. Respondents were identified by "mudball" and theoretical sampling techniques.

Though the main focus of the study is the period of military rule (1971-1979) it includes discussion of the pre-colonial, colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. The purpose of the preview is to give a historical background to the period of military rule, in order to illuminate the more the background to the nature, and characteristics of the events obtaining during the study period.

The major finding of the study is that buyaaye is neither new nor particular to military rule. It predates military rule, and is

embedded in the socio-economic and political structural order obtaining and created in Uganda since colonial times.

Colonialism is thus identified as the chief architect of this order. To alleviate buyaaye in Uganda fundamental and calculated structural change to detach Uganda from the negative influences of colonialism is therefore necessary. The buyaaye question is thus a political question and the answer does not lie in the work of philanthropic organizations like Africa Foundation, but in political measures to ameliorate the status quo.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NUYO: National Union of Youth Organizations

UPC-YL: Uganda People's Congress - Youth League

TANU: Tanzania African National Union

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

Baganda (sing. Muganda):	People of Buganda
Bayaaye [*] (sing. Muyaaye):	Smokers of <u>njaye</u>
Buyaaye [*] :	Practice of smoking <u>njaye</u>
Kabaka:	Ruler of Buganda Kingdom
Luyaaye:	Register developed by <u>bayaaye</u>
Mafuta-mingi:	Beneficiaries of the "economic war"
Magendo [*] :	Blackmarket
Magendoist(s):	Black marketeer(s)
Njaga/njaye:	<u>cannabis sativa</u>

* The operational definitions of these terms are expounded in the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Researched data and information on the situation in Uganda during military rule (1971-1979) is seriously lacking. The military, unstable, suspicious and persecutive of intellectuals among others, clamped down on meaningful, analytical scholarly work in the country.

Accounts abound, mostly journalistic, describing the reign of the military as murderous, terroristic, tyrannical, diabolical, chaotic etc. Typical of journalistic work, the accounts are episodic, and without verification, subject to suspicion particularly in the realm of scholarship. Book-length accounts also exist. These are however characteristically emotive.*

Conspicuously lacking also is a focus on the existential status of the ordinary, grassroot level Ugandan who nevertheless, was the stage in the theatre of social, political and economic disorganization which punctuated military rule. An adequate, and perhaps complete treatise of this period of military rule would require bringing in perspective, the plight of the ordinary Ugandan.

Questions need posing therefore, and field research undertaken to generate data on the scale, incidence, impact and consequence for ordinary Ugandans, of the organizational crisis which punctuated military rule. There is need in particular, to delineate the manner and form of adaptation adopted by the ordinary Ugandan in response to this crisis.

To reduce the observed deficiencies at the level of research and to contribute to the understanding of the functioning of Ugandan society and the existential condition of the individual during this time period, research was undertaken on the presumably new phenomenon called byaaye.

The term byaaye was coined and operationalised in Uganda in descriptive and metaphoric reference to the crisis situation obtaining in the country, as well as the pertinent forms of individual adaptation.

* One has in mind for example, Henry Kyemba's A State of Blood: The Inside Story of Idi Amin's Fear, Paddington Printers, London 1977

Todate however, the term has not been subjected to critical examination and scholarly analyses, thereby blurring perception of the situation through the medium of the active participants in the disorderly social, political and economic order.

Linguistically, the term buyaaye originates from the noun njaye. This is a species whose botanical name is cannabis sativa. The term acquired currency during military rule. It evolved in reference to the phenomenal smoking of njaye particularly by the unemployed youths in urban areas, particularly Kampala, the capital of Uganda.

In this regard the term was used in descriptive reference to: the habitual practice of smoking njaye; the consequent behaviour probably due to the impact of njaye on the user; the totality of ways and life styles associated with buyaaye (smokers of njaye) youths; and the obtaining normless or anomie situation accountable for the emergence of buyaaye.

Study objective

On undertaking this research, no study ^{1/} was known to have been done to investigate the phenomenon. The aim of this study was therefore to: explore, define and develop the term buyaaye into a sociological concept; examine and explain its underlying causes; identify its characteristics, manifestations and indicators.

In addition, the study aims at contributing to understanding of the meaning of the experiences of Ugandans under military rule and put buyaaye as a form of reaction in a historical context.

Study value

The value of this study lies in: the effort to contribute to sociological theory by attempting to explain human reaction and adaptation to systemic and organizational crisis; updating past

1/ Since then, Mamdani M. has authored: Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, Ibadan, London, 1983. However, he uses, without defining the term buyaaye, and alludes to the phenomenon without discussing it in a manner useful to any person wanting to know its connotations and manifestations.

historical moments, and recording contemporary events which have shaped Uganda society; generation of hypotheses and provision of reference frame for further research.

Scope of the study

The study involves a detailed analysis of events relevant to emergence of buyaaye during military rule. An analysis of this period is preceded by a review of the pre-colonial, colonial and the immediate post-colonial periods in order to illuminate the present by bringing into focus past events of formative influence on the present.

The review also aims at investigating whether buyaaye predated military rule, thus giving concrete background for fuller explanation of its resurgence during the study period.

Throughout the study effort is made to establish a logical and orderly link between the historical past, the theoretical postulations, the study aims, and the empirical findings.

Research hypotheses

The research hypotheses are that: the emergence of buyaaye manifested an organizational crisis in the social, political and economic order in Uganda; buyaaye was a result of this crisis; buyaaye was an eventual response and an adaptation to the crisis; the objective basis of the crisis is rooted in colonialism; and buyaaye is therefore neither new nor peculiar to military rule in Uganda.

Manner of presentation

Chapter Two is a background chapter. It reviews the social, political and economic situation since pre-colonial time. The essence of the survey and review of the period is to delineate and show fundamental changes Uganda has undergone, relate^{2/} them to military rule and explain the phenomenal rise of buyaaye.

Chapter Three presents an analytical, and theoretical framework. Specifically, a theoretical model with which and within which to explain and analyse buyaaye is developed.

Chapter Four discusses the methods and procedure of data collection, presentation and analysis, as well as field experience.

Chapter Five is the core of the study. It presents the research findings. It describes and discusses in detail the situation which obtained during military rule. It identifies the fundamental innovations introduced by the military, and discusses their consequences in terms of the research problem. It also shows that buyaaye predates military rule.

Chapter Six is a case study of a stratum of buyaaye's the youths who had been persuaded to "abandon" buyaaye, to undergo rehabilitation. The chapter gives an insight into buyaaye in general, through experiential accounts by these youths.

^{2/} As Mamdani (ibid, p.2) has noted "Amin did not drop from hell or heaven. He was a product of Uganda at a definite stage in history, subject to definite influences". Hence the need for a historical background from pre-colonial to the current time.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion. It ties up the study in summary form, succinctly restating thematic developments of the preceding chapters. It also discusses the important findings of the study and conclusions drawn, and points out some unanswered questions which might require further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Contemporary Uganda has evolved through three main historical phases: the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial. The three phases differ fundamentally, particularly the pre-colonial. Colonial rule had far reaching impact on every aspect of Uganda society, affecting the nature and course of events in the country since colonialism was imposed on Uganda.

Pre-colonial period

Pre-colonial societies^{1/} constituting Uganda today were each a separate and independent entity. They were however characterised by diversity in social scale, social and political organization as well as economic development.

There were two main organizational features of pre-colonial societies, the acephalous and the non-acephalous. Societies of the acephalous type were large scale, centralised, and ruled by a hierarchy of hereditary kings; chiefs and clan heads. Such societies included the former kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole.

The non-acephalous, also called chiefdoms, were territorially smaller than the acephalous, were organized along kinship, age-sets or locality membership. Such societies included Acholi, Lango, Karamoja and Teso.

^{1/} Among the valuable studies describing pre-colonial Uganda are: Murkerjee, R.: The Problem of Uganda: A Study in Acculturation, Berlin, 1956; Kabwegyere, T.B.: The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1974. Mamdani, M.: Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, 1976.

Pre-colonial societies also had some similarities. Perhaps the major one was general stability and continuity amidst change. Their respective populations were primarily concerned with subsistence production within their respective superstructural organisational frame.

Land was perhaps the major asset of pre-colonial societies. As a factor of production, its abundance and accessibility was a form of security and satisfaction of individual and group needs.

Pre-colonial man cultivated food on the abundant land; he grazed his animals; he hunted wild species for food and as recreation; he could fish from the lakes and rivers; he found the implements for construction of shelter; he could also dwell in caves.

At the political level, the king was the ultimate source of cohesion and order among acephalous societies. At the grassroot level, there were other tenets of stability and continuity. An illustration from Buganda will illuminate the argument.

Among the Baganda^{2/}, each person belongs to a clan by virtue of birth. In pre-colonial times, the clan provided social, cultural, economic and political security to its members. It was a frame of reference which guided relationships and behaviour among members within and among clans. It was the arbiter of justice, a bond of unity and continuity. Through the clan, heads and chiefs, the clan members were linked to the king's court, where each clan was represented in some form or another, through performance of assigned roles and

^{2/} Buganda is perhaps the most studied among Uganda societies. Apter (1967); Fallers (1960); Fallers (1964); Hatterslay (1968); Mair (1934) and Roscoe (1965, 1921) are particularly informative of various aspects of Buganda since pre-colonial time.

duties at the king's court. To seal the relationship, kings married from the clans over time, and each clan could claim to have had a king or a queen from its clan.

By virtue of clan membership therefore each Muganda has pre-defined rights and privileges pertaining to land; he had social, political and economic roles to play for personal and common good; he had an opportunity for upward mobility by virtue of distinctive performance before his superiors; and also found in the clan, a framework for redress of individual and group grievances of whatever scope and character.

The clan stood as an integrative and responsive institution. Together with the kingship, they provided and were the nuclei of unity and stability. They co-influenced each other to promote cohesion and continuity which prevailed until colonial rule.

Institutions, be they clans or kingships, do not operate in vacuum. They operate among people, and are operated by people. Their agility is the work of people whom they serve. People give them credibility, resilience and continuity. People make and unmake institutions. The stature of institutions therefore manifests their relationship with the people for whom and among whom they function. The relationship is generally one of cost-benefit. Pre-colonial institutions supported their respective members, who similarly reciprocated.

How did they react to colonialism? According to Prof. Ajayi:

as in several other ages before, some institutions changed, while others continued, and ... as always, ... men and women had to adapt themselves and their institutions - the more interesting question ... to ask is the manner and methods by which adaptation is carried out.^{3/}

Colonial period

Colonialism is perhaps the most radical event that has ever occurred in Uganda.^{4/} It dawned on pre-colonial societies like a blitz: unexpected, violent, unwelcome and pre-emptive in its attack. It had no regard for the native order. Its policy was one of destruction of any obstructive pre-colonial structures. In pursuit of its interests and objectives,^{5/} colonialism employed every possible means at hand.

The methods and mechanisms of colonial invasion, entry and control of pre-colonial societies were in combinations which would realize and maximise the ultimate objectives of the colonial power.

^{3/} Okot p'Bitek: "African Culture in the Era of Foreign Rule, 1885-1935", University of Nairobi, 1974, p.2.

^{4/} The most lucid description and discussion of the colonisation process is found in Murkerjee, R.: The Problem of Uganda: A Study in Acculturation, Berlin, 1956. See also Kabwegyere, T.: The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1974.

^{5/} Colonial interests and objectives were primarily economic. But political power to oversee economic interests, and a mechanism for the execution, were imperative components of colonialism.

Crude methods such as actual combat were employed. Change agents in form of missionaries, economic entrepreneurs, explorers, travellers and political managers were used. The methods were combined variously to conquer, amalgamate, modify or restructure colonial societies in a manner promotive of colonial interests.

Colonialism in Uganda started through Buganda. Its agents were the missionaries. They started their operations at the ideational level, preaching and teaching Christianity at the king's court. Effort was made to convert, among others, the kings ^{6/} of Buganda. However this seems to have been a misinterpretation on part of the missionaries, of the king's intention of their placement at his court.

The king might have invited them at his court not because of infatuation with Christianity, but rather, as a measure to control their activities among his subjects; and perhaps, more so, as source of ideas to enhance and re-inforce the king's internal and extra-territorial hegemony. It was only diplomatic anyway, that the king exercises his authority as the ultimate ruler, during this period of foreign visitors to the country.

The missionaries on the other hand, seem to have interpreted their stationing at the king's court as an opportunity to experiment the "trickle down" method, hoping that conversion of the king and his cadres would spread Christianity to the countryside.

6/ Colonialism was first introduced in Buganda during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I (1860 - 1884). The colonisation wars broke out during the reign of Kabaka Mwanga (1884 - 1889). He was defeated, (though Kabakaship remained) and colonial rule formerly installed and declared. (See Kaggwa, A.L. Ekitabo kya Basekabaka b'e Buganda, East African Publishing House, 1971).

The incongruent expectations between the native authority and the missionaries precipitated a suspicious and strained relationship. The teachings of the church and their impact were viewed as source of sedition and dissidence by the native order, while the missionaries, being on a christianizing crusade, thought that the generally unreceptive situation they were encountering was perhaps the very purpose of their mission, and must break through this paganism.

The church and the native order in Buganda therefore ultimately clashed. Society was becoming increasingly polarised between the converts and non-converts, the adopters and non-adopters. When the behaviour of the converts and their mentors proved incompatible with the expectations of the highest political authority, an armed conflict ensued, and a civil war broke out between the pro-traditional order and the colonial agents.

Ironically the civil wars which followed the intrusion of Christianity (colonialism) in Buganda were not fought along such clear-cut lines of converts against non-converts, of Christians against non-Christians or of Catholics against Protestants.

Thus when Kabaka Mwanga took up arms against colonial agents "scarcely a province failed to contribute men of substance to his cause, and the rising was fanned by religious and pagan Baganda alike into a circle of flame that threatened to engulf the British power and raged far beyond the kingdom's frontiers." ^{7/} (Emphasis added).

^{7/} Wright, M.: Buganda in the Heroic Age, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, London, New York, 1971. p. 159.

Wright describes and interprets the clash further in a fuller manner, delineating the issues at hand, as well as the composition of the combatants:

In its dislike of Europeans, indeed the rebellion (sic.) foreshadowed modern African nationalism, but with this difference: that unlike nationalism, it looked backwards and not forwards. Rather was it a reaction of fierce distaste against all European innovations as where the enemies of the Chief Zakaria Kizito the staunch friend of the British called him Kisingiri - the corrupting salt from Kisumu which caused pregnant women to abort. Rather was the rebellion one of bitter nostalgia and discontent of royal pages defending their master; of bhang smokers deprived of their chieftainships; of pagans whose beliefs had been outraged; of Christian chiefs at loggerheads with the Church, of dissident and extreme Catholics, of protestants harshly dealt with; of thwarted muslim fanatics, of elephant hunters prevented from trading ivory, of gun runners cut off from gun supplies, and of frontiersmen forbidden to raid for slaves and if any common feeling united these ill-sorted discontents, it was hatred for the Europeans combined with regard and affection for Kabaka Mwanga. 8/

Ideally the issue at hand during the civil wars in Buganda at the time was not religion. There was a religious mix, but this was used as a catalyst to incite the population to engage in the war on behalf of the agents of colonialism.

Two factors qualify this argument. The combatants were seen either as Wa-fransa or Wa-ingleza.^{9/} The Wa-fransa were represented by the Catholics and the Wa-ingleza were represented by the protestants. It would seem therefore that people were clear about whose interests the colonial agents represented. It might not have been an accident to classify the warring factions along the above references. And as

8/ Ibid. p. 162

9/ Apollo Kaggwa op. cit. p. 158 correctly titles a pertinent Chapter "Olutalo lwa Bafalansa na Bangereza" (The Anglo-French War).

usual, every society has people who embrace new phenomenon, and this might have explained collaboration by some natives.

Yet another factor, and perhaps the most valid identification of the character of the civil wars, was the nature and consequence of their conclusion. Buganda or Uganda for that matter did not become a theocracy. Rather, it became a British protectorate. The agents of protestant Britain had won the war, and their mentors now came out and confidently assumed their duties to colonise.

What might have happened then is that the natives were hoodwinked and made to believe that they were fighting because of religion. But there might have been an ulterior motive by the agents of colonialism, to use the natives to fight among themselves, divide them further and facilitate colonial rule.

For purposes of later discussion it is important to mention at this juncture that the native order which Mwanga and his supporters represented was defeated, overthrown and replaced by a handpicked administrative class "which acted as an instrument of colonial rule and whose socio-economic status was raised sufficiently above that of the majority so that they would act as shock-absorbers!"^{10/}

It is not necessary for this study to detail the colonial policies and the colonisation processes as they operated in Buganda and the rest of the country. Several studies have examined and re-examined this phase. It is sufficient to note that thereafter

^{10/} Mamdani, M. : Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, Ibadan, London, 1983, p.9.

Uganda was created, and became a British colony. What is important at this stage is to ask what happened to the losers of the struggle against colonialism? What happened after colonial conquest ?

This can be predicted from Mair who has observed the behaviour of the colonial agents. According to Mair, each of the agents of colonialism had:

its avowed object the development of native life in one direction or another, and in the initial stage, the result of each sometimes inadvertently, has been in the destruction of native institutions. 11/

At the socio-cultural level for example, the missionaries:

set their faces against all the patently "uncivilized" aspects of native culture whether or not they were directly forbidden by the scriptures, they (opposed) polygamy, slavery, the payment of bride price, initiation ceremonies, dancing, wailing at funerals, and the belief in magic as all being equally repugnant to a civilization in which mechanical warfare is a recognized institution. 12/

Mair further notes that it is in the economic realm that colonialism had a far reaching impact on Ugandan societies:

it is in the sphere of economic contact that the gravest problems arise, for here the aim of the European is absolutely irreconcilable with the desires of the native. The European wishes to acquire all the best land to cultivate crops for export by means of native labour, the native wishes to remain in his village and cultivate his own food crops. At the moment of initial contact he is not interested in growing crops for export and is definitely unwilling to leave his home and work for wages. 13/

Perhaps following the defeat of the native order innovation in the economic realm was the most far-reaching in its impact on the natives. The colonial order robbed the natives of land, and appropriated

11/ Mair, L. : An African People in the Twentieth Century, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1934. pp. 2-3.

12/ loc. cit.

13/ Ibid. pp. 4-5

it to the immediate supporters of the colonial order. The land robbery was institutionalized under the so called 1900 Agreement. By this "Agreement" land was privatised, principally allocated to regime supporters (chiefs), and the Church and State, which further rewarded their followers. Religion was also an important criterion for allocation. (Amin did more or less the same during the Economic War See Chapter Five). This did not only introduce sharp divisions along class and religious lines, but also brought cultural conflicts because land had its cultural significance to the various clans which occupied the various areas as traditionally allocated by the king.

Landlordism, now a new phenomenon, introduced conflict between the people and the appointees of colonial rule. As Mair, noted, before colonial rule:

there was no conception of land as a possession of the chief from which he derived profit by letting other people work it. This right to admit and evict peasants was part and parcel of his general position as the political authority over the area in question; as the natives put it "Tafuga ttaka afuga bantu" - "he has rights over land but not over people". 14/

Mair lucidly illustrates the new developments:

the trouble is that the modern land owner is acquiring tastes beyond what the offerings of his faithful followers can satisfy..... he has been taught to be businesslike and he applies his knowledge to the exaction of his dues, merely visiting his land from time to time to see that the shillings are coming satisfactorily. What Baganda (sic.) society has most to fear is not any economic exploitation from without but the growth among its own members of a spirit of individualistic acquisitiveness in which every man seeks to exploit his neighbour. One can see the signs of it in the younger landlords, who free from any responsibility towards their tenants, simply regard them as a source of revenue and

constantly devise new ways of interpreting the law to their advantage. 15/

Among the many colonial policies which were introduced to totally subdue the natives, were various forms of taxation and labour. The chiefs appointed by the colonial government, who were also beneficiaries of land allocation were responsible for tax collection on behalf of the colonial government, as well as ensuring that the natives reported to do forced labour in the name of public service. The mutual and reciprocal relationship between the chiefs and the people was shattered.

Mair correctly observed:

Certainly the qualities of modern chiefs are of a less heroic stamp than those by which their predecessors rose to greatness. Punctuality in the remission of taxes is accounted as a great merit, as is enthusiasm in encouraging cultivation of crops for sale and pushing innovation recommended by government. 16/

Among the methods used to exact tax was to identify individual homes or dwellings, since culturally, a mature male would have a home. The consequence was that "there was a disinclination to create new huts ... and it was often found that several families shared one hut" 17/ in order to avoid taxation.

What the colonial government did next was to deploy agents

15/ Ibid. p. 276

16/ Ibid. p. 199

17/ Murkerjee, . op. cit. p. 156

to physically check for mature males in the "one hut", round them up from the shared huts so that they they could be made to pay the taxes.

During the exercise however:

the unmarried men would scoot off ... (they were also now) reluctant to marry and settle down on a Shamba, and became wanderers, escaping all obligations including those imposed by the tribal society. 18/

The State finally zeroed in on the escapees by passing "An Ordinance Relating to Vagrancy".

The Ordinance defined a vagrant as:

any person found asking for alms or wandering about without any employment or visible means of subsistence and shall include any native of the protectorate found without employment and fixed abode and unable to render satisfactory account of himself from his ordinary place of abode as to make it impossible for him to proceed there without assistance. 19/

Such phenomenon as vagrancy were colonial creations and totally new in Uganda.

As will become clearer in subsequent chapters, the colonial policies and the colonial process introduced innovations which fundamentally changed the pre-colonial order. The colonial era subjected people to all sorts of changes which in the context of this study turned them into bayaaye.

What was happening to the victims of colonial rule approximates to what Marx and Engels noted of the peasantry in London.

18/ Ibid. p. 191

19/ Turton, N. and Griffin, J.B.: Laws of Uganda Protectorate (Revised Edition), Government Printer, Entebbe, 1935, p. 1919.

Suddenly dragged from their wonted mode of life (they) could not suddenly adapt themselves to the disciplines of their new condition. They were turned en mass into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases, from stress of circumstances. Legislation treated them as "voluntary" criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own good will to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed Thus were the agricultural people, first expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds ... tortured by laws grotesquely terrible into discipline necessary for the wage system. 20/

Colonialism therefore disrupted the totality of the pre-colonial order: the king in Buganda lost his authority; the chiefs became puppets of the colonial order; clan heads lost their roles and obligations to fellow clansmen; customs and beliefs were challenged or ridiculed and illegalized by the colonial order; individual families, clans and entire communities were thrown into disarray by the new and uncompromising colonial order.

Uganda as a British colony was organised to serve British colonial interests. The colonial government ruled through handpicked collaborative natives. It nurtured future leaders through teaching chiefs' sons and barring others from meritocratic channels to leadership, and economic development. Asians managed the cash, import-export economy, while nationals received only crumbs from their toil; political parties and trade union movements evolved but were muzzled, infiltrated and derailed from championing popular demands. Altogether, Uganda emerged out of the colonial phase as a distorted society. In absence of structural changes after independence, independence merely lulls the public into sleep, while colonial exploitation and domination continue

20/ Marx, K. and Engels, F.: Genesis of Capital, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 29-30; 32.

The Post-colonial period

In this study the post-colonial period refers to that time frame from 1962 when Uganda became "independent", to the time of the coup. The demarcation is for convenience of discussion, since the post-coup period is the ultimate concern of this study and is therefore examined fully elsewhere in the thesis.

A major consideration of this study in discussing major events in this period is that fundamentally, the period does not differ from the colonial period. The designation "post-colonial" therefore is used for convenience in designating time period. This posture is adopted in this work because ultimately, Uganda remained under the influence, and in the orbit of colonial forces. No fundamental changes were effected to change the colonial institutional structures which colonialism instituted and operated for over sixty (60) years.

As Professor Kabwegyere has argued "social processes, social values, and social institutions do not disappear at the stroke of a pen as at independence"^{21/}. In absence of fundamental changes which overthrow colonial structures overboard, independence is merely cosmetic, with colonialism and colonization continuing unabated, albeit covertly.

21/ Kabwegyere, op. cit. p. 255

Kabwegyere delineates this continuity:

A major continuity to be reckoned within the newly independent states is the continuity of a colonial presence which takes the form of capitalistic production relations, a cultural system dominated by dependency complex, and distorted by effects of psychic violence, and above all a class structure accentuated by colonial elitism. 22/

Kabwegyere cautions researchers that neglecting this colonial continuity in examining phenomena in post-colonial societies where there has not been any fundamental change, risks yielding "only a partial picture and a partial explanation of the study problem". 23/

The argument that there is colonial continuity in post-colonial societies is controversial among academics, and is violently contested by bourgeois scholars. It is therefore appropriate that it is qualified in the case of Uganda.

How was independence achieved in Uganda? As history has it, Uganda's independence was negotiated in the London Constitution Conferences (organized by the colonial government) during which modalities acceptable to the ruling elite and its mentors were agreed and set as prerequisites or guidelines to independence.

Such an argument puts a big question mark on the role of nationalist parties which evolved and formed resistance movements since colonial days.

22/ Loc. cit

23/ Loc. cit

As independence approached, analysts argue:

none of these parties questioned Uganda's continued integration in the imperialist system, they only wanted internal reforms..... None of these parties raised any questions about the character of the state they were about to inherit ... All agreed with the provisions of the independence constitution that the new Uganda would inherit the colonial state machinery with simply a change of personnel. 24/

And these are not views confined to critical scholars, particularly the so called "marxists" or radical scholars. At least in the case of Uganda, Obote agrees that Uganda's independence was a sham one. He confesses, in retrospect, that during the London conferences in which independence modalities were negotiated:

the most prominent issues which faced the people of Uganda had in reality nothing to do with the people as such. The issues were "the form of government suitable for an independent Uganda" and "who was to be head of state on the achievement of independence". These issues were made to appear as of national importance not because when solutions were found they would advance the lot of the common man, but because the feudalists on account of their hold on the people, saw independence as a threat to their privileged positions and sought to make these positions appear synonymous with the interests of the common man. 25/

There is convincing evidence by academics and from confessions by leaders, that Uganda effectively remained in the orbit of colonial domination. Independence was cosmetic or meant different things to different people. At the most, there was only change of personnel. Only reformists policies were introduced to lull the expectant public.

24/ Mamdani. op. cit. p. 22

25/ Obote, A.M. "The Common Man's Charter", Government Printer, Entebbe, 1970, p.3

Colonial structures remained essentially the same, other than bearing national titles. popular demands were compromised and repression introduced in the name of national unity.

The consequence for Uganda on independence was the "withdrawal" of British protection. Now other colonial powers could come in, though in a different manner from that previously described. Multilateral imperialism dawned on Uganda.^{26/} Rivalry among new imperial powers continued, cashing on rivalry among the native leaders. "After independence, one cannot argue that there was in real terms, change and unequalled or significant social, political or economic progress. This was either rhetoric, or if it at all existed, it could not be ascribed to independence.

The earlier submission that change which does not lead to progress is disorganizational, seems pertinent to post-independence Uganda. At the political level, there ensued inter and ~~intra~~^{27/} party fighting. No new national political institutions were in reality created. Political activity continued in the Westminster political framework. Where and if it differed, it took form of banning opposition parties, arresting or harassing political opponents, exploitation of religious and other conflicts on which British colonialism had thrived, abolition of institutions such as kingdoms, and bulldozing members

^{26/} See Nabudere, D.W.: Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda, Onyx Press, London, 1980.

^{27/} Ibingira, G.S. offers an inside view of this infighting, in his book: African Upheavals since Independence, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1980.

of parliament into approving constitutions which they had not even read nor debated.^{28/}

The post-independence leadership unleashed violence on the public through the armed forces, it clamped an indefinite state of emergency on the entire country, and subjected people to psychological fear and tension by instituting detention, and spy networks.

In the economic sector, the post-independence leadership embraced^{29/} the capitalist model of development, which is what had been operating since colonial rule. The model did not perform any miracles. Instead, as various studies and analysts have shown, there was deterioration in the general economic welfare, particularly among workers.^{30/}

Perhaps the major indicator of the worsening economic situation was the struggle between the government, the trade unions, and the youths. Unemployment caused agitation, and poor returns from economic activity became the concern of the trade union movement .

^{28/} See Gingyera-Pinyewa: Apollo Milton Obote and His Times, NOK Publishers, New York, 1978.

^{29/} Obote received the World Bank report with the following tone: "my government broadly accepts the recommendations in the report and has produced a development plan closely modelled on the mission's findings, particularly in that it accepts the strategy of development recommended" (Nabudere, op. cit. p. 182).

^{30/} See Baryaraha: "Factors Affecting Industrial Employment", East African Institute of Social Research, Occasional Paper No. 1, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1967; and Hutton: Reluctant Farmers, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1973.

31/
Mamdani has lucidly examined this conflict.

The government reaction to the agitation by the trade unions was by "nationalising" them through forced association and amalgamation into one trade union movement, under government control. The government also abolished "the archaic principle and practice of strikes"^{32/} without redressing the grievances which gave birth to the restlessness among the trade union movement.

33/
The youth movement is another pointer to the deteriorating situation in the economic arena after Uganda's independence. Youths were leaving school, without reception centres for them. This was particularly so for secondary school, pre-university youths. Part of the problem was that the government "universalised" education without expanding economic sectors to absorb the output of the education system.

The government attempted to absorb the restive youths into its ranks, by recruiting them into the youth wing of the ruling party. The youths seem to have accepted the exercise, but continued agitating for change, articulating the interests of the peasantry, the workers, and the unemployed, and threatening the very survival of the party.

31/ Mamdani, M.: Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, 1976, pp. 190-192.

32/ Obote, op. cit. p. 43

33/ For a discussion of the youth movement see Mujaju, A.B.: "NUYO and the Countryside in Uganda", University Social Science Conference Proceedings, Dar es Salaam, 1973; and "The Demise of UPC-YL and the rise of NUYO", African Review, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1973, pp. 291-306.

According to Mujaju:

The government came to the conclusion that the real reason for the activities of the youth league which included creation of an organization distinct from the parent UPC, criticism of UPC policies, fomenting strikes in industry, calling for Africanisation of business and for clear definition of socialism, was a problem of unemployment which was forcing the youths from the countryside into urban areas. ^{34/}

In a manner similar to the one used against the trade unions, the government banned the restive youth league and reconstituted it under the National Union of Youth Organisation (NUYO). NUYO aimed at ^{35/} arresting the urban influx of unemployed youths, by forcing them to return to rural areas under NUYO and the party umbrella, to engage in rural development projects. But no visible solution was achieved.

In the final analysis, the situation threatened to run out of control, and the government fumbled "in an emergency meeting" in December 1969 to introduce an action programme which would bring some order in the country. 7

The action programme was contained in a policy package which came to be known as the Common Man's Charter. ^{36/} These are five documents which annotated the social, cultural, political, and economic ills of the country. The documents show as already argued, that colonial structures

^{34/} Ibid. p. 487

^{35/} As one UPC official said, the so called UPC - Youth League was "a gathering of job seekers not even on the register of youth wingers"; and Nye adds a footnote that "many Youth Wingers were unemployed school dropouts, who turned to politics to release their frustrations". Nye, J. Jr. "Tanu and UPC: The Impact of Independence on Two African Nationalistic Parties" in Boston Papers on Africa: Transition in African Politics, Butler, J. and Castagno, A.A. (editors) Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1967. pp. 234; 249.

^{36/} Obote, op. cit.

had continued to operate in Uganda since independence, foreign domination was restraining any meaningful development, and fundamental change was indeed long overdue.

The Common Man's Charter outlined what it perceived as the problem and introduced measures to be undertaken to make Ugandans realise their independence. The problems included foreign economic domination, cultural and political domination, a lopsided economy, and rural-urban differentiation, among others.

Ideally, these problems and any pertinent measures would perhaps have been introduced at the stage of discussing the independence question. But as already indicated, this was not the issue.

The Common Man's Charter was however nibbed in the bud. One cannot say it was populist; one cannot say it would not have worked. It was never tested. Internal conflicts, fuelled by imperialist rivalries and interests, matured. A military coup was executed in January 1971. Military rule dawned on Uganda, promising to rectify the ills of the civilian period.

As will be demonstrated later however, the military did not bring about any calculated change. Instead, its innovations were erratic, and Uganda slipped into an even more serious organisational crisis, to which the resurgence of buyaaye was a response and adaptation.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the hypothesis that an organisational crisis existed and characterised military rule in Uganda. The objective is to identify and develop a theoretical model with which and within which to examine, explain and discuss the emergence of buyaaye.

The problem of order

The problem of order has been of central concern particularly among social scientists.^{1/} This is perhaps because order is synonymous with stability and progress. A stable environment is conducive to and enhances functional efficiency of a system. A stable, functioning and efficient order is capable of attaining set goals and objectives. Where set goals and objectives are attained to the satisfaction of the members of a given unit, stability is likely to be perpetuated.

Failure to realise set goals and objectives is however incompatible with stability. It evokes stress and strain, discontent, and frustration among the expectant members. It may lead to conflicts within the system and a subsequent challenge to the status quo. While systems have adjustment mechanisms to instances of internal discordance, cases exist where a situation runs out of hand, and a crisis ensues.

^{1/} See Dowse, R.W. and Hughes, J.A.: Political Sociology, John Wiley and Sons, London, 1972, Chapter II, pp 16 - 50.

2/
The basis of order

Order is not an ideal or abstract object. It is socially derived, socially learned, socially operationalised and socially maintained. Norms, values and sanctions are the basis of order. Norms are the behavioural codes and expectations which guide and govern individuals in pursuit of values. Values are the raison d'etre of a society's existence. These are the events, objects, goals and conditions for which men strive in their given setting.

They are institutionalised and internalised patterns which control, govern, and regulate individual and general behaviour in role performance. They are generally held and adhered to in common. While order prevails they remain the frame of reference in the day-to-day behaviour and interaction.

Both the values and norms of society dominate over individuals in their given setting. Attempt to depart or deviate from the prescribed, and engage in the proscribed behavioural patterns normally meets general resistance, abhorrence and reprisal. It breeds stigmatisation and social castration from the conformists and supporters of the dominant order. Social sanctions are the negative rewards for departure from the institutionalised behavioural patterns. The application and severity of social sanctions vary with the gravity of the violation, particularly of the core values of society.

2/ For a discussion of values, norms and social sanction, see Gurr, T.: Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1970; Runciman, W.G. : Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1966; and Merton, R.K. "Social Structure and Anomie" in Social Theory and Social Structure (Revised and Enlarged Edition), The Free Press, New York, 1957.

The origin of disorder

Disorder, disorganisation or organisational crisis, occurs and obtains when an established normative order is subjected to challenge, erosion, loosening and eventual breakdown of its tenets. The explanation for the breakdown is that society is characteristically internally self-contradictory and hence, conflict-ridden. While it defines and imposes a pre-determined normative order on its members, it does not generously or wholly distribute the means for acting in a prescribed manner within the locus of the institutionalized norms. Yet norms seem to be held and adhered to on a cost-benefit criterion. Normative discordance tempts the disadvantaged to depart from the prescribed normative pattern in search for alternative means to their needs. This is the origin of the challenge to erosion, loosening and ultimately, a breakdown and re-ordering of the system.

Note is made however that stability is not synonymous with stasis. Society is in a permanent state of flux, but not always necessarily slipping into an organisational crisis. For purposes of this study therefore an organisational crisis means and refers to a regressive state of change, change which does not contribute to progress but to degeneration, deterioration, destruction, driving a system to a virtual halt. Uganda was subjected to this state particularly during the rule of the military.

Theoretical contributions

Many scholars have attempted to provide explanatory contributions to the problem of order. Among such scholars is French sociologist

^{3/} Emile Durkheim, who himself lived in a state of social turmoil. Durkheim perceived society as an organic whole, composed of diverse units, which nevertheless subscribe to common norms. He developed the concept conscience collective with which he explained role performance and behaviour as contractual in form. As different social units or members pursue their various interests, they do so in a contractual manner, albeit informally, for the good of the whole. Contributing to an evolution of an orderly system enables each member to realise his/her goals. This state however is an ideal one, where societal values are held almost in common. This order Durkheim called mechanical solidarity.

As society differentiates however, there is a tendency for it to lose control over the individual. Individual goals may no longer comply with nor be attainable within the prevailing societal norms. Goals may no longer be meaningfully integrated with the institutionalised norms and values.

According to Durkheim, such a state of malintegration is particular to periods of abrupt change. Abrupt change throws society into disarray. The scope, speed and magnitude of change break the normative order, and societal control over individuals breaks down. A state of normative anarchy ensues. This is what Durkheim called anomy.

^{3/} Durkheim's work has been reproduced severally. This reference is based on the discussion of his work by Zeitlin, L.M. in: Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1968.

Durkheim specifically applied the concept anomy to describe and explain the economic consequences of the industrial revolution. The functioning of the economic system, according to Durkheim, was partly responsible for the anarchy which prevailed in his times. He explained:

as the conditions of life are changed, the standard according to which needs were regulated can no longer remain the same; for it varies with social resources, since it largely determines the share of each class of producers. The scale is upset; but a new scale cannot be immediately improvised. Time is required for the public conscience to reclassify men and things. So long as the social forces thus freed have not regained equilibrium, their respective values are unknown and so all regulation is lacking for a time. The limits are unknown between the possible and the impossible, what is just and what is unjust, legitimate claims and hopes and those which are immoderate. Consequently, there is no restraint upon aspirations. If the disturbance is profound, it affects even the principles controlling the distribution of men among various occupations. Since the relations between various parts of society are necessarily modified, the ideas expressing these relations must change. Some particular class especially favoured by the crisis is no longer resigned to its former lot, and, on the other hand, the example of its greater good fortunes arouses all sorts of jealousy below and about it. Appetites, not being controlled by a public opinion become disoriented, no longer recognise the limits proper to them. Besides, they are at the same time seized by a sort of natural erethism simply by the greater intensity of public life. With increased prosperity, desires increase. At every moment when traditional rules have lost their authority, the richer prize offered these appetites stimulates them and makes them more exigent and impatient of control. The state of de-regulation or anomy is thus further heightened by passions being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining. 4/

4/ Emile Durkheim: Suicide: A Study in Sociology (translated by J.A. Spaulding and G. Simpson), Free Press, 1952, pp. 241-54). Excerpt reproduced in Sociological Perspectives: Selected Readings (edited by Kenneth Thompson and Jeremy Tunstall), Penguin Books, 1973, pp. 115-116.

Durkheim has been quoted at length because, as will be evident in Chapter Five, his observations are pertinent to, and descriptive of what obtained in Uganda particularly after declaration of the "economic war". Ugandan society was all of a sudden reclassified and restratified; the beneficiaries of the "economic war" seem to have run beserk, and once appetized by the unexpected benefits of business allocation, they never stopped aspiring for more, irrespective of the means. However, the undisciplined and anarchical manner in which they responded partly led to normlessness in the functioning of the economic regime, and plunged Uganda into a crisis, manifested in what is called buyaaye.

Marx, like Durkheim, also explained social order and disorder from a systemic perspective. Marx argued that the economic system is at the core of every social phenomenon encountered. When there is an organisational crisis an investigation should start with the nature of the prevalent economic order. According to Marx every facet of social order is a manifestation of its economic base. The economic base is responsible for the legal, social, and political superstructure than obtains. It also determines the incumbent social relations and human behaviour. Human behaviour, the pattern of social relations, therefore manifest and are a manifestation of the economic structure.

Though Marx's "economic determinism" has been a centre of much controversy among scholars, it undoubtedly applies to, and explains the emergency of buyaaye in Uganda. Colonialism which is responsible for the institutional structures and the production model

in Uganda is as already indicated, an economic question. The youths, first identified with smoking njaye were also identified as unemployed, trying to soothe their frustrations. And also, the metaphoric use of the term buyaaye did not only refer to the ways and means of survival during the crisis emanating from military rule, but the crisis was itself interpreted as specifically resulting from the economic war.

The relevance of Durkheim's and Marx's views to this study therefore is the scholars' concurrence that society is responsible for our general disposition. One is born and reared in a pre-determined social order from which he takes normative guidance. But man as a biological animal also has to survive and:

as individuals express their lives so they are. What they are, therefore coincides with their production with what they produce and with how they produce it. What individuals are, therefore, depends on the material conditions of their production. 5/ "/

Many more scholars have continued to investigate the problem of order within the Durkheimian or Marxian paradigms. Among the leading contemporary proponents particularly of the Durkheimian paradigm is Robert Merton 6/ who adopted Durkheim's concept anomy. He applies the concept to describe a state of normative and institutional discrepancy. With specific reference to the western value system, Merton argues that it is full of contradictions. It exalts values and

5/ Marx's works and ideas, like those of Durkheim have been widely reproduced. This reference is specifically cited from Thompson, K. and Tunstall, J. (editors) Sociological Perspectives, Selected Readings, Penguin, 1973, p. 46.

6/ Merton, R.K. op. cit.

evaluates its members along such prescribed value continuum. Those who attain such values as wealth and education, scale high on the social ladder.

What concerns Merton however is the double standard nature of the western normative order. Achievement though highly prized, is not free for all. The system does not have an egalitarian mechanism which affords each individual an equal or ready opportunity to compete evenly for the prized social values. This is a confusing state for an individual.

Amidst such innate contradictions, Merton argues that aspiring but disadvantaged individuals have no option but to operate from without the prescribed procedure. ^{7/} Merton suggests five typologies of possible responses to such a self-contradictory normative order. Aspiring but disadvantaged individuals may accept the status quo and conform, others may rebel, retreat or withdraw, innovate unacceptable methods or rules of the game, while some might remain ritualistically committed to the system. Those who were labelled bayaaye were responding to this discordance in one of the Mertonian postulates.

Although Merton contributed to the explanation and understanding of human behaviour as a result of a normative crisis his contribution was neither conclusive nor exhaustive. If anything, it gave rise to several questions, calling for further precise explanation of who among the disadvantaged is likely to behave in what manner, who adopts either of the typologies delineated, and under what circumstances.

^{7/} Ibid. p. 140

8/

Cohen attempted to bridge the gap in the Mertonian paradigm by arguing that the form of adaptation taken in response to normative discordance is not constant. It is a function of the nature of the problem confronted. No one is eternally a conformist etc. etc. Different people may react differently to a similar problem. Problems have dissimilar impact on the victims, depending on a number of factors. Social resilience is unevenly distributed.

Cohen therefore submitted that adaptation is a function of two main factors: the social situation or environment, and the frame of reference. Individuals normally do not act haphazardly or randomly whenever they have a problem. In search for a solution whenever they are in a "fix", they first study the situation. They gauge whether the meditated course of action will be successful or not. The decision to act depends on whether given their situational setting, the prevailing moral climate will accommodate their course of action. Therefore the meditated course of action is weighed against the prevailing mode of behaviour before its adoption.

Any form of behaviour such as buyaaye therefore, takes root if it appeals to a given group (the frame of reference) in a given situational setting. If it is appealing, it is highly probable that it will elicit "understanding" from the frame of reference, it will be accommodated sympathetically, and given the moral climate, permissive enough for its operationalisation.

8/ Cohen, A.K.: Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, The Free Press, New York, 1955.

But there were far more intervening variables in the adaptation model than suggested by Merton and refined by Cohen. Cloward and Ohlin^{9/} contribution brought this to light. They agreed with Merton and Cohen that disadvantaged individuals may be tempted to act from without the prescribed behavioural model, and the frame of reference and the situational factors may be conducive to executing the adopted mode of behaviour. Cohen and Ohlin were however dissatisfied with, and disputed the implied assumption that proscribed behavioural or adaptation means are freely and readily available for all who need them.

Cloward and Ohlin submitted therefore that proscribed means, like the prescribed, are also similarly unevenly distributed and unevenly accessible. Among the victims of normative discordance, some are more favoured for acquisition of alternative means, while others are not. Not everybody in Uganda had access to the most lucrative means of survival during the state of buyaaye which reigned.

Perhaps another intellectual tradition which has contributed to the explanation and understanding of behaviour discordant with the established norms is that associated with criminologists, particularly Sutherland. The Sutherland school of thought specifically propounds the "differential association" theory to explain delinquency and crime. While this research does not regard the study area as necessarily delinquent or criminal, it finds the differential association theory illuminative of the problem. The gist of the theory is that all behaviour,

^{9/} Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E. :Delinquency and Opportunity: Theory of Delinquent Gangs, The Free Press, New York, 1960.

conforming or non-conforming, whether falling within or out of the prescribed norms, has one common factor - it is human behaviour.

Focusing on criminal behaviour, Sutherland and Cressey assert that "criminal behaviour is human behaviour, has much in common with non-criminal behaviour, and must be explained within the same general framework used to explain other behaviour"^{10/}. Sutherland and Cressey provide a nine-point process (pp. 429-431) through which an individual may engage and acquire any form of behaviour such as buyaaye, whether conformist or non-conformist.

^{10/} Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey D.H.: Criminology, J.B. Lippin Colt Co., New York, 1970, p. 427.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methods used in the study were: participant observation, the questionnaire, and the interview. The methods were adjusted throughout the research period, applying the most appropriate at a time, in response to the emerging data, research direction and the objective research environment.

Participant observation^{1/}

The observation method was the main tool used in data collection. It was adopted because of the sensitivity of the research problem; the turbulent mood of the research environment; and the situational disposition of the research objects.

The sensitivity of the research problem lay in its connection with hoarding and overcharging. At the time of the research, the post-military regime was waging a campaigning to "wipe out buyaaye" by monitoring the disappearance of essential commodities, including donations from concerned countries and private organisations. At the social level, the concept buyaaye had assumed derogatory connotations and some respondents could have been resentful of an open-ended approach to the matter.

^{1/} For a comprehensive discussion of this method see McCall, G.J. and Simmons, J.L. (editors): Issues in Participant Observation: A Text Reader, Addison-Wesley Publishers Inc. New York, 1969.

At the situational and environmental levels, the observation method was imperative partly because of the post-war mood of the respondents. A culture of silence following a decade of terrorism and spy networks made researchers suspicious species. Also, many respondents were preoccupied with trying to make ends meet, and would therefore not guarantee availability or accessibility for response to research questions. Finally, the political and social tension which prevailed further necessitated this method as a safety measure.

The main advantage of this method is that it can be employed skillfully without requiring explanation and interpretation by the objects of the research. The researcher, clear about the research problem can identify relevant data by independent observation. It is particularly an appropriate method in research of this type which included observable behavioural and situational characteristics of the phenomenon. Observable indicants of the phenomenon such as linguistic nuances, deterioration of the physical infrastructure, extra-linguistic indicants pertaining to behaviour, were delineated for meaningful analysis. The researcher being a Ugandan could easily notice and identify so many of these changes.

The questionnaire

The observation method was supplemented with other methods. These included: a questionnaire design for the bayaaye youths at Lohana Club, and the social audience. The bayaaye youths were a pre-determined sample. These youths had voluntarily turned up at

Lohana Club, a reception centre set up by a philanthropic organisation to assist in rehabilitating bayaaye. For purposes of this research, the social audience was assumed as the category of respondents outside the Lohana Club within which bayaaye operated and were capable of, and willing to respond to the research questionnaire.

The two questionnaires were of a similar format: they were unstructured and open-ended. This was intended to elicit and obtain broad data which would bring into focus the nature and scope of the phenomenon. This approach was found necessary partly because the research was exploratory; and secondly, it aimed at generating hypotheses. Provision was made for an inventory of specific topical question in case the questionnaire method proved futile.

The questionnaire for the social audience was both self-administered and researcher-administered. The double-pronged approach was adopted because some respondents were accessible only through secondary contact and preferred anonymity while others were available and willing to respond promptly.

The questionnaire for the bayaaye youths was researcher administered. This was largely because they were not fluent in English, some were illiterate; they were also accessible, since they were institutionalised, and the researcher had considerable control over this group.

The interview method

The interview method was also used both at Lohana Club, and among the social audience. Cases were encountered where respondents could not go to full length of the questionnaire, or where a respondent would be more conversant in a certain aspect of the phenomenon than in others which had been pre-structured. Also, a number of respondents were interviewed indirectly and informally through leading questions, during informal interactions.

The interview method was particularly useful with key informants who, on the basis of their knowledge of the phenomenon and willingness to discuss deeply the pertinent themes would not be limited to pre-set questions. It was also a useful method to tap potential informants who would otherwise have been excluded if any other methods were used. This is particularly the case where respondents are arrived at by the theoretical sampling method.

The above methods were supplemented with documentary data^{2/} from government publications, journalistic accounts about the phenomenon in particular and the military rule period at large, reports/studies by non-governmental agencies which were carrying out feasibility studies for purposes of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

^{2/} Documentary data is problematic in research and has been discussed by many scholars. See Prewitt, K. "Introductory Research Methodology: East African Applications, Occasional Paper No. 10, IDS, University of Nairobi, 1974; and Plat, J. "Evidence and Proof in Documentary Research: Some Specific Problems of Documentary Research" in The Sociological Review, Vol. 20 No. 9 February 1981, pp. 31-52.

Sampling procedure

The major sampling technique employed was the "mudball" sampling.^{3/} This was particularly for the population referred to already as the social audience. The mudball sampling technique is a cumulative approach, by which respondents are arrived at through secondary contacts, normally through the key informants.

"Mudball" sampling was supplemented with theoretical sampling. In theoretical sampling a researcher interviews whoever is bumped into. It is the equivalent of the "vox-pop" of newspaper and broadcast journalism. It is a "trial and error" method.

Both "mudball" sampling and theoretical sampling were found appropriate because the research was exploratory. Its ramifications were not at this stage delincable with any precision to allow a control-group approach. Neither was the research environment and research problem conducive to a survey method. These factors thus greatly influenced the sampling procedure.

The methods employed were therefore generally found satisfactory. The phenomenon seems to have been socialised enough that it was possible for any willing respondent to discuss meaningfully its general or specific aspects. This was a valuable advantage which strengthened the research methods and the sampling procedure under the circumstances.

^{3/} The technique is conventionally known as snowball sampling. Some researchers have attempted to "tropicalise" it to remove ethnocentive connotations. Kayongo-Male ("Adaptive Sampling in East Africa", Staff Seminar Paper No.25, Department of Sociology University of Nairobi, 1977 p.14) defines it as "the type of sampling used when one is interested in specialized information and feels that the common man, the man of the random sample, cannot provide the relevant information ... By rolling, moving, the total sample is gradually accumulated, from a very small beginning".

The overall data yielded by the research methods used is largely qualitative. It nevertheless delineates and brings in perspective, the basic characteristics of buyaaye. The presentation of the findings affords an opportunity for subsequent investigations in finer details, of specific aspects of the findings. Such studies could concern themselves with quantitative, statistically comparable, and hypotheses testing approaches, while the present one has been largely of a qualitative and hypotheses generating type. In the presentation that follows, effort has been made to provide examples and cite references in a manner covering a range of meanings, research postulates and the ramifications of buyaaye.

Research procedure

The research started with an exploratory/field trip to Kampala. During this phase contacts were initiated with individuals, possible key informants, and institutions which would be of immediate assistance in the course of the research. Contacts made included: Africa Foundation - the organisation concerned with rehabilitating bayaaye youths; the Ministry of Culture, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction;^{4/} the Ministry of Education; and Makerere University. Key individuals contacted included members of the National Consultative Council, and members of the public such as taxi-drivers, traders, teachers, civil servants, clerks and entertainers deemed informative for the research purpose.

^{4/} One wonders why the rehabilitation exercise was not undertaken by or under the auspices of this Ministry.

In addition, the field trip was used to get a feel of the research environment, elicit institutional support, throw feelers, and survey the population postulated for the research.

Field Relations

Field relations is a vital aspect of any research. It probably overshadows all the research in-puts, for if the researcher falters, all the other research designs or structures can be rendered almost inoperational.

The field relations were forged in accordance with the environment encountered. One of the most important considerations taken into account was personal identity. Kampala, as the commercial and political nerve of the country, was still in war-like state. Old and new conflicts were yet to be resolved, either at the national or individual levels. As already explained, utmost care was necessary particularly in undertaking research in this area. This required an acceptable identity of the individual to minimise risks which could pre-empt the research mission.

A letter of introduction from the Department of Sociology was used to obtain institutional support from the Ministries of Education; and Culture, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction; and from Lohana Club. It was also used together with the University of Nairobi identity card whenever out on research.

Emphasis was put on having been sponsored to the University of Nairobi under the inter-University exchange programme. This was important because the military regime was accused of using students (or so called) to engage in spying activities abroad, and Nairobi was said to be one of the operations base.^{5/} Emphasis was also important in order to draw a distinction from returnee exiles, as conflicts^{6/} were rife between stayees and returnees. Such conflicts could mar the cooperation needed from the stayees.

At Lohana Club research relations were established at two levels. The social workers who were in charge of the reception centre had experience with Makerere University social work students. Against this background professional contiguity was stressed, with the accent on future interest in social work, although at the time concern was largely academic.

The relationship with the youths was at first complicated, as they were an assorted lot in age, temperament, personal^{7/} and family background, let alone ethnic origin. The youths ranged between 10 and 24 years of age, with the majority of them (over 50%) falling between 15 and 19 (see Table I in Chapter Six). Some of the youths were too cheeky to answer questions, and wanted to spend more time playing with their colleagues. Others wanted to be interviewed in groups. The older boys on the other hand were suspicious and more conscious

^{5/} See Kiwanuka, S.N.: Idi Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda, Weltforum, Verlag, Munchen, 1979.

^{6/} Meddi-Mugenyi discusses these conflicts in: "Uganda and Residential Patriotism" C.1979.

of their state of buyaaye, with which they did not want to identify. There was also a language problem, as the youth included Banyankore, Banyoro, Batoro, Basoga and Karamojong, some of whom communication was totally impossible, except relying on information from fellow youths who had some little history about them.

The relationship was gradually established through observation method. Initially, effort was put on studying the available files and mixing with the youths, while gauging their individual and group disposition. The value of the approach was to identify youths who would be key informants at a later stage, while at the same time not alienating any of them.

The relationship was consolidated particularly through interaction with the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Culture, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. He was the founder of the centre, and was fully informed, and in support of the research efforts. At the level of association, this demonstrated approval of the research, and facilitated cooperation from the youths as well as the staff at Lohana Club.

Relationship with the social audience was forged largely through key informants who had been identified. Where the interview or questionnaire methods were to be used without the assistance of informants, the identity card and research permit were always used in introducing the researcher. However, these were fewer occasions, and in most cases assistance by secondary contacts was sought to avoid

exploding the research situation. The observation method was particularly useful in such instances where secondary contacts were not available when needed.

Research Adjustment

Adjustments were made in the research proceedings. The major adjustment was in the pre-scheduled questionnaire for the youths at Lohana Club. This was rendered almost inoperational. The major weakness of the questionnaire design had been the assumption that the phenomenon was particular to the youths. Thus the questionnaire had initially been designed to obtain details about the youths' background which would be analysed to provide explanation for engaging in buyaaye.

Field experience however proved that the phenomenon was not particular to the youths and therefore meaningful investigation would require re-focussing the inquiry to the phenomenon rather than on the victims, although the victims' views/explanations were important.

For example it was found that buyaaye was after all, not a predominantly nor exclusively a youth phenomenon, it was not outrightly abhorrible, but permissible and tolerable, although not necessarily desirable. Further initial research findings indicated that buyaaye as conceptualised and perceived by the respondents predated the military regime.

Research adjustment did not, therefore, only become necessary but also called for openness to all responses; and furthermore, called

for even deeper probe for information which would not initially have been considered relevant to the research objectives. The implication of these observations was that questions particularly intended for the youths had to be reformulated^{1/} and re-oriented on the basis and trend of the emerging data.

The adjustments made included: memorising key questions to pose to elicit information of particular interest and participant observation became particularly important in the search for informative data which would not have been accessible through other research methods. Such data pertained for example, to forms of behaviour, impromptu and comparative narration of personal experience relating to ways of life during the period of military rule.

With these adjustments it was necessary to undertake instant and in-depth case analysis particularly to minimise memory lapse, while noting need for follow-up whenever necessary, of an earlier case, on the basis of the conclusiveness of emerging information.

The aforementioned research adjustments culminated in a trip to Nairobi to consult with the supervisors and report on the direction of the research.

The second part of the research started thereafter. It was conducted on the experience of the first. However, no major adjustment was made particularly with regard to the questionnaire initially

^{1/} A format of the questionnaire is appended.

designed for the "non-bayaaye" public. This was initially of a general type and was found more pertinent and adequate to the inquiry given the trend of the research findings.

Field experience

Attempts to establish rapport at different levels was not entirely smooth. It was almost impossible to blunt some differences between the researcher and the respondents. There were indications among the respondents that regular meals were probably a luxury; clothes and other garments were a source of sympathy and embarrassment, yet the subjects had no alternative but to appear as they did. It was therefore necessary for example for the researcher to dress casually - jeans, sports shoes, and T. shirts - to limit the scope of the difference in dress between researcher and subjects. The briefcase was also abandoned, replaced by a tourist's leather bag slung on the shoulder. But generally, these overt differences were impossible to cover, for even the general outlook, made the researcher appear content, whereas the subjects were faced with what to eat the next day. Such worries were worn on faces of many of the respondents.

In addition to the cited research adjustment, some other specific field experience conditioning the research is worth narrating. Research trends are unpredictable. Irrespective of the nature of the problem, a researcher should give allowance for factors likely to militate against conducting research along predetermined, office-constructed procedures.

For example, the turbulent social and political situation in Uganda had more than anticipated impact on the conduct of this research. The apparent lack of locus of power, manifested in the political infighting in the executive, legislature and armed forces constituted a state of anarchy. Roadblocks, wandering and armed soldiers, a suspicious and politically charged research audience were often frustrating limitations to normal and smooth conducting of the research.

At Lohana Club, there was an organisational crisis. There was no update register of the youths. The youths were uncontrolled partly because of food scarcity; the staff seemed more concerned with self-rehabilitation than rehabilitation of the youths; the staff was also suspicious of the motives of the researcher and the research, initially thinking they were being studied and evaluated on behalf of the Director.

Lohana Club was badly located, and indeed the entire city were not appropriate venues for research at the time. Commodity scarcity, inflation, etc. also hard-hit the researcher. Security also worsened progressively with the infighting among the leaders.

The research experience culminated in the arrest of the researcher while returning to Nairobi, and was subsequently confined to detention at Makindye Military Barracks on allegations of espionage and anti-government activities on behalf of Nairobi-based dissidents all under cover of a researcher.

Substantial data, and personal belongings were forfeited to the captors. If it had not been for the field and previous personal contacts at high levels of power, perhaps release from detention would not have been possible, let alone the writing and presentation of this work.

Against the background of this chapter therefore, data presented in the subsequent chapters is clearly and largely descriptive. It consists of data from the first phase of the research and mainly on data from the observation method, secondary data from the newspapers and magazines, study reports, and informal contacts among Uganda community in Nairobi. Historic and contemporary material was obtained from sources available particularly at the University of Nairobi.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

BUYAAYE DURING PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

This research found indications of possible widespread use of njaye in Uganda before colonial rule. Trowell and Wachmann found the distribution of bhang pipes in Uganda "universal except among some of the interlucustrine bantu"^{1/}. Johnston^{2/} also noted widespread use of njaye in Uganda, and among the Bantu Kavirondo and the Jaluo of Kenya.

What the early writers do not say however is the purpose for and the circumstances in which njaye was used. This study found that in pre-colonial days and after, njaye was used largely for medicinal purposes. For example, among the Sebei where it is called njakait, and among the Iteso where it is called ajae it was administered to dogs and puppies to induce ferocity.

In Buganda, where this study was conducted, it was found that njaye had medicinal value. It was taken to relieve constipation, treat colds and coughs, to enhance appetite, to arouse sexual prowess, and general physical fitness.

1/ Trowell, M. and Wachsmann, K.P. : Tribal Crafts of Uganda, Oxford University Press, London, 1953. p. 130.

2/ Johnston, H.: The Uganda Protectorate. Vol. II, Hutchison and Co. London, 1902. p. 744.

Though the use of njaye seems to have been purposive, it was not without side effects. Misuse could lead to anti-social behaviour such as obscenity, sexual assault, and lack of self-restraint. This was particularly so if the practice became habitual. One could easily become what an informer called ekintuntu, someone almost stupid.

Perhaps the most astonishing finding of this research was the evidence ^{3/} that there was phenomenal use of njaye during the reign of Kabaka Mwanga, and specifically during the time of the civil wars.

The finding is referred to as astonishing in view of the research hypotheses associating buyaaye and social disorder, as well as colonialism. Indeed the period of Kabaka Mwanga (1884-1899) was punctuated by crises, as he tried to grip with the destabilization of his kingdom by the forces of change introduced through the agents of colonialism, namely the church. And it was in response to such forces of change that Mwanga personally seems to have championed the use of njaye, and hence buyaaye.

According to early chronologists, Kabaka Mwanga regularly and habitually smoked njaye. Some of these chronologists indeed attributed his predisposition to the effect of the use of njaye. Roscoe states:

^{3/} This was first revealed to the researcher by Mr. Lutaaya, A., his father, when the researcher was discussing the research problem.

Much of Mwanga's so called blood thirsty nature was doubtless due to Indian hemp (njaye) smoking (buyaaye). This vice to which he had become addicted shattered his nerves. The drug had an injurious effect upon him, his moral character was undermined, and he yielded to the worst passions of nature, while his powers of self restraint were weakened. 4/

5/
Kabaka Mutesa II has cautioned that according to available literature on Kabaka Mwanga, the latter has had much abuse and little praise from Europeans. This caution must therefore be taken into account whenever citing literature referring to the period, as there might be a tendency to present only one side of the story, the bad things as seen and interpreted by the missionaries, administrators and anthropologists who wrote the early literature. Character assassination of Mwanga might have been common.

In view of the above therefore, and in the context of this research, one can say that there might not have been anything innate and peculiar to Kabaka Mwanga, and therefore the said use of njaye must be interpreted from another angle, the objective conditions under which Kabaka Mwanga reigned.

Kabaka Mwanga reigned during turbulent times (1884-1899). These were times when colonial rule was taking root in the country, infiltrating every aspect of life in Buganda, including the challenge to the kingship. Kabaka Mwanga, conscious of his supremacy both

4/ Roscoe, J.: Twenty-Five Years in East Africa, Cambridge University Press, London, 1921, p. 115.

5/ Mutesa, E.: The Desecration of my Kingdom, Constable, London, 1967.

in Buganda and perhaps in the region, might have been a disturbed man as he evidenced the threats to his authority and hegemony over Buganda.

And according to the findings of the study, the socialisation of njaye use in Buganda occurred during the time of the civil wars. According to various informers, during the civil wars, the use of njaye was the symbol of identity, and those who did not smoke njaye were referred to as big frogs in the war songs composed. This information is corroborated by the writings of some scholars studying the period, particularly Wright.^{6/}

What these and other writers miss out is to question from a sociological angle, why for example there was phenomenal use of njaye.

This study interprets this phenomenon in the following manner: Kabaka Mwanga might personally have resorted to the use of njaye as an escapism, and as an attempt to grip with the problems of the time. He probably needed something to soothe his mind, and thus resorted to the use of njaye, to the extent that it probably affected him as described by Roscoe.^{7/}

Kabaka Mwanga might also have purposely resorted to the use of njaye as a protest and defiance against Europeans, particularly

^{6/} Wright, M. : Buganda in the Heroic Age, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, London, New York, 1971.

^{7/} Roscoe, op. cit.

church agents, who might have been moralising about its use and consequences. There is documentary evidence ^{8/} that the Christian church partly attributes immorality particularly sodomy and prostitution/
promiscuity, to the use of njaye. These are some of the issues which the church could have preached against, and in his dislike for the church and its agents, Mwanga might have used njaye further as a protest and symbol of disrespect for them.

Yet another explanation about the widespread use of njaye particularly during the civil wars was the desire by Kabaka Mwanga to demonstrate that he had grip on a number of his subjects. Therefore those who identified with him, might have chosen to adopt some of his practices which the colonial agents hated, just to demonstrate their solidarity with the king and the native order he represented. It might also have been smoked as an addictive drug to encourage combatants in preparation for battles.

In connection with this study therefore, it seems evident that buyaaye was phenomenal during the crisis period as colonialism attempted to dislodge the native order.

For purposes of definition, the bayaaye (the smokers of njaye and victims of change) of the time were the totality of the supporters of Kabaka Mwanga, ideally, the anti-imperialists. These and the issues

^{8/} Serunkuma, B.: Katekismu Ey'abasooka, Marianum Press, Kisubi, 1964, p. 8.

at hand have been clearly identified by Wright.^{9/}

The bayaaye of the Mwanga period included staunch traditionalists wanting to preserve their cultural values; the political activists defending national sovereignty as was represented by the Kabaka; the chiefs who were deposed and replaced with the collaborators with colonialists; the Christians not so pleased with the internal contradictions displayed by the new religious order and its agents; and traders who were facing competition from and control by the colonial order.

These bayaaye were not however unreceptive of change and innovation. Rather, they were taken aback by the manner and terms of colonial operations, which were all self-imposing. They were an assorted lot. Their symbol of distaste for the alien order was buyaaye.

While the colonial order considered the bayaaye perhaps as rebels, pagans, primitive etc. they were the heroes among the people. This is partly reflected on the occasion of Mwanga (and Kabalega's) exile. According to Wright:

When (Mwanga) was hurried captive in the rain through the streets of the capital on the way to Seychelles, his beard unkempt and hair matted after his long ordeal in the bush, there were tears in the eyes of his watching subjects and solicitous greetings. ^{10/}

^{9/} Wright, M. op. cit. p. 162

^{10/} Ibid p.159

It is actually ironic although in reality it is true to form of the ideological role of the Roman Catholic Church, that it decided to canonize Buganda traitors, and damned the patriotic fighters led by Mwanga.

A pertinent point to make hereafter is that the colonial order established hegemony over Buganda; legislated and executed policies in pursuit of its objectives. But the victims of this imperial onslaught were never reconciled with their pre-colonial outlook. Domination lasted for over 60 years. When the contradictions matured a decade after "independence" the covert existence of colonialism was exposed. Buyaaye re-emerged in the midst of the new crisis.

MILITARY RULE AND RESURGENCE OF BUYAAYE

The military gave 18 reasons^{11/} for taking over power from the civilians. These included detention without trial, an indefinite countrywide state of emergency, suppression of freedom of expression and association, widespread corruption among government officers and irresponsiveness to an array of social and economic problems affecting the general public.

^{11/} For a full list of the 18 points, see: Karugire, S.R. : A Political History of Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, London, 1980, pp. 238-240.

The military charged that people had lost confidence in the civil authority as the arbiter of social, political and economic justice. The coup was therefore a measure undertaken to arrest the situation from getting worse.

However, military intervention seems to have accelerated and aggravated the ailing situation inherited from the civilian government. The performance of the military fell below its pronouncements. The changes introduced by the military seem to have accelerated the rate and scope of degeneration of the inherited social, political and economic machinery.

12/
Military innovation

The immediate act of the military was in the political arena. It dismantled the inherited political machinery: parliament was dissolved, political activities were banned, the civil and administrative machinery was re-organised, and military presence was institutionalised, down to the grassroot level, by allocating military personnel various positions of responsibility.

More changes were effected in other state structures. The executive, the judiciary and the legislature gave way to the defence council. The defence council liberally issued decrees under which the country was ruled for eight years.

12/ These were largely contained in a multitude of decrees by which the military ruled. These could be useful documents for future scholars investigating various aspects of military rule in Uganda.

To tighten the grip on the political apparatus and the totality of the state machinery, the military created a near-police state. It multiplied and operated terror squads. These included the State Research Centre, nominally responsible for intelligence gathering; The Public Safety Unit, responsible for public security; the military police, to discipline the military personnel. The military also appointed its officers to positions of responsibility in every aspect of life, down to the grassroot level, perhaps to perfect the spy network.

Perhaps the immediate visible and far reaching innovation undertaken by the military was in the economic sector. The military declared an "economic war" by which Ugandans were supposedly to become masters of their economy. In general, the "economic war" was a package of measures by which the military expropriated the businesses and property of non-Ugandans, particularly the Asian agents of finance capital. The measure also included exclusion of the Asians within a 90-day time period. The Asians had dominated and virtually monopolised the key roles in the Uganda economy since colonial time. The nationals participated only at the periphery, producing crops, and consuming industrial products, at uneven terms, favouring the agents of, and finance capital in general.

Consequences of military innovations

The assortment of innovations by the military during the eight-year period had an impact comparable only to colonial invasion of Uganda societies. Tampering with the economic and political institutions in an uncalculated manner seems to have aggravated the institutional decay which preceded military rule.

In the political arena, military rule completely sealed all the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution in a modern state. Political parties and political activity were banned sine die. The judiciary and the executive were stripped of their powers and virtually made inoperational by the self-conscious military personnel who could even order the outcome of court cases.

In the economic realm, the Marxian postulate that the economic sector is usually determinate of the totality of the institutions seems to have applied. Expulsion of non-nationals and expropriation of their property on ascriptive rather than meritocratic criteria had considerable consequences for Uganda. There was an unprecedented expertise vacuum in almost every modern sector, particularly the professional categories, such as medicine, commerce and trade, education and tourism. Though there might have been qualified Ugandans to replace the expelees, the very process of readjustment would have been long-term, during which the impact would still have been felt.

The Uganda economy, being dependent, was subjected to unprecedented strain. Multilateral imperialism which in effect owned and operated the modern economic sector particularly since "independence"

relaxed its participation, withdrew or withheld any significant in-put which in the long term would generate economic activity. All of a sudden there was loss of "confidence" in the economy. Capital investment dwindled or stagnated, credit facilities were withdrawn or made almost impossible to get. Over all, import and home production of commodities fell, commodity scarcity started, unemployment escalated, inflation and general poverty followed suit.

The annotated consequence of military innovations manifest what Mugenyi has called institutional assassination:

a process by which institutions gradually die off because of being subjected to unworkable rules of procedure, ridiculous priorities, incompatible demands, incompatible environments, the insecurity of personnel, and scarcity of the essential tools of trade. The Amin regime subjected various institutions to some of all these conditions. 13/

Adaptation

Aidan Southall has stated that:

All Ugandans were faced with agonising choices (in search for adaptation to the impact of military rule). The top elite had to choose between going into exile or attempting to work with the system and preserve their integrity. It was pathetic and sometimes tragic to watch the succession of civilian ministers one after another, accepting cabinet office, each convinced he was different and could survive unlike his predecessor. With a few exceptions, all eventually came to

13/ Meddi-Mugenyi: "The Political Chemistry of Ignorance in Uganda: Uganda as a Tragic Laboratory" (Revised), Seminar Paper, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1978, p. 21.

the same point of having to flee for their lives or failing to do so, and "disappearing". 14/

In the political arena therefore adaptation took some of the following forms: voluntary or forced withdrawal, and at the same time, semblance of support for the regime, all of which required considerable tact to escape the suspiciously watchful eye of the military.

One area from which withdrawal was not possible is the economic. Man as a biological animal had to find survival means within the prevailing chaos. As a result of disjunction in the production sector black marketeering (magendo) evolved as a lucrative business for the institutionally well placed or specifically favoured and rewarded by the military regime. It was particularly perpetrated by the mafutamingi, (as the beneficiaries of the economic war were called). These were individuals who were allocated business or who acquired business of the exiled Asians, and all of a sudden blossomed as the black Asians. They sold goods at inflated prices, and calculated and planned scarcity to fetch high returns on their goods. Conscious of the velocity with which businesses changed hands, the operational law was instant maximum profit.

The mafutamingi are also said to have enticed youths to leave school, or other forms of activity to be employed as agents to hawk or initiate contact with potential buyers of commodities which the

14/ Southall, A.: "Social Disorganisation in Uganda: Before, During, and After Amin." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1980 pp. 643-644.

mafutamingi never wanted to sell openly.

Historically, buyaaye during military rule is associated with the youths. It is narrated that due to the impact of military innovations many youths abandoned their studies, abandoned or were abandoned by their families, some lost their petty jobs as shop assistants, baby sitters, houseboys, etc. At the same time, there evolved a lucrative business in hawking and blackmarketeering. Many youths are said to have taken up such activities which brought quick money. Quick money, though of little purchasing value seems to have lured the youths into magendo.

However, before entering hawking or black marketeering rackets many youths are said to have formed gangs of bhang smokers (bayaaye, sing. muyaaye), who among other things harassed the public, hurling obscene words at them, assaulting them, and at times stealing from them.

In the early stages of the phenomenon therefore, the public saw buyaaye as a form of deviance and delinquency among the youths. It was thought that some youths had become spoilt, and lured into the urban centre by the money craze which hit the country with the onset of inflation. Some such students were thought to have abandoned school, run away from their homes, or merely abandoned whatever they may have been doing before, to join or form youth gangs terrorising, cheating and pickpocketing from the public, taking advantage of a lax in law under the military regime.

The definition of the phenomenon buyaaye evolved over time. While initially the public defined bayaaye as deviant youths who smoked njaye and engaged in other socially undesirable behaviour, it later expanded the term to mean and refer to the youths, the hawkers of scarce commodities. The youths seem to have become agents of mafutamingi for whom they transacted business. They were also said to be acting on their own, stealing from people's shops at night and hawking the goods during the day. Others became tricksters, who took advantage of commodity scarcity and conned the needy public into buying non-existent goods in the hope that they would be delivered; or out of desperation, were sold sand instead of sugar or salt, since one did not check the contents, lest the police ask where one got it from.

Initially therefore, public reaction towards bayaaye was unfriendly, almost hostile, partly because the youths were perceived as voluntary deviants or criminals, or because they seemed to have willingly transacted business on behalf of the mafutamingi. They were seen as teaming with the mafutamingi to oppress the needy public. They certainly could not draw public sympathy.

The popularisation of the term buyaaye came in a dramatic way though. As commodity scarcity escalated, the public looked up to the government for explanation and action. The government found a scapegoat in the mafutamingi and the bayaaye who were said to be the agents of the mafutamingi. So the government launched regular swoops to net hoarders and the bayaaye youths, to make them disclose who was behind commodity scarcity.

In the course of these operations, a muyaaye youth is said to have been netted and taken to court where he was charged with vagrancy. It is narrated that the youth referred to himself as a muyaaye, and defined his job as kusammula fege (to sell (fag) cigarettes). He is said to have conducted his defence in luyaaye, the "language" the bayaaye had evolved. An interpreter is also said to have been sought and provided as the proceedings had come to a standstill. The local papers ^{15/}picked the story and gave it coverage, and the incident became the talk of town.

From then, the term buyaaye was redefined. It seems that by then the public had come to see the phenomenon as involuntary and perhaps far wider than initially conceived. Thus buyaaye did not only become the talk of town but was also adopted as a symbol of identity, identification and reference by whoever considered himself a victim of the changes occurring in the country. The definition and reference of the term therefore broadened, widened and became a metaphor.

Many individuals, and families had now felt the pinch of the changes obtaining in the country. Feeding a family, sending children to school, and meeting one's obligations of whatever manner had become almost impossible. Making ends meet became the immediate preoccupation of every person now, irrespective of level of education, age, sex or tribe. The only exception was perhaps those who had links with the military

^{15/} It was not possible to trace any copy of the coverage of the incident, but one newspaper confirmed they had covered the incident. Their court reporter had since left.

in one way or another, or the beneficiaries of business allocation. Most people were vulnerable to the impact of the crisis, though in different magnitudes and with different consequences.

Mamdani has noted that:

to remain politically safe and economically buoyant, senior civil servants and bosses of parastatals sought connections with fascists. They were involved in big time magendo (black marketeering) with impunity. The junior staff had to make do with petty magendo. As an institution, the civil service performed only under two conditions, either when it was commanded at gunpoint or when it was "given tea" (i.e. bribed). 16/

Perhaps Omwony Ojok is more lucid in describing the forces and processes leading to the creation of a category of people called bayaaye:

The workers were great victims of the Amin regime. To start with, during the eight years from 1971 employment opportunities dwindled greatly. This is because no new industries were set up. Instead, factories, tea and sugar estates and other centres of employment decreased the number of workers they took. Further, due to the increase of prices for all essential goods, and housing, water, electricity and of other social amenities, the salaries of workers could not even support a bare subsistence. As a result, many workers left employment on their own or sent their families back to the countryside. This was painful since it involved tearing the whole family into parts, and threatening its unity. Corruption, prostitution, and drop-out from school became common in workers' families. Besides, workers were forced to join in magendo. They had to steal from their place of work or leave work for hours to chase essential commodities or accept bribes, to do work they were supposed to do as part of their duty. Hence the creation of a category of people called bayaaye. 17/

16/ Mamdani, M.: Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, Ibadan, London, 1983. p. 45.

17/ Weekly Topic, 14 September 1979, p. 7

Under such circumstances therefore:

People came to accept a way of life where any means of making money was acceptable provided it succeeded. Even those involved in regular employment spent more and more time outside their places of work "chasing" commodities.....
- Not only did the bayaaye thinking and bayaaye population of the towns increase, bayaaye thinking and bayaaye traits affected the rest of the town population and that part of the rural population closely connected with magendo economy, particularly in the border areas. 18/

Mamdani's observations were confirmed during the research.

Many people submitted that abantu bonna baayayuka dda i.e. all people are bayaaye. This implied that so many people had been reduced to the status initially identified with the youths with whom buyaaye was historically identified. It was an admission that the impact of the changes had indiscriminately and variously engulfed all but a few people. The social, political and economic milieu obtaining was therefore more or less contagious, it was a yayenizing* milieu, from which only a lucky few could escape. Buyaaye had become the way of life for most people.

Public acceptance of buyaaye was an act of submission, and a sign of alienation from the ruling elite and its supporters. Indeed while the public suffered there were a few who lived in luxurious style as Mamdani describes:

18/ Mamdani, op. cit. pp. 53-54.

* the term is coined by the author and is used here as a verb to mean subjecting or committing to a state of buyaaye.

The life styles of the mafutamingi was marked by incessant and conspicuous consumption. They lived like a declining nobility, determined to make as big a show of wealth as possible. Each competed with the other to deck "his" women with the most expensive jewellery around, to drive in the latest and slickest car available, and to own the most spacious mansion. Showoff, decadence and waste - these were the hall-marks of the mafutamingi life. 19/

In view of these vivid contradictions and polarities, there followed a change in public attitude about bayaaye (and the bayaaye youths). This attitude change is partly reflected in the sentiments expressed particularly about the mafutamingi and the government officials. The following letters might be representative:

The bayaaye have all the essential commodities for sale on the black market. Where do they get these things from? The answer is simple. Some rich and respected bayaaye manage to get agencies legally or otherwise. Instead of supplying directly to the public they choose to employ these vagrants who have neither big name or bright future to lose in case they are arrested. These respectable bayaaye working under cover, have milked the public so much that they get no difficulty in paying their illegal employees; if they are arrested, they offer lump sums of money. 20/ "

Another comment was even more succinct:

One thing is clear: many bayaaye operate in items which are imported from Kenya such as sugar, rice, soap, milk, bread, kimbo, etc. I doubt whether any of them have been across or even near the Kenya border. Then how do they get these commodities? There are some forces behind the whole operation. These forces must be made of powerful, influential, financially sound people who are operating within the country; they might be having some links with the treasury and the foreign exchange

19/ Ibid. p. 54

20/ Voice of Uganda, 7 June 1976, p.4

department of the Bank of Uganda. If they are operating from outside the country, they must be having substantial accounts and they must be operating through links within the country. Both forces are capable of getting their way through the customs posts at Malaba and Busia. 21/

The researcher, while an undergraduate at the University of Nairobi witnessed the heavy trafficking of goods between Kenya and Uganda. This trafficking was partly reflected in the number of buses moving almost daily between Kampala and Nairobi. These included Akamba, Karim, Kenya-Uganda ("K U"), Goldline, People's Transport, Sabena and others. Some firms sent more than one bus per day. The majority of the customers were magendoists and an ordinary traveller would at times find it almost impossible to book space for travel.

As personally witnessed, the goods crossed into Uganda with ease, the magendoists having bribed officials at both customs posts. And the bribing was done openly. Money was collected openly (immediately after leaving Nairobi) from every passenger who did not want to have "trouble" at the border posts. The collection was even urged to avoid delay at customs posts. One magendoist with "connections" would collect the money, either give it to the driver or personally deliver it to the contact, and the passage would be clear. At the border, the customs officers would busy themselves with innocent travellers carrying a few basic needs items. Still they would extort money from them after which all would go. The mafutamingi and magendoists would rejoice and

drink once in Kampala or other destinations. The poor would lament the bad luck!

The public outcry against official corruption at the expense of public welfare was not an isolated instance limited to Uganda. In Kenya there was a heated debate both in Parliament and the media about commodity scarcity. This scarcity was perhaps caused by the lucrative business of smuggling goods, particularly essentials, into Uganda and beyond. When the debate climaxed The Nairobi Times cynically editorialised:

To smuggle huge consignments of such products as salt, sugar, and cement to an extent that nation-wide shortages are felt, the smugglers must utilise huge and highly conspicuous means of transporting their wares across borders of the country. It is utterly inconceivable that such massive transportation can take place without knowledge of the authorities concerned.... particularly the police and customs officials at the borders. 22/

The editorial charged that either the government intelligence network suffered from paralysis to be unable to monitor such malpractices or "those involved in smuggling of essential commodities out of the country (were) big people whom the government (dared) not take to task". 23/

Meantime, in Uganda the government officially sanctioned smuggling, perhaps as a survival tactic:

22/ The Nairobi Times, 28 May 1978, p.4

23/ Ibid

Amin turned right around, now warning that "people who are operating their business successfully should not be interfered with or harassed". Anti-business attitudes, he argued, were harboured by those "brainwashed by foreign philosophies" who "would rather cause chaos". In June 1977, businessmen were told they were "free to buy their commodities from wherever they could get them and fix their prices". The government declared it had "no intention of plugging the trade inlets at her borders through which they (traders) obtained their goods". Prices, declared Amin, "would automatically drop when the market is flooded with commodities". Then came the final word "The word magendo has now lost meaning and should be discouraged". 24/

As a conclusion to this Chapter, the aforementioned Kenyan connection requires some amplification. It demonstrates that Uganda's problems had international linkages. Future research will hopefully identify who in Kenya and beyond took advantage of the commodity shortage in Uganda and the suffering of the people, to mint money by illegal goods trafficking and sale at inflated prices.

Certainly, although it has been argued in this work that there was a normative breakdown in Uganda, this does not explain the apparent ease with which goods crossed and crisscrossed borders, particularly on the Uganda/Kenya borders. Had Kenyan border officials been impermeable, maybe there would have been a slightly different reaction from the Ugandan authorities.

What might remain obscure and needs projecting out is the question and role of finance capital. Who Controls Industry

^{25/} in Kenya? Who assists finance capital to penetrate across the borders of Kenya to exploit the profit-making though chaotic situation in Uganda?

In the context of this research, it is noted that colonisation is responsible for the concentration of the consumer goods industries in Kenya, where it had greater control through the settler class, and the African compradorial elite. With the Tanzania border closed and the East African Community shattered, finance capital in Kenyan-based industries could not afford to mix commerce with politics. If the military regime could pay or allow its citizens to import or smuggle goods into the country, well and good. In this way, finance capital to an extent supported and lengthened the reign of the military. The public meantime suffered.

The colonial factor is therefore not an alien variable in the buyaaye question in Uganda. This has been vividly demonstrated. The general public might not have seen the phenomenon in this perspective, and perhaps envied their brothers and sisters in Kenya. These are the illusions imperialism covertly displays. The role of research and analysis is to expose these obscured realities.

^{25/} The question has been posed and answered by The National Christian Council of Kenya: Who Controls Industry in Kenya?", East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968. See also Mamdani, who observes "the failure of most writers to appreciate the character of the Kenyan economy: that it is not an independent national economy, but a neo-colonial economy in which Britain was the leading imperialist for the better part of the 1970s. 'Kenya interests' with a solid Ugandan connection were for the most part Kenya-based British interests. As the Amin period unfolded, the Kenyan economy played a crucial mediating role between the Ugandan economy and the world capitalist market. Kenya became increasingly significant as a conduit for British interests in Uganda. The real beneficiaries of strong ties between the Kenyan state and the fascist regime in Uganda were Kenyan-based British monopolies and a tiny clique of British connected compradors in the ruling circles in Nairobi". Mamdani, op. cit. p.95.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BAYAAYE YOUTHS: A CASE STUDY

This chapter examines the bayaaye youths undergoing rehabilitation at Lohana Club. This stratum of bayaaye was chosen as a case study to provide some insight into buyaaye through personal narration of the experience of self-confessed bayaaye youths. It was further important to examine the youths closely because they are the generation of the future. ^{*} It was generally thought that the youths of Uganda during military rule were a spoilt lot. Such observations do not augur well for the future of the country. What was the significance of such statements in view of the prevailing situation?

Scope of the problem

The youths at Lohana Club were a selective sample. They voluntarily reported to the Club in response to a call by the post-military government leadership to abandon buyaaye and return to a decent and meaningful way of life.

^{*} Taifa Empya, a Luganda daily quoted Major Isondo of Tanzania as saying that he used to recruit youths from Uganda for training to overthrow the military regime. He also was quoted as saying that when some of them returned they became bayaaye (meaning those who terrorised people, while in army uniform). (Taifa Empya, 17 April 1980, p. 4).

The rehabilitation programme was under the Africa Foundation, a philanthropic organisation with a religious bias. The Director of the Foundation was also a member of the National Consultative Council, a Deputy Minister for Culture, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction; as well as a Church minister. He personally toured urban areas and suburbs, in a campaign to convince the youths to abandon buyaaye. He said the main objective of the rehabilitation centre "was to bring about a concept of a home whereby one had responsibility, and to introduce love to the youths who had been neglected by the masses"^{1/}.

At the time of the research, the Director put the number of bayaaye at 20,000.^{2/} However, this number should be quoted with caution as it seems to have been estimated on the narrow criterion of identifying buyaaye with the youths. Even if this estimate is limited to bayaaye youths, in absence of, and until conceptual and definitional clarity about buyaaye is established and agreed upon through empirical research, the national population of bayaaye must remain an estimate.

Organisation of Lohana Club

Lohana Club was formerly a social centre for the Asian community. Upon their expulsion in 1971 it was allocated to the

1/ Uganda Times, 29 January 1980 p.3

2/ "Uganda has about 1.5 m. orphans, 300,000 widows and 20,000 bayaaye" Uganda Times, 8 July 1980, p.1

military and converted into an officers' mess. With the fall of the military, it was re-allocated to Africa Foundation. The allocation was symbolic. It was partly an accusation that the military was responsible for buyaaye, hence the conversion of the officers' mess into a rehabilitation centre for the bayaaye youths.

The centre was organised to include: offices, dormitories, goods store, a workshop and a recreation quadrangle. At the time of the research, the centre had several officers, among them: social workers, preachers, cooks, clerks, secretaries, who performed various duties. One social worker lived with the youths. He was assisted by older bayaaye boys, called captains.

Admission to the centre

There was no clear cut criteria for admission to the centre. All seems to have been at the discretion of the social worker on duty who interviewed the reporting youth. In theory every youth arriving at the centre had a file opened, and was interviewed. The interview would generally cover the family background and personal history upto the time of reporting to the centre for rehabilitation. The interviewing social worker would evaluate the interviewee and decide to or not to grant asylum.

The procedure was not however consistantly adhered to. Only the youths who reported in the initial days of the centre underwent vigorous interviewing and evaluation. Thereafter, the interview and particularly report writing exercises seem to have been abandoned.

Thus at the time of the research there were very few "complete" files, and these belonged to the youths for whom schools had been found. The rest of the youths did not have a record of their background, other than being recorded at the centre, or being recognised as residents. Some of them were not even on the list of bayaaye at the centre. Those who abandoned the centre were not de-registered, or if they had not been registered, there was no record, except in the memory of a few youths who could point out such cases.

A social worker informed that initially the exercise was vigorous in order to obtain sponsorship for the youths from potential donors overseas. The social worker also informed that the reports on record were also coloured to draw sympathy. The idea was to portray the youths as destitutes or delinquents, abandoned by their families. This was the narrow definition of the bayaaye, too limiting of the scope and nature of the problem.

Programmed activities

The centre had limited activities at the time of the research. These included schooling for some youths who had not been out of school for too long, or were not too old to start. Already there were girls and boys in boarding schools. There were also day scholars who lived at the centre.

The majority of the youths were merely accommodated without any clearly defined program. They undertook routine assignments at the centre: house cleaning, and cooking. They were also occupied in social and cultural activities particularly dance and drama and on a few occasions staged shows as part of fund raising and promotions exercise of the rehabilitation programme. The themes of their dance and drama revolved around the socio-economic impact of military rule particularly on the youths, hence buyaaye.

In addition to the above, some youths were attending in-house elementary literacy classes, others were learning knitting (girls) and carpentry (boys).

The centre had also been allocated a shop where some youths worked as shop assistants. There were also farms which had been allocated to Africa Foundation and plans were under way to take some youths for farming in order to acquire skills for possible self-reliance in future. There was also talk about attachment to workshops in Kampala for apprenticeship for boys who would qualify.

Attributes of the youths

^{3/} The analysis in this section is largely based on data from 30 youths.

^{3/} This is the number interviewed during the first phase of the research.

The youths were a variegated group, varying in age, ethnic background, place of origin, education status and reported circumstances of yayenization.

TABLE 1: Age distribution of Bayaaye Youths

AGE	NUMBER	%*
5-9	-	-
10-14	10	33
15-19	17	57
20-24	3	10
25 and above	-	-
TOTAL	30	100

Ten (10) or 33% of the youths varied between 10 and 14 years. The majority (17 or 57%) were between 15 and 19 years, while only 3 or 10% were between 20 and 24. By definition therefore the bayaaye youths qualified as youths.^{4/}

* % calculated and adjusted to the nearest whole number

^{4/} Membership in the National Union of Youth Organisation (NUYO) was for youths of age 12 - 30. See Mujaju A.B. "NUYO and the countryside in Uganda," University Social Science Conference Proceedings, Dar-es-Salaam, 1973 see also footnote 10 p.92 of this study.

All the interviewed youths reported peasant or squatter background. They lamented material deprivation. Their parents had never been able to support them through school. Even basic needs like food and clothes were problematic. The youths also reported family discord: parental hostility, separation and drunkardness. One however had no way of establishing the authenticity of these observations.

The youths divided into two groups: those who had never gone to school, and some who had dropped out. The levels of education attained as reported varied widely from standard 1 to form 4. Two of the three boys over 20 had reached secondary school and one of them had obtained grades good enough to pursue higher school, but his host brother-in-law was hostile. He had come from Southern Uganda (Ankole) to attend school in Jinja (Eastern Province). He said he could not make it back home, and did not want to face his parents who had sold cattle to send him to school. When he left Jinja he settled in Kampala and became omuyaaye. /

Place of origin

Almost all the regions in the country were represented as the next table shows.

TABLE 2: Regional Distribution of Bayaaye Youths

REGION	NUMBER	%*
Buganda	7	23
Eastern	7	23
Northern	-	-
Western	5	17
Other	11	37
TOTAL	30	100

Though the table shows that Northern region was unrepresented, the youths informed that they knew during their buyaaye times, that there were fellow youths from this region. They said the youths had not reported to the centre and others had joined the army after liberation. Perhaps another explanation is that at the time of the research, the Director of Africa Foundation had not yet covered Northern region in the drive to appeal to the youths to abandon buyaaye.

The most interesting category deserving an explanation is the "other" category. This was constituted by youths of Ruandese/Urundi origin. However, the youths were born in Buganda. But their

* % calculated and adjusted to the nearest whole number

parents were migrants from either Ruanda or Urundi. The youths did not know the circumstances of their parents' migration. But it is possible they came as colonial labour recruits, or as refugees who ran away from the intercine wars in the area.

Except for four (4) youths who had been brought to the centre directly from Mbale and Jinja (Eastern region), all the youths reported to have lived buvaaye life in Kampala until they joined the centre. However, none of them was born in Kampala or within its precinct. All were "urban migrants".

Why become omuyaaye

Care was taken not to refer to the youths as bavaaye as the term had derogatory connotations. However, it transpired in the course of the research interview that they perceived themselves as bavaaye. They were asked (indirectly) why one would become omuyaaye. This proved contraversial as it suggested that one has an option between becoming or not becoming omuyaaye.

According to the youths no one decides to or not to become omuyaaye. It is a compulsive reaction to what the youths called "embeera y'ensi", literally, circumstances. They elaborated and explained that the decision is taken as a survival need. They said that they were personally faced with situations where they had to opt out of the family circle and fend for themselves. Reference was made to inadequate family resources though some pinpointed parental

negligence or hostility to explain the resource deprivation, it could not be clear whether this hostility or negligence (due to drunkardness etc.) did not themselves explain frustration on part of the parents themselves.

The youths' explanation is probably what Southall observed in a wider context of this phenomenon:

almost a whole generation of youth, at least in the more developed South of Uganda, has been led astray into bad habits from which they cannot escape. When your pay drops to a tenth of its value you are compelled to forage wherever you can. Where family and kin are destitute the diversion of government property and funds seems almost virtuous, especially when the regime has lost all just claim to respect, loyalty or honest service. Ingrained habits of coping and survival from Amin's terror, shortage of goods, worthless money, violence, and insecurity, reinforce one another. Many young men of good middle class background now behave like congenital thieves even to their families. 5/

In contradiction to the perception of buyaaye as a survival need, the youths condemned bayaaye. They labelled bayaaye as very dangerous people who could murder; they terrorised innocent people beating them up; they steal, cheat, use obscene language, smoke njaye, some abandon school and others run away from home. This attitude is perhaps the effect of the "rehabilitation" exercise they were undergoing. It was the "blame the victim" approach to explaining phenomenon.

5/ Southall A: "Social Disorganisation in Uganda: Before, During and After Amin," The Journal of Modern African Studies Vol.18 No.4 1980 p.648

Socialisation into buyaaye

The youths related their experience in buyaaye. Hope and determination are the most important assets for any youth pitted against impersonal, hostile urban environment. The youths varied in the manner and circumstances under which they ended up in Kampala. Some said they were abandoned by foster parents, or employers, while others said they were tricked by colleagues to come for better prospects; one said he was left behind by a lorry which used to deliver foods from his home area. The more educated and older boys said they consciously confronted urban life, determined to make a living.

"New arrivals" in Kampala spent days and nights mostly wandering and mingling with the public on streets, market places and bus terminals. The evenings were normally limited to the bus terminals, alleys, abandoned vehicles, roof tops, houses, lottery boxes or besides friendly securicor officers. "

The initial days were identified as the most trying. The youths did not know how to go about food and shelter. After a day or two however, the youths would be recognised "somehow" and enticed by the town "elders" who have been on the scene before. They would team up with the elders and would be socialised into buyaaye life, particularly with respect to pickpocketing, begging or obtaining petty

jobs in the market and carrying luggage for travellers.

Finding associates or company was not however enough security against the hostile environment. Food and accommodation were a perpetual problem. This was therefore the major preoccupation of the youths. And to realise it, they used all possible means. These included: snatching raw foods from delivery vehicles during the rush hours of the morning; stealing from unsuspecting raw food retailers; or disappearing with foods of customers who accepted help from the youths for a small pay.

To eat cooked foods, they would at times buy from the kiosks with stolen or money legally acquired from petty jobs. At times they used to roast some of the foods at night as they sat around fires like the parking boys of Nairobi. Some foods like matooke were at times left to ripen. Over the weekends when markets would be closed the youths would find their loot particularly useful. At times they would steal the foods from the fires in the neighbourhood of town; and when all else failed, they would scavenge the dustbins (hence the term okulya muppipa - literally to feed from dustbins or going hungry).

The youths got their clothes through theft. They would steal from unsuspecting travellers carrying luggage, at times they shop-lifted, or stole from people's laundry or through open windows during working hours.

Bathing seems to have been a luxury. So was washing clothes. When they did however, they used the Nakivubo river which traverses

Kampala. When they washed their clothes, they dried them and waited by the riverside till they dried.

The bayaaye also invented sandals to substitute for shoes. They were called TANGIRA, (literally meaning to bar) because they were traditionally used by herders. At one stage sandals were banned by the Governor of Central Province because bayaaye were said to be stealing tyres from cars to make TANGIRA.

The youths narrated that in order to survive, one had to perfect theft tactics because this was the only survival asset if all else failed. They learned to identify the most vulnerable people - usually the rural-bound travellers - who they said they could identify from the form of dress, gentility, and hesitation when crossing roads, which indicated they were probably visitors to the urban environment. The youths therefore usually operated at such terminals as where ruralites would travel from.

Patience was an important requirement among the youths. They would study a potential victim and the environment before striking. They also communicated in luyaaye - the language of bayaaye - which victims could hardly understand.

Employment opportunities

The conventional concept of bayaaye youths connected them with the mafutamingi. The youths at Lohana Club said they had no employment opportunities at all, let alone being agents of mafutamingis

The youths were all on their own merely concerned with surviving for the day.

What could be referred to as employment for the youths were casual jobs such as assisting market traders to clean premises, fetch water, carry luggage or unload foods. At times some youths would attempt to wash vehicles or assist the car-washers from whom they would get a commission. When the youths sold any scarce commodities such as cigarettes, soap, safety-matches, toothpastes, these were at times obtained through queueing, a distribution system which had evolved during the commodity scarcity. Some of it was stolen from kiosks at night, or was passed to them by older bayaaye boys who normally stole from goods shops.

The youths identified a category of youth called abayaaye abalongosemu - the elite bayaaye - as the ones connected with mafutamingi and trafficking of magendo goods. The abayaaye abalongosemu interacted with or acted for the mafutamingis to procure goods from government departments and also find market for them. This group is the one which one could identify with magendo. Some of them were well to do.

According to the youths one could graduate into this group, through contacts if one knew any of the elite bayaaye. This was particularly true of older boys probably in the 15 - 20 age category. A number of youths had graduated into the category

and turned "successful," with plenty of money. Some of them bought cars, dressed well and showed off in all aspects. But the ways in which these youths made the money were crude. Some were perfect conmen, locally called abakubi b'ennyondo ("hammerers"). They took advantage of the situation and cheated the needy public, especially genuine traders from whom they would get large amounts of money to procure goods because they (the youths) had "contacts". But in the final analysis, the traders lost. Among the tricks they used included: fictitious offices, letterheads, etc., convincing enough for one to part with money.

It would appear therefore that the youths at Lohana Club were disadvantaged in respect to contacts with mafutamingis. Their age, probably education and general lack of contact limited their advancement into the "professional" category of bayaaye.

Relations with the public

The relationship between the youths and the public was one of hide and seek. The public knew that the city had been hit by a wave of bayaaye - conmen - one could not easily identify. But because these youths were easily identifiable because of their physical outlook, they were often watched by most people especially the urbanites. Whenever caught, the youths were subjected to beatings.

The public was however, not always successful in avoiding the youths. The youths continued to steal from them, particularly items

like money. This is how the bayaaye youths came to be called abasazi b'ensa wo (people who cut through peoples pockets). People lost their money without knowing how. It could only be through holes in their pockets, however invisible.

One could say however, that the general relationship in Kampala was one of live and let live. If one was not an immediate victim, there was no recourse to executing civic responsibilities such as reporting suspicious elements, particularly what the public identified as bayaaye. As one sympathiser affirmed through the press:

if abayaaye are some people's enemies, I want to be straight forward that to me, they are doing a good job. On a number of occasions I have had what I could not get from the so called businessmen. 6/

The author of the letter under reference noted that bayaaye were accused of overcharging but "Good heavens, who doesn't"? It is perhaps this general sympathetic and accommodative moral climate which prompted the confident self-appraisal (probably from abayaaye abalongoseemu). They retorted to the attacks from some people by saying

6/ Voice of Uganda 5 July 1976 p.4

that it was:

quite falsifying that we bayaaye comprise of bandits, hooligans, hippies or vindictives and what have you as most people seem to understand us In our assessment we bayaaye are very disciplined people, law abiding, god fearing and honest citizens ... We would like to once again stress the fact that we are very harmless people and very interested in the welfare and progress of our motherland. 7/

In the same self-appraisal these bayaaye notified intention to form "The Uganda Bayaaye Co-operative Society" to enable them speak in one voice. However there is no trace of what transpired of these intentions. The letter to the Uganda daily however indicates the nature of the debate about the phenomenon and the possible trend, perhaps into a movement of socio-economic and political dimension. There was an awareness on the part of the bayaaye, of a need for elevating their existential and objective conditions to an organised movement through which to articulate demands. One cannot speculate what angle it would have taken, but the Mafia type of activities would probably also have evolved, given the anarchical state of affairs at the time.

The bayaaye and the state

Compared with the public, the relationship between the state and bayaaye was generally hostile. The state used them as a scape-goat, arguing that they in collaboration with the mafutamingi and

7/ Voice of Uganda, 26 June 1976 p.4

magendoists were responsible for commodity scarcity. In a double-pronged attack, the bayaaye and some unfortunate traders were normally netted, with their goods.

These swoops are what Mamdani describes:

The target in these campaigns was the small entrepreneur, mainly hawkers. Time and again, police swooped on hawkers in Kampala's South Street and Nakivubo area and confiscated their items. Hawkers were detained, questioned and tortured. The operation, said police sources, was intended "to unearth the mystery surrounding the unavailability of essential commodities in the country". When it became clear that the results were paltry the campaign was stepped up. 8/

Hence the bayaaye were considered responsible for commodity scarcity. By pouncing on them, the government wanted to give an impression to the public that effort was being made to make these "mafutamingi agents" name their sponsors. The operations were rampant particularly during the Governorship of Major Nassur^{8/}, one of the powerful cadres in the military government. The pro-government Voice of Uganda noted in reference:

Since the new governor ... assumed his duties this week, bayaaye have disappeared from their hunting grounds ... the first warning he made shortly after assuming his duties and the number of raids security men have made on the bayaaye have sent shock waves

8/ Mamdani M : Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, Ibadan, London 1983 p. 52-53

which have sent them into hiding. 9/

According to the youths, however, the swoops did not have an effect. Bayaaye continued to operate and some of them now operated for some security officers who would bring them goods stolen from the public or purchased cheaply on government or factory prices. Moreover, some bayaaye who were agents of the security forces would notify others of an impending swoop and they would pass on the word, for the others to be on the alert.

The youths informed that sometimes those netted in the swoop were detained or were supposed to be taken to state farms, perhaps under the Community Farm Settlement Decree. ^{10/} But as already indicated

9/ Voice of Uganda 14 August 1976 p.3. However as the operations before had indicated, the bayaaye were determined to survive: ".after the operations the bayaaye who usually wear tatters and sandals or walk bare foot came back in disguise, dandily putting on trousers, ties and shoes and jackets. It was even difficult to recognise or differentiate them from law abiding people".

Voice of Uganda 28 June 1976 p.3

10/ The decree sought to bring people together or settle people in order to practice community farming. It was however not voluntary. Persons to be settled were: "any unemployed able-bodied person". According to the decree a person was deemed to be (a) "unemployed if he (is) found by the prescribed authority to be without regular employment or any reasonable prospect for such employment or without any visible means of subsistence or a fixed abode; and (b) "able-bodied" if he is above the apparent age of eighteen years and from his physical appearance the prescribed authority is satisfied that he is capable of working to earn a living, or being trained to earn a living, through farming or farm industries or giving any assistance required under the said subsection." See Decree 5 of 1975: "The Community Farm Settle Decree, 1975: A Decree to Provide for the Establishment of Community Farm Settlement And For Other Matters Concerned Therewith".

on pages 72 and 91 the entire exercise proved fatal and the government submitted to the realities of the day.

This apparent resignation on part of the government might be an indication that it was aware that the answer to buyaaye was not in swoops, but in calculated structural changes which, however, could not be undertaken overnight. The system had been thrown into chaos and the government seems to have left it to individuals to find their way out, as long as they supported or left the government alone.

The immediate successors to the military regime do not seem to have been deeply clear about buyaaye as a phenomenon. A cabinet minister lamented:

The bayaaye organisation was meant to go with Amin but it is a pity it still exists and is continuing to ruin society.^{11/}

The minister also warned the bayaaye that they "must know that time to work hard has come". Such perceptions, though not necessarily reflective of official government view are important, for they might have influenced government action-towards the so called lazy bayaaye. Hence the post-military government continued to hunt bayaaye who were understood to be economic saboteurs, out for quick money. Yet as has been demonstrated this is the narrow traditional view of the phenomenon.

11/ Voice of Uganda, 11 June 1979: p.3

There is an interesting incident connected with buyaaye and the post-military regime. It was widely reported that after the war, people who had looted goods returned them in response to government appeal, and that for quite some time, prices of goods went down drastically without government coercion. It is possible that this was an indication on part of the populace that a promising regime was welcome, and people were willing to support it in many ways, including selling below the objective demand-supply equation, hoping things would return to normal.

However when political bickering among the liberators led to change of leadership, the situation reportedly changed again, and people started overcharging. There might be other explanatory economic hypotheses about such behaviour but from a sociological perspective the possible connection between this behaviour vis a vis anticipated institutional performance must be noted. 7

Indeed when the Lule government was deposed within 69 days, there were spontaneous protest demonstrations against the "coup". Not because people supported Lule per se, but perhaps because their hope for an orderly system had been proven false. It is said that some of the post-Lule leaders referred to the demonstrators as bayaaye. This is said to have been a mammoth demonstration. Who then, again, is omuyaaye or who demonstrated? In this context, the term was used in derogatory form.

A member of the NCC returned to this incident during the election campaign. He was quoted by his election pamphlet:

Hon. Kayondo nga bwawuliddwa emurundi mingi nga ayogera ku nsonga eno, takkiriza nti waliwo abayaaye mu ngeri eyo egenderera okuvuma obuvumi abantu baffe. Era mu ngeri eyo takkiriza nti abantu abekalakaasa hu Lule, baali bayaaye mu ngeri eyo ey'okuvuma. Abo abekalakaasa baali bannaUganda era baalina eddembe n'ensonga entuufu okwe kalakaasa. 12/

Hon. Kayondo was disputing the reference to the demonstrators as bayaaye (in derogatory manner). He argues these were concerned Ugandans who had a cause.

However, at a later stage, the Binaisa government (which was the successor to Lule government) stated a clear policy position regarding the bayaaye youths. Part of this semi-official view has been indicated already (Chapter Five, page 67).

With specific reference to the bayaaye youths, the government defined them as a class of people:

mainly youths who are unemployed and whom the mafutamingi took advantage of and used in the perpetuation of magendo. (They were perceived as a product of a lopsided economy and educational system rooted in the colonial past and of the mafutamingi in particular who are themselves products of Idi Amin's so called economic war. 13/

12/ An election pamphlet, 10 June 1980, p.14.

13/ Uganda Times, 12 November 1979, p. 4

The position of the government further links the buyaaye question to the export-import character of the Uganda economy, the under-developed industries; the capital intensive production system, and general lack of planning.

Interpreted further, the above would demonstrate that the buyaaye question is not entirely a youth issue. There have certainly been several graduands of the lopsided education system, the export-import economy; victims of the under-developed industries, and the capital intensive labour market. What has happened to all these people over the years? They certainly have changed form, but in essence remained bayaaye.

Future of the bayaaye

While at the high levels of authority successive regimes viewed and interpreted buyaaye differently, the youths at Lohana Club believed that Africa Foundation had a future for them. This view would probably be expected of this group which opted to "abandon" buyaaye. It was not however possible to evaluate in what manner the youths' expectations would be realised. What was noticed was that they were determined to stay at Lohana Club. Yet they were experiencing hardships. Meals were irregular and inadequate. Other than having a roof above one's head, sleeping facilities and accompanying amenities were virtually non-existent. If one had a bed, he might not have a blanket; if he had a sponge mattress, he probably didn't have a bedsheet etc., etc.

However the researcher observed that the youths were normal, probably like any other Ugandan. There was apparently nothing wrong with them except the struggle to survive the hard way. They behaved like any other youths: they made friends, they responded to authority, including their fellow youths (the captains) and indicated a desire to earn a regular income from a "respectable" source. They were thus prepared to wait, if Africa Foundation could realise its initiatives.

As for the public however, it was apprehensive of the purpose and remedial results of Africa Foundation vis-a-vis buyaaye. The interviewed public informed that the youths at Lohana Club do not give

a true picture of bayaaye and the phenomenon in general. This thinking was widespread and as one observer concluded: "if the bayaaye in the rehabilitation programme are the bayaaye known to an ordinary mind in the country, the word is the wrong terminology".

The public seems to have been expecting an encompassing programme, one which probably requires structural changes to ameliorate the status quo responsible for the chaotic environment in which buyaaye thrives. What was going on at Lohana Club seems therefore to have been a tip of an iceberg. But it seems to have been well targeted, at least for purposes of identifying some stratum of the victims of military rule.

14/ Uganda Times, 28 April 1980 p.5

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Military rule in Uganda was characterised by disorder of unprecedented proportions. The disorder was not however, unique to the military. Rather it was cumulative, consequential of several years of institutional structural formation, finally torn asunder by uncalculated innovations under military regime.

The nature, scope and impact of the disorder on Uganda was manifested variously, such as in the deterioration and the collapse of sections of the physical infrastructure, breakdown in the production system and the consequent commodity scarcity, destitution of individuals, and the breakdown of the normative order, as individuals vied for any possible and available survival means.

Buyaaye is the term, concept, metaphor and phenomenon descriptive and manifestive of the objective conditions obtaining in Uganda* during military rule. It was the response, reaction and adaptation of individuals to the innovations, impact and consequences of military rule.

The purpose of this inquiry therefore has been to explore, define, analyse, operationalise and interpret buyaaye from a sociological perspective, with a view to gain an insight in the functioning of Uganda and the status of the individual period during the study period.

* Although this study was conducted in Kampala, it is plausible that all parts of Uganda experienced the phenomenon, though perhaps in different magnitudes, explained by the specificity of the characteristics of the area. Similarly the impact on individuals differed.

The foregoing chapters have been concerned with a discussion and presentation of the outcome of this inquiry.

This inquiry was guided by a historical approach in conjunction with the view that society is evolutionary and permeable. An attempt to examine a given phenomenon at a particular historical point requires establishing those explanatory historical landmarks of formative influence on the present, and also establish specifically in which ways the study period differs, and how much it draws from previous periods. The ultimate objective is to delineate the main feature among the possible many, which might be explanatory of the current status quo.

This study specifically delineates colonialism, its agents, objectives and policies as the principal formative influence in the contemporary nature and institutional structural and operational characteristics of Uganda in which buyaaye occurred. A preview of the pre-military period was therefore undertaken for introductory and illuminative purposes, as well as identifying pertinent thematic events and logically linking them to the study period and objectives.

Applying the findings in retrospect, it has been established that emergence of buyaaye pre-dates military rule. In the context of this study, the phenomenon dates to the era of colonial intrusion in Uganda. At the time, it emerged as a political movement phenomenon, being a symbol of identity with the native order, and as a form of protest against alien rule. It might also have been a scientific

measure, whereby njave was administered to give courage to the combatants during the colonial wars, for "bhang gave a man the courage to attack an elephant single-handed with a spear"^{1/}.

A correlation is drawn between the period of colonial rule and military rule, and the emergence of buyaaye. Both periods were characterised by socio-economic and political upheaval, arising from impromptu, uncompromising and monstrous innovations. Colonial onslaught on Uganda threw the pre-colonial order into total chaos. So did the attempt by the military to dislodge neo-colonialism by physical means. The commonality about the two phases is the ensuing anarchy and the emergency of buyaaye.

Perhaps one of the major contentions of this work is the allusion to colonial continuity in Uganda. It has been unequivocally argued and demonstrated that colonialism was the major architect of the institutional structural set up in Uganda. The process lasted for decades and served colonial interest and objectives. In absence of decolonisation ^{2/} one cannot talk of independence, when all that has occurred is a cosmetic change in form of personnel.

As Mamdani has pertinently queried:

How are we to understand an independence which leaves the key economic lifelines of a country in the hands of imperialist interests; which leaves intact the instruments of colonial

^{1/} Wright, M.: Buganda in the Heroic Age, Oxford University Press, London, 1971, p. 88.

^{2/} One means the process of reversing the reversible colonial innovations, remodelling society over time to primarily serve the needs of the majority of the nationals.

repression; and leaves the colonial army untouched, simply changing the title from King's African Rifles to Uganda Army; which preserves the colonial laws, courts, prisons and police forces, and gives them 'national' titles? Such an economy is a neo-colonial economy; such a state is a neo-colonial state. 3/

Uganda indeed qualifies as a neo-colonial state, and therefore a phenomenon such as buyaaye occurring as a result of an interplay of social, economic and political forces in this neo-colonial milieu cannot be explained nor understood outside the neo-colonial phenomenon. An oversight in this regard would give only partial analysis of the phenomenon, thereby obscuring clear identification of its root causes, and leading to misplaced and inadequate policy formulation, analysis and action.

This being an exploratory study, it has opened avenues and raised more questions for further research and analysis in the behavioural forms constituting buyaaye. It has been stated that buyaaye supersedes the practical level of smoking njaye, and as a metaphor, buyaaye refers to forms of behaviour which evolved to co-exist with the anarchical state of affairs under military rule. It refers to the impact of an assortment of pressures impinging on the individual, and the mechanisms of adaptation.

3/ Mamdani, M. Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, Ibadan, London, 1983. p. 22

Caution must be taken and discard the derogatory connotations initially associated with the use of the term buyaaye. This is not because the researcher empathises with the victims of the misrule in Uganda. Rather, as the researcher established there was an awareness on part of the population that buyaaye was involuntary, and therefore a victim of circumstances ought not be blamed. However, again as indicated, it was in the interest of the ruling elite and its supporters to maintain and operationalise the term in a derogatory manner, and use the victims as scapegoats to explain the chaos in the country. It was for diversionary purposes. It was the finding of this research that there is a high level of awareness among the people, but successive dictatorial regimes have muzzled them into quietude as a survival means. This has retarded not only the democratic process, but also the country's development, as leader after leader has plunged the country into deeper crisis.

In the framework of this analysis, one does not foresee a situation where buyaaye can be eradicated without de-linking Uganda from the international socio-economic and political forces of neo-colonialism. Indeed the magnitude of the phenomenon might subside as has been the case

.4/ As one observer stated: "While they (bayaaye) are condemned there is behind them something that should be praised and encouraged. A kind of spirit - a Ugandan spirit - which the bayaaye exaggerate by circumstances but one that is present in all of us who were oppressed This is the spirit of activeness or being practical with ideas - doing something about something". Weekly Topic, 13 July 1979, p.4.

in times of relative stability. However, contradictions are bound to emerge again at a particular point in future and pertinent forms of buyaaye will recur. The activities of philanthropic organisations such as Africa Foundation operating in a neo-colonial order will not solve the problem. Indeed they might be the new agents of neo-colonialism, employed to lull the masses into quietude.^{5/}

Of course this thesis is not arguing for an ideal society for which progressive (or Marxists?) scholars have often been attacked. The concern of this researcher is a social order in which the majority participates democratically in the political process in the production and determination of its well being, as well as in the consumption of the fruits of its sweat. This is not the case in contemporary Uganda and this is the basis of the occurrence and recurrence of various forms of buyaaye.

5/ Engel's warning about the "charity" of the bourgeoisie through philanthropic institutions is indeed pertinent here. He argues that the bourgeoisie "is charitable out of self interest: it gives nothing outright, but regards its gifts as a business matter, makes a bargain with the poor, saying "If I spend this much upon benevolent institutions, I thereby purchase the right not to be troubled any further, and you are bound thereby to stay in your dusty holes and not to irritate my tender nerves by exposing your misery. You shall despair as before, but you shall despair unseen, this I require, this I purchase with my subscription"
Engels, F: The Conditions of the Working Class in England, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Third Printing, 1977, pp. 277-278.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Leonard Lutaaya. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. I am doing reserach on bayaaye. I would like you to assist me by answering some questions.

1. What are your names?

.....
.....

2. How old are you?

.....
.....

3. Where were you born?

.....
.....

4. Have you attended school before?

.....
.....

5. (If Yes) What level did you reach?

.....
.....

6. When did you leave school?

.....
.....

7. What were the reasons for leaving school?

.....
.....

8. What did you do after leaving school?

.....
.....

9. When did you leave your home?

.....
.....

10. What are the reasons why you left?

.....
.....

11. Where did you go when you left your home?

.....
.....

12. Would you tell me some of the problems you faced when you left home?

.....
.....

13. Did you receive any help? Explain.

.....
.....

14. Where were you living before coming to Lohana Club?

.....
.....

15. Would you tell me what you were doing before coming to Lohana Club?

.....
.....

16. I would like you to know about the people called bayaaye. Do you know why they are called bayaaye?

.....
.....

17. Would you tell me why they become bayaaye?

.....
.....

18. What jobs/activities do the bayaaye do?

.....
.....

19. Some bayaaye sold commodities which were not available in shops. How did they get these commodities?

.....
.....

20. Did all the bayaaye sell commodities? Explain.

.....
.....

21. Did the bayaaye get problems with the police or the army for selling these items?

.....
.....

22. Do you think people liked bayaaye? Explain.

.....
.....

23. Would you like to tell me more about how the bayaaye used to live?

.....
.....

24. I would like to know more about bayaaye. Do you have a friend at Lohana Club who can tell me more?

.....
.....

25. Before we end, tell me about Lohana Club. Do you like it? Is it helping you?

.....
.....

26. What would you like to do in future?

.....
.....

27. Would you like to say anything else in connection with what we have discussed?

.....
.....

THANK YOU

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(i) BOOKS

1. Apter, D.: The Political Kingdom in Uganda, University Press, Princeton.
2. Butler, J.: Castagno A.A. (eds), Boston Papers on Africa: Transition in African Politics, Frederick A. Praeger, New York.
3. Cauter, D.: The Illusion, Panther Books, London.
4. Clinard, M.B.: Anomie and Deviant Behaviour: A Discussion and Critique, The Free Press, New York.
5. —————: Meier R.F., Sociology of Deviant Behaviour, Rinehart Winston Inc., Holt, New York.
6. Cloward, R.A.: Ohlin L.E., Delinquency and Opportunity: Theory of Delinquent Gangs, The Free Press, New York.
7. Cohen, A.K.: Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, The Free Press, New York.
8. Cressey, W.: Delinquency, Crime and Social Process, Harper and Row Publishers, New York.
9. Durkheim, E.: Suicide: A Study in Sociology, (Translated by J.A. Spaulding and G. Simpson), Free Press, New York, Excerpt printed in Sociological Perspectives, Thompson K., Turnstall, J. (eds), Open University, London.)
10. Dowse, R.W.: Hughes J.A., Political Sociology, John Wiley and Sons, London.
11. Engels, F.: The Conditions of the Working Class in England, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
12. Fallers, A.L.: (ed), The King's Men: Leaders and Status in Buganda on the eve of Independence, Oxford University Press, London.
13. Fallers, M.C.: The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu, (Ganda and Soga), International African Institute, London.
14. Fannon, F.: The Wretched of the Earth, Penguin Books, London.
15. Faupel, J.F.: African Holocaust: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs, Geoffrey Chapman, London.
16. Fidlon, D.: (ed), Historical Materialism: Basic Problems, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
17. Gingyera-Pinyowa: Issues in Pre-Independence Politics in Uganda: A Case Study on the Contribution of Religion to Political Debate in Uganda in the Decade 1952-62, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
18. —————: Apollo Milton Obote and His Times, NOK Publishers, New York.

19. Gurr, T.: Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
(1970)
20. Hattersley,: The Buganda at Home, Frank Cass and Co., London.
(1968)
21. Hutton, C.: Reluctant Farmers, East African Publishing House,
(1973) Nairobi
22. Hydon, E.S.: Law and Justice in Buganda, Butterworth and Co.,
(1960) London.
23. Ibingira, G.S. African Upheavals Since Independence, Westview Press
(1980) Boulder, Colorado.
24. Ingham, R.: The Making of Modern Uganda, Allen and Unwin, London.
(1958)
25. _____: A History of East Africa, Longmans, London
(1963)
26. Johnston, H.: The Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, Hutchison and Co.,
(1902) London.
27. Kabwegyere, T.B.: The Politics of State of Formation: The Nature and
(1974) Effects of Colonialism in Uganda, East African
Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
28. Kaggwa, A.: Ekitabo kya Bassekabaka b'e Buganda, East African
(1973) Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
29. Kanyeihamba, G.W.: Constitutional Law and Government in Uganda, East
(1975) African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
30. Karugire, S.R.: A Political History of Uganda, Heinemann Educational
(1980) Books, Nairobi.
31. Kasfir, N.: The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and
(1976) Ethnicity in African Politics, University of
California, Berkeley.
32. Kiwanuka, S.M.: From Colonialism to Independence: A Re-appraisal
(1973) of Colonial Policies and African Reactions: East
African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
33. _____: Idi Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda, Weltforum, Verlag
(1979) Munchen.
34. Kyemba, H.: A State of Blood: The Inside Story of Idi Amin's
(1977) Fear, Paddington Printers, London.
35. Kyewalyanga, F.X.: Traditional Religion, Customs and Christianity
(1976) in Buganda, Freiburg in Breisgau.
36. Lenin, V.I.: Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism,
(1973) Foreign Language Press, Peking.
37. Lloyd, P.C.: Africa in Social Change, Penguin Books, London.
(1972)

38. Low, A.D.: Political Parties in Uganda, Athlone Press, London.
(1962)
39. _____: Buganda in Modern History, Weidenfield and Nicolson
(1971) London.
40. Maina wa Kinyati: Thunder From the Mountains: Mau Mau Patriotic So
(1980) Zed Press, London; Meddi Teki Publishers, Nairobi
41. Mair, J.: An African People in the Twentieth Century,
(1984) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
42. Mamdani, M.: Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, Heinemann
(1976) Educational Books, Nairobi.
43. _____: Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda, Heinemann
(1983) Educational Books, Nairobi.
44. Mao, Tse Tung: Four Essays on Philosophy, Foreign Language Press,
(1968) Peking.
45. Marx, K.: Capital Vol. 1., Lawrence and Wishart, London.
(1970)
46. Marx, K.; Engels, F.: The Germany Ideology, Progress Publishers, Moscow
(1964)
47. _____; _____: Genesis of Capital, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
(1976)
48. _____; _____: Manifesto of the Communist Party, Progress
(1977) Publishers, Moscow.
49. _____; _____: On Literature and Art, Progress Publishers, Moscow
(1978)
50. _____; _____: Lenin, On Historical Materialism, Progress Publishers
(1976) Moscow.
51. Mazrui, A.: Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda: Making of Military
(1975) Ethnocracy, Sage Publications, New York.
52. McCall, G.J.: Simmons, J.L. (ed), Issues in Participant
(1969) Observation: A Text Reader, Addison-Wesley
Publishers Inc., New York.

53. McClellan, D., The Thoughts of Karl Marx,
(1980) McMillan Press, London.
54. Mennell, S., Sociological Theory : Uses and Utilities,
(1974) Thomas Nelson and Sons, London.
55. Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure,
(1957) The Free Press, New York.=
56. _____, Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems,
(1976) Harcourt Braice Inc., New York.
57. Mittelman, J.H., Ideology and Politics in Uganda,
(1975) From Obote to Amin, Ithaca, Cornell.
58. Muga, E., African Responses to Western Religions,
(1975) East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
59. Mukherjee, R., The Problem of Uganda: A Study in
(1956) Acculturation, Berlin.
60. Mutesa, E., The Desecration of my Kingdom, Constable, London,
(1967)
61. Nabudere, D.W., Essays in the Theory and Practice of Imperialism,
(1977) Onyx Press, London.
62. _____, The Political Economy of Imperialism: Its
(1978) Theoretical and Polemical Treatment from
Mercantilist to Multilateral Imperialism,
Zed Press, London; Tanzania Publishing House,
Dar es Salaam.
63. _____, Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda,
(1980) Onyx Press, London.
64. National Christian Council of Kenya, Who Controls Industry in
(1968) Kenya, East African Publishing House, Nairobi.
65. Ollman, B., Alienation : Marx's Conception of Man in
(1971) Capitalist Society, Cambridge University Press,
London.
66. Plekhanov, G., Selected Philosophical Works, Vol. II,
(1976) Progress Publishers, Moscow.
67. Roscoe, J., Twenty-Five Years in East Africa,
(1921) Cambridge University Press, London.
68. _____, The Baganda : An Account of their Native
(1965) Customs and Beliefs, Cass, London.

69. Ruganda, J., The Floods, East African Publishing House, Nairobi (1980)
70. Runciman, W.G., Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, (1966) Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
71. Serunkuma, B., Katekismu Ey'abasooka, Marianum Press, Kisubi. (1964)
72. Southall, A.W., Gutkind P.C.W., Townsmen in the Making: Kampala and Its Suburbs, East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala. (1957)
73. Sutherland, E.H., Cressey, D.H., Criminology, (1970) J.B. Lippin Colt Co., New York.
74. Thomas, J.W., Znaniecki, The Polish Community Vol. 1., (1974) Octagon Books, New York.
75. Toffler, A., Future Shock, Pan Books, New York. (1980)
76. Trowell, M., Wachsmann, K.P., Tribal Crafts of Uganda, (1953) Oxford University Press, London.
77. Uganda, Republic of, The Action Programme : A Three Year Economic Rehabilitation Plan 1977/78 - 1979/80, Government Printers, Entebbe. (n.d.)
78. Welbourn, F.W., Religion and Politics in Uganda 1952 - 1962, (1965) East African Publishing House, Nairobi.
79. West, H.W., The Mailo System in Buganda. A Preliminary Case Study in African Land Tenure, The Government Printer, Entebbe. (1964)
80. _____, Land Policy in Buganda, Cambridge University Press, (1972) London.
81. Wright, M., Buganda in the Heroic Age, Oxford University Press, (1971) London.
82. Zeitlin, I.M., Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory, (1968) Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

(ii) MONOGRAPHS

1. Ausland, T., (1974) On the Move to the Left in Uganda 1969-1971: The Common Man's Charter, Dissemination and Attitude, Research Report No. 26, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.
2. Awolowo, O., (1977) The Problem of Africa: The Need for Ideological Re-appraisal, (Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Lectures), MacMillan, London.
3. Baryaraha, (1967) Factors Affecting Industrial Employment, East African Institute of Social Research, Occasional Paper No.1, Oxford University Press, Nairobi.
4. Commonwealth, Secretariat of, (1979) The Rehabilitation of the Economy of Uganda: A Report by a Commonwealth Team of Experts, (2 vols), London.
5. Gwasira, G.C.K.; Iliffe, John, (eds), (1968) Records of the Maji Maji Rebellion, East African Publishing House, Nairobi.
6. Kabwegyere, T.B.; Mbula, J., (1979) A Case of the Akamba of Eastern Kenya, The Australian National University, Canberra.
7. Nabudere, D.W., (1977) Imperialism. The Social Science and the National Question, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam.
8. Obote, A.M., (1970) The Common Man's Charter, Government Printer, Entebbe.
9. Okediji, F.O., (ed), (1972) The Rehabilitation of Feggara in Nigeria, (Proceedings of a National Conference), University Press, Nigeria.
10. Waliggo, J.M. (et. al.), (n.d.) Political Education, Tororo Diocese Communication Centre, Mbale.

(iii) ARTICLES:

1. Atanda, J.A., 'The Bakopi in the Kingdom of Buganda (1971) 1500-1912', in the Uganda Journal, Vol. 32, No.2.
2. Bell, R.M., "The Maji Maji Rebellion in the Livalo District", (1950) in Tanganyika Notes and Records, No.28.
3. Brundage, W.H.; Mitchell, W.A., "Toward an Understanding of Opium and Poppy Production in Turkey" in the Journal of African and Asian Studies, Vol. XII.
4. Kabwegyere, T.B., "The Dynamics of Colonial Violence: The Inductive System in Uganda" in the Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 9, No.4.
5. _____, "The Asian Question in Uganda 1894-1972" (1973) in the Kenya Historical Association, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.
6. Karugire, S.R., "The Arrival of the First European Missionaries : The First Fifteen or so Years" in A Century of Christianity in Uganda 1877-1977, Tuma T.; Mutibwa P. (eds), Uzima Press, Nairobi.
7. Kasozi, A.B., "Why did the Baganda Adopt Foreign Religions in the (1975) 19th Century?", Mawazo Vol. 4, No.3.
8. Kiwanuka, S.M., "Kabaka Mwanga and his Political Parties", (1969) Uganda Journal, Vol. 33, No.1.
9. Macho, C.B., "Is Independence Meaningless to the Masses"? (1970) East African Journal, Vol. VII, No. 2.
10. Mujaju, A.B., "The Demise of the UPC-YL and the Rise of NUYO", (1970) African Review, Vol. 3, No.2.
11. Mubiru-Musoke, "Personality and Democracy in Uganda Politics: (1981) A General Critique of Leadership and Civil Obedience Since Independence", The Uganda Quarterly Review, Vol. 1, No.1.
12. Mushanga, T.M., "Education and Frustration", (1970) East African Journal, Vol. VII, No. 2.
13. Nye, J. Jr., (1967) "TANU and UPC : The Impact of Independence on Two African Nationalist Parties", Boston Papers on Africa : Transition in African Politics, Butler, J., Castagno, A.A., (eds), Frederick A. Praeger, New York.

14. Ravenhill, F.J., "Military Rule in Uganda : The Politics of Survival", (1974) in African Studies Review, Vol. XVII, No. 1.
15. Southhall, A.W., "Social Disorganization in Uganda : Before, During and After Amin", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1980.
16. Unomah, A.C., "The Maji Maji in Tanzania (1905-07), African Reaction to German Conquest" Tarikh, Vol. 4, No. 3.

(iv) UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

1. Basbaija, V.K., (1976) Business and the Concept of Social Responsibility : A Case Study in a Developing State, Uganda. M.B.A. Thesis, Faculty of Commerce, University of Nairobi.
2. Kabogorwa, S., (1981) The Realities of the Allocation of Essential Commodities, Kampala.
3. Kayongo-Male, (1977) Adaptive Sampling in East Africa, Staff Seminar Paper No. 25, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
4. Kiwanuka, J., (1961) Church and State: Guiding Principles, (A Pastoral Letter).
5. Macho, C.B., (1974) African Social Scientists are Incapable of Making Correct Decision, University Social Science Conference Paper, Makerere University, Kampala.
6. Makinda, S.N., (1978) The Principal Politico-economic Causes of Alienation in Kenya Between 1945 and 1970, M.A. Thesis, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.
7. Mazrui, A., (1970) Political Control and Military Power in East Africa, University of East Africa Social Science Conference Paper, Dar es Salaam.
8. Mbula, J., (1974) Penetration of Christianity into Akamba Traditional Family, M.A. Thesis, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Nairobi.
9. _____, (1977) The Impact of Christianity on Family Structure and Stability : The Case of the Akamba of Eastern Kenya, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Nairobi.
10. Mugenyi, M., (n.d.) Uganda and Residential Patriotism, Nairobi.
11. _____, (1978) The Political Chemistry of Ignorance and Power in Uganda : Uganda as a Tragic Laboratory (Revised), Department of Government, Seminar Paper, University of Nairobi.
12. Mujaju, A.B., (1973) NUYO and the Countryside in Uganda, University Social Science Conference Paper, Dar es Salaam University.
13. Nabudere, D.W., (n.d.) The New Military Dictators in Uganda, (Type-script), Nairobi.

14. _____, The Obote Election Fraud and the New Fascism in Uganda, (type script), Nairobi.
(n.d.)
15. Njuguna, N., Harambee and Development Participation in Kenya: The Politics of Peasants and Elites Interaction with Particular Reference to Harambee Projects in Kiambu District; Ph.D. Thesis, Carleton University, Ontario, Canada.
(1979)
16. Nyarubona, G., Factors Leading to the Presence of Parking-Meter Boys in the City of Nairobi, B.A. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
(1977)
17. Nyong'o, P.A., The Teaching of the Social Sciences in East Africa: A CODESRIA/UNESCO Revaluation Report, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.
(1978)
18. _____, What "the Friends of the Peasants are and How they Pose the Question of the Peasantry" : A Reply to Mukaru-Ng'ag'a, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.
(1979)
19. Odegi-Awundo, C.B., The Probation Service in Kenya : Its Organization, Functions and Effectiveness, M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
(1978)
20. Okot, p'Bitek, African Culture in the Era of Foreign Rule, 1885-1935, University of Nairobi.
(1974)
21. Omara-Atubo, The Gospel of Liberation - (A Report on the Moshi Conference Proceedings), Moshi.
(1979)
22. Omwony-Ojok, Democracy versus Dictatorship.
(1980)
23. _____, The Roots of New Fascism in Uganda.
(1980)
24. Ryan, S.D., Civil Conflicts and External Involvement in East Africa, University Social Science Conference Paper, Makerere University, Kampala.
(1971)
25. Tandon, Y.T., Whose Capital and Whose State: A Review Article on: Issa G. Shivji's; Class Struggle in Tanzania (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1976); Colin Leys' Underdevelopment in Kenya, (London, Heinemann, 1975), and M. Mamdani's Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1976), Dar es Salaam University.
(n.d.)
26. Wainaina, J., The Life Histories of the 'Parking Boys' in Nairobi, B.A. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
(1977)

(v) MAGAZINES

Africa Business

Africa Contemporary Records

Africa Magazine

21

(vi) NEWSPAPERS

The Economy

Munno

The Nairobi Times

Ngabo

Taifa Empya

Uganda Argus (The Voice of Uganda/The Uganda Times)

The Weekly Topic

"