

new needs arise in the developing country which must be instantly met within reasonable limits.<sup>29</sup>

This revelation confirms the paramount need for institutional changes as well as fundamental structural changes, so that the future of East African economies is not left in the hands of international corporations. Given the present institutions and structures of the East African economies, the possibility of long-run gain from Association with the enlarged EEC is at best minimal.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMODITY MARKET

The future of the East African commodity market lies in the strategies the East African Partner States plan now and the allocation of resources including the proceeds they get from the Association Agreement. The advantages of the customs union in East Africa have not yet been fully exploited and appreciated, which should have been done when the Treaty for East African Cooperation took effect. As R. Green asserts:

Standard 'customs union' theory assumes gains result from marginal increases in efficiency and scale of production for particular products within an utmost moderately altered set of national and regional structures of production, demand and international trade. Trade diversion from outside economies is classed as a negative result (on global welfare and perfect global resource allocation criteria) while transitional problems are abstracted from by use of before union and well after union two point comparative static analysis.<sup>30</sup>

Experience with the East African Customs Union has shown that there is a tendency for Partner States to trade more with third countries than within the Customs Union. This is mainly because of the structures and institutional set up which are outward oriented. My contention therefore for East Africa and indeed for the whole of Africa is first to transform the structures and institutions so that there is some linkage between internal production, demand and consumption and at the same time to encourage international trade which will be beneficial to and controlled by the African countries themselves. Second, the East African countries should take bold steps to enlarge the East African Community by including neighbouring countries who have already indicated or applied for membership. Dependence on ex-colonial masters will not emancipate the economies of Africa, nor will the enlarged EEC initiate a Marshall Plan for East Africa nor for the developing countries of Black Africa.

## Where are all the Jobs? The Informal Sector in Bugisu, Uganda

SHELDON G. WEEKS\*

#### INTRODUCTION

This paper will be concerned with how young people in Bugadu, a village cluster in South Bugisu, move in the world of work. Most of the literature on employment in tropical Africa is concerned with the relationship between secondary and higher education and occupations and the development of middle and high-level manpower.<sup>1</sup> But when one looks at Uganda from the village outwards one acquires a very different perspective on education, occupations, mobility, and youths' involvement in their community.

The objective of this paper will be to describe and interpret the range of *informal* occupational activities that are open to and utilized by these rural youth. It will also examine how these occupational activities relate to the various factors that influence movement into and between jobs. These factors include age, sex, status, education, family background, locations of jobs and patterns of assistance. The reason for focusing on informal occupations is that much more is already known about youths' involvement in formal occupations (and only fifteen per cent of the Bugadu sample have had formal jobs).<sup>2</sup> The distinction between formal and informal occupations has been elaborated by T. Wallace.<sup>3</sup> Formal occupations are those that are enumerated, recognized, recorded, licensed, inspected or otherwise known to the authorities. Informal occupations are those that are not protected by the Government, and for which recruitment and embarkation is not formalized nor various credentials or formal learning prerequisites elaborated. Most informal occupations are open to anyone who is willing to attempt them, while formal occupations are usually entered after surmounting a variety of obstacles: education, skill, age, sex, or contacts requirements.

First we will briefly present the setting of the study and follow with a

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1 See Tina Wallace, "Education and Occupation: A Review of the Main Themes of the Literature in Africa," Chapter in unpublished doctoral dissertation (Kampala, Makerere University, forthcoming).

2 See Tina Wallace, "Working in Rural Buganda: A Study of Occupational Activities of Young People in Rural Villages," *The African Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1973).

3 See Tina Wallace, "Abavubuka bonna balezewa? Where Have All the Youth Gone? A Study of Occupational Activities of Youth in Rural Buganda," Department of Sociology, Makerere University, Sociology Working Paper No. 124 (1972), mimeographed. See pages 11, 33, 69, 73.

29 Jozsef Bogнар, *Economic Policy and Planning in Developing Countries* (Budapest, Hungary: Adakemiai Kiado 1969), p. 206.

30 R. H. Green, *East African Economic Integration: Benefits, Costs Priorities*, op. cit., p. 1.



look at the total occupational situation.<sup>4</sup> We will consider the occupational pyramid and its implications. Where and what types of formal occupations the youth have found will only be touched upon as this is the subject of a later publication which describes and analyses the results of the research in Bugisu, West Nile and Buganda. We will consider the phenomenon of occupational pluralism which is present in Bugisu (more so than in West Nile and Buganda). We will be interested in who tends to maximize these opportunities. Brief case histories of youths' experiences in the informal sector will be presented and a description of their interaction with the main local weekly market. We will conclude with a consideration of their orientation to the rural area, their level of satisfaction with what they are doing, and what they say their future will be like in ten years.

#### THE SETTING

Bugisu has been studied and described by others.<sup>5</sup> Bugadu is set in the rolling foothills of South Bugisu, approximately twenty miles from both Mbale and Tororo. It is a lush, well watered land, the hillsides blanketed with large areas of *lusuku* (banana plantations). Bugadu consists of four villages that are spread out from the dirt road that links the county headquarters six miles to the east to the sub-county headquarters two miles to the west. In the immediate vicinity of the four villages that comprise Bugadu there are three sub-grade, parent-run, self-help private primary schools and one Government aided, former Catholic school. Within five miles, there is a network of other Government aided schools, the former Protestant one being at the sub-county headquarters. Primary education is thus available to all youth in Bugadu, and today most take advantage of this opportunity; only eight per cent of the boys in our sample had never attended school.<sup>6</sup>

For a post-primary education youths must leave the area. The nearest secondary school is a girls' boarding school at the county headquarters (only

4 This report grows out of the Uganda Youth Survey. The field work was carried out in 1970 and 1971. For previous reports on the planning and methodology see: T. Wallace and S. G. Weeks, "Youth in Uganda: Some Theoretical Perspectives," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1972), pp. 354-365; T. Wallace and S. G. Weeks, "The Methodology of the Uganda Youth Survey, 1970," Youth Sessions, 7th World Congress of Sociology, Varna, Bulgaria 1970, mimeographed (also presented at the 1970 Dar es Salaam, Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference).

In Bugadu, 244 youth between 13 and 25 were interviewed in 1970 and 234 in a followup survey in 1971. Researchers lived in the village over these two years and used other techniques of data gathering to supplement the questionnaires. Research was also carried out by the Uganda Youth Survey in West Nile in Northern Uganda, and in Buganda in Central Uganda.

5 See, for example, Stephen Bunker, "Making It In Bugisu," Nabugabo Conference 1971, Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971 (mimeographed). Also J. S. LaFontaine, "Tribalism among the Gisu," in *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*, edited by P. H. Gulliver (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 177-192.

6 For girls it was 21 per cent who had never been to school, but the sample of girls interviewed is smaller (only 84) but in comparison to a demographic survey it was still found to be representative. We had stopped interviewing girls of thirteen and fourteen because their lives were so homogeneous and restricted, and we did not search for girls who had left Bugadu to get married.

two girls in the sample had gone there from Bugadu). All other post-primary educational institutions are at least twelve miles away, there being a complete absence of self-help or profit-making, private, secondary schools in the rural area (though they exist in Mbale and Tororo). This is in sharp contrast to Buganda or even nearby in Kenya where there are *Harambee* Schools.<sup>7</sup>

Employment and work opportunities in the area are varied and widespread and the rural economy is diversified. Besides the two national crops of cotton and coffee (arabica) there are a number of other cash crops that can be extremely rewarding—*matoke* and sweet bananas, sugarcane, vegetables (cabbage, onions, tomatoes) and livestock (cows, goats, sheep, hens, pigs). Bugadu is a mixed farming area, on a feeder road, near two administrative centres with schools and churches, health facilities, stores, cooperatives, markets and public transportation. Compared to most of Africa it has a high density of population: 299 people per square mile for the *gombolola* (sub-county) in the 1959 census. Theoretically, it should be an area that is 'pushing people out' with few opportunities for youth on the land, but we will find that this is not necessarily the case.

The general high productivity and level of agricultural incomes has resulted in the creation of a base which supports local cottage industries and trading. The local producers sell their products at the weekly market, or take them to the other markets which occur in rotation up to five miles away, or they sell at the crossroads or near their homes. Although the crossroads is dominated by two stores, a butchery, a bar (modern, 1971, replacing two *malwa* bars that were there in 1970), a number of smaller dukas, and the house of the only man with a vehicle in the village, the successes of the older men who run these enterprises have generated opportunities for some youths who either assist in the larger enterprises, or conduct their own petty trading outside of them.

Market day remains the most important time for exchanges. These markets attract traders from other parts of Uganda and Kenya who come with their lorries to purchase sweet bananas and *matoke*, or to acquire produce to meet their tenders to institutions. Mainly women bring bunches of bananas to the market and these are sold to enterprising middlemen who then resell to the lorrymen and turn a profit of between thirty and eighty shillings for less than half a day's work.

Not all youths are as successful as this, but a profit of at least five shillings a market day is easily attainable from selling sugarcane, ropes, chairs, tables they have made, used clothes, kitchen utensils, matches, vegetables they have grown, or through cooking and selling food (*samosas*, roast meat, chicken, soup, *matoke*, beans, tea, and buns).<sup>8</sup> The brewing and selling of beer and *enguli* (crude liquor) is also an important economic activity and is not confined to market day.

These are some examples of self-employment. The youth of Bugadu are

7 In this paper factors relating to formal education will not be fully considered—this will be left to another paper.

8 See page 121 ff. for a fuller description of the market.



not averse to working for others, and they do so. A few work as agricultural labourers (more than in Buganda, but not as many as in West Nile), ploughing, or in local building. Many assist others who are self-employed for a small salary (twenty to eighty shillings per month)—assistant fishmonger, assistant carpenter, shop assistant, turnboy, waiter in a hotel (tea house), barmaid, bar cashier, butcher's assistant, etc. These opportunities are *all* in the villages.

Other opportunities for paid employment are to be found at the trading centres, county headquarters, and in Mbale and Tororo and beyond in other towns in Uganda and Kampala City. As Kenya is only twenty miles away to the east, some of the youth have also gone there for employment or education. In 1971, eighty-three per cent of the sample were in the immediate rural area (75 per cent in the village and eight per cent within five miles). Only sixteen per cent were in urban areas (20 in Mbale and Tororo, 7 in other towns, 6 in Kampala, and 5 in Kenya).<sup>9</sup>

Those who have gone to seek employment (whether in the formal or informal sectors) and have been successful, have found work as askaris or policemen, factory workers, drivers, various assistants, house servants, etc. The young women have access to only a few occupations, the main ones being wardmaid, midwife, nurse, bargirl, prostitute, teacher, clerk and secretary. Tororo and Mbale are major employment centres in Uganda, with factories, small industries, the railway, road services, and trading. Fifty-three per cent of those youth residing in urban areas outside of Bugadu are in those two towns, which is also a result of their proximity. A new factory, African Textile Mills, was opened in Mbale in 1969, with over 3000 workers. Six of the youth from Bugadu have worked there and three were still there in 1971, the other three having left to join the Army, reopen a hotel in the village, and to become the cashier of the local cooperative society. In Tororo, the Uganda Cement Industries is a major employer, but only one youth from Bugadu has ever worked there. Only two youths worked in factories in Kampala, one in the blanket factory, the other in the coffee factory. Thus, contrary to generally held opinion, these nearby industries have not attracted many youths.<sup>10</sup>

9 These figures refer to those living outside the rural area and include some youth who are pupils. The 1971 demographic survey of Bugadu was used to check on the sample and it was found that only 12.4 per cent of those between 13-25 were out in the urban areas.

10 Tororo is in Bukedi, a different District and with a different ethnic composition. One view that is commonly held is that the creation of large factories should stimulate migration from rural areas to the towns, but in Bugadu youth are not stimulated to search for these jobs nor has it caused such an exodus. This view of Todaro and others ignores a number of factors: people may weigh the comparative advantage of a *lower* level of earning in a rural area, and prefer that option (this has also been found by Caldwell in Ghana); and also that in large areas of Uganda and elsewhere, jobs can be 'looked for' without migrating (through friends, relatives, contacts, by mail, etc.). Also, in the peri-urban areas, day trips can be made if necessary, and often this is how youths actually look for urban jobs, on a casual basis. If one was to make circles forty miles in diameter on a map of Uganda out from every major town (there are over thirty of them) most of the major population centres would be covered. The belt of urban development is confined to an axis from Mbarara to Mbale and not the rest of the country, but along this axis lie over half the population of the country. Industrialization may have small impact. As Guy Hunter says in reference to Leontiev:

#### THE OCCUPATIONAL PYRAMID

Most youths in Bugadu are able to involve themselves in some type of agricultural activity if they wish to. If land is not available at home, which is most unusual but possible, they can use the land of another relative or friends.<sup>11</sup> The mean age at which the youth say that they started to produce crops is 13.3. While youth are able to do something in agriculture if they want to, the ownership of *lusuku* and arabica coffee is confined to those who are more settled and mature adults.<sup>12</sup> Cotton is a reliable cash crop for young people, as to a lesser degree are vegetables, sugarcane, and livestock. In Table 1 we give the cumulative proportion of all jobs that we learned about for the youth in our sample. For 244 youth we have information on 487 jobs before 1970, in 1970, and in 1971.<sup>13</sup>

The second most common economic activity is trading. In Bugadu the barriers to trading are minimal, as an item to trade can be either grown or made by most youth. The section on market activities demonstrates the extent of such efforts. Related to trading is cottage industry, and it can be seen from the pyramid of occupational activities that it is the third most important level of involvement.<sup>14</sup>

But there is singularly little relationship to anything resembling organic growth—growth among the great mass of people by methods which take into account their real circumstances and motives and potential... Leontiev says: 'Instead of trying to lift the whole economy by the slow, painful methods of the past, an industrially backward country may take the dramatic short cut of building a few large up-to-date automatic plants. Towering up in the primitive economy like copses of tall trees on a grassy plain they would propagate a new order.' [Hunter comments] in Africa at least, copses of tall trees are likely to affect the grass plain in only one way—they will provide shade for large predators (and their parasites) and a perching place for vultures.

Guy Hunter, *The Best of Both Worlds? A Challenge to Development Policies in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 44-45. See also: John C. Caldwell, *African Rural-Urban Migration* (Canberra, Australia: National University Press, 1969); Michael P. Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (1969), pp. 138-148.

- 11 While youths' use of land has been partially coded, whose land they use has not been looked at.
- 12 The youths who have planted coffee trees will not see the results for five years when they mature so it is mainly a source of income for those over 25, with the exception of those who have inherited or bought land with mature trees already on it. Of the 28 youths with incomes from coffee in 1970, 11 had bought land, 2 inherited, and 15 were harvesting on their relatives' land. The yields from coffee for youths were low, only three getting more than Shs. 300/- for 1970, while two-thirds (of the 28) got less than Shs. 200/- for the year. The males having coffee incomes were one-fifth of those with agricultural incomes in 1970 (28 of 134).
- 13 An occupational activity has not been coded as a "job" unless it brought a financial return of at least Shs. 5/- per month. On the 1971 demographic survey of all youth of Bugadu, only 3.3 per cent were 'reported' as unemployed. But as has been pointed out, such youth may be helping their parents, waiting to get married, or waiting for the results of examinations. See Tina Wallace, "Young and Unemployed: Who Is and What Does it Mean?" Conference Paper, Universities of Eastern Africa Social Science Conference, December 1972 (Nairobi), also in *East Africa Journal* (December 1972).
- 14 Activities in cottage industries include needlework, sewing, basket and mat making, handicrafts, beer and crude brewing, pottery, making items from wood (chairs, beds, stools, sandals), blacksmith, pancake makers, etc.



Table 1—EMPLOYMENT PYRAMID

The number of youth in Bugadu reporting economic activities before 1970, in 1970, and in 1971: a cumulative listing of all jobs reported:

Construction	10
Driving	15
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	31
White collar	35
Cottage Industry*	64
Trading	133
Agriculture	199

\*Including 25 coded Home Economics

Moving up the occupational pyramid, above agriculture, trading, and cottage industry, we find a sharp reduction in numbers. There are only 35 white collar jobs, 31 unskilled and semiskilled, 15 related to driving (including mechanics and turnboys) and 10 in construction. It is above the base of the pyramid that we find the formal occupations, jobs in the formal sector that are outside the villages. Only 63 of these jobs are in the formal sector (13 per cent). The overwhelming majority of all jobs are in the *informal* sector.

The breakdown of actual jobs used in this pyramid is as follows: the main white collar jobs include teaching, secretary, assistants (survey, cooperative, agriculture), storekeepers, enumerators, nurses, police and army. The unskilled and semi-skilled jobs include factory workers, bar girls, ward maids, askaris and messengers. Very few youth have been involved in construction at any time, with only ten such job positions reported (in contrast to many more in West Nile, and more in Buganda).<sup>15</sup>

#### INFORMAL OCCUPATIONS IN CONTRAST TO FORMAL OCCUPATIONS

The findings in Bugadu follow the pattern that has been observed and analysed in Buganda and already presented in another paper.<sup>16</sup> Youths from Bugadu in formal occupations are *more likely* to be male, older, have more education, to find jobs in urban areas, be helped in finding such formal jobs by their friends, and to have had formal training for the formal job (and those who have had more education have fathers with more land) when compared to youth in informal occupations.<sup>17</sup>

What do these comparisons mean then in terms of those youth who enter informal occupations? First, that informal occupations result in a much lower

15 The ten 'jobs' recorded in construction include three youths in 1970, three in 1971, and four before 1970. Construction has been limited as an area of making money because most building is still done through self-help. The first cement block building in Bugadu was started in 1972 and three local youths were employed as block makers. As nearly all construction is done in local materials and people are likely to do their own work, there are not many opportunities generated, except for carpenters. Houses built of traditional materials by hired workers are few, and those that were constructed in this way in 1970 and 1971 (five houses) employed people over twenty-five. The village construction jobs youths were involved in were also short lived: two youths worked on mudding a new church on the hills, a job that lasted only a few months.

16 See Tina Wallace, "Working in Rural Buganda," *op. cit.*

17 These findings will all be presented in a future publication. For the sample in Bugadu all these findings are significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

level of income; even though theoretically there is no limit, very few youths from any *one* job in the informal sector are earning as much as any individual youth in the formal sector. Only five youths in the informal sector in 1970 earned more than Shs. 90/- a month from any *one* job (three in self-employment, one youth who ran a shop averaged a profit of Shs. 100/- a month, and two women who made *enguli* reported similar profits; there were also two youths in informal salaried employment, one in Kampala, the other in Kenya).

The youths' potential to earn more per month from an informal occupation does exist (and that they do earn more becomes clear when one examines occupational pluralism and looks at the total income from a multiplicity of jobs and not just the income from one informal job). Of those in informal occupations, half of those earning less than Shs. 20/- a month were pupils (42 of 86) and a majority of the pupils who were working fell into this lowest income category (86 per cent of the pupils with informal jobs compared to 52 per cent of the non-students).

The answer to the question in our title is now plainly visible: all the jobs are in the informal sector, as these are the occupational opportunities that are open to the majority of the youths of Bugadu, while access to the formal sector is restricted. While one's age, sex, educational attainment, family background, and location, may affect entrance into a formal occupation, they do *not* constitute barriers to informal occupations. Youths in informal occupations are also more likely to practise occupational pluralism, with 48 per cent of those in informal occupations having incomes from two or more jobs concurrently (compared to 8 or 25 per cent of those in formal occupations). Let us look at these informal occupations more closely.

#### INFORMAL OCCUPATIONS

In Bugadu the situation is favourable to informal occupations and to occupational pluralism. While in Buganda opportunities in the informal sector spin off from wealth created in the formal sector, in Bugadu it is wealth that is mainly derived from the informal sector that accounts for the spin off of informal jobs.<sup>18</sup> While the wealthiest people in the village are those adults who have both formal and informal occupations (and we shall see that many youths aspire to both, these successful people perhaps serving as role models), most of the wealth of the village is based on arabica coffee, *matoke*, cotton, food crops and livestock, and the high yields from these generate the other activities in cottage industries and trading.<sup>19</sup>

Because of the diversity of economic activities in Bugadu it would be theoretically possible for youth to have incomes from a variety of sources.

18 See Tina Wallace, "Working in Rural Buganda," *op. cit.*, where this is discussed.

19 Some of the notable adults with plural occupations are men who have been both agricultural assistants, teachers, health assistants, etc., and active farmers. People who have formal occupations with higher salaries are in a position to plough back some of their savings into land, farming, livestock, and property as they are able to accumulate and have access to capital more rapidly than most people who are *only* in informal work. In Bugadu and in the sample areas in West Nile and Buganda it would appear that this is what happened over twenty-five years ago with a 'new class' of men who had served in the then King's African Rifles.



Occupational pluralism could take a number of forms: one youth might in agriculture grow cash crops, raise livestock and poultry and at a secondary level be involved in a cottage industry, and at a tertiary level trade what he had grown or produced. These three categories are all in the area of informal self-employment, but a youth could at a fourth level be involved also in informal wage employment, either occasionally (like digging for someone on a daily basis), or he could have more regular employment as an assistant on a weekly or daily basis. Thus it would theoretically be possible for a youth in Bugadu to have four concurrent informal occupations.<sup>20</sup>

In reality, very few have incomes from more than two sources. Only nine youths reported having three occupations at the same time. This excludes consideration of subsistence activities, which would raise the number dramatically, and it also excludes those who were involved in an economic activity on less than a monthly basis (for example, selling their chickens at the market two or three times a year, a trading activity that was not coded). From the section that describes youths' participation in the Bugadu market it will be seen that these occasional involvements are many and significant when looked at from the perspective of the market, with many youth trading only two or three times a year, but this limited activity does not enter into our consideration of informal occupations.

What are some of the characteristics associated with occupational pluralism?<sup>21</sup> Seventy three of 151 youth in informal occupations (48 per cent) have two or more concurrent jobs: in their case, occupational pluralism is associated with being male, older, living in the rural area, and having less than secondary schooling. For the working sample as a whole, 80 per cent of those in town have only one job, while 50 per cent of those in rural areas have concurrent jobs; only eight per cent of those who have some post-primary education have had concurrent jobs compared to 50 per cent of those with up to primary six or seven education. Forty-eight per cent of the males report a multiplicity of jobs compared to 35 per cent of the females, and 85 per cent of those with two or more jobs at once are seventeen and older, compared to 71 per cent of those with only one job (and 72 per cent of the sample of Bugadu are over 16).

Perhaps the significant point here is that because a multiplicity of occupational activities are possible in the informal sector, youth are able to maximize their incomes. This is seen very clearly when we compare those youth in the informal sector with one occupation and those with two on the dependent variable of *highest* monthly income from all concurrent jobs. This dimension of occupation is ignored if the researcher assumes occupational monoism, an

20 And when a youth is married his wife or wives through their labour inputs enable him to maintain his occupational pluralism.

21 For a discussion of the issues surrounding occupational pluralism see: L. Comitas, "Occupational Multiplicity in Rural Jamaica," in *Symposium on Community Studies in Anthropology*, edited by V. E. Garfield (Seattle, Washington: American Ethnological Society, 1964), and Jack C. Ross, "Occupational Pluralism: American Strategies in Barbering," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (New Series, May 1972), pp. 207-227. Occupational monoism = one man, one job. Occupational pluralism = one man, more than one job. He divides this into status pluralism (two or more occupations) and activity pluralism (worker as entrepreneur adds new activities to established role).

approach which results in a complete distortion of rural realities in the resulting description and analysis of such inquiries.

Table 2—THE NUMBER OF INFORMAL OCCUPATIONS BY INCOMES

The number of informal occupations held by youths of Bugadu in 1971 (not counting pupils) by the highest combined incomes from these jobs. This table excludes those youths who have had *both* formal and informal occupations due to problems of coding, but their inclusion would not change the basic relationships.

Income per month	Number of Occupations			
	One		Two or more	
	No.	%	No.	%
Up to Shs. 20/-	20	54	10	18
21 to Shs. 50/-	13	35	21	38
51 to Shs. 90/-	3	8	17	30
Shs. 91 or more	1	3	8	14
	—	—	—	—
	37		56	

The median chi square (less than Shs. 50/- / more than Shs. 51/-) =  $\chi^2 = 13.29$  and is significant at the 0.1% level.

While 37 youths reported only one job and 56 reported two or more (these figures exclude 37 pupils with one job and 17 pupils with two or more), over half of the youths with only one informal occupation earned less than Shs. 21/- a month, and only 11 per cent earned more than fifty, compared to those youth with concurrent jobs where only 18 per cent earned less than Shs. 21/- a month and 44 per cent more than fifty. In the case of Bugadu, occupational pluralism in the informal sector does pay off. Let us now look at some case studies that give both an idea how the informal sector works, and what it is like for someone to have more than one occupational activity.

#### CASE STUDIES: INFORMAL OCCUPATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL PLURALISM

*Masaba*, with four years of formal education, began cash crop farming at the age of eleven on his father's land, and in 1970, at twenty-four, he was earning Shs. 425/- for that year from cultivating cotton and vegetables. When he was nineteen he began trading in *matoke*, and made regular trips once or twice a month to Tororo by bike, carrying bunches of bananas on the back and selling them there for higher prices than were to be found in Bugisu. This resulted in a profit of approximately Shs. 15/- a trip. When he was twenty-one he began selling beer, and he says that he averages approximately Shs. 36/- a month from this. So from these three economic activities his combined monthly income is at least Shs. 86/-. *Masaba* was married four years ago and has one child. For six months in 1969 he was in Jinja working as a turnboy for an Asian on his sugar lorry, but when the job was finished he preferred to return to the village, and resumed the same three occupational activities (the farming



had been maintained by his wife in his absence). He had found the job in Jinja through the help of his mother's brother's son. He left after a quarrel with his employer. His earnings in Jinja were Shs. 175/- per month, nearly twice what his cash earnings are now in the village, but in Jinja he had to rent lodgings, pay for his food, prepare it, and find transport to work, all expenses that he does not have in the village. In the three years he has been back in the village he has only gone to look for a salaried job once, in March, 1971, when he tried to pass the recruitment test for entrance into the Uganda Army. Masaba's agricultural investment is diversified. He has seventy young arabica coffee trees, grows one and a half acres of cotton, earns at least Shs. 15/- a month from his *lusuku*, and also now grows millet and maize for sale. He has two acres of land that his father gave him when he married (he had been circumcised two years before). He says that he does not wish to change his work and that he is satisfied with what he is doing as it "gives me a regular income and I do not have to pay for food and things like water." About his future he says, "I should be having five children (in ten years) and if I have enough coffee plants, life might be good. I should still be living in the village."

Another youth who has made the most of a number of opportunities is *Wamanga*. Wamanga had only two years of formal education at a local sub-grade private school. He stopped because his parents refused to educate him any further. Soon after, he started working as an assistant fishmonger in the village markets, going all over South Bugisu helping his father's brother in his trade and being paid Shs. 20/- a month. He stopped working for him because he wanted more pay, and he started farming on his own. At this time he had not been too successful. His father had died and in 1968, his father's brother gave him the two acres of land he was to inherit, keeping it from him until after he was married in 1967. Wamanga had been circumcised in 1964. By 1970, most of his crops were for his family's subsistence. He had planted fifty young coffee trees, but these had not yet borne fruit. He grows bananas, millet, maize and groundnuts for his own consumption. From one acre of cotton in 1970, his profit was only sixty shillings. But in 1966 Wamanga entered another informal wage job, that of ploughing for an employer who rents out his team in various surrounding villages. From this informal job he earned Shs. 35/- a month. He began supplementing this income in 1969 by brewing beer, an activity which his father's brother taught him, and he continues today. In 1970, after an argument over back wages that had not been paid, he left his job of ploughing, but he resumed it again in 1971. From these three occupational activities Wamanga makes at least Shs. 70/- a month. A few years ago he tried to find a job in Mbale, going there once a month for four months, but he has not tried to find a salaried job in town since then. He is both satisfied with what he is doing and has no desire to change his work. "It is the only work I know of, and where I get my income." In ten years he expects to still be in Bugadu, and working on the land. "If we do well at agriculture life will be good."

*Kudosi* is an example of another youth who has started to maximize his opportunities in the informal sector. Kudosi is also twenty-five, but he

was more fortunate as he was able to go to secondary school, but there he completed only form one. He had been accepted at a Government day secondary school in Mbale, but was not able to raise the money to maintain himself in town beyond the first year, and was thus forced to drop out in 1965. He then turned to farming, "very seriously" and in 1966 he began teaching at one of the local sub-grade parent-run primary schools, a job he still holds today, seven years later, and for which he is paid fifty shillings a month. He was circumcised in 1962. He is still single, though he has had over the years seven temporary wives.

In 1970, Kudosi bought from money he had saved, one and a half acres of land. He also expects at some time in the future to inherit three acres of land from his father. On his own land and his father's "serious farming" has earned him Shs. 246/- from two acres of cotton, Shs. 200/- from 45 coffee trees, Shs. 70/- from bananas, Shs. 160/- from two acres of millet (using the same land that the cotton was on), Shs. 80/- from an acre of maize, and Shs. 40/- from sugarcane: a total agricultural income in 1970 of Shs. 796/-. Also in 1970, he ploughed back some of his income from farming into opening a small duka in his house, selling through a window, an activity from which he now estimates a profit of at least twenty shillings a month. So his combined monthly income from these three informal occupations is approximately Shs. 136/- a month. He is satisfied with what he is doing. About his future he says, "Life will be all right because I would have married; I might have got children; I might have built an iron roofed house; I will be living in Bugadu."

A fourth youth who has maximized his opportunities through occupational pluralism is *Khisa*. Khisa is 22, also single, though he has had one temporary wife. He started primary one when he was twelve, and left in 1968 when he was repeating sixth grade for the second time, "leaving my fees behind me". He says that at that time he was more interested in girls than his studies. For the next two years he maintained that interest, and also helped his parents with their farming. He still has no agricultural income for himself, though he has planted twenty coffee trees and he expects his father will give him two acres of land when he marries. Meanwhile he sleeps in a house he built for himself on his father's compound, and continues to pursue his main interest. He found his first real source of income in 1969 when he began working for Mujombo (another village youth who had started a hotel) as a baker's assistant and was paid Shs. 25/- a month. This work ended when Mujombo's hotel collapsed (Mujombo then went off to Mbale to work at the African Textile Mill to earn enough money to save capital to start again). Khisa then turned to his father's trade, carpentry, a skill which he had learned from him, and soon, Khisa claims, he was turning a profit of approximately Shs. 50/- a month making doors and windows for people's houses, and tanks for brewing beer.

Now that Mujombo has revived his hotel, Khisa has returned to helping him bake. From these two concurrent jobs he has a monthly take of approximately Shs. 80/- and he has yet to become a serious farmer, though this will probably happen in the near future as he plans to get married, and he has



made a start with the coffee trees. Khisa is satisfied with what he is doing, but he would like to add another economic activity to his current ones, something to do with mechanical work; work that he could do at home, either fixing bicycles or radios, or watch repair, so that he could earn even more money. In ten years he says that he will be working on the land, living in the village, a person of ordinary wealth, and "I will have increased my carpentry work".

The girls and young women also have access to a number of economic activities at the same time, but the range is much more limited. We have found them selling *matoke*, brewing beer, distilling *enguli*, petty trading, selling agricultural products and beer and *enguli* in informal self-employment, and informal wage work for them has included being ayahs, bar girls, and house servants. While younger single girls tend to stay at home and work for their parents, older girls who are, or have been, married are more likely to have their own cash income from one of the forms of self-employment. Handicrafts as a form of earning cash, which was common in Buganda, was practised by only one girl in Bugadu.

#### MAKING IT IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN BUGADU

The cases just presented give some idea of the ways youth in Bugadu have been succeeding in the informal sector. We have yet to consider variations *within* the informal sector and what might account for this variance. The case studies suggest that the informal sector is not a homogeneous grouping of youths.

The range of differences within the informal sector is not as great as the contrast between the formal and informal sectors. We have used highest earnings from combined jobs as the key dependent variable and looked at only those youth who are working (eliminating those who are still pupils), and considered for those in informal occupations the relationship between age, sex, location, education, occupational pluralism, help in finding jobs, and father's land.

Of these seven possible relationships, only three are significant. We have already seen that occupational pluralism results in increased cash incomes for those with two or more jobs in the informal sector. Age is also significant, with those over twenty-one more likely to earn more (though this is probably related to a number of other factors which should be controlled, like education and marriage). Education also makes a difference in the level of earnings, those with primary five or more education being more likely to earn more than those with primary four education or less.<sup>22</sup>

22 These findings concerning formal education are of particular interest as there still exists a wide-ranging debate on the relationship between formal education and rural productivity. These findings lend some support to those who feel that there is a positive relationship between schooling and rural productivity. The data will be examined properly in a future report. The findings of others that 'agricultural productivity' of post-primary educated people drops over that of upper primary educated can be interpreted in the light of occupational pluralism as people with more education in the rural areas are likely to have more jobs (thus their total productivity may be higher and their comparable agricultural productivity lower).

That there exists equality between the sexes in the informal sector is of significance. Male and female are not able to earn at equivalent levels in the formal sector, but in the informal sector, at least in Bugadu, such equality is due to the opportunity that exists for women, through occupational pluralism in self-employment in agriculture, cottage industry, and trading, to maximize their incomes. Let us now look at market day as it is a major vehicle of success in Bugadu.

#### Market Day

In Bugadu, Friday was market day. Over the three years we have known the village the pattern and structure of the market has changed in minor ways. The basic commodities exchanged are bananas, food crops, edible foods, some supplies, cloth and clothes, and the major services are minor repairing and traditional medicines. It is also a time for meeting old and new friends, and beer and *enguli* is sold along with cooked food to be consumed on the spot. When the drought in 1971 (April, May, June) reduced the amount of *matoke* and sweet bananas in the market, enterprising youth started trading in fish and cassava and selling cooked meat and chicken.

We observed youths in the main market of Bugadu over 31 Fridays in 1971. Our objective was to record who of the 244 youths in our sample was present and what they were doing (how much they profited was not included in the survey). We did not observe at the other markets in the county that some of these youths go to, nor did we record anything about youths who were not in our sample who had come to this market.

Although eighty-four out of 244 youths were observed trading in the market at one time or another, the majority were occasional traders, 42 or 50 per cent of these having traded only one or two times out of the 31 possible times. Another 33 youths traded between three and eight times. Only nine traded more than ten times. Of these nine only one was recorded 17 times, another 19, and the most for any of them was 21 times.

We also recorded whether youths were in the market area only to purchase, stroll, meet friends, or drink. These attendance figures also fluctuated markedly from one market day to another. The most recorded on any one Friday was 68, on April 23, 1971, during the school holidays. The least was on the first market day in January after all the feasting of Christmas and the New Year.

At this market in April, we also found the largest number of youths (21) who were selling things. The proportion of youths selling to youths visiting the market tended to run at one third (if there were 12 selling there would be 24 more visiting for 36 present).

What types of items were sold by the youths over these 31 market days? Some were observed at every market day: sugarcane, bananas, *matoke*, roast meat, and *malwa* beer. A few youth sold household articles (*duka* items) regularly, and they appeared on 20 out of the 31 market days. The next most important items were: buns, 16; banana beer, 10; cabbages, 9; hens, 8; *enguli*,



8; fish, 7; tomatoes, 7; and goats, green vegetables (*dodo*) and cassava, 6. Items that appeared less than five times were eggs, maize flour, white ants, yams, beans, chairs and *lumonde* (sweet potatoes). Remember these are references to youths selling from our Bugadu sample, and *not* to total market activity (for example, a number of fishmongers are present at every market, but they are not youths, nor in our sample).

A change in the pattern of the market was brought about in 1972 when all the Africans trading cloth and clothes there were denied access and chased away by the chiefs as they were suspected of being agents of other bigger traders, both Asians and Africans from the towns, and not working for themselves only. The absence of these traders created a vacuum into which one of the youths who was able to borrow some capital was able to move. He had previously failed as a fishmonger because he allowed too much credit and found himself without sufficient funds to buy fish for another market, but he had been fairly successful in buying and transporting coffee from a wet mountain area on Masaba and bringing it to his home to dry, and then reselling it at a 100 per cent or more profit. His initial capital for his cloth and clothing adventure came from a relative who had successfully sold a truckload of sugarcane in Moroto, Karamoja.

#### CASE STUDIES: MARKET TRADERS

*Mushikory* used the capital he had accumulated from buying and selling bananas to start selling smoked fish. Of all the youth who have tried their hand at this trade he might be considered the best because he has been able to keep up with the job. Others had failed because they gave too much credit. *Mushikory* shifted to fish selling at the height of the drought. It also was a time of high demand for fish (the period of the millet harvest when helpers have to be fed). *Mushikory* now also sells other items at his home (salt, matches, parafin, razor blades, sweets) so his trading is no longer limited to the local market. He goes to town twice a week to buy fish and other goods.

*Mushikory* is 24, married, has two children, and two acres of land given to him when he married. He was circumcised at 17, four years before he was married. He went to school at one of the local subgrade schools for only three years, dropping out because his parents were too poor. In 1970, he earned Shs. 75/- from his coffee trees, and Shs. 185/- from his cotton shamba. His profit from fishmongering is less than Shs. 50/- a month. He did not start, however, until the end of 1971, though he has maintained his trade through 1972. He is satisfied with what he is doing, has a radio, and expects to spend the rest of his life in the village.

One of the regular traders at the market is *Lukholo*. *Lukholo* is twenty-two, married in 1970, and has one child. He was circumcised in 1966 but his father did not give him any land until he was married, when he received one acre. Though he has been digging for pocket money since he was sixteen when he left school having finished primary six (his father refused to pay for him to repeat), farming has only been a minor activity for him. In 1970, he re-

ported earnings of ten shillings from a few coffee trees and sixty shillings from his cotton. *Lukholo* is first and foremost a trader, and a very specialized one. For five years he has been roasting and selling meat in the market. He is there every market day. The least he made at any of the 31 markets was Shs. 18/60. In April, at the time of peak attendance of youths, his highest profit (above cost of meat, charcoal, etc.) was Shs. 42/75. He is also about the area in the evening to roast chicken for the customers at the new modern bar and he gets between eight and twenty shillings additional profit from this activity. Though he has been roasting and selling meat since he was seventeen, it was only in response to the changes in the market due to the drought that he and other meat roasters built a whole new section of the market for their trade; during the third week of April 1971, they erected post-and-beam, banana-fibre shelters at the back of the market area. *Lukholo's* success is well known, and when he drinks he has been heard to boast, "even if they offered me a job at Shs. 300/- a month outside of Bugadu, I would not accept it." Though he is the most experienced of the young meat roasters, and has a reputation of giving the biggest pieces, thereby maintaining his competitive edge, he also enjoys drinking and buying drinks for his friends. To maintain this life style, at times he will cut some *ruatoke* in his father's *lusuku* and take it on the back of his bike to Tororo, getting around Shs. 36/- for six bunches (some youths buy for Shs. 2/50 or Shs. 3/- in Bugadu and sell for Shs. 6/- or more in Tororo). *Lukholo* has poked fun at people who invest in land: "Who could have bought that little piece of land for Shs. 600/-. With such money I would rather drink beer and develop a belly than buy such a small piece of land." His ambition for the future is to become a butcher, have three wives, and to be a successful trader in the village.

There are three younger men who were sixteen, seventeen and eighteen respectively in 1970, who have become very interested in farming. The oldest, *Takhuli*, whose father is the most successful farmer in the area, stopped schooling in 1970. His father had told him that he would not support him in a private secondary school, nor would he pay his fees to repeat primary seven, so *Takhuli* tended to lose interest in his studies. The middle one, *Nangai*, dropped out of school in 1971, but the youngest, *Wanetosi*, was still at school in 1972. The three of them have worked together for a number of years as a team, helping each other on their land and competing in trading. Two of them have access to their fathers' land, and *Nangai* has two acres of his own inherited from his father when he was nine years old. Their land is near one another, all fairly moist and fertile land near the river which is excellent for growing sugarcane and vegetables (cabbage, tomatoes, onions, egg plants and peppers).

*Wanetosi* is the least active and makes the least profit. Though he has imitated the other two and is influenced by them in growing vegetables and canes, his volume is much less. He also trades (as do many of the younger youths) for his parents, selling beer for his mother who then gives him some of the profits. His profit from his own trade is less than Shs. 20/-, a month. *Wanetosi* has also lost interest in his studies and looks forward to becoming more involved in his farming. He would have dropped out of school already



if it was not for his parents and an older sibling who has been very successful through formal education; they all have put pressure on him to stay in school.

Takhuli is just making the transition to serious farming. Having left school in 1971, he has spent a considerable amount of time exploring the limits of his new status. The money he earns from trading, e.g., Shs. 45/- from his cabbage, and between 3/50 and 7/50 a market morning from his sugarcane, has gone into clothes, booze, and girlfriends.

Nangai, who also helps to support his widowed mother and has been out of school longer, is the most active of the three, both in farming and trading. He not only trades in his own vegetables and canes, but he also deals in eggs and milk. He is an eggman, buying from others around the village for 15 cents an egg and selling for 20 or 25 cents each, depending on the demand. He has invested his profits in a milk cow (Shs. 450/-) and he sells the milk at 40 cents a litre, and claims he makes about Shs. 25/- a month from this. In 1970, he earned only Shs. 30/- from his cotton and Shs. 19/- from his coffee. He worked briefly then on a truck as turnboy, but he prefers to work on his own. He plans to be married soon, expects to stay in the village, and be successful in farming and trading.

A good example of a sugarcane market trader and beer seller is *Sopata*. In 1971, he was eighteen and in primary seven for the first time. He had not yet been circumcised, but had already built his own house. He makes between sixteen and twenty shillings a month from selling his sugarcane at the Friday market. He also has a little cotton and coffee trees for additional spending money (fifty shillings in 1970) and from a third economic activity, squeezing and selling *mwenge* (banana beer) he earns around another Shs. 40/- a month. So his average monthly income while still a schoolboy is at least sixty shillings a month. As he is still dependent on his parents and lives in their compound, this is clear profit. Many of the sugarcane traders are younger boys who sell for their parents and give the profits to them and get back in turn only a shilling each market day. These have not been recorded as working.

Buying and selling bananas may be the key to success in other fields as it can provide the capital to start a 'window' duka, to buy some other commodity for sale or a bike to extend trading horizons. There are different styles of banana traders: those, as we have seen, who take the bananas themselves to Tororo, and those who buy from women who bring the bananas to the markets, and sell to lorry owners (or their agents) who come to the market (sometimes these lorries do not show up until midnight, or at 6 am the next morning when they still load the piles of bananas that the youth have bought for them).

*Wateulu* is an example of one of the independent traders. He has his own private tender with a hotel in Tororo to supply them with *matoke*, and he has a fixed price of 7/85 a large bunch irrespective of the price in the village. Thus if he buys for 2/50 a bunch his profit from one trip is Shs. 32/-. His overhead is the maintenance of his bike. These bike traders to Tororo often return with maize flour which is used to make beer, and so have an additional profit from the return journey. But *Wateulu's* trade is not confined to fixed market days. His has a regular, except Sundays, tender and he travels the 36 miles at least

three times a week, and has done so regularly for the last three years. He is saving to build a large *bati* house. *Wateulu* never went to school. He is single, but has two and one-half acres of land he was given when he was circumcised at twenty, and he lives in a small house he built for himself then. He would like to own a truck, but says he will not steal from others to get it, like some he knows. He expects to spend the rest of his life in the village.

An example of a youth who sells to truckers is *Weanga*. *Weanga* is also a regular attender at the market (recorded 21 times); he buys and sells only sweet bananas. He has an arrangement with a Kikuyu buyer who transports the sweet bananas to Kitale, Eldoret and Nakuru. *Weanga* is twenty. He went to a self-help school through primary six, repeated that year in a Government school and left in primary seven, when he was circumcised, married, and built a house. In 1970, he earned Shs. 220/- from his cash crops. He has been a weekly Friday market, sweet banana trader for two years and makes on the average Shs. 20/- a market day for his efforts on turning over a pile of bananas, (not as much as some of the others who deal in *matoke*).

Girls are not as active in the market, but this observation is also a result of recorder bias as our observers were more interested in what the male youths were doing. We have for the 31 market days only nine girls and six wives recorded, which is most likely a serious under-count as bananas are usually brought to the market by wives, or girls for their mothers, to be sold to the middlemen. There were also some girls and women selling beer and crude liquor as has been noted.

#### ORIENTATION TO THE RURAL AREA

It has already been pointed out in some of these case studies that some of the youth had fairly positive attitudes to their villages in Bugadu and their future lives there.

Youths in the sample were asked if they were satisfied with what they were doing and why, and those in the informal sector were asked if they had ever looked for a salaried job. This gives an indication of their orientation, as most salaried or wage employment exists outside the villages. Those who have not looked or stopped looking for wage employment are oriented to the informal opportunities in types of self-employment that exist in the rural areas.

As has already been described, Bugadu is near two major towns with many employment opportunities, and there are also salaried jobs at the trading centres, county and sub-county headquarters, with schools, cooperatives, and in working as assistants, etc., in both the formal and informal sectors in the rural areas. In our Bugadu sample there are 114 youth who are *employable*, that is, not in school and not married. Of these, 25 per cent have never even looked once for a paid job. Another 31 per cent have looked for but not found wage jobs, while the remaining 44 per cent have had a salaried job (in either the formal or informal sector) at least once. As we have seen from the case studies, to look for and not find a salaried position does not mean that a



youth therefore is unemployed. In fact only five youths in 1971 had *both* looked for and not found wage work *and* were unemployed. The others had all been absorbed in the informal sector. This confirms again that there is more to life in Bugadu than paid employment outside the villages.

Table 3. WHETHER OR NOT YOUTH HAD LOOKED FOR SALARIED EMPLOYMENT ANYWHERE ('EMPLOYABLES' ONLY)

	Non-Pupils						
	Single	Females	%	Males	%	Totals	%
Looked, not had wage jobs	10		28	25	32	35	31
Never looked	15		42	13	17	28	25
Have had wage jobs	11		30	40	51	51	44
Total	36			78		114	

Males are more likely to have looked for and found salaried positions. For those who have never looked, the reasons they give are that they are self-employed, that they have no contacts outside to help them find jobs, or that they feel they have insufficient education to merit a salaried job.

Whether or not one has ever looked for a salaried job is related to one's status. Looking at the total sample in 1971, 84 per cent of the pupils, 89 per cent of the wives and 65 per cent of the unemployed (11 out of 17) have never tried to get a salaried position. This is because most of the unemployed are youths who are helping their parents and therefore report no earnings, or are girls at home waiting to get married. Of those in self-employment, 27 per cent (16 of 60) have never looked and only 25 per cent have ever had wage jobs. Those in self-employment have thus been less successful in finding wage work than the other employables.

Whether or not one has looked for a salaried job is also related to age and education. The older the youths are the more likely they are to have tried at least once. For the sample of 114 employable youths (excluding wives and pupils) 94 per cent of those over 21 years of age have looked while only 29 per cent of those under sixteen have tried.

Table 4—PROPORTION OF THOSE IN THE POTENTIAL WORK FORCE WHO HAVE LOOKED FOR WORK, FOUND IT, NOT FOUND IT, OR NEVER LOOKED FOR WORK, BY THREE AGE CATEGORIES

	13-16		17-20		21-25	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Looked	6	29	34	77	46	94
Had found work	1	16	18	53	32	69
Had not found work	5	84	16	47	14	31
Never looked	15	71	10	23	3	6

Education is also a variable which influences whether or not an individual has looked for wage work. Sixty per cent of those employable who have had no education have never looked for a salaried job, while one hundred per cent of those with some senior secondary education have. Approximately 73 per cent of those with primary education have looked for work (there is no difference between P1-4 and P5-7 level education). The proportion *finding* wage work tends to rise with education. Of the twelve senior secondary level youths who have looked for wage work, the four who have not found it are all leavers from private schools.

Table 5—PROPORTION OF THOSE IN THE POTENTIAL WORK FORCE WHO HAVE LOOKED FOR WORK, FOUND IT, NOT FOUND IT, OR NEVER LOOKED FOR WORK, BY FOUR EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

	No Schooling			Primary 1 to 4			Primary 5 to 7			Some Secondary	
	%	No.	% of total	%	No.	% of total	%	No.	% of total	%	No.
Looked											
Had found work	50	2	20	50	13	37	64	28	49	67	8
Had not found work	50	2	20	50	13	37	36	16	28	33	4
		4			26			44			12
Never Looked		6	60		9	26		13	23		0
Totals		10			35			57			12

#### SATISFACTION AND THE FUTURE

In response to the question, "Are you satisfied with the work you are doing now?" dissatisfaction with recent activities was found to be minimal. Only 25 of the male youths in the Bugadu sample expressed dissatisfaction with what they were doing. Of these 17, or two-thirds, were dissatisfied because of a low level of income. Of the others, four said they wanted to change jobs, and one wanted to go back to school, one to have more land, one didn't like digging, and one found his work tiresome. So in general these youths had very positive attitudes towards life.

This positivism is also revealed in their future expectations. Only six said things like "life will be hard" or "difficult" or "I'll be poor" or qualified their future success with an *if*, *but*, or other condition. One is tempted to generalize that this optimism is based on the awareness of these youths of the many possibilities that exist for self-improvement in the informal sector. This sample is certainly *not* a mass of alienated, frustrated, or isolated rural youths. Thus the data does not support the hypotheses concerning the presence of a youth culture and alienation which were generated before the results of the field research were available. The frustrated and alienated youths do exist,



but they can be counted on one hand. We do not portray Bugadu if we look only at them.<sup>23</sup>

Two other questions were asked in the 1971 followup that are relevant to both the place of agriculture and rural residence in the eyes of the youths of Bugadu. They were asked where they would be living and what work they would be doing in ten years (1981).

Of the male sample of youths for whom we have answers, only sixteen per cent expected to be living in urban areas *only* (22 of 139). At the higher educational level, urban orientation rises, but a significant proportion plan to have *dual* residence (maintain both rural and urban homes). Even more of the male youths in the sample expect to have *mixed* incomes, including some income from agriculture. For those with post-primary education, it is still only one-third who expect to have only an urban residence and only non-agricultural work. Two-thirds expect in ten years to have a multiplicity of sources of income, including agriculture and salaried work or non-agricultural self-employment. These findings again underline the importance of occupational pluralism and also reveal the expectation of dual residence, an approach that permits the maintenance of their rural, village orientation.<sup>24</sup>

Table 6—WHAT THE MALE YOUTH OF BUGADU EXPECT OF THE FUTURE. RURAL/URBAN RESIDENCE AND AGRICULTURAL/NON-AGRICULTURAL WORK IN 1981 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

A. Where will you be living in ten years?

	Zero Educ.		P 1-4		P 5-7		Some Secondary	
		%		%		%		%
Village Only	6	100	26	86	53	68	9	36
Urban Only	0		2	7	11	14	8	32
Both	0		2	7	14	18	8	32

B. What work will you be doing in ten years?

	Zero Educ.		P 1-4		P 5-7		Some Secondary	
		%		%		%		%
Agric. Only	6	100	26	86	29	43	2	8
Wage Only	0		2	7	13	19	8	32
Both	0		2	7	25	37	15	60

23 See Tina Wallace and S. G. Weeks, "Youth in Uganda," *op. cit.*, for some of these predictions. Out of 25 post-primary educated males in the Bugadu youth sample, *only one* has dramatically flaunted the authority and influence of his clan and the community.

24 The responses of the girls are consistent with that of the boys, but have not been included because most girls are either married or plan to become married, and thus their future residence and occupation is influenced by the unknown quantity of their husband's status. These findings underline the need to use open ended questions on what usually are considered easy, pre-coded questions, as pre-coding would have covered up dual residence and occupational pluralism unless the researcher had anticipated its possibility in advance. Questions like "Where would you prefer to live, village, town or city?" also do not permit the pluralistic answer.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper we have described some of the types and the range of informal occupations of a sample of youths of Bugadu, a village cluster in South Bugisu, Eastern Uganda. Over 85 per cent of the youths who are working have found work in the informal sector. This is where all the jobs are, in self-employment in agriculture, cottage industries, and trading, and in working for others in jobs that do not have the recognition and rewards of salaried positions in the formal sector.

We have seen that although for this sample of youths individual jobs in the informal sector have low rewards with few bringing in more than one hundred shillings a month, through occupational pluralism, youths are able to maximize their opportunities and increase their total incomes (and over sixty per cent of the youths in the informal sector have more than one job). We have tried to give some insight into this process by presenting a series of brief case studies of youths in informal occupations and occupational pluralism. We have also described the local market and the stimulus that this offers to entrepreneurship, and presented some case studies of market traders.

When formal occupations are contrasted to informal occupations the differences between the two in age, sex, level of education, help in finding jobs, and father's land are all significant (those in formal jobs are more likely to be male, older, in urban areas, have more education, and to have fathers with more land, compared to those in informal occupations). The youths who are in informal occupations are more homogeneous, though we have found that those who practise occupational pluralism earn more, as do those who are older and have more education. Informal occupational activities are theoretically open to all, while jobs in the formal sector are more restricted. The skills to perform jobs in the informal sector are largely acquired informally, through observation, participation, and other informal means.

The informal sector is important because that is where the action is. To underline its significance is not to dramatize or romanticize it, because the informal sector is also the borderline area of poverty. People in the formal sector may be relatively better off, those getting Shs. 300/- a month or more are earning three times as much (but even these people are *poor* relative to those in higher strata who are earning ten to thirty times as much). We have pointed out that there is a comparative advantage to staying in the rural informal sector (we have not dealt with the urban informal sector here), and demonstrated that this advantage is something of which the youths are keenly aware. The informal sector is where all the jobs are, and where the poverty is. How then is such underdevelopment to be developed? The path of penny capitalism in the long run is no solution.

This paper has said very little about the issue of social differentiation in the villages of Bugadu. It is there, and we have mentioned that fathers with more land are more likely to be able to educate their children and these children to find employment in the formal sector. Undoubtedly this will have effects over time as people with wealth acquired from formal occupations



maintain dual residence and expand their holdings in the villages. But the major inequality that we have observed is between the two sectors—formal and informal: those in the informal sector are the poor cousins of those who have made it in the formal sector. And the tendency today is for the formal sector to be protected from the informal sector by Government.

Recognizing the importance of the informal sector is only the first step. But it is an important one as the factors we have found to be important here do not enter into the models used by economists. As Carl Eicher has pointed out in the conclusion of his careful survey of the literature, until more is known about rural employment "economists can not go very far in advising policy-makers on how to cope with problems of unemployment with special reference to rural areas."<sup>25</sup>

This paper is an attempt based on extensive field research to provide some further information. The policy implications of this research are many, but if the findings are taken seriously, then the approaches that are suggested are very different from the general rural development strategies and rural institution building currently being pursued in East Africa. In all three countries planned and directed development inputs tend to support formal institutions and the formal sector, as do rules, regulations, and laws, and often attempts are made to minimize, neglect, or even eliminate the informal sector. Are there any alternatives?

## Working in Rural Buganda: A Study of the Occupational Activities of Young People in Rural Villages

TINA WALLACE\*

The focus of this paper will be employment. In a previous paper,<sup>1</sup> much of the literature relating to education and employment was reviewed and from this discussion a theoretical approach to the problem of employment emerged. The purpose of this paper is to fully define the central concepts of this approach, formal and informal employment, and then use these to analyse employment opportunities and experience in one particular village in rural Buganda. The occupational opportunities will be looked at in terms of this formal-informal distinction; the differences between them in recruitment criteria, actual jobs done and financial returns will be explored, and a picture of the movement of young people through the formal-informal opportunity network will be presented.

Before turning to the definitions and analysis of the research data, I want to briefly explain how and where the data was collected and the implications this has for the results.

### THE SETTING

The data presented in this paper was collected over a two-year period in a village in rural Buganda. This village is situated about 17 miles outside Kampala on a murrum road. Transport to the city is available, but not easy, and many of the older inhabitants have never visited Kampala. Physically then, it is not very far from the city, but in social reality it is a rural area with limited contact with Kampala. Some people leave the village and work in the city, but most are employed in and around the village. Elsewhere I will present a full picture of the area; here I just want to emphasize the point that this is a rural area. In order to assess how 'contaminated' the sample was because of its geographical position, a village 50 miles away on Lake Victoria was studied. The results from that area match almost exactly the results from the original village. The results from this second, isolated village will be placed in the Appendix to avoid an unnecessary number of tables in the text. The implications which can be drawn from this are that the impact of an urban area can be very limited—Southall and Gutkind clearly show this in

\*This article was written while Tina Wallace was a graduate student in Sociology at Makerere University. The study was carried out with the assistance of J. Kizza-Ssali and D. Mulumba and it is part of a wider, Uganda Youth survey with S. G. Weeks.

This paper is an early expression of ideas which have been expanded and modified during the past year.

1 Tina Wallace, "Education and Occupation: A Review of the Main Themes of the Literature in Africa," (Sociology Department, Makerere University, Kampala, 1972).

25 Carl K. Eicher and Derek Byerlee, "Rural Employment, Migration and Economic Development: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence from Africa," Bad Godesburg, Germany, Conference of the International Economics Association (September 1972), p. 42.