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A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF NYAKATOKE

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INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a study of Social Security, Poverty and Economic reforms, carried out in Nyakatoke community[*] in the Kagera region of Tanzania. The duration of the survey was from September 1999 to December 2000. Informal social security networks are a phenomenon that manifests itself in a community as a coping strategy in response to specific problems and needs. The type and form that these networks take vary from one community to another depending on each community's situation geographically, technologically, culturally and economically. The study of informal social security, therefore, requires basic understanding of these factors in the sample community.

The aim of this report is to give a basic overview of the socio-economic setting of Nyakatoke that necessitated and shaped the evolution and adaptation of the system now in use. The specific forms the informal social security systems take in the community and their relationship with poverty and economic reforms instituted in the last 10 years, will be a subject of subsequent reports by Joachim De Weerdt and Katleen Van den Broeck, and a Swahili report[**] by the present authors.

This report is basically a result of 10 days of informal interviews in Nyakatoke and neighbouring communities in December 1999, which gave the team of three (present authors and Mr. Joachim De Weerdt) fundamental information about the community. Leaders, elders and other knowledgeable people willingly provided whatever information they could. Back in Bukoba, review of relevant literature was done. A revisit was made in April 2000 by one of the team members, with the specific aim of gathering more information on the history of the community. Again elders and other knowledgeable people in and outside Nyakatoke were interviewed; the synthesis of their answers and views form the base for the history chapter of this report. Some data from the formal survey have been included to enhance the report.

Agriculture and livestock have been discussed in detail, because Nyakatoke being a rural agricultural community, its economy heavily depends on these. For the same reason, all the other sections have invariably been dealt with in the light of their influence on agriculture.

[*] Hereinafter, the words kitongoji and Nyakatoke will be interchangeably used to stand for the sample community, which includes households outside the administrative Nyakatoke. These families have very strong ties with the inhabitants of Nyakatoke proper due to geographical proximity.

[**] A translation was made of the present report, with some additional data from the questionnaire survey conducted in the community with the aim of making it available to the rural population and Nyakatoke in particular.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, SOILS AND RAINFALL

1.1. Location

Kagera Region[1], in which Nyakatoke is located, is at the north-western corner of the United Republic of Tanzania. It lies between 1^0 00' and 2^0 45' south of the equator, and between 30^0 25' and 31^0 48' east of Greenwich (up to 32^0 40'east when the waters of Lake Victoria are included). To the north it borders with Uganda, and to the west there is Rwanda and Burundi. To the east there is Lake Victoria, and to the south Kigoma and Shinyanga regions.

Nyakatoke is a *kitongoji* of Rubale Village, in Rubale Ward, Rubale Division in the Bukoba Rural District of Kagera Region. Rubale Center is about 60km from Bukoba town, which is both the District and Regional headquarters. The community of Nyakatoke is located about 15km south of Lake Ikimba, along the Rubale- Burigi road, about 3km south of Rubale Center. The community has a total land area of about 1.6 square kilometers.[2]

Nyakatoke is located in what is termed the Bukoba-Muleba Lowlands on the eastern edge of Ikimba – Burigi basin. It hugs hills to its east that rise into the Kamachumu plateau of the Muleba Highlands. A stream from the hills passes through the village flowing west into the swamps. The community is separated from the *kitongoji* of Nyakaju to the north by uncultivated *rweya* land. To the south a few scattered households belonging to new settlers in the area loosely connect it to another *kitongoji*, Nyakalaaro. To the east in the hills there is Kashasha and Mbugwe, both *vitongoji* belonging to other villages. To the west are Migara Village and the swamps.

The area around Lake Ikimba is in the lowlands, which according to Regional Commissioner's office (1998) are areas away from Lake Victoria below an altitude of 1300m. Kabilizi, which is about 7km west of Nyakatoke and of more or less the same altitude, is 1130m above sea level (Vlot and Kimalo, 1991). The area is separated from Lake Victoria by north-south ridges of the highlands of Muleba.

[1] Administratively, Tanzania is divided into **regions**, which are in turn subdivided in to **districts**, **divisions**, **wards** and **villages**. Each village is made up of sub-villages called **vitongoji** (sing. kitongoji).

[2] The area is based on our own calculations.

Map 1: Nyakatoke: The Survey Area

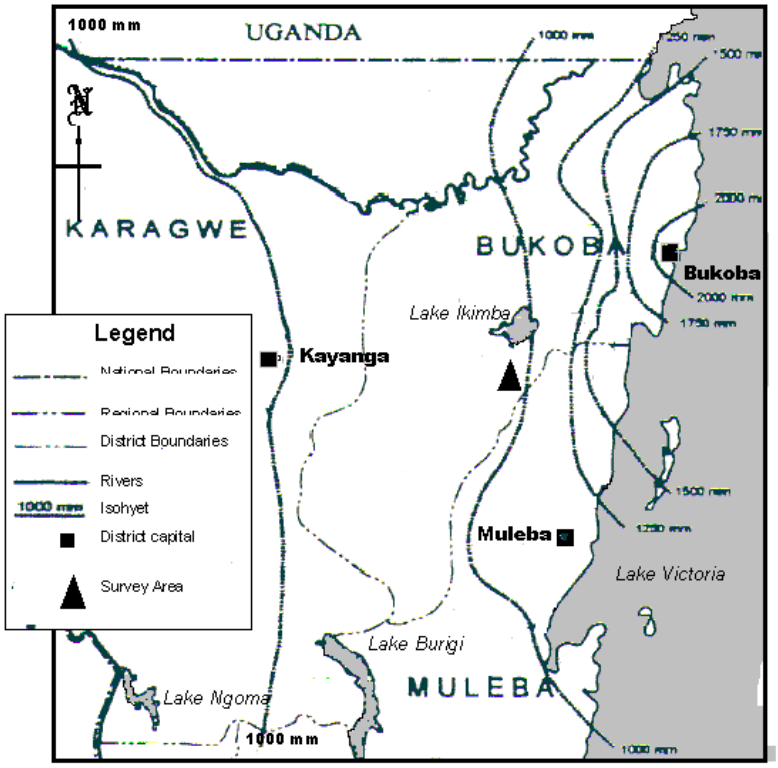
Omitted to protect respondent confidentiality

1.2. Soils and Rainfall

Describing the soils of the Karagwe –Ankolean system to which the area belongs, Vlot and Kimaro (1991) state:

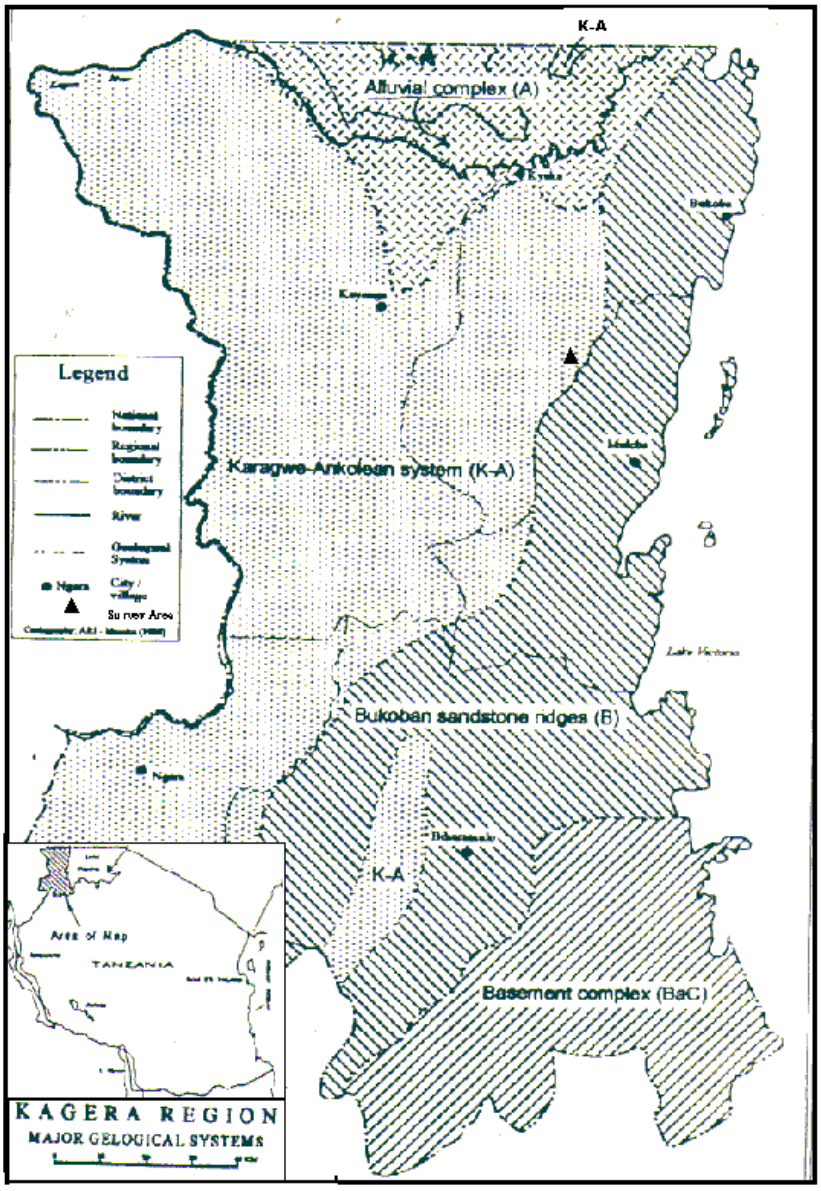
> "The parent rock consists of sequences of claystones and fine-grained quartzitic sandstones with veins of quartz. Rocks are rich in ferromagnesian minerals and contain occasional mica.''

Map 2: Rainfall Zones of Bukoba and Muleba Districts



This area lies in the Low Rainfall Zone of Kagera Region (500-1000 mm/yr.), as opposed to medium and High Rainfall Zones (1000- 1500 mm/yr. and above 1500 mm/yr. respectively). This is because the area lies in the rain shadow between the Bukoba highlands and Karagwe hills (Baijukya and Folmer, 1999). The soils are of average soil fertility, but better than the depleted lands to the north and east in the High Rainfall Zones, where, according to Baijukya and Folmer (1999), the high rainfall received causes strong leaching of nutrients which seriously reduces soil fertility.

Map 3: Geological Zones of Kagera Region



The Climate of Bukoba (Nkuba, 1997) "is strongly influenced by both the presence of Lake Victoria and the topography of high ridges and plateaus along the lake shores… having a bimodal rainfall – short and long rain seasons". January and February consist the *kanda* or short dry season, followed by the short but intense rainy season or *toigo* from March to May. om June to September is the long dry season or *kyanda*, followed by the long but moderate rainy season, the *muhanguko* or *musenene* from September thr gh December. There are therefore two planting seasons for seasonal crops, with the bulk of these planted during October rains.

2. INFRASTRUCTURE, MARKETING AND COMMERCE

2.1. Communications

Unlike communities located near towns and adjacent to trunk roads, most rural communities have inadequate infrastructure. Roads to district and regional centers are hardly passable, especially during the rain seasons. This results in relative isolation from these markets and larger ones beyond, thus greatly affecting their access to goods and amenities, and reducing the marketability of their produce.

Nyakatoke is connected to the regional and district headquarters, Bukoba town, by a murram road branching off the Bukoba – Mwanza main road at Kyetema near Kemondo Bay. The road is hardly passable during the rains. The community has access to the small towns of Kyaka and Mutukula at the Ugandan border via small roads going round either side of Lake Ikimba. The small road through the community goes on south into the hinterland of Burigi. A road that branches off to the east at Rubale goes uphill to Kamachumu, where the northern fork leads to Bukoba, and the southern branch through Nshamba to Muleba on the Bukoba – Mwanza main road.

2.2. Social Services

The community has three sources that provide it with sufficient water. Two of these are springs on the western border of the village. The third is the stream (Kalesirwengonzi) that flows east – west through the *kitongoji*. A gravity system draws water from this stream to supply piped water to Rubale Ward, with two public stand taps within Nyakatoke itself.

Rubale village has two primary schools and one government secondary school, all of which lie about 2 km north of Nyakatoke community on the way to Rubale Centre.

The people of Nyakatoke have access to a government dispensary at Rubale and a Medical Centre at Izimbya, 12 km to the west. There are missionary hospitals at Ndolage and Rubya, operated by the Lutheran and Catholic churches respectively. Both hospitals are about 35 km away.

There are a couple of households selling basic consumer goods (salt, kerosene, soap, etc.) in the community. Other goods are obtained from shops at the village shopping centre.

2.3. Marketing and Commerce

People sell most of their produce on weekly markets (*mujajaro*). These are at Rubale (2km, Saturday) Rukoma (7 km, Thursday), Izimbya (12 km, Tuesday) and Kilamba (15 km, Sunday). Some people, like gardeners who grow *ntongo* and tomatoes, sometimes take their produce to further off markets like Kamachumu and Nshamba.

Coffee is mainly sold through their Primary Co-operative society, which is under the Kagera Co-operative Union (KCU), located at Migara Village 5 kilometers north-west

of Nyakatoke. During the years when the prices of coffee are more favourable in Uganda, most of the crop is bought by middlemen and smuggled over the border.

Door to door buyers (*bayeki*) go around the village during the season purchasing produce such as maize, beans, bananas and eggs which are resold to middlemen who transport them to further off markets like Bukoba town and beyond.

The main income sources for the villagers are coffee, bananas (both for cooking and brewing), brewing of *rubisi*, distilling of *konyagi*, beer trading both in the village and outside. The sale of maize and beans is also important, and may come before coffee for some households. Some villagers, especially women perform *vigodi* or working on other households farms for cash. There are villagers who derive their income from permanent employment in the area, e.g. teachers and nurses, and some who work in far off places in towns. There are several people who are artisans, e.g. carpenters, tailors, builders, healers and midwives (some of which are males). All of these consider their off farm activities as supplementary to farming, no matter whether these may take most of their time or provide the bigger share of their incomes. Beer brewing, distilling and trade seem to be quite important, and may possibly surpass coffee in income generation.

3. AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

3.1. Cropping Systems

Like any other community in Buhaya, Nyakatoke derives its livelihood from intensive cultivation of bananas and coffee in the *kibanja*. Intercropping is lightly practised with such root-crops as cassava, coco-yams and yams, and this only on the periphery of the farm or in farms that do not yield a satisfactory banana crop. Besides these, there is found an occasional fruit tree, such us papaya, mangoes, oranges, avocado, tangerines, etc. and vegetable plants and herbs in the *kibanja*. Reining (1976) likens the *kibanja* to a greenhouse without glass:

> "…everywhere there are growing plants, close packed; the ground is moist underfoot, the air feels humid. On a day which feels hot in the grassland, it is cool; on a cool rainy day, there is a sense of warmth and shelter … It is a modest but respectable piece of property".

She reports finding more than 50 different crops in the *bibanja* of a village in Muleba District (then part of Bukoba District) in the 1950s.

This community and the surrounding areas produce other seasonal crops, namely groundnuts, bambara nuts and some vegetables like tomatoes, *ntongo* and cabbages. A few households also cultivate some tobacco. The less leached soils produce these crops in abundance to make them rival coffee as cash crops. Coffee is cultivated on a modest scale by most families, less than is cultivated in other places in the district. The reason given by many residents is that for most immigrants, the priority is self-sufficiency in food production. Most root crops are planted in the *kikamba* and *rweya*. Maize and beans are always intercropped in the banana farms during the season and also in pure stands or intercropped together in the *kikamba* as *musiri*.

3.2. Agricultural Constraints

The soil in the area is sufficiently fertile, and the area has only started being affected by both banana weevils and Panama disease, which according to Baijukya and Folmer (1999) are more prevalent in the higher rainfall areas. According to the inhabitants, banana culture has in recent years suffered from inadequate rains.

Even in good years, banana production in the area is characterised by sharp fluctuations. The inhabitants attribute this to the low rainfall and the rather extended dry season. There is usually a bumper harvest in the May – September period, followed by a sharp low from October through April.

Falling back on seasonal staples, mainly cassava, beans, sweet potatoes and maize, usually counterbalances this shortfall in banana harvests. The effect of this fall may become even more pronounced in the near future, as the Common Mosaic Decay – Uganda variant (CMD - ugv) disease has virtually wiped out any prospect of a meaningful cassava harvest this year. The campaign to have more alternative root crops like yams, cocoyams and round potatoes planted in anticipation of the cassava failure is yet to get enthusiastic response.

The yields of maize and beans this year have not been satisfactory. Rain came in patches; the extreme south and the area north of the stream got a moderate harvest, while the middle part suffered most. Groundnuts have not fared better, with the situation made worse by wild animals (weasels) eating the crop while still in the fields.

3.3. Livestock

Nyakatoke has its share of livestock, both big and small. Animal ownership is summarised in Table 1:

TABLE 1: Livestock Structure in Nyakatoke

Type of Livestock	Total No. of animals owned and kept	kept, but not owned	owned, but not kept	No. of families *owning* them		No. of families *keeping* them	
bulls*	2	3	1	2	(1.4%)	3	(1.8)
dairy cows	2	3	0	2	(1.4%)	3	(1.8)
indigenous cows	18	33	28	8	(5.7%)	10	(6.1)
calves*	11	9	10	7	(5.0%)	10	(6.1)
goats	137	58	39	48	(34.3%)	58	(35.4)
sheep	1	1	0	1	(0.7%)	2	(1.2)
pigs	3	8	0	2	(1.4%)	3	(1.8)
chicken	290	14	15	57	(40.7%)	59	(36.0)
ducks	41	7	0	12	(8.6%)	14	(8.5)

Source: own data collected in February 2000
* Includes both indigenous and exotic breed.

Indigenous cattle are grazed in the *rweya* in a common herd (*buyo*). Cattle from several households are pooled each day and herded in turn. Dairy cows are zero

grazed, with feed gathered from the *kikamba* and *rweya* or from specially planted fodder plants.

3.4. Extension Services

Services of both Agricultural and Livestock extension officers are available to the inhabitants who need them. Currently KAEMP is involved in campaigns for environmental protection in the area, including tree planting, use of organic fertilisers and insecticides and a demonstration cum nursery of banana plants.

4. LAND USE AND TENURE

4.1. Customary Tenure and Changes since Independence

Before the advent of colonial occupation and before independence, there existed a feudal land tenure system, *nyarubanja*. This existed, in its original form, as described by Bakinikana (1974) as follows:

> " In the course of time, *nyarubanja* (fiefs) developed in the whole of Buhaya…All tenants had to pay tribute to their immediate landlords who in turn paid tribute to the *mukama.* Tenants or *nyarubanja* holders had also to supply free labour to their immediate superiors".

During the colonial era, the system was revised but not totally abolished, as it suited well the colonial policy of Indirect Rule through the *bakama* and the *balangira* or nobility. According to Bakinikana (1974), *nyarubanja* rules were changed in 1938. The tenants were given some freedom. Rent was fixed and minimised and tenants were no longer required to provide free labour to the landlord. For the first time, they were protected against eviction. It was now possible for a tenant to bequeath his estate to his heir, and it was made possible for one to buy himself free of tenancy – *kwegombora*.

The Independence Government finally abolished *nyarubanja* in 1965. In free Tanzania, land is owned by the state in trust for the people, who have freedom to use it when they need it. A person has the rights to a piece of land as long as he uses it. During the *Ujamaa* years land was not supposed to be a commodity that could be bought or sold. Farms could and were inherited, bought or sold, but it was always emphasised that what was being sold were the crops and not the land they stood on.

Side by side with the national laws regarding land, land tenure, especially in Rural Buhaya, continued to be governed mainly by customary law. As opposed to national law, the Bahaya considered land ownership as a status symbol and a source of identity and security. As Reining (1967) puts it:

> "A man's small farm gives him residence, his place in his village and much of his place in his social world, his money income, his food, his link to his forebears and when he dies it will be his grave…if his farm is threatened, he will look to the court".

Land in Buhaya has for a long time been considered a commodity that could be purchased and sold.

Each clan had its land, parts of which could be passed down through individual patrilineal inheritance. Clan land could not be sold without the consent of the clan. Even when there was sufficient reason for the sale, clansmen had the priority to purchase it (to keep it within the clan), and was only sold to outsiders only when the clan was satisfied that there was none among them to purchase it.

The traditional clan powers that restricted land transfer are weakening fast in face of commercialisation, as Bakinikana (1974) rightly points out:

> "The introduction of currency in Buhaya meant an other social problem. Individualism started creeping into the society. Whereas previously clan land would not be alienated without the consent of the clan, it became possible for individuals to sell plots without the consent of the authorities concerned…. Instead of relatives authorising the sales … it now became possible for some people to call witnesses – not necessarily one's relatives".

4.2.Current Land Ownership

Most of the land in Nyakatoke was purchased by immigrants from earlier settlers. Such people are not that bound by custom, because clans have power over land only if it was obtained through inheritance. As Cory and Martnoll (1945) observes, land acquired by purchasing passes into the individual buyer's ownership, i.e. during the owner's lifetime, he may dispose of it to anyone he pleases, by sale, pledge, gift or disposition by will without restriction. Presently in Nyakatoke land often changes hands in commercial transactions, especially in the newly settled area where the owners, being original purchasers, still have full powers over their land. Even the Tutsi pastoralists, who had stayed for only two decades on free land granted by the village, were able to sell their land on departure (see history section).

Almost every family in Nyakatoke owns the land it lives on and cultivates. Only a few transient families, e.g. migrant labourers and old widows without relatives, are found living on farms they do not own. These enjoy varying degrees of responsibilities and rights to crops depending on mutual agreements with the landlords.

One such case is of an old woman without relatives who is living on a farm belonging to a man who lives in the same village. The Landlord has many farms he can not properly take care of. The woman has the responsibility of weeding [1]the farm, and is allowed cooking bananas for own consumption, but not beer bananas or coffee. During the planting season, she is allowed a portion of the farm for planting beans and maize of her own. Besides the bananas, the landlord helps her with things like salt, soap and kerosene, and occasionally some clothes. The house she lives in belongs to the landlord too.

[1] The weeding in the *kibanja* is usually a light task involving the lifting of weeds by hand.

4.3.Land Use

Traditional land use can be divided into three categories: First is the *kibanja*, which is the area surrounding the house planted with perennial crops, especially bananas and coffee. It is the most important of land uses, and it is usually located on the most fertile land owned by the household. It is considered a status symbol, for it gives one dignity and a sense of belonging. Concerning the kibanja, Reining (1967) has this to say:

> "The Haya are a sedentary people in the exact sense of living in villages which are so nearly fixed in location, name and extent that they have the quality of permanency…. As long as a man has primary rights to a farm and these he holds in perpetuity, he belongs to that village and uses it as his point of orientation."

The *kibanja* is also a source of security, because its permanent crops, once established, can be produced under minimal care as opposed to annual crop cultivation. An advantage of the *kibanja* system, note Vlot and Kimaro (1991), where different crops grow at the same time is that the risks of crop failure are spread, therefore, low.

Typical for a *kibanja* system, (Vlot and Kimaro, 1991), is the continuous supply of mulching materials to provide constant soil cover, conserving soil moisture, reducing diurnal range in temperatures, suppressing weed growth, sustaining fertility status and reducing erosion hazards.

Secondly there is the *kikamba*, an area around the *kibanja* which may be used for cultivation of annual crops and sometimes left fallow. Baijukya and Folmer (1999) note that in most areas of Buhaya, *kikamba* is in transition from *kibanja* (deterioration) or vice versa (regeneration). It is normally of average soil fertility, and as families multiply, it is gradually brought under banana cultivation (conversion to *kibanja*). This seems to be already taking place in Nyakatoke; the few *bikamba* still visible constitute pockets of infertile land that is thought to be rather poor for coffee and banana production.

The third type is the *rweya*, which are open grasslands outside the villages. It is normally used for grazing and for the cultivation of seasonal crops that do not require very fertile soils, e.g. bambara nuts, finger millet and cassava. These lands mostly consist of shallow soils, rocky areas and steep slopes on hills. The fertility of the *rweya* is further diminished by a net removal of nutrients. Commenting on this, Baijukya and Folmer (1999) say:

> "Soils of the *kibanja* are more enriched by soils of the *rweya*. *Kibanja* enrichment mined the *rweya* through grazing of cattle and cutting of mulch and brewing grasses. Currently the *rweya* soils in this area have been strongly depleted and produce pastures with very low nutrient content".

Rweya are communal lands, although some people claim to own pieces of it near their farms and beyond. Plots can be allocated by the village for tree plantations, which are important as a source of building poles and fuel wood.

Almost all the good land in the community has someone who claims it as his own. The free land is poor (rocky hills and marshes). As the population increases, the age-old process may be repeated in the near future, as young families may be forced to move elsewhere in search of arable land.

No evidence of land renting could be found. Free gift of land (*kikamba* or *rweya*) for cultivation of seasonal crops among friends and neighbours is quite common though. A little of the produce may be given to the landowner as a gesture of appreciation for the use of his land.

5. GENDER RELATIONSHIPS

5.1. National Situation

At present, gender issues are a hot subject of discussion in the country. The aim is the redressing of relationships between the sexes in such matters as politics, marriage, economics, division of labour and decision making in matters of income and family life in general. There are women's groups like TAMWA, UWT, The Women's Legal Aid Centre and others at the forefront of the campaign. Government departments, parliament and NGOs are also active in the ongoing discussions.

5.2. Labour

Traditionally in Buhaya, male and female roles were clearly demarcated. The man was charged with the tasks of building and maintaining the family's house, which due to the materials used[1], was a perpetual process as Reining (1967) notes:

> "Such a house can be kept in repair by replacing reeds and poles…Haya think of house maintenance and building as an ongoing process: a new, small house to be enlarged, an older house to be refurbished, fencing to be improved, a new door to be fitted and ultimately a new house to be built".

He was responsible for the planting, care and maintenance of the permanent crops in the *kibanja* (coffee and bananas), the care of domesticated animals, the making of beer, and unlike in most tribes in the country, was the one responsible for the collection of firewood. In specialised trades men worked as smiths, did all kind of woodworks, did such crafts as weaving wicker baskets, tanning of leather, making of bark-cloth and pottery. Fishing, hunting and defence were exclusively a man's domain. Besides, a man was expected to devote his time to clan matters, local affairs and political relationships.

[1] The traditional Haya house was a distended conical structure. From the ground to the apex, it was made entirely of a reed frame supported by poles from the inside with a grass thatch. These materials deteriorated very fast in the rainy climate of Bukoba, making the replacement of the reeds and grass in the lower sections an annual task.

Women on the other hand were responsible for the weeding of the *kibanja*, planting of beans during the season, cultivation of *misiri* of potatoes, yams, beans, peas, groundnuts, bambara nuts, millet, etc. They cut grass for thatching, beer brewing and for spreading on the floor in a form of carpet. They were responsible for almost all other domestic duties such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, water drawing and butter making. Women made mats and basketry from *mukindo* palm and made decorations both for wear and house decoration.

Very rarely did a member of one sex 'interfere' with the duties of the other. In the absence of members of either sex in the household, neighbours and friends would come to help. One of the present writers witnessed, as late as the 1960s, neighbouring women coming to cook for the family in the mother's absence, presumably to save the man the humiliation of having to squat at the hearth and peel bananas. In a similar manner, male neighbours would help a woman with work normally done by men in the case of her husband's absence. Sundkler (1980) attributes the stability of the Haya marriages partly to "the more or less harmonious balance in the division of labour between the sexes".

This harmonious balance however, was overtime to be upset by several events and changes to the disadvantages of females:

1. The declining soil fertility meant the *kibanja* was no longer able to provide the sustenance of the family. The *musiri* was no longer just a side garden, but gradually became an important source of staple food for the household. Since it is the woman who was traditionally responsible for *musiri*, this meant an added burden for her.

2. Land fragmentation (discussed in the History section), meant that for most households the *kibanja* could no longer satisfy the family with a predominantly banana diet. Women were forced to expand and intensify *musiri* cultivation in an effort to feed their families.

3. The emergence of the banana weevil and Panama disease reduced even further the already inadequate banana production, shifting the reliance onto seasonal crops traditionally cultivated by women.

4. Following the introduction of the money economy, men, spurred at first by the need to earn enough to pay taxes and later for their own and their families' economic reasons, involved themselves more and more in off farm activities, both in their own areas and in far off places. This left the women to do work originally demarcated for men, increasing their share of work both in farm and domestic chores.

5. Introduction of schools removed the children, who hitherto played an important role in domestic work, from the family's labour force.

Since the woman was traditionally responsible for the *musiri*, adherence to the age-old pattern or its slow change when the family came to rely more on the *musiri* rather than the *kibanja* for sustenance meant an increased burden for women. This pattern is slowly changing. The changes can be attributed to the changed circumstances, but

also to a great measure to the campaigns by women liberation movements. These are meant to alert and educate both men and women on the inequalities between the sexes and encourage changes. At present in Nyakatoke, men to a certain extent participate in *musiri* cultivation, mainly for staples like cassava. Where a man has some income from off farm activities, he may assist in the *musiri* by hiring labour. Still the woman appears to carry a disproportionate share of the labour contribution in a family.

5.3.Land and inheritance

Women were also disadvantaged in another way. They were barred from inheriting land, which as we have already seen, is the most important asset in the Haya economy, both for production and security. Land in Buhaya was always inherited strictly patrilineally. Women, if they inherited any land from their fathers, it was only for their lifetime and could not pass it to their children (because being members of their fathers' clans they could not inherit their maternal clan land). Cory and Martnoll (1945) state, "Wives and female descendants can not inherit immovable property under family tenure". Quoting Chief's Court Appeal No. 44 of 1938, he elaborates further:

> "A daughter can not inherit landed property from her father or mother, with one exception: If the mother had bought the plantation or paid *kishembe*, a daughter may inherit this plantation of her mother. But if the mother herself inherited the plantation, … she can not nominate her daughter as heir … If a man has bought a plantation for his daughter he has the right to bequeath it to her, since it is not under family tenure, he is at liberty to sell or dispose of it as he pleases".

The whole system would seem to be a sort of conspiracy to deprive the women of rights to land. No matter how land came into the hands of a woman, there was always a mechanism to make sure it resorted back to the male line after at most two successive owners.

Commenting on the fluidity of customary law, Cory and Martnoll (1945) say:

> "The customary law of a tribe is built upon its experience and naturally alters to meet new circumstances as they arise. A new step in evolution affects the law in that it may put the law out of date, and equity demands that the judgement given should fit the changed conditions".

This seems to have been the case with female inheritance of land since the 1940s. Somewhere along the way, the women were given the right to inherit their fathers' land, but only for the duration of their life. Women's Legal Aid Centre (1995) says that up to then, "Female inheritors do not inherit clan land, but only allowed to use it till they remarry or die." They were not allowed to sell or pass it to their own children, because according to partilineal perceptions, these belonged to another clan – their fathers'. A high Court ruling in Bernado Ephrahim Vs Helaria Pastory (1989) declared the law discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional.

Inheritance laws have evolved further. There are at present in Nyakatoke more than six female -headed households staying on inherited land (based on own data collected in February 2000). Given the present atmosphere, it is difficult to imagine the clan evicting children from the farms at their mothers' death. This is because (as we have already seen in the Land Use and Tenure section) clan powers have been severely eroded. Further more, an Inheritance Law passed in 1999 by the Union Parliament gives girls equal rights with boys in inheritance matters, allowing them for the first time to bequeath inherited property (land included) to their own children.

5.4.Marriage

Traditionally marriages were arranged (Mwombeki, 1997). The parties did not have a say or choice in the matter, as long as the two families concerned had agreed to unite. Since the middle of the twentieth century however, arranged marriages have become infrequent and are virtually non existent in Nyakatoke and Buhaya as a whole at present. A girl has a right to marry a man of her choice, subject to approval by the parents. For promotion and maintenance of social harmony, the major religions require the consent of the parents of both sides before marrying a couple. According to national law, however, people above 18 can and do marry without the consent of their parents (Women's Legal Aid Centre, 1993).

In Buhaya the payment of bride price is still practised. The amount paid is usually not high compared to other tribes in the country. Reining (1967) noted that, "Bridewealth payments are low, almost negligible in relation to Haya incomes….". This appears to be to the advantage of married women; in tribes where high brideprices are the norm, e.g. to the east of Lake Victoria, women are mainly maintained in marriage by fear. Women who are mistreated by their husbands dare not leave them, because their own families will force them back, no matter how much they have been abused, for fear of refunding the bride price.

In Buhaya too, brideprice is refundable in case of divorce, but the amount involved are so insignificant that most estranged husbands never bother to claim them. As such bride price here can not act as a string to bind a woman in wedlock against social equity or her own will. Marriages were instead regulated by consultation between the two families concerned. As Bakinikana (1974) notes:

> "Clearly, both sides expressed their responsibility in the marriage of their children. In this way the parents and their relatives maintained some balance which usually kept the marriage intact … divorce was by mutual consent of the parties concerned by decision of *bagurusi* if consulted…".

The *bagurusi* would grant a divorce for specific reasons, such as adultery, mistreatment, incest, impotence, barrenness, syphilis, e.t.a. At the present in Nyakatoke, like elsewhere in Buhaya, social pressure and mediation in marriages has greatly lessened. Many a marriage will break-up simply because one of the parties desires it no more, and without resort to legal procedures, be they customary or national.

5.5.Decision making

Formerly, wives were subordinate to their husbands in all respects of family life. This subjugation was further reinforced by the woman's lack of an economic base and security in form of land rights and personal income. A woman was expected to obey her husband as her lord and protector, and to serve him unreservedly and without protest. They had no independent income, with all cash from the *kibanja* being pocketed by the husband.

Social and economic changes have greatly altered this state of affairs. Bakinikana (1974) observes, "… by 1945 parental, clan and husband – wife authorities had been weakened by the new forces introduced by Europeans". At present women are much more secure because they do have some land rights, some education, and an independent income of their own.

In Nyakatoke, women derive their incomes from a variety of sources. Many earn their income through the sale of their produce, mainly seasonal crops such as maize, beans and groundnuts. Others through trade in markets where they sell beer and other products. Also brewing beer for sale and other primary processing like baking buns and *kabalagala,* are common income- generating activities. Working on others farms for cash is quite common. A few women are permanently employed as teachers, nurses, etc, earning salaries comparable or higher than their husbands' incomes.

Commensurate with their new economic status, women are gradually gaining ground in the affairs of their families. In some households (own data collected in February 2000), the husbands are not aware of the expenses, hiring of labour and purchases of some durable equipment. Women need no longer beg from their husbands, but simply consult them (if desired) on how they utilise their time, which activities they engage in and ultimately how they spend their income.

5.6.Politics

Traditionally, women were excluded from all political processes. Since independence, women were legally granted full rights in this sphere, including the right to vote and be voted or nominated into any office in the country. It seems to be only conservatism and prejudice on both the sides of men and women and lack of education that still hold back women from enjoying fully their political rights. In Nyakatoke women are poorly represented in the official political bodies of the *kitongoji*.

On local level, however, they do have some power. Men have expressed their respect and awe for the power of the Muungano machinery and leadership in the village. As one (male) resident put it, "It is better to cross the Village Chairman rather than the Chairperson of Muungano".

6. HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

6.1. Early Settlement

Human settlement in Kagera stretches back to prehistoric times. "Stone Age people roamed the area some 50,000 years ago … the time before Kagera [river] changed its course to its present easterly direction" (Katoke, 1975). According to Schmidt (1978), the early Iron Age in Buhaya dates back to 1000 – 550 BC, and excavations of charcoal date back to 1470 BC ±120 years.

The Bantu cultivators originated from the Cameroons and migrated eastwards. The Bahaya are descendants of these people. They are said to have come in two phases (Katoke, 1975). First they came travelling north from the Congo towards the Sudan. Some remained here, while the rest moved on northwards. After encountering resistance from Nilo–Hamitic peoples, these returned to rejoin their 'cousins' who had already settled.

Original cultivators grew mainly grains (millet) and some root crops, until bananas were introduced in Buhaya in the 17th century during the rule of Rugomora Mahe (B. de Steenhuijsen Piters, 1999). According to Davidson (1967) however, bananas were already in neighbouring Uganda by 1000 AD.

Cattle keeping is said to have been introduced into the area by the pastoralist Bahima/Bahinda from Bunyoro and Nkore (western Uganda) who invaded and colonised the area towards the end of the fifteenth century (Katoke, 1975). An economy of symbioses then developed between the Bantu agriculturalists and the Bahima pastoralists (B. de Steenhuijsen Piters, 1999). The Bahima cattle provided the manure that fertilised the Bantu farms. This resulted in abundance of food and prosperity, the result of which is well summarised by B. de Steenhuijsen Piters as follows:

> "By the end of the early twentieth century, the land in Buhaya could not supply the increased demand for food and cash. Over time, man had cleared the forests thus creating the poor grasslands. The better land where the Bahaya farmers had established home gardens [*bibanja*] and improved soil conditions by the application of large amounts of manure, was limited in extent. In the late nineteenth century the supply of manure decreased with the reduced cattle stock [rinderpest epidemic of 1890-91]. Home gardens declined and their expansion stagnated … many Bahaya families migrated to more fertile lands….".

Unlike the Bukoba and Muleba Highlands and the lake side areas, the lowlands were settled comparatively recently. The reason being low rainfall, and therefore considered less suitable for banana culture, only becoming attractive due to the events stated above. Living inhabitants testify that lions and other wild animals were still constantly harassing the setters in the earlier part of the twentieth century. People from Nyakatoke, Kashasha and Kikomero were forced to move in groups and armed for safety when travelling to Kabirizi, then a *gombolora.*

For several centuries, immigrants from the north, the second wave of Bantu settlers referred to before, who entered by crossing the Kagera River or by canoe via Lake Victoria, settled the northern areas of Bukoba and Muleba. Consequently, the earlier settled areas in the region were Kiziba and Bugabo in the north and north-eastern Bukoba Rural respectively, and the lakeside and highlands of Bukoba and Muleba, all of which are located in the high and medium rainfall zones.

Population pressure due to natural increase resulted in land fragmentation and depletion of soil fertility, leading to a new stream of migration westwards and southwards into Karagwe and the lowlands of Bukoba and Muleba. As noted by Baijukya and Former (1999), "Many impoverished households are forced to sell their *bibanja* because their size can no longer support their family needs."

The date of the earliest settlement in Nyakatoke remains uncertain, but some evidence shows that it was settled at around the beginning of the twentieth century, a time that agrees well with Steenhuijsen statements above.

Firstly, a consensus of old men in Nyakatoke indicates the existence of four settled families in the community around 1910. These belonged to Matundwe (Muhunga by clan[1]), Kahyo the father of Kibogoyo (Musimba), Rwenduuru the father of Ma Laurencia and the late Ma Miliana (Muhunga) and Mushaki Kankeera kaboro k'Eihwa (clan unknown). By then, Matundwe occupied the farm presently owned by Mzee Francis Myaka and Mwl. Benjamin Mutembei. Kayo lived on the farm behind Ma Roosa Kamakumbi (presently owned by Mr. Lucas Rwabishugi). His line is now extinct. Mushaki used to reside in the farm that is presently occupied by Adam Abdulatif. He later shifted to Butakya. Among these families, only Rwenduuru's descendants still own the original farm.

Secondly, Mzee Athaniel Mulokozi, an elderly resident belonging to the Basimba clan (from Karagwe) claims to have seen a receipt dated 1912 for poll tax paid by his father a few years after settlement. He also remembers his father mentioning the four families above as the ones that preceded him in settlement. This fixes the arrival of the Basimba from Karagwe at around 1910. The Basimba's ancestor in Nyakatoke, Mulokozi Kyaruzi Kairukabi, settled near where the present football ground is located, near the wilderness from which he earned his living as a hunter. His earnings were substantial, and hunting was more than the mere sport it is today. A commercial butcher who operated in the area (Mzee Muchuruza of Kikomero Village) claims to have faced difficulties selling his meat whenever the hunters had a good kill.

Among the next families to settle in Nyakatoke are those belonging to the Bahimba clan. The Bahimba do not remember the exact date when their ancestor, Kalisa the father of Kamukama, came to Nyakatoke. Two pieces of evidence fix his coming to be between 1910 and 1920; first Kalisa's family is not in the list of those already here by 1910, and secondly Mzee Tibihika Kabwebwe (Muhunga) who was born in Nyakatoke around 1920 shortly after his parents moved here, claims that his father

[1] Unlike among other tribes in the country, in Buhaya a man's clan can not be discerned from his surname. Clans are named the same way we do tribes. The Bahaya are a patrilineal society, i.e. a person belongs to his father's clan.

(Kabwebwe) immigrated from Karagwe at the invitation of Kamukama Kalisa who was his blood-brother (*munywanyi*). Kalisa is said to have come on a business trip from Bugandika in Kiziba and decided to stay.

According to the above evidence, the Bahunga from Karagwe, (The present Tibihika family), settled here after the Bahimba, (the present Kamukama family).

Among the elderly population, there is allusion to two other names that may or may not indicate earlier settlement before the four mentioned families. Firstly, Mzee Saulo Buloa of the Bayango clan from Biharamulo (date of arrival uncertain) remembers a certain *muharambwa* who is said to have resided at Kibalekyamulimi, in the vicinity of the area where Mzee Saulo Buloa's and Agrimina's farms are now located. Since according to tradition a *muharambwa* was a man with certain responsibilities in the allocation of land and fixing of boundaries who was chosen from commoner clans of early settlers, he must have preceded or been contemporary with the four families. Unfortunately no one remembers his name or clan.

Secondly, there is the naming of the settlement "Nyakatoke Ka Mujunangoma." [1]It is not known for sure whether Mujunangoma ever settled in Nyakatoke, but he definitely is the one who either named it, or in whose honour it was named. If he actually lived there, he might be its possible founder. But it is said that it was normal for hunters to name places in the wilderness as reference points in their hunting forays; on later settlement, such places retain their original names.

6.2.Growth of the Community

By 1930 the community already boasted at least a dozen households, according to Mzee Tibihika (born around 1920), nine of which he could remember. The family heads are listed below with their clans in brackets: Kalisa (Bahimba), Kabwebwe (Bahunga), Ruharara (Baziba), Ngambeki (Baziba), Matundwe (Bahunga), Kyaibale (Bahimba), Byabachwezi (Basimba), Rwenduuru (Bahunga), and Mulokozi (Basimba).

During Mukama Kalemera III's rule in Kihanja (who according to Cory ruled from 1916 to 1943) the community had gained some importance, according to Mr. Muchuruza of Kikomero, that the *mukama* thought it necessary to send Karagano from Muhutwe (the ancestor of the present Mpira family) to rule Nyakatoke as a *mukungu* assisted by Magenyi as a *mubezi*. This was during the time when Kweyamba from Kanazi was the *mwami* of Gombolora Kabirizi.

The sources of the present population of the community are varied. There are many families from Kiziba (Northern Bukoba Rural). These migrated following the centuries' old pattern of moving south in search of fertile land, away from the densely populated exhausted lands in the north, where farms are fragmented beyond sustainable levels. Some people have moved in east from Karagwe; the latter's reasons for moving were certainly not in search of fertile land, as land in Karagwe was more plentiful and more attractive than in Bukoba.

[1] Ancient villages in Buhaya were always named after someone, in most cases believed to be the founder. Thus the appellation 'Nyakatoke ka Mujunangoma' literally means 'Nyakatoke **of** Mujunangoma'

In contrast to its neighbours, Nyakatoke conspicuously has very few settlers from Kyamutwara (eastern Bukoba Rural), where the land situation favours such a strategy. Since the neighbouring *vitongoji* and villages in the area have several families originating from these parts, it might be interesting to know why Nyakatoke appears to be different.

Some families have come from Kihanja and Ihangiro (Muleba highlands). Land pressure seems to be the main motivating factor, but the preference for this area is not clear, as nearer areas of southern Muleba could have been just as suitable.

Also there has been settlers from neighbouring Rwanda and Burundi. Some were pastoralists looking for pastures, while others had originally come as farm labourers and cattle herders in the earlier part of the twentieth century, and later decided to stay. This group has been swelled up by the influx of refugees from recurring civil strife in these countries since the 1960s.

The last wave of immigrants was the coming in the seventies of people of Rwandan origin (mostly Tutsi pastoralists) who had run away from the dictatorial regime of Idd Amin in Uganda where they had been living as refugees. These had settled in the south-western corner of the community on the other side of the Rubale – Burigi road, where open land for pastures was available. Following the Tutsi take-over of power in Rwanda in 1994, most of them decided to return to their homeland, leaving only a few individuals in the area. Contrary to what is commonly believed that they left behind a legacy in form of a place name "Nyakalaaro" (place of the herders), several sources state otherwise. One of them, Mzee Muchuraza of Kikomero, says that this *kitongoji* to the south of Nyakatoke was named "Nyakalaaro" (place of rest), after the *mukama* of Kihanja stayed overnight in the area now occupied by Mustafa's and Barambirwa's farms.

6.3. Settlement Array

The most stable population is concentrated around and to the south of the stream. The highest frequency of movement is recorded in the Southwest where land is relatively poor, and west of the road in the area once occupied by the departed pastoralists. Following a similar pattern, secure and well off families are in the middle of the *kitongoji* and north of the stream, while in the extreme south families are still struggling with settling-in problems to come to similar standards with earlier inhabitants. The bulk of the population lives in the area between the stream and the newly settled areas to the south. It must be noted that over time, farms have changed hands and relatively new comers presently occupy some historical farms.

Most of the early families must have settled here before converting to modern religions. They were still adherents of traditional Bahaya religion, which involves worship of Ruhanga (the creator), through *Bachwezi* (deities) and veneration of *Bazimu* (ancestors). According to Ta Kiyonga of Katoke (Muleba) himself a traditional priest or *mbandwa*, a settler would take with him a seed or seedling from his former home (presumably from his clan's *Kigabiro*) which he would then plant at his new home as a token of continuity. A live fence of *bilamura* would be built

around it, and create *rwanga* or an altar for worship. The tree will eventually grow into a *kigabiro* or place of sacrifice to his clan's gods and ancestors.

With time, people converted to modern religions, mainly Christianity and Islam. Unfortunately, unlike in much older communities, this must have taken place while the *bigabiro* were still young and were neglected, denying us an important yardstick for estimating settlement dates.

Presently the area north of the stream is predominantly Catholic; most of the Lutherans are in the south and Moslems south-west of the *kitongoji*. Since, as we have seen, people converted after settlement, this distribution is likely to be a result of coincidence and mutual influence between neighbours and not wilful segregation.

TABLE 2: Population Structure in Nyakatoke

AGE CATEGORY	SEX		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	
younger than 10	93 15.5%	104 17.3%	197 32.8%
10 - 20	75 12.5%	74 12.3%	149 24.8%
20 - 30	38 6.3%	50 8.3%	88 14.7%
30 - 40	29 4.8%	29 4.8%	58 9.7%
40 - 50	22 3.7%	23 3.8%	45 7.5%
50 - 60	14 2.3%	14 2.3%	28 4.7%
60 - 70	9 1.5%	7 1.2%	16 2.7%
70 - 80	3 .5%	8 1.3%	11 1.8%
older than 80	3 .5%	5 .8%	8 1.3%
TOTAL	286 47.7%	314 52.3%	600 100.0%

Source: own data collected in February 2000

As the world enters the new millennium, Nyakatoke is a fairly homogeneous community of about 120 households, with a total population of 600 inhabitants. They are comprised of people from almost all parts of Kagera Region and beyond. This cosmopolitan nature, together with the absence of significant dominance by any particular group, be it ethnic or religious, tones down the eccentricities of the population's sources of origin. This makes possible the existence of an open, tolerant, co-operative and fairly non-stratified society that Nyakatoke is today.

A new comer appears to fit into the community quickly. Two families who are the latest new settlers in the community testify to this. One of them Hidaya Musa is from Bugabo (Northeast Bukoba Rural), and admits to have felt completely accepted six

months after arrival. The other one, Sebastian Karaba from Ihangiro (Southwest Muleba), say his family already felt at home within only four months of settlement.

TABLE 3: Clans of Nyakatoke

CLAN	No. of Households	Percentage of Total
BAYANGO	23	19.3
BASIMBA	20	16.8
BAHIMBA	12	10.1
BAHUNGA	10	8.4
BASITA	9	7.6
BAYOZI	8	6.7
BAMIRU	6	5
BAYEGO	3	2.5
BASINGO	4	3.4
BAGAYA	3	2.5
BAZIBA	2	1.7
BASHASHA	2	1.7
BATUNDU	2	1.7
BAJUBU	2	1.7
BARWANI	2	1.7
BALAMA	1	0.8
BAGARA	1	0.8
BAKIREMBO	1	0.8
BAKOMBE	1	0.8
BASINDI	1	0.8
BAIHUZI	1	0.8
BAGWE	1	0.8
BAKURWA	1	0.8
BAHIRIRI	1	0.8
BAZIGABA	1	0.8
BALENGE	1	0.8
TOTAL	119	100

Source: own data collected in February 2000

7. IMPORTANT RECENT EVENTS IN NYAKATOKE

Here we have briefly summarised some of the main recent events that occurred in Nyakatoke. Although they are far from complete, they have been written to help researchers when analysing the data.

7.1. Before the start of the Survey

- The IPM (Integrated Pest Management) group was established in Nyakalaro by KAEMP in September, 1999. It included people of Nyakatoke community.
- There were *senene* (green grasshoppers that are a cherished delicacy in the area) in a abundance in the northern parts of the district on the 2nd of December 1999. The authors witnessed loads of sacks of *senene* being transported by buses to Rubale area were they were sold cheaply.
- Our research team arrived in Rubale on 2nd December 1999 to select a suitable community for the survey. Nyakatoke was chosen and for ten days informal interviews were carried out with key informants.
- The community celebrated Christmas upon the rumours of doomsday at the end of the millennium. Some groups had joint functions this celebration.

7.2. During the recall period of round 1 (Christmas 1999 – February 2000)

- The new year 2000 was marked with joy and relief that it was not the end of the world after all. Believers prayed overnight.
- Moslems celebrated Idd-El-Fitri on 8th January 2000 after a month long fast of Ramadan.
- The beans harvest of December – January 2000 of December – January 2000 had been unsatisfactory and irregular. Due to the patchy rain, the people living in the extreme north and south faired better than the people living in the centre of the community.
- Our research team started to administer a panel data survey in the community on the 15th of February.

7.3. During the recall period of round 2 (February 2000 – April 2000)

- The government banned private coffee buying companies following the coffee co-operative's financial problems. The move was meant to help the co-operatives purchase more coffee by eliminating competition.
- The *toigo* started earlier and was insufficient. People had little hope for a good harvest on most crops this season.
- Easter was celebrated quietly with people complaining of the scarcity of cash.

7.4. During the recall period of round 3 (April 2000 – June 2000)

- The *toigo* harvest of maize, bambara nuts, groundnuts, etc… was generally poor. For beans only the ones who planted at the usual planting time were affected. Those who planted beans earlier had fairly good a harvest.

- The coffee prices were announced by June, though farmers were dissatisfied with the offered price. The price was said to be the lowest in five years.
- Catholics celebrated the passing of the cross meant to mark 2000 years of Christendom. In Nyakatoke it passed on 30th June 2000 and many co-habiting couples formalised their marriages. (Some couples may stay together for several years; while the community may recognise them as married, the church demands an official ceremony to recognise their marriage).

7.5. During the recall period of round 4 (June 2000 – September 2000)

- A windstorm over the village in September 2000 destroyed bananas and blew the roofs off some houses.
- Lucas Rwabishugi's daughter got married and a big function was held on 9th September 2000. They were fully assisted through groups and individuals in and out of the community.
- Eustace Mushumbwa's son Eliud got married and a relatively big function was held on 16th September 2000. The marriage was however not an 'official' one.
- The campaigns for the general election started with the selection of contenders for various party tickets.
- The coffee harvest was considered the best in three years.
- Moses Bulowa's house burnt down. The community gave little assistance to this person, probably because he travelled out of the community immediately after the incident.
- A second IPM group with members of Nyakatoke was formed in August.
- The Orthodox Church obtained land in the community on 29th August, where they intend to build a secondary school and a hospital.
- The *muhanguko* rains started in time in late September; villagers started preparing their plots ready for planting of beans and maize.

7.6. During the recall period of round 5 (October 2000 – December 2000)

- KAEMP constructed a water well in Nyakalalo, where the villagers contributed labour. This well is used by some people of the Nyakatoke community.
- Nyakatoke, at last formed its own IPM group in November 2000.
- On 10th November, there was a public wedding of Mr. Adrian Kaiza's son, where a big function was held.
- For the first time in 5 years, senene fell in great quantity in the community.
- On 30th October, the 2nd multi-party general elections were held countrywide for the presidency, parliament and district councillors.
- Till the closure of the coffee purchasing season, some farmers had not yet been paid for coffee bought on credit by the KCU. In some cases they had been waiting since June.

7.7. Events of Muungano and Bujuni

In the following tables we give a summary of the all the people in Muungano and Bujuni that have received contributions during the recall period of the survey.

TABLE 4: Contributions in Muungano in 2000

recall period of round	HH Nr.	Ind. Nr.	1.funeral in NYK 2.hospitalisation 3.funeral outside NYK	relationship of deceased/sick to the member
1			1	herself
1	90	1	1	her child
1	116	3	2	her child
1	113	2	2	her child
1	76	2	2	her child
1	12	2	3	her child
2	72	2	2	her child
2	2	2	2	her child
2	48	2	2	her child
2	3	1	3	her sibling
2	51	2	3	her parent in law
2	13	2	3	her parent in law
2	106	2	2	her child
2	18	2	1	her child
3	94	2	3	her sibling
3	103	2	2	her child
3	13	2	3	her parent
3	32	2	2	her spouse
4	111	2	3	her parent
4	57	2	3	sibling in law
5	77	2	1	her child
5	14	2	1	her parent in law
5	113	2	1	her child
5	11	2	2	herself
5	97	2	3	her parent in law
5	78	2	2	her child
5	104	2	2	her child
5	108	2	2	her sibling
5	15	2	2	parent in law
5	70	2	2	her child
5	25	2	3	sibling in law
5	28	2	2	her child
5	70	2	3	sibling in law
5	50	1	2	her child
5	93	2	2	her child
5	13	2	1	parent in law

TABLE 5: Contributions in Bujuni in 2000

recall period of round	HH Nr.	Ind. Nr.	relationship of deceased to the member
1	30	1	his spouse
1	90	1	his child
1	63	1	himself
2	65	1	her child
5	72	1	his child
5	14	1	his mother
5	120	1	his child
5	113	1	his child

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GLOSSARY

Bachwezi (sing. muchwezi)- gods believed to have been ancient members of the ruling clans or distinguished personalities in the interlacustrine kingdoms.

Bagurusi (sing. mugurusi)- elders, generally used to mean a group of wise men called to mediate in conflicts and misunderstandings.

Bahaya (sing. Muhaya)- a member of a Bantu tribe inhabiting the area to the west of Lake Victoria. They live in Bukoba and Muleba districts in Kagera Region.

Bahima/**Bahinda** (sing. Muhima/ Muhinda)-a pastoralist people from the north who invaded and colonised the area in the 15th century, establishing the ruling clans of the interlacustrine kingdoms.

Bakama (sing. mukama)- title given to kings of the former kingdoms of Bukoba and Karagwe.

Balangira (sing. mulangira)- a member of the nobility in the former kingdoms of Bukoba and Karagwe.

Banana weevil- a small beetle that lays its eggs on the corm of the banana plants. Its larvae bore into the corm and pseudostem, weakening the plant and greatly reducing production.

Bantu a collective name for a large group of peoples of Africa speaking related languages, as distinct from Bushmen, Hottentots and Negroes.

Bayeki (sing. muyeki)- a term used in the locality to describe young men who normally operate without own capital, as middlemen especially in the purchase and sale of produce. They derive their income from the manipulation of prices and measures agreed between them and their bosses.

Bazimu (sing. muzimu)- ancestral spirits of a clan.

Bilamura (sing. kilamura)-plants commonly used for demarcation of farm borders in Buhaya.

Buhaya the land inhabited by the Bahaya.

Buyo a herd of cattle belonging to different families grazed together for convenience. The animals are brought together every morning and collected every evening by the owners. The member families do the herding in turns.

CMD ugv (Common Mosaic Decay-uganda variant)- a disease attacking cassava leaves, stunting the plants and rendering them unproductive.

FEC - Farmers' Extension Center.

Gombolora an administrative area during the colonial period in Buhaya. Its size would be comparable to that of a Division.

Kabalagala unleavened buns made from cassava flour and mashed sweet bananas.

KAEMP Kagera Agricultural and Environmental Management Project.

Kanda the short dry season from January to February. It gives an opportunity of drying seasonal crops, especially beans and maize planted at the start of the September rains.

KCU (Kagera Co-operative Union)- the local peasant co-operative movement for marketing of produce, especially coffee.

Kibanja (pl. bibanja)- a plot normally around the homestead planted with permanent crops, i.e. bananas and/or coffee. Other crops, especially maize and beans are always intercropped during the season. It is the most important form of land use, and always located on the best land the family has.

Kigabiro (pl. bigabiro)- a tree formerly used as an altar for worship and sacrifice in traditional Buhaya religion.

Kikamba (pl. bikamba)- an area adjacent to the *kibanja* but with no permanent crops, which may be planted with seasonal crops or left fallow.

Kishembe payment made to the mukama for land allocation. A person who paid kishembe has no intermediate landlord but the mukama alone

Kitongoji the smallest administrative unit in Tanzania below the village.

Konyagi a type of gin distilled locally from banana beer (*rubisi*).

Kwegombora the act of buying one self free of tenancy in the Buhaya feudal system.

Kyanda the long dry season from June to September. Unlike the dry season in the rest of the country, in a normal year there is rain at least once every three or four weeks. Reining, P.C. (1967) claims that during a research in a village in Bukoba in 1953, there was rain at least every week of the year.

Mbandwa a priest- diviner in traditional Buhaya religion. His powers were derived from his position as a medium for *Bachwezi* gods.

Mubezi (pl. babezi)- formerly a traditional leader below the *mukungu*. He was in charge of part of a village.

Muhanguko or **musenene** the long rainy season from September through December. Its rains are interspersed with occasional sunshine, making it suitable for seasonal crops, especially beans and maize. It is also during this time that the green grasshoppers, considered a delicacy by the inhabitants, come in droves.

Muharambwa (pl. baharambwa) a man traditionally charged with the duty of supervising the allocation of the *mukama's* lands (especially the *rweya*) in his community. His work also included ritual blessing of farming implements at the beginning of the planting season.

Mujajaro (pl. mijajaro) weekly markets held on specific days at different locations. They are held in open spaces and give the people an opportunity to buy and sell produce as well as manufactured goods. The number and importance of weekly markets increase with the remoteness of a community from urban centers.

Mukindo (pl. mikindo) *phoenix radinata*; a tree of the palm family, the leaf fibres of which are commonly used in weaving different items such as mats, baskets, e.t.a.

Mukungu (pl. bakungu) a traditional ruler of a village or several villages nominated by the mukama.

Musiri (pl. misiri) a pure stand or intercropped plot of seasonal crops cultivated in the *kikamba* or *rweya*.

Mwami (pl. bami) a traditional ruler of a *gombolora* appointed by the *mukama*.

Mzee (pl. wazee) a word adopted from Swahili meaning 'elder', commonly used before the names of elderly men as a sign of respect.

NGO Non Governmental Organisation.

Ntongo a locally popular vegetable of the egg-plant family, but smaller in size and whitish in colour.

Nyarubanja a traditional system of land tenure. Bakinikana (1974) explains it as a feudal system of land tenure that developed in the whole of Buhaya, where all tenants had to pay tribute to their immediate land lords. These in turn paid tribute to the *mukama*. Besides, tenants or *nyarubanja* holders had to supply free labour to their immediate superiors.

Rubisi an alcoholic beverage made by fermenting banana juice with sorghum. It may be as mild as beer when diluted and as potent as strong wine when pure banana juice is used. It can be distilled to produce *konyagi*.

Ruhanga the Creator in Bahaya traditional belief.

Rwanga an area fenced with *bilamura*, where traditional worship rites were carried out.

Rweya open grasslands of low soil fertility outside the village. They are traditionally used for cultivation of seasonal crops that do not require very fertile soils. They are also used for free range livestock grazing.

TAMWA Tanzania Media Women's Association**.**

Toigo a period of very heavy rains from March to May. It is less favourable (because of the intensity of the rains) for planting seasonal crops when compared to the September- December rainy season. During this period roads to rural areas are hardly passable.

Tutsi the ruling class of Rwanda and Burundi; they are a branch of the Bahima.

Ujamaa the Tanzanian brand of Socialism as advocated by the late Dr. J.K.Nyerere and as envisioned in the Arusha Declaration of 1967.

UWT (*Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania*)- an organisation of Tanzanian women, dedicated to their emancipation and development.

Vigodi (sing. kigodi) – a term used in the locality to mean casual labour, especially farm work.