RURAL – RURAL MOVEMENTS IN EAST AFRICA: A STUDY OF RWANDAN AND SOUTHERN UGANDANS IN KARAGWE DISTRICT, TANZANIA

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis redresses a major gap in the literature on population movement, especially population studies in Tanzania where there have been few attempts to study and understand the movement of people within and between rural areas. Largely owing to political concerns for rural – urban movements, more money has been made available for scholars to study this phenomenon. As a consequence, explanations of movement have focused on rural poverty, privileged economic based models of analysis, and ignored the dynamic nature of the bulk of the population who live in contiguous rural areas not only of Tanzania but also neighbouring Kenya and Uganda. This urban bias is reinforced by a methodological unwillingness to study population movements that do not fit this economic rationale. I argue that to understand population movement in and between rural areas, attention needs to be refocused on non-economic motives, give more emphasis to cultural continuity and to understanding the meanings of movement as the people engaged in it see it for themselves.

In this study, I use an ethnographic approach to explore the movement of people in Karagwe rural district. This district receives movers from Ankole (Southern Uganda) and Rwanda inspired by cultural considerations that become understood by listening and seeing the movement in their own worldview. The Banyankole and Banyarwanda perceive movement as a "homeward journey" best described by the metaphor of '*omuka/oweitu*' (home to home) as people move within their cultural territory to live with relatives of consanguinity, affinity and African blood pacts. The network of these relationships evolved out of historical movements, intermarriages, norms and customs created and shared over many years to give a sense of oneness or common identity in a shared cultural space. During the field study in 2000, these homeward movements revealed in the family life histories were part of a strategy to cement the bonds of kinship and a return to the roots/ ancestral homes.

This understanding and interpretation of movement in a constructed cultural space is revealed through listening to the life histories of family movement and experiences as well as the language used to express the event of movement. In this cultural space where they negotiate a living, long-term movement is perceived as '*okutaha*' (to go home) and '*okutura*' (to settle or stay) while short-term movements are captured by the metaphors that revolve around the theme of 'visits'. The origin and destination points for these movements are "home" meaning a place where one resides or where one is born. In both meanings the mover has relatives of kin and is in a familiar environment/cultural territory. Movement is one that leads a person outside the created cultural space often disassociated with and considered as disappearing into the unknown.

This suggests that intra-rural and inter-rural movements are culturally inspired and are strategies to maintain and activate relationship networks between people as described in a language and the worldview of the movers - the world they live in.

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DEDICATION

To Astridah Chisanga – my wife,
Our children Angela Koku, Angelina Siti,
Master Peter, Rachael Kent, Irene Nandi,
and Emmanuella Neema the
greatest
the success is yours as well as it is mine.
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Household relationship terms

Singular	Plural	Translation/meaning
Eirongo	amarongo	twin(s)
Ishe/Nyina-abarongo		father/mother of twins
Mujezi wanje	bajenzi banje	friend(s), [literally: co-traveller(s)]
Munywani wanje	banyani banje	blood pact brother(s)/sister(s)
Murumuna wanje	barumuna banje	my brother(s)
Munyanyazi	banyanyazi	my sister(s)
Mutahi wanje	batahi banje	friend(s), [one who enters my heart/ house]
nyakwenkuru	banyakwenkuru	grandmother(s)
mwene tata	bene tata	kinsman – [son(s) of related fathers]
nyakwento	banyakwento	aunt(s) – maternal
nyokolomi	banyakolomi	uncle(s) – maternal
omukaire	abakaire	respected old woman/women
omukazi	abakazi	woman, women
omuntu	abantu	person [people]
omunyamahanga	abanyamahanga	foreigner(s) [from another state]
omunyaruganda	abanyaruganda	clansmen
omuseiza	abaseiza	man, men
omwerere	aberere	baby, babies
omwihwa	abeihwa	niece(s)
omwishichi	abeishichi	girl(s)
omwozo	abozo	boy(s)
omuzee	abazee	respected old man/men
shwenkuru	bashwenkuru	grand fathers
shwenkazi	bashwenkazi	aunt(s) – paternal
swento	baswento	uncle(s) – paternal

The clans of Karagwe:

Abashambo	Abasindi	Abasingo	Abalisa
Abakaraza	Abagara	Abeiriri	Abeihuzi
Abaheta	Abanjojo	Abagahe	Abayango
Abasita	Abeitira	Abarigi	

Names of God

Ruhanga	Katonda	Kazoba

Names of common spirits

Lyangombe	Irungu	Mugasha	Wamala

The language of movement and metaphors

Mwebare nataha	Thank you, I am going home
Ninduga omuka ninza oweitu	I am coming from home, I am going home
Nintura omu charo cha Bugene	I live in Bugene village
Kupagaa (Kiswahili word)	to work for money, be employed
Okubunga (okubunjera)	to move from place to place
Okubura	to get lost
Okufuruka	to leave for another place/migrate
Okuganuza	to present first harvest to parents and in-laws
Okugorora amaguru	to stroll
Okujendajenda	to walk about
Okupagasa	to work for money, to be employed
Okweshejeza	to move a bit sideways
Okusabara	to sail away [usually across Lake Victoria]
Okushaka	to work for food at a neighbour's house
Okutaha	to go home
Okutuntumuka	to flee, to take flight into the unknown
Okutura	to settle
Okutwarira	maiden visit by a parent to married daughter
Okurigira	to be attracted by a place and move to it
Okusyara	a formal visit, respectful visit
Okutayaya	informal visits of a few hours duration
Okutera ebituro amabega	to turn one's back to the graves [relocate a house]
Okwandara	to wander about especially a distressed person
Okwiha omwanya	to relocate a house in one's farm
Okwirirayo	to push aside
Okuza aha kasika	first visit of bride and bridegroom to parents
Okuza aha nyabya	visit of sons in-law
Okuzerera	to move about and float like a reed in water
Okuzinduka	very formal visit with gifts

Metaphors of space

Echisibo	place of one's roots/origin
Eitaka lya bunanka	contextual space somewhere, land of a certain place
Eitongo (amatongo – pl.)	abandoned place of a house out of relocation
Enzu	house

Omuka	home where one has a house
Owa nyakufa	the deceased household
Oweitu	home with or without a house where one's parents live
Omwanya	place, space, time
Omwanya gwo okuganiriraho	contextual and social space(s) for talking/chatting
Omwanya gwo okukora echintu	time to do something
Omwanya aha mutima gwanje	figurative space in the heart or mind
Kutaha owabo/kufa	spiritual space – to die and go to live with ancestors
Amalalo (eilalo – singular)	a small round hut where household ancestors are venerated
Ebigabiro	ancestral shines of worship
Eibanga lya abakazi	women parlour
Eibanga lya abaseiza	men's parlour
Enchiro/emigongo yo oweitu	the home landscape and undulating hills
Eichumichiro	a place opposite a fireplace where animals are kept in the house

Karagwe household tools

Ebishabo byo okuchunda amate	big calabashes for churning milk
Ebyanzi (echanzi –singular)	milk container for drinking and storing
Echipanka	machete
Echisingo	crown used by chiefs and ancestral worship
Edinjiri	musical instrument made from a horn and string and played with a miniature bow
Eigobore	musical instrument made of bow and a calabash attached to it for vibrations
Ekanzu	father's long robe or cassock
Embango	long walking stick used for support especially by elders and herders
Empango	axe
Enfurebe	animal skin carrier bag usually of a small animal
Emigazu yo okwotera	incense
Emiheiha	ornamented covers of *ebyanzi*
Emihoro (omuhoro – sing)	a curved machete [like a question mark]
Emihunda	long walking stick with a sharp metallic point at the bottom
Enanga	small musical instrument made of wood and pieces of metal for vibrations
Endeku	see *enkaya*

Engali	large plate-like kitchen equipment used for winnowing grain
Engoma	drum(s) used for entertainment and communication, symbol of authority and state – royal drum
Enkaya	a gourd for drinking in the house
Enkanda	softened animal skin won by women around the waist
Enkoni	walking stick
Ensimbo	container for storing gee
Entaro	large plate-like tool for winnowing grain
Oburo	finger millet grain or hardened porridge used as food
Obwato	dug-out canoe for brewing beer
Orubugu	bark-cloth used as blanket also traditionally used for burial ceremonies
Orwina	pit for ripening bananas used to prepare beer *(amarwa)*

Karagwe drinks, crops and animals

Amarwa	banana wine locally known as 'beer'
Obushera	soft drink made from finger millet flour
Omuramba	sweet juice made from bananas
Ebitunguru	onions
Embire/entundu	a type of bananas for making wine/*amarwa*
Oburo	finger millet
Omugogo	banana stem
Enkura	rhinoceros
Enzozo/enjojo	an elephant

Miscellaneous

Akaguza engoma oburo	sold/exchanged royal drum [authority] for finger millet/gain
Abakomaji be embugu	bark-cloth makers
Akanyihura	to rescue, to save [Kinyambo sense is much richer than this literal translation]
Eichumichiro	a place behind a fireplace in the house where goats and sheep are kept
Eihano (amahano – plural.)	a mysterious event spelling misfortune, A mystery

Embibi (orubibi – singular)	boundaries
Emijera (omujera – singular)	stream(s)
Empanga (oruhanga – singular)	valley(s)
Empundu	joyous yells and shouts or ululate
Emiziro (omuziro – singular)	taboo, prohibition
Emitoizo (omutoizo – singular)	regular gifts presented to the king
Enyanza	big river, lake, sea [general term]
Enyomyo y'engambiro	king post in a house
Ikambura mabati	famine that forced people to sell belongings in order to procure food
Kubarura	to remove from seclusion, to make public
Kuzunga amarwa	to brew beer/banana wine
Obushuma	theft, a vice of eating alone shunned by the indigenous people
Omururu	see *obushuma,* gluttony
Okubyarira Omukama	to bury a King [royal custom]
Okuhungura	to marry a woman of one's dead brother
Okujeba	see *empundu*
Okukaguza	to knock on the door of a house
Okurunga	to prepare special meals especially for sons in-law
Okusika	inheritance, to administrate and own the property of the deceased person
Omugogo	a banana stem/trunk
Omurukwa gwa banyanya	a share of the bridal price to brothers
Ujamaa	Tanzanian brand of African socialism

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RURAL TO RURAL MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA: A GAP IN THE LITERATURE ON THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE IN POPULATION MOVEMENT

> In retrospect, the history of migrant labour studies in Africa is fascinating for two important reasons. First, it shows how much political and administrative imperatives have oriented scholarly research in this field. Second, it reveals the urban-centred approach to the migration question, as seen in the abundance of literature focusing on rural-urban migration themes and limited efforts on the inter-rural migration trends (Uchendu in Parkin (ed.) 1975: 166).
>
> [24 YEARS LATER]
>
> Most research on migration in the Third World has focused on the urban context and the links between migration, urbanisation, and development. Rural areas have been viewed as a reservoir for an urban labour force. The impact of migration on rural areas has received far less attention (Goldscheider 1984), and the great significance of intra-rural migration is still insufficiently appreciated (Hill in Vandsemb 1999: 411).

Rural to rural population movement in East Africa is mainly undertaken by farmers and pastoralists on a seasonal or permanent basis in familiar cultural lands. Most of this movement goes unnoticed by governments and scholars who direct their attention and resources to a more conspicuous form of movement - rural to urban migration. The movement of people from rural to urban centres attracts attention due to its direct impact on origin and destination areas. At origin the movement creates an immediate and visible loss of the productive agricultural labour leading to further economic impoverishment of these areas. At destination the same movement is perceived to frustrate development

efforts by compounding existing problems of housing, social services like health and education, and increased unemployment in the context of social and economic development (Todaro 1976: 2, De Jong 1981: 1). This direct impact at both ends of the spectrum leads politicians to constantly exhort the rural population to stay back, while scholars intensify research to explain the causes of this mobility. This concern has not only overshadowed other types of mobility in the region but has led to the creation of a wide gap in the literature on population movements. Internal movement where people move from one community or administrative unit to another community of the same cultural space for settlement is not addressed in the current literature. There is a need to redress this imbalance given the constant movement of farmers and pastoralists in East Africa (Figure 1.1). For example, nomadism is important for the Turkana people of Northern Kenya and the Masai of Mainland Tanzania who cross into Kenya along the East African Rift Valley and the Karamoja in northeastern Uganda, as well as other intertribal movements. These internal movements occur uniformly in rural Africa where the majority of the population lives.

1.2 Population mobility in Tanzania: an appraisal of directed migration in rural areas 1963-1980s

In Tanzania, literature on migration studies has been centred on 'directed migration' under the programmes of villagisation of 1963 – 1965 and the *Ujamaa* Villages in response to the Arusha Declaration in 1967.[1] The enthusiasm of Tanzanians towards villagisation was in expectation of technical and financial incentives pledged by the government (Yeager 1982, Tripp 1996). The *ujamaa* villages were rooted in African traditions but suffered technical and administrative setbacks such as the influence of government and party bureaucracy, lack of competent and commited village manpower, and the financial support promised by the government. They were abandoned in the 1980s.

[1] Tanzania committed itself to a socialist *Ujamaa* Policy through the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration Blueprint in February 1967.

Moreover all regions did not enthusiastically embrace the establishment of these villages. There was strong resistance in the rich and densely populated regions of Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Mbeya and Kagera. Baker (1979) observes that: -

> To the extent that government and party administered ujamaa villages into existence it is likely that they would choose the weakest regions and zones where it would be easiest to have their way. The richer areas were not simply failing to choose ujamaa, according to this reasoning but resisting it (cited in Mwansasu 1979: 104).

The Tanzanian experiment of socialist economics and *ujamaa* villages as a method of transforming rural areas drew the attention of scholars to study and assess its performance. At the same time many youths were migrating into the urban centres to search for employment and better living standards (Sabot 1975, Mlay 1977, Mbilinyi 1996, Liviga 1998). The two movements were studied using the economic migration models and the political imperatives of the day. In 'directed migration' the government was seeking to regroup the people in order to build a socialist nation with freedom, social and economic development (Nyerere 1969: 57, Mwansasu 1979: 13). The rationale for directed migration under villagisation was economic, as outlined in a presidential address to parliament in 1962. President Nyerere explained that the people were living apart from each other – a population of 9,600,852 scattered over 945,087 square kilometres by the 1957 census figures. He urged the people through their representatives in the national assembly to live in proper villages by regrouping: -

> But we cannot even do this if our people...continue living scattered over a wide area far apart from each other...The first and absolutely essential thing to do, therefore, is to begin living in proper villages (Nyerere 1962: 17).

The presidential call cum directive was pivoted on financial and technical assistance to regrouping villages – a newly established village would receive three million Tanzania Shillings - then equivalent to US $ 430,000. During 1963, 300 villages were formed under the Rural Settlement Commission. Each village was to be composed of 2,500

families, a planning committee, a communal farm, and a technical advisor. In return, the villages were expected to be self-sufficient and pay back a portion of the money. Due to financial expectations, many villages were suddenly formed in the first year (1963) and this forced the government to back down because it could not meet the financial promises in the subsequent years. In 1964 only 20 new villages were added. Noting the financial burden, the government formally halted the plan in 1966. Through the villagisation programme, people had been moved between rural areas – from a usual place of residence to another. When the promised financial and technical assistance ceased, the people abandoned the settlements in favour of their traditional villages. The government formerly abandoned the plan under the Rural Settlement Commission in 1966. The president's economic and political motives were frustrated by poor results and so were the movers' intentions to cash in on the programme. In certain densely populated areas, the traditional villages were renamed to secure financial aid. I remember the village of Kaisho in Karagwe district (Figure 2.1) receiving three tractors in 1963 that soon broke down for lack of spare parts after being used on a block farm littered with tree stumps. When the people waited for increased financial assistance in vain, the village resumed its traditional life style.

Ujamaa villages were a second and new phase of directed migration under the Arusha Declaration in the post independence era. The Arusha Declaration blue print was a culmination of Nyerere's aspirations to build a free and egalitarian society by narrowing the gap between rural and urban living standards. This would entail intensified agriculture and a dedication to self sufficiency that discourage foreign and private investment, the democratic institutions for the masses, and a new regrouping strategy of villages into *ujamaa* villages. The new villages would avoid the pitfalls of the villagisation programme that collapsed through heavy dependence on financial and technical assistance. People would be persuaded to join or regroup to work together by planning and implementing their projects. The programme firmly grounded in African traditional systems was to be a revolution by evolution through the transformation of the rural sector (Nyerere 1968a, 1968b, 1969). In the process of creating the villages persuasion failed and force was used to the extent of burning down traditional villages in

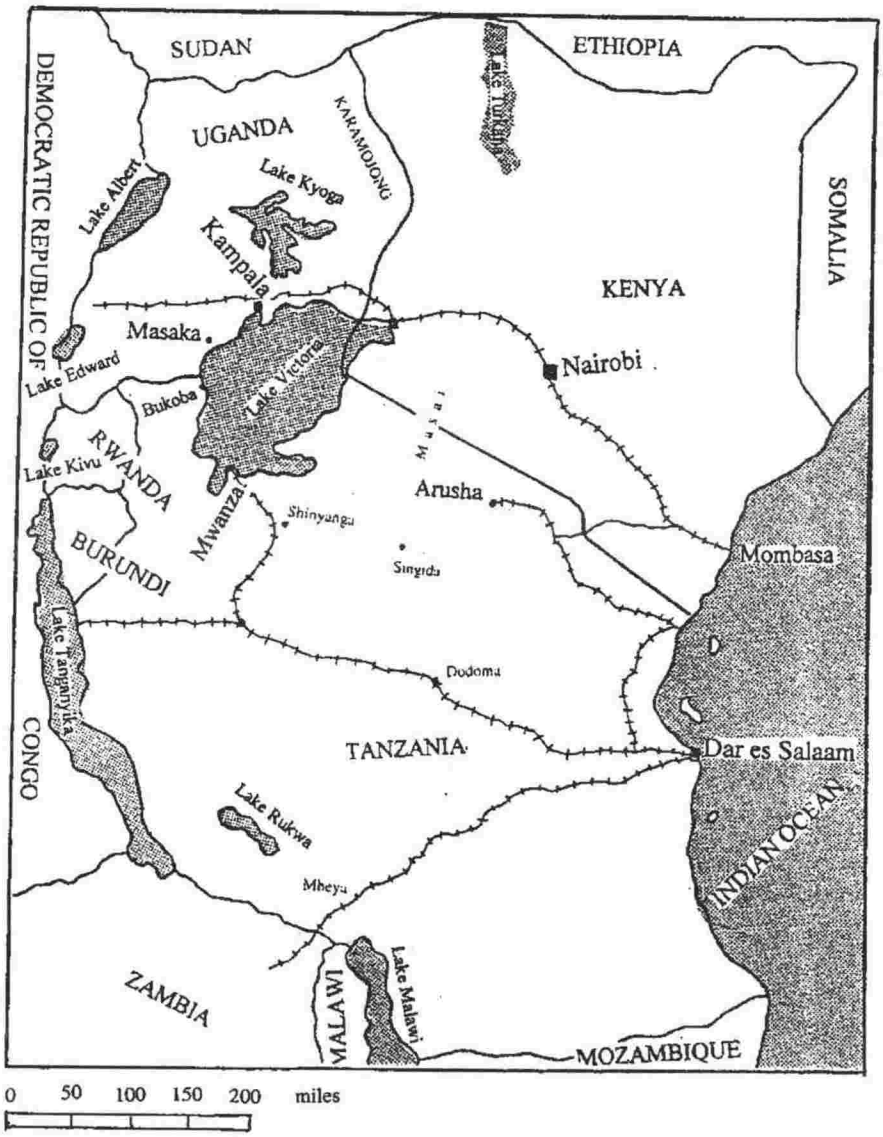
a bid to force people to move. During a trip to Zambia from Burundi travelling on trucks and a steamboat on Lake Tanganyika, I witnessed the use of such force in Sumbawanga District (Western Tanzania) where villages were burnt down in 1974.

Celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Arusha Declaration, President Julius K. Nyerere acknowledged both successes and failures. The system was praised in the delivery of social services like education, health, piped water, political mobilisation and above all a change in attitudes of people towards the spirit of co-operation and collective advancement. Regrouping had succeeded with 5008 villages in place by 1974 and almost 90% of the population living in them in 1977. Notwithstanding the success enumerated by the President, Tanzanian socialism was formerly abandoned in 1994.

Still a word of caution is in order regarding both rural population and the number of villages during the era of the *ujamaa* village policy. The process of urbanisation in Tanzania has been very slow owing to government policy and the lack of an industrial and a manufacturing base so that the majority of the people still live in rural areas and work the land using a traditional hoe. Apart from Dar es Salaam the capital city, with its 2.0 million people, there are five other urban centres with above 500,000 people – Mwanza, Mbeya, Arusha, Tanga, and Morogoro. The combined total of urban centres in Tanzania accounts for about 10% of the population. The 5,008 villages consolidated by 1977 should not be taken to all be *ujamaa* villages – the figure includes traditional villages particularly in the pocket resistance regions of Kilimanjaro, Kagera, Arusha and Mbeya where there was always access to permanent food supplies and cash crops.[2] *Ujamaa* villages succeeded in poor and drier central regions of Dodoma, Singida and parts of Tabora and Shinyanga (Figure 1.1).

[2] This figure of 5008 villages includes re-named villages in the regions resisting the village policy. In a number of villages young men constructed huts in selected sites and returned to traditional villages. They moved to live in these huts upon being told that a government official is expected to visit them (Field notes 2000).

Figure 1.1 CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA – LOCATION MAP: LAKES, MAIN RAILWAYS, AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES



Source: GeorgePhilip Limited, (1992). Oxford Atlas of the World, New York: Oxford University Press.

Doubts can still be raised to challenge this success. Long before the official demise of the *ujamaa* policy in the second phase government led by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1994, all *ujamaa* villages had died out but people continued to live in traditional villages in the rural areas. The ujamaa policy encouraged people to stay in rural areas but has not kept them there. People living in villages today largely do so because it is in the countryside that their best access to a means of living remains.

This brief account is significant to this study because it was under the Rural Settlement Commission and the *ujamaa* policy, that people were moved from one rural area to another on a formulation by the state of traditional African values and traditions.[3] The two programmes of directed migration are highly dependent on economic incentives provided by the Tanzanian leadership in the name of development. This study looks at movement from one rural area to another as normal social interaction and as part of a cultural understanding of movement within a single territory.

1.3 A critique of study themes in population mobility in Tanzania

The economic overtones implied in 'directed migration' have continued to inspire studies on population mobility especially rural to urban movements. Migration studies in Tanzania have used themes like labour migration (Sabot 1979, Lwoga 1985); migration and poverty alleviation (Omari 1996, Liviga and Mekacha 1998); and household size, poverty and migration (Kamuzora and Mkanta 2000). The themes are biased, emphasising rural to urban movement to the neglect of a more significant segment of population mobility in rural areas where the majority of the African population live (for Tanzania more than 90% of the population reside in rural areas). Chambers (1983) considers that researchers and professionals continue to study rural to urban migration alone because of the attractions and rewards of reputation and knowledge offered by urban centres. He states: -

> It is by no means only the international system of knowledge and prestige, with its rewards and incentives, that draws professionals away from rural areas and up through the hierarchy of urban and

[3] President J.K. Nyerere the architect of this policy conceived African values in terms of economic production (1969: 10).

> international centres. They are also attracted and held fast by better houses, hospitals...In third world countries as elsewhere, academics, bureaucrats, foreigners and journalists are all drawn to towns or based in them. All are victims, though usually willing victims of the urban trap...For academics, it is cheaper, safer and more cost-effective in terms of academic output, to do urban rather than rural research (1983: 7).

For Chambers as for many others, the major premise of migration studies on population movement in Tanzania is the economic model of migration theory developed by Todaro (1976) which is employed to explain the paradox of internal migration in developing countries and its relationship to development. Todaro (1976) states emphatically that: -

> An understanding of the causes, determinants and consequences of internal migration is thus central to a better understanding of the nature and character of the development process and to the formulation of appropriate policies to influence this process in socially desirable ways. A simple yet crucial step in emphasising the central position of the migration phenomenon is to recognise that *any economic and social policy that affects rural and urban real incomes will directly and/or indirectly influence the migration process* (1976: 3)(italics in original).

The economic theory of rural to urban migration used in many migration studies is based on the notion of a rational economic man* with full knowledge of the environment/market situation. The potential migrant considers various options, calculates the risks and opportunities at both origin and destination choosing one where expected earnings are greater than the actual earnings.

*It is interesting to note that the 2002 Nobel Prize for economics has gone to two American academics Daniel Kahneman and Vernon L. Smith whose published work challenges the assumption that people make rational decisions that include social as well as economic parameters (Guardian Weekly, 17 October 2002: 14).

This involves an evaluation of the difference in real incomes between rural and urban job opportunities and the probability of a migrant obtaining an urban job (Todaro 1976:29). The process of migration is principally tied to calculations of relative costs and benefits, disregarding other factors like family ties, culture and life styles.

1.4 The direction of this dissertation

This study offers an alternative interpretation and explanation of population movement in rural areas of East Africa by looking closely at Karagwe district where people from Rwanda and Ankole in Southern Uganda enter for settlement (Figure 3.1). It is suggested that Rwandans and Southern Ugandans are attracted into Karagwe without calculating costs and benefits but rather by social considerations shaped by age old historical experiences and kinship and familial ties that bind them together as a people sharing one culture[4]. Lowrie (cited in Kroeber 1952) describes culture as: -

> The sum total of what an individual acquires from his society – those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food habits and crafts which come to him not by his own creative activity but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal and informal education (1952: 79 – cited in Kroeber 1952).

Winick (1977), concerned with coping with the environment, describes culture as:

> [Culture is]...all that which is non biological and socially transmitted in society, including artistic, social, ideological and religious patterns of behaviour, and the techniques for mastering the environment (1977: 144)

The on-going movement of people from one place to another is part of such a perceived common culture in which individuals see themselves as being and/or going to a home ground: one cultural space. The cultural landscape and space which motivate the people of Rwanda and Uganda to move are defined by the aesthetic styles, musical genres, linguistic patterns, morality, religious practices, foods, social norms of interaction and behaviours as well as their common technology to live in their environment. The

[4] More definitions of culture are given and used in Chapter 2.

economic model cannot explain this movement because the Karagwe rural area does not offer significant social and economic opportunities superior to places of origin as to attract people from outside. The three areas taken together are rural, dependent on subsistence farming and grazing with no prospects for wage labour. The cultural environment and social interactions inspire people to make decisions to move, and the choice of a destination is guided by considerations of social structures and social institutions perceived to exist in the new society. People prefer to move within similar cultural spaces for familiarity and avoidance of cultural shock. In the words of Mangalam (1968) "...the migrants go to a place where social organisation is as closely related as possible (in their perception) to the one in their place of origin" (1968: 17).

Cultural meanings and interpretations of peoples' mobility in rural areas, and particularly in Karagwe are in line with the recent studies of migration in the Pacific Region. A different approach to the study of migration in developing countries – one departing from the economic model of Todaro (1976) and from the laws of migration as expounded by Lee (1966) – was called for by Chapman (1978). Chapman (1978, 1991) was disenchanted with the then migration studies in developing countries on two grounds. First the classification of movements using terms that tend to be opposites like rural versus urban, cyclic versus permanent, and town versus village as if these were watertight compartments and not linked. He expressed this concern thus: -

> One clear implication of all these terms and distinctions is that the concept of internal migration only faintly captures the full meaning of territorial mobility. Many movements involve the interchange of people between points of origin and destination, such as villages and towns, both individually and in small groups...Being repetitive and perhaps cyclic, such movements have been termed circulation by both the anthropologist J. Clyde Mitchell (1961) and the geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (1971) (1978: 559).

Second the level of paradigm and/or metaphors used in the study of the Pacific Islands to describe island mobility. The observation cum criticism is stated poignantly thus: -

> To the stream of village people attracted by the increasingly available services and facilities of small towns and capital cities, scholars applied metaphor "rural-urban drift"(de Bruijn, 1963: 22), whose origin lay not in the island Pacific but in the work that urban sociologists had undertaken concerning the American Midwest during the 1920s and 1930s. Reflecting on the practice of the day, these observers considered each move made from one location to another as a discrete event or activity occurring at a particular moment in time. Thus Pacific islanders in town were tallied, their personal characteristics enumerated, and their demographic impacts distilled in terms of a settlement's change in age composition, in the ratio of married to unmarried, and in the proportion of migrants in wage employment (e.g., Ward 1961; de Bruijn 1967; Oram 1968)(1991:265).

Chapman's approach was supported by research in the Pacific region, notable the ethnographic treatise of Bonnemaison (1985) who undertook a detailed study of Tannese society in the Republic of Vanuatu. His major revelation was the strict adherence of Tanna people to the sacred 'kastom' (customs and traditions) that bind and allow a person to move and explore the outside world yet retaining his/her rights and obligations in the tribal land and home. Movement and ties maintained by the migrant (or seafarer) acquired a new interpretation – rootedness in traditional land instead of remittances by urban dwellers to maintain contacts hence the title of Bonnemaison's article: "The Tree and The Canoe". Young (1998) confirmed the validity of Chapman's call for a new paradigm. To the people of Fiji, the focus of his study, movement is embedded in their culture /way of life and cements familial ties as well as being an expression of culture. Movement consolidates and expands relationships and is a method of identification – one is able to identify with a relative therein. These studies suggest that our understanding of mobility should go beyond the superficial reasons or the external manifestations and look into the core i.e., the perceptions and meanings of movement. In Karagwe and its neighbouring areas, it is traditional for an old father or mother to move and stay in the homestead of his/her son. The practice is not considered as mobility/residential change or a form of old age insurance scheme. Its meaning is better grasped through customary obligations of children to parents. In this study my endeavour is to make a modest

contribution towards such an understanding by looking at the reasons and cultural meanings of movement among the Banyambo of Karagwe, Banyarwanda of Rwanda and Banyankole of Ankole (Southern Uganda).

1.5 Objectives of the study

The literature on rural to rural migration studies in Tanzania is scant. This is also true for the African continent due to urban bias by professionals who are entangled in the urban trap as observed by Chambers (1983: 7). This situation is not likely to improve in the near future given the continued poor rural living conditions and above all the flow of research funds that favour rural to urban mobility studies. The observation of Vandsemb (1999) above nearly 25 years after Uchendu (1975) is noteworthy. The continued rural to urban bias to use economic variables in recent population movement studies of Tanzania such as Liviga & Mekacha (1998) and Kamuzora & Mkanta (2000) is an indication that the scholarly attitude is not changing. Furthermore rural-rural studies require more time to be spent in the villages for in-depth studies, time many scholars do not have. In the light of these circumstances, my first objective is to raise awareness among scholars of the importance of rural-rural mobility where the majority of the African population lives in rural areas. It is unbecoming or shortsighted to concentrate efforts on 10% of the population living in urban areas and leave 90% of the Tanzanian population untouched. This awareness may lead to increased funds being directed to the study of rural to rural movements.

The second intention is to alert scholars in the region of East Africa to the importance of non-economic factors like culture, affinity ties and family in motivating movers in rural areas. The use of economic motives in rural to rural movements does not provide a comprehensive picture of population dynamics. We need to understand peoples' meanings and interpretation of 'movement', for example, among the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole in their cultural territory where boundaries are fluid and permeable unlike the modern boundaries marked by stakes and beacons. To the people in this study area, movement does not imply migration of a permanent nature but is seen rather as a sojourn or visit (*okutaha* and *okutayaya*) because one is going 'home'

(Chapter 7). These terms describe movement in a cultural territory where an individual goes to live. When an individual goes outside the cultural territory, for example, to another tribal land or town, other terms are used; and likewise a person from outside the cultural group is called a foreigner (*omunyamahanga*). On the other hand, they refer to themselves as people *(abataka* or *abantu*). This shows that movement within a cultural territory is not migration but a homeward journey best described by the metaphors of *omuka* (home) and *oweitu* (home). A person is homeward bound within a cultural territory. Movement is a strategy through which people strengthen, maintain, and re-activate family, clan and tribal networks of relationships as well as their identity. It increases the sense of oneness in a shared cultural territory/space.

Thirdly, this study is an opportunity for me to increase my research and study skills in the teaching profession. In the course of preparing this work, I have acquired skills that will help me to be more effective at work and conduct other research on the subject of population movement in Tanzania. This research will also contribute towards narrowing the existing gap in the literature of population studies between rural-urban and rural-rural movements and contribute to a better understanding of the latter movement in developing countries.

1.6 Research propositions

In this dissertation, I argue that the cultural values and customs that constitute and determine a cultural landscape influence people to move and choose a particular destination among many alternatives surrounding them. A decision to move is made in consideration of kinship, family ties, and a desire to return home to the roots (*echisibo*) where ancestors originated. In the study area of Karagwe, most clans claim historical origins that are distant from the present locations, and people or movers feel at home when they enter these places. The people have relatives in origin and destination areas. The kinship and familial ties made through historical movements, intermarriages, and blood pacts link the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole of southern Uganda. Kinship and familial ties help movers to settle and engage in traditional trades like

farming, beer brewing, pottery, hunting with nets and the manufacture of spears and arrows. The movement takes place in a similar cultural space that reduces culture shock and loneliness among movers.

The second proposition is related to the first. In rural to rural movement, kinship and family ties continue to define a domain in which a mover holds inalienable rights of residence in the cultural territory. Kinship ties and intermarriages influence movers to visit areas of origin even if there are no intentions of return because of the relatives left behind. Such visits reflect the presence of relatives, attachment to landscape (*enchiro z'oweitu*) and the clan shrines. This perception of home movement visits differs from the perception ascribed [by researchers] to rural-urban movers to maintain contacts with rural areas anticipating a return at a future date. Rural-urban movers maintain contacts through remittances of money and short visits. The widely held belief that migrant labour in Africa maintains political rights, social position, and land rights at places of origin through regular remittances and visits in the event of an eventual return is an oversimplification of reality. This explanation does not, for instance, capture the essence of transporting the bodies of deceased people from urban centres for burial in ancestral homes. If it is considered that a person remains attached to his/her cultural territory even after death, this practice is better understood through culture. One of the symbolic rites of the *Abantu* culture is to be united with one's ancestors through the return and burial of the deceased at home in the cultural territory.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

Movement of people takes place in both geographical and socially created spaces. It is the understanding of this movement and its causes that allows several approaches to be made. This study adopts an ethnographic approach – one of the humanistic ways of knowing that gives movers a voice with which to tell their movement experiences as well as indicate the significance of this event as revealed in their language (the language of the movers). This study is divided into eight chapters and is an attempt to understand the movements taking place in a rural area viewed as a cultural territory and using the language of movers to inform the interpretation of the event of movement.

The first chapter is an introductory statement to the study of rural to rural population movement. I show that Tanzanian population movement studies have neglected this area by focusing on the movement of people to urban centres. These studies are guided by the themes of poverty and movement is explained primarily by economic motives. This study argues that there are cultural factors that influence people to move and that it is essential to understand the perception of this movement in the worldview of the movers as well as the language they use to describe movement. This ethnographic approach is contained in two interlinked propositions that guide the study to explore the meaning of movement. In the second chapter, I review the current literature on migration studies. This literature reflects a bias towards rural to urban movements using quantifiable economic variables to explain the causes of movement. The approach suggested by Chapman (1994) and echoed by Halfacree (1993) to study population movement using alternative methods or paradigms to understand movement is yet to be used in Tanzania. Chapman calls for studies to focus on the understanding of movement as the movers understand it themselves in order to discover the meanings in the life histories of the people, the continuities in movement and cross fertilisation of ideas learned in one region and carried to another.

The third chapter provides background information on the district of Karagwe where movement takes place. In particular the historical and social relations and the environment are brought into focus. I argue that cultural, historical ties and social networks of relationships influence movement in a socially created space, Karagwe. I suggest that rural to rural movement be understood by looking at the environment, cultural practices and social relations. The prevailing literature on population mobility largely ignores the environment and social networks in which people live (and writers prefer to use economic models to explain why people move). This has resulted in an inadequate explanation of movement. I argue that movement is a result of living together in a cultural space as people interact through social relationships.

In chapter four, a methodological approach is presented outlining the steps used to collect data. This methodology departs from the conventional techniques employed in the region, in particular quantitative approaches to distil the characteristics of movers and measure the disparity of incomes between rural areas and urban centres. A technique of making better use of narratives in the language of the movers is suggested and subsequently used to interpret the meaning of movement of people into Karagwe. The chapter presents a methodology showing what has shaped my understanding of movement in Karagwe and the tools I used to gather data. It shows that using conventional tools of data collection like those used in Tanzanian population movement studies does not provide an understanding of the meanings of movement among the rural people. To arrive at this understanding and interpretation of movement, tools that give the movers a voice to relate their movement experiences and the significance of movement have to be used. These tools are the narratives and the metaphors of movement or the language of the movers as specifically lived in their created worldview/cultural territory. I also discuss mobility registers, which were used to ascertain the language of the movers in their cultural space i.e., to find out whether movement is on-going or is thought to have ceased.

Chapter five examines the one culture and identity that binds people together and allows free movement within a cultural territory. The culture and identity created through intermarriages, consanguinity and traditional blood pacts allow movers to have close relatives at origin and destination so that movers are always at home in each location.

In chapter six, I present the life histories of the movement of people who relate their experiences within the cultural and geographical spaces of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole. The narratives show that people in Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole (Southern Uganda) move to follow relatives, trace the roots of their ancestors to various places, and that they do not consider themselves as movers because they retain the right to remain and travel within the cultural territory they have created. They are satisfied to move within their cultural territory where they find kindred in new locations. They are moving while standing in their cultural territory as observed by Chapman for the people of the Pacific Islands: "island mobility involves the sensation of moving, while standing still"

(Chapman 1991; 290). These narratives are used in conjunction with the language of the movers to arrive at the meaning of movement as understood by the people of Karagwe.

Chapter seven presents the perception of the people and movers in the metaphors used to describe the movements of short-term duration ranging between a few hours and a full day to indefinite movements. There are also metaphors describing the intermediate movement of one day to a week and long-term movement with unspecified return time. In the language of the people movement within one's farm and within the cultural territory is not movement. They perceive this as going 'home', and hence, the '*omuka/oweitu*' metaphors. As long as one is within the cultural territory and surrounded by blood and affinal relatives, blood pacts and clan, one considers self to be 'home'. One is "moving while standing" in the cultural territory. Movement leading outside the familiar cultural territory is rejected and termed migration (*okubura*) without return i.e. open-ended. Movement within the cultural territory, though long lasting, is considered closed as future generations have a return option. The narratives are used to provide examples of and to highlight the links between movement and the language of those who move.

In chapter eight, there is a discussion and summary of the major findings of the study and this is followed by a conclusion when the main arguments are brought together and suggestions for future research are indicated. The final part of the thesis consists of the bibliography and appendices that have shaped the study in the present form.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION STUDIES AND CULTURE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE IN POPULATION MOVEMENT AND CULTURE

2.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of population movement and population studies is worldwide. As people move, scholars from various disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, economics, geography and demography try to provide explanations of movement and the description of the movers at local, regional and global levels.

Africa is not an exception – there are continuous movements of individuals and groups taking place within rural areas themselves as well as from rural areas to urban centres, seaports and mining centres. The duration of these movements range from a day's trip to months and years. Some movers stay permanently in their new settlements while others return to their places of origin (Mabogunje 1970, Parkin 1975 and Prothero & Chapman 1985). The movement of people from rural areas to urban centres in Africa is well documented as witnessed by the abundance of literature (Uchendu 1975: 166 cited in Parkin 1975, Vandsemb 1995: 411) on the current flows of movement. These studies describe and explain the causes of movement to urban centres. Movers are described as circulators[5] or wage labourers seeking better economic and social benefits available in urban centres. This movement of people represents a segment of about 15% of the total population in African countries (UNO – UNECA 1995, Amin 1972). The bulk of the movement takes place in one rural area (moving within one rural area) or between several rural areas (Simmons 1983:61). In Black Africa, 85% of the population live in rural areas and remain unstudied. In East Africa particularly, the only group studied is the nomadic people like the Masai of Tanzania and Kenya as well as the Karamojong of Uganda

[5] Zelinsky (1971) defines circulation as "a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive, or cyclical in nature but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long lasting change in residence" (1971: 236). Kosinski and Prothero (1975: 41) agree with this definition.

moving across the plains searching for good pasture and water for livestock (Lawi 1992, Africa Event 1990). An oversight that leaves a majority of the population untouched requires an explanation and a different methodological approach to address the imbalance. In Tanzania, the literature of population studies is centred on the theme of rural to urban migration, and employs economic variables to explain the causes and behaviour of the movers. Movers are said to be attracted to urban centres by wage employment and better living standards (Tripp 1998, Liviga & Mekacha 1998, Sabot 1975). The level of analysis presents a picture that economic motives are the sole cause of movement. Movement is seen as a strategy to escape rural poverty. The significance of culture and its influence has been overshadowed if not forgotten altogether because the culture of the rural people lies outside the purview of measurable economic variables used to analyse movement. Another implication is that movement is unidirectional - from rural areas to urban centres - save for a little return migration by the same people upon retirement or hardships in urban centres (Ritchey 1976, Bedford and Njeba 1998).

2.2 Objectives of the chapter

In this chapter, I depart from the mainstream literature of Tanzanian studies to focus on movement in or between specific rural areas at the level of households and tribe. I consider alternative cultural variables as influencing and determining the choice of the destination. This destination is the same rural area conceived of as a cultural territory or space by the movers. First I will outline the main points in the proposal of Chapman (1978, 1985 1991) to orientate my approach in the study of population movement. Two conceptual frameworks in the migration literature and the models resulting are then presented. The abundance of literature on different themes, methodologies and units of enquiry has prompted prominent scholars like Ritchey (1976) and Wood (1982) to attempt unifying conceptualisations or paradigms under which all studies can be grouped. Secondly I explore the inadequacy of the models presented by Wood and Ritchey using a holistic approach – one that combines economic and social relations to study movement. Thirdly I will draw attention to peoples' understanding of movement in meanings and the language used by the movers, their perception of space and home in order to develop a

cultural territory within which they move and which in part gives them a sense of unity and belonging or oneness.

2.3 A search for an alternative methodology: contesting current approaches and positioning self

The departure from the mainstream literature, the use of a cultural approach, and an examination of the language of the movers signals and initiates a shift towards: -

a) the study of population movement in rural areas instead of the current bias towards urban-ward movement in Tanzania,
b) greater understanding of perceptions of cultural space, language, and the life histories of movement, and
c) a venture to understand the meaning of movement as the movers understand.

The persistent one-sided approach to study population movement from rural to urban centres is prevalent in the literature for most developing countries (Vandsemb 1995, Chapman 1978, Uchendu 1975 and Mabogunje 1970). This approach to migration studies has prompted scholars to question the methodological approach and relevance of economic variables to explain movement, for notably in the Pacific Islands and Africa. Mabogunje and Chapman are among such eminent scholars. Mabogunje (1970) expresses this dissatisfaction of using western methodologies to study population mobility in third world countries, in particular in Africa, in these words: -

> Most theoretical formulations have been applied to conditions in the developed countries of the world and especially to urban to urban migrations. Their relevance for handling migratory movements from rural to urban areas and particularly in the circumstances of underdeveloped countries has hardly been considered. Yet, it is these areas of the world where rural-urban migrations are presently taking place...(1970: 1).

Out of this concern Mabogunje developed a systems model as a tool to study population mobility in underdeveloped countries of the third world. This model is discussed below. Chapman (1978: 562-565) on the other hand called for: -

a) A cross-cultural orientation to the study of population movement in developing countries to promote the cross fertilisation of ideas on movement among nations. The view is that knowledge gained in one area be used to understand the same phenomenon (movement) in another region to allow the discernment of similarities and continuities in movement,
b) A suitable methodology to address the phenomenon by identifying the variables and data collection techniques relevant to the area of study,
c) A review of the terminology used (metaphors and imagery) to capture the meaning of movement as perceived by the movers themselves, and
d) To establish continuities in the movement event among the people studied instead of focusing on isolated and discrete events of movement.

More specifically, Chapman (1991) was disenchanted with the metaphors and imagery developed in western countries, in particular in the USA that had been applied to the study of population movement in third world regions especially, the Pacific Islands. He writes: -

> Metaphors such as "rural-urban drift" and "circulation" or technical terms like "emigration" and "depopulation" that invoke powerful images, do not ipso facto convey the contemporary ebb and flow of Pacific Island movement, nor its inherently volatile and ambiguous character (1991: 265).

These statements suggest that terms detached from the contemporary reality of the movers do not convey the understanding or true meaning intended by those moving. In the absence of an alternative method, there is a tendency to "reduce a complex process to a mechanised sequence of discrete events, abstracted from the broader structural contexts of environment, history, culture, economy..." (ibid. 267). Population studies become more meaningful when local metaphors, characteristics and experiences are integrated into the internal dynamics underlying movement which is an external manifestation or an end result of indigenous understanding. Local forms (metaphors and imagery) have, for example, permitted an understanding of the Pacific Island communities – for example, in the Republic of Vanuatu. These people express the concepts and values of territorial

fixation and journeying through the metaphors of "tree and canoe" – terms that are contradictory but reconcilable in the cultural context and experience of Vanuatu (Bonnemaison 1985: 30). In a brilliant comment, Chapman states: -

> At one level, the movement of Pacific Islanders can be conceived in terms of creative ambiguity and controlled paradox; at another, it constitutes regional interaction and socio-economic interchange among many and varied peoples. Above all...island mobility involves the "sensation of moving, while standing still" (1991: 289).

In West Africa, Mabogunje (1972) notes the misunderstanding of the term *"mai gida"* that carries a richer and deeper meaning in the cultural context of the people than a simple literal translation of a "stranger" or "landlord" in English. Locally the term refers to a (native) person who owns more than two houses, who receives long distance traders, stores their merchandise, arranges for buyers using his local knowledge, and guarantees the sales. A *"mai gida"* combines the functions of a landlord, warehouse manager, employer of clerks to transact business, a middleman and broker cum insurer (1972: 88). Swindell (1977) speaks of the *"nevatanes"* coming to prosperous Gambia as a "highly mobile population who are voting with their feet". These metaphors of *"tree and canoe"*, *"mai gida"* and *"nevatanes voting with feet"* have meaning in specific cultural contexts of the movers in their respective regions. An understanding of movement in West Africa and Vanuatu has to be related to the metaphors of movement. These are, *'mai gida'* that facilitates the movement of people, *'tree and canoe'* that expresses the relationship of place and the identity of the people, and *'nevatane'* that describes a moving people taking advantage of their environment in a prolonged dry season. This perception gives meaning to movement in the context of the people as suggested by Chapman.

Chapman alerts us to the isolationist and reductionist tendencies that construct movements as discrete events devoid of historical antecedents. Movements take place in a people with histories and experiences observed in language, traditions and life histories or narratives. An understanding of metaphors and imagery in the language reveals

continuity between past and present as lived by a people in their environment. For example, a visit to a hospital or admission to a hospital bed today is a new version of a traditional visit to a traditional medicine man a few kilometres away in the next village. People with ailments went to stay at a traditional healer's house *(omufumu)* for days and months until full recovery (Field notes 2000). Similarly, Mabogunje (1972) mentions the circulatory movements in West Africa that are reminiscent of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' Trans-Saharan trade connecting the dry northern zone to the rainy forest at the coast. It is such historical links that can help explain both movement and ties maintained by urban dwellers to the rural areas. Similarities, meanings and patterns of movement should be used to inform researchers and enrich studies in population movement to give integrative and comparative approaches i.e., the cross fertilisation of ideas to understand movement. Using historical links and patterns of movement to study and understand movement from the movers' perspective, avoids flawed and simplistic arguments, for example one advanced by May (1977) that, "large scale movement in developing countries is a product of twentieth century and both result and cause of urban growth (1977:3). It is a denial of internal movement in these countries that amounts to denying a history of existence and a relationship between on the one hand past and current movements, and people and their environment on the other. This suggests that movements are novel and uni-directional events. It is difficult to employ such a statement when using a cultural or a humanistic approach to explain the meaning of and an understanding of movement in the world-view of the movers. It suggests that movement is new in the lives of the people and started with the advent of colonialism.

On the side of methodology Chapman (1985) asks a question I consider of paramount significance for both this study and the study of population movements as a whole: -

> To what extent, for the people involved, is this model congruent with their conception of movement, not to mention the values and orientation that underpin that conception and to what extent does this construct document and reflect continuities and transformations in the people's behaviour? (1985: 437)

This suggests that a model around which data is collected and interpreted must be relevant to the people observed as well as the variables measured. To Chapman and Mabogunje, applying a model developed in a western capitalist and market economy does not produce results that define and underpin movement. For example, macro-level analyses fail to get the life histories of individuals and families that are crucial to the understanding of movement in third world countries. Such life histories of movement of individuals and families can be obtained by longitudinal studies at micro-level. Micro-level analyses call for: -

a) less use of statistical and census data (that are not readily available in developing countries) and snap surveys that are likely to give post facto rationalisations as primary causes of movement,

c) appropriate choice of research instruments and units of analysis to reflect the values and perceptions of the people in their environment (Bedford 1985: 333 cited in Chapman 1985).

However, according to May (1977: 3) such life histories of movement are not necessary because movement is firmly anchored in the phenomenon of the indigenous people and resources being drawn to the urban nuclei and that this, and this alone, sets in motion the process of movement. This view would have us study movement as discrete events abstracted or devoid of an environment and context and would invariably deprive us of appropriate tools of analysis. May's view precludes traditional movements in developing societies and fosters the idea that movement in these societies is identical to that in developed countries by virtue of taking place under similar conditions of trade introduced by colonialism. This perception prevents an understanding of movement in developing countries and does not lead to comparative approaches to enrich studies in migration.

Another observation by Chapman (1991:287) is that dualist and dichotomous thinking present frames of reference that fail to generate an integrative impact capable of producing a comprehensive body of knowledge – an understanding of all forms of movement. Parallel and opposing terms are used like "migration and emigration", "rural and urban", "rich and poor", "village and town/urban centre", "sacred and profane",

"primitive and civilised", "core and periphery", and "developing and developed" etc. This dualist thinking reminiscent of western philosophy during the period of Enlightenment in the seventeenth century stresses differences in the economic framework instead of unity and similarities. It results in bi-polarism where the lower level or unit strives to assume a higher status, for example, from town to city and developing to developed. This dualist thinking remains problematic and antagonistic and unable to present a totality of movement, though some disciplines still believe in its efficacy defiantly. Crewe (1998) writing recently on development states that, "while we have found strict binary opposites in development to be artificial and misleading, we still propose that some consistent patterns can be found of which the dominance of certain types of groups is a feature (1998: 24).

In population studies, dualism has a stronghold in the mobility hypothesis developed by Zelinsky in 1971. The hypothesis that, *"There are definitive, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of modernisation process"* (1971: 221)(Italics in original) is reduced to eight statements. The first statement views migration as a movement in progress from a lower to a higher state with a table displaying the five stages of transition. He writes, *"a transition from a relatively sessile condition of severely limited physical and social mobility toward much higher rates of such movement always occurs as a community experiences the process of modernisation"* and he adds a little later *"essentially chronicle the trajectory from low to high values"* (ibid. 222)(Italics added). Though Zelinsky uses the dualist approach to describe mobility positively, the antagonism between developmental stages (Appendix 3) in the hypothesis remain and deny us the opportunity or chance to grasp the totality of movement phenomena placed in its own context. There is an inherent implication that movement occurs only when moving (upwards) to a higher state – there is no horizontal or downward movement! On the other hand, the emphasis on differences makes one believe that movement beyond what is held to be movement (i.e., from low to high) is not movement (i.e., high to low is not movement).

The foregoing discussion demonstrates amply the need for an alternative methodology that employs different instruments and units of enquiry in population movement to provide a comprehensive picture and understanding of movers. The critique of Chapman on migration studies – its failing to convey the "ebb and flow of Pacific Island movement" (Chapman 1991: 265) - leads to a closer look at the conceptual frameworks and models of migration studies towards societies that are more traditional. In this study, it enables the use of a cultural approach to the study of population movement in Tanzania, a country in which until now this methodology has not been used.

2.4. Approaches to migration studies: an overview and critique

Instead of answering the question "why people move?" the study of population mobility started by looking at movement from the countryside to urban centres (Ravenstein 1885, 1889). This reduced the multi-dimensional nature of migration to single factor explanations or motives (Kosinsk and Prothero 1985). Until today, in the USA, Europe, and Africa beginning in the 1960s (Parkin 1975), this bias has continued and population mobility is largely considered to be synonymous with "rural-urban migration". Kosinski & Prothero agree that, "The causes for human migration are extremely diversified. Only rarely can a move be attributed to one cause since in most cases several reasons operate. However, various situations can be identified which stimulate migration decision" (Kosinsk and Prothero 1975: 12). In the face of such multiple causes and explanations offered to understand the movement phenomenon, a critical challenge is to integrate these analyses into a comprehensive body of literature (Zelinsky 1983:19) and as I suggest to develop a unifying theory of mobility studies.

Taylor (1969) and Pryor (1975b) suggest that there is a need to integrate societal-level factors and individual motives for an adequate understanding of migration decision-making and subsequent behaviours. In retrospect, Pryor [even] doubts whether the answer to the question "why did you move?" constitutes analytically valid micro-level motives because one is likely to get post facto rationalisations (Pryor 1985 cited in Kosinski and Prothero 1985). This means a mover putting sense and order in past events

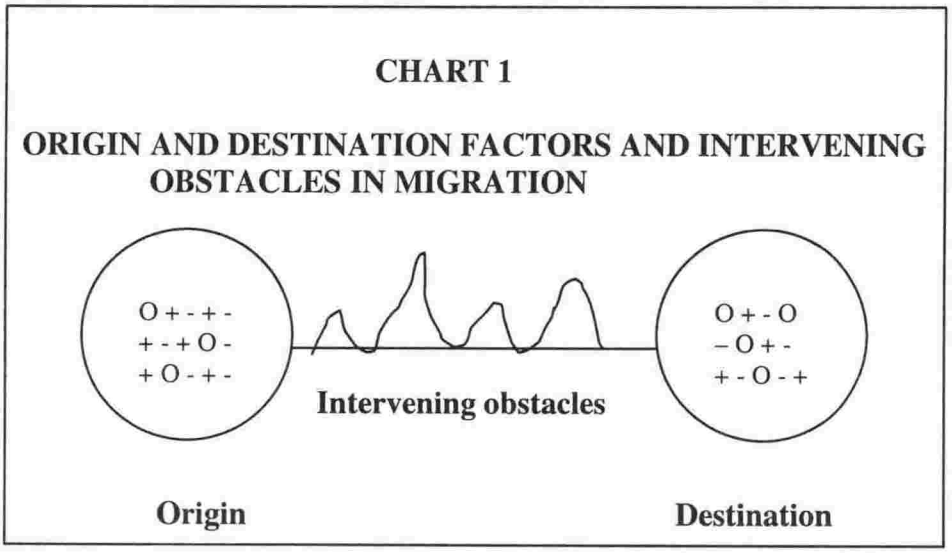
to make them plausible to a researcher. The motives provided by migrants might conceal the underlying causes of movement among people or those who have experienced upward social mobility as a result of movement.

The key to an integrative intellectual impact echoed by Chapman (1991: 267), and what Du Toit (1975a) calls a "multicasual nexus", is to move away from economic or size/distance determinism. Germani (1965 cited in Hauser 1965) advanced three levels of analysis namely the objective, normative and psychosocial levels for attaining this goal. Germani argues that to understand the working of objective influences, the view has to be taken from the psychosocial and normative contexts (in Hauser 1965: 163).

At the objective level, Germani includes all that may attract or repel an individual from particular locations. These would include availability of job opportunities, wage rates, educational opportunities, "bright lights" factors, and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of individuals who, influenced by them, would move or stay put. In this same category, he identified other objective factors pertaining to the nature and conditions of communications availability and information (contact between origin and destination). These are what Lee (1966) called push-pull factors in his theory, as depicted in the figure below.

In this chart, Lee represents factors that push a person to move by a negative sign. Positive signs represent factors that attract a person to stay put. The zero sign represents neutral factors that do not attract or repel a person in a community to move or stay put. Between the origin and destination points there are other factors that can impede or facilitate movement such as distance, flow of information, education, and age of a potential mover.

Figure 2.1 Origin and destination factors causing movement in Lee's theory of migration.



Source: Lee (1966:50) 'A Theory of Migration', Demography 3, p. 47-57.

Lee (1966)[6] observed that there are attractive and repulsive factors at origin and destination that push or repel and others that pull or attract a person to opt for movement or to stay put. The decision to move or stay put is in turn dependent on another set of factors encountered between the two points, namely the intervening obstacles such as distance and individual behaviour. For example, a person's fear of travel in new lands and a high degree of attachment to the family due to upbringing will impede movement. Similarly, distance and mode of transport between origin and destination can facilitate or hinder movement. The summary of factors that enter into the decision to move or stay are given as - a) factors associated with area of origin, b) factors associated with area of

[6] Lee (1966) writes a year after Germani (1965) but does not acknowledge him in his article "A Theory of Migration, Demography.

destination, c) intervening obstacles, and d) personal factors.

On the psychosocial level, the individual behaviour is significant as it can result in deviant behaviour from societal norms and practices. Social norms, beliefs, values and patterns of behaviour of a society are supposed to be internalised by each member of the household in order to act spontaneously and predictably for peace and harmony. This ideal social situation rarely exists and more particularly today where the influences of the media and changes in objective conditions prevail. Society members become dissatisfied with their roles in a changing society (of less employment, of becoming helpless and a sense of being a non-entity, of broken-down families and household ties etc.) so that they contemplate movement to go elsewhere i.e., taking flight. The movement is caused by the social stress experienced in a society and when there is a conviction of better conditions elsewhere, the potential to move increases. In this study, I argue that movement is not caused by stress but a desire and will to fulfil or conform to the customs on the part of community members.

At the normative level, Germani observes that objective conditions operate in a context established by a society i.e., culture. Culture provides a frame of reference through which evaluation of actions and ideas are made. Some cultures for instance shun mobility – a person is expected to be established in his/her cultural land while in other societies, mobility is credited with success. Taking the example of the Masai in Tanzania who treasure cattle as ultimate wealth, cattle raids are acts of bravery! This is 'disguised theft' but said to prove manhood [the alternative is to kill a lion] and a means to acquire more wealth. Behind the raids lies the idea of movement because one has to keep far away hiding the raided cattle to avoid reprisals from the owners. To accommodate this bravery/heroic act, constant mobility is built in the tribal norms and customs camouflaged in part as a search for better grazing pastures. For the Karamojong people in Northern Uganda, the aim of movement is to bring back the cattle that were taken to graze and never returned. When the cattle are successfully returned i.e. a successful raid, one has to move to avoid reprisals from previous owners who will come to reclaim them usually at a cost of blood (a counter raid). Among the Banyambo of Karagwe movement takes place

when one moves out of the kingdom. To understand mobility among the people, a degree of awareness of the norms, values and language of the movers is important but by no means the sole factors. Ideally each society has to be studied and evaluated separately. These three levels of analysis – normative, objective and psychosocial – indicate/dictate in their nature the analytical methods, types and sources of data to be used. Carrying out migration research at an objective level, the researcher can rely on aggregate census data, statistical data and snap shot surveys. Such studies largely remain at macro-level to formulate general statements. Using normative and psychosocial levels, on the other hand, allows closer contact with the people at the individual and family levels. Studies using normative and psychological methodologies involve in-depth interviews, longitudinal studies and above all the orientation and disposition of the researcher i.e., the field or academic discipline and cultural attitudes. The researcher also needs a lot of time in the study area.

Looking at the current migration studies, both Zelinsky (1983) and Chapman (1991) have in their owns ways observed that an intellectual impasse prevails in the field of migration studies. Zelinsky referred to the lack of a unified theoretical conceptual framework to improve understanding, explanation, description and prediction of migration or peoples' movement through creating new frontiers of understanding population movements. He observes that current literature is centred on the axiom that "...human beings will tend to gravitate from places having fewer advantages (however they are defined) to those having more. It goes almost without saying that cities are universally regarded as more privileged places than rural areas" (Zelinsky 1983: 20). He then gives nine approaches or theories to migration studies[7] that do not adequately explain the migration phenomenon among people, for example: -

a) the return migration to rural areas from the cities,

b) the parochial nature of the studies and lack of awareness of the advances made elsewhere, and

[7] The nine approaches dominating literature without new insights to understanding movement are listed as: - general empirical approach (Ravenstein 1885), the economic approach (Todaro 1976), human ecology (Duncan 1961), spatial migration (Reily 1931), cultural approach (Zelinsky 1966), sociological approach (Uhlenberg 1973), historical approach (Vance 1952), psychological approach (Ritchey 1976, Shaw 1975), and systems approach (Mabogunje 1970 and Wolpert 1966).

c) the assumption of déjà vu i.e., holding population movement in developing countries as repeat performance of the essential scenario already enacted in the advanced nations (ibid.: 23).

The issue is not the classification or grouping of the current literature but striking a new theory and methodology to help the understanding, description, explanation, and prediction of population movement. The diversity of culture, data collection techniques and sources, the very meaning of movement, mobility and migration terms among scholars of various disciplines and various linkages at local, regional, national levels have made for insurmountable research problems. Chapman had the same concern with specific reference to the Pacific Island region where migration studies did not address the totality of movement by combining economic, cultural and political factors. The mover was abstracted from society i.e., placed outside the households and culture as if the reasons for movement could be analysed using economic variables alone. In the Pacific region, movement is purposeful and sanctioned by the family and relatives so that the benefits accrue to entire household (Chapman 1991). To be sure, there is abundant literature on migration studies (Greenwood 1975, Adams et al 1978, Peterson 1978) but little attempt to synthesise this material into a conceptual framework that analyses movement from all perspectives i.e., economic, cultural and political, to develop a theory capable of taking migration studies forward. All the conceptual frameworks revolve around the axiom quoted above (Zelinsky 1983: 20).

Notable among these efforts are Wood's (1982) and Ritchey's (1976)[8] attempts to classify migration, but these remain at the discipline level in the method of enquiry and at the individual unit of analysis level. And this is where the impasse lies – a failure to create more research avenues that give new directions in the study of migration for a greater understanding of movement. Ritchey (1976) and Wood (1982) have provided two benchmark attempts to aid in the conceptualisation of movement. Ritchey takes a generic approach of three main classifications and Wood (1982) gives a methodological

[8] Classifications have also been made by Mangalam 1968, Shaw 1975, Simmons et al 1977, Campbell and Johnson 1976 and Elizaga 1972.

classification of two approaches. The classification of Wood using economic equilibrium and historical-structural configurations depend on the individual as the unit of analysis and remain largely at macro level scale. In contrast, since the 1980s, movement in the Pacific Island region has taken a different approach notably culture-based that views and analyses movement in terms of household strategies incorporating culture and economy as well as language (Bonnemaison 1985, Chapman 1985, Chung 1987, Young 1998). Halfacree (1993) supports this approach stating that: -

> ...we need to undertake in-depth investigation of the biography of migrants in order to gain appreciation of the intentions implicated in the migration decision. Such analysis will be considerably more time consuming than conventional approaches and so must be targeted at situations where we are after understanding and explanation rather than a quantification of migration (1993: 343).

Halfacree (1993) advocates a change of methodology and a new conceptual framework by urging migration studies to conduct in-depth investigations of biographies of movers in order to gain an appreciation of the intentions of the movers in arriving at decisions to move in a community. This approach will provide an understanding and explanation of movement instead of the quantification of migration. Unlike the locational decisions made at the time of effecting a move – the event that triggers movement - biographical studies include many aspects of the potential mover's life. This call to use humanistic methodologies and biographies to study migration results from a traditional European and American studies which is still entangled in the quantitative approach to explain migration. When Halfacree was writing in 1993 population studies in developed countries were at a crossroads. Specific studies were not generating new theories that would enable a researcher to understand the totality of movement and propel the field of migration to new horizons. Work was at an impasse to use the language of Chapman (1991: 263). Later Halfacree (1993) described this as a 'challenge in migration studies'. Be it an impasse or challenge, the concern was to table a theoretical framework to guide migration studies and enable researchers to understand, describe, explain and predict the movement of people in its totality. Halfacree, based in the United Kingdom (Swansea University),

considered the UK and USA migration literature to be overly immersed in the macro approaches that preferred to use measurable characteristics of socio-economic and physical environments to explain migration, while the decision making process was restricted to the micro level. Both targeted the individuals as unit of analysis. White (1980) favoured a unified approach in the discipline to avoid developing a separation within geography and from other social sciences. To counter these developments, a new theoretical framework – one that does not necessarily combine macro and micro level analyses was deemed essential. The way out was perceived to be one of leaning more to micro level approaches where the movers are involved rather than keep to a purely macro level where the sense made of migration could be easily reduced to quantifiable variables in the behavioural tradition (Halfacree 1993: 333). Moving beyond the decision making process to the behavioural approach advocated by Wolpert (1965) created a snag how to account for the potential mover remaining passive in the face of a decision and principally reacting to the external environment. Halfacree envisages the development of a conceptual framework that will: -

a) Consider the event of movement as part of a person's life trajectory involving the past, present and the future. Movement is an action in time instead of an event to be studied at the time of occurrence meaning a physical event or relocation. A theory that studies movement as an action in time will link movement to other events in the life history of a person and avoid the post facto rationalisations of the mover. For example, a mover leaving a point of origin out of a desire to live with a relative may, in later years, argue that the move was motivated by a desire for better educational opportunities using the knowledge gained in the new place. At the time of movement/relocation, there might have been little educational appreciation now gained in the new community.

b) Use one or more reasons to explain population movement in recognition of the multiple causes as expressed by Kosinsk and Prothero that, "The causes for human migration are extremely diversified. Only rarely can a move be attributed to one cause since in most cases several reasons operate" (1985: 12). Most importantly is the fact that macro level analyses seek to generalise and create

broad categories based on principal reason(s). In a complex study such reason(s) inadvertently overshadow other reasons presumed to be secondary or trivial yet highly significant. Using the example above, a move inspired by a desire to live with a relative is thought to be subordinate to educational appreciation. In the sequence of events, the prime motive is to live with relatives and education is a rationalisation but assumes primacy later.

c) Give consideration to culture that expresses one's loyalties, values and other attachments an individual acquires from society. Moreover culture sees and talks about migration – as a worldview culture expresses and defines migration. Halfacree is unhappy (with western migration literature) that culture has been ignored yet introduced by Fielding (1989, 1992a) and not followed up in western literature of population movement. I suggest that the sidelining of culture in western migration literature is due to the studies being conducted in urban areas of the developed world where individual freedom and individualism are the norm. The advantages of such a theoretical framework would counter the inadequacies expressed, namely quantification and seeing migration as a discrete event or action. Culture involves the human action in context and gives the mover a voice. There is no single moment when an individual stands apart to examine the options of movement or choice of a destination in isolation. The decision is made in the context of a life situation using a stack of knowledge gained before and through which one sees the future. The future action, i.e., migration, has to be seen in both the present and the past that shape the person. This past and present are part of culture to be attained through the voices of the people in narratives. [Wood (1982) would have added the household to get the life histories of movement and Chapman (1978,1981) would have made explicit mention of the language of the movers.]

Skeldon (1995) felt uncomfortable with the call of Halfacree essentially on two key points. Skeldon argues that Halfacree has ignored literature in developing countries such as the studies of Chapman (1985,1991), Prothero (1985), Fuller (1983) and the United Nations (1993). This is seen as western parochialism and invites Halfacree to keep

abreast with developments in population studies outside the USA and UK. He says: -

> We can and must learn from each other if population geography is going to be at all viable...Rather than new approaches, conceptualisations or paradigms, the real need is for a greater awareness of existing work (1995: 94).

The second substantive point is that Halfacree is repeating a call without a contribution to the theory. Skeldon prefers an application of the theory rather than a repetition of a summary of the literature on migration.

2.4.1 The generic classification of Ritchey

A brief consideration of the classification of migration literature by Ritchey (1976) and Wood (1982) is in order to highlight the foregoing critique and the shift I make in this study (as explained in Chapter 4). To be sure the literature is abundant and attempts to classify are conjectural or arbitrary – one is based on generic types and the other on methodology. The two approaches converge on the variables to be measured and the units of enquiry used (i.e. the individual) in the study and the axiom of scant to plenty. Ritchey uses a generic classification to group migration literature into: - a) literature based in labour mobility studies, b) literature based in social demographic studies, and c) the cognitive behavioural studies approach.

Labour mobility studies use the classical competitive model of factor mobility (the transfer or movement of the factors of production e.g. labour, capital and land) in the production process of the capitalist or market economy. The movement of population from rural to urban areas is conceived to be a relocation of labour in response to the market needs (Ritchey 1976: 364). Population movement occurs as a response to the differences in wage earnings between rural and urban areas and this flow of movement increases as income augments. There are two obvious assumptions implied in these studies, namely that: -

a) The mover is a rational human being always attracted by increased earnings

i.e., monetary incentives to the exclusion of other motives or influences that can stimulate movement, and

b) Perfect competition and full employment – concepts that remain idealistic because knowledge of opportunities for employment is not evenly spread, workers are less homogenous in skills and tastes, as well as the existence of barriers to mobility which can be social or economic.

The emphasis of generic labour mobility studies is centred on the labour-earning-migration axis and suggests that net migration be positively related to increases in the earning levels. Studies using this approach examine, for example: -

a) The relationship between the individual and the economic opportunities to determine and explain the causes of movement or migration,

b) The nature of the labour force with reference to their skills and tastes. These studies suggest that skilled persons are highly mobile disregarding other factors like kinship ties and family size,

c) The distance between origin and destination points. Distance is assumed to deter migration unless trade-offs are made such as additional incomes for any increased distance. The pioneering work of Zipf (1946) of gravity model between two centres of different sizes and attractions is often used as a base on which trade-offs are made.

The social democratic genus: The studies of population movement using this approach are more concerned with an individual's attributes at both structural and social psychological levels. The individual mover is distilled or valued in terms of his/her position in society, social-economic ranking, kinship and community ties, life-style as well as the group ranking especially where number-count is critical i.e., majority versus minority status.

At the social-psychological level motives, aspirations, values and perceptions are considered to determine the causes of movement. It is a combination of both structural and social-psychological factors that account for movement in the environment. A typical

example of this genus is Lee (1966) who considers the push and pull factors at origin and destination points as well as the personal attributes and intervening obstacles simultaneously.

The social demographic genus has three windows through which the movement of people is studied. The first concerns movement and individual attributes where life cycles assume prominence. Miller (1966) and Bogue (1969) argue that movement is high among people between the teens and early thirties and slows down dramatically there after. It is explained that this age group is most active and educated without family or personal career commitments and therefore is free to move. As they have just entered employment, movement is a sign of job search – an indirect way of saying that movement in capitalist economies is highly linked with unemployment. A changing life cycle to adulthood i.e., big family and community ties imply less movement.

A second window approaches the subject of migration through socio-economic factors. Occupation, education and income become factors that propel movement. Bogue (1969) for instance, argues that professionals and middle-range executives are far more prone to migrate than the blue-collar workers and labourers because of their relative skills in demand. On the relationship between education and migration Kirschenbaum (1971), Lee (1971), and Shaw (1975) suggest that lack of education is a barrier to migration. Adhering to this statement would imply that there is no movement in rural areas where both education and employment are nowhere to be found. Karagwe rural district lacking in education and employment opportunities or urban centres would top the list with no movement unless a study using a different methodology is undertaken like the one at hand. After an investigation of professional workers, Ladinsky (1967a) argues that migration is related to income. Similarly youths are highly mobile in pursuit of career achievement after a good educational level where their skills are in high demand.

The third window of the social demographic genus investigates the significance of movement to community and kinship ties of individuals. The presence of relatives and friends in an area is said to constrain migration due to the attachment of the individual to

the family (the affinity hypothesis). Familism or a high degree of attachment to one's family restricts the movement of people. In another study in the USA, Uhlenberg (1973) suggests that there is a facilitating and information hypothesis that induces or helps a person to move. This hypothesis reverses the affinity and familism hypothesis said to hinder movement. For example the presence of relatives in distant places creates an attraction to a potential mover and the information received (through visits) adds to the decision to move (Choldin 1973: 163-175).

Ritchey considers lastly the cognitive behavioural approach, which at the time the classification was prepared in 1970s, little research had been undertaken in the field using a UK/USA background. He observes, "Basic to this approach is the idea that spatial preferences are subjective evaluations, and the perceived attractiveness or perception of residential desirability of alternative locations is a critical element in the decision-making process of migration and a critical determinant of migration and its direction" (1976:397).

2.4.2 A brief critique of the generic classification

Limited observations can be made on the generic classification proposed by Ritchey as detailed consideration with individual authors/scholars is beyond the scope of this study. Some general remarks are in order. First the classifications are directed at research studies carried out in the western capitalist market economy notably the USA and there is hardly mention of a developing country. The studies are/were concerned with rural to urban and inter urban movement with no mention of inter and intra rural movements. The flow of movement is to the urban centres and special difficulties arise to explain the counter-stream movements back to the rural areas. Similarly it is difficult to explain the movement to urban centres when rural people have very little income to meet travel and settling costs as well as the lack of information characteristic of rural areas. The models in these classifications do not explain how the intervening obstacles to migration are surmounted. The assumption of homogeneity of skills and tastes of the worker and the assumed rationality of the mover (Sjaastad 1962, Bodenhofer 1967) lead to difficulties on the nature of people and the extent to which migration is an investment in human capital.

To understand migration as human investment with stress on income earnings creates difficulties of comprehending movement in rural areas where people are not educated and are without employment prospects.

I have mentioned in the above presentation that familism and affinity hypotheses constrain movement. In rural areas, however, these values are cherished and moves originating from them are positively perceived because of strengthening social, clan and tribal ties. The proponents of these conceptual frameworks would argue that there is no movement in rural communities owing to the strong family, clan and tribal bonds. Ritchey, for example, argues emphatically that, "A large family through marriage, childbearing and ageing of children increases one's ties to the community. Therefore, each of these factors is an impediment to migration" (Ritchey 1976: 380).

The last general observation I would like to stress is that these generic classifications do not give a mover the opportunity to describe what movement is and how it is understood in the local context. The movers appear to be bombarded with questions in survey research and hardly given a chance to tell their own movement experiences. The culture of the people and their language are completely absent in the literature reviewed and classified. These studies look at individuals deciding and acting at a time the movement is to be made without past connections and influences or being influenced from outside by an external stimuli.

2.4.3 Wood's classification of the migration literature

Wood (1982) classifies the current literature into two broad categories namely the economic equilibrium and historical-structural approaches. The economic equilibrium approach, with many variant models, relies on the presumption of the rational calculus of the individual. He writes: -

> Research carried out by the North American scholarly community typically relies on a microeconomic model of migration. In this framework the rational calculus of the individual actor is presumed to achieve an equilibrium of the

> spatial distribution of the factors of production through the geographic mobility of labour (Wood 1982: 299).

Within this broad approach, models based on the same principle come out as: -

a) The purely economic model represented by Sjaastad (1962), Shaw (1975), Todaro (1976),

b) The spatial model represented by Zipf (1946),

c) The behavioural and decision-making model represented by Wolpert (1975), Taylor (1969), De Jong (1981), and

d) The mathematical model of Lowry (1966) and Shaw (1975).

The historical-structural approach has a macro level analysis and was developed by social scientists in Latin America and Africa in response to difficulties encountered in applying the microeconomic models to developing countries (Wood 299). The distinction between the two approaches lies in the position of the mover [as an independent actor or a dependent and vulnerable actor] as a unit of analysis to investigate movement, the historical specificity of the investigations, and the methodological strategies. In microeconomic models, the individual actor/migrant is the centre of investigation in so far as he/she is involved in rational calculations of a decision to move or stay put. The historical-structural approach considers the individual as vulnerable and reacting or confronting the political and economic environment i.e., the origin of the costs and benefits out there. The individual is confronted by relationships in the environment and has to adjust by moving or staying. This difference between the two approaches lies in understanding who the migrant is – an individual acting rationally and making decisions to move or stay put. And alternatively conceiving a migrant as a person reacting to the environment signals a degree of determinism - political and economic – where individual freedom is limited. Wood suggests that the unit of analysis should be moved to a mid-point for the two approaches to have a common understanding and this he calls a 'household'. He writes, "The wide disparity in the level of investigation suggests the possibility of integrating the two approaches by shifting the focus of migration research

to an intermediate unit of analysis – the household (ibid. 300). I argue that this shift has limited contribution to understanding the meaning of movement unless life experiences and the language of the movers are integrated into it.

2.5 The anatomy of the economic equilibrium approach

The movement of people in terms of the neo-classical economic framework is considered or conceptualised as the geographical mobility of workers responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources. The location of any of these factors of production creates imbalance and unequal returns in the production process. Usually capital can be transferred to where it is required, land scarcity and exhaustion of natural resources lead to relocation and/or abandonment of an area. But for labour, the tendency is to move from where capital is scarce to where it is plentiful as well as where it (labour) is in short supply – and this explains its high cost. The movement of labour is said in this sense to be productive and desirable for economic development and also correct the imbalances of factor returns (Spengler and Myres 1977). The area of out-migration benefits from remittances and upon the return of movers as agents of change especially to rural origins. The numbers of movers would continue to rise resting upon individual decisions in pursuit of greatest returns i.e., a rational evaluation of benefits at destination. The levelling off would be a point in time when the expected incomes/benefits start falling. The often-quoted proponent of this model is Todaro (1976). Others proponents include Sjaastad (1962) and Rothenberg (1977). The methodological analysis is centred upon the rational individual on the calculation of benefits – and therefore working at micro-level stripped of the environment.

2.5.1 A critique of the models in this approach

The models in the equilibrium perspective have been widely used in migration studies in developing countries because of their apparent simplicity and mathematical candour. They give the impression that disequilibrium and/or economic imbalances once removed between areas will cause migration to slow down or halt altogether. This is based on the

assumption that people move to maximise benefits in rich areas (where factors of production are more productive) in line with the axiom identified by Zelinsky (see above). Germani (1965) cautions that,

> ...while rural-urban migration in developed countries is related mainly to increases in the labour demand created by urban industrial growth, in developing countries mass movements towards the cities take place when such new and better employment opportunities are extremely low or even completely lacking (1965: 160 – cited in Hauser 1965).

To account for Germani's graphical statement (also echoed by the critique of Zelinsky 1983: 22-25), a brief critique of the model is necessary, and, more particularly that the critique highlights other differences with the historical-structural approach at the lowest level.

1. The equilibrium model has an inherent fallacy that equilibrium and migration can co-exist. This means that an economy moves towards equilibrium as a result of migration. The fallacy is contained in the understanding that migration is - a) induced by imbalances created by unequal distribution of resources, and b) is a mechanism by which equilibrium is attained and maintained.
2. The notion that market forces especially of labour demand will achieve an optimum distribution of population tells governments to adapt a laissez faire attitude in the politics of a state (Greenwood 1975), Portes (1978). Amin (1974) sees this as a means to achieve a status quo by preserving the exploitative class in a country.
3. The model is inappropriate to nations that have not fully developed a capitalist market economy as Germani (1965) points out. Laclau (1971) questions such an application where traditional and capitalist modes of production co-exist.
4. The model captures the action of the rational individual calculating person i.e.; the decision to move which is only an external manifestation of the overall development trend.

2.5.2 Two examples of the approaches: Todaro and Mabogunje models

Todaro Model – widely used variant in developing countries: -

The economic equilibrium approach encompasses many models. Todaro (1967) developed a model in his Ph.D. dissertation that has become one of its many variants. It was published in 1969[9] and also his book on "Internal Migration in Developing Countries (1976: 35-36) where four essential points are presented: -

> 1. Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological,
> 2. The decision to migrate depends on "expected" rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials where the "expected" differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the actual urban-rural wage differential *and* the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban modern sector,
> 3. The probability of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate,
> 4. Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but also rational and probable in the face of continued positive urban-rural *expected* income differentials. High rates of urban unemployment are therefore inevitable outcomes of the serious imbalances of economic opportunities between urban and rural areas of most under-developing countries (1976: 35-36) (Italics and quotes in original).

The model presented by Todaro was embraced by many developing countries in their efforts to stem rural to urban migrations in various ways. In Tanzania this was done under the decentralisation programme of 1972 (GoT: Act No 2).[10] The government directed among many other things the spread of industry to rural areas in the regions. It was hoped that the rural people would not be attracted to the urban centres with employment at their doorsteps and wages paid to them. This rationale led to mislocation of industries and

[9] Todaro M. P., (1969). "A model in labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries", in The American Economic Review, March 1969: 138-148.

[10] Government of Tanzania, The Decentralisation of Government Administration Act of 1972, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1972.

wastage of resources by ignoring the location of raw materials. But more emphatic is Todaro's statement that: -

> However, there now seems to be widespread agreement among economists and non-economists alike that migration can be explained primarily by the influence of economic factors (1976: 26).

The systems model developed by Mabogunje: -

Mabogunje (1970) developed the systems model due to dissatisfaction with theories developed in western societies to study rural to urban movements in Africa. He looks at rural-urban movements in Africa as a system controlled by systematic relationships of rural areas: control systems, adjustment mechanisms of rural areas, control systems and adjustment mechanisms of urban systems, the negative and positive feedback channels, and the stimuli to movement. This stimuli includes both push and pull factors identified by Lee's model (Figure 2.1). He identifies basic interacting elements, their attributes and relationships. The model has all the characteristics of a system and its definition i.e., a complex of interacting elements together with their attributes and relationships in an environment. The environment comprises "the set of all objects a change in whose attributes affects the system, and also those objects whose attributes are changed by the behaviour of the system" (1970: 3). Essentially he informs us that the impact of a mover has to be studied in relation to home/origin and destination. The mover affects or modifies the environment in as much as he is affected or modified by it. A mover affects his/her family socially and economically and the destination is affected by his/her labour and mores etc. Hence a rural mover is subject to the nuclear and extended family relationships and the community that determine who and when a member can move e.g. leaving for marriage or upon adulthood leaving the family. In the urban area, among the control mechanisms are residential and job availability. There is however scant evidence to suggest that this model developed to explain rural to urban mobility in Africa is used by researchers. There are general statements that are implied in the model that rural areas lose their able working population to urban centres. For example Findlay (1987) observes that migration impacts on both origin and destination by: -

> ...re-distributing the economically most productive and demographically most fertile elements of the population. This operates to the cumulative detriment of regions of out-migration. Many rural studies have shown that areas with rural out-migration experience a reduction in their productive capacity because of having insufficient labour at harvest time (1987: 61).

2.6 The historical-structural approach

This approach views movement as a response to structural societal transformations in the history of their development. Movement is occasioned by socio-economic and political changes that lead to the exploitation of labour through unequal appropriation of natural resources and the value produced by labour. In order to study movement, a probe into the pressures and counter-pressures at internal and external levels has to be done. As the political and economic structures determine the labour demand in quality and quantity, peoples' mobility follows the pattern. Basically, the individual has no choice but to respond to these demands and so the analysis is macro-social. Structural changes in society are primary while individual motives are secondary. The unit of analysis becomes the flow or stream of people who move in response to structural factors identified by their relationships instead of why the individual made the move. Proponents like Singer (1973) stress the emergence and expansion of capitalist mode of production, Bonacich and Hirata (1981) stress the unequal development with and between nations while Lopes (1973) and Portes (1981) focus on the development model pursued by a country. Notable among its variants is the dependence model popularised in Latin America and Africa.

2.6.1 A brief critique of the historical-structural approach and its models

The historical-structural approach differs from the economic equilibrium approach, which focuses on the individual rational decision-making (unit of analysis) by focusing on social relations of production between areas as primary causes of migration. The approach stresses this difference and argues that migration models based on wage and

price differentials are best applied to a capitalist mode of production. The capitalist mode of production has created a free labourer who transports himself/herself [at no cost to capital and] to areas where labour is in demand.

1. This drive to stress the importance of social relations of production has led to another extreme of scant attention to factors that can motivate individual movers. The models in the historical-structural approach do not engage in identifying specific costs and benefits facing a potential mover nor are social networks brought into perspective. The individual or potential mover is subsumed in a larger system and considered to respond passively to the production system. Inspired by Marxist thinking, migration patterns are explained in terms of changes in the organisation of production systems that unequally affect the society's members. In this way movement – both event and intention – is linked to external forces lying outside the society and indirectly denying long established movements among people.

2. The unit of analysis in this approach is the system of production and associated classes of people (owners of the means of production and the free labourer/proletariat) and the movement that is effectively being explained. In a perfect correlation, the individual labourer would always move in response to changes. In reality, however, the individual has adjustment mechanisms as options to resist movement. Taking a family as a unit of analysis, members of the family can be seen to engage in multiple activities to improve their lives, maintain the social networks of relations including family coherence and thereby resist movement. Thus to overlook entirely the individual actor in the study of movement and rely on production relations does create problems of understanding.

2.6.2 The dependence model – a variant of the approach

Sir W. Arthur Lewis developed this model in 1954 shortly after the "Point Four of President Harry Truman Inaugural Address on 20th January 1949" in the USA. The President started the development debate when he said: -

> ...with the co-operation of business, private capital, agriculture...this programme can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living...we envisage a programme of development (Rist 1997: 71).

Using this policy statement, Sir Arthur developed a model that centred on the relationship between two nations with capital flowing from one to the other as seen in the USA pioneering example to help other countries. The USA Government was out to help the development of the nations by deploying capital and technological assistance. The developing countries would expand their urban industrial sector production that required labour said to be abundant in the rural areas [from western experience]. Wages in the urban industrial sector would be higher to attract people but still remain constant because of the competition from rural areas and creation of new jobs from re-invested capital i.e., profits. With continual investment in the modern sector, labour from the rural areas would continue to come but always balanced with job creation. From this perspective, movement was desirable for increased production. This conception of movement of labour and the production process did not envisage on-going developments in technology i.e., labour saving machines and that profit would be spent elsewhere instead of re-investment which would disturb the expected equilibrium. Myrdal (1968) supported this observation and commented that the static economy of South Asian countries was due to the fact that additional income or profits being generated were lost to host countries through remittances abroad or spent on imported life style commodities. Other assumptions were that people would be rational and refrain from coming to urban centres once job opportunities ceased and that investors especially foreigners would not opt to invest elsewhere. It was anticipated that once movement started, it would continue to flow "...so long as the 'expected' urban real income (i.e., the wage times the probability

of finding a job) exceeds real agricultural income at the margin – i.e., potential rural migrants behave as maximisers of expected utility" (Todaro 1976: 37). The essence of this model remains the exploitation driven by the neo-colonial capitalist economy (now globalisation) that brought the economies of third world countries into its ambit. It is therefore vital to study population movement by looking at possible relationships connecting places and people using a different methodology and different units of analysis in order to explain the movement of people in rural areas.

2.7 The approaches/models discussed in relation to Chapman: an internal critique

The outlined conceptual frameworks exhibit the weaknesses pointed out by Chapman and to a lesser extent by Mabogunje. There is agreement between the work of the two scholars that the frameworks are externally designed and are inappropriate to describe local mobility. Mabogunje does not, however, address directly the technical terms used, the language of the movers and the culture of the people. He provides a conceptual framework that invites a researcher to pay attention to the interrelationships and attributes of the elements comprising the system. The basic concern of the model is to demonstrate the contribution of the movers at the point of destination in a study of population mobility in West Africa. He states that, "...innovative entrepreneur-ship in pre-industrial societies was often supplied by strangers and traders" (Mabogunje 1972: 25). Such innovation could result from an entire craft family migrating but more particularly out of a clash of ideas that provoke comparisons and critical discussions leading to a discovery of new methods. This is the nexus to resource development described as an opportunity in the environment that has been identified and appraised by a population of potential users. To Mabogunje, resource development covers all primary productive activities of agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining (Mabogunje 1972: 31) but is careful to distinguish resource development from economic development. Economic development revolutionises production techniques while the former can simply imply expansion alone. Taking an example, an increase in coffee crop can be occasioned by increased participation of villagers and more land without application of fertilisers or better crop husbandry!

The key contribution Mabogunje makes is his idea or assertion that: -

> ...migrants contribute more than their physical labour to the development of resources. Their major role is often innovators in terms of institutions, techniques, values or actual physical objects created or introduced into the environment" (ibid. 81).

The call he makes to change the model is to alert researchers to the interactions between systems – i.e., origin and destination communities and the relationship of the two. He remains silent on the continuity of movement and the influence of culture on the movement event as a mover leaves a rural area for an urban place. The mover is seen transforming institutions, values and techniques but is not shown to have moved out due to the influences of social interactions in the cultural territory or home.

Mabogunje does not show clearly the importance of and the definition of 'home', although it is mentioned when referring to the formation of ethnic organisations. The objectives of these organisations in the destination communities are: -

a) Receiving and initiating new movers in an urban area,

b) Fostering loyalty and contacts with home area,

c) Mutual aid cum insurance for members of an ethnic area,

d) Helping in development activities back home like building churches, mosques and schools,

e) Resolution of conflicts between members as well as between members and the host community, and

f) Extending credit facilities to members whose institutional development has resulted in the establishment of local banks.

The relationship between people and land is not shown. He shows people maintaining close ties without spelling out their significance vis-à-vis home and land in the pre-industrial contexts.

In his West African study, besides the new model introduced, there are terms from the language of movers. The term *"mai gida"* translated poorly as a landlord has been noted. Other terms include *"esusu"* to describe a lending system of a credit union, the *"huza"* meaning a piece of land bought by a group of people who may or may not be kinsmen, but who act for the purpose under one leader (ibid. 93) for the migrants to sustain themselves. These terms are relevant to movement as they are developed in the context of movement by the movers to negotiate a living.

Another salient issue Mabogunje notes is identity (discussed in the section below) in pre-industrial societies, and land ownership. He confirms that land "resided permanently in the family as a corporate entity and could not be alienated by any of its individual members (ibid. 26). This is in contrast to an industrialised economy that heightens the tempo of exchange throwing land ownership into the melting pot of negotiable assets. In an industrialised society, land becomes a commodity for sale unlike the traditional society where land remains a family property within a clan or tribe structure. It could be given as a gift to a needy person following expansion of the family or sold, but only in consultations with the members involved. The members of the family and clan who own the land form a constellation of kinsmen for social position and personal identification that preclude movers/strangers (ibid. 27). However, Mabonguje is silent as to whether there was movement of people in the family and clan lands and what was their understanding of this movement.

Identification and status are part of the hereditary structure not easily acquired outside the lineage. In traditional or pre-industrial society, social mobility and personal identification are circumscribed whereas in industrialised societies they are by ascription and open i.e., self-made. The advent of industry creates social and spatial mobility but disrupts or breaks up kinship ties and life styles. The status assignment derived from individual qualities and achievements are against the traditional socialising processes whose intent and purpose is to make individuals conform to norms, values and standards of the society. This conflict can be resolved in the adjustment mechanisms of the systems in rural and urban areas.

In the context of Chapman's work, the models presented are silent on the links between past and present movements. Mabogunje was keen to show interrelationships of the system and its attributes while Todaro shows the links between expected incomes and movers. These views barely account for historical connections rather they show discrete events. Movement is normally purposeful and inter-linked to past events. Sahlins (1985) informs that when Captain Cook appeared among the Hawaiians in January 1879, his strangeness was instantly interpreted as the arrival of a god 'O Lono' associated with natural growth and human reproduction annually visiting or returning to the islands (1985: 105). The people of Hawaii placed the visit in the historical context – with a precedent and an actualisation of general phenomenon. Effectively movement repeats itself or is repeated by movers acting on past knowledge of return migrants. Baxter (1973) and Harris (1972) agree that the knowledge brought back by earlier migrants tends to increase movement since it removes potential migrant's fears of the unknown. This is to say that a movement is not isolated but a repetition of a past one and whose linguistic meaning is to be understood in that context.

The linguistic meaning and continuity of movement are illustrated by examples from the Solomon Islands' conflict between the 1978 Constitution and the customary land tenure system and the study of Lakeban people in Fiji (Young 1998). The study of Young on the people of Lakeba – an island of the Lau-group reveals movement to be a bonding mechanism promoting continuity with the past, linking time and place. The movement of Lakeban people emphasises relationships – people move to trace relationships, to revive links that hold society together by expressing their identity to land. On the other hand as movement is being made to create a sense of belonging/identity one re-enacts or traces earlier routes by previous persons. A network of routes, albeit imaginary, is established where people move to stay or visit their kin now living in different places including Suva the capital city. Movement traces relationships among siblings, establishes land rights or legitimacy to land and is a continuation of and repetition of past movements in previous generations. Movement becomes a metaphor or more precisely a pathway to express the meaning and continuity by defining a people and establishing their legitimacy to the land.

In the Solomon Islands on the other hand under the republican constitution of 1978, Chapter 2 – The protection of fundamental rights and freedom of the individual, section 14 states: -

> 14. -(1) No person shall be deprived of his freedom of movement, and for the purposes of this section the said freedom means the right to move freely throughout Solomon Islands, the right to reside in any part of Solomon Islands, the right to enter Solomon Islands and immunity from expulsion from Solomon Islands (Solomon Islands 1978: 154).

This section guaranteeing freedom of movement and residence contradicts the customs of the people until today. The section caused a heated debate during the 1987 Constitutional Review Commission with people seeking its abrogation or amendment because it permitted encroachment on customary land tenure system (Chapman 1991: 282-83). The concept of freedom of movement is incompatible with and contradicts traditional practices. In these islands, land under customary land tenure accounts for 80% and the remaining 20% of the land belongs to the crown or government. Under the customary land tenure system, land is held/owned, for example, among the "Lukuili" tribe/line of Guadalcanal islands, by the clans or "tina" exclusively. The "Lukuili tribe speak "Gari" language. Persons from other lines or tribes called "Puku" or "Duli" are forbidden to occupy or use the "tinaland" of Lukuili without the owners' consent – a contradiction to the article above (Personal communication with Sir John Muria – Chief Justice of the Solomon Islands, 2001).[11] During the working sessions of the Constitutional Review Commission, it was suggested that line/tribe identity cards or visitor's passes be issued to citizens moving about partly to both identify and prevent illegal "tina" land occupation. This strategy to safeguard the land tenure system under custom was rejected by the government and Paragraph 3; Clause D of Section14 in the Constitution was upheld, where he [Sir John Muria] bases judgements that effectively safeguard the customary

[11] This discussion parallels the one of Chapman (1991: 282-283) but the version of Lukuili tribe/line of Guadalcanal was given to me by Sir John Muria – the Chief Justice of the Solomon Islands in 2001 in Wellington, New Zealand. I shared a flat with him for one year while he was doing his LLM specialising in land issues at Victoria University of Wellington. He was generous to avail to me the constitution of Solomon Islands and assisted in the interpretation of relevant sections and his personal experiences of land problems in the republic were a big contribution to my understanding. He comes from Guadalcanal Island where the seat of government is in Honiara town.

practices. He admits the judgements are not providing a lasting solution to land issues dealt with. The clause states: -

> (3) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of this section to the extent that the law in question makes provision –
> (d) For the imposition of restrictions on the acquisition or use by any person of land or other property in Solomon Islands (1978: 154).

The observation of Chapman in this scenario is very articulate as follows: -

> To propose, as one solution, the provision of identity cards, visitors' passes, or provincial passports to all Solomon Islanders is to consider only the symptoms – the fact of movement – rather than the many complex and interrelated processes that have created a situation of conspicuous mobility. *Like villagers throughout the island Pacific, Solomon Islanders do not move around aimlessly* (ibid. 283)(Italics mine).

Elaborating further on the meaning of movement, Chapman suggests that movement connects a web of kinship spread over other places and Pacific rimlands implying visits to relatives. Movement also helps to subsidise needs by acquisition of cash, and finally it is a technique of taking advantage of two worlds – contemporary to earn cash or gain education and traditional where inalienable rights of inhabitants to the land remain.

This interpretation of movement is not captured in the models above nor recent studies described in Tanzanian migration literature. Sabot (1975) argues that "the excess supply of urban labour increases until there is equality between the expected income of migrants, the product of the urban wage and the probability of obtaining a job and the rural wage" (1975: 2). Sabot falls into what Chapman calls the 'tallying trap' (Chapman 1991: 265) when a subsidiary aim is "to document the economic background of migrants and the demographic and educational composition of the migrant stream...(1975: 15). Focusing on labour, the rural-urban bias makes Sabot begin his work with the advent of colonialism in 1900 and by implication that movers have no prior history of movement or that his methodology cannot lay hands on traditional movements outside the money

economy. In the same vein, Liviga and Mekacha (1998) conclude their study on youth migration to urban areas arguing that movement is a product of meagre qualitative improvement of rural life and the failure of the government to stimulate rural development in Tanzania (1998: 42). This conclusion derives from their assumption that poverty is both a cause and a result of rural youth migration and is connected to the colonial contacts. He asserts that prior to colonisation of Africa, population movements were associated with warfare, natural calamities and search for fertile new settlements (Sabot 1975, May 1977, Hance 1970). Certainly there was movement of population outside these major events that involved masses of people. Most societies had nuptial mobility on the part of one of the spouses, movement within tribal or clan land and relocation within one's plot of land. Bonnemaison (1985:58 cited in Chapman 1985) states that, "territorial fixation in traditional society did necessarily imply a low degree of mobility but rather any movement outside the territory was considered dangerous." To qualify Liviga and Mekacha's contention above, I argue that a stranger to a certain culture fails to capture movement in all its aspects through direct questions in interviews that do not involve life histories and the language of the people - meanings. People moving within a familiar cultural territory feel they have not moved; it is only movement going outside the traditional area where the mover's life is at risk that is considered as movement as in the case of Vanuatu. A stranger researcher cannot get this meaning embedded in local linguistic metaphors like *"ninduga oweitu, ninza omuka"* meaning literally that 'I am coming from home going home'. To understand the perception of the people that perceive the 'origin and destination' as 'home' in the metaphor of 'coming from home going home', a probe into culture has to be made (Chapter 7 below).

Culture expresses or reflects the relationship of people among themselves and with the environment. It guides and provides maps or grids of reference for behaviour for the community members. Culture gives people a worldview and establishes what belongs to them and differentiates people from all others who do not share in this system of beliefs governing and bonding society members. I turn to the notion of culture to understand the perception of a cultural space that is 'home' (the origin and destination of a people).

2.8 Construction and perception of a cultural space: an operational definition, the significance of and culture as a guide map

> But where the research is aiming at a study of migration...the model to be used must take into account not only push and pull factors *but also other social, cultural and conditions under which such factors operate both at the place of residence and at the place of destination* (Germani 1965: 160 cited in Hauser 1965)(italics added).

Movements of people have been attributed to various causes in time and space. Some movements have been attributed to wars, natural calamities and to religious and political differences (Hance 1970, Pyror 1975). Voluntary movements continue to be problematic in terms of their causes, direction, timing and duration. Mangalam (1968) sees migration as an adaptive process aimed at maintaining the dynamic equilibrium of social organisations, minimising change and overcoming deprivation. Todaro and Harris (1975) emphasise economic motives in that people move in anticipation to earn more and improve their standards of living. Ranis and Fei (1961) and Findlay (1987) hold on to the accumulation of capital and productivity of labour as movement triggers or stimuli in the dependency model. Findlay argues that: -

> The patterns of population movement and the ways in which population redistribution has occurred in less developed countries have been strongly influenced by external factors to the economic societies of the third world. For example, the stimulation of much large-scale rural-urban migration can be traced to colonial contacts...but specifically to those centres where external economic influences acted as a catalyst to a western form of 'modernisation' (1987: 56).

Ritchey (1976) observes that affinity and familism hypotheses can both influence or constrain movement depending on the community studied. This caution should be understood in the revelation of Bonnemaison (1985: 58) with reference to the people of Vanuatu on two levels: -

a) That territorial fixation did not necessarily imply a low degree of movement but rather that movement outside the territory was dangerous and fearful. In fact movement means going outside one's traditional area whereas movement within traditional or friendly territory is a normal event like grazing cattle, trading along traditional routes or visiting a relative,

b) That the relationship between people and space or community and place be considered when studying movement due to a historical past.

Bonnemaison (1985) and Young (1998) discuss movement of people in the cultural context showing the historical continuity, the language of the movers and the purpose to maintain relationships with kin. In the models above, the individual was partly depicted as responding to the motives of improving the standards of living through wages to be found in the industrial urban centres, and partly as responding to the external social production relations. In the first, an individual was shown to be rational and taking decisions; in the latter a deterministic attitude prevailed – mainly responding to processes of production relations. The individual relationships to the community and environment/space/place were overlooked or deemed insignificant.

In this section, I argue that individuals are inextricably tied to and influenced by the community's culture and the environment to make decisions to move to other places, and the choices of the destination. To understand this movement, the language used is essential. The community of people has a special relationship and is tied to the space or territory it occupies [in both production process and home with survival adaptive techniques]. To amplify this relationship, Shotter (1989) says, "we are ecological human beings and it is within the hurly-burly of everyday life that we are continuously being made and remade (cited in Halfacree et al 1993: 336). This relationship of community and environment is expressed in verbal and non-verbal communication (language and symbols) to give meaning to the event of moving. It is in a specific context in which people acquire a sense of themselves of who they are and how they should behave as individuals. Members of the community use knowledge gained in the everyday context of

their lives to normalise their actions i.e., to make them acceptable so that they are able to respond to the significance of other peoples' social actions. The community members develop traditions and values, for example, household norms, farming techniques, grazing and hunting skills to guide their daily actions. Life is given meaning by these norms and values so that individual behaviour is understood and predicted. I suggest that the actions of people and movement be understood in relation to this environment and culture – the context of the life situation. It is too simplistic to attribute such actions and movement to economic motives or external factors as causes and/or adequate explanations.

The culture or context composed of traditions and values is lived in an environment that forms part of it (culture). Culture is the world-view of the people i.e., their perception of the world. Ravuvu (1983) writing about the Fijian culture calls it "the way of life". Carrol (1988) speaks of culture as a way of seeing the world (1988: 43) and Harris and Morgan (1989) call it communicable knowledge for human coping in a particular environment that is passed on for the benefit of subsequent generations. More particularly, however, and taking as an operational definition, culture is a way of life consisting of beliefs, customs, foods, crafts, language, and artistic norms – all intended to guide members of a community to live harmoniously and have mastery over their environment.[12]

Using this operational definition, I compare and equate culture to a geographical map guiding people using different communication systems (air, sea, and land) to find their way on the earth's surface. In like manner, culture is a map for behaviour(s) in a community guiding and defining various relationships among people, a map to use [in] the environment and a map as knowledge for resource use. Wendt (1989) referring to culture as maps and guides writes: -

> Whatever those maps are/were, they are the grids through which we read reality. We each have

[12] Kroeber A.L. and Kluckhon, (1952). Culture: a critical review of concepts. Cambridge Meseum. They have listed over one hundred definitions of culture. Chapple (1970) says, "The action of culture – its mode of operations – is taken for granted; *its definition is still a subject of controversy* (1970: v)(emphasis added). Also Vinick (1977: 144).

> preferred maps, learned maps, what we believe our cultures, our nations, ourselves were and are…We read one another through what we believe, through the mirrors of who we are (1989: 60).

2.8.1 Construction and perception of the cultural space

These maps of culture subsist in an environment that is equally part of it as people develop coping mechanisms to live successfully in their ecology (Rowtree and Conkey 1980: 464). The knowledge gained in the utilisation of the resources provided by the environment and the living it, create a relationship between the people and the environment itself or territory occupied. The familiarity and knowledge with the territory that provides a living/dwelling, food and the necessities of livelihood becomes distinct from all other territories – the familiar territory is personalised. The interaction between people and territory makes indelible marks in the hearts and invoke nostalgia of home that fills and pacifies both body and soul. Wendt (1989) contesting the [development] changes that had taken place around Mount Taranaki writes: -

[redacted]

ed from afar (Field notes 2000). Wendt, a Samoan describes his encounters [redacted] feeling signi

> On our way, I met a Mountain. Yes, that's the most apt way of describing it – I met It. I stopped. It stopped. It gazed down at me, and I shuddered. I'd never seen such a mountain before, *but we shared the same feeling, the immense sadness of lava* fields. For all my time at that school It was to watch me, even in my sleep. And Its predominant feeling was that of sadness; a wise, patient sadness (1989: 74)(Italics mine).

One of these social, cultural and behavioural maps is the system of networks of relations i.e. biological and social. Biological relations designate those related by blood such as parents (father and mother), brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and grandparents with a code of behaviour specifying duties and rights, obligations and privileges of one relative to another. These relations begin in a nuclear family and extend outwards, collaterally and lineally to embrace ties established by marriage till all members in the community are embraced in a single network of kinship ties (White 1975:27). Continual intermarriage between members of a community living in a territory integrates members into a single network of consanguinity and affinity. The prescription of rules of conduct among community members by culture helps to build a related and firm social organisation of common behaviour occupying one space. Obedience to the common rules indicates that an individual sees himself/herself as part of it and is equally ready to subordinate personal desires to the common good.

Maps for guiding behaviour towards the development and utilisation of available resources are created. One area of the territory will be devoted to living and cultivation of common food crops according to the prevailing ecological conditions. Another part will be set aside for animal husbandry where grazing needs exist. Material artefacts like houses or shelters adapted to the environment, and tools to work on the resources for household use are devised. These will include sharp objects for cutting like knives and axes, drinking vessels for example coconut shells and gourds and those used for defence like spears and arrows.

2.8.2 Different spaces: contextual, social, cognitive and religious spaces

Landscapes and places are both created and natural. The natural landscape is any space on the earth's surface referring to a specific location in geography. Soja (1980) distinguishes between the contextual (natural) space from created space – the socially based spatiality of social organisation and production (1980: 209). Contextual space is objective, tangible and nature given with varying regional characteristics. Socially created space, however, is a product of social translation, transformation and experience of human labour as a community negotiates a living. Created space is an arena or a field relationship between the community with itself on the one hand, and community acting on the environment through labour [physical and mental]. Soja (1971) states: -

> Each human being creates his own 'activity space' which becomes the context for his most detailed knowledge of his environment and within which most of his daily activities are regularly carried out...thus without formal boundaries, space becomes organised and structured into focal points, core areas, networks of interaction, domains, spheres of influence, buffer zones, no-man's lands, cultural homelands, regions, neighbourhoods, gang 'turfs', and ghettos (1971: 1)

And again speaking of an individual's life in contextual space in the creation of social space Urry et al. state: -

> To be alive is to participate in the social production of space, to shape and be shaped by a constantly evolving spatiality which constitutes and concretises social action and relationship (cited in Urry et al. 1985: 90).

Space can also be considered at a cognitive or mental level – the power of imagination as distinct from social and natural space. For Karagwe, the understanding of space denotes these three dimensions – contextual, cognitive/mental and socially created spaces plus a spiritual space. The Banyambo use the metaphor *'omwanya'* (space) to describe and capture these spaces. The meaning of *'omwanya'* is always inscribed and expressed in a particular context as follows: -

a) the geographical space as used in geography to designate a location on the earth's surface from where one obtains a livelihood like a farm or village,

b) a spiritual meaning where ancestors are buried and reside and to where worship or veneration is made. Space is point of communion/interaction between the living and the dead. It is also a dwelling place for the Creator. In this context proper names of these locations exist for example pointing downwards to the earth for ancestors called *'okuzimu'*; pointing upwards in the sky where the Creator lives called *'eigulu'*,

c) Place is also used in the context of a mental/heart map by people to mean room for feelings in one's heart i.e., *'omwanya aha mutima gwanje'*,

d) Place is also a measure of time – time to do something i.e., *'omwanya gw'okukola echintu', and*

e) Place as arena (social space) for talking, story telling and politicking *(omwanya gwo okuganiriraho).*

These meanings of place are carried into the construction of the cultural territory because of the interaction of human labour on the environment or the contextual space. The interaction gives meaning to the actions taking place and shared by all involved.

2.8.3 The cultural territory of a people: shared bonds and allegiance

A cultural territory emerges among people who have occupied and worked on a place/territory for sufficiently a long time – perhaps generations. These people develop bonds of kinship and affinity through intermarriages, common language and dialects, customs and foods. Cohen (1999), commenting on the challenges of the nation state regarding the culture of the diaspora says: -

> Bonds of language, religion, culture and a sense of a common history and perhaps a common fate impregnate a transnational relationship and give to it [nation-state] an affective, intimate quality that

> formal citizenship or even long settlement frequently lacks (1999: 277).

These shared customs, beliefs etc., in a territory of permeable boundaries, distinguish members from the 'others'. Membership is through birth and sharing or subscribing to the held values. The permeable boundaries refer to the extent of the horizon [inclusive of the mountains, valleys, rivers, material artefacts shared for instance the building styles] that cover all who owe allegiance to the centre.

Most important, however, is the meaning given to these items in the history of the people and community i.e., the symbolic meanings shared and adhered to by members. Rowtree et al. (1980) affirm that, "the cultural landscape is created and transformed by human action. Environmental symbolism is one means whereby social identity and reality are created" (1980: 459). Further on they assert that symbolisation is a result of cultural stress (ibid. 459) and Cohen mentions a "common fate" (ibid. 277) from which cultural bonds emerge. I find little evidence to support this argument in Karagwe study area unless the birth pangs (e.g., the conquests of kings) of the kingdom are brought into focus. A long common history under one ruler directly or indirectly through the princes, language, foods, customs and treading the same territory i.e., familiarity with the environment are more explanatory to the development of the cultural territory in Karagwe and the sister kingdoms of Rwanda and Ankole (southern Uganda). The present province of Gishaka in Rwanda was part of Tanzania (Karagwe) until 1934 after the Catholic missionaries petitioned the governments of Britain and Belgium to reconsider the boundary of 1922 because many of their converts were in this region (McEwen 1971: 153). There followed lengthy negotiations that culminated in the adjustment of the Karagwe (Tanzania)/Rwanda boundary where Britain agreed to adjust this boundary in 1934. Gishaka was then made part of the Rwanda under Belgian administration (Figure 2.2).

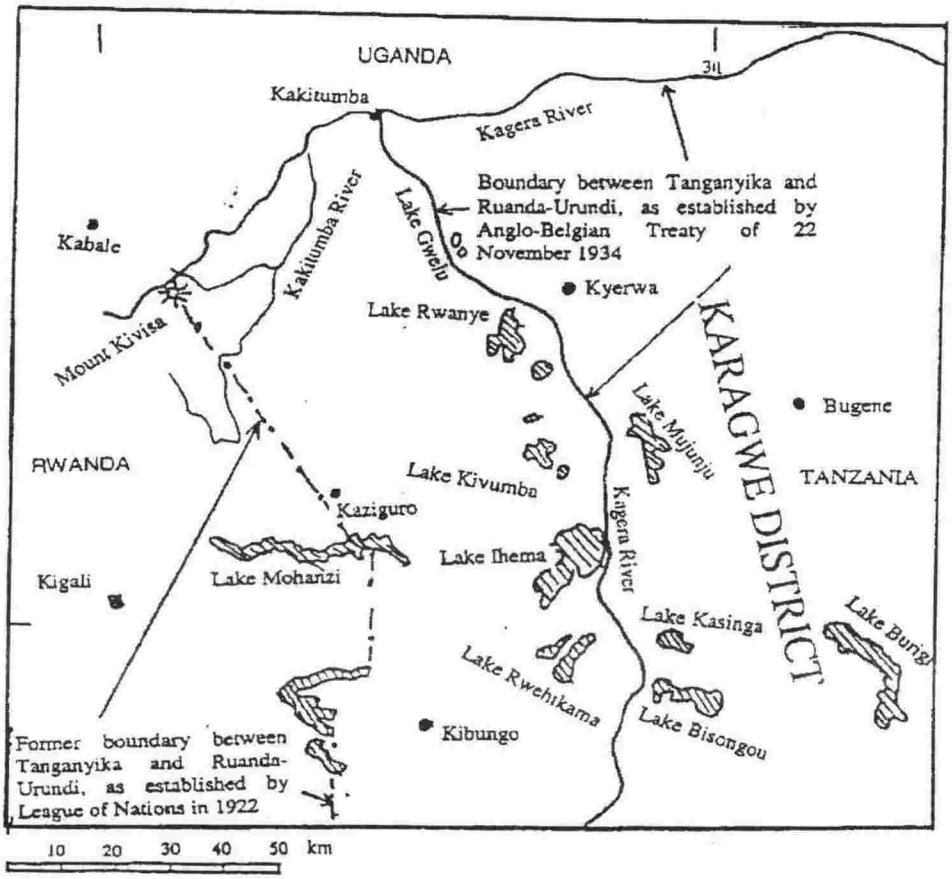
The inhabitants of a familiar territory through human action in the created space develop

symbols and meanings to confer an order of mystification and sanctity to nature space objects for both self-identification and conformity – with rewards for conformity and sanctions for deviance. The people of Karagwe venerate ancestral shrines like sacred places *(ebigabiro)* for clans and round huts in the backyard (*amalalo*) for households, and keep containers for the rituals like gourds *(enkaya)* and have other individual clan totems. A person who respects these items/objects is blessed for long life, may be elected to serve at the royal palace, or take a spouse from an upper class family etc. A person violating these taboos and restrictions brings bad luck or omen to himself/herself and gets limited co-operation from peers in the communal activities such as hunting and farming. Eventually he/she may become an outcast of the society as part of sanctions. This is a gradual but important point in the creation of a cultural landscape or territory i.e., infusing symbolic meanings to objects in the contextual space for acceptance and identification by all members of the community. This action transforms the landscape into a repository of information in symbolic form and environmental archives in a personalised way. Rowtree et al. (1980) stresses this saying: -

> ...the cultural landscape in part functions as a narrative, a symbolic legacy conveying information, if not realising information from one generation to another, information about subsistence ways, cosmology, territory or historical position (ibid. 461).

This mystification and acceptance can take many years to realise but once achieved, it becomes binding upon members. In Karagwe, for instance, there are natural hot springs in Kaisho/Murongo ward that were long ago given mystical origins to impress upon the people the powers of the King and the royal family (also in Rumuli 2002: 2). The story tells how in the sixteenth century the Queen Mother of King Ntare while touring the kingdom was given cold water to wash her feet.

Figure 2.2 THE TANZANIA-RWANDA BOUNDARY PRIOR TO 1934:THE BOUNDARIES OF KARAGWE IN RWANDA



Source: McEwen A.C., (1971). International boundaries of East Africa, Oxford: At the Claredon Press

She objected to the cold water and ordered her servant to dig a small hole in the ground from which water gushed out. She then spat saliva in the gushing water, and suddenly it became hot. It has remained hot to this day. The water is said to have curative powers for ordinary ailments. Many people visit this place to bathe in the hot springs for a cure (Katoke 1975: 49, Rumuli 2002: 2 and field notes 2000). I suggest that the purpose of this story is to safeguard, elevate and glorify the magical powers of the King and royal family in alleviating the sufferings of the people. No person contests this story and it is

surrounded by taboos like the prohibition of sexual intercourse for pilgrims and drawing water to carry home. Breach of these taboos (there are many others) unleashes the wrath of lions and snakes or other misfortunes upon the perpetrator.

2.8.4 Bonds of oneness or common identity developed from a common culture

The cultural space or territory created by human action is a strong unifying factor among a people who rally behind the symbolic meanings infused in the objects (material artefacts and nature) of the contextual space. The inhabitants of the area feel a high degree of oneness and move with awe (reverential wonder) to respect the accepted symbolic meanings. A cultural territory is a home in the sense of a familiar space belonging to the people as a common heritage. The perception of home in the cultural territory allows people to move without the need to admit that movement and the symbolic language or meanings to describe the movement are congruent to this conception. In a study of the Longana people on Aoba Island of Vanuatu, Margret Rodman (1979) shows the relationship of land and people in their culture more explicitly: -

> Personal essence and identity are infused into the land. No longer simply a thing, land becomes a place...Longana think of themselves as sharing a territory not only with other living residents but with the memory of their ancestors and the future of their children (cited in Bonnemaison 1985: 32).

Alongside material artefacts, social relationships together with common symbols of communication such as languages and codes of ethics to produce harmony and unity are made (White 1975: 39). The code consists of the 'dos and don'ts' commonly known as taboos and exhortations for promoting the welfare of the community. The code of ethics gives distinctiveness to members of the same cohort prescribing the behaviour, speech postures and salutations to maintain order and stability.

Two other elements of culture need to be mentioned: the system of values and beliefs. Values pertain to the mundane world and beliefs relate to the sacred. Communities have values that they cherish as ideal and wish to have or emulate. For example, a community may cherish wealth in the form of animals (usually cows for the Bantu of Black Africa and camels for North Africa), prefer male children to girls, and friendship or power etc. Every member therefore strives to acquire any of them if not all. Maquet (1954) writing on the Banyarwanda, tells that a Tutsi man having his son at the royal court or the court of an important chief increases his influence through: -

> a) Knowledge of what is going on at the palace, and
>
> b) The chief or king is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence. This presence creates an opportunity for the father to be rewarded, for instance, with head-ship of a village or an award of cattle. It also increases the father's security as the protégé of the King – a position that carries other favours (1954: 177 cited in Forde 1954).

Religious beliefs on the other hand establish a relationship between the world of living and the world of the dead or spirits – the non-material mundane world. Rituals to invoke and venerate spirits conducted at family, clan and tribe levels for the intercession of spirits to reward or punish those in this world are conducted regularly.

A distinction between God - the Supreme Being and Creator and the ancestral spirits - is maintained. The spirits are part of the deceased ancestors who are buried in the tribal and clan lands with shrines erected in their honour[13]. They uphold clan and kinship solidarity, morality and unity (Lule et al. 1975: 219 cited in Parkin 1975). Among the Gikuyu of Kenya, "*Ngai*", the Supreme God, inhabits the top of Mount Kenya while elders venerate ancestral spirits by leading intercession prayers in clan lands (Kenyatta 1961). The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda worship ancestral spirits like "*Lyangombe*", "*Irungu*" "*Mugasha*" and "*Wamala*" at family level. Family shrines (*amalalo)* and

[13] There are good and bad spirits depending on the individual behaviour in one's lifetime on earth. Good spirits are protective of humans and bad spirits are destructive usually causing misery and suffering among people.

clan/tribal shrines (*ebigabiro*) are located in places of special significance – usually a place where an ancestor and founder of the family was buried, a place where a war was won or prayers of intercession were made and answered. The Supreme God known as *"Katonda"* (the Creator) or "*Ruhanga*" (the Maker of) or *"Kazoba*" (the Sun - sustainer of life)[14] inhabits inaccessible and mysterious places such as local mountain peaks, such as mounts Kicherere, Karasimbi and Virunga as well as waterfalls on the Kagera River. Height and purity were coterminous in the local philosophy in relation to worship. God resides high – possibly in the sky and mountain peaks being elevated and covered by fog or snow at times became symbols or dwelling places for the high god.

2.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on migration studies and culture and relate these to the study. I argue that migration studies have been overly immersed in other forms of population movements such as rural to urban migration and overlooked the movement of people in the rural areas. In Tanzania, these studies do not touch on this movement taking place between and within rural areas where 80% of the country's population live. This wide gap in the literature and omission is caused by a methodological approach that treats population movement as an empirical event to be quantified as well as the level of analysis – i.e.; the units of enquiry are rational individuals. I suggest that analysis be moved to the level of household as Germani (1965) states – a mid-point of households [in place of individuals] and the non-quantifiable variables be used in the study of population movement in traditional societies. At present, the themes of poverty continue to guide studies; poverty is taken to be the sole determinant of population movement.

Placing Tanzanian population studies in a wider context, I show that the bias to concentrate on rural to urban movement is widespread (Uchendu 1975 cited in Parkin 1975 and Vandsemb 1995). To demonstrate this gap, I examined the classifications of the literature on migration studies given by Ritchey (1976) and Wood (1983) that explain

[14] The names of God are many – usually they are descriptive of one of His many attributes' e.g. *Nyamuhanga* – one who ordains or sustains.

rural to urban movements.

Ritchey presents a generic classification to give three types namely labour mobility, socio-economic and cognitive behavioural oriented studies. Wood on the other hand analyses the literature following a methodological technique used and produces two broad types of economic equilibrium and the historical-structural approaches. Each classification or model has many variants within it but the overriding characteristics or converging points remain to be that: -

a) the axiom that human beings will tend to gravitate from places having fewer advantages (however they are defined) to those having more (Zelinsky 1983: 20),
b) the rationality of the human being to decide and seek to maximise [economic] benefits for the studies and the quantification of the causes,
c) the units of inquiry i.e., the individual migrant or mover. In some models, the mover is treated as an independent actor and in others as one responding to external stimuli and vulnerable. But above all the mover is abstracted from the context of his/her environment,
d) the goal of the studies seeking to explain the causes of movement instead of seeking an understanding that movers attach to the event.

Chapman (1978, 1985, and 1991) provides the main critique of these approaches and/or classifications as well as Mabogunje (1972), Zelinsky (1983), and Halfacree (1993). Chapman (from whom I draw great inspiration) is critical of these convergence points where there is: -

a) Continual usage of metaphors and imagery developed in western capitalist countries such as the USA and applied on population movement studies in developing countries,
b) An abstraction of the movers from their environment,
c) A methodology and units of analysis which deny movers a voice to tell personal experiences and an understanding of movement,

d) The distilling of movement as an empirical event leading to quantification and above all the lack of continuity (discrete events) of movement in the life histories of people.

Chapman and Zelinsky insist that population movement studies are at an impasse stage without making new advances to understand and explain the movement of people [especially for Chapman] in developing countries. A new methodology to understand the totality of movement as the mover perceives and experiences is envisaged. The new approach using the language of the movers that gives them a voice (narratives of the life histories of movement and the metaphors in their languages) and one based in the culture of the people constitutes a breakthrough.

I also underlined the importance of culture in the construction of a cultural space within which people move. Culture is a way of life consisting of beliefs, customs, crafts, language and artistic norms – all intended to guide members of a community to live harmoniously and have mastery over their environment. Ravuvu (1983) describes culture as "a way of life". I argue that culture is instrumental in the movement of people in rural areas using Karagwe people as a case in point. In the Pacific Islands, I underscored the studies of Bonnemaison (1985) and Young (1998) to the understanding of movement in Vanuatu and Fiji respectively. The studies of Chapman (1991) in the Solomon Islands, Olofson among the Hausa of Nigeria (1985 cited in Prothero and Chapman 1985), and the "personal journey" of Wendt (1989), are important works towards an understanding of movement. The studies use a cultural or ethnographic approach of the humanistic paradigms to understand movement. The cultural approach allows the movement event to reveal itself in the language, experiences and perceptions of the movers or people. I argued that a cultural space within which people move (without acknowledging the movement) develops through bonds of kinship and affinity – intermarriages, common languages, customs, foods as well as historical movements. I suggest that the boundaries of a cultural space created by the people is the point in the contextual space (the tangible and nature given earth) where the last person at the horizon shares the same culture and owes allegiance to the centre. The people of Karagwe among who are to be found the Banyankole of Southern Uganda and the Banyarwanda have created such cultural space

for themselves. Their movement within this cultural space is journeying home i.e., "coming from home, going home". In the following chapter, I examine the geographical aspects of Karagwe and more particularly the construction of this cultural space within which people move.

CHAPTER THREE

KARAGWE: A CULTURAL TERRITORY, NETWORKS OF RELATIONSHIPS, AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

> Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are artificial. Their boundaries separate like from like as often as they put unlike together, all that a territory has in common is a common administration, it pays little regard to social realities (Goldthrope 1959: 44).

3.1 Introduction

Karagwe, formerly an independent kingdom is today one of the administrative districts of the United Republic of Tanzania. It forms the boundary for Tanzania and Rwanda to the west and another boundary for Tanzania and Uganda to the north – always along the thalweg of the Kagera River. The indigenous people of this kingdom/district are the Banyambo. The present population of the district includes the Banyarwanda of Rwanda and Banyankole of Southern Uganda who have settled among the Banyambo. Other people living in the district are Bahaya, Basubi, and Bazinza from the neighbouring former kingdoms. It is, however, interesting to observe that guided by their connecting social networks of relationships, these people live in peace and harmony and consider themselves to be home in Karagwe. Karagwe is part of home irrespective of the current international boundaries which they cross with the least regard i.e., without immigration formalities. That Karagwe lies in Tanzania, a sovereign state, is of less significance to them and at best a historical accident of colonial history. The tripartite kingdoms of Rwanda, Ankole in southern Uganda, and Karagwe are home to members of the three tribes. The perception that each kingdom is home allows members who share this belief to move freely within these boundaries. The critical and more relevant question in the tripartite kingdoms to this study is to understand factors leading to this common perception. To appreciate the peoples' understanding/perception, I have relied on field

interviews I conducted in Karagwe in 2000 and the work of historian Israel K. Katoke[15] whose book and monograph titled "The Kingdom of Karagwe" and "The Making of Karagwe" are the only written sources available. Record keeping is recent in the area, unlike Rwanda, and to a limited extent Ankole. The unavailability of written history of Karagwe has made me dispense with chronological sequences and dating. The people giving their life stories are more interested in the events and how they move to live with their kin and friends rather than a chronology of events. A reconstruction of the chronology of the Kings of Karagwe and other significant dates is presented in Appendix 8 following the accounts of a senior Muheta who served at Nyakahanga royal palace until 1962 and Omuzee Petero Bukoko – a relation to the royal families. They showed difficulties of recall more so that the names of kings are repetitive especially the names of Ntare and Ruhinda. For example, one mentions eight kings by the name of Ruhinda while the other recalls five and the order of succession is not certain. The repetition of the names of kings and succession dates are however indicative of peace in the kingdom [without major events sticking to the memory of the people] and hence creating a fertile ground for the spread of culture and development of a cultural territory over generations and centuries of living together.

3.2 Objectives of the chapter

The creation of a cultural territory is not often a deliberate action of a people sharing a geographical space. It is a combination of historical accidents or events, natural endowments such as a shared dialect, and the will of people to subscribe to the same rules governing the behaviour of community members. It is a transformation of the geographical space to a personalised space or cultural space in which individual actions of members have meaning and common expectations that help to predict the behaviour of fellow members.

[15] Professor Israel K. Katoke is a retired lecturer of the University of Dar es Salaam. His book "The Kingdom of Karagwe: A History of the Abanyambo of North Western Tanzania c. 1400-1915"and the monograph "The Kingdom of Karagwe" are invaluable sources of data especially for this chapter.

In this chapter, I argue that Karagwe as a geographical territory was transformed into a cultural territory through the action of her rulers – the Bahima/Bahinda dynasties. The movement of the rulers facilitated the free movement of people and the spread of material and artistic culture. Blood and affinal relations developed out of these movements at grassroots and royal levels as well as common values, customs and social relations. The networks of relationships and social organisations guided by the common values, customs and acceptance allow the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda to see themselves as one community with a common identity. The lives of the people are guided by these beliefs which in turn determine the current movements by situating them in life experiences. This gives the movement a continuity with the past while maintaining, activating and reactivating the social relationships that tie people together as observed by Young (1998) in the social settings of indigenous Fiji people. In a study of Lakeban people of Fiji, Young calls such movement "pathways" in the sense that movement is self-repeating along traditional routes charted by previous generations. Wendt (1989) calls such movements that have created permanent imprints in the hearts and minds of the people 'cultural maps'. From this perspective, I argue that movements of people in Karagwe and particularly that of the Banyankole and Banyarwanda are influenced by culture and social relationships that people have created over many years and generations. Secondly, I show that past historical movements have helped to create a common culture and an identity as well as a cultural territory in which the movers perceive themselves to be at home and express this belonging in their languages. The chapter begins with a geographical overview to establish [not a cultural territory for the reader] but a pictorial view to give a conceptualisation of the study area and the movements of people taking place across the borders.

3.3 Karagwe District: A geographical overview

Prior to this discussion, a geographical overview of the present Karagwe district that lies to the Northwest of Tanzania is in order. It is in this area that rural movements from Rwanda and Southern Uganda take place. The district has a land surface area of 7,282 square kilometres and lies between latitude 1 and 2 15' South and 30 30'and 31 20' East.

It has a population of about 292,600 inhabitants residing in 56,160 households (Ndege, Piters, Nyanga, & Ngimbwa 1995).

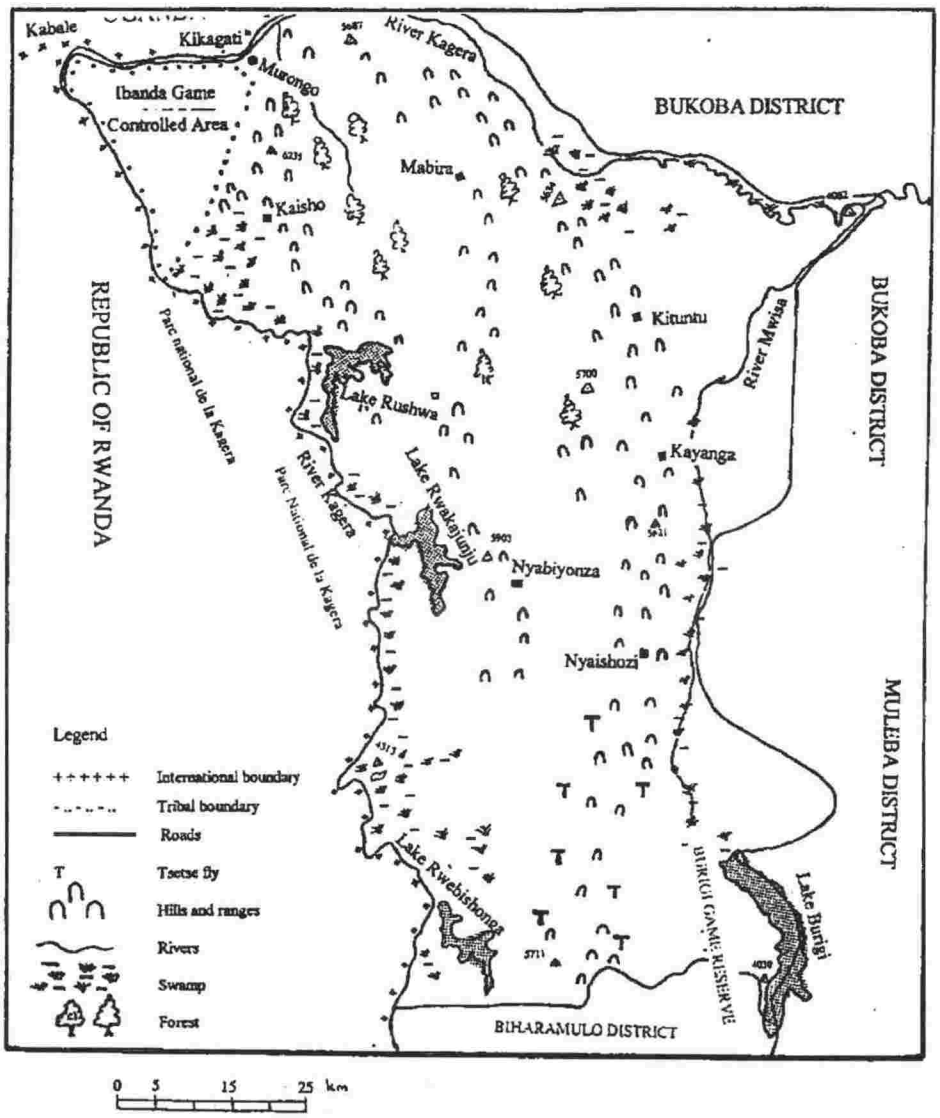
The district is hilly with a prominent north-south range and a highest point elevated to 6,235 feet above sea level at Kicherere in Kaisho/Murongo Ward (Figure 3.1 Karagwe District: Physical features influencing population distribution). On either side of the range there are lowland marshes – to the west the Kagera River forms the marsh and to the east there is Mwisa River. The Kagera River forms an international boundary for Rwanda and Tanzania over 120 kilometres[16] (Figure 3.1).

The Kagera River having flowed in a northerly direction turns eastwards to form another international boundary for Uganda and Tanzania as far as Nshunjezi only to give way to latitude 1 South of the Equator. The Mwisa River on the eastern side almost forms a district border through its swamps by separating Karagwe from Muleba and Bukoba Rural districts. The southern part of Karagwe borders Biharamulo district. Apart from the border demarcation, the two rivers together with small lakes such as Burigi, Rwebishonga, Rwakajunju and Rushwa provide a much-needed supply of fish protein.

The north-south hill range across Karagwe has greatly influenced the population distribution and land use in the district. The range creates a rain shadow by obstructing rain-bearing winds from Lake Victoria on the east so that rain decreases westwards as one moves further away from the lake. The eastern lowlands are also infested by tsetse fly making them unsuitable for humans. The western lowlands are drier and suitable for cattle grazing. Thus the population of Karagwe is to be found in villages on the fertile plateaux and valleys where people grow banana plantains and beans as well as coffee as a cash crop. The rudimentary road system is often impassable during the March to May long rains and starts from Kayanga (the district administrative centre) following the ridge to: -

[16] The boundary is along the thalweg despite more than half of this distance following a winding and variable course through wide papyrus swamps. It had been agreed during the British-Belgian negotiations of 1923-24 to dredge and straighten the border (McEwen 1972: 152). In these negotiations Karagwe lost part of its kingdom.

FIGURE 3.1 KARAGWE DISTRICT: PHYSICAL FEATURES INFLUENCING POPULATION DISTRIBUTION



Source: Ndege L.J., B. de Steenhuijen Piters et al (1995). Diagnostic survey of Karagwe District, Tanzania/Netherlands Farming Systems Research Project, Lake Zone, Working Paper No. 17.

a) The regional headquarters at Bukoba crossing the border at the confluence of Kagera and Mwisa rivers,

b) Bugene/Nyaishozi ward and on the way to Ngara and Biharamulo (southward),

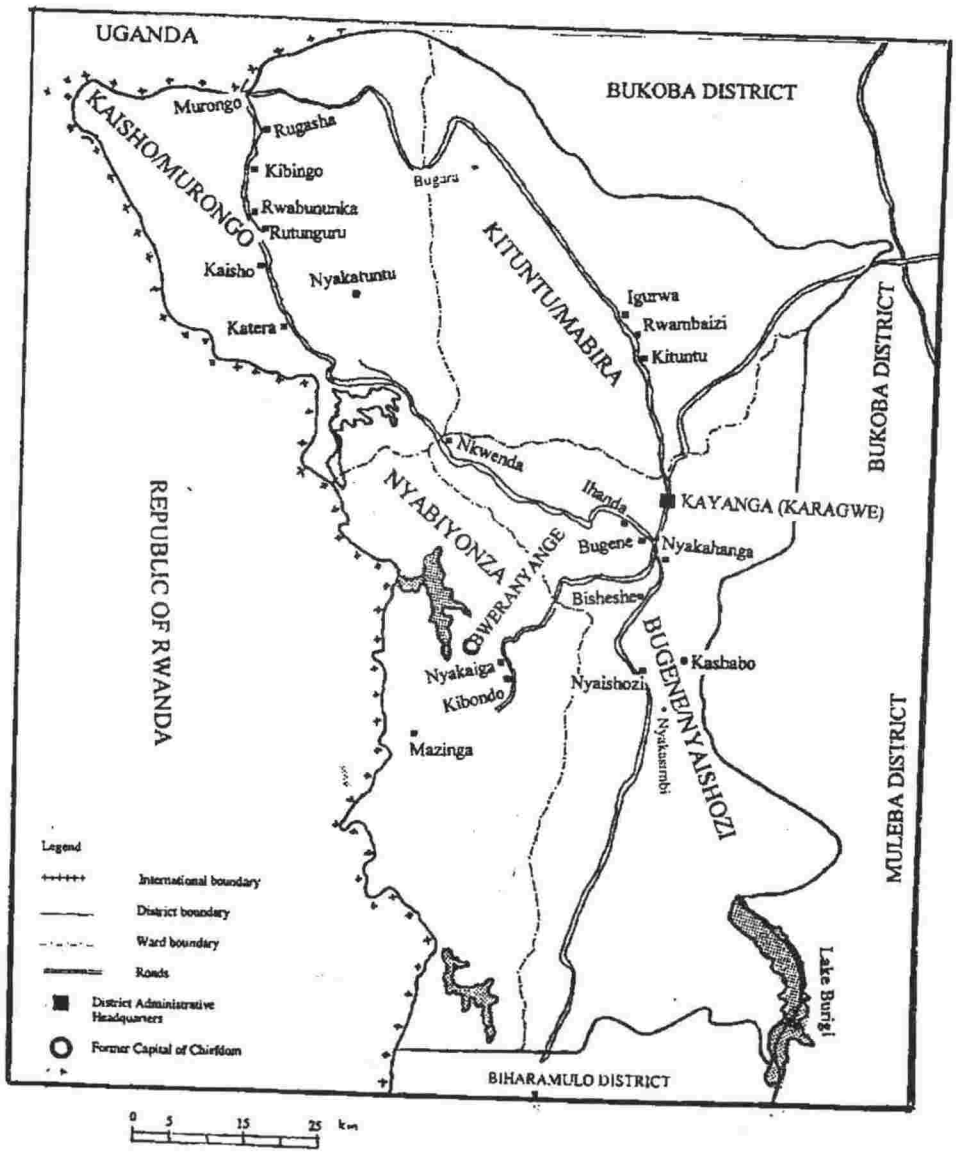
c) Kaisho/Murongo ward on the way to Uganda, and

d) a minor feeder road runs to Mabira/Kituntu ward and joins the Kaisho/Murongo ward at Murongo (Figure 3.2).

The district is affected by a poor communication system in view of the 1,800-kilometre distance from the capital of Dar es Salaam and has few social services. For example a journey to Dar es Salaam takes five days using a combination of truck, boat across Lake Victoria, and train. There is no television reception and the radio reception from Dar es Salaam is extremely poor.

People listen to Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda Radio stations as well as other international radio stations such as the Kiswahili service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Cologne of Germany, and Voice of America. By 1972 the district had one inadequately equipped Lutheran hospital at Nyakahanga – 10 kilometres from Kayanga, and as late as 1989 a single public secondary school was opened. At the time of the field study the situation had improved slightly through the efforts of religious institutions (the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania) and the self-help spirit of the people to construct private hospitals and secondary schools. The Roman Catholic Church, for example, is operating three hospitals at Kaisho, Rwambaizi and Nyakaiga (Figure 3.2). In the education sector again the church and peoples' efforts have helped to establish and run five more secondary schools. Needless to say that there is no industry.

FIGURE 3.2 KARAGWE DISTRICT: ROAD NETWORK, STUDY VILLAGES



Source: Ndege L.J., B. de Steenhuijen Piters et al (1995). Diagnostic survey of Karagwe District, Tanzania/Netherlands Farming Systems Research Project, Lake Zone, Working Paper No. 17.

The focus of this section has been to situate the district of Karagwe geographically but more importantly to show the neighbours of Rwanda and southern Uganda (Ankole) where the Banyarwanda and Banyankole movers originate from. Invariably the section also shows Karagwe to be a rural area lacking infrastructure, industry and social services, yet as I argue in the chapters below it continues to attract movers. I argue that the attraction is due to the development of a cultural territory created by the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda through historical movements and the founding of the Bahinda dynasties, as well as the networks of relationships, language and similar social organisations among the people. At the time of fixing the current national boundaries of Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania by the British and Belgians (between 1922-1934), like were separated from like as Godlthrope (1959: 44) has observed above. For example, the Banyankole and Banyambo were divided and grouped in Uganda and Tanzania respectively. Again around Mount Mfumbiro on the Rwanda/Uganda border, the Banyarwanda were grouped with the Bakiga of Kigezi in Uganda with whom there is little in common. During the demarcation of the borders, the British and Belgians at times fixed beacons following prominent geographical features instead of peoples' groupings and relations (Goldthrope 1959: 44).

3.4 The founding of a cultural territory: the Kitara-Bunyoro Empire

The Banyambo people live in Karagwe district described above as sharing boundaries with Rwanda and Uganda. A shared culture between them and the Banyankole of southern Uganda and Banyarwanda of Rwanda is not only contingent upon neighbourliness but also on the historical kingship ties, the movements of people, and the common customs and traditions they share.

The Banyambo are part of the Bantu group of people occupying the Great Lakes region – a land between lakes Victoria, Kivu, Albert, Edward and Kyoga in East Africa (Figure 3.3). They acknowledge that they owe their existence to God who created the first man according to creation myths in the region (Field notes 2000). Katoke (1975) found similar beliefs and writes that, "Some legends say that this name Banyambo was originally applied to the indigenous Bantu speaking agriculturists who are said to be descendants of

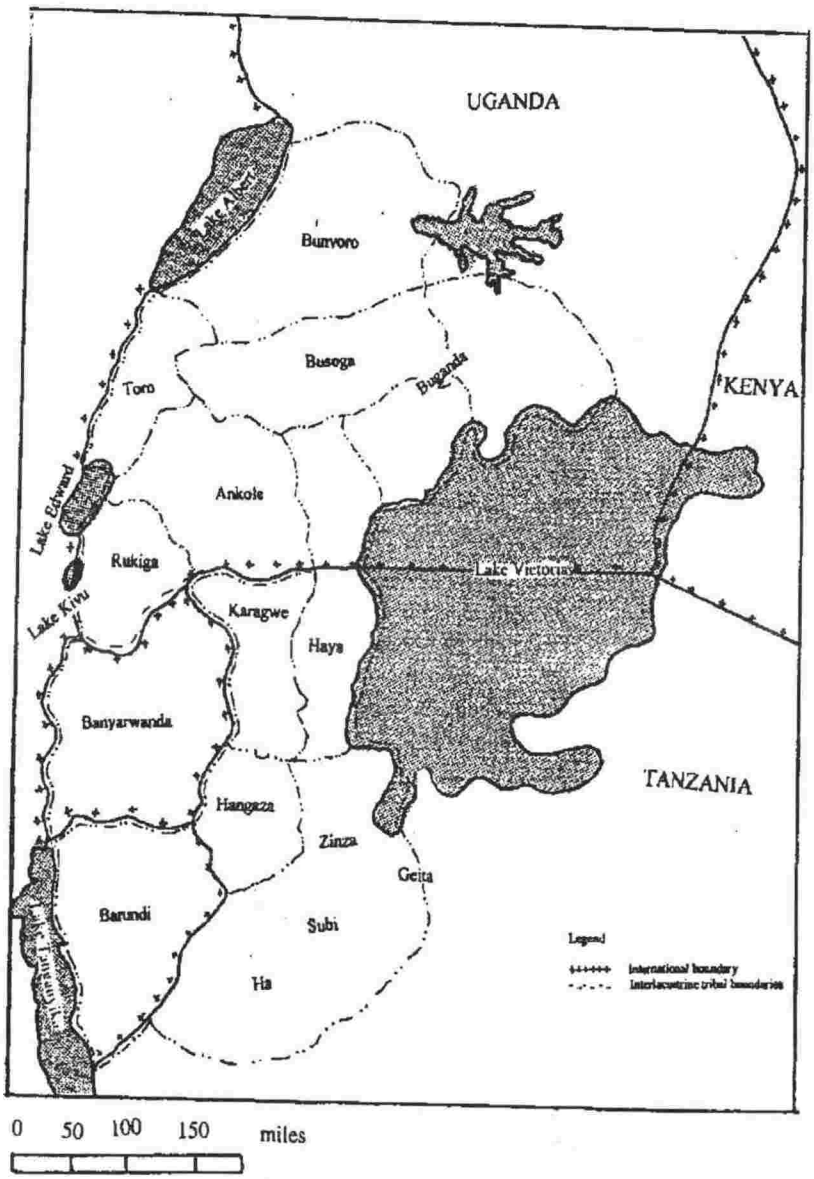
Kanyambo, one of Ruhanga's sons (*God's son*)" (1975: 7) (translation and italics mine). The stories of the people indicate the presence of others whom they perceived as different but inextricably tied to their history: and these are the Bahima.

Until the fifteenth century, the Banyambo were organised into small family units in permanent settlements practising hunting, gathering and later some agriculture to sustain an increased population. They gradually became organised and acknowledged the leadership of the Basita clan for at least three generations.[17] The last ruler from the Basita clan was King Nono from whom the people refer to the district as Karagwe Ka Nono i.e. Karagwe of Nono (Field notes 2000 – interview with a senior Mheta clan member at Nyakahanga who served at the royal palace until 1962).

During this time of development for the Banyambo i.e. who moved from gathering to permanent settlements under the rule of the Basita, the Bachwezi/Bahima kingdom in Bunyoro was expanding rapidly to become the Empire of Bunyoro-Kitara[18]. The Bachwezi/Bahima were of light complexion, had superior military ware (of the day), long-horned cattle, and were said to possess supernatural powers (Katoke 1975: 21). The military superiority enabled them to subjugate the weaker neighbouring kingdoms of Toro, Koki, Ankole, Karagwe and Rwanda (Figure 3.3). These weaker southern kingdoms remained under the Bunyoro-Kitara Empire paying tribute in return for protection and non-military invasion. Movements of the Bahima in search of better pastures on a small scale were in progress. When the empire of Bunyoro-Kitara was grappling with the internal feuds among the princes and the natural calamities of diseases and drought, an invasion from the north across the Nile River by a non-Bantu group took place.

[17] There are about fifteen clans in Karagwe – a clan being a group of families who claim a common ancestry and origin. For example the Abakaraza, Abayango, Abasindi and Abashambo claim to originate from Bunyoro, Ankole and Mpororo respectively.
[18] Were G.S., estimates this empire to have flourished between 1350 and 1500 AD.

FIGURE 3.3 THE WESTEN BANTU INTERLACUSTRINE REGION



Source: Parkin, D., (ed.), (1975). *Town and country in Central and Eastern Africa: Studies presented and discussed at the Twelfth International African Seminar, Lusaka*, September 1972. Plymouth: International African Institute.

It was led by the Lwoo-Babito whom the Abachwezi/Bahima considered to be better-equipped, organised and good fighters. On hearing the Lwoo-Babito southern advance to the capital of the empire in Bunyoro, the Bachwezi/Bahima fled leaving the throne vacant (Ogot 1974, Katoke 1975). It is not known where they went, but history has it that they fled beyond the boundaries of the empire. In the language of the movers, any movement outside the cultural territory is "*okubura*" literary meaning to "disappear'' as shown in Chapter 7. The Lwoo-Babito occupied the vacant throne and ruled.

3.4.1 The founding of the Bahinda dynasties and consolidation of a kingdom in the fifteenth to seventeenth century

The Lwoo-Babito overthrew the rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara Empire without military conquest but did not succeed in keeping it together. The congeries of sister states of Karagwe, Toro, Koki, Rwanda and Ankole regained their independence as kingdoms. The subjugating authority had been ousted and the new Lwoo-Babito rulers re-organised themselves with the aim of consolidating their group to mount an offensive to regain lost territories. This never took place. Until today, Babito rule is confined to Bunyoro.

A young prince named Ruhinda and son of Wamala, the last Emperor of Bunyoro-Kitara, was too young to run away. He grew up under the Lwoo-Babito rulers in Bunyoro. Soon he became highly discontented with the new rulers who occupied his father's throne to which he was the legitimate heir. When he came of age and gained self-confidence, he set out to regain the glory of his father (Emperor Wamala) and rallied the support of loyal Bahima kinsmen to help him.

Realising that his forces would not dislodge the powerful Lwoo-Babito in Bunyoro, he fled to Ankole with his forces intact. He overthrew the local king and took the throne. Encouraged by his success, a growing Bahima army and a reputation for possessing supernatural powers, Ruhinda sought to build and expand his empire among the southern weaker states of Karagwe, and Ihangiro across the Kagera River. His supernatural powers included: the ability to command lions to attack a rebellious village, cause rain and drought, create a river or lake to provide water for the people and impose effective curses

on his enemies. The possession of magical powers was not limited to Ruhinda alone. As already mentioned the Queen Mother of King Ntare created the Mutagata hot springs. The young Ruhinda led several successful military expeditions and when he returned to Ankole, he decided to establish his capital in Karagwe. He thereafter entrusted the Ankole throne to Nkuba, his eldest son, and moved his forces south to Karagwe.

3.4.2 The fall of Karagwe and the rise of Ruhinda

King Nono of the Basita clan ruled Karagwe. When King Nono heard that a strong military advance led by Bachwezi/Bahima under Ruhinda was coming to oust him, instead of putting up resistance he vacated the throne. Some of my respondents gave different accounts suggesting that King Nono gave the throne in return for food to save his people from starvation i.e., '*akaguza engoma oburo*'. This literally means King Nono sold the drum – a symbol of authority or throne in return for food. Other accounts suggest that King Nono and his entourage on hearing the advancing military expedition took to flight i.e., they disappeared (*okubura*). I find the first account untenable given that the invading Bachwezi/Bahima were pastorialists without finger millet (*oburo*) to give. The second account of King Nono disappearing is reflected in the language of the people to describe movement outside into the unknown land – outside the kingdom or cultural territory. It also reflects the military strength of the invading forces and the concern of King Nono not to sacrifice the blood of his people by attempting to hold on to power. Both accounts show that: a) there was no resistance put up by the local people, and b) that King Ruhinda surrounded by his powerful warriors ascended to the Karagwe throne in King Nono's capital at Bugara. King Ruhinda then moved the capital from Bugara to Nyakasimbi in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward for two reasons. Bugara did not have the grazing lands required to sustain the royal herds of cattle and the old capital was not suitably located for defence purposes or centrally located (Figure 3.2). After initially settling in the new capital at Nyakasimbi, Ruhinda soon moved the capital to Bweranyange on the western side of Karagwe which offered better defence options. The proximity to Gishaka to the west, Buzinza and Busubi to the south, Ihangiro, Kihanja and Bugabo to the east on the shores of Lake Victoria (Footnote 20 and Figure 3.3), - possible areas of conquest -

provided a frontier along which he could expand and satisfy his quest for greater power.

Starting from the strategic new capital of Bweranyange, King Ruhinda carried out military expeditions that brought the southern small states of Buzinza and Busubi under his control. He invaded and subjugated Kyamutwara and Ihangiro to the east of Karagwe and Gishaka to the west. He tightened his grip on these states by appointing his sons (princes) to rule them directly. Each of the appointed princes was given part of the royal regalia as a symbol of their authority. These included foremost a crown (*echisingo*) and a small drum (*engoma y'Obukama*) as well as spears and arrows. A group of Bahima warriors were assigned to each prince for protection and to help consolidate his rule. In turn the princes paid periodic tribute (*emitoizo*) in the form of cows and grain to the capital and prepared a defence force which could be called on to protect the kingdom. King Ruhinda toured the kingdom to make sure the princes ruled justly. During one such grand tour of inspection around the Greater Karagwe (also known as Mweruka), King Ruhinda died in Buha south of Karagwe[19]. By the time King Ruhinda died Greater Karagwe included Buzinza, Busubi, Rwanda, Bugabo, Ihangiro and Kyamutwara[20] on the shores of Lake Victoria. The departed king was popular and loved by his people to such an extent that on his death there followed heated negotiations about where to bury him (*okubyarira Omukama*)[21]. It was decided to share the body. Buzinza princedom was to bury the legs and feet, Ihangiro to bury the trunk and Bweranyange the capital of the kingdom to bury the head. Ruhinda was then dismembered and shared out as agreed purely out of love for the man and king. Physically the founder of Greater Karagwe had died but his legacy continued and continues to this day among the people and the traditional blood related rulers of these former kingdoms[22].

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[19] The death of a King is called '*okutasya*' i.e., 'to go home to the ancestors'. To say a king has died is held to mean that the kingdom is dead – something blasphemous and punishable under custom.

[20] These kingdoms are commonly known as Bahaya states – they are seven in all.

[21] The ritual of burying a kind involves milk from white cows, a canoe and a journey to the islands of Kagera River. The clan responsible for burial stays on the island for a month after the burial. Officially it is called '*okubyarira Omukama*' i.e., to put the king in a resting place (Filed notes 2000).

[22] The post independence governments of Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda abolished the system of kingships in 1962. Locally, however, the Bahinda traditional rulers in all the kingdoms are related by blood and are still revered by the people until today (Field notes 2000).

3.5 The foundation of a cultural territory among the people: multiple-connections and family networks of relationships

The cultural territory of Karagwe was formed in the era of the Bunyoro-Kitara Empire when it spread southwards through Toro, Ankole, Karagwe, Rwanda, Busubi, Buzinza, Ihangiro and other parts of Bukoba rural district. During this period of suzerainty these kingdoms acknowledged the rule of the emperor and paid tribute in return for protection. When the empire disintegrated following the Lwoo-Babito invasion, the sister states became autonomous but received an influx of Bahima some of whom were looking for good pastureland for their cattle and others fleeing Lwoo-Babito rule. The movement of these Bahima kept alive the lingua franca of the empire and reinforced cultural practices which external influences have not been able to erode. The development of a common language is a result and influence of the Bahima over a long period of approximately four centuries. The vocabulary was integrated in the Bantu dialects of Kinyambo of Karagwe, Kinyankole of Ankole in southern Uganda and Kinyarwanda of Rwanda with which people were already familiar.

The movement of the Bahima prior to the fall of the Bunyoro-Kitara Empire and in the process of building the kingdom of Karagwe under Ruhinda introduced a multiplicity of social, religious and political connections between local Banyankole, Banyambo and Banyarwanda. The multiple social connections are discussed below at family and clan levels using an example of Kato to show family network relationships on the paternal and maternal sides. These networks establish tribal connections and link members towards forming a cultural territory. As the Bahima moved they established close relatives in all parts of the empire and again in the Ruhinda kingdom. These movements can be characterised as movement southwards in search of grazing grounds, later a flight from the Lwoo-Babito and lastly that of being assigned a role within the Greater Karagwe of Ruhinda. In the course of these movements, attempts to build networks of consanguinity, shared rituals and a common language still underpin common identity and culture of the people of Karagwe, Ankole and beyond. Later military conscription took indigenous Banyambo to other places, official errands in search of political alliances and defence pacts between Greater Karagwe and other kingdoms all involved movement of people

(Field notes 2000). These movements accompanied by intermarriage served to bring the people of Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda closer and closer together as blood relatives. For example, Banyambo or Bahima have uncles and aunts (maternal and paternal) in Ankole or Rwanda just as people from Ankole and Rwanda would have relatives in any of the other kingdoms. Intermarriage and blood pacts (Chapter 7) amplify these connections. Married women attract young girls from their natal villages to marry in their new villages. The desire to maintain links with relatives who have stayed behind encourages the movement of children on both sides to go and stay with relatives who have moved or those left behind. Chapter 6 reviews the movement of people to relatives and blood pact brothers and the hospitality received. The meaning of return to the place of origin of one's ancestors is indicated in the family/personal life histories of those who return.

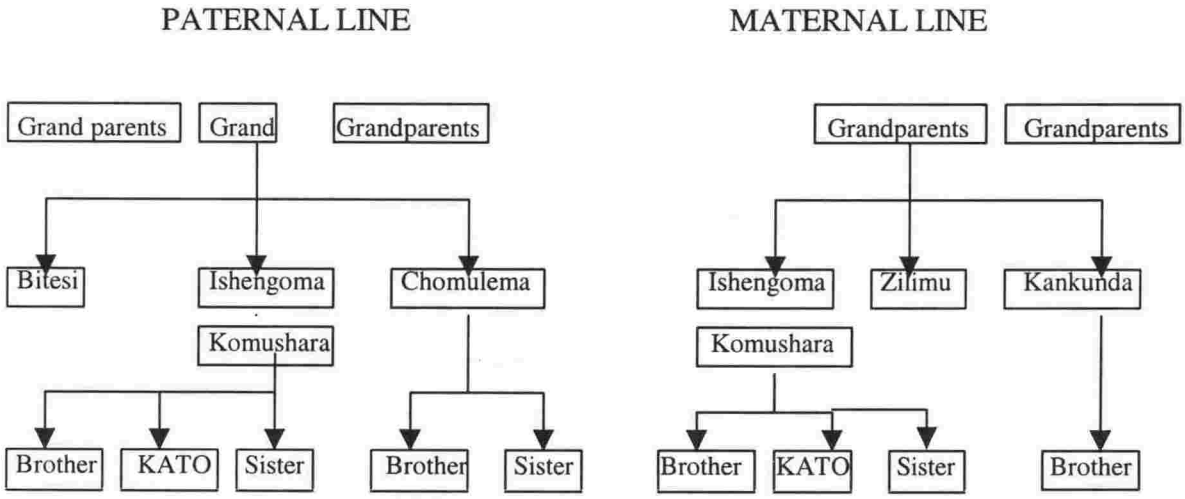
At the kingship level, an institutionalisation of a common Bahima dynasty was made through the appointment of princes to govern the different princedoms. Consanguinity and affinal ties joined the princes [at first and later the kings] of Gishaka in Rwanda, Karagwe, Buzinza, Busubi, Ihangiro (including all the Haya states/kingdoms) and Ankole as well as the common administrative training received from one father - Ruhinda Kizara Bagabe – founder and father of kings. In their capacity as princes, they trained local warriors or soldiers to defend the kingdom in the event of external aggression. The young men who excelled during training were subsequently sent to the capital of Bweranyange (Figure 3.2) to bring and pay tribute, and sometimes to stay and acquire advanced military skills. This encouraged further social intercourse and miscegenation that contributed to the consolidation of a society of shared characteristics and membership of a common dynasty.

The direct result of the movement of Bahima was threefold: the institutionalisation of the Bahinda dynasty and administration, a common language, and a multi-social network of relationships by consanguinal and affinal ties. At the institutional level, the hierarchical Bahinda dynasty was established with rights of succession to the throne and a common administration. King Ruhinda, for example, fostered this through regular tours of the kingdom and thereafter through his sons as rulers. At the level of language, there was

diffusion of a common vocabulary as local dialects absorbed new terms through the interaction of people on the move. Social networks on the other hand, created a chance for the indigenous people and households to strengthen and expand social structures through multiple connections. At the family level, a patriarchical system following the pattern of kingship replaced the previously fluid household arrangements organised to meet the needs of an agrarian society. The assigned duties, rights and obligations of family members became more elaborate. This reflected introduction of a Bahima culture in which self-defence and administration were important. One such change promoted the role of boys who were organised into an elaborate defence system. For both families and clans boys played the role of warriors who were obliged to defend a household and protect their unmarried sisters. If a sister eloped with a man without first getting the family's consent, they had the duty to make chase and bring her back. This duty was institutionalised in the marriage ritual and rewarded by a share in the bride price as "*omurukwa gwa banyanya*" translated as 'share or portion of the brothers'. Household relations were also made clearer: a household consisted of a father, mother and children. The immediate relations of a person were uncles (a paternal uncle called "*swento*", and maternal uncle called "*nyokolomi*"), aunts (a paternal aunt called "*shwenkazi*", and a maternal aunt called "*nyakwento*"), and then grandfather and grandmother ("*shwenkuru*" and "*nyakwenkuru*" respectively). Without exception no matter how distant the relationship is all other family ties are traced from this set of core relationships. Extended family members enjoyed the same level of fraternity with blood relations in the nuclear family. The network of relationships galvanised the bonds between families and helped to bring the tribes together.

The nuclear household relationships in the patrilineal Banyambo society can be represented as follows using an example of Kato as a reference point with a father called Ishengoma in the paternal line and Komushara as mother in the maternal line.

Figure 3.4 Social organisation among the Banyambo: paternal and maternal families ('eka' and 'echika')



Source: Filed notes 2000.

PATERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

An example of Kato: Father's name: Ishengoma: Bashambo clan
Mother's name: Komushara: Bagara clan

Kato has a father Ishengoma and a mother Komushara. He calls his father's sisters and brothers aunt and their age-mates (*Shwenkazi*) and uncle *(Swento*) including descendants of other grandfathers.

Kato calls all the people on the level of the parents of his fathers grandparents i.e., grandfathers (*Shwenkuru*) and grandmothers (*Nyakwenkuru*).

Lastly he calls all the people in the same generation as his brothers and sisters (including those from his uncles and aunts). Being in a patrilineal society, Kato is Omushambo like his father.

MATERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Kato calls all his mother's younger and elder sisters his aunts (*Nyakwento*) and all his mother's brothers his uncles (*Nyakolomi)* on the level of parents.

Kato calls the people on the level of the parents of his mother grand parents like on his father's side.

Kato calls the people on his level as brothers and sisters like on his father's side.

A person's genealogy is recorded from the father's line so that in the example above, Kato is an Omushambo by clan. This practice contrasts sharply with matrilineal societies of Tanzania's coastal tribes such as the Waluguru and Wazaramo where the genealogy of a person is traced along the mother's line. In matrilineal societies any of the spouses has the option to move to the other, i.e., a bridegroom can move to the bride's parents or it can be the bride who moves to the bridegroom's homestead. The identity, genealogy and rights of the children following the marriage go to the maternal lineage. It is equally the maternal uncles who determine the bride price of the spouse unlike the Banyambo patrilineal system where the father and paternal uncles determine everything. This practice becomes significant in relation to where a person can live and inherit property as I show below.

In the social organisation, the *Echika* or *Eihiga* (extended family) comprises all the people who share a common great grandfather or grandfather and occupy the same territory i.e., a village or part of it. Kato – a reference point in the structure - has two *Ebika* (plural), one on the father's side to which he belongs by descent and has patrilineal rights of inheritance, and the second one, the mother's side which does not include inheritance rights. For example, the inheritance of a farm, livestock such as cattle and weapons are central to the Banyambo and closely linked to genealogy. In the above example, Kato can own property he has acquired in the mother's village or *Echika* but is not allowed to inherit any fixed property such as a farm and house from his maternal uncles or grand fathers. If by chance Kato lives in his maternal uncle's property, he has rights of occupancy (permitted to be there) without ownership rights. The Banyambo speak of Echika's land in terms of occupancy or land in use. When a maternal *echika* uses land they can claim ownership. Unused land is free. Thus Kato can occupy and own otherwise unclaimed land adjacent to his maternal uncles and grandparents. This would not be construed as inheritance. I suggest that this leeway enable the Banyambo people to live close to maternal uncles without compromising land rights.

At the level of the tribe, *Ebika* form a village although villages are normally composed of several *Ebika* that may or may not have relationships of blood and consanguinal ties. Where relationships do not exist between *Ebika* in a village(s), the doors are open to individuals for blood pacts and intermarriages. This situation brings closer marriage fields that do not follow a specific pattern; it happens that one generation prefers girls/boys from village X and the following generation may opt for a different village. Marriage fields change when people feel that the generations to intermarry are too closely related by blood. This would, for example, occur if Kato wanted to marry a girl who calls any of his uncle's wife's sister's child or aunt. In the perception of the people such a marriage would cause embarrassment to the uncle's spouse who should call Kato a son in-law and his spouse (Kato's spouse) a daughter in-law. According to the relations Kato's spouse calls her aunt ("*Nyakwento*") and the child as sister or mother depending on the connecting blood ties. When creating marriage relationships, care is taken to avoid marrying blood related people as well as marriages that create situations where a person becomes related by consanguineal and affinal ties simultaneously.

In this same figure above any *Echika* added on Kato's father's side through his uncles ("*Swento*") is automatically a Mushambo (singular) who cannot marry with Kato and this includes children of Kato's aunts ("*Swenkazi*"). It is taboo to marry a person of the same clan because you are considered as sisters and brothers. The children of Kato's aunt ("*Swenkazi*") have a different clan but are entitled to be real sisters and brothers through their mother. Another *Echika* added on the maternal side through an aunt ("*Nyakwento*") of Kato is considered too close for Kato to marry although the bride belongs to a different clan. It is permissible, however, for Kato to marry in the third *Echika* taking the mother's family tree as the first *Echika* because the relation is considered to have weakened or become too distant.[23] Locally this is described as "reviving or reactivating relationships" i.e. "*kugarura obuzare*" or "*kukubura abuzare*". This perception of relations and social organisations oblige people to marry outside the family circles as there is nothing like

[23] The people of Karagwe perceive a person to be a brother or sister as anyone with a trace of a blood connection even though very distant. For example, persons sharing a great grand father – one from a paternal line and another from a maternal line will call each other brother and sister.

cross cousins - only sisters and brothers. Under these social norms the whole tribe is inter-connected because any marriage contracted involves an outside party from a different clan.

On the marriage relationships, there are parents-in-law, and brothers/sisters in-law. Thereafter the same pattern of relationships is repeated in the families that have been joined together in marriage. This structure of networks of relations connects the people of Ankole, Rwanda and Karagwe together as kith and kin. It also defines the standard norms of conduct used to govern people because it establishes the rights, duties and obligations between household's ("*ebika*") and clan members (also see Figure 7.2). Beyond these relationship terms describing the members of households as well as affinity relations, the Banyambo, Banyakole and Banyarwanda sought to form and acknowledge ordinary friendships apart from blood pacts (Chapter 5). A blood pact relationship person is referred to as *munywani wanje* i.e., a pact brother or sister. An ordinary friend is called *mutahi wanje* or *mujenzi wanje* that translate literally as "one who enters my heart or my house" and "co-traveller". A person's distant brother e.g. one who belongs to his grandfathers or clan can also be called *mujenzi wanje* or *mutahi wanje* to show familiarity and willingness to co-operate. Such clan brothers are usually referred to as *bene tata* (plural) meaning sons of my fathers without being specific or simply *abanyaruganda* (of my clan). The metaphors of *mujenzi wanje* (co-traveller) and *mutahi wanje* (one who enters my heart and house) derive from the word for movement – *kutaha* (to go home) and *kujenda* (to walk or travel). To the extent that friendship is tied and defined by the movement metaphors, I suggest that movement is inherent in the culture of the Banyambo and helps to define relationships. In the social organisation of Karagwe, a person is a relative in the consanguineal and affinal sense or is 'a co-traveller" i.e., a friend (*mujenzi wanje* or *mutahi wanje*).

3.6 The diffusion of material culture: the impact of the Bahinda movements

The Bahinda movements to the south and into the weaker kingdoms of Karagwe, Rwanda, Buzinza, Busubi and Buhaya[24] were instrumental in the diffusion of material culture among the agriculturist Bantu. Both agriculturists and pastoralists had something to learn from each other as the two-cultures came face to face.

The Bantu had emerged from the traditions of hunting and gathering to permanent settlements under local rulers. Their mainstay occupation was agriculture – growing finger millet, beans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and a little later, banana plantains. These agricultural products helped to meet their basic needs for food and drink just as cattle served the same purpose for pastoralist people. For example, bananas gave them not only food (cooked green bananas) but many needs as the Bantu discovered many more uses of the plantain and fruit. The plant fibre was used to produce rope and decorations; the pulp for massage, leaves for plates (food served on leaves), glasses, spoons as well as roofing material. Apart from food, the fruit was used to prepare banana wine (*amarwa)* and sweet refreshing juice (*omuramba*) which could be traded with the pastoralist Bahima.

The Bahima too were skilled processors of cattle products. Materials rendered from cattle could be used to make beddings, sandals, ropes, sitting mats, carrier bags (*enfurebe*), clothing material (*enkanda*), milk products like ghee, and musical instruments made from horns. The Bantu had a material culture, which included knives, axes (*empango*), spears, mortar and pestle, grinding stones and water containers (gourds and earthenware pots). The Bahima assembly of artefacts included milk vessels (*ebyanzi),* milk covers (*emiheiha*) different types of incense (*emigazu yo okwotera*), milk storage containers (*ebishabo*), gee containers (*ensimbo*), double sided spears, long walking sticks and long smoking pipes. Essentially both people (agriculturists and pastoralists) learnt to appreciate and use each other's' products which was incorporated into an on-going process of barter trade. The flow of goods from one people to the other was facilitated by the exchange of material artefacts that played an important role in domestic activities

[24] The kingdoms of Buhaya under the Bahinda dynasty are Kihanja, Kiziba, Kyamutwara, Ihangiro, Bugabo, Maruku and Missenyi.

centred on the use of pots, cutting tools and musical instruments like drums and flute. Guilds were set up and each specialised in the production of an article requiring special skills. Firemakers, blacksmiths (*abahesi*), and bark-cloth makers (*abakomaji be mbugu*) all played an important part in a well-organised production system.

Each cultural group acquired some of the skills of the other. For example, the Bahima learnt among other things to construct solid round huts from their Bantu counterparts and incorporated the use of Bantu artefacts into their daily life. The Bantu learnt how to keep cows. Three methods or practices were put in place for the acquisition of the prized cattle: -

a) A Mnyambo could pledge loyalty to a Mhima (singular) or perform a heroic deed and be rewarded with a cow.
b) A Mnyambo could herd the cows of a Mhima for a certain period and be given a cow in return for the service rendered,
c) A Mnyambo could look after a cow of a Mhima until it produced three calves. He/she would return the original cow with two calves and retain one. However during the period of care, milk had to be delivered daily to the Mhima and the Mnyambo was expected to provide services on request.

Through these acquisition methods, a Mnyambo could become a Mhima by acquiring enough cattle wealth and concluding strategic marriages. Similarly, a Mhima could become a Mwiru if he lost his cattle. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (2002) commenting on the relationship between the agriculturists and pastoralists says: -

> [The] Bahima (cattle-keepers), the Bairu (cultivators) and Bahinda (rulers) [a sub group of the Bahima] the three castes that made Nkore [Ankole] ethnic group, were interlinked. If a Mhima lost cattle he would become a Murasi and eventually a Mwiru [cultivator]. Likewise, if a Mwiru got cattle, he would become a Mwambari and eventually a Mhima (The New Vision, Thursday 11, April 2002).

I suggest that the diffusion of material artefacts, intermarriages and living together in one area/kingdom united the people and enabled them to move from one social stratum to another e.g., from a being pastoralist to an agriculturist as well as the converse (see appendix 8). The shared material artefacts removed the sense of strangeness a person might otherwise experience in moving from one place to another. This helped create the impression of always being home.

The physical and social movements diffused material artefacts as well as values leading to the formation of a shared common culture. The culture of the Bahima and that of the indigenous Banyambo melded to form a seamless continuity of attitudes, language and behaviours. Where variations occurred as shown in the changed role of boys among the Banyambo, perceptions of values, wealth and relationships were harmonised. Other values were strengthened or re-enforced to meet the exigencies of the cultural territory like hunting with better tools and herding together.

3.7 The perception of wealth and values among the people of Karagwe

In this section, I illustrate the common culture using examples of the perception of wealth (cattle) and children showing the change in sex preferences. I also argue that the values of friendship, sincerity/honesty, truth and co-operation are fundamental in the life of the people of Karagwe and invariably true for Rwanda and Ankole (Southern Uganda). The totality of these values and the common history shared by the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda create a cultural territory made up of the former kingdoms of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole. At every move, they perceive themselves to be home and find relatives of blood, affinity and blood pacts in each kingdom.

The Bahima and Banyambo societies held different perceptions about wealth and children. The Bahima treasured cattle as the sole wealth and a person's ranking in society was pegged to the size of herds of cattle. The more kraals of cattle one had the greater the respect this could command and even lead to an appointment to a political post by the King. A person with cattle wealth could be appointed either counsellor to the king or a

governor of a village(s) or an area. This honour and respect deriving from cattle ownership suggests that a well-to-do person could be trusted with public office and minimise property risk of misuse and loss. Such a person was considered to be wealthy enough to make repayment in case official property was lost or damaged. The accumulation of wealth was a sign of competence. Such a person was considered to have the administrative skills to be entrusted with official position. In Bahima society, male children had value in so far as they could demonstrate the physical prowess to become warriors and be appointed to serve as pages at the royal court. They were, however, also a liability. If they were to marry the father had to pay a bride price in cows taken from his kraal and then provide his son with enough cattle to help him establish a family. For the Banyambo, the father of a marrying son performed a similar role. A section of banana plantation served to fulfil this custom. For both this custom was responsible for some movements because the constant subdivision of cattle wealth and farmland resulted in dwindling household capital. Young people were compelled to relocate in order to maintain an adequate food supply.

The Banyambo on the other hand treasured children – particularly males. Male children built close to the property of the father, usually within it and protected the household and the clan from external aggression such as inter-clan rivalry and wild beasts. Some of the district's contemporary natural resources are the game reserves where people hunted. Apart from providing a source of meat protein, these areas in which game was abundant were also a source of danger from marauding loins, elephants and rhinos (Figure 3.1: Ibanda Game Controlled Area, Burigi Game reserve and the Parc National de la Kagera). The Mnyambo takes pride in the number of children he/she has on the farm. One could boast of occupying an entire valley with children. Children also provide the much-needed labour to perform various duties such as brewing beer (*kuzunga amarwa*), house construction, and running errands on behalf of the father. Most important is the perpetuation of the family tree and clan. In Banyambo society wealth is measured by the size of one's farm and the ability of a household to achieve and maintain, self-sufficiency in household production, tools and equipment such as hunting nets and axes; troughs for brewing beer, spears and drums. Possession of such items increases the status of the head

of the household.

Through contact Bahima and Banyambo have each transmuted these values which has resulted in a preference for girl children over boys. Among the Bahima, the bride price agreement is/was paid in cattle by the fathers (father and uncles or small fathers) of the bridegroom who experiences the pain of parting with cattle. The cattle paid out for the boy in turn to pay the bride price was returned when a daughter got married and a similar bride price demanded. It became desirable then to have an equal number of children of both sexes. For the Banyambo agriculturalists the traditional bridal price was/is paid in the form of axes, hoes and beads together with beer (*amarwa*) and a number of goats for the grandfathers, brothers, aunts and uncles.

The desire of the Banyambo to access and own Bahima cattle and benefit from the milk products and meat as well as the enhanced status intensified with marriages between the two peoples. In addition to the three methods of acquiring cattle stated earlier now another easier method presented itself in the form of bride price. A Mhima wishing to marry a Mnyambo girl was required to pay one or two cows. The practice became accepted and survives up to the present. The replacement of cattle with money has not altered the custom because the amount required of the bridegroom is the equivalent of the price of cows on the market. This change of tradition among the Banyambo inspired a change in the attitude of both societies towards girls. Girls regained their status as valued members of the family. The people of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole share the common high value they put on children and cattle. Both are a source of pride. Notwithstanding the change of attitude towards female children, male children remain the sex preferred for defence and clan membership. Males are seen as being more actively mobile. Better qualified to build networks of relationships within the tribe and outside it and hence enhance the number and range of family/clan relationships that can be used to further promote affective connections and mobility.

3.8 The conduct of social relations in Karagwe: the values of trust, honesty, sincerity, friendship, co-operation and sharing

Trade and diffusion of material culture were carried out in an atmosphere of mutual trust, honesty, sincerity and truthfulness between the two communities and among the people. Each society held the virtues that govern behaviour and every individual expected to know and adhere to them. Negotiated contact between the people of the two cultures, the Banyambo and Bahima, has tended to strengthen these values which have become entrenched in customs. The added strength was perhaps given by the fact that both agreements were established in oral contracts rather than written contracts. On the basis of shared virtues and values, individuals sealed mutual agreements in the form of oral contracts. For example, a person would contract to lend a cow to a friend or agree to a marriage. The contracting individuals were each expected to honour the respective obligations. In the case of lending a cow, the borrower undertook to look after the cow until it produced three calves; then he/she would return the cow and two calves and retain the third. In the case a marriage agreement, the head of a household looking for a groom would approach another household of good standing and known to be hardworking and (after proper consultations with his spouse) offer his/her daughter in marriage (*nakugabira omukazi*).[25] A person making such an offer to unite two families through marriage or offering a cow to another person was obliged to honour their word. If either party reneges on their promise, they are dishonoured and fall into disgrace. This adversely affects not only the household concerned but also the entire clan. From this moment none of them can be trusted. The cost of this is so great that few will risk it. The saying *omuseiza ahinduka aha chitabo tahinduka mu kanwa* translates literally as "a man turns in bed but not in speech" stresses the values of trust, sincerity and truthfulness while belittling those who acted contrary to the norm.

The qualities of friendship and co-operation among people are equally cherished among the people of Karagwe and I suggest that the Banyambo are pragmatic in life situations. They desire to live amicably and co-operate in all aspects of life. The closest relation a

person has is a consanguinal tie followed by affinal ties and then ordinary friendship. The people of Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda improvised a system of blood pacts to unite two people and their households in order to enjoy the same rights, duties and obligations of a blood relative.[26] The blood pact relationship makes another connection of linking tribal members in the network that I describe in section 3.5. In these relations, there is an implied quality of co-operation between members – to assist each other in attaining societal goals as well as individual goals. At the community level, there is hunting, self defence, beer brewing, harvests, preparation for weddings, communal services like digging wells because of the low water table [villages located on plateaux and the rain shadow created by the north-south hill range], and grazing cattle. Although some of these tasks do not require a blood relation to be performed, the people know their environment better than anybody else does. My respondents were very emphatic about the value of working together, especially in hunting with a blood relative. From their experience, a blood relative is willing to lay down a life to save a brother when attacked by a marauding lion or leopard. Other examples of hazards that require self-sacrifice given included snakebites and python attacks. It is acknowledged that a non-blood relation will easily abandon a person in need especially when faced with a life threat. In view of this, blood pacts that create a unique relationship similar to one enjoyed by blood brothers and sisters were established to meet this need. This is another way of creating multiple connections at family, clan and tribe level.

Co-operation was desired for mutual assistance and to secure time for other activities. For example, several households may herd cattle, sheep and goats together in turn to free other members so they can attend to other farming chores. The co-operation released people to undertake other jobs and/or carry on their trade specialisation for the benefit of the community. These special skills included blacksmiths to manufacture farm tools such as curved machetes, knives, spears, hoes and arrows. Traditional medicine healers and

[25] In traditional time parents of Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda descent arranged marriage for their children. The prospective spouses especially the brides were never involved. It was an affair between families. This practice has died out today. Any family could ask or give to the other a spouse/groom.

midwives whose services would be required at short notice were also exempted from such duties because their services were considered to be worthy of support. These trades were important to the community and practitioners needed to be available at all times. Their remuneration consisted in part of exemptions from other communal chores and token payments of live animals. The virtue of co-operation was practical, reflecting a practical need in everyday life situations; it aimed at saving lives and extending the range of services available to all members of the society.

In the minds of the Bairu and Bahima people of Karagwe, the value of co-operation goes together with the value of sharing. The habit of giving to others is desired and taught to community members from childhood. Children in a household are taught to share among themselves, for example, in drinking and eating and at a later stage the practice is extended to include children in neighbouring households. Adults found drinking and eating alone are ridiculed and described as thieves or gluttons i.e., *obushuma* or *omururu*. 'Theft' in this context means stealing that the refusal to share denies others what belongs to them and gives voice to the importance attached to sharing. These expressions: *obushuma* and *omururu* are much stronger than the English words 'theft' and 'gluttony'.

The household and community environment fosters habits of giving and receiving to enable the children to acquire the behaviour and at the same time promote the equitable distribution of food, ease any temporary shortage in needy households and establish the principle of reciprocity at a later time. There are exchanges of meat (domestic or bushmeat), beer, sweet juices and foodstuffs between neighbours, and the children are engaged to run these short errands of distribution. For example, a household that slaughters a goat or cow is by tradition expected to give some meat to neighbouring households. The same distribution is repeated for beer and juices like *omuramba* prepared from bananas and *obushera* from finger millet flour. In the sharing of meat, there are specific portions or cuts that are sent to, for instance, one's father; the children of one's sister, i.e., nieces (*abeihwa*); to one's brothers of blood and the general class of

[26] Sebisaho Rugarukira, (1996), 'Le pact de sang Africain: Une institution du vouloir vivre ensemble (The African blood pact: The will to live together), unpublished PhD. Thesis, Univeriste Catholique de Louvain, Belgium.

brothers of the clan called *abanyaruganda* (kinsmen). A person observed to eat and drink alone (without giving to others) attracts social sanctions that may include a mild boycott such as not visiting that family to drink in community gatherings in the evenings. Stronger sanctions include scolding from elderly people or a clan leader and a reluctance if not outright refusal to marry a son or daughter from that family. Token fines can be imposed for offenders to foster reconciliation between neighbours. More generally, lack of sharing can result in a person losing the benefits of co-operation enjoyed by other community members. It is a value in its own right but is closely linked to co-operation and friendship expected of society members.

3.9 Social relations among the people: respect and politeness towards the elders

The multiple connections of the people of Karagwe (and the sister kingdoms) are premised on blood and affinal ties as well as blood pacts made between people. These relations too can be said to reflect the codes of respect and politeness towards the elderly and relatives. The social dictum is that elders have to be respected at all times whether one knows them or not because they represent authority. Respect and politeness are stressed within the family and beyond. It is bad behaviour if one shows lack of respect and politeness to an elder person. Even with twins, the first born twin receives respect from his/her young brother or sister. From childhood, one is encouraged to respectfully greet, be polite to and obey elders. For example, when an elderly person orders[27] you to do something, you have to decline very politely using, for example, the pretext of time for fear of offending him or her. Respect and obedience in Banyambo society start at childhood. Every member of society is expected to obey and respect the seniors above him or her.

At household level, respect is enforced by the peer relationship code. Members of the same peer group enjoy a relationship of sister and brother. The members above one's peer group are governed by the nature of the relation existing between them. A youth will

[27] In the traditions of the Banyambo, an elder person usually puts a request that is interpreted as an order. For instance, if a father visits his son and admires something, he simply comments that such an item is good or that he is thirsty. The son is obliged to send the said item to the father. In the case of the expressed thirst, the son will send something to drink instantly especially when it is within his means.

call peers brothers and sisters; those in the rank of father and mother will be addressed by the same titles of aunts, uncles and grandparents. Similarly, one's juniors will be called young brothers i.e., *(ba)mu-rumuna*[28] *(ba)wa-nje,* and a sister will be called *(ba)mu-nyanyazi banje*. An elder brother will be called *(ba)mu-kuru wanje*. Outside the family tree, the same relationships and appellations continue to be used along affinal and blood pact lines. As part of the etiquette of respect adults must not be called by their names. People are referred to by their class titles or as I observed during the field study 'the mother or father of 'X'. My respondents quipped saying that calling a person 'Mother of Kato' is a recent import from the Swahili culture into the Banyambo custom. It is the networks formed by these relationship terms that define respect and/or obedience and politeness. The gerontocratic order permits elders to reprimand or correct any person junior to them found flouting the norms. The correction is intended to produce uniform behaviour that is acceptable and expected of all community members. This practice preserves tribal identity.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter reviews the geographical position of Karagwe and her neighbours - the people of Rwanda and Ankole in southern Uganda - who move to establish residence in Karagwe. I argue that these people are related by consanguinal and affinal ties which have evolved out of historical movements, which were consolidated under King Ruhinda and his posterity starting with princes who were appointed to govern the conquered territories. A shared common culture is a result of two cultures melding together including the diffusion and assimilation of material artefacts and cultural norms or practices. I observed that these people share a similar language, household tools and values such as truthfulness, co-operation, sharing and respect for the elderly. The totality of these cultural elements permits members to feel at home and at ease in any place where this culture is active. Thus a person from Rwanda might feel well at home in Karagwe or Ankole. Likewise a Mnyambo feels at home in Rwanda or Ankole. The cultural territory they have created over many years of living and moving together gives

[28] The ba- prefix denotes the plural of the noun.

them this perception. It confers a sense of common identity or oneness that distinguishes them from 'the others' who do not share their practices and norms.

This perception of a shared cultural space sets a challenge. What is an appropriate way of researching the movement of people who in their own understanding are standing yet moving in their cultural territory (Chapman 1991: 290)? In the following chapter I will present the method used in this study as a way of approaching the task.

CHAPTER FOUR

A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POPULATION MOVEMENT IN KARAGWE DISTRICT

> [It cannot] be assumed that migrants come from all the "poor" rural areas, or that they are recruited at random from among the "individuals" making up the population of these regions. The Bassari of East Senegal are among the most destitute of the region, and they do not emigrate. Equally, it is notable that in Tanzania the ("poor") Masai do not emigrate, whereas the farmers of the "rich" Kilimanjaro region supply a considerable percentage of migrants. These are but a few examples. Taking these facts into consideration it becomes clear that there is a push factor which i) cannot be reduced to the single factor that the income in rural emigration areas is lower than that of towns, ii) does not have the same force from one rural area to the next (a force independent of the "average income"). This push factor is closely linked to the kind of social transformations that the rural areas of the world are undergoing as a result of their integration into the global capitalist system (Amin 1995:32 cited in Baker 1995).

> This study has established that there is a causal-effect [sic] relationship between rural poverty and out-migration. In the rural out-migration areas all the social services are poor, earnings from agriculture are meagre, non-agricultural employment opportunities are almost non-existent (Liviga and Mekacha 1998: 41).

4.1 Introduction

Studies of Tanzanian population movement are guided by the theme of poverty; movement is attributed to low living standards in rural areas and that people move to urban centres to escape poverty and improve the quality of their lives. Deprivation, poverty and uneven development are viewed as the primary causes of population movement to urban centres (Amin 1995, Liviga and Mekacha 1998). This suggestion implies that: -

i) the movement of people from rural to urban centres would cease when poverty and uneven development are eliminated,

ii) that people would move between rural areas for the same reasons, and

iii) rural movers enter urban centres without transiting through their kinsmen who arrived earlier to settle in urban centres.

The different explanations stem from the analytical frameworks of the economic equilibrium model and the dependency model of the historical-structural approach outlined in Chapter 2. In both cases, the methodology used explains the causes of movement from "poor" rural areas and fails to capture and describe the rural to rural movement such as observed in Karagwe rural district. The causes listed above indicate why a mover settles at a destination, but do not explain what the social connections of the mover are, what meaning of movement is; and the significance of the environment or cultural territory in which the movement occurs.

4.2 Objectives of the chapter

In this chapter, I identify and discuss the methodology I used to collect field data in Karagwe. The methodology enables me to understand the meaning and perception of movement in the world-view of the people of Karagwe using the language of the movers, their social relationships, narratives of life histories of movement and their cultural perception of space. This methodology is a result of a shift in orientation from the literature on Tanzanian population movement studies – a literature that fails to establish connections between people, their language and culture - to a humanistic approach that reflects a cultural world-view rich in metaphors of movement. It is this shift which enabled me understand how people conceive movement by accepting their own voice as the principal medium through which to tell their movement experiences. This involved listening and recording family life histories of movement, living with and among them to gain first-hand insights of the mover's meanings in language as well as observing the current movements that put into practice their understanding or perception through the use of movement registers. The combination of living among the people and using

mobility registers showed how movement is on-going.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part is a discussion of epistemology or as Chapman (1995) suggests "ways of knowing". This epistemological view grew out of a realisation in the field that my original research instruments were not capable of eliciting information on how individuals understand the meaning and perception of movement in an area. The instruments, for example, were not geared to probe the language of the movers (metaphors), their social relationships and perception of a cultural territory. It was through changing the epistemological approach from that influenced by the economic and dependency models (Chapter 2) to a humanistic approach that I was able to capture the peoples' understanding of movement. The second part describes my first research design with which I intended to study movement under the influence of current Tanzanian population studies. Using this first research design would have led to a repetition of the findings carried out by others using the economic paradigm to enumerate the causes of movement instead of attempting to get an understanding of its meaning. When I saw this weakness in the pre-test study, I changed the methodology to the ethnographic approach outlined below. The third part outlines the research instruments used to gather information that ultimately brought the study to its present form. These instruments helped me to listen to the voices of the movers, understand their cultural oneness or common identity and study the terms or metaphors of the language of movement as well as interpret or link the significance of movement to social connections and identity. I used life histories of movement as narrated by the movers, the metaphors of the language of movement and mobility registers to compare words with the human action of movement. The fourth part is a summary and conclusion of the chapter that brings together the main arguments of the chapter and paves the way to the presentation of my research findings.

4.3 Ways of knowing: a theoretical framework to enhance understanding of inter-rural movement in Karagwe

The indigenous people of Karagwe are Banyambo who live with many other movers such as the Banyankole, Banyarwanda, Basumbwa and Bahaya (Katoke 1975: 16). After

establishing themselves in the district by constructing houses and developing farms of banana plantains for their livelihood or sustenance the Banyankole, Banyarwanda and Bahaya consider themselves to be part of the Banyambo. The Banyambo accept them and call these movers '*abantu*' literally translated as 'people'. The term '*abantu*' is a metaphor with a deeper cultural meaning - "a people they know, and with whom they share a common language, customs, values and foods – i.e., a people like themselves". People originating from other tribes without the shared characteristics are called '*abanyamahanga*' literally meaning foreigners (i.e., people from other states). The point of significance from these metaphors is that an understanding of the Banyankole and Banyarwada movers involves cultural factors that warrant the use of a different methodology beyond the economic equilibrium and historical-structural models. These methodologies enumerate the causes of movement using quantifiable variables without making links to cultural considerations on movement. Viewed through and understood from an ethnographic perspective, the movement of the Banyankole and Banyarwanda enables a researcher to interpret movement from the viewpoint of the movers

The acquisition of knowledge involves an investigator and the object to be investigated or to be known (Denzin & Lincoln 1998). The role of the investigator is to be seen on three levels: -

a) The investigator has a set of beliefs, viewpoint or a world-view he or she believes in "defining for the holder the nature of the "world", the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts..."(Denzin & Lincoln 1998: 200). These beliefs constitute the framework or paradigm that determine the understanding of the knowledge to be acquired.

b) The second level is the position of and the relationship between the investigator and what is to be known. This stance affects the knowledge to be investigated and how it is investigated. For example, the independent existence of the object to be known means that the study can be carried out 'objectively" without any influence from the investigator. The object can be isolated. The other side of this example is for the

investigator to consider that he or she has an influence on the object to be known and he or she is not able to isolate the object or phenomenon. The movement of celestial bodies such as stars illustrates the first position where the investigator has no influence while the study of human behaviour illustrates the second case of the researcher's influence. The Hawthorne experiments conducted by Elton Mayo in the Western Electric Company of the USA (1927-1932) is a classic example. Using experimental and control groups, Mayo noted that production increased in both groups even when light or no incentives were extended to the control group. The explanation was that the control group knew it was under observation and influence by Elton Mayo (as investigator) and increased efforts to produce more (Koontz, O'Donnell and Weihrich, 1986:11). Koontz et al. comment thus, 'This phenomenon, arising basically from people being "noticed" has been known as the "Hawthorne effect" (ibid. 11).

c) On the third level (itself determined by the first two positions above) is the choice of the methods to be used to find out the [would-be] knowledge. Where the investigator believes in the independent observation, measurements are used. If however, the investigator considers that he or she has an influence, the logic of explanation prevails and invariably the art of interpretation. These two positions of the investigator are: -

i) A researcher who believes in the independent existence of the object to-be known without a personal influence involved and uses quantifiable measurements on the one hand and;
ii) Another investigator or researcher who perceives himself or herself to have an influence on the object to-be known and uses the logic of explanation and interpretation to understand a phenomenon.

These two positions of the investigator have in turn created two contending basic research paradigms. These are the positivist and humanistic paradigms and each has several models within it. For example, under positivism there is post-positivism, and under the humanistic paradigms are realists, feminists and post-modernists. From the two paradigms the more pronounced differences that I perceive to underpin my change in the

methodology of this study are the objectives/goals of the investigator and the research instruments used to collect data on the object to-be known. In positivist paradigms the goal is to predict and control phenomenon using mathematical formulas (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:201) while the gaol of the humanistic paradigms is to use the logic of interpretation to understand, describe and interpret the phenomenon. In this study of population movement between and within rural areas, I use a humanistic approach that gives insights to understand movement, as people perceive it. Humanistic paradigms have the advantage of employing peoples' values to explain a phenomenon and an ability to listen to, for example, the voices of the people by using autobiographies and narratives i.e., they valorise or take cognisance of human values and behaviour in interpreting and describing. Vandsemb (1995) on the positivist paradigms on migration studies informs us that: -

> The quantitative studies are valuable for giving us information about the magnitude and the spatial patterns of migration streams and migration selectivity by age, sex, marital status, education, and occupation...But these kinds of study cannot adequately shed light on the complexity of the causes of migration and the individual decision making processes involved...there is also a need for studies of the circumstances in a particular place that makes a particular individual migrate (1995:412).

The challenges to conceptualise population movement as people understand it, particularly among Pacific Island people led Chapman (1978) to convene a seminar of twenty-three local and international experts at the East West Centre in Hawai'i to address the issues of circulation among Pacific Islands' people. The movement of people in the Pacific Region as well as other third world countries does not fit the conventional definition of 'internal migration'. Internal migration involves a "shift in a permanent residence from one place to another" (1978:559). The paradox of these particular movements is that movement in the Pacific Islands and other third world countries is an interchange of people between origin and destination points but with movers ending up in their original communities. The movements of this nature have variously been described as 'circulation, seasonal mobility or labour migration' using methodologies and

techniques derived from census data and snap shot surveys which, are not often available in developing countries. The seminar pointed to a need to conceptualise movement from the peoples' understanding and experiences and making links with past local movements. Chapman observes that studies in population movement have to take into account the process and structures of movement dynamics involved. He suggests the use of ongoing movement registers, family genealogies, retrospective migration histories, and oral historiographic reconstructions of residential relocation, supported wherever possible by archival, ecological, archaeological and linguistic evidence (ibid. 560). A combination of techniques will reveal the understanding and meaning of mobility seen in the totality of life situations of the people. Viewed from this perspective, movement is much more than an isolated event to be abstracted and tallied - it is a strategy and a relationship at the same time. This revelation and need became evident as local experts gave their personal experiences as well as that of their people and hence called for a need for greater flexibility to understanding concepts like "home" and "permanence" from the mover's worldview. A study carried out in Vanuatu along these lines by Bonnemaison (1985) clarified the paradox surrounding the event of movement of people in a celebrated book "The Tree and The Canoe". The movement event is represented at once by the imagery of a 'canoe' as a symbol of going out to explore the world and the 'tree' as a symbol of rootedness or fixty in a place. In the light of these experiences, Chapman (1995) firmly invites researchers to consider alternative ways of knowing by initiating a dialogue between the two paradigms and reassessing the manners of thought, the conceptual approaches and the methods of enquiry. The trajectory given is one of a continuum and mid-point between humanistic and scientific methods as depicted in Figure 4.1 (Chapman 1995:253).

I suggest that columns three and four are the phenomenon of movement as contained in local histories and life histories (events). The first two columns show the position of a humanist researcher studying the event of movement and its local perception by using columns three and four whereas the positivist researchers see local histories and life stories as discrete and separate events of a phenomenon [movement] to be counted.

The pioneering work of Chapman is taken a step further by McKendrick (1999) to suggest the use of a multi-research methodology in Human Geography to understand population movement. The multi-research method seeks to overcome the internal and external critiques of both paradigms pointed out by Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 196-198). The criticisms of the paradigms include context stripping, exclusion of meaning and purpose, inapplicability of general data to individual cases and value ladeness of facts because the said 'found-out facts' are equally observed from a theory window. The window compromises the value-free posture supposed to exist internally.

Figure 4.1 Ways of knowing: the humanist and scientific positions to knowledge

"Figure1. - The dynamics of people's movement through time: Melanesia"

Initiate a dialogue around three basic concerns that encompass a range of humanist and scientific thinking:

1. Manners of thought systems of thinking
2. Conceptual stances approaches to substance
3. Methods of enquiry means of elicitation

Cosmologies	Values	Local	Life	Sequences	Tracing
Worldviews	Metaphors	histories	stories	of past events	actions
Belief systems	Symbols	Oral narratives	Biography	(movement	forward
Images	Stereotypes	Myths, tales	Personal	histories)	through
		drama	testimony		time

HUMANIST SCIENTIST

Reproduced from: Chapman M (1995), 'Island autobiographies of movement: alternative ways of knowing?' in Paul Claval and Singaravelou, eds: Ethnogeographies, Paris: L'Harmattan, pp 253.

Multi-research methods go a step further by engaging in a dialogue of combining positivist and humanist research instruments to obtain results credible to both paradigms and above all to explain what one paradigm would otherwise miss out. I consider the

second argument of McKendrick to be forceful and self-explanatory where the impact of an event such as death on the relatives is to be assessed.

> ...the breadth of understanding that is provided by multi-method research is consistent with traditional academic ideas of scholarship. Thus, it is not enough for the mortality specialist to appreciate the complexities of geodemographics; s/he may also wish to understand the behaviours that are associated with mortality outcomes and the implications of mortality upon those who have lost a close friend or relative. A multiplicity of methods are implicated in this endeavour that would only be understood as multi-method when the researcher is actively involved in exploring these issues (McKendrick 1999: 42)

It is, however, the summary of the ways of knowing presented by McKendrick[29] (1999:45) in Table 1 and the works of Chapman (1977b, 1978, 1985 and 1995)[30] that drew me out of the maze to understand the movement of people in Karagwe. In this Table 1 (Appendix 4), the humanistic research tradition valorises human experience and seeks to understand the meaning, value, and human significance of events.

In this paradigm, fieldwork is ethnographic with [a longer period of] participant observation that enables a researcher to share the emotions, experiences and the significance of movement (McKendrick 1999: 45). This understanding, which, is remarkably missing in the Tanzanian population movement studies put me on the track to answer the question of my mentor and later supervisor Dr. Young who reminded me that the goal of the study is to understand the movement of people in Karagwe rural district.

With this understanding I made a shift away from the main stream literature on

[29] McKendrick J.H., (1999). "Multi-method research: An introduction to its application in population Geography", Professional Geographer 51(1), February pg. 45: Table 1: How epistemology informs, rather than precludes, methodological strategy: Examples from migration studies.
[30] I am highly indebted to Professor M. Chapman and Professor R.M. Prothero who availed to me their personal copies of an article they co-authored in 1977.

Tanzanian population movement studies to explore life histories of movement, the language of the movers and notions of identity. This involved an ethnographic approach where I listened to and recorded the life histories of movement directly from the voices of the movers. Here a mover explains the movements made in his/her lifetime to an attentive investigator. These stories or narratives are later interpreted to describe and/or explain movement. A second approach was to live among the people and experience their life situations, emotions and see the meaning and importance of movement as it links people together by maintaining family, clan and tribe bonds and identity. The third instrument was language. Movement as practised or lived is reflected and contained in the spoken language of the people/movers – the terms and/or expressions used to describe various movements in the community (Figure 4.1 – excerpt from Table 1 of McKendrick, 1999).

To understand the movement metaphors, I had the advantage of being a Mnyambo myself to get the direct meaning from a scholar/investigator's perspective. For example the metaphors '*okuzinduka*' (to visit a person with gifts) and '*okuganuza*' (the presentation of first harvests) do not invoke the idea of movement per se. An understanding of the language and an investigative goal reveal that to 'present the gifts' and 'the presentation of first harvests' involves the movement of one household to another. The investigator will discover the underlying movement by knowing where the households effecting the exchange of gifts through movement live in terms of distance between the households, the frequency of the visits that depend on the seasonal harvest cycles and the traditional networks of relationships in which such exchanges occur. These circumstances surrounding '*okuzinduka*' and '*okuganuza*' are visible to an insider turned investigator or to an outsider who lives among the people for a sufficiently long period to study and understand the meaning of these events. To supplement the life histories or narratives, I used mobility registers in three study villages to record the frequency of various movements and to confirm the meaning of the metaphors of movement.

The substantive section of the table that influenced my thinking is reproduced as follows:

Figure 4.2 "Table 1: How epistemology informs, rather than precludes, methodological strategy: Examples from migration"

Research Tradition	Objectives	Migration example
Humanistic	Valorise human Experience and seek to Understand the meaning Value and human Significance of events	'Return' migration of 'American' Jewish families to Israel

Methods and Application			
Survey/Questionnaire	**Interview**	**Fieldwork**	**Noncreative**
Detailed social attitudes questionnaire to establish and understand the personal context of (non-functional reasons for) this migration	In-depth interview to explore the meaning of this migration experience to each individual migrant	**Ethnographic, participant observation to share the emotions, experiences and significance of this particular migration** **(Original in bold)**	Analysis of reported accounts (autobiography, speeches, magazine articles) of return migration to situate the personal significance of the act in its wider socio-political context.

Reproduced from: McKendrick (1999), 'Professional Geographer, Volume 51, Number 1, February 1999: page 45.

Mobility registers also showed the relations between the mover and the visited household by asking for the relationships between the visitor and the host household being visited. This observation and recording also reveals the nature of the visit and more particularly how these articulate the function of movement as a means to cement or keep the bonds well knit in the tribal communities of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole (Appendix 5).

The technique of explaining and interpreting movement from the perception of the

movers enables a researcher to grasp all movements of people in rural areas that Amin and Liviga et al. ignore or do not see. Amin (1995), for example, has the temerity to state that the "poor" Masai in Tanzania 'do not emigrate' (sic) while Liviga and Mekacha (1998), Tripp (1996), Mbonile (1994) and Sabot (1975) make no mention of this rural to rural movement. Liviga et al. (1998) affirm conclusively that rural poverty and out-migration to urban centres express a cause-effect relationship i.e., the poverty of rural areas causing the movement of people to urban centres. By implication there cannot be rural to rural movement as the two share the same poverty that causes movement. It is, however, the statement of Amin (1995) that touches the core of this study and invariably led me to question my way of knowing – the epistemology of my knowing. This is the contention that the 'poor' Masai who live in rural areas 'do not emigrate'. To be sure, the Masai of Tanzania (and Kenya) are nomads; and nomadism is movement from one place to another – in this case movement in search of pastures but also to disguise cattle theft made in raids. This is denying a movement one is attesting to exist in the words 'nomadic life'. It is like saying that inter city transfers in the same company are not movements on the part of employees.

The methodological departure that I made from the mainstream Tanzanian migration studies aims at avoiding these deficiencies. I argue that: -

i) There is movement of people within rural areas and, particularly Karagwe where people move within a cultural territory that they perceive to be their own. This movement does not lead to the towns; it is within their territory [like the case of the Masai], and

ii) That an understanding of rural movement requires a different methodology and epistemology other than one of tallying figures or enumerating movement to urban centres.

I suggest that such a methodology is one that captures the meaning of movement among the people through their culture, notably their perception of spaces, language, social relationships and values. This approach differs from the dualist ways of knowing or epistemologies by engaging in a dialogue between the movers' life experiences, language and culture. The meeting ground is the multi-method research design where the

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deficiencies of one epistemology and/or paradigm are offset by techniques from another paradigm, as suggested by McKendrick (1999: 48).

4.4 Preparation for field work and data collection instruments: a misguided approach to study meanings and perceptions of movement in Karagwe

During the preparation of the study project two significant events that have influenced my study took place. First with financial assistance from my supervisor, Associate Professor John McKinnon, I purchased a laptop to assist with data and word processing. This laptop enabled me to complete this work. Regrettably, however, I was computer illiterate like most of my colleagues in Tanzania then. Second, my Supervisor arranged with Dr Young, a PhD. graduate in the same field of study to introduce me to computer skills and the search engines for recent publications in migration studies. Dr. Young, who was to become my mentor and later supervisor, willingly taught me the skills and in the course of our conversations he became interested in my project. From this friendship, doors opened. One of the great questions he asked me [and this was to be my focus and turning point as I experienced internal struggles to find a suitable methodology] was my interest. "Was/am I interested to enumerate the causes of movement in rural areas or was I interested to elicit the meanings of movement from those who move in rural areas?" This was and is a critical question and a pointer to the method that I was to use for data collection in the subsequent field study in Karagwe between January and November 2000. Dr. Young's question confirmed my internal worries on the ability or suitability of the study model (Figure 4.3) to collect data that reflects the worldview of the movers in Karagwe rural district[31].

In the following two months – October and November 1999, my project proposal and the model below were completed. I prepared a set of questions to test propositions on boundaries, customs and values unaware that these would be less useful to the study I was undertaking – that of understanding the meaning and perception of movement as the movers do in Karagwe and establishing a cultural territory. I prepared two questionnaires,

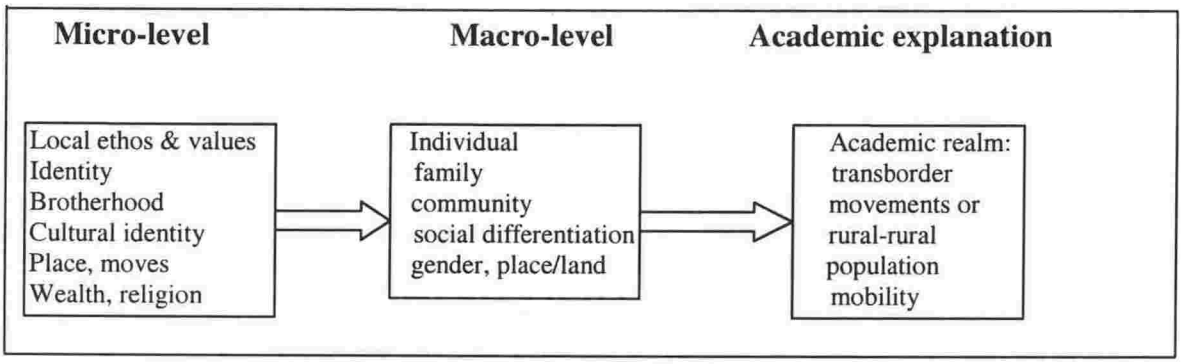
[31] My view is that economistic approaches generate casual explanations that are determined by the approaches themselves and therefore exclude considerations of different information that might offer better and fuller explanations.

one for the movers and another for the host community members, the Banyambo. The questionnaire to collect data from the movers was divided into three sections: - 1) First were questions on biographical details, though I assured my respondents of anonymity and confidentiality. The confidentiality and anonymity guarantees were intended to allow the freedom of expression and avert fears on the part of respondents. I also gave assurances that the research was academic and had no government connection. This assurance was vital at the time because the Government of Tanzania and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees were repatriating voluntary refugees [survivors] of the 1997/98 massacres back to Rwanda.

The second set of questions related to boundaries and property ownership such as land and cattle. The third section of the questionnaire concerned customs and values. The rationale behind these questions was to explore movement as a result of social interaction in the community where a person is born and grows to adulthood as well as the individual's wealth without probing into the social relationships. My assumption was [then] that movers are those people who disagree with societal norms and values or those deprived of material possessions such as land. A failure to conform and interact with other community members and lack of material wealth would lead to outward movements. Pre-test study results showed me that movement of people in Karagwe is connected with conformity to norms and values such as living with relatives, the desire or motive to increase family bonds and intermarriages. I learned from the transcription and analysis of the results that the questions asked sought to show or enumerate the causes of movement. The results were leaning towards the limited evidence of the positive and negative factors that repel or attract people to move or stay put in a society where movement is considered to be one leading outside the cultural territory.

This misguided perception of movement was depicted diagrammatically in my study proposal as follows: -

Figure 4.3 A diagrammatic representation of the study project 1999



Source: Katalyeba (1999) Project Proposal, VUW.

In this study project and according to Lee (1966), a person would move out of a village community because he/she dislikes certain values or customs felt to restrain his/her freedom. In another instance, a person would move out because of having little or no wealth. An outside move is an attempt to try luck elsewhere. The destination would be assessed and chosen to provide such opportunities to the would-be mover with reference to a rational framework. This model does not explain the meaning of movement nor engage in a dialogue with the mover to understand his/her worldview and the significance of movement in maintaining or strengthening social bonds. Still the model does not reveal the perception of people returning or going home – 'the coming from home and going home' perception. The intervention of my mentor and friend Dr. Young became highly useful at this point – was I studying the causes of movement of people in Karagwe or their meaning and perception of movement. To study the causes of movement was no less than a duplication of other scholarly works, for example, those of Connell (1976) in rural India, Lwoga (1985) and Sabot (1975) in Tanzania. This notion of carrying out the study would lead to causes of movement using the same epistemology contrary to my earlier discussion and conversion to new ways of knowing in order to have new insights

into understanding movement of the people in rural to rural movements. An inquiry, for example, into cattle and land ownership of movers and whether the Banyambo community benefits from the arrival of the Banyarwanda and Banyankole would hardly lead to an understanding of movement. These questions have an economic connotation and suggest that a person with little wealth would opt to move away. Asking the Banyambo community if they benefited from the movers tested among other things whether acceptance of movers is based on economic gain instead of social relationship networks and perception of the cultural space. The question on education and intelligence is /was unfortunate and leads to associating movement to employment and education (Appendix 1).

Alongside this inappropriate instrument of the questionnaire, I had drawn a large random sample (without replacement) of 116 households among the selected villages for interviews. The sample size would yield 232 spouse respondents i.e. husbands and wives on the assumption that both spouses would be present. The sample consisted of 14 indigenous Banyambo households as hosts, 73 Banyarwanda and 29 Banyankole households. Later (in the pre-test study) I became aware that the sample size was too big and ambitious given the study time of nine months, the expanse of the area to be covered, and a poor public transport system in the district (Chapter 2). There were also the March-May long rains as well as the working and farming schedules of the people to restrict my study movements. This choice of 116 households was purposely made to ensure that: -

a) All administrative wards of the district were included in the study because three of them border Rwanda and Uganda and the other is the administrative centre,

b) The wards bordering Rwanda and southern Uganda (Ankole) have a larger representation in the sample as first recipients of the movers and also as areas with informal crossing points along the Kagera River,

c) The sample to reflect the distribution of the people to the wards of the district according to the population statistics of the area. For example, Kaisho/Murongo ward has many people followed by Bugene/Nyaishozi ward that has the district administrative centre. Nyabiyonza is least populated but receives more movers

from Rwanda because of the long border with Rwanda and distance from Ankole in Uganda (Appendix 6). The district administrative and shopping centre attracts movers more than the Kituntu/Mabira ward. It is the focal point of the district communications network.

4.5 Other problems associated with the research instruments in the proposal: questionnaire and documentary evidence

In the project proposal my plan was to carry out structured interviews by talking with each respondent after mailing the questionnaire. I ruled out this option in the light of there being a lone post office at the district centre to serve a scattered population of 292,000 people on 7,282 square kilometres and the level of literacy among the respondents. More importantly, however, is that information about the meaning of movement and the language of the movers requires both an explanation and understanding on the part of a researcher and respondent to elicit relevant answers that pertain to the meaning of movement for the investigation. This was later shown in the manner of conducting the open dialogues with the respondents where detailed explanations were given to both spouses. The female research assistant, in view of gender and the customs of the people, interviewed women respondents in my presence. Among the Banyambo, women sit separately from men and their houses are partitioned accordingly. In the current structures of mud and stick or burned bricks, there is a parlour for women (*eibanga lya abakazi*) and another for men (*eibanga lya abaseiza*). In the traditional structures, women sit close to the central pole (king post) behind a wall partition and the place is called *orujeje* or *endugu*. Men sit in the front portal where they drink and chat. There are no conversations between the two groups and a man is the spokesperson for the household. In the case of household information being given to an outsider, there are consultations between the spouses. I suggest that such consultations take place where family matters are being given to an outside person to portray a better household image. The second reason is that of recall in a society where information is still transmitted orally from one generation to the next. In the event of omissions, the spouse is there to give a hand and complete the story or make additions considered

important in the life history of the household. This situation prevailed throughout the study period except in the case of women-led households where women talked to my research assistant and myself directly. In Karagwe customs, households are headed by men and when they die the house is referred to as '*owa Nyakufa*' (deceased person) unless a relative of the deceased man inherits the widow or the eldest son acts as an adult, and discharges the duties of the late father. A literal translation of this term is 'at the dead man's house' a phrase that does not evoke the meaning people give nor express the sentiments, shock and respect all at once. Nevertheless, beginning in 1960s, women started to lead households in such circumstances of widowhood and today increasingly do so following divorce rates. I suggest this emancipation to be part of the process of modernisation spreading to rural areas and the changing role of women. In other female-led households the spouses were working outside the district as civil servants. This custom of separating men from women did not affect the findings of the study because where the household spokesperson was a man there were consultations with women [to help the process of recall]. Another compensating factor is to be found in the women led households where women gave the histories of family movements such as one given by Omukaire Justa Kachere in Chapter 6.

Women were helpful to men when giving family histories of movement by giving details forgotten or omitted by men. They were able to recall, for example, that they over-stayed in a certain village because a child fell sick and would remember the names of medicine men that gave them herbs to cure the child before resuming the journey. Information relating to the education and bringing them up - the traditional roles of women – placed women in a better position to know what happened and were helpful as aide-memoir to the men. Important events connected to the periods of pregnancy or child upbringing and education were other areas in which women had better information. For example, a woman would recall by saying, "at that time I was expecting such a child, or this child was following cattle herders" meaning the child was between eight and twelve years old. In the traditions of the Banyambo, women have the responsibility of teaching children important family events as well as customs, values and virtues expected of them as they grow into adulthood. Thus education was given in the course of daily living but much of

it was conveyed through fairytales told by mothers around a fireplace before retiring to bed. Banyambo fairytales or stories told by mothers are meant to guide children in real life situations. Some stories extolled virtues and acts of bravery while others showed how people were punished for not observing the customs. Omukaire Helena of Nyakahanga told this fairytale (among many others) to educate her ten children: -

> Once upon a time, there lived a man in a village. His name was Kabuguzi. He worked hard and was very rich. He had many children, servants and livestock [*ebitunganwa*].
> One day, Kabuguzi went to hunt very far accompanied by three of his servants who carried foodstuffs and water to last at least one week. In those days, when men went hunting, they would dry the meat before coming home. This prolonged their stay in the bush. They made fire by rubbing [*okuzuguta*] certain sticks together until they produced sparks to light a fire. They would then dry the meat making it easy for them to carry. When the meat was dried, one of them would return to the village to fetch helpers to carry the freshly killed meat back to the village.
> After a long and unsuccessful journey without a kill, the food was finished and they were exhausted. They had neither food nor water to drink in the interior of the wilderness [*omu gati y'eirungu*]. On the third day, after exhausting their supplies, Kabuguzi was in desperate need of something to eat and drink. He ordered a fire to be made, then took off his cowhide sandals and started to grill them on the fire. When the cowhide sandals softened by the fire, he started to eat and ordered his three servants to do likewise. To quench their thirst, they drank urine.
> Eventually, they returned home - walking by moonlight and resting from the heat of the day - without a kill. When they returned home, Kabuguzi made a very big feast after one week in order to narrate his ordeal and adventures to his friends.
> During the feast, Kabuguzi ate a lot of meat because he had slaughtered a cow to mark the occasion. It was an ordeal because a man of his status to eat his cowhide sandals and again in the company of his servants was very humiliating and degrading. Unfortunately for Kabuguzi, at night he experienced tummy problems from the meat he had over-eaten. His tummy burst and the poor man died. All his riches were given to his children and brothers.
>
> Field notes 2000.

Omukaire Helena said that this short tale was used to discourage gluttony and teach young children to respect other people especially servants. She said many people despise

their servants but when difficulties arise, the servants play a big role to save their masters. Moreover, the human needs of food are equal – there is no servant or master to hunger. Such tales recounted around the fireplace taught the children family networks of relationships, customs, values, virtues and family histories. They also served to help women to recall events unlike men who spent the evenings visiting friends and drinking. The subordinate role of women in giving family histories of movement was compensated for by such interventions.

Another snag contained in the project proposal was an idea to examine official records in religious stations and government centres in Karagwe and at the origin points of the movers. This method proved impossible to effect due to internal conflicts in Rwanda and Uganda and I considered it later to be irrelevant to the study of understanding the meaning of movement. Such records can be valuable sources of information on the causes of movement if such statistics are kept on the population changes in a locality. In studies using a positivist approach, the records may show a decline or increase in revenue due to the in-and-out migration, increased pressure or falling calls on services like schools. In a humanistic approach like the one at hand, the relevance of these documents is reduced. The documents show neither reason for moving nor the meaning and strength of relationships among the movers. The language of the movers is completely obscured. More importantly, however, I dispensed with these records on the following grounds:

a) The records at mission stations and government centres concern tax or ratepayers and converts and provide very little information on the movers and reasons for the movement. Religious centres keep records of converts and are less interested in origins of people and non-believers. It is noteworthy that Christianity is recent in the area and stations thinly spread. The whole of Karagwe with an area of 7,282 square kilometres has four catholic parish centres and these are to be found at the present ward offices. These are Bugene; Isingiro, Rwambaizi and Nyakaiga Catholic Parish centres and each insufficiently manned by one or two priests. The matriarch parish of Bugene was established in the late 1940s while the rest are creations of the 1960s and 1970s. Islam is less well established and does not keep records of converts.

b) Government files keep the names of heads of households paying hut tax but these records do not include details of families or relationships networks. People who evade taxes, people without houses, the aged, children and women do not feature in these records. But above all, record keeping for a developing country such as Tanzania (and again for a remote district like Karagwe situated 1,800 kilometres from Dar es Salaam) is poor and at most a costly luxury!

c) On the Rwandan and Ugandan sides, the same picture prevails. A further complication to obtaining such secondary data was the political instability during the field study, and till today – two years later. At the time of the study both countries were plagued by internal strife to the extent that my efforts to enter would have meant risking my life. In view of the limited usefulness of these records to shed light on the meaning of movement, the customs of the people, language of movers and the volatile situation, the method was excluded as a source of information during the pre-test study in March 2000. The pre-test study served to reveal these illusions. I am also pleased with the decision in that it served to increase the confidence of my respondents who would otherwise have associated me with the Tanzania Government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees who were repatriating recent refugees of 1997/98. The distance I kept from these two institutions showed that I was not part of the repatriation programme and could be trusted.

4.6 Redefining the methods of data collection: lessons from the pre-test study and adjusting the size of the sample

Overall, my proposed methodology (in the study project proposal) called for a review to enable me to gather data best suited to describe the movement of people as it is perceived and understood by Karagwe residents. This meant revisiting my method of knowing and acquiring knowledge as well as my position as a researcher. I found out that the humanist method of knowing best represented my interests of eliciting information to understand movement among the people. I drew inspiration from the works of Chapman (1976b, 1978, 1985 and 1995) to engage in open-ended dialogue with my respondents to elicit information about personal mobility and meanings of such experiences as well as their language. The thrust of my research indicated that an interactive method of listening to

the respondents narrating their movement experiences and living with them to know their feelings and emotions were vital research instruments. My added advantage of being a Mnyambo (an inside participant observer) made these instruments easy to use. The method of listening and recording the face to face dialogues resulted in the narratives presented in Chapter 6. Selected accounts have been provided for readers and the language metaphors of movement and meanings are discussed in Chapter 7. The bulk of the texts are not presented because of repetition. My anticipation while collecting the personal life histories of movement was that long conversations and living among the people would remove fear among respondents turned out to hold. Encouraging people to talk freely helped them to lay aside the cautious approach usually taken to outsiders on first contact. For example, the Banyambo like to disassociate with family members who have brought disgrace/shame to a family by way of witchcraft, theft and women who have run away because they are considered to be infertile. Accusations of theft and witchcraft can devastate a family reputation and present insurmountable barriers to future marriage proposals. People abhor giving or taking spouses from families whose members are known to be thieves and witches. In the case of run-away women, they are taken to be infertile and there is a fear that a spouse taken from such a family could bring the same problem into the receiving household because child bearing is considered to be the essence of marriage among the Banyambo. People are shy and reluctant to reveal such vital information that partly underlies one kind of movement or another. To arrive at such details requires a combination of methods such as open-ended dialogues, living with the people for quite some time to develop a degree of familiarity and friendship, and a mobility register to keep track of the movements of family members on visits during the study period. Regarding shyness and the cautious approach of the people of Karagwe, the Banyambo can be likened to the Melanesians of whom Chapman writes: -

> Broadly speaking, the Melanesian way of approaching issues, particularly with outsiders, is for initial contact to be extremely hesitant. Among the Binadere of Oro province in Papua New Guinea, story tellers are said to be like snails. Their feelers are put out first, then, finding the environment safe, signal the body to follow from its shell (Chapman 1995: 253).

Knowledge of the local language is essential to get the meaning of metaphors and terms as used by the people to express movement. Although there are difficulties in translation an outsider can employ the services of an interpreter to elicit information. In the course of this study, I have encountered similar difficulties and I feel at times even the translations I give do not always convey the meaning, essence, feelings and emotions of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda and the particular intensity of a metaphor or saying.

This approach of letting people talk freely offered an opportunity to see and understand movement the way people understand, the forms of movement, and the meaning of 'going home' and visiting relatives to increase the bonds between families. In the life histories of movement or narratives of the people, it is possible to find out or discover hidden meanings and stories because the storyteller relates his/her experiences that are considered central to the movement instead of the questions in a questionnaire. [By asking a question, it is like suggesting an answer to the respondent]. This differs from narratives that are life experiences told in coherent ways i.e., a story is live or conversational. The presence of a researcher can influence a storyteller. However this is counter balanced by the skills of interpretation and explanation. Vandsemb (1995) writes on narratives to this effect as follows: -

> I think the narrative approach is especially relevant when studying topics such as the meaning of migration [movement] to migrants, gender relations of migration, social networks (narratives disentangle men's and women's individual motivations and aspirations within a family context), the motivation and multiple reasons for migrating, and migrants' sense of place (Vandsemb 1995: 415).

This method of knowing, however, made me dispense with a large sample size and the chronology for the succession of events in the life histories of movement from than originally envisaged (appendix 7). Listening to individuals meant spending a longer time with them than anticipated. In several villages, I found myself picking coffee under a shrub to keep the conversation going. To make sure I got good life histories of

movement, I found it expedient to scale down the number of study households. Bearing in mind the presence of movers in the wards and that they are all on the national borders, the sample size was reduced to 50 households. With 50 households, the number of actual respondents was likely be as many as 100 spouses (from 40 households of movers and 10 households of the indigenous Banyambo) – a number that was manageable and allowed me to make unhurried visits. This small number enabled me to keep checking with those looking after mobility registers in the villages and informal crossing points I had already visited (Appendix 6).

During the period of intensive field study this number of 100 spouses was reduced to 85 active respondents due to the [Karagwe] custom where males are the household spokespersons. In fifteen households the husbands had died or gone to visit and others had gone to work outside the district. The breakdown of the ultimate sample consisted of fifty-one household heads, (fifteen of whom were women), twenty-four women giving support to their spouses during the narratives and ten women who were active participants and contributing to the stories being told. The ten women gave part of the narratives, especially where they felt that spouses had forgotten what they considered to be important family details. A lot of details were also provided on the networks of relations and these enabled me to document family connections for people living in villages and wards that are further apart. For example, a woman of eight children in Kaisho/Murongo ward traced thirty-five family connections from three of her children, four grand children and her aunt's children. Her first and second born children are married in Bugene/Nyaishozi and Nyabiyonza Wards, and the third born son lives in a neighbouring village. From the marriages of her children and grand children, nieces and cousins, she recounted without any aide-memoir how she was related by blood[32] to all the four wards of the district. Such inter-family connections were very significant for the study by showing the network of relationships in the district and the movement of people in the form of short, intermediate and long-term movements such as visits and going home i.e., '*okutaha*' and '*okusyara*' respectively. These inter-ward connections are again

[32] Blood relations in Karagwe do not carry the tight meaning implied by western notions of consanguinity. It is just an ordinary relation.

recounted by a respondent on the selection of a chief executive of the district's co-operative society (Chapter 5). It was these stories and direct observation that showed me the meaning of movement; the language of the movers; the relationships involved (that build towards a common identity); the origin of the movers; and with whom the movements were made. Although exact dates could not be reconstructed with great precision, a general chronology made it possible to place events in historical sequence. To locate the movement of a person or his/her age on a time scale, I had recourse to important dates such as the reigns of traditional kings (where known), the independence dates for Tanzania in 1961 and Uganda and Rwanda in 1962. Another important landmark was that of Karagwe's King Rumanyika's forced exile to Ankole in 1939 by the British authorities. Census enumerators constructing the age for their informants often use this practice (Appendix 7).

The approach of collecting data using an ethnographic technique (life histories of movement), a small sample size and flexibility in chronology altogether confirmed my orientation to the humanist trail as a method of knowing and conducting an enquiry. This enabled me to conceptualise the movement of people in a cultural context (without strict time constraints) as opposed to quantifying and enumerating people as moving to escape rural poverty. The movers were least concerned with a time scale and dates when moving to live with relatives and friends. In a culture of oral tradition, people are least concerned with exact dates of events – events are remembered by association with, for example, political events such as the crowning of a king, a devastating famine, bumper harvests, and names of children and villages. This association of events accounts for the naming and names of people as shown in Chapter 5 – Table 5.4. Names like Kazara (male) and Nyanzara (female) refer to famine events in Karagwe during 1948-1949. This famine is locally known as '*ikambura mabati*' literary meaning to remove and sell the roof of a house to procure food. The meaning held by the people is that the famine broke-down marriages and families through untimely deaths and permanent disablement of household members.

The second method used to collect data for this study was to live with the people in order

to observe and experience their emotions, life situations and hear the language of movement. I stayed with one of the households for two weeks in each village of the study after making the sample size adjustments to a manageable number of fifty. This enabled me to visit each household two to three times with a formal appointment. The participatory study method proved useful in observing the household relationships, movements that were being made, the duration, purpose and other interactions such as the co-operation in beer brewing and harvesting crops such as coffee. It gave me the opportunity to observe some of the rituals like marriages that are made after the harvest season of June to August and on one occasion the birth and naming of twins. (Twins have special rituals as I recount in Chapter 5). I was unable to witness the traditional blood pact ceremonies that are no longer practised in view of the spread of AIDS disease (Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome) and the attitude of the young people of whom it is said no longer attach any importance to the practice. As I explain in Chapter 5, this tradition and bonding ritual entails the dipping a pair of green coffee beans in the blood of a cut made close to the navel of the brother/sister to-be. Swallowing the wet beans seals the pact to create a blood bond relationship. [A cherry coffee bean has two green beans inside usually equal in size like halves – Section 5.2.2: Traditional covenants of blood].

The last technique used in the field study was mobility registers kept at informal border points on the Kagera River and three study villages. Informal crossing points are important because many people use them throughout the year; they are remote and unmanned – usually between passes in the mountains where the river narrows. Their use reflects the absence of an adequate road network in the district. I kept mobility registers one in each of the villages of Rutunguru, Bisheshe and Nyakaiga from April to the middle of November 2000 (Figure 3.2). On the border crossing points of Rukurungo, Kanyonza and Mashesheshe, I was interested to observe or study the pattern of movement on a monthly basis, the frequency of the movement, the purpose and the duration of the individual visitors to Karagwe. A monthly period to observe movement was chosen because people do not move everyday for long-term movements. On the other hand, a deliberate choice of informal crossing points was made because people are not bothered

by the current national boundaries with one official crossing point. They move within their cultural territory and cross the Kagera River at any safe point where the water current is slow and least infested with crocodiles. They do not use the official checkpoint at Murongo to present travel documents. In Karagwe (like the rest of Tanzania) there are no identification cards for people – the best one has is a political party card or development levy receipt to show that one pays taxes in a certain village and/or district. Travel documents are unheard of! Nevertheless, there are two official crossing points along the stretch of Rwanda/Uganda/Tanzania border – one at Murongo in Kaisho/Murongo ward and another at Mutukula to the east in Bukoba district outside Karagwe study area. For the entire Karagwe border, which covers a stretch of approximately 150 kilometres, there is one poorly manned official crossing point at Murongo, which provides entry to Uganda.

Between April and the middle of November, the mobility registers kept in Rutunguru; Bisheshe and Nyakaiga villages recorded internal movements in Karagwe as people visited each other. In these registers movements between villages and wards in pursuit of relations as expressed by the language metaphors of '*okusyara*' (to visit) and '*okuzinduka*' (to visit with gifts) etc., were entered. The register-keepers also recorded movements from outside Karagwe expressed by the metaphors of '*okutaha*' (to go home) and '*okutura*' (to settle or stay). These metaphors are the subject of Chapter 7. The people whom I chose as my record keepers were first trained and then given instructions to: -

a) Record all movements of people coming in and going out of the villages for more than one day,

b) Fill in the arrival and departure dates to enable me to know the duration of the visits and the residence village of the visitor,

c) The number of people involved per movement effected and the gifts carried by individuals or groups and their gender, and

d) The household visited and relationship to the visitor. In the case of people going home (*okutaha*) the register probed into earlier movements to record the

number of times the visitor had been coming i.e., reconnaissance visits or survey visits before the final 'going home' movement takes place.

Each record keeper was visited once a month using a hired motor cycle – thanks to the research grant I obtained from NZODA[33] New Zealand Government[34]. These mobility registers were more useful to the study as they showed the inward and outward village movements and the language used by the people and movers. For example, they showed that intermediate duration (i.e., three to seven days) visits take place during the dry season after the harvest between June and August. Most people are engaged in agriculture during the long rains of March to May and the short rains of September to December. Movement under three days occurs regularly although less frequent than daily visits between households and villages. At the informal crossing points, there was no pattern for long duration movements for those 'going home' *(okutaha).* At Masheshe and Rukurungo five movers were recorded in July – three households were Bahima 'returning home' with cattle and the two others were Banyankole. They arrived at different dates and settled in different places. These registers did not enable me to establish that movers enter Karagwe in small groups. I suggest that a household intending to move does so after internal family consultations and that it may be accidental if two households meet on the way going in the same direction. These irregular movements (of five people in July – a post harvest month) are indicative of a cultural influence on movement that depends on the individual freedom and how they time the move. The movement is not propelled by deprivation but rather a personal desire or will to relocate in order to stay with relatives and friends in any part of the perceived cultural territory. The desire to live with relatives is reflected in the pattern of settlement – the movers enter identified villages before the decision is taken to move and these are where relatives are found. This is in contrast to movements inspired by the 'push-pull factors', where movers are attracted to and settle in urban centres or nodes attracted by better living conditions and job opportunities.

[33] New Zealand Overseas Development Assistance.
[34] The same grant was used to pay my research assistant, record keepers and my living expenses.

4.7 Field experience among the people of Karagwe: April to November 2000

From the end of April 2000 and the subsequent months, fieldwork was oriented towards unstructured interviews and to be more precise focused on dialogues mounted to solicit

kakubwa babiri'. A literal translation is, 'Grass goes to one who brings it back' and 'A leaf of grass is folded by two people'. The two sayings reflect the life experience of a people in their cultural territory where they use bush footpaths covered by over-grown grass. When a person is walking along the footpath, the grass bends in the direction of the most frequent destination household, in this case the host household. When the time is ripe the household visited has the obligation to sweep/bend the grass in the opposite direction through a return visit. The second saying insists on the bended grass being swept or folded both ways by two people i.e., from left and right hand directions. The regular reciprocal visits bring people much closer together and enable the strong ties of relationships to continue. Relationships become active instead of lying dormant – a sort of lukewarm relation. (Admittedly none of these translations conveys the feelings and emotions attached to these sayings among people of Karagwe. To us the meaning is deep and moving).

4.8 Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and discuss the methodology used to collect data for understanding the meaning and significance of movement as perceived by the people of Karagwe. In this study project, I argue that there is movement of people taking place within and between rural areas, but it receives very little scholarly attention. Uchendu (1975) and Vandsemb (1995) state that migration literature is focused on the urban context and the links between migration, urbanisation and development. In contrast, however, Amin (1995) argues that the people in rural areas do not emigrate and cites the Masai of Tanzania and the Bassari of East Senegal as typical examples. Contrary to Amin's statement, there is movement of people in rural areas. The example of the 'poor' Masai who still lead a nomadic life is an obvious one. Nomadism is but movement from one place to another transhumance and difficult to distinguish from migration. Weinberg (1961) defines migration/movement as: -

> The changing of the place of abode permanently or, when temporarily, for an appreciable duration...It is used symbolically in the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life (1961: 265-6)(cited in Lewis 1982:7).

Rural to rural movement is real and people change places of residence continually. This movement is sidelined by the majority of scholars or simply denied. In this chapter, I argue that ways of knowing or the epistemology of movement is closely related to the research instruments used. I have shown in the first part of this chapter that there are two basic paradigms of knowing a phenomenon - and in this study the phenomenon is the movement of people. The first is the positivist paradigm that insists on the independent existence of an object to be known and that there is supposed to be no interaction or influence between the investigator and the object. Objects are measured and assigned mathematical characteristics that express functional relationships. The ultimate goal is to control and predict that object/phenomenon and in the case of movement, to predict the direction, flow/stream and the timing. The second paradigm is the humanist approach where the investigator believes in his/her influence on the object to be known and the main goal is to understand and interpret the phenomenon/object, and in the case of movement, the perception and meaning ascribed by the people. The positivist or scientific approach has dominated [our] acquisition of knowledge while the humanist paradigm has been used in the social sciences but inclined towards data quantification as a way of lessening the divide between this dualism for credibility. Chief executives and other government policymakers tend to be wary of conclusions drawn from small samples and in-depth qualitative investigations because these findings lack quantitative aspects - the culture management prefers. To counter this tendency, many humanistic researchers attempt a careful integration of quantitative survey techniques deemed essential in gaining the confidence or trust of an otherwise sceptical audience (McKendrick 1999).

During the preparation of this study project at Victoria University of Wellington, my interest was to study movement by understanding its meaning among the people who move in order to reduce the gap in the Tanzanian literature on population movement studies between the humanist and positivist paradigms. These studies not only privilege

quantitative techniques but are also skewed to urbanisation, leaving a big gap that I wanted to fill by presenting a picture of other movements in rural areas. The Tanzanian population mobility studies and literature from other European countries (Castles (1986)) had created an impact on me to the extent of constructing a research design in line with perceptions promoted in economic and dependency model frameworks. My interest to understand movement as the people of Karagwe do and the impact of their culture on movement was initially undermined by a research design that sought to enumerate the causes of movement. The new understanding of peoples' perception of movement and meaning was made possible by changing the approach and adopting the language [of movers] and narratives that express the movers' worldview as the principal methodology.

When I started field study in January 2000 I brought a positivist framework to my research. During the transcription of the pre-test study results and part of the April 2000 study recordings, I realised that the data I had gathered was not illuminating an understanding of the significance of movement among the movers. I recalled the key question that Dr. Young had posed: to study the cause of movement or to seek its meaning in the worldview of the movers. I then reassessed my principal research instruments (the questionnaire and interviews) and questioned my epistemology. I decided to use a humanistic approach and particularly an ethnographic perspective in order to gather data most suited to build up an understanding and explanation of movement among Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda in their own language. The principal method now became in-depth interviews/dialogues in which I listened to people retelling their movement experiences and making it my job to facilitate these talks. With the help of my research assistant (Miss Kemirembe Francis), I listened to and recorded the life histories of movements as told by the people in their own words. This showed the meaning they give to this experience and why they moved or 'went home'. Next, by living in the villages of the study area to feel and experience their life situations, I listened and investigated the metaphors used to express movement and the purpose of movement. I also inquired into the values and customs that linked the people of the district and the networks of relationships. To assure myself further that the language of the people and movers reflected a current situation, I used mobility registers to monitor

the inward and outward movements of the people in selected villages and at cross border points along the international boundary marked by the Kagera River.

The results of this study conducted between April and November 2000 preceded by a three month pre-test study are presented in the following chapters. The results are a function of a changed methodology from a positivist inclination to an ethnographic model based on a humanistic approach, using a combination of data collection techniques namely: -

a) Giving the movers and people a voice to tell their movement experiences resulted in the narratives presented in Chapter 6,

b) Living among the communities of the people of Karagwe, I learned more of their culture from an investigator's eye, their understanding of space and tribal territory, the language of movement i.e., the metaphors of movement, and their social relationships and how these are maintained through visits of various types, and

c) The mobility registers kept in selected villages and crossing points showed the current practices of movements – and how these movements are used to foster and maintain the bonds created by a long history among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda.

My understanding of movement as the people of Karagwe do, its significance among the people and the language used to capture this experience can be traced to my acceptance of an epistemology, which at first I did not fully appreciate. The works of Chapman and the guiding question from my friend and later supervisor Dr. Young, enhanced the clarity of my mind and empowered me to pursue the goal of finding out, understanding and presenting the phenomenon of movement as lived and experienced by the people of Karagwe in their cultural territory. The findings of this study are presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Chapter 5 presents tribal identity, social relationships, and values as factors influencing the movement of people in Karagwe. Chapter 6 presents the voices of selected life histories of the movement of the people i.e., their narratives. In Chapter 7 I look at the language of the movers and the significance of movement in their lives and

use the narratives of Chapter 6 to understand the movement as practised by the people. The language of the movers and their culture form the core of this study and attest to the fact that rural to rural movements are due to cultural influences in the context of living and conforming to values and customs. People move to live with relatives, to strengthen social ties and to re-trace their roots i.e. 'going home'. Movement is 'going home' where the origin and destination points are one – home – as shown in the narratives and metaphors of movement.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRIBAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AS FACTORS INFLUENCING POPULATION MOVEMENT IN KARAGWE: MOVEMENT AS A STRATEGY

5.1 Introduction and objectives of the chapter

Rural population movement is a reflection of the life style of a people who occupy their own created cultural space. People living in a cultural space create norms, rules and regulations to govern their behaviour. These norms, rules and regulations become reference maps for the members to make life meaningful and comfortable as well as enabling other members of society to predict the behaviour of others. Behaviour becomes 'predictable' because community members internalise and live in the framework of these rules and regulations. Movement is an actualisation of culture and a result of people living together, obeying and adjusting to rules and regulations established in their cultural space. For example, when a father divides his farm to children who marry, portions become smaller and members react by relocating. On the other hand, in Karagwe, those disagreeing with norms, rules and cultural practices flee or run away (*okubura*).

Rural movement involves usually a few people at a time moving in response to issues manifest in their culture. It is cumulative and inspired by a need to maintain social relations such as the desire to live with relatives, friends or members of kin according to opportunities and rules laid down as a part of cultural norms. This movement is quite significant to the rural areas where the majority of the people live. It is also significant because rural people remain potential movers within their rural areas and to urban centres where their sons or relatives live and work. The potential to move on the part of the rural population cannot be explained just by the "push and pull factors" and "external influences" relating to economic equilibrium and historical-structural models (Chapter 2). In these models the poor agricultural earning power of the villages and uneven

development created by capitalist market forces are taken to be the causes of movement (Connell et. al 1976, Todaro 1976, Sabot 1975 Liviga & Mekacha 1998, Amin 1972). In this study of Karagwe district, I argue that movement of people in rural areas is grounded firmly in the history, culture and traditions of the people. It is cultural factors that influence the Banyankole and Banyarwanda to move and settle in such places like Karagwe which may not offer any rewards in the nature of material and economic benefits.

In this chapter, I focus on movement of rural people and the causes of, and meaning of movement as influenced by cultural variables in the Karagwe district. I argue that movement is inspired by cultural considerations of conformity to the created norms, rules and traditions by a people who share a single identity. The decisions to move are made in the context of their cultural territory and an understanding of this movement should focus on the peoples' worldview. I suggest that an explanation of population movement be sought in the structure of the communities of origin and destination within the cultural, social and economic strategies pursued by a population in a given cultural territory. This rural cultural territory is the geographical and constructed cultural space that defines peoples' social relationships at household level where decisions to move, when and where, are made. As the movement into Karagwe district involves the Banyankole of Ankole in Southern Uganda and the Banyarwanda of Rwanda, issues of identity and the bonding ties are brought into focus because, at household level, these form the baseline conditions which underlie any decision to move. The feeling of oneness and identity determine the choice of Karagwe as a 'natural' destination point.

The argument of this chapter is that rather than take economic considerations and conditions in the external environment to be the sole causes of movement, I assert that the movement of people in rural areas is based on cultural values and tribal identity. These are considerations which are highly specific to the cultural territory people have established. I argue that movement is a result of people living together, conforming to the norms, rules and regulations that govern their behaviour and this is expressed in their language and social relationships. The movement of people in rural areas is not stress

related as people contest culture but rather it is a product of efforts to conform and practice or live their culture.

The chapter consists of three parts – the first part discusses the establishment of a common and shared identity for the people of Ankole (Southern Uganda) and the people of Rwanda who move to settle among their kin and relatives in Karagwe. The binding ties of kinship, clan system and intermarriages, as well as past movements, are highlighted as laying the foundations of a common identity. The second part considers shared material artefacts and values held together, as these are instrumental to removing cultural shock for the mover and making him/her "feel at home" at the destination [Karagwe] which becomes a natural selection due to similarities of social structures and culture. While the values help to bind people together, they also trigger the movements. It is above all in negotiating a living in the cultural territory that a person actualises the culture of the community at the household level where the decisions to move are made, i.e., adapting the movement strategies. The third part is the conclusion that presents the main argument of the chapter and a discussion linking the personal life histories of movement as an explication of movement in a constructed cultural space.

5.2 Past movements, networks of relationships, intermarriages and early childhood socialisation: the foundations of identity among the inhabitants of Karagwe

The notion of economic factors and the external environment i.e., the differences between the incomes of rural areas and urban centres, as well as the uneven development between them is too simplistic to explain the movement of people in rural areas. Considering the movement to urban centres alone, these arguments suggest that when the conditions of deprivation, poverty and uneven development are removed, the flow of people to urban centres would stop or decrease. Maliyamkono and Bagachwa (1990) and Tripp (1996) argue that for Tanzania the movements to urban centres remain unabated even in times of economic stress. The study of 'Wamachinga' petty traders conducted by Liviga and Mekacha is an exemplar. Liviga (1998), for example, argues that "the decision to migrate is mainly influenced by the problems experienced at home, namely difficult economic conditions and poor returns from agriculture and lack of alternative, non-

agricultural employment" and adds "Indeed, decision to migrate is not voluntary" (Liviga et al. 1998: 29)(sic). Tanzanian researchers continue to use economic variables and explanations to affirm that people are driven by poverty and rural – urban income differentials (Bagachwa 1982, 1989, Tripp 1996, and Liviga and Mekacha 1998) without attaining or giving an adequate explanation for both intra-rural and urban movements. Effectively, the causes of movement are complex and cannot be explained by economic factors alone using a macro level analysis.

A comprehensive study conducted at household level where people negotiate their lives in geographically and socially constructed spaces, an approach that takes into account the economic, social, political and cultural aspects of life altogether provides a different interpretation. Such a study, invariably, uses an ethnographic approach in the humanistic paradigm to enable individuals to express themselves in the narratives of their life experiences that show social relationships as life is experienced in the totality of a personalised cultural space or environment.

The impression of a researcher upon entering Karagwe kingdom (now an administrative district in the Tanzanian system) is the homogeneity of the people through the Orunyambo language, which is different from the Kiswahili national language, and the common behaviour of the people. Language, behaviour, foods and similar physical features conceal the presence of the Banyankole and Banyarwanda in the local population. The three tribes are in different countries, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda, that share a common border (Chapter 3). This concealment is real and deep rooted as a sense of common brotherhood pervades among them. Hall (1990) conceives the cultural identity of a people as "one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self' hiding inside the many others...which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common (1990: 223 cited in Rutherford 1990).[35] The three tribes have a common history of living together and mixing through intermarriage, blood pacts and one suzerainty – King Ruhinda ruled the three kingdoms and thereafter the inter-related kings who are his descendants (see Chapter 3).

[35] An individual has many identities that he/she identifies with (Rutherford 1990: 88).

On arrival in Karagwe in January 2000 for fieldwork, my first task was to identify the cultural bonds or links that create the homogeneity of the people and invariably the differences that distinguish them from all other people. I learned that the movement of people between Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda is continuous and reciprocal – some come while others go back across the border. There is a sense of oneness and a feeling of belonging to one another among the people who cross the national borders (of Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda) to live on either side. The Banyambo, like the Banyankole and Banyarwanda, share common feelings that distinguish them from all others whom they call foreigners. A person from other tribes is called a *Munyamahanga* (singular of *Banyamahanga)* no matter how long he/she stays among them. On the other hand, they refer to themselves by names or tribe especially when chatting during beer drinking. They refer to themselves as *abantu (*plural) implying a person like me sharing my language, food and customs. The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda have their own perception of a 'person'. A person is one like them and this oneness is based on a common language, customs and traditions as well as foods eaten in the community. Language and foods are the most visible characteristics of an *Omuntu* (singular), while customs and traditions are observed in the behaviour of the individual. The three tribes express shock to see people who do not eat cooked green bananas, drink their 'beer', a spouse eating alone from other members of the household and a spouse who prepares food standing or seated on a stool. Such things may appear trivial to an outside researcher but are effectively the core of culture and part of a shared identity. They are cultural elements developed in time and history.

The Banyambo of Karagwe share a common identity and culture with the Banyankole and Banyarwanda that has been established over many years through: -

a) a common kingship structure or one suzerainty that continued through his descendants starting with the princes he [Ruhinda – the founder and father of kings] appointed to govern conquered territories,
b) past movements of people for both agriculturalists and pastoralists – Bairu and Bahima,

c) inter-marriages,

d) early childhood socialisation i.e., sending children to live with relatives, and

e) blood pacts or covenants.

The Banyambo and the sister tribes were first ruled and united under one King Ruhinda who subjugated these weak agriculturalist kingdoms (Chapter 3). This conquest of Ruhinda involved the movement of Bahima warriors recruited from earlier pastoralists who had either fled the Lwoo-Babito invasion of Bunyoro-Kitara Empire or had moved in search of pasturelands to the south. Warriors and movers spread to other parts of the kingdoms leaving behind members of their [extended] families. Later military involvement of the agriculturalists increased the geographical spread throughout the kingdoms. The Bahima and the indigenous people became connected not only to each other through movement but also through consanguineal and affinal ties to have relatives in any of the kingdoms to the present today.

A reinforcement of these movements (military conscription and expeditions, service at the royal palace, and entourage to princes sent to govern princedoms) occurred through intermarriage. People married outside their clans to create a network of relationships through affinal ties so that the differences created by the division of labour (agriculturalists and pastoralists) became blurred. The intermingling of clans connected people from household to tribe and across into other princedoms under Ruhinda Kizara Bagabe. These intermarriages are shown in Chapter 6 as continuing to create social networks, as in the case of Mzee Frede Alishanga's narrative. A parent is assured of connections to at least one clan and one village in the unlikely event that all children will marry in one area. I suggest that one of the reasons the Banyambo look at the institution of marriage essentially as one of procreation is the multiple connections provided by the children through marriages and blood pacts. The bonds uniting the people created through movements and intermarriages are consolidated further by the socialisation of children. Children are encouraged or allowed to stay with relatives of kin and blood covenants. A child, for example, would be sent to live with maternal uncles, aunts and grandparents or even a clan relation. This practice had a threefold motive: -

a) to maintain relations with a distant family member through 'exchange' of children,

b) to make children familiar with every part of the cultural territory and enable him/her to develop fraternal ties with people in those localities, and

c) to spread the family presence in other parts of the cultural territory for future movements especially during famine as well as fostering clan responsibility in child rearing for a disciplined clan and tribal membership under a common code of ethics.

The culture of visits in the early socialisation process is today reflected in modern schooling practices by the continuity between the past and the present so that in Uganda and Tanzania, children are sent to live with relatives in distant places such as towns to acquire education. This is a transformation of an old practice of children living with relatives in different villages. Gould (1985) writing for Uganda observes that: -

> Children were the joint responsibility of the clan, but since the clan had no territorial basis and members were widely spread throughout the kingdom children could leave home for fairly distant destinations. The reasons for this mobility included essential socialisation with clan group, but involved social as well as spatial mobility (1985: 264 cited in Prothero and Chapman 1985).

The culture of early childhood socialisation through visits was observed by Mair (1934) that, "in every village where there is a state school in Uganda there is hardly a household without one or two relatives' children living in it for the purpose of attending school" (1934: 63). This practice still exists today in both government and private schools where children stay with relatives living in both rural and urban areas with schools. Dubbledam (1970) confirms that "it is not uncommon for children in the area (Uganda) to stay with relatives, often grandparents for at least some years (1970:108)". Though the statements are made with reference to education, the essential point is that 'the relatives' children' live in a household and that there is spatial distribution of clan members throughout the

kingdom(s). My respondents confirmed this practice of sending children to live with relatives away from biological parents. Omuzee Bamuhiga, for example, a respondent of Rugasha village in Kaisho/Murongo ward gave the following recollection of how his son went to live in Ntundu (Ankole) thus: -

> I was born in Nyamiyaga village where my grandfathers hail from to settle here in Rugasha. I am an old man perhaps one hundred and fifty years old – can't you see! I got married here many years ago and have eleven children and many grand children. God favoured me – only two passed away because of measles but that was before the white men came. This was the Dutch epoch when this road to Uganda was being constructed over Rwabununka hill range. Many people lost lives during its construction and I saw the cruelty of the Dutch. Imagine a big person being whipped!
>
> My father decided to come and live with his brothers from his uncle of the same grand father who had settled here from Rwamasazu in Ankole. When we settled here among these brothers and relatives, I went to visit my blood pact brother (*munywani wanje*) in Ntundu. There was a big celebration and a cow slaughtered. We ate and drank for days! He asked for my son to live with him. Because I loved him and liked his village, I gave him my son called Nkombe [58 years with two wives] who lives there to this day. Now he has grand children there – some working in Kampala others in Kabale. His brothers and sisters visit him and he sends me presents/gifts – you can see this overcoat I am wearing. My grandson brought it last year. Oh, you are reminding me of terrible events – two of my grand children were killed by Iddi Amin soldiers in 1979. I have not visited Ntundu for many years. I last went to the funeral of my brother, now I am old and cannot move. Let the children visit each other – that's fine (Field notes 2000 interview in Rugasha village).[36]

5.2.1 Blood and affinal relationships

The social relationships in Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda are premised on blood, marriages, and blood pacts. Rugarukira (1996)[37] describes blood pacts as "the will to live together". Blood relationships encompass the immediate and extended family like father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt and grand parents. The siblings of one's uncles and aunts are called brothers and sisters and sometimes they can be addressed by the titles of their parents. In Karagwe, for example, calling one's uncles' son your uncle is prevalent

[36] My assessment of the respondent's age is about 86 years old and he looks frail. The white men referred to are the British after Tanganyika became a mandated territory; the Dutch are the Germans. Idi Amin was the president of Uganda 1971-79.

in Bugene/Nyaishozi, Nyabiyonza and Kituntu/Mabira wards (Field notes 2000). The purpose of this designation is to bring the niece and nephew as close to self as possible to strengthen and maintain relationship ties.

Marriage relationships i.e., father, mother, brother, and sister in-laws carry the same weight but there is awe and caution (a kind of respectful fear) attached as the joined families are initially strangers or un-related to each other. Within awe and caution there lies the superior and subordinate feelings between the two families. The bride's side feels superior for giving in marriage a pro-creator of life and always feels a high degree of respect is owed to them. A contrary behaviour to this expectation of showing great respect to one's in-laws merits the recalling of the spouse by her parents followed by customary resolution of the misunderstanding. As reparation, a cow may be paid in compensation and in extreme cases a divorce can take place[38]. The marriage system is enforced or strengthened by the dowry payment to the parents of the bride and rituals performed to validate the marriage. During engagement, spouses to-be never meet. In the last ritual and expression of intimate love, the departing bride is made to sit on the laps of both her parents for a final blessing to marriage. This ritual is a watershed for the departing spouse and a sign to the prospective in-laws that the spouse is a child to be loved and treated with care. The event is repeated at the bridegroom's house before a spouse enters the house to symbolise a rebirth. These relationships of blood, intermarriages, and blood pacts are governed by a code of ethics that spell the expected behaviour of related members. The obligations of the father as head of the household and the mother towards children include upbringing and training. The father will among other things help the male children to marry and also send off daughters to be married. In both cases, the children entering marriage are given commodities to help them begin marriage life. Children on the other hand have certain responsibilities towards parents, for example, helping them in manual tasks around the farms and taking care of them in old age.

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[37] Rugarukira Sebisaho, (1996), Le pact de sang Africaine: The will to live together. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Universite Catholique de Louvain, Liege, Belgium.

[38] At the time of the interviews, respondents observed that some of the traditions/practices had changed though still retaining their essence of core values.

Every relationship has a prescribed code to enable members to know and predict actions of others. Apart from the standard respect of the youth towards elders and vice versa and the brother/sister relationship among peers by relation [not age], there are other codes to govern blood pacts and other relations for members of the extended family *(echika).* These ethics cover behaviour and values such as co-operation, sharing and wealth. For example, if a person brews beer, the father, uncles, grand parents and clan peers (*abanyaruganda*) know their respective shares or entitlements. Similarly, in the event that a person's wealth is lost, these members have the obligation to help him to restore the lost property. This may consist in a contribution from every able member of the community to give something as part of the mutual aid. This practice is called *'okushumbushana'* in expectation of a future return gesture in the event that a similar event befalls another member.

5.2.2 Traditional covenants of blood

Traditional blood pacts, on other hand, are covenants sealed between two people of the same sex in a bid to create blood ties where the individuals are not related. It is a development from deep friendship and trust enjoyed by two people over many years. This is arrived at when each individual is well known to the family members and clan of the other. The announcement to seal the pact is made after approval is obtained from the household, extended family members and the clan. On the designated day to seal the pact, a dried cherry coffee bean is split open and the two green beans taken out. One green coffee bean is dipped into the blood of a friend from a cut close to the navel, and is swallowed whole by the other. The same is done for the second friend using the remaining bean. There follows a ritual of incantations from an elder of the clan to invoke the blessings of the ancestors and then jubilation. A cow or goat is slaughtered to seal the pact followed by drinking and drumming. The covenant is sealed from that instant of swallowing the blood dipped coffee beans; and the two people are no longer merely friends but blood brothers. The contracting parties become members of each other's family. The rights, duties and obligations enjoyed by blood relatives are extended to the

contracting members into the whole hierarchy of the clan.

5.2.3 Clans and old clan movements

The people of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole are connected by blood, inter marriages and traditional blood pacts that create a network of social relations. Traditional movements date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at the apogee of the kingdoms. People continue to move in the same constructed cultural space in search of pasturelands, kinsmen and better agricultural tracts of land.

Below the major divisions of labour into Bahinda/Bahima (the pastoralists and ruling class) and the Bairu (agriculturalists and serfs), there are clan sub divisions of the tribe whose members claim a direct lineage relationship to a common ancestor in the not too distant past. My respondents during the field study mentioned a genealogy of between five to eight grandfathers. Taking a grandfather to stand for a generation at a twenty-five year interval, some people traced a common ancestor to over one hundred years! I found the main clan sub-divisions of the Banyambo to be about sixteen and spread across the whole kingdom without any specific pattern of living. These same clans are found in Rwanda[39] and Ankole with occasional villages occupied by a single clan.[40] The major clans are *Basita, Basindi, Bashambo, Baheta/Bahutu, Bazigaba/Barigi, Banjojo, Bagara, Bahunga, Baihuzi, Bairiri, Balisa, Baitira, Basingo, Bakaraza, Bayango, and Bagahe.* The pure Bahinda/Bahima clans as pastoralists are to be found in designated cattle areas of Siina and Omurusimbi and form a minority of the population but are acknowledged as rulers. The presence of clan members in a village does not depend on the number of families as people live amicably. Settlement patterns appear to reflect the absence of inter clan rivalries and wars. Minor quarrels were reported during interviews in cases of a) flouting hunting norms, b) family land trespass, and c) when girls elope with lovers by breaking marriage traditions/regulations. Such skirmishes remain at family level and

[39] The conflicts of Rwanda and Burundi are not based on cultural identity but rather the sharing of political power. In both countries the Belgian administration used the pastoralist hegemony to govern the countries thus vesting further state power in the hands of one group over the other. Dravis M., (2001) in Appendix 8.
[40] Single clan villages include Kayanga of the Baheta, Nyakayanja of the Bagara, Rutunguru of the Bashambo and Kishao of the Banjonjo. It is common, however, to find a few people from other clans living with them.

solutions are obtained through customary procedures.

As the tribes are exogamous and spouses have to be found outside one's family and clan in other villages and clans, the advantages of the village settlement pattern were/are that inter marriages can connect people to distant villages. An interviewee of Ihanda village – about 10 kilometres from Karagwe administrative centre in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward was happy with the inter village and ward marriages that have created networks of social relationships. He gave an example of one farmers' co-operative society at its annual general meeting in 1992 during which, a chief executive was appointed.

The new entity followed a voluntary sub-division of a regional body formerly composed of five districts. Karagwe District was allowed to form its own co-operative society at a district level in view of: -

a) a substantial output of cherry coffee above 12 000 tons per year to be financially viable as well as beans, maize, and bananas.
b) a long distance of 120 kilometres of rugged road between the regional and district administrative centres that hampers the hauling of crops during the rainy season,
c) a big geographical area comprising of seventy-two rural primary co-operative societies.

The new entity began operating in 1991 and wanted to replace previous officers who had operated at branch level before the division. Advertisements for the top posts were made locally and prospective applicants short-listed. In December 1991, all posts were filled with the exception of the post of a Chief Executive. The society's Executive Committee failed to reach a majority vote on a suitable applicant. It was resolved that the Acting Chief Executive (a former branch executive) hold the job in the inter-regnum period while fresh attempts were made to appoint an indigenous person. In the following Annual General Meeting held in 1992, Mr. Sanaa - a primary co-operative society representative from Kaisho/Murongo ward - suggested that one from among the previous applicants be

given the post to avoid recruitment costs and localise the post immediately. He then suggested a Mr. Komba from among the previous applicants. The suggestion won the favour of many representatives leading to Mr. Komba's appointment. At this juncture, the narrator burst into laughter, lamenting that the entire assembly had been blackmailed. He observed that Mr. Komba from Bugene/Nyaishozi ward is a cousin to Mr. Sanaa a representative from Kaisho/Murongo ward. Furthermore Mr. Komba had close relations with some of the members of both the Executive Committee and other newly appointed managers. The network of relationships emerging from the respondent's explanation is diagrammatically depicted using pseudonyms and arrows to show the relationships network in Figure 5.1.

This network of relationship operates across three wards thus: Sanaa and Bugufi come from Kaisho/Murongo ward, Mkude and Majaliwa come from Bugene/Nyaishozi ward and Komba from Kituntu/Mabira ward. Such inter-ward connections are common among the three tribes. Respondents from 38 households of the study stated that at least a son or daughter from their respective families is married outside the ward of the parents' residence and beyond. It is these marriage connections that link Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda.

These connections created by inter marriages and clan systems strengthen the bonds between people to create a sense of oneness in the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda populations. The emerging links are strong to the degree that a person cannot take for a spouse someone from a clan having the same totem (an object or animal that one's clan identifies with) even though the two prospective spouses are living in a distant places or kingdoms. This practice compels young people to look for spouses from villages and clans that are different from their own and in so doing fostering tribal identity by bringing unrelated families together through affinal network relations in addition to blood and blood pact relations. Settlement patterns of mixed villages, marriages and clan systems enable the people in Karagwe to create and maintain inter tribal connections and identity simultaneously. The same interconnections take place in Ankole and Rwanda, as movement among them is similar to that in Karagwe. I suggest

that the movement strategy and early childhood socialisation are/were intended to keep these relations active through time by connecting people from different parts of the cultural territory. From the example of Karagwe Co-operative society, the network of relations links people living as far apart as 80 kilometres so that an unsuspecting outside researcher could well fail to see the connections as hereunder using Figure 5.1.

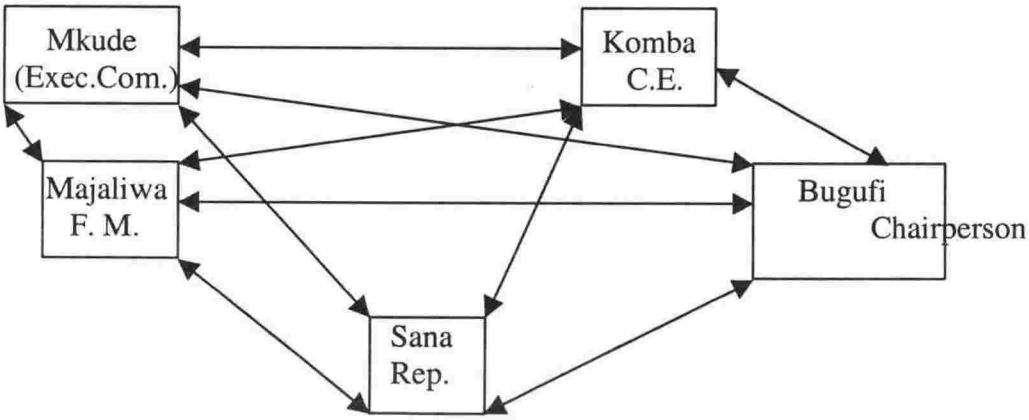
Table 5.1 A guide to understanding the relationships in Figure 5.1

			Relationship
Mkude	to	Komba	brother in law
	to	Bugufi	uncle
	to	Sanaa	nephew
	to	Majaliwa	brother in law
Majaliwa	to	Mkude	brother in law
	to	Komba	brothers (i.e. cousins)
	to	Bugufi	respect: nephew to brother in law
	to	Sanaa	respect: nephew to brother in law
Sanaa	to	Mkude	uncle
	to	Bugufi	brothers – common uncle
	to	Komba	respect: brother in law to uncle
	to	Majaliwa	respect: brother in law to uncle
Bugufi	to	Mkude	uncle
	to	Komba	respect; brother in law to uncle
	to	Majaliwa	respect: brother in law to uncle
	to	Sanaa	brother – common uncle
Komba	to	Mkude	brother in law
	to	Majaliwa	brothers (i.e. cousins)
	to	Sanaa	nephew to brother in law
	to	Bugufi	nephew to brother in law

Note: The people of Karagwe attach importance to relationships created by respect. This relationship occurs when two people are linked by an affinal relationship. For example, the relationships between the children of one's sister in law and those of one's sister call each other brother and sister. Although they are not related by blood, they converge on

one uncle between them. Marriage between these children is not sanctioned by society because the uncle finds it embarrassing to call his nephew a son in law (Field notes 2000).

Figure 5.1 RELATIONSHIP NETWORKS IN KARAGWE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY



Source: Field notes 2000, Karagwe.

Key to understanding the figure: -

Abbreviations:

Exec.Com. means Executive Committee or Board member of the society at district level,

C.E. means Chief executive of the Co-operative Society at district level,

F.M. means Financial Manager of the Co-operative Society at district level,

Rep. means a representative of a primary co-operative society at village level. A district co-operative society is formed by several rural primary co-operative societies at the level of village(s). Three or more villages within the district form a rural primary co-operative society.

Chairperson means the Chairperson of the district co-operative society at the district level.

There is yet another relationship to be noted between traditional movements and the

geographical spread of clans in the three tribes. The traditional movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are confirmed by the claims of indigenous clans who mention many external places of origin and affiliations with Rwandan and Ankolean clans that bear the same names and totems. The Bashambo of Rutunguru, for example, claim to have come from Mpororo in western Ankole and other Bashambo claim Gishaka, Rwanda as their origin. The Bazigaba and Baheta say their ancestors came from Koki (Southwest of Kampala), the Bagara and Bairiri of Katebuka claim their origins in Buhimba and Ankole. The Bahima and Bayango hold Bunyoro and Toro to be their ancestral homes from where King Ruhinda came to Ankole and Karagwe. Clans sharing a totem in any of the three kingdoms consider themselves to be blood related and are forbidden to inter marry. For example, the Bashambo of Rutunguru cannot inter marry with the Bashambo of Gishaka and Ankole. The kinship relations including rights, obligations and taboos binding the Bashambo of Rutunguru village are extended to cover all other Bashambo elsewhere, this holding true for every clan. Every Mushambo (singular) is a blood relative - a brother/sister to be loved and respected like any other found in one's village with a direct connection. Kinship titles such as uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters are applicable depending on the age of the person. This application of kinship titles became vivid when 'Bishanga' a retired teacher in Nyabiyonza ward gave me a history of his household tracing the movement [of earlier generations] from Ankole to the present generation of his children. 'Bishanga' states thus: -

> We came from Ankole during the reign of King Ndagara in Karagwe. Our great great grandfather left Ankole and headed for Rwanda. He had many cows and children. When he got to Rwanda, life was hard and the rulers were bad. He traversed to Gishaka where he settled temporarily. Then he crossed over to here (my present village) where we are until now. His brother Rwabujegere followed him but could not trace him and went through to Biharamulo (south of Karagwe). We have actually traced and found these brothers of ours i.e., the descendants very recently and now we have regular contacts with them. When this great, great grandfather arrived in Karagwe, he went to King Ndagara to ask for land to build and settle pleading that he had many cows and children. He was told to settle in Mulinzi village– a place where the Roman Catholic Bishop is currently staying and another place below the Roman Catholic Parish of Nyakaiga.
>
> Our great great grandfather had a son called Mutabazi. Mutabazi begot Bugongoro, who begot Nkuba and Nkuba begot 'Magezi' my father and then

ourselves. You see this about six generations – this is in the eighteenth century.

As a teacher, I worked in many places in this district. In 1963, December I got married to the mother of all my children as you can see. My father found this woman for me – he went twice to Kituntu where my wife hails from- first taking a traditional hoe and then the dowry for the marriage [Literal translation]. My uncle 'Kisha' (same clan) performed the remaining customary duties. After the wedding, my uncle came to visit us here in the company of my sister 'Justa'– now married to a doctor at this hospital; they stayed for seven days. My father thanked them very much and honoured them with a very very big goat to slaughter and other presents.

In the same year, 1963, I was transferred to Isingiro Upper Primary School in Kaisho/Murongo ward. Before departure, my father said there were our relatives there in Rutunguru village near Kaisho. He gave me a list of names like the late Abazee Kaijuka, Nkuba, Byalelo, Ntima, Bitesigirwe and the Cheikangas – all of them being the Bashambo of Rutunguru. There, I found my fathers, aunts, brothers and sisters just like here - I really entered my own home. After knowing them, I never had any want of food. They provided all my needs, as I was their son. When my wife came to Isingiro, she soon delivered her first-born child. She was nursed well by my sisters and brothers whom I found there.

Unfortunately I was again transferred after two years to another duty station. It was saddening to depart and leave behind my sisters, brothers, fathers, aunts and many kinsmen after a brief stay. I thank God for everything because I have children, cows and have retired honourably. One of my children is a teacher another is on the way to the priesthood and others still at school. Hopefully one of my children will go to live with them.

I forgot to tell you that when one of my brothers lost his spouse, my sister Verena in Rutunguru found him another girl for a wife. They are happily married with children. You will see them tomorrow. What more do you want from me? I continue to visit my people in Rutunguru and they too pay us visits. The challenge will be on our children to keep these relations of kin alive and functioning. Isn't this enough about my origin – with relatives in Kaisho and Biharamulo, in-laws in Kituntu? Mind you more relations are being created by our children as they marry and make friendships.

Field notes: Karagwe 2000

5.2.4 Common names, naming of children and places

The claims to external origins by clans in Karagwe surpass clan self-elevation of feeling great [a superiority complex towards other clans] due to the existing multiple-connections

and similar names of villages and of persons found in other sister kingdoms of Rwanda and Ankole. The coincidence of names is an indication of prior movements as people moved to other places together with their language and culture. Names are also an indicator of a shared common culture. Movers have a habit of re-creating "home" through maintenance of social and cultural organisations at destination (Mabogunje 1972, Bonnemaison 1985). Bonnemaison (1985) writing of the Tanna people in Vanuatu states that: -

> In the place to which they have gone, in their residence or at work, migrants reconstitute places of hospitality as an extension of their territory...the frequent renewal of the migrant population as people come and go is based on territorial solidarity (1985: 58)

In whatever the direction, the first mover transfers a natal village name to a new settlement. The names of people and ancestral spirits affirm close relationships among the people with one origin. For example, the Bashambo of Mpororo and those of Gishaka living in Kaisho and Nyabiyonza respectively have common names for ancestors like Rwabujegere, Kaketo, Nyeilala and Rugara (Field notes 2000: Nyabiyonza and Kaisho/Murongo wards). The commonality of ancestral names, names of people and of villages suggests common origins and indicates the movements of related kinsmen and women to different parts of the kingdom(s) as movers recreate home villages to console themselves and maintain their identity. The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda give names related to circumstances and family life experiences so that all names have meanings. An example of common names following events at birth in the three tribes is presented in Table 5.1 below. Popular names for villages include the following: - Rutunguru, Kamuli, Kitwe, Bwera, Ibwera or Rubwera, Katera or Nyakatera, Kanazi or Bunazi, and Ishaka or Gishaka and Omurushaka. This suggests that clans connect inhabitants of these villages. The commonality of names is supported by the practice of grand parents naming children as custodians of tradition passed on to the next generations.

The naming of a child is done by a paternal grandfather in the morning when the sun is

warming up [around 9:00 am]. An interviewee of Bugene in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward justified this practice of honouring a grand parent giving two main reasons: - First, it is an honour a person gives his father and an acknowledgement of authority in the household. It is the grandfather who intercedes for the households under him to the ancestors/spirits in the '*amalalo*'- the small round huts erected behind the main houses where prayers are conducted. Second, the grandfather of the child is customarily a recognised 'husband' (by respect) of the child's mother. He is the one who approaches a prospective family seeking the bride and pays the bride price on behalf of the son. The brides' parents take him to be a peer and one to negotiate with them. From another angle, the child's grandfather is also a 'father' to the bride/mother of the child according to the marriage rituals of the bride sitting on the laps for a re-birth in the new household. Third, the grand father as custodian of family history and traditions has the wisdom to select an appropriate name to connect family members or to keep the history through names. Names are history recorded in households. In the following Table 5.1, I present some examples of the common names found in all places of the cultural territory and the surrounding circumstances or meanings.

5.2.5 The naming of children and villages in Karagwe

At four months old, a baby (*omwerere*) is taken to the grandfather who is formally asked to give a name. The grandfather, seated on a three-legged stool, recites some prayers/incantations and then makes the baby sit down and pronounces the chosen name that reflects the household life situation or events. The practice is that female children are seated and named facing the front courtyard symbolising their future departure to marriage.

Male children are seated and named facing the inside of the house to symbolise permanent stay and rootedness in the household farm. Drinking beer to celebrate the new arrival in the family closes the ritual (Field notes 2000: Bugene/Nyaishozi ward). This ritual differs slightly from the Ashanti practice in Ghana, West Africa where a child is named on the eighth day in the morning. The name(s) given to the newborn belong to

members of the family like grand parents, uncles and aunts (personal communication with Thomas Kofi Nketia of Ghana, December 2000 in Wellington, New Zealand). Among the tripartite tribes by contrast, names tell events surrounding the birth of a child or the family history in a word-like sentence.

Table 5.2 NAMES AND SURROUNDING EVENTS IN KARAGWE

NAME	APPROXIMATE MEANING	CIRCUMSTANCES AT BIRTH
Biita, Mukebita	War (of)	Reference to World War I & II
Kalwani, Mupolisi, Patilisi	Fighter, policeman, soldier	Military or police movements
Byarufu, Muzarirehi, Bashasha	Of death and suffering	Family desperation and recurrent deaths in family
Kazara, Nyanzara, Nyanzura	Famine, rain	Famine period and rainy seasons
Kakuru,Kato, Nyangoma, Nyakato, Ishengoma, Kiiza	First and second born names of twins	Birth of twins in a family
Museveni, Mukabaseveni, Mukapatili	Seventh, and of 'Padre' (Roman Catholic Priest)	1937 British Seventh Battalion movement, and Christian conversion
Byera, Shubila, Neema	Happiness, Hope, Grace	Peace and hope in family

Source: Field notes 2000

For example, the name of Muzarirehi expresses feelings of desperation such as "Where shall I hide this child haunted by death?" Names also tell political events, natural phenomenon and history. Names like "Mdachi" and "Mukabadachi", "Munjereza" and "Mukabanjereza" refer to the arrival or epoch of the German and British rule in these kingdoms. Village names have meanings indicating their nature, for example, a village found at the cross paths of rhinos – the name is 'Omurwenkura', 'Rwenjojo' for elephants, 'Rwenshama' for antelopes/gazelles, 'Byentureje' for zebras etc. Villages may also be named after the abundance of crops in the area like Rutunguru known for its onions (*ebitunguru*) and Kacherere known for wild strawberries on the banks of its streams.

5.3 Shared material artefacts and customs: a reflection of cultural identity among the three tribes

The tribal identity made by the social relationships of blood, intermarriage, traditional blood pacts and movement is concretised in a shared material culture of artefacts and customs that enable the people to live in the geographical and the socially created spaces of Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda. These material artefacts include housing structures, rituals of marriage, inheritance and veneration of ancestral spirits. The presence of relatives, material artefacts, common rituals, and traditions make people feel at home with one another at the destination because the mover is in a familiar cultural territory (Mangalam 1968: 17).

5.3.1 Housing style and food stuffs

The traditional housing structure is a round hut made of reeds covered with grass from top to bottom. At the centre, the hut is supported by a central pole or kingpost (*enyomyo y'engambiro*). When seated on a three-legged stool, this pole acts a backrest for the household head. In front of the stool, there is a fireplace and a little parlour cum dining place and one or two partitions for bedrooms. Children stay in the same house with the parents until marriage. A few goats and sheep stay behind the fireplace (*echumichiro*). This living arrangement strengthens family bonds and provides an opportunity for story telling in the evenings as part of traditional education like the story told by Omukaire Helena (Chapter 4). The housing style reflects a similar culture and environment in terms of materials used.

A typical banana plantation of about two acres usually surrounds a house and provides, along with beans, the main staple food of the agriculturalists. The Bahima enjoy what the cow produces: milk, blood and meat but increasingly exchange their produce for bananas, beans and beer. Currently banana is the staple food but respondents identified the hardened porridge (*oburo*) made out of finger millet flour as the traditional staple. Respondents tied the appearance of this food to the ousting of King Nono who is supposed to have exchanged his throne for finger millet (Chapter 3). The exact date when

bananas were introduced to the area and from where is not known. During important traditional functions such as weddings and blood covenants this is the food that is eaten. *Oburo* is part of the ritual among the three tribes and forms a continuity with the past. It serves to remind the people of their traditional food and history. It was the preferred food of travellers because it remains edible for longer under traditional preservation methods than other foods. It is also a highly drought-resistant crop.

5.3.2 Household organisation of tools and marriage practices

The Banyambo household is usually shared by a nuclear family of father, mother, children and one or two relatives' children. The rules of the household demand that discipline and respect must be shown to both the people and tools used by each household member. Tools and instruments like a drum, bow and arrows, spears and walking stick (*emihunda, enkoni n'embango*)[41], machete (*echipanka*), dug-out canoe for beer brewing (*obwato*), and the sitting stool belong to the head of the household. These are used for various jobs for which the head of the house is responsible including –work in the house or in the banana plantation, or defence and hunting as well as entertainment. The drum serves to entertain and communicate. Both children and wife are forbidden to use or lend these items that are specifically for the use of the household head. Conforming to this rule is part of the respect for his authority. Each tool is kept in a specific place and appropriate care brings respect to the head among his/her peers. It is a mark of orderliness and good upbringing on the part of children to respect these items. The spouse has kitchen knives, *entaro* and *engali* for winnowing grain, woven mats and small gourd containers (*enkaya* or *endeku*) used for drinking banana wine/beer (*amarwa* alias *ugwagwa*) and very light porridge prepared from finger millet flour (*obushera*). In most households there is a mortar and pestle as well as a grinding stone. These tools are for the exclusive use of the wife/mother for the preparation of meals and men are not expected to lend or use them. My respondents were against the idea of lending any work tools. The principle of self-reliance for individual households was preferred. Each household head is expected to procure the tools used in everyday life. The ability of

[41] The household tools in this section cannot be translated to English.

household to undertake hard work is measured by possession of these tools. A household is not expected to borrow such essential equipment. Borrowing and begging for the use of farm tools is a disgrace in Banyambo society where every household is expected to feed itself by working in the banana plantation and keeping some animals.

The Bahima on their part are credited with owning long shinny spears, long walking sticks and polished milk vessels (*ebyanzi* and *ebishabo*) for drinking, storing and churning milk to produce ghee. These are likewise divided along gender lines between the husband and wife.

Banyambo society is patriarchal. It is men who exercise authority over the members of the household and all property nominally belongs to them. Where a husband has died and none of the brothers are willing to re-marry the widow (*okuhungura*) and head the house, the widow becomes the head of the household. Such households do not possess, for example, spears, drums, and dugout canoes for brewing beer. These are considered to be symbols of patriarchical authority among the Banyambo. In these widow-led households, decisions pertaining to the children are referred to the paternal relatives.

When their sons come of age, their father allocates them a share of the farm and assists each of his sons to pay the bride price. Male children construct their houses close to the father's house in the same village. When daughters marry they leave their natal home. A go-between who announces the intention of the suitor to the head of that household makes marriage arrangements. The household head consults members of the clan to determine the suitability of the prospective household[42], the bride, and the bride price after which a wedding day is agreed upon. The bride moves to the bridegroom's village and house. The respondents observed a slight difference between Rwanda and Karagwe/Ankole in getting the bride to the house. In Rwanda, once the bride price and other customs have been fulfilled, the aunt, brothers and sisters of the bride escort her to the bridegroom's house. In Karagwe and Ankole on other hand, the bridegroom's family

[42] The Banyambo were cautious of hereditary diseases e.g., epilepsy, leprosy, and mental disorders. Other virtues to be scrutinised were a spirit of hardwork and good manners in a prospective household of the bridegroom.

travels to receive the bride.

5.3.3 Ancestral veneration

The Banyambo have a high regard for ancestors who are believed to guard and protect them from the 'other world'. There are family and clan ancestors like Mugasha, Kazoba, Bishundo, and Lyangombe to mention a few. The overall Creator is called Ruhanga or Katonda (the father of Kanyambo – Chapter 2). The general practice is to build a miniature hut (*eilaro* - pl. *amalaro*) behind the main house for the ancestor. The household head leads intercession prayers at dawn or late in the evening depending on household needs. My respondents could not recall specific times of veneration apart from a libation made before drinking beer. They affirm, however, that wives and children are forbidden to visit these shrines (Field notes 2000; see also Rigby and Lule (1975) in Parkin (1975)). Occasionally the household head takes beer and food – especially during the first harvest to the shrine. It is forbidden to eat sacrificial animals and food placed as offerings. Respondents said these were disposed of secretly. However, most offerings are small and once placed at shrines that are without doors, the chances of rats, cats and wild animals running away with the food is high. When these foods are found missing days later, the people believe that the ancestors have accepted and eaten the offering. This is accepted as a good omen.

Certain occasions like praying for a sick person or getting rid of an evil spirit haunting a household or family requires the involvement of more than one family. When the day is agreed upon, beer and food are prepared to last a whole night of prayers. A senior person from the clan 'possessed by the spirits' leads the prayers of intercession. The ritual is performed at night and is secretive involving adults only. My respondents contend that such prayers were more efficacious prior to the coming of the missionaries. (Field notes 2000).

5.3.4 Beer preparation, its use in rituals and the birth of twins (*amarongo*)

The Banyambo prepare beer from ripe bananas (*embire/entundu*) – one type of bananas is used for cooking and another for brewing beer. Twenty mature bunches of bananas or more are heaped and covered in a pit (*orwina)* for five days to ripen, they are then peeled and squeezed in fresh grass or banana leaves to produce sweet juice. A little water is added and the juice is mixed with sorghum millet flour and then fermented in a dugout canoe for some ten hours or over night. Immediately following fermentation, the beer is ready to serve.[43] Neighbouring households are given ten litre beer containers to drink at home. Men gather after work in that household to drink at leisure and exchange information over the next two to three days. During these social drinking sprees, there is no chairman at the gathering but important current issues are discussed. These can range from gossip, to the attitude and behaviour of young people towards custom, and nowadays village development and local politics. At the time of the study, the country was preparing to conduct general elections and I witnessed frank talks about the prospective candidates and political parties taking part in the elections. I was informed further that even cases of misunderstandings between individual members are settled during such occasions. In the absence of local community centres, people expressed satisfaction with this practice carried out on a rotational basis to ensure a constant supply of beer and recreation. Occasionally some of the beer is sold to raise some money for other household uses (Field notes 2000).

However, beer/wine drinking extends beyond social drinking. Beer is an important part of marriage and birth celebrations as well as funeral rituals. Funerals, for example, require three to four days of mourning and during this time beer is drunk as people assemble for the burial. The Banyambo bury their dead in the front courtyard of the houses – males on the right hand side of the entrance and female on the left hand as one approaches the portal. In narrating this ritual, two events were stressed by the respondents: a) the burial of a male household head, and b) the burial of bachelors/spinsters. Seven days after the burial of a household head, a person usually a son is appointed to assume the

responsibilities of heading the family. He is clad in his father's sandals and long robe (*ekanzu*), given a spear and then seated formally on the stool. This is the inheritance (*okusika*) ceremony. Now the son must assume the duties of the late father and look after the household. In the case of bachelors and spinsters, a banana stem (*omugogo)* or charcoal is buried next to the body. This ritual is to ward off evil spirits who might otherwise descend on the family. The person who has died should not lament for not marrying in this world! The charcoal or banana stem serves as a symbolic partner for the deceased.

Beer is also used to congratulate the parents of a newborn baby. Neighbours and well wishers bring beer to drink and rejoice with the family. The birth of twins calls for extraordinary jubilation. A special ceremony needs to be held before the twins are given names by the grandfather. Fear and awe accompany their arrival. First that the mother and second that the babies have made it into this world. The successful birth of twins is a recent phenomenon in the area and has only become common with the introduction of public health care. When twins are successfully delivered, the doors are closed (be it day or night) until an outsider knocks on the door. On hearing the knock (*okukaguza)* the parents answer back calling him/her "father/mother of twins". The "father/mother of twins" (*Ishe/Nyina-abarongo*) is welcomed into the house and has to stay for at least three days. Going home before the ritual of twins is completed brings misfortune (*amahano*) to his/her own household! As the news spreads, songs of rejoicing are intoned (*empundu hamwe n'okujeba*) followed by eating and drinking. The twins are presented with finger millet, a small bow and arrow, and are clothed. The biological mother and "the father/mother of twins" are similarly dressed. When the umbilical cords have dropped off, the children are removed from seclusion (*kubarura)* and the grandfather gives them names reserved for twins alone, like Kakuru and Kato, Nyangoma and Nyakato, or Ishengoma and Nyangoma/Nyakato) for first and second born respectively. [The '*Nya*' prefix refers to female names] When this ceremony is over the "father/mother of twins" is now free to go home because the evil spirits have been warded off. When the twins reach adulthood, special rituals apply to their marriages. Arrangements are made to

[43] Another type of beer is made from mixing honey and banana wine. The new concoction is called

have twin girls marry twin boys possibly on the same day otherwise the twin sister or brother could hide from the house on the wedding day of his/her sister or brother. My observation [during 2000] is that this event is surrounded by superstition because in previous times in the absence of hospitals, many women lost lives during pregnancy or at delivery. Survival was not certain in any way.

5.3.5 Agriculture and animal husbandry

The farming and grazing patterns are similar among the three tribes. They all keep the long-horned Ankole cattle and a few heads of goat and sheep. The pastoralists stay in the plains that have plenty of water and grass for livestock. The agriculturalists live on the plateaux and valleys where they can farm. They grow crops like sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes, finger millet and cassava. Beans and bananas are sold along with other crops and the money used to buy industrial goods and milk products. Coffee is quickly becoming the cash crop.

5.3.6 Music, dances and musical instruments

The Banyambo of Karagwe and Ankole enjoy the same music and dance. Identical musical instruments are played. There are some differences between their music and that of Banyarwanda especially the Tutsi's warlike dance (*entore*). While their music is different it is easy for people from the other two tribes to adapt quickly and dance well to each other tunes. The music and dances are performed for various reasons: to celebrate a joyous event like a birth or the killing of a large animal, a marriage, commemoration of ancestors, and occasionally for leisure. Two or four people drum, and one person leads the song (the words are not written down) and the success of the performance depends on the artistic style of the singer. Two to four people stand in the centre dancing (wriggling and jumping) and then spectators seated in a circle around the dancers sing the chorus and clap their hands. A song lasts for approximately fifteen minutes and the drumbeat intensifies towards the end. Other musical instruments include the flute, *enanga*, *edinjiri*,

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'*empabaga*'.

eigobore (there are no English words for these instruments) and a rattle may be tied to the legs of the dancers or held in the hands. Dancers do not decorate themselves with mud or masks. Omukaire Mukabalisa who gave this account added that there are special royal dances and songs performed at the palaces but she had never witnessed them (Field notes 2000: Kituntu/Mabira and Kaisho/Murongo wards). I imagine that songs performed at the royal palace were composed to praise the king and/or accompany the event being celebrated.

In the section above, I have argued that the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole share a common identity that has been created through history, intermarriages and movement in one cultural space. My endeavour was to amplify this oneness through peoples' practices like rituals, foods, and material artefacts that people living in one cultural space have and share in common. Cohen (1970) sums up these shared practices and identity when writing on the Wanyamwezi tribe that lives south of Karagwe saying: -

> In addition, people are linked to each by relationships of neighbourhood, by common membership of secret societies, and by ties of kinship and marriage including membership in domestic groups. Almost all social life in Unyamwezi takes place within the framework of these different relationships and its meaningful to talk of social personality of an individual as the sum total of the different roles which he derives from participation in them (1970: 95).

Group identity is the basis or the primary identity upon which other individually acquired identities are predicated. This cultural identity grows from a culture of a people living in a shared territory and prevents one from feeling like an alien or foreigner in ones homeland (Bottomley 1992: 26). The cultural differences create distinctive ways of life that define the boundary with outsider(s) i.e., those who have a different sense of perception and understanding of the world. Cultural identity has been seen to be visible among the three tribes in terms of the historical past, kinship formations, foods, religious beliefs, housing styles, tools and other practices so that an individual feels at home in that collectivity. Thus the Banyarwanda and Banyankole find themselves at home in Karagwe

because of a shared culture and a common identity. Barth (1996) identifies the cultural content in much the same way on two levels and writes: -

> The cultural contents of ethnic [groups] would seem analytically to be of two orders: (i) overt signals or sign – the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form, or general life style, and (ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged (Barth 1996: 299 cited in Sollors 1996).

5.4. The strategy of movement: examples of cultural practices influencing people to move

The sharing of a common culture and a cultural identity means that group members have common frames of reference through which a sense of perception and the evaluation of those around them are made. People enjoy similar frames of reference – they act within that general frame by interpreting individual life situations using the same rules and regulations. This interaction between individuals and the members of the society within the cultural space allow individuals to negotiate a way through issues and challenging problems by conforming to guidelines or attempting to modify them. The decision to move or relocate depends on the person's perception and conformity to the customs, rules and regulations among the inhabitants of Karagwe. My argument is that there are practices created by people in Karagwe [and the sister kingdoms of Ankole and Rwanda] that influence people to relocate within their created cultural territory and in the course of this relocation the bonds of oneness are increased. One such practice is the way parents divide their land between their children.

As well as assisting with bride price, Banyambo parents and those in the sister tribes of Banyarwanda and Banyankole share their land with their children as they prepare to start their own families. Preparing children for adult life operates at two levels: household and clan levels. Clan members have an obligation and a collective responsibility to train and

correct youths observed to act contrary to community norms. Clan members discipline any child or youth seen to misbehave. The normal responsibilities of a household towards children remain intact and cover upbringing and training.

When a male child reaches adulthood and is about to marry his father gives him a piece of land planted with banana plantains. The respondents told me that following marriage a bride is considered married to the household head i.e., the father of the bridegroom who makes the formal approach to the father of the bride on behalf of the son, and is held responsible for the viability of marriage. The household head has to guide and settle any differences observed between the young couple. If the father has many male children, the practice of apportioning land to children reduces individual farms to small tracts.[44] The household head may talk about this with the young families and raise the issue of what needs to be done to meet the livelihood needs of the expanding families. One or two young members may be advised to consider relocation. If one or two of the young families decide to move the original plot is given to the remaining brothers or to the father and the move is made. (This is one of the methods to creating new villages as well). Relocation is a strategy which not only enables households to expand and increase food production it also serves to increase the family's presence in other places. The Bahima on their part give cattle to their children instead of land. The strategy increases the prestige of a household by enabling members to have plenty of food to eat and give away. Begging and stealing are not acceptable and are a sign of laziness and bring disgrace to the household, clan and village. As observed above witchcraft also brings disgrace. For example, people say the residents of Kamuli in Kaisho/Murongo are witches. It is certainly inconceivable that all members of that village practise witchcraft. One or two individuals are responsible for tarnishing the name of the village. This embarrassing appellation can only be avoided if the villagers act collectively and stop such behaviour. If nothing is done about it, outsiders who will make it difficult for young people from the village to find wives in neighbouring villages will impose further

[44] The Banyambo are a patrilineal society and female children move to bridegroom's house upon marriage. They have no share of property upon their father's death. In 1972 Tanzania enacted a law entitling girls to a share but societies like Karagwe are slow to change their tradition of sharing their estates to male children alone.

sanctions. Witchcraft is greatly feared. In cases of theft or bad behaviour, the individual person is forced to move. Bonnemaison (1985) observed a similar practice among the Tannese people of Vanuatu: -

> ...there is no recognised minority within the theoretical unit of the social group. In such circumstances, as borne out in oral traditions, neither exiles nor those blamed for suspect magical activities were unusual...and those suspected of being to blame, *the scapegoats of the social majority, had to leave their territory of origin* (Bonnemaison 1985:52)(italics added).

5.4.1 Movement: a strategy to strengthen family and tribal cohesion

The social interactions of the Banyambo connect many people together through marriage, and blood pacts. Children are allowed and encouraged to socialise and stay with relatives as a way of maintaining family and clan cohesion. A child can stay at an uncle's house (maternal or paternal) and in adulthood build a house to reside there. The uncle assumes the full responsibilities of the child's father. (In the case of a paternal uncle the child can inherit land). This practice increases clan cohesion and bestows honour upon the household that accomplishes the deed (Gould 1985: 264-268). The status of a family having children to stay with them increases and this shows the confidence other people have in the household's ability to feed itself.

Married adults are happy to have the children of their kin come and live with them. A householder living in a distant village surrounded by other clans will try to lure young people from a home village to come and settle near by. They are usually willing to provide material assistance during the first months of settling in. A young person knowing that a relative lives in a certain village may seek this person out with the idea of settling close by. Movement of people to live with relatives (paternal and maternal) fosters social connections and cohesion as well as reducing the solitary feelings one might otherwise have living with people who may belong to other clans.

5.4.2 Movement as a strategy to enhance security and prosperity/wellbeing of household members

The security of the family and livestock are important considerations among the Banyambo. A household beleaguered by misfortune, for example, with the loss of children, family members, constant ill health in the household, or loss of livestock will consider relocating from their current location or village if it is perceived as being instrumental in causing such ills and misfortunes. Faced with such circumstances, a household may find it advisable to move and try another place for a change, possibly near a relative. Misfortunes threaten the survival and core values of a household, family and clan. People desire big families as part of their social security in old age, large numbers of livestock like cattle, goats and sheep for wealth as well as good banana plantations with coffee trees and so forth. In the case of the Bahima who still build traditional houses, relocation is more frequent when cattle die[45]. A person, for example, may start off in Rwanda, stay in Ankole, Uganda for some years, then proceed to Karagwe and vice versa, settling where he or she believes the likelihood of such misfortunes occurring is decreased. One such movement of a Muhima was recorded in the mobility register at Masheshe during the study. The Bahima move regularly unlike the Bairu who settle for a long time in one place – usually a third generation may contemplate movement back to the original place if relatives remain. This return movement is designed to reactivate social relations in the community.

5.4.3 Land admiration and marriages as cultural factors inspiring movement

Another traditional cause of movement I learned in the field is "land admiration" (*kurijira eitaka lya bunanka*) while away from home. If an attractive site for settlement is found in the course of a journey and looks good enough for people to consider moving, then several characteristics of the site are assessed including: -

a) The natural physical attraction of the place e.g., undulating hills, valleys and

[45] The common fatal diseases of cattle are ECF (East Coast Fever), anthrax and foot-and-mouth disease (a contagious eczematous disease mainly affecting cattle).

plateaux which, command panoramic views such as those found at the place of origin.

b) The soil fertility for crop production – good banana plantations, good harvests of beans and other crops including open fields for grazing livestock,

c) The natural endowments of the place especially the availability of a permanent source of water. The north-south hill range spanning Karagwe creates a rain shadow and the water table is low. Water creates an attraction where it is plentiful or nearby (Chapter 3),

d) Presence of destructive wild animals: wild pigs, monkeys and baboons are a menace to crops especially when one lives on the fringes of a village. The crops become vulnerable to animals. A person who lives in such a place may be inspired to move to another place where he can maintain desirable food levels that confer respectability on the household.

The last traditional movements resulting from the institution of marriage are: movement of brides to husbands' villages following the patrilocal system, movement of other girls to be married in the same village (marriage fields), and taking a relative's child to stay with the bride. Brides move to their husbands' homesteads when marriage ceremonies are concluded. Thereafter any movement of a household is discussed and agreed together by the married couple. Discussions to weigh the pros and cons of movement take place in the early morning. After the couple has decided the larger family is asked to give their approval. This movement of brides on the other hand is seen to be a natural phenomenon. Although a bride changes residences the relocation is not considered as movement. Following the marriage rituals the bride is reborn in a new household. Wives also encourage other girls from their home villages to marry in their new villages. They may also take young brothers or cousins to live with them. The examples of women in Kaisho/Murongo ward (chapter 4), and Nyinababiligi (Chapter 6 – in the narrative of Omuzee Kadabada) show this practice to be common among the people of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole.

5.5 Conclusion

The Banyambo of Karagwe live harmoniously in the geographical and social spaces they have occupied and created over many generations. The Banyarwanda and Banyankole as neighbours to the west and north enter Karagwe to live in these contextual and created spaces that together form their cultural territory. The ability to settle without culture shock was created in part by the history of the three kingdoms once ruled by one ruler – King Ruhinda and later his children. On the other hand, constant intermarriage and traditional covenants of blood and movement or relocation have created connections that bind them together. In the course of negotiating their life situations in the geographical space, they have developed common habits, material artefacts and rules to govern life. With a common culture i.e., a way of life to view and interpret the behaviour of individual members and the world around them, they developed a common identity premised on culture.

A common identity and culture make individual members feel at home in any location in the created cultural territory – the reference map to guide actions. However, understanding, interpreting and implementing the rules, norms and regulations lead some members of these collectivities to relocate to other places. For example, a head of a household has to apportion and give a piece of land and a banana plantation to every male child attaining adulthood to enable him start a family. Constant subdivision of land affects the size of owned land and reduces the capability of a sustainable food supply. All household members have to contemplate seriously the decision to stay put and starve or beg. The alternative is to relocate and have plenty to eat together with increased social standing/status. Starving and begging contravene other societal values (e.g. stealing and begging are condemned) so that eventually households and other members opt for relocation of a young household. Movement also takes place in a bid to cement kinship ties and the exigencies of collective social responsibility for bringing up children. Thus a child can live anywhere with relatives or a household can move to another village to join a relative or kin in that place. This can be performed to increase the presence of a clan or family in a village where one feels the need to have this presence.

The case of Karagwe suggests movement rooted in the culture. As people live in their cultural territory negotiating life situations, movement comes as a strategy and a response to living in a constructed cultural space. This movement is, however, unnoticed by outsiders because the people have a common identity and culture and have 'one reference map' to guide them. At all times, the decision to move is implemented with the consent of other members of the extended family and clan who share in the benefits of the strategy such as creating new marriage fields, new skills and trades, having relatives in many other places and strengthening family ties. The movement leading outside the cultural territory does not bring such benefits and is not sanctioned. It is disappearance – *okubura*. In the following chapter, an exploration of some life histories of movement of households/members will be undertaken and the language used to explain or describe the movement among these people is discussed in Chapter 7. The discussion pursued in this chapter shows how the foundations of movement are part of a common identity created by history, movements, kinship, clan relations and blood covenants that together link all members of the three collectivities of people. Flowing from this identity are practices such as rules, norms and values that give a frame of reference for individual members. As members put into practice the norms, traditions, rules and regulations/taboos, the movement strategy arises as a response. Movement based in culture is a strategy they practice to conform to the same culture that inspires them to make decisions to relocate.

CHAPTER SIX

LIFE HISTORIES OF FAMILIES IN MOVEMENT AND THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE

6.1. Introduction

The key proposition of Chapter 5 is that tribal identity and social relationships developed by people in a cultural territory are instrumental in causing people to move from one place to another. The movement can be relocating in one's farm/*shamba*[46] or going to other villages within the cultural territory. The social relationships that support this movement are premised on blood ties such as nuclear family, intermarriages or affinity and traditional blood covenants that bring people together who were not formerly related by blood or affinity from different clans. The social relationships develop in a cultural space that has been created through a common history, language, norms and values, material artefacts and a common perception or world-view.

The Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole possess a sense of oneness and a common identity (Chapter 5). This oneness which makes them feel at home among themselves, originates from past movements, intermarriages and pacts that place or locate relatives in distant places (within the cultural territory) from an individual's habitual residential place. These bonds allow people to move and stay with relatives of kin, affinity and covenants in other places without feeling that they are outside natal places. The points of origin and destination are taken to be 'home' because the individual has relatives in both places. This type of movement is encouraged in society from early childhood in order to strengthen the bonds of social relations and tribal identity among the people. For example, children are sent to stay with grandparents, uncles, aunts and married older sisters to strengthen existing social relations of knowing the people and gaining knowledge of the area. Children are also trained to address older persons as uncles and aunts to get them to appreciate the close relationships existing between members of the society. The adult people have social and moral responsibilities of correcting and guiding

the children as their own. Families and clans are responsible for the upbringing and protection of children (Gould 1985).

This chapter presents case studies of household movement or family life histories of movement inspired by the desire to live with kin, affines and blood pact relations as well as the movement of spouses and children that have a crucial role in maintaining family and tribal cohesion. Three movements are discussed: - long distance (*okutaha* and *okutura*), short distance (*okusyara*), and relocation within a farm (*okwiha omwanya*). Household heads supported by their wives provided the narratives. Long distance movements take place every two to three generations as part of a quest undertaken by movers to trace relations or roots. Short distance movements take place when visiting relatives in neighbouring villages and relocation takes place on the farm (Field study 2000).

6.2 The objectives and an overview of the chapter

In this chapter, I argue that movement is a result of the cultural milieu and the social relationships created and lived by a people in a society. Using a cultural framework to interpret the social meaning of movement and relocation of people in their cultural territory, I argue that movement is a result of people living together and a way of realising or adjusting to the norms and values held in common. A person in a society expresses the norms and values about the closeness of a relationship through the act of moving or of allowing/sending a child to live with another person in a different village. It is a sign of trust and understanding that a child will get the same love and teaching it would normally get from its parents. Similarly, a household will relocate to another place to live with a blood pact relative or a blood relative knowing that they will enjoy the same companionship and brotherhood they get at home.

Movement is a form of adjustment to and an actualisation of the norms and values in

[46] A *shamba* is a term used in East Africa to describe a piece of land occupied by a person where he/she has a house and crops for food and cash crops. It is less than a farm in the western sense of a farm yet bigger than a garden. It may be two acres or more. Mbonile M.J. (1994: 263) translates this word as farm.

society. For example, when a clan wishes to expand and have its presence felt in another village, it sanctions the movement of its members to another village or deliberately sponsors marriages to achieve the same outcome. By extending the marriage field, so to speak, connections between the two places are established. In rural areas, certain villages inter-marry or exchange spouses until a network of relations grows beyond which marriage is no longer permissible by society's practices. Another exchange practice may then develop with other villages to the same point constantly creating networks of relationships between places through brides and other movements. Watts (1983) studying migration in marriage as a neglected form of long-term mobility using a study from Nigeria observes that a marriage field is an area from which women move to a particular place upon marriage (1983: 690). This movement is a strategy of adjustment designed to develop clan representation elsewhere. This enables those who stay behind to divide available land amongst themselves. These stayers usually belong to the same extended family. Lloyd (1972) in the savannah of West Africa, observed that movement is part of social maturation for young adults – a form of *rite de passage*. For example, a young person proves manhood by travelling outside his habitual place or territory and if possible acquires town sophistication before his return. Pitt (1970) on the other hand found in Western Samoa that young people are encouraged to migrate by traditional authorities to migrate partly as a safety valve which relocates the young and rebellious who might otherwise pose a threat to community law and order. Bonnemaison (1985) studying mobility among the Tanna people of Vanuatu found that young bachelors like to be mobile without completely severing ties with the community because it provides temporary escape from the constraints of rural society (Bonnemaison 1985: 58). This once again suggests that the meaning of movement can only be found in the culture in which it takes place.

An understanding of the meaning and significance of movement in a cultural framework permits the study of movement in rural communities that are influenced by culture, norms and values and the environment at household/family levels. This is the humanist approach which Chapman (1995) speaks of that asks us to look at histories, oral narratives, myths, tales and drama, life stories, and personal testimonies to inform the

meaning of movement: -

> We are interested in how people from...different societies think about and look at situations and subjects in their own terms...we are using the movement of people over long periods of time as a point of focus and reference (1995:253).

Stressing the importance of the family or household in migration decision making, Harbison (1981) affirms that: -

> ...it seems clear that the attitudes, values and feelings of responsibility developed within the context of a family as a child grows up, as well as both positive and negative feelings towards family members, will influence decision making in general and the direction to migrate in particular (1981: 243 cited in De Jong 1981).

In pursuing this humanist approach to inform movement and the family as influencing migration through positive feelings towards its members, this chapter presents household or family narratives of movement. These narratives show how the attraction of mutual aid extended by relatives at the point of destination encourages movement. They show movement or relocation in cultural space and on one's plot of land as well as how the decision making process centres on, and is sanctioned by, the entire extended family and household.

As a key to understanding the narratives presented in this chapter, I begin by defining the terms: family, household and home as used by the speakers. The Banyambo, for example, understand the term family as '*eka*' or '*enzu*' for procreation [in a patrilineal society], and is composed of a father, mother, and children including the children of relatives. A wider use of the term 'family' as used by orientation exemplified by religious orders or religious congregations such as the Roman Catholic Church is unheard of. Other terms such as 'extended family', 'cousins' and 'nieces' are part neither of their vocabulary nor understanding. Their relations are simple and indicate the closeness of belonging to each other. These are - father, mother, brother, sister, aunt, uncle, and grand parents on the

paternal and maternal sides. An understanding of these terms as used by the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda helps us to understand the text of the narratives. The narratives are discussed in Chapter 7 to capture the metaphors of movement.

6.3 Definition of 'household', 'family' and 'home' in the tripartite kingdoms

In the study area of Karagwe, a family (*eka* or *enzu*) consists of spouses and children resulting from this union in a patrilineal society. It is essentially nuclear but very much connected to other families of one's brothers and parents to form an extended family (*echika*). One's married sisters are spouses and are part of other nuclear and '*ebika*' (extended families) in other villages. This understanding differs slightly from the conception given by Harbison (1981) where the following definition is given: -

> The family within which the migration decision is made may be either nuclear or extended, it may be patrilineally or matrilineally structured, and it may be the family either by orientation or procreation (Harbison 1981: 229 cited in De Jong 1981).

This term 'household' has two sides: a co-residence unit and an economic unit – one implies content or meaning and the other function. The Banyambo understand a household to comprise of a married couple, their children and a relative's child if present. Regarding the functions of a household, (and there are many functions performed by a household), a household is a self-contained unit of production with responsibility to work, feed and sustain itself i.e., as a subsistence unit. Among the Banyambo and the sister tribes of Banyarwanda and Banyankole, the content and function are fused and performed by the same unit i.e., a family is equally a household (Field notes 2000).

In discussing the structural role of the family where the decision to migrate is made, Harbison (ibid. 231) adds that, "in some cases, however, the family may actually be the decision making unit and the unit of economic maximisation." Following the functions of the family among the Banyambo people, I will use the two terms interchangeably in

this study. In the world-view of the Banyambo, two functions are critical for the family to perform and be worth the designation of a family. The first function is that a family is a link between an individual and the larger society that trains its members and imparts cultural values and norms as part of living in the house where stories, proverbs and behaviours are taught. It is with the family that children learn their rights, obligations, relations and the wider patterns of authority existing in society. For example, the Banyambo tell their children "Boys (*abozo*) never cry and girls (*abeishichi*) never whistle or sit like that", as a means of inculcating appropriate behaviour/manners expected of them by the larger society. This is the training and socialising aspect of the family (Field notes 2000). The second function of the family is the production of food to cater for family needs of subsistence and nowadays a little surplus for exchange or sale in the market. The individual member learns the skills and trades of the house and the tools that are used in the house and the community. Boys are taught the skills of men like hunting, herding cattle, digging, tendering the banana plantation and how to make relevant tools. Skills to construct houses are learnt during this early stage by imitating adults at construction sites. Girls on the other hand learn from their mothers and aunts cooking, weaving, and preparation of Banyambo delicacies (*okurunga*) as well as taking care of the house. The family combines co-residing, social training and production duties to the extent that the terms 'family and household' carry the same meaning in the Banyambo context. The use of these terms is equally in line with the spirit of the study: to study movement in a cultural context of the people through understanding what they understand by movement.

Among many other meanings, the Cassell Student English Dictionary (1994) defines 'home' as "one's house, the abode of the family to which one belongs, and one's own country" (1994: 398). To acquire fuller textual weight these definitions have to be compared with the Banyambo cultural meanings for the same word. As an 'abode of the family to which one belongs' a qualification of relatives' presence has to be added. A home is surrounded by one's kin and is a place where one is born. The word 'home' would be translated as '*oweitu*' in Kinyambo language meaning where one is born, and '*omuka*' as a place where one resides or has a house. The meaning of 'one's own

country' designates a large area or country and equates well with the Banyambo world-view of home as an area or cultural territory occupied. The home as a spot refers to a housing structure (*omuka* or *enzu*) and this structure is movable in one's plot and cultural territory where one has roots or is born.

The concept of 'home' is usually assumed in many studies of population movement and subsumed in the 'point of origin'. For example Gould and Prothero (1985) give typologies of mobility, Mabogunje (1972) in the "system's model" mentions the impact of the mover on the society of destination and circulation without showing the meaning and importance of the 'home' concept. Bonnemaison (1985) realised the importance of this concept in the study of the Tanna people in Vanuatu. Among the Tanna, home place or '*stamba*' in Bislama language means "a place from which issue identity and magical, social and political functions, as well as mastery of territorial rights governing land...a root place conveying identity and power (Bonnemaison 1985: 41) and Bedford (1998: 2). Home becomes a place and point of reference for a mover irrespective of the location or direction. Among the Banyambo, like the Tanna people of Vanuatu, home is the territorial heartland – the entire cultural space within which individuals move among close and related kin and affines, and a place of peace. This perception of world-view for home enable the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole to move freely within the constructed cultural space, finding relatives created by blood, affinity and blood covenants everywhere. Where there is no direct relation from these networks of relations, the historical movements that dispersed the clans come into force. An individual joins a clan relation because one is still considered a brother/sister to the extent of forbidding intermarriage as noted in chapter 5. It is in this context that the terms: - ' household', 'family', and 'home' are used in the narratives in a cultural meaning of the Banyambo people.

6.4 Life histories of people in movement

The following narratives of life histories of families or households in movement were recorded during the field study 2000 in Karagwe District. They are a record of the experiences of families or households that moved from Rwanda and Ankole (Southern

Uganda) to Karagwe and married couples who moved to and from Karagwe. Another history of movement is within Karagwe. These narratives are presented 'verbatim' allowing for the translation into the English language in order to preserve their originality. This means no alterations were made to the original text of the narrator. I have, however, used fictitious names or pseudonyms instead of the names of the people currently living in the villages in order to preserve the anonymity of the respondents. The names of villages and other locations have remained unchanged in the narratives although some villages have been abandoned or deserted like Kagaga and Chamunyana in response to a government order to leave the Ibanda Game Controlled Area (Figure 3.1). The people giving their family life histories of movement admitted to having forgotten some events in their lives because many years have passed since they moved. For this reason, the accuracy of dates is limited but more significantly this is a comment on the literacy levels of those involved. Reference to political events like the reigns of King D. Rumanyika of Karagwe (1916-1939), King Rutahigwa of Rwanda (1954), and the coming of the Belgians following the defeat of Germany in World War I (1914-1918) are used to show the epochs/dates in the narratives. Rwanda came under Belgian rule on 30 May 1919 following the Milner-Orts Agreement between Britain and Belgium.[47] Lastly, there is an introduction for each narrator and Figure 3.2 shows all the major places mentioned in the narratives that follow.

The narrative of Omuzee Bishanga, the retired civil servant of Nyabiyonza in Chapter 5 forms part of this chapter illustrating movement from Ankole via Rwanda to Karagwe. The following are parts of the lengthy family life histories into and within Karagwe.

Omuzee Frede Alishanga (66 years old)

Omuzee[48] Alishanga is a retired teacher and is a native Mnyambo. He is a polygamist with three wives and has considerable property by village standards. A number of his children have completed secondary education but there are still young ones in primary

[47] McEwen A.C., (1971). International Boundaries of East Africa, Oxford: At the Claredon Press, pg. 151.
[48] 'Omuzee' is a title for old people meaning an old man above the title of Mister (Mr.) in the English language. It is the equivalent of 'Senior Citizen' in New Zealand.

schools. He was very cordial and invited me to visit his second *eka* (the house of the second spouse) a few kilometres from the main house i.e., the house of the first spouse. He was very willing to talk about his experiences and answer questions because such exercises add to individual /family status in Karagwe. The values of trust and honesty are invoked.

> My name is Frede Alishanga but my people call me Rugumila – this is a nickname I was given by friends in the drinking sessions because of drinking and retaining my composure. My father is Kamuhanjire but he died in the 1950s when I was still young. I am a teacher by profession and I retired in 1984 after teaching in many primary schools of Karagwe District. I was head of these primary schools in which I taught, for example, Kibingo, Nyamiyaga, and Kihinda in Kaisho/Murongo ward, and in Kyanyamisa in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward. I am married to three wives and several children as well as grand children. I was a good practising Catholic but then I fell and married many wives. But I consider myself to be one all the same because I love God and go to Church. Each of my wives has her house and property of a shamba, coffee shrubs, a few goats and sheep – believe me they are living well. My cattle are a little far away. [At the time of the interview I found him at the first spouse's house traditionally called the main house (*eka* or *enzu nkulu*)][49].

> My father Omuzee Kamuhanjire and my small fathers [uncles] Kayanda and Kajimba lived in Nkwenda in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward. He was tall, well built and full of wisdom and valour. The Kings of Karagwe from Bweranyange in Bushangaro used to stay at my father's house for days on the way to Siina, Mabare and Ibanda on official tours to inspect the principalities of west Karagwe known as Chikuba, Karagwe k'Eifo and Ibanda. His politeness and wisdom won him the favour of King Rumanyika who ruled from 1916-1939. He was made a King's councillor and he used to go to sit in the royal court at the palace for official duties. His great friend, Omuranjira Rwegasira was made governing prince of Ibanda in Karagwe west - governing Chikuba from Rwabununka to Mabare of Bugomora as far as Kagaga on the Kagera river – a very big area indeed. His second wife, Omukaire Kokuzana, was a great friend and blood pact sister to my mother Kashunzu. She was the beloved wife although Rugoroire was the first wife. She [Rugoroire] had been bypassed because she bore girls alone. My small mother [aunt] Kokuzana had boys and girls including Byonje, Matyansi, Tito and Karwera. Prince Rwegasira asked my father to come and stay with him in Ibanda and due to the great friendship and blood pact between my mother and Omukaire Kokuzana, my father after consulting with his brothers agreed to move to Ibanda. My small father [uncle], Kajimba, at first rejected the

[49] The Banyambo consider the house of the first wife as the main house i.e., '*enzu nkulu*'. In the event that a man dies while in the house of a junior wife, the body is brought to the first wife's house for burial.

idea, but knowing that my mother's parents who came from Ankole are now living in Kagasha overlooking Kibingo, and that there are our relatives like Omuzee Cheigongo and Omuzee Ruchancha Rwenduru forming a big extended family (*echika cha abanyaruganda*), he agreed. He then moved to live in Ibanda. He was a good hunter too, and he had killed a buffalo at Chamunyana when my elder brother [clan relative] Omuzee Mitego got a snake-bite.

My mother, Kashunzu, is one of the daughters of Chitambikwa who came from Ankole to live in Karagwe. My grandmother comes from Igayaza in Isingiro County (*eisaza lya* Isingiro). She left her sisters and brothers of whom, Henry, my brother, is born to Balyamuzura my second aunt. That is why one of my children is called Henry because during my wedding in 1955 he gave me many presents and took me to Mbarara to shop for my wedding suit and the gown of my wife. In those days the bride (*omugole*) would put on a "*ebodinji*", it was red and made of silk. The "*ebodinji*" dress has now been made a nation's attire for the people of Uganda. My aunts' i.e., the children of Chitambikwa are Mukebita who was married to Thaddeo in Rushasha village and has two children Bwazo and Theodosia Kalyabuseire. My sister, Kalyabuseire, went to live with our grand mothers Balyamuzura, Nyakwera and Mukambabazi in Ankole where she got married to Mr. Kazongoro - a lorry driver. They had several children including Blandina Kateka who is teaching in Biharamulo District because she grew up at her grandmother's house (Mukebita) in Rushasha. The second born Nzongoro is married in Mbarara but has health problems – she is constantly sick (*narwararwara*). The other children are working in Masaka and Kabale, except Mwesigwa who is here in Rugasha – he came when his father, my brother in-law, Kazongoro died. He was a great man! My small mother (aunt) Veronica Kateizura was married to Omuzee Mashaza and all her children died so that she stays with me after the death of her husband. She is the one being taken care of by my second wife in Rushongora - some two kilometres from here. I will take you tomorrow if you have time then you can see for yourself my other family. Another small mother Mangada was married to Omuzee Mpijika and they separated (*okutana*)[50] She remarried again in Kamachumu, in Buhaya near Ndorage Hospital, very far away from here. [Kamachumu is in Muleba District of Kagera region about 187 kilometres from Kibingo – Murongo].

At first, my father settled in Kazaza about three kilometres away from here but then moved close to my grand mother's house to enable my mother Kashunzu to look after her mother Chitambikwa. My grandmother Chitambikwa died in 1958 due to old age. She gave me all her banana plantation from where we still get food and coffee. I started teaching in 1954 and had my first born Henry who is now a rural medical assistant in-charge of a rural dispensary. He married in Nyaishozi not far from his small mother [aunt] Blandina, and the second wife comes from

[50] Among the Banyambo, spouses separate. Divorce is a foreign concept. For example if a separated spouse dies even after having married another person with children there, she will be brought to the first husband's house for burial. Technically she is considered to be a legitimate wife of her first husband.

Biharamulo where he worked for three years. My second born is married in Kishao and settled with her husband. Both of them work for our country in Dodoma. Of course my other children are in schools – you cannot say everything. After all, I did not know that such a story would be of interest to you educated people [*abashomi*].

As for my brothers whom I left in Nkwenda, they are all still there with children and grand children. Omuzee Chilinyebesa is a member of the jury in a primary court and one of his sons came to stay [live] with us here. He came in 1972 with his wife and children – they are happy living with us. Omuzee Mugasha is fine and growing old like every one of us. In Ankole they are fine. We visit one another quite regularly – visits were disrupted during the time of President Idd Amin of Uganda (1972-1979) and especially during the Kagera War. There are constant visits between Igayaza, Nkwenda and my family here in Kibingo. My sister Bajira came with her husband from Kafuro and are living here. Two of their children liked the soil of Kafuro and are there living with their uncles in their father's land.

My second wife is a Mchiga from west of Ankole and I have built her a house in Rushongora, you remember I said she stays or looks after my small mother Kateizura? I had never been to Rukiga myself until I was told to take the customary male goat, beer and blanket to the grand father of this wife there – very close to Kabale up in the hills. Her father came to live in Karagwe sometime in 1966 by then my wife was a young girl about 12 years old. I loved her – you know a teacher in the villages gets a lot of respect. Now she has several children and her first born is training to be a policeman. My father in law is Soteri and he is still very strong with cattle and coffee and a big banana plantation. Every year he travels to Kabale to see his people I mean mine as well and I have accompanied him twice during my holidays to have a formal introduction to my other in-laws. This was in 1984 and 1988 when on my way back I passed through Igayaza to see my people – brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts. (I have not stopped the habit of taking holidays even after retiring – I just call off a month and rest) In fact some of my kids are there attending secondary school and staying with them. They come for end of the year holidays otherwise they stay there; I want them to know their brothers and sisters that side. I do go there or my wife here goes to visit them. They are happy there.

My third wife is a Mnyankole whom I met during my visit to my brother Henry and later my sister Nyakato a daughter of my small mother [aunt] to the second born of the sister of my grandmother, Chitambikwa brought her. I built her a house at Ahapida not far from here. She has a house and enough food to eat. She has a coffee and banana plantation close to my blood pact brother Cyprian Tigelindwa whose parents came from Koki south of Masaka. They have been here many years now.

I have relatives everywhere and would not mind any of my sons living with any one of them. Having many relatives in various places is a blessing especially in times of need and having a place to turn to. Let me give you an example. When I go to Kayanga for my little pension at the Bank (you know that National Bank of Commerce Kaisho Branch was closed) instead of sleeping in a guesthouse and wasting my money I stay with my relatives. Long ago when I was a councillor, I used to sleep at my brother's house – John. John is a brother to Bene Mujasi who is my blood pact brother and now lives in Rwabwere. He settled near his maternal uncle. At first he went there to teach – actually our friendship and later brotherhood started when we were at Kajunguti Teachers Training College in the 1950's. These days I stay with my daughter's family married in the same village of Kishao and the following morning I go to the bank and collect my little money. I then go to Bisheshe in Nyaishozi to visit my sister in-law Blandina. She is married to Francis Bagondoza, a retired teacher. Then I have opportunity to visit the in-laws of my son Henry, the medical assistant. Actually I cannot get lost in Karagwe because I have relations of consanguinity, blood pacts and intermarriages. For example, in Nyaishozi there is my sister in-law, in Kishao of Bugene near the district administrative centre, there is my daughter, and in Nkwenda that is my birth place with my small fathers [uncles] and brothers [cousins] like Mugasha and Chlinyebesa and many other people. Kaisho is the home of my first wife so there are many in-laws and here in Ibanda my own home where I grew up and live. If I cross the Kagera River barely ten kilometres away, by evening I will be in Igayaza. All that is needed is a bicycle because the road is nice and flat land on Ankole side. Kabale is not far either – where I have the relatives of second wife (I mean my in-laws) brothers and sisters in-law, and many others. Yes multiple connections are a saviour.

Omuzee Mathias Kadabada (around 77 years)

Omuzee Mathias Kadabada who considers himself a Mnyambo is a Mnyarwanda born in Kigali shortly after the Belgian administration got established in Rwanda after World War I. He moved to Karagwe in 1946 with his first wife. They were in the company of other people who settled in Rukiga and Ankole. Banding together for travel was necessary due to wild animals like lions and rhinos. Omuzee Kadabada crossed the Kagera River at Chibilizi – one of the unofficial crossing points - and settled in Kibingo village in the present Kaisho/Murongo ward where he lives. He has sons and grand children.

The purpose of the movement was to live with his blood brothers that he was able to trace

upon arrival especially Omuzee Nkumbuye and Omuzee Ndundabalenzi after hearing of their stories during return visits to Rwanda. The importance of a blood pact relationship is manifested in Omuzee Bijengwa giving him a farm (*shamba* of bananas). During the stay in Karagwe, he has maintained contacts with Rwanda through exchange of visits and letters, for example, the coming of his late mother to his house. In 1996/97 when the Rwandan crisis heightened, many Rwandans took refuge in Karagwe (Tanzania). Omuzee Kadabada mentions his efforts to trace his other relatives/brothers in Murongo Refugee Camp without success. He remains tied to both Rwanda and Karagwe as his homes.

> I was born and grew up in Kigali where we enjoyed looking after cattle and cultivating sweet potatoes. You see bananas came only recently to central Rwanda. But I think they came from Katudwe west of Bukavu in the Belgian Congo. It is easy to cross the Ruvuvu River at Cyangugu and Bukavu. Crossing is normal and in those days there were people moving up and down carrying foodstuffs and even firewood back and forth. Many people in Cyangugu had vegetable gardens (*shamba*) in Congo as well as relatives. This I saw when I went to stay with my maternal uncle who had settled there in the company of other relatives there. My mother was born in Bukavu so that all my mother's side relatives live in Bukavu. In 1919 when the Belgians took power in Rwanda, they were very harsh. The Tutsi assisted them. The Tutsi were their handymen and demanded our cows without payment and young men to work for them. They looked at us Bairu lowly - they wanted us to serve them always. Without shame if their cows died, they would take ours. This became very critical and King Rutahigwa had to intervene. This followed my uncle Bazitunga whose cows were taken (ca 1938) and he went to the King to complain. The case took some years, but at last justice was granted and he ordered a return of my uncle's cows. He said even if the Bazitunga cow had died, the hide had to be returned – you know the importance of cow hide (*omuguta gw'ente*). We get our bedding; sitting mats, make drums, and food – the delicacy of *enkuru* and many other uses. This adjuration won credit to the King among the Bairu/Bahutu but created deep hatred among his fellow Bahima/Tutsi. They poisoned him through food and when he was taken to hospital, he died shortly afterwards (ca 1942). King [Umwami] Kigeri took over and collaborated with the Belgians to independence of Rwanda July 1st 1962. Although I have no evidence or certainty, I still believe the Belgians had a hand in his death [Rutahigwa]. They rejected Rutahigwa because he wanted justice among all the tribes of Rwanda while they preferred to rule through the Tutsi.
>
> In those days I used to trade between Kigali and Uvinza in Tanzania for salt and porcelain and copper wares from the Wanyamwezi. A journey used to take three to four months because you would go selling merchandise on the way. I know you

can underestimate me because of old age but that's it! And I had many friends and brothers on the way, especially the sleeping camps – our camps would have up to fifty men with our spears for fear of wild animals especially lions and rhinos. This trading carried me to Gishaka and Karagwe where my father used to say we originated from some time in the past. I was very young then because I left Rwanda with two kids and my wife who died very recently in 1982 had her first born when I was in Karagwe and Gishaka trading. I came with three children i.e., two of my own and one of my brother-in-law, my wife and some other people who decided to return to Karagwe. This nephew of my wife was called Nyamutambya but unfortunately he died recently as an adult person. When I told my people that I liked Karagwe and wanted to go there, my father, paternal uncle and brother in-laws agreed and said that I had blood relatives there. My brother in-law who loved my wife and me gave us his five-year old son (Nyamutambya) to accompany his sister. I promised to trace them (our blood relatives) upon arrival. After these consultations, I joined other people who were travelling to Karagwe and Ankole passing through Kabale in Ruchiga near the present border of Rwanda and Uganda. Some of the people stayed in Ankole but I crossed the Kagera River through Chibilizi. When I got to the Ibanda of Karagwe, I found my brothers Omuzee Nkumbuye and Omuzee Nkundabalenzi (distant cousins through grandfathers) whom I stayed with. It did not take me time to trace them at all because of the previous contacts through home visits.

Of course I cannot cheat that crossing the Kagera was easy in the dugout canoes faced with the crocodiles and hippos of the Kagera. People have lost lives in this river and I was praying to save my family. Those with bad luck perished others survived. Chibilizi is one of the crossing points like Chamunyana, Karugu, Kanyonza and Kagaga into Rwanda and there are many people crossing daily. On the Ankole side, crossing points include Murongo, Chibilizi [same name but different places], Masheshe and Nshungezi. We crossed three families – mine, Ndabavunye's, and Karashani's [Karashani is one of the common names in the three kingdoms]. Karashani settled in Kibare and Ndabavunye in Kigarama near the current tin mines. This was about 1946 - mind you I don't know how to read and write.

I stayed with my brother Nkumbuye and another brother (my blood pact brother through my paternal uncle's son Kamanzi) Bijengwa, who had come much earlier [he] gave me his banana plantation. He had by now raised sufficient cattle to live on. He decided to abandon farming in order to become a full-time herdsman. Any person could become a herdsman or farmer but not acquire the status of being a Mwiru or Muhima – the individual remains in the original class for a long time. He took his cows and went to live in Mabare – just over there [pointing with a finger towards the boundary of the National Game Controlled Area of Ibanda] some nine kilometres away. Eventually I had a very big banana plantation to feed my family. My sons born in Karagwe, Byekwaso and Rutsatsi were born in my first house, which I built after leaving the house of my brother Omuzee Nkumbuye near the *eitongo* [an abandoned place where one had a residence] of

the late Omuzee Kamomore. My second house I built it about half a kilometre from the original place to be near the road that goes to Uganda. Then I went and built near Omuzee Kachiga. Some time later when my father died in Rwanda, my mother came from Kigali to stay with me here. It was bad that I did not bury my father because he died a few days after I had come from visiting him. By this time (ca 1954) we were farming near Kibingo Primary School where my garden (*shamba*) became big and better than what I had near Omuzee Kachiga towards Buhanika – a permanent source of water. There was my friend Mr. Claveri leaving near my *shamba*. In fact he came to buy my shamba when I decided to move and build here where we are seated in Kabashebeya overlooking Kibingo and Omurwenkura where one of my sons is married. You see our settlements start with ordinary farms of maize, beans, sorghum, peas, sweet potatoes etc and then a few bananas are planted. Initially the bananas are providing the needs of a shade, leaves for serving bananas on, drinking vessels and sometimes wrappers. After two years or more of rotational cultivation, the bananas are increased and eventually one gets used to the place because most of the time is spent there preventing wild animals at night and birds during the day from destroying the crops. Pigs menace the sweet potato farms and birds destroy finger millet if one is not careful. This place has a better commanding view of Rwabununka range where the road passes, and the other side you can see as far as Nyakera and sometimes hear the roaring of the hydro-electric turbines on the Kagera River.

You are lucky now people are using corrugated iron sheets to thatch houses. This is as recent as 1964/65. I remember Rutawheire built the first house of this type. He came a long, long time ago from Gishaka. Things have changed unlike the time when I first got here especially the housing and dress. The termites and rain made our houses crumble much faster so that a person used to relocate within a property many times – today here and tomorrow there. A stay of ten years meant the house was very solid. Now among my children, Byekwaso wanted to return and stay in Rwanda but we advised him strongly to stay with us here. Of course he had never visited Kigali and it could have meant taking him to my other brothers on the side of my uncles, something I did not want especially after the death of my father. Eventually he went off to work in Kagera Sugar Factory in Bukoba where I hear he died there – he had stopped writing and I don't know if he left children there! But children never get lost, they will one day come looking for their relatives and they will find us. The others are here – Rutsatsi lives in Kazaza some five or six kilometres from here. Matayo is pretty unsettled – not even married. He only drinks and sleeps here and there among relatives. The two eldest children are girls and got married – now they have grand children. Nyamboga's grandchild stayed with me until last year when she went to start primary school.

Sometime eight years ago a tragedy struck my house – my wife Nyinababiligi passed away – she had been sick for few days. For the children and me, life was hard - to accept this death! I stayed for nearly two years although our tradition stipulates one year – I was mourning my beloved wife whom we left Kigali

together and stayed all these years. I made up my mind to marry and then crossed the Kagera and found another wife from Kabale (west of Ankole in Uganda). We have been together since then and God has given us this little girl who calls me grandfather but is actually my last born. At least we have someone to send here and there, you know how difficult it is for me to move around.

This place is quite ideal for me and I don't intend to move any further not even within my plantation (*okwiha omwanya*). It is opposite the dispensary and near the school with small shops around. I can drag myself and go to borrow some salt or a piece of soap and later sell my bunch banana to repay. I don't have energy to cut grass and trees for a new house, nor make burnt bricks. If at all I had energy remaining I would have paid a last visit to Kigali – I was there last in 1960 or so. Karagwe and Kigali are my homes. I have people on either side. Three years ago when there were many Rwandan refugees in Murongo camps fleeing the genocide of 1996/97, I made several attempts to trace some of my relatives among the refugees without success. There was none among them – I don't believe that they are all dead. No. I think some fled to Uganda and others in many camps elsewhere, in Tanzania and Congo. Of course, the big problem was that I don't know their names and faces. It is perhaps the young generation that managed to escape. The old ones may have perished! It is not easy tracing a person that you don't know the name of except asking for the genealogy or village! As you see, I am one of the last ones in my generation – all my brothers and sisters have passed away. I think God still loves me.
Thank you for reminding me of the past memories.

Omuzee Petro Bitungwaumtwenzi family (around 72 years old)

Omuzee Petro Bitungwamutwenzi is about 72 years old and lives in Rutunguru village in Kaisho/Murongo ward and equally considers [him] self to be a Mnyambo. Though younger in age compared to Omuzee Kadabada, he is frail. He has a small family and fewer grand children. One of his daughters, a nurse, constructed a burnt-brick house for him in the banana *shamba*. He lives a modest life style no different from the rest of the community. The following is the life history of his household: -

Until recently we owned a lot of cattle – my father said that his father had four kraals[51] in Gahinda. You know we don't count cows but for certain in one kraal my father and his two elder brothers used to graze the calves – each with maybe thirty mixed with sheep and goats. Yes, sheep favoured for sacrifice to ancestors

[51] A kraal (*orugo rw'ente*) of the three tribes consists of a hut in front of which there is a fence made of tree logs and thorns to prevent cattle from wandering at night and also to protect them from wild animals such as lions. The portal of the hut(s) opens into this fenced enclosure that has an outside gate for cattle to enter.

and the skin used for tying children on the backs of mothers *(engozi).* Anyway, cattle are wealth and life for me though its ages since I had milk because they are all dead and I live far away from the Bahima.

The kraals were a days-walk from each other and during the dry season, the distance increased as herders went in different directions looking for good grass. My grandfather had many wives – sometimes two living with cattle in one kraal and many children of course. He had turns to visit the wives and cattle and enjoyed very much looking at them going down to drink water in the late afternoon. The horns would be rattling as they rolled over the hills to the drinking place [*orweshero*]. The herders would be ready using open gourds/calabashes [*ebichuba*] to draw water and fill the earthen canoes – long shallow trenches in the soil from where cows drink water. He travelled a lot, gave out many cows and made many blood pacts in many places at home. You see pacts are natural and pave the way for your children in later years to move freely among their relatives i.e., their fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers. When he died, the cows were distributed among the many children and grand children. It is possible my father received thirty or so as his share. Until recently my small grandfather was still living in Gahinda tendering his flock. The grazing grounds became poor and a mysterious disease killed many of them...I mean the cows. How can you have peace when your property is being decimated?

My grandfather and father – at the time young, [they] headed for Byumba to the north a place said to be free from diseases and plentiful grass. We were received well by my three grandfathers [pact relation] whom my father had known since childhood. My uncles [small fathers][52] who had stayed at Gahinda decided to move and settle near Kabgaye. It takes long to move a big herd of cattle you understand! My only aunt was married and I don't know where; and I have never seen her to this day. The other brothers and sisters of my father from step mothers always stayed in their homes with cows and I have no memory of them – this is a normal problem of big families.

My father did not like Byumba very much because of the proximity of the Mufumbiro volcanic mountains and many earth tremors. It was customary in this area to offer annual sacrifices of bulls to appease the spirits to avert eruptions and catastrophes. He disliked this practice where castrated fattened bulls would be taken for the sacrifice otherwise the neighbours would hold him responsible for any catastrophes occurring. I hope this tradition has stopped with the coming of Christianity. I pity those still living there including my brothers from my small fathers. The last straw came when his mother (my grandmother) died and life became meaningless – the usual problems of hatred with stepmothers came to the

[52] Among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda, paternal uncles are called small fathers be they older or junior to one's father. Maternal uncles are called *Nyokolomi* or *Malumi* meaning men-mothers. The children of one's uncle or aunt on either side of father or mother are one's brothers and sisters. The terms of cousin and niece are not in the vocabulary. However, a maternal uncle will call his sister's children as *abeihwa* (singular – *omwihwa*).

surface.

This sad event offered an opportunity to my father to relocate to Gishaka where missionaries had made many converts to Catholicism. Many customs had been abandoned. This should have been the time of the Belgians (ca 1919) after the Dutch had left the country. I stayed in Gishaka for many years and had some children and many cows. From my new place in Gishaka I used to graze my cows on either side of the Kagera River. You see, with cows, you get in a dugout canoe and pull one lead cow with a rope tied to its horns. When it is swimming across held by the rope, other herders push or force the rest of the herd to follow in the water. At first we had temporary shelters on the other side of the river always crossing when one wants. This was the time of Rumanyika in Karagwe (1916-1939) and things were nice with plenty to eat and grass for the cows. As a man you cannot visit another place without making friends and creating brothers – i.e., making blood pacts [*kunywana*]. I made two blood pacts – one with Omuzee Mulindwa and another with Omuzee Muhozi of Nyakagoyagoye. As the families were already in intimate relationships, my brother Mulindwa invited me to come and stay with him in his village where he lived with his father. I told my sons of this prospect but they preferred to stay in Gishaka with the cows especially after Ruhinda came to power[53]. It was not far and I used to cross into Karagwe at will even going to booze.

A few years later, I moved to Kaisho to stay with my brother [cousin to Mulindwa] Basime. First I stayed with his father Bashoberwa and later built my own house. By this time (ca 1946) many people were opening new farms in Rutunguru, we too joined them. Omuzee Zahwayo as a good neighbour and my clansman showed me where to cultivate and plant bananas and coffee. This village opening was prompted by the coffee drive in the district as they had set up a nursery for coffee seedlings to be distributed among the people for planting. This stream you see drying was permanent and big, it has been dried up by the destruction of the Chilela forest where it had its source. My sons who stayed in Rwanda used to come and visit me. Now it's only the grand children who come because of the wars. The infighting of Rwanda has stopped these visits but things should return to normal in a few years and I hope to be alive and see them again.

The only people I have not had contact with are my brothers in Ankole – sons of my uncles who went to Ankole many years ago. At first we used to visit each other but then stopped. One gets tied down to doing one's business and gets attached to a family and then movement stops. I can however assure you that wherever I go I find my people and relatives. These include clan relatives [*abanyaruganda*] who will always come to my help when need be.

[53] The British did not favour Daudi Rumanyika as king and they exiled him to Ankole in 1939. His cousin B. I. Ruhinda was made king to replace him. Ruhinda ruled between 1939-1963 when the kingdoms were abolished.

Omukaire Justina Kachere (widow, 66 years of age)[54]

Omukaire[55] Justina Kachere Francesco is about 66 years old and is a Mnyambo. Her parents migrated from Kicherere – some fifteen kilometres from Rutunguru village where she lives. She has lived in Kabuyanda, west of Ankole, and Karagwe. Her father Omuzee Mishonga had two girls only. During a visit home from Kabuyanda, she opted to stay to nurse her ailing father and partly to be able to inherit the property upon the father's death. Hence sickness of the father and the succession issues created an opportune time to migrate/return to Karagwe. She had this to say: -

> I am a Munyambo, born in Chitembe; my father is Zepherin Mishonga, the brother of Bagorogoza. My grandfather was Chiiza; we come from Chicherere where birds never eat finger millet in the gardens. My father had two girls – my elder sister and myself. Elizabeth my elder sister was married in Nkindo in Bukara near Bukoba. If our father had fewer children, we have compensated or done it for him. My elder sister had eleven births (*amazara*) including twins. I am not far from the same number of children!
>
> My mother died when I was still breast-feeding and my aunt Kentwiga - the mother of Mr. Malingo breast-fed me to save my life, according to what I am told. After all she is my small mother, but for all intent and purposes, she is my real mother now. When I grew up I went to live with my father who was staying in Kaisho.
>
> I later met Francisco from Buchiga (west of Ankole) who came when the White-men were installing hydro-electric generators on the Kagera River at Chikagate for supplying electricity to the tin mines of Kyerwa Syndicate Company in 1956. We got married as per our customs – I cannot cheat that we went to church. No. We then stayed at Ahachikali and did our farming in Chibanda. After some time, we decided to go to Kabuyanda in Ruchiga – the home of my husband. My father and relatives agreed, and we left crossing the Kagera River at Murongo (Figure 3.2). There weren't any problems except that all the children I got there died in infancy – I suppose at two and three years, I cannot remember well. My brother in-laws went to stay in Chilembe for work in the mines and doing some petty trading. They persuaded us to join them but we refused because we could not all leave the old man (father in-law) alone. For sure he was not alone because there were his brothers, uncles and many clansmen but then you know parents trust their children most. Parents become attached to their children more than to their own brothers. Eventually, the old man decided to follow the other sons in Chilembe and our continuing stay in Kabuyanda lost meaning. We stayed there

[54] Mr. Cleophace Benywanira a villager and my helper during the field study informed me of the death of Omukaire Justina on 6th May 2001. RIP

[55] 'Omukaire' respectiful title for an old woman like the 'Omuzee' for old men.

for about one season [*omwaka* i.e., six months] and came to visit my father and relatives here in Rutunguru. I became so fond of my people that I persuaded my husband to stay because my father was also becoming frail and there was nobody to inherit his property once he died. Of course he could leave his banana plantation and other things to the sons of my uncles or even give to my uncles but I did not find it good. Fortunately my loving and understanding Francisco agreed that we stay to nurse my father. And so we have been here since 1963 or so.

Twice he went to see my brother in-laws in Chilembe and then his aunt followed him to live with us. Later she got married to Kanyandeko but could not have children perhaps because of age. She too died recently.
My brother in-laws have been visiting us many times and during their last visit in 1984, he slaughtered a fattened calf for the two of them. This was before he fell sick and died five years ago. I wrote to them of the death but they have not come to mourn the death of their brother – I think they are too old to move! They were his elder brothers you know! He was gradually being tempted to go back home in Kabuyanda. Our children are here – married and settled. I don't think they intend to return to Kabuyanda and leave me here because everywhere it is home. They have property and children. For me, I am here to stay. I am tired of travelling and I cannot leave the grave of my husband. It is good to stay by it, the only way I can be close to him

Sosthenes Kachere (about 26 years old)

Sosthenes is the fourth born of the late Mr. Francesco Kachere and Omukaire Justina Mishonga. He was living in a temporary house and constructing a burnt-brick house using mud as cement at Ahachikali. His mother Omukaire Justina was living with two of his young brothers and some grand children. He offered the following narrative to explain his choice of living at Ahachikali. He is married with one child and the spouse was expecting at the time of the interviews.

My name is Sosthenes Kachere; I am 26 years old and completed my primary school education at Nyakazwenje Primary School. I stayed with my parents until four years ago when I decided to marry and then constructed this temporary house we are living in now. When my father came from Kabuyanda, he acquired this land – he got it from the village chairperson as an empty land. Together with my mother they cultivated by a hand how and planted bananas and coffee trees/shrubs. They had a small house there [pointing to a place a few metres west of his house under construction.] When my grandfather grew old and sickly, my father moved the family to go and stay close to and nurse the old man. From that time on my father never came back to this place. They were maintaining this place by coming to work here on foot. When my father died recently he divided it to us his children. This is my treasured inheritance from my father and I have

decided to settle in my own property. My mother Omukaire Justina inherited her father's property and lives there – is it bad if I do likewise? There is more space to cultivate other crops for food and expand the coffee trees our source of income in the villages. I also live close to my mother-fathers (maternal uncles) and I am satisfied. Once my house is completed I will be more comfortable.

Omuzee Kazige Rubona (about 76 years – supported by a long, thick walking stick (i.e., *echibando*)

Omuzee Kazige Rubona came from Rwanda around 1948 and says his grand parents originated from Karagwe. He came as a young man, married in Mabare near his village of Kibingo. He lives in a mud-stick house with corrugated iron sheets. He was content to stay with the local Banyambo after failing to trace his 'stem' (*echisibo*). The presence of some people from Byumba made him happy. He gave this story but as he admits, he has forgotten many things!

> You are asking of things of a long time ago. The problem with you school children/educated people is to think that we don't forget. I will try and tell you what I can remember because it is many years ago.
>
> My name is Kazige Rubona; I was born in Rusebya very near the town of Byumba in Rwanda. My father said we came from Ibanda many years ago but could not recall when. As an adventurous young man, I heard of my age mates in Rusebya planning to visit Karagwe and I decided to join the band hoping that I would find my relatives if they were still there. I bid farewell to my father and mother for a blessing and left. We arrived in Ankole and I decided to stay for some time among friends. After a few years (and I was not married yet) I crossed the river by boat to Ibanda in 1946 or 1947. The people of Ibanda were very nice because I stayed with Omuzee Mashaza and then the father of Mr. Byonje who was a prince (Omulangira) and village head from 1954-1965. I tried to trace my origin/stem and my relatives but failed. Perhaps they had moved I don't know. All the same I found other people from Byumba like Abazee Batalingaya of Rwamyanya, Rwebikamba of Isyolo and Rulangangabo and his son Mweteizina. They were a good company for me. I decided to marry my wife who was living in the second village with her parents. In any case you know the proverb: "A village can have no cows but not women" [*ensi eluba ente, teluba bakazi*]. She is Masitibi and we have children – some are married and others have passed away. You don't see them here because one stays in Nyakazwenje and another in Rwenchende among our kin and relatives [*bene ishebo hamwe n'abanyaruganda*]. So I have been here since then, I have food and coffee. I drink beer and live happily though age has caught up with me. My first house was near the stream that you have crossed to be here, then I moved and built near Omuzee Kamomore and stayed there for a very long time. When my house was about to collapse (and

two of my children are buried there), my neighbours helped me to build another house near that big tree from which we obtain backcloth [*Omutoma*]. This house was big for my family. Very recently – about ten years ago, I harvested coffee and obtained money to purchase corrugated iron sheets for roofing. I then constructed this house where I am now. It is more secure because no one can set it on fire. I don't have energy to build another house again. If I die, people will bury me anywhere in my farm where I have lived all my life. All my children are born here, so where else can I go?

In 1960 I used to work among the Whites of Kagando mining tin.[56] Later I worked for the Public Works Department – a road maintenance division of Central Government in a bid to get money for clothes, soap and salt. I stopped these jobs a long time ago, they were gruelsome and killing especially during the heavy rains.

This is my fourth house in this area where I am now – I constructed it in 1987 with the help of my children and friends. I started up there some four hundred yards from here. It is okay to rotate within your plot because you spread the house garbage or manure and are able to attend to peripheral places hitherto neglected. Sometimes we rotate because of a need to change a path or to be near neighbours or to be slightly afar from the graves as we bury the dead near the house. Sheep and goats can make one shift a house location especially if they are destroying the crops of a neighbour because it is not good to quarrel with him. Besides such moves I have stayed in Chihinda for about five years. There was abundant game meat and some of my relatives (*benetata*). You know I am a Muyango or Muzira Nchende close to the Bahinda. Many years ago, the chiefs/Bahinda had wives from our clan. We had many beautiful girls, and if your daughter was married to the royal family, your life style changed. You would get cows and would even go to stay close to the royal palace. Of course such an opportunity is now rare, but it can still happen. As you can see I have forgotten many events – it is because of age.

[56] The northern part of Karagwe hill range beginning at Kyerwa to Murongo border post has minerals of tin. In 1967 following the socialist blueprint, Kyerwa Syndicate Company ceased to operate and the mines reverted to small-scale miners.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MOVEMENT IN KARAGWE: PEERCEPTION, LANGUAGE AND THE MEANING OF MOVEMENT AMONG THE PEOPLE

7.1 Introduction

In the narratives of Chapter 6 the movement of people in Karagwe among the indigenous Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda was recounted on two levels. The first movement concerned moving within one's farm i.e., relocating a house structure from one place to another. The second is where individuals move from one village to another within the geographic space occupied by people sharing a common culture. The reasons given for the second movement – the core of the narratives – were to live with relatives defined by kinship and blood covenants. The networks of relationships created by intermarriage, historical movements and other social interactions were instrumental in generating the movements. I suggested that movement is a result of conforming and adjusting to the norms, rules and regulations governing the life of people in their cultural territory. The interaction takes place in a social field that people have created or established through a network of relationships in their environment. Comparing social fields and networks to movement systems, Chapman (1985) observes that, "social fields and networks refer to a complex set of relations (like genealogy and affinity) within which individuals are enmeshed and a result of which some decide to move" (1985: 431). The movement resulting from the interaction of and in the social networks is presented in the life histories of movement (Chapter 6) couched in soft words such as 'crossed', 'stay with', and 'live' or 'settle' by way of direct translation from the Kinyambo language to English. The understanding and perception of the people (including movers) is that they are living with their relatives or tracing their roots to and in places of origin. It means they are going home and do not consider this to be migration i.e., leaving home for a place in which they have no kin.

7.2 Objectives of the chapter

In this chapter, I review the language of the movers i.e., the terms and metaphors used by the people of Karagwe to express both how they perceive and give meaning to the event of movement in their life situations. I also show the types of movement they undertake in their created and geographical spaces and more importantly the meaning and purpose of the movement in their worldview. The discussion draws many examples from the narratives to connect movement and the language of the movers. I suggest that in the perception of the people two movements can be discerned: -

a) A long term movement of a 'homeward journey' characteristically involving the tripartite tribes where they change residence and village to return or trace their roots and move to live with relatives, and
b) Short term movement that may involve relocation of a house in one's farm and movement involving visits. The second type of movement is pervasive, daily and it is a strategy to benefit the community by activating and maintaining the relations in a family (*echika)* and clan.

Due to this strategy, of activating and maintaining ties, some forms of movement are regarded as dysfunctional and rejected while benevolent ones (those attaining the cohesion objective) are approved by the community. I then suggest that an understanding of movement in the experience of the people of Karagwe be premised in the language used by the people to grasp all forms of movement. Such an understanding is to be found in the lives of the people and expressed or described in metaphors developed in their cultural territory/environment. Hall (1998) commenting on the Afro-Caribbean peoples' cultural forms and representations with respect to identity observes that, "we all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture, which is specific. What we say is always "in context" positioned (1998: 222 cited in Rutherford 1988). The language of movement in the tripartite tribes will reflect the existing social relationships among the people such as maintaining the contacts or relations between various

households and villages. The language metaphors will show the nature of the movement and the relationships involved i.e., context. Languages express the actions of people in verbal form in a particular environment or created space.

7.3 The perception of movement expressed in the language of the movers

The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda live in villages that are connected through a network of relations that requires constant visits to exchange greetings by the movers themselves or their children to places of origin in the case of homeward journeys i.e., long term movements. In short term movements, people move between families – the duration ranges between hours and days. People also move within their farms and graze their stock in designated pasturelands. Their language or dialects reflect and describe these various forms of movement and activities taking place daily in their life situations. Different movements are captured and described by the terms and metaphors used. There are terms for long term movements within the cultural territory, terms for short-term movements, such as visits, terms for movement within one's farm as well as terms of actions that involve movement, for example, grazing cattle. The narrative of Omuzee Kadabada (in Chapter 6) shows two movements: there is movement from Rwanda to Karagwe – the home of his ancestors and another movement within Kibingo - Ibanda village where he settled. On arrival in Ibanda, Omuzee Kadabada stayed with his brother, Omuzee Nkumbuye – and was given a farm where he built a house. He then relocated to be near the main road going to Uganda, and again moved to be near a source of water – the Buhanika stream. At the time of the study, Omuzee Kadabada was living near Kibingo Primary School – a farm and home that started as farmland where he grew food crops. He was attracted by the fertile soil in the new place. Similarly the late Omukaire Justina described her movements that started in her early days when her mother died. She says her parents came from Kicherere and when her mother died, she was breast-fed by her aunt, Omukaire Kentwiga, then returned to Chitembe where her father lived. She got married to a Mchiga from Kabuyanda in Southwest Ankole, where she lived with her husband. During one of the visits to her father who had then moved to stay in Rutunguru village – eight kilometres away, she persuaded her husband to settle so that she could

nurse her sick father. They settled close to her father at Ahachikali. Later she moved to Rutunguru leaving Sosthenes - her son behind at Ahachikali. These movements are taking place within a cultural territory, an individual's farm and a village as well as to villages beyond the cultural territory.

The movement within one's farm involves a) household chores such as going to weed or prune banana plantains, herding cattle or goats, and b) relocation of a housing structure. Both movements are part of living in the context of the people. However, as the movement by relocation of a housing structure means movement from one point to another within a farm, a consideration of the metaphors used is in order. People consider this movement as relocation of a house (*okwiha omwanya*), or to push a little further (*okwirirayo*), and to move sideways *(okweshejeza*). These movements describing the relocation of a house within a farm or *shamba* are motivated by: -

a) The size and age of a house and fragile building materials

Relocation can be caused by a desire to replace an existing house that is being destroyed by termites and ants that threaten the comfort if not the lives of the occupants. There are two types of traditional houses built of the same materials. The first is the weaver bird nest-like structure covered with grass from top to bottom; the second is made of reeds and poles covered with mud and thatched with grass – all fragile materials. As it is not possible to carry out repairs of these houses, the viable alternative is to erect another house a short distance from the existing structure when damage is noticed. Most of the houses covered by the study had relocated at least once in the lifetime of the narrator. A house is also demolished and relocated due to ageing or for being too small for an expanding household. The life span of a housing structure made of reeds, poles and grass is short owing to the rains, heat and termites that accelerate the decomposition of untreated building materials. Houses barely last ten years. House relocation is also made before deterioration of materials to meet the needs of an expanding family. Usually a young person about to marry constructs a small house to accommodate two or three people i.e., husband, wife and child. With an increasing number of children and added

social responsibilities of living with one or more children from relatives of either spouse (Chapter 5: childhood socialisation), the house becomes overcrowded which creates a need to build a new one. The new construction is erected on a different location possibly a few metres away. Houses can also be replaced in a bid to construct better and stronger structures. The different sizes of houses for young people and older families are very distinct among the people of Karagwe. People add that the difference in the size of houses is also reflected in the size of the farm of banana plantains to meet food requirements.

b) Movement occasioned by burial traditions

The continuing practice of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda rural villages is to bury the dead very close to the house in front of the main entrance. This is an age-old tradition. Every house has one or two graves in front (Field notes 2000). The rationale behind this practice is twofold: to maintain an intimacy with the departed ones, and the belief and fear of witchcraft practitioners who might otherwise exhume the body. The practice of burying a person away from home is equated, according to the understanding of the people, to disowning or throwing a person away. This is unwise because it creates the very real fear that the spirit of the dead person will return to haunt the family. People believe that such action invokes the wrath of a departed soul. The rejected spirit will seek revenge. It makes much more sense to create a continuing attachment with the dead and keep them close to the living family members. Secondly, the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda firmly believed in witchcraft. It was held (this belief is on the decline now) that if a person is buried far away, witches may exhume the body and take it for magic rituals. To protect the body the grave is dug close to the house, a fire kept burning and sympathisers keep vigil for three or more days with the bereaved family. By the end of this period of grieving the body has decomposed and is no longer of use to those who practice black magic.

These two reasons given for maintaining close proximity with the dead explain why family members are buried at the portal. During the field study (2000), there was hardly a

household without a grave in front of it. The adverse effect of this practice is the increasing number of graves that eventually brings bad luck to the surviving family members. From one stand point, the memories of the departed loved ones fade away and the presence of such graves is questioned after many years by the young generation with no attachment to the dead people. From another point of view, the household site becomes a graveyard and is seen to be unfit for the living. The immediate solution is simply to relocate within the farm. This places the graves out of sight and does away with the need to face the bad spells of the place. The people express this movement as '*kutera ebituro amabega*' translated as 'to turn one's back to the graves'. Among the Bahima, for example, successive losses of livestock, particularly cattle in one place or kraal are considered a sufficient reason to relocate or contemplate long term movement. One of such movements was recorded in the mobility register at Masheshe and is discussed below. If Bairu agriculturalists experience a spate of successive deaths, the extended family members (*echika*) may convene to advise the household owner to move to another village to avoid the evil spirits lurking in the place and causing misfortunes i.e., deaths.

c) Traditional soil improvement and farming techniques

Among the Banyambo, the on-farm relocation of houses is also followed as a soil improvement strategy. The Banyambo have become aware that house garbage (as well as garden furrows) improves soil fertility. The size and quality of bunches of bananas harvested around abandoned house sites (*amatongo*) is much better than elsewhere on the farm. In the light of this experience, they have adopted a house relocation strategy to improve food supply. Omuzee Rubona, for example, is living in his fourth house since settling on his five-acre farm in 1954. Among the reasons he mentions are the age of the house and the death of his children buried on the former site (*eitongo*) near Omuzee Kamomore. Relocation has another advantage of allowing a person to give attention to otherwise neglected parts of the farm. In a four or more acre farm, people tend to concentrate on working around the most visible areas close to the house. House relocation enables householders to pay more attention weeding, gardening and pruning banana plantains throughout the farm on rotational basis. Big and delicious bananas that

are prepared for visitors and sons in-law are left to mature around these abandoned sites (*amatongo*) which are rich in compost (Field notes 2000).

d) A desire for increased space for livestock and outdoor gardening contributes to relocation of houses within farms. The Banyambo live in the middle of a 'forest' of banana plantains with coffee shrubs and a few fruit trees such as mango and orange trees. In addition they keep some goats and sheep for their supply of meat. The gardening of vegetables and beans – a major source of their protein requirement is made outside the banana plantation. An increasing herd of livestock compels the owner to look for a safe outlet to the grazing grounds so that the animals do not cut across the gardens or trespass on a neighbour's property. A farmer may decide to relocate a house for better access to pasture lands and so avoid quarrels when livestock are being taken to pasture. As observed during the village studies, especially villages connected by feeder roads that lead to rural district health centres and other community facilities such as churches, schools and weekly market places, people also relocate to be near such facilities. Villages are allowed one day in a week for open market activities at central places. Omuzee Kadabada, for example, relocated once to be near the main road to Uganda via Murongo and later to be near a primary school and health centre in Kibingo (same village). Because all the farms were his and in the same village, Omuzee Kadabada confidently states that he has never moved since he entered Karagwe!

I argue that the first movement among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda takes place within an individual's farm or *shamba*. It involves relocating a house structure from one place to another in the life cycle of a household on a farm of banana plantains. The perception of the people for this type of movement is that one has not moved because one is still in the same farm. In the local metaphors, the movement is expressed as changing places (*okwiha omwanya*), pushing sideways (*okweshejeza* and *okwirirayo*). One or a combination of these reasons helps to perpetuate house relocation practices. In their perception movement is a household strategy to either increase food security, or secure peace where not to move might

result in the spirits of the dead harming the family. It is also a strategy to access pasture for livestock and an opportunity to enable members of the community to meet increased social responsibilities. The metaphors to these movements (language of the movers) and those in the cultural territory are presented in Table 7.1.

7.4 Movement within the cultural territory: short and long distance movements

Another practice of movement I observed and studied among the people of Karagwe is the short distance movements usually involving individual persons or groups within their village of residence as well as movement to outside villages. Nowadays, short distance movements take place in the form of casual and formal visits to exchange gifts, to drink beer, to go to the market and visit the church. Casual visits refer to visits made without prior notice being given to the host while formal visits [usually with gifts] involve giving notice of an intended visit to friends, elderly people and parents in-law. The customary Banyambo practice involving gifts is that the person bringing gifts is rewarded with a token of appreciation. A well to do Mnyambo may acknowledge a gift by returning a goat or a calf. More importantly, however, is the return visit at a future date. It is proper to speak of an exchange of gifts – one done immediately and the other at a return visit in future. These short distance movements are frequent in the dry season of June, July and August because there is less farm work with plenty of food to eat after the harvest.

In Nyakaiga village of Nyabiyonza ward, I stayed with Mr. Bishanga (pseudonym – Chapter 5) for two weeks and asked him to keep a mobility register for the in-and-out movements of people in the village. In the study I introduced and used mobility registers to help monitor the on-going movement activities in the households of the study in the villages. These registers were kept in three villages of Rutunguru, Nyakaiga and Nyakahanga as well as at the informal crossing points of Masheshe, Chibilizi and Kanyonza. They were intended to record the frequency of movement effected by the people, the number of visitors and visits during the study period and the relationship of the visitors to the hosts. They also recorded the motives of the visit and its description as well as providing an opportunity to compare the language of movement with the actual

event of movement. This is to say, "to what extent [does] the language of the movers compare with or represent the reality of movement in the life situations of the people? The registers were, then, a verification strategy I adopted to track the on-going movement in the cultural territory of the people. They were to supplement my direct observations of movement among the people as I discuss below. The mobility register keepers were given instructions to record all movement extended beyond overnight staying and I visited my helpers at least once a month to verify entries and collect recorded data. From these entries, there were few movements recorded during the agricultural season of both short and long rains i.e., September-December and March-May respectively. Four visits were recorded to have taken place to visit the sick in households participating in the study. Movements lasting a few hours were very common. Young people made many of these movements on bicycles. To them cycling is fun.

Movement at the informal border crossing points was minimal especially for people coming back 'home'. A mover from Ankole crossed at Masheshe in August. It was an entire family of six people – father mother and four children. The motive expressed was twofold: a) the head of the household expressed disappointment that there was little increases in his number of livestock in Ankole. The cattle had not increased over six years due to disease and theft, and b) that it was time to return home because he had been away for many years. During a subsequent interview, however, I learned that this household had originally moved from Rwanda in search of pasture. The low flow of movement across the Kagera River reflects the instability in Uganda and Rwanda during the study period. I suggest, however, that movement influenced by culture is slow as people move when they feel they need to and after the necessary consultations and decisions to move have been made by the members of their households. There is no particular compelling motive to attract massive migrations or formal visits at a given period in time. During my stay with Omuzee Bishanga, for example, I accompanied him on casual visits to neighbours and relatives within the village. A house that had brewed banana wine (*amarwa*) commonly referred to as 'beer', would have many men and women drinking in separate groups. Men would be seated in front of the house under the shade of banana plantains or mango trees and women would be seated inside the house.

These were casual visitors there to quench their thirst and exchange greetings (*okutayaya* and *okusyara*).

In the afternoons, young men and women were to be seen moving up and down to visit friends, relatives and the sick or just taking an idle stroll. Church services were attended on Saturdays for the Seventh Day Adventists and Sundays for other Christians such as Catholics and Lutherans. Casual visits were more frequent and occurred daily. They involved members of households visiting a neighbour, a sick person, going to the shops for household needs, especially paraffin, salt, sugar and match boxes. The duration of such visits was a few hours. The metaphors used by people to express this movement are *okutayaya* (an ordinary visit including a visit to a sick person), *okujendajenda* (to walk about) and *okugorora amaguru* (to stretch legs or to stroll).

Formal visits on the other hand are made to friends, elderly people of the village with whom a person has ties or wishes to establish ties and to parents' in-law. Usually they involve carrying gifts such as beer *(amarwa)*, bananas, live animals such as goats, and grain to the host family. A visiting person in the company of friends may stay overnight, a few days, or spend several hours in friendly joking chats. The metaphor for this movement is *okusyara* (a respectable visit to a friend) and more particularly *okuzinduka* (formal visit with gifts). The main objective showed by the mobility registers is to deepen or establish a relationship that can develop into a blood pact or a show of appreciation and strengthening ties. While I was in Bisheshe village of Bugene/Nyaishozi ward, for example, I witnessed one such visit paid to Omuzee Daudi – one of the Bahima people. A party of twelve people (men and women) led by Omuzee Byamungu from Kibogoize village, arrived carrying beer, bunches of bananas, soft drinks prepared from finger millet flour (*obushera*) and some sugar.

Table 7.1 The language of movers: metaphors of movement in Karagwe

Location of Movement	Metaphors of movement	Movers	Duration	Motives
FARM	okwhiha omwanya (to relocate) okweshejeza- push sideways okwirirayo - go in front okutera ebituro amabega - (turn back to graveyard)	household	indeterminate	-family expansion -avoid misfortune -increase production -renovation
VILLAGE AND INTRA-VILLAGE: SHORT TERM MOVEMENTS				BENEFICIAL
	Okusyara – visiting Okutayaya – visiting Okujendajenda – walk about Okugorora amaguru – stroll Okuzinduka – formal visit Okuganuza – presentation of harvest Okupagasa – casual labourer	one or group	One hour to	-promoting social ties -visitng the sick -respect for authority -financial gain
				NON-BENEFICIAL
	Okuzerera – wander/float Okuzenjerera – to roam about Okubungabunga – to roam about Okwandara – disgraced wandering			
WIDER INTRA VILLAGE: LONGTERM MOVEMENTS IN A CULTURAL SPACE				
	Okutaha – to go home, to live Okutura – to settle, to live Okushwerwa- to get married	Tripartite tribes	Permanent	homeward bound
MOVEMENT OUTSIDE THE CULTURAL SPACE				NON-BENEFICIAL
	Okufuruka – migrate Okuntuntumuka – to flee Okusabara – to sail across lakes Okubura – to disappear	Social outcasts & foreigners		avoiding sanctions

Field notes 2000.

The visitors stayed for two days eating, drinking and dancing together with Omuzee Daudi's family and neighbours. On the day of departure, Omuzee Daudi presented his visitor – Omuzee Byamungu – a calf in acknowledgement of the visit (Field notes 2000). I suggest that the two movements: *okusyara* and *okuzinduka* are both recreational in the absence of entertainment and a means of creating and maintaining ties with friends and kin in Karagwe rural areas. In the villages of Bisheshe, Nyakaiga and Rutunguru where mobility registers were kept, there were eight such visits to the households of the study between June and August. Three of these visits were made to parents' in-law in Nyakaiga and Rutunguru, two visits made to blood pact brothers in Bisheshe and Nyakaiga, and another three made to strengthen friendships such as the one paid to Omuzee Daudi. The visitors stayed overnight mostly. In Rutunguru, the visitors [son in-law and daughter] stayed for two weeks because they had come from Ankole. The son in-law is a civil servant working in Masaka (southwest of Kampala) and does not make these visits regularly. On the other hand, the movement expressed as *okusyara* was shown to be more frequent in the villages with mobility registers as well as those without mobility registers. In these visits, there are no gifts taken to the host and there are no preparations on the part of the visitor. The host usually serves food and beer. The visitor and host engage in talks and exchange greetings aimed at strengthening ties.

The metaphors for short-term distance movements describe both desirable and undesirable movements in the community of the Banyambo. A desirable movement is one where the network of social relations and social cohesion are strengthened through such visits like visiting parents in-law, neighbours, pact brothers and sisters and blood relatives such as aunts and uncles found in neighbouring villages. People take these movements as a break from the monotony of household chores while cementing/strengthening and maintaining relationships. Members of the villages visited during the field study engaged in these movements at least once during a calendar year for *okuzinduka* and very frequently for *okusyara*.

Alongside this positive and desirable movement observed among the Banyambo in the villages, I learned of another short distance movement taking place that is perceived as

bad and undesirable. Its duration is indeterminate and does not aim at enhancing the social networks of relations nor the social cohesion among the people. Omuzee Kadabada, for example, laments that his son Mathayo is unsettled and drinks and sleeps here and there with relatives. Sleeping or staying with relatives is accepted but the manner in which Mathayo was acting caused consternation. Mathayo spends time drinking and moving here and there. People involved in this type of movement are held in low esteem and are perceived to be irresponsible.

Omuzee Josi of Nyakahanga (Bugene/Nyaishozi ward) also complained on the future outlook of his son Kalisa who is eighteen years old. He gave this account: -

> My son comes for food from the mother and I am tired of this boy. He is ever on the feet, from morning to evening. We do not know where he goes or what he eats the whole day. Kalisa, my son (pseudonym) has turned this house into a guesthouse, he comes very late at night demanding food and threatening to beat us up if food is not kept for him. You may think we had sent him on a mission or that he was doing something useful for us. In all the years I have lived, I have never seen a child beating up parents. I don't know where he gets money to drink and smoke. During Easter this year 2000, he disappeared for a week and we got worried for his safety. Again in May, he was involved in a fight with his friends and the village committee intervened and gave them punishments but he does not seem to learn and change his behaviour. You talk and talk but once it dawns, he is on the road to Omurushaka shopping centre [about two kilometres from the village] and other relatives' homes. He may soon turn into a thief. Now why don't I have a child like other parents? God knows what he will become. On my part it is total despair [then swears and sighs] I have no child [common Banyambo expression to show disgust], certainly Kalisa is not one of them! His drinking and walking about the whole day among relatives and the shopping centre are not good signs of a responsible child.
>
> Field notes 2000.

Disapproved movements like this take place in the villages and mostly involve the young people, though some adults in villages with shopping centres were seen to be part of this lot. The movers frequent beer halls, some sit chatting without any productive work in the households they come from. In Kaisho/Murongo ward, for instance, these movers spent many hours visiting relatives during working hours and disturbing them at work. These

movements are described by the metaphors of *okuzerera* (to float like a reed tossed by water), *okuzenjerera* (to move around aimlessly), *okubunga/okubunjera* (to move from place to place aimlessly) and *okwandara* (a distressed person moving around).

At family level, parents try to dissuade this movement from childhood through counselling and/or smacking children observed to be deviating from the norms and values of society. The Banyambo attribute this movement to the misuse of and uncontrolled social visits in early childhood where children visit relatives without permission and a reluctance to engage in farm work. Parents normally guide the staying/living with and visiting relatives as part of child socialisation and decide for them when and where to go. During the field study, I confronted Salum; a youth aged twenty years and a primary school leaver with a habit of moving around aimlessly in the villages. He replied, "farm work and sitting around is the responsibility of women and old people. What do you want me to do?" This response indicated that he rejected traditional values and customs. The village leadership steps in when such movers cause unrest associated with drunkenness and fighting. The mechanisms of traditional control such as refusal to marry one's daughter to such a youth and the free scolding of misbehaving youths are no longer effective. Parents, for example, are no longer consulted on the choice of wives and the demands to have a house and part of a banana farm are increasingly becoming untenable. Increasingly young people believe they should choose their own partners and accumulate savings to finance their own start in life. Those who fail to adhere to societal norms and yet fail to achieve their personal objectives of getting a bride and earning money become frustrated and aimless movers.

The two movements discussed among the Banyambo people occur within a residential village and between villages. One movement involves relocating a housing structure within a farm, and the second concern out-visits. One part of out-visits is observed to be useful to society by creating and increasing social networks and cohesion among members. The other is dysfunctional and discouraged by society as movers go out to loiter. The dysfunctional movement is seen as laziness and I suggest that it signals a crisis between the traditional norms and the influences of an encroaching money economy

where the young people become strongly attached to the value of money. This conflict underlies the rebellious attitude of Salum illustrated in my encounter. These two movements do not involve changing places of residence in permanent ways. The movers continue to reside in their homes and hence the metaphors indicate a short time engagement. The uncontrolled and unwanted movements of people on the other hand degenerate into vagabondism and later lead outside the cultural territory. The peoples' perception is that those who move outside the cultural territory have disappeared.

7.5 Movement within the cultural territory and the perception of the people: "*okutaha*" and "*okutura*" – long distance movements

The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda do make other movements that carry them beyond their usual villages of residence and beyond their familiar village places. These movements involve entire households shifting from one village to another for settlement, unlike the short distance duration movements intended for visits. In the village to village movements, the movers have made the decision to leave their present location and go to another place. It is this movement that explains the presence of the Banyankole and Banyarwanda in Karagwe whose indigenous inhabitants are Banyambo. The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda refer to each other's territory as home i.e., *oweitu.* The metaphor of *oweitu* in their understanding and perception implies a birthplace or a place where one has parents and where they came from. A person may in addition be a resident of *oweitu* and have a house and family there that gives the additional meaning of *omuka* as well. These concepts of *oweitu* and *omuka* guided my inquiry to understand and postulate that the Banyankole and Banyarwanda coming to settle in Karagwe are in reality coming home. The perception of and conviction of coming or going home is based in the notion of a cultural territory they established and share together as well as their understanding of home. This shared cultural territory was established through consanguineal and affinal ties, blood pacts and historical movements of people and clans.

This homeward journey (movement to and from home) perception is illustrated vividly in the language of the people and movers to express and give a firm meaning to the

movements they undertake. From the narrative of Omuzee Frede Alishanga, his father Omuzee Kamuhanjire moved from his natal village and home of Nkwenda to Kibingo – a part of Ibanda village. His brother Omuzee Kajimba agreed to the movement because many of their kinsmen (*bene ishe abanyaruganda*) resided there, for example, Abazee (plural) Cheigongo and Rwenduru. The maternal grand mother and other relatives of Omuzee Frede Alishanga lived in Kibingo as well. Omuzee Kamuhanjire left home in Nkwenda to go home in Kibingo where he found other relatives of his clan and the in-laws i.e., the grand mother of Omuzee Frede Alishanga. Omuzee Kadabada was trading between Gishaka and Karagwe, his father used to tell him that he originated from Karagwe and that they had blood relatives there. This is one of the reasons the family *(echika)* allowed or sanctioned the move to Karagwe and the cousin in the care of his wife so he could travel with him. The movements of Omuzee Bitungwaumutwenzi show the presence of grand parents [blood pact relatives] in Byumba where they first settled. He was received by a brother in Kaisho (Karagwe), and then mentions the hospitality of Omuzee Zahwayo in Rutunguru. Omuzee Rubona, on the other hand, upon learning the family's movement history moved to Karagwe in anticipation of finding relatives but could not trace them. Although he was not successful, he found people from Byumba to provide him with good company. These movements from one area to another among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda take movers from 'home' to' home' and are described by the metaphors of *okutaha* and *okutura* that mean to go home and to settle or reside respectively (Table 7.1). The *okutaha* metaphor is applied to long and short range movements leading 'home' as place of residence or birthplace. All people use this metaphor when asked: "Where are you/they coming from?". During the study I observed the common answer to be, *"Ninduga omuka, ninza oweitu"* or *"Ninduga oweitu ninza omuka"* literary meaning, I am coming from home going home" (Field notes 2000). Alternatively, a short answer can be given as, *"Nintaha"* i.e., 'I am going home' with reference to short visits. In the case of visits, the Banyambo bid farewell using the same metaphor saying, *"Mwebare, nataha"*, meaning 'Thank you, I am going home'. Home as an origin point (i.e., birthplace or house) is the centre, origin and destination point of all movement – and from this perception a person goes and returns home although it (home) may not be the same location. The metaphor of *okutura* is more location specific by

referring to a residential place that in turn becomes 'home'. For example, the Banyambo call the whole of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole (Southern Uganda) *'oweitu'* i.e., 'home' whose cultural meaning is both one's origin and place of residence. To identify the area, the person uses the metaphor of *okutura* followed by the name of a village such as, 'I live in Bugene village' that translates as, *'Nintura omu charo cha Bugene'*. The *okutura* metaphor is used to indicate residence in a particular locality of the cultural territory with or without direct blood relatives such as father and mother to the mover. A person decides to move to a particular village possibly attracted by the physical features such as water and pasturelands. The decision is based in the perception of a place being home to a people who share the same values, norms, language and foods and welcome the presence of clansmen/relatives. The confidence to move owes to the oneness and sense of belonging shared with the people in the cultural territory and the existing avenues to create relationships. These relationships soon emerge in the form of affinal ties and blood pacts established by custom. From this understanding of metaphors, I suggest that movement among Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda is a homeward journey expressed in the *omuka-oweitu* metaphor.

The language of the people and movers in the villages of the cultural territory employs the same metaphors to indicate movement undertaken. Of the twenty households of Rwandan movers and fifteen households of Ankole movers, two thirds of the household heads stated their ancestors came from Karagwe and that they were here because they were returning home or tracing the origins of their forefathers. In the narratives, Abazee Kadabada, Rubona and Bitungwaumutwenzi clearly stated this goal, while Omuzee Frede Alishanga's father [Kamuhanjire] moved because he had blood relatives from his side and his spouse's i.e., Omukaire Kashunju – in Ibanda village. The movers are living in their ancestral lands (the same valleys and plateaux previously occupied i.e., *omu matongo* adjacent to their clansmen) in Karagwe. They pointed to ancestral worshipping places and shrines (*ebigabiro*)[57] that are/were used by their kin whose grandfathers did not go to Rwanda and Ankole in the past. The movers who had returned to these villages

[57] The worshipping places and shrines are used as reference points to legitimise one's presence and rights to share in the clan activities. I could not find evidence of continued worship in the wake of Christian proselytising missions of 1950s.

and those found there accept one another as kin sharing grandparents/ancestors and clan taboos (*emiziro*). These assertions re-enforce the earlier claims of external origins by most Karagwe clans discussed in Chapter 5 (Field notes 2000).

Another exemplar case is that of Omuzee Bishanga – a retired civil servant teacher (Chapter 5) who says, "we have actually traced and found these brothers of ours i.e., the descendants of Rwabujegere [great great grandfather] in Biharamulo and now we have contacts with them". In the same excerpt, Omuzee Bishanga mentions the hospitality given by the Bashambo of Rutunguru to be enormous by treating him and his family like one of them. The duty transfer from one primary school to another in Kaisho turned into a homeward journey as he found fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers in the new place. In the same vein the regular contacts between Nyakaiga of Omuzee Bishanga and Biharamulo have turned into homes for the clan members of Rwabujegere and Magezi descendants.

Of the remaining households, one fifth acknowledged to have entered Karagwe following blood pact brothers and friends given that the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda conceive blood pacts as equivalent to consanguineal ties. The movements of Omuzee Bitungwaumutwenzi illustrate this clearly, first at Byumba with three grandfathers of the blood pact known his father from childhood, and second before entering Karagwe for *okutura* (to settle). He says, "As a man you cannot visit another place without making friends and creating brothers – i.e., making blood pacts [*kunywana*]. I made two blood pacts – one with Omuzee Mulindwa and another with Omuzee Muhozi of Nyakagoyagoye". These relations are strong and binding to the entire *echika* (family) such that when Omuzee Bitungwaumutwenzi moved to Rutunguru he stayed with Omuzee Basime's father. [Omuzee Basime is a cousin to the actual pact brother of Omuzee Mulindwa].

In another study household, Omuzee Rwaizibuka[58] of Rwandan origin informed me how his father administered the estate of a blood pact brother and the continuing relationship

[58] Omuzee Rwaizibuka was born in Karagwe and maintains strong contacts with Rwandan relatives. His children, one of whom is a Catholic nun, visit Rwanda every other year whenever possible. Fares to make trips to Rwanda restrict movements/visits.

between the two families. In marriage ceremonies, for example, he says that a family spokesperson comes from the blood pact members. Each family has an influence over the other. He concedes, however, that some arrangements depend on mutual understanding between the families concerned and part of the virtue of trust discussed in Chapter 5. And he stresses, "How can you discriminate against a blood pact brother? The moment you do that, the ancestors would turn in their grave and unleash their wrath on you" (Field notes 2000).

In response to the *okutaha* metaphor, the Banyankole and Banyarwanda living in Karagwe affirm that they were coming home. Omuzee Maguru of Kashabo village in Bugene/Nyaishozi ward is firmly convinced that his house is erected in the *eitongo* (abandoned place of a former house) of his great grandfather who went to stay in Ankole many years ago. He observes that tracing family land is simple because as young children they heard stories of the family's movements. They learned the names of places, the marks on the land such as nearby hills, streams and big trees. With the assistance of village members living in the same village, these returning people are able to find the ancestral homes and continue to participate in clan activities and relationships in the new area. The Banyankole and Banyarwanda now living in Karagwe admit to have multiple connections that make them feel at home in most places. The movers who came in 1950s continued to visit their places of origin until 1980s when they felt that in the absence of motor vehicle transport in the area, distance was becoming a problem. Taking the position of Kaisho centre (Figure 3.2) to be a central position vis-à-vis Rwanda and Ankole, the movers in the area on a mission to visit relatives travel four days to reach the furthest destination on foot. Most old movers have stopped shuttling about and their children and grand children are the ones engaged in exchange visits. Gifts such as bark-cloth (*orubugu*) used for burial, machetes *(emihoro)*, and grain such as finger millet and modern shop commodities like blankets and weather coats are presented between agriculturalist communities. Omuzee Magabari showed me a blanket and shirt he had received from his grand children visiting from Ankole. Two youths in their late teens were living with his family at the time and had not decided on when to return. "We are still helping our grandfather with harvesting coffee", said one of them (Field notes 2000).

The pastoralist Bahima exchange heads of cattle across the River Kagera without difficulty as well as milk containers and covers (*ebyanzi n'emiheiha)*, and ornamented gourds for churning milk (*ebishabo byo okuchunda amate*) and shop commodities too. Among the movers prior to 1950, these relations are dormant with few visits taking place although memories/narratives of movement are still being passed on to the children. Omuzee Deo Tambika of Nyaishozi was very emphatic about his children and wanting them to know the roots of their ancestors for posterity. The whole point of holding family occasions was to pass on this information. He uses Christmas gatherings and any other opportunities to tell these stories to his grand children. I was interested in this practice and asked him if his understanding of his roots located his ancestors in Rwanda. He affirmed that Karagwe was his place of origin but added that both Karagwe and Rwanda are his homes. As for the children, they take where their particular father and grand father came from at the beginning. From this statement, I understood that, in a singular sense, his origins are in Karagwe and it is in Karagwe that he is able to trace his roots. But for his children, their place of origin is Rwanda where they were born. I suggest that the roots of a person among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda denote a place of birth of the father and past grandfathers to the extent that the shift in origins has a direct relationship with the movement and one's generation. To call an area your place of origin depends on the generation you belong to – for example, today Karagwe is your origin but to your grand children born in Ankole or Rwanda this will be their origin because that is where their grandfather and father came from. This suggests that the Banyambo have three homes known to them: a cultural territory, a residential home and a world beyond death as shown below using the *okutaha* metaphor.

The metaphor of *okutaha* or going home indicates not only the physical distance between places that are connected but is equally employed to show that a person has died and gone to the place of his/her ancestors. The Banyambo spirituality suggests that there is another home beyond this world where people go after death. I encountered many people who referred to the death of their dear ones (especially children and parents) as having gone 'home'. The place beyond this world is considered home in that there are many relatives who have gone there and any departing person is joining them – 'going home'.

7.6 Movement to the outside of the cultural territory: "*okubura*" and "*okutuntumuka*" metaphors

The Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda established a cultural territory based on shared norms and values, historical movements under the rulers of the Bahima dynasty with whom language and material artefacts came to be shared. Intermarriage and traditional blood pacts strengthened further existing ties laid by historical movements, norms and values to the extent of knowing each other well and intermingling freely over short distance movements. In their perception, places outside the established cultural territory represent mysterious and unknown areas (*amahanga* meaning states) which are home to people whose behaviour cannot be understood or predicted. Movement by a person to those unknown places/lands is expressed by the metaphors of *okutuntumuka* translated as to take flight or run away, *okubura* meaning to get lost and *okufuruka* meaning to migrate when referring to foreigners. A member of the cultural group takes flight *(natuntumuka)* as a result of a behaviour that is not accepted in the culture. Such behaviour includes witchcraft and sorcery, quarrelsomeness, fighting and theft that society judge to be perverse. At first the people impose minor sanctions such as warnings from the elders, non co-operation in social activities like visits, drinking beer together, refusing the person access to a common source of water and the like. In the event that an individual does not comply with societal norms after such sanctions, a total boycott is imposed. Sanctions can make life extremely uncomfortable like burning down a house and harassing the unwanted people until they run away for safety and need to disappear. These movers start their journeys at night and never come back.

The *okubura* metaphor includes those in the undesirable movement group who cross the cultural boundary as part of their wandering. The movers whose movement is expressed by *okuzenjerera* (to go round aimlessly), *okubunga* (to wander or loiter about) and *okuzerera* (to float or go aimlessly) are considered lost when they go beyond the cultural territory. They are so considered because people do not know their whereabouts and they remain unaccounted for (Field notes 2000). The people of Kituntu and Rugasha villages mentioned six people who have not been seen or heard of for more than twenty years.

The account and timing of these movements given to me suggests that the movers disappeared much earlier than stated. Children born at the time of these movements/disappearances are over thirty years old (Field notes 2000).

Movers from outside the cultural territory are given the metaphor of *okufuruka* that means to migrate or to leave one's cultural territory. The movers themselves are known as *abafuruchi* i.e., the migrants. They are designated as *abafuruchi* because they are foreigners originating from other countries *(abanyamahanga)*, who have nothing in common with the local people. Today most of these movers come as public servants such as primary school teachers, members of the police force and other government functionaries at the district headquarters. In Bugene village near the headquarters of the district, there are five such families who have acquired land, established banana plantations, and built houses. They come from elsewhere in Tanzania. I suggest that they remain outsiders because of their relatively small numbers, social locations such as government offices and their inability to mix with people who speak the Kinyambo lingua franca and because they do not share a preference for the staple food - bananas. Owing to the government's financial constraints which keeps the number of outsiders to a minimum, combined with the fact that there are limited employment opportunities, few strangers come to the area. Local councils are more inclined to recruit local staff as a means to cut down on the cost of travel and housing. Although the stories told pointed to current movement, there were people (old timers) still called *abanyamahanga* or *abafuruchi* who have learned the customs of the Banyambo. Omuzee Male about 78 years old still lives in Katera village where he remained after the collapse of Kyerwa Syndicate Tin Mining Company. He has difficulty pronouncing Kinyambo words and says he came from Juba (Southern Sudan). He lives happily but wishes he were back in Juba – his home territory among his relatives. I suggest that the *Munyamahanga* metaphor is rooted in cultural considerations rather than the length of stay in a cultural territory. There are people like Mr. Maganga whose father came to Karagwe as a colonial policeman *(omwisherukale)* and has never visited or lived in his hometown of Shinyanga town across Lake Victoria. His children are still called *abanyamahanga* (plural)(Field notes 2000).

The metaphor used to describe local people of deviant behaviour is *okusabara* meaning to sail by steamer across Lake Victoria to unknown places/lands. This metaphor describes the movement of women whose marriages have failed or those who elope with foreigners. Marriage among the Banyambo and their associates are for procreation and when there are difficulties in having children, the woman is held responsible and condemned for being infertile. She is forced to accept a co-wife and may be subject to ridicule and harassment. Women receive similar treatment if they show disrespect to husbands or are deemed to be lazy. When married life becomes unbearable, a woman may ran away (i.e., *yasabara)* to over-lake towns such as Mwanza and Shinyanga and beyond to Uganda where she becomes a stranger and must start a new life. The incidences of this movement occur as one in ten but are worth mentioning more so that a separate metaphor exists to capture the movement experience. Omukaire Genoveva of Rwabununka village (Kaisho/Murongo ward) was one of few lucky women to have gone and come back in the meaning of this metaphor – *okusabara*. She is about seventy years old and she narrated her experience in these terms: -

> I am not sure of my exact age but you can see the grey on my head that I am advanced in age. Omuzee George [her neighbour] who has several grand children is much younger than me. You know we came from Ankole to live with the brothers of my father here in Rwabununka – I mean Omuzee Kalechezi the father of Kayangwe and his sisters and many other Bazigaba of our clan. I got married in 1952 to my first husband Omuzee Musiime of the Baitira clan. One year, two years I had no child. I took all sorts of traditional herbs [*ebishaka*] to help me conceive without success. Then my husband started to insult me, calling me barren and heaping all blames on me that I was useless having failed to give him an heir. From scolding he went to beating me especially after getting drunk. His family was another thorn in the flesh as they joined in to backbite me and encourage him to get another wife. After about six years, he married another woman and I foresaw unprecedented troubles – you know the trouble with co-wives. You see these blames were for nothing – does it mean that I did not want to have a child? I longed for one or even a miscarriage at least once in my life. Anyway, God wanted it like that; I will now go down to my ancestors [home] like that! This little girl is my grand child from Gatyo the son of my brother. After enduring for some time, I decided to run away ['*okusabara*'] to Mwanza town. I somehow found my way out and started a fish business at the market stalls. It was here that I met Omuzee Masunga then my client and agreed to marriage in 1964. We stayed together but my problem continued. We were staying in Kirumba a

suburb of Mwanza and moved to Kwimba his home place to carry on the fish business. Life was good but without a child - I don't know what I did to God. The Wasukuma that we call Banyamahanga are nice because even without a child he loved me and we lived happily unlike my first marriage.

When he died a few years ago, I decided to come back and die at home. Having no children is a pain in the heart beyond any explanation. You die with untold suffering in the heart (*nofa ne entimba*). [With tears flowing on her wrinkled cheeks she quipped] God wanted it to be this way let me die in peace alone. At least I am back and living in my own house and when I die, my people will bury me.

Field notes 2000.

Confirming the humiliation and the resulting movement, Omuzee Garyoma of Nyakahanga village was sympathetic with childless women who are forced to run away (*'kusabara'*). He gave the example of Maria Biita who had been married in the next village of Kishao and had no children. When she left and went to Kampala, she got married again and is said to have children. He laments that in some cases women have been humiliated and made to abandon their marriages unfairly. Influenced by Catholicism, he adds: - "Children are a gift from God. The woman should not be blamed alone. It is God's wish." (Field notes 2000). However, in the dominant view of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda, Omuzee Garyoma stands alone with this opinion (Field notes 2000).

7.7 Special movement metaphors among the Banyambo: "okushwerwa" and "okupagasa" metaphors

Two metaphors of movement deserve special consideration in the life of the Banyambo because one contains or implies several movements and the other is recently introduced to the culture. These are '*okushwerwa*' meaning to get married and '*okupagasa*' meaning to be employed. The '*okushwerwa*' is basically a relation between two people whose implementation entails movement. The '*okupagasa*' is a movement related to the modern economy where a person goes to work for money.

In the patriarchal system of the people, the marriage act that establishes affinal ties between families that were not formerly related, the bride moves to reside in the house

and village of the bridegroom (Chapter 5). Following the marriage ritual, the bride is symbolically reborn in the new household as expressed in the symbolism of sitting her on the laps of the mother in-law before entering the bridegroom's house. The relations of brother and sister in-law commence and the parents of the spouses enter a fraternal joking relationship known as *'okushanzirana'*. From this point marriage becomes a bonding factor in the cultural territory of the three tribes. The movement of the bride to the bridegroom's house and village is not perceived as movement but rather *'okutaha'* - going to another home with parents, brothers, and sisters [in-law]. The bride has gone home through the marriage ritual act in the course of which movement takes place.

Marriage again triggers other movements between the villages by expanding the marriage fields of each village. A woman attracts other girls from her home village and encourages them to marry into her new village-home and men to go to find partners in her natal village. She spots suitable partners (assessed by physique and hard working qualities) and recommends them to her brothers and cousins. If negotiations extend to marriage offers, she acts as a go-between. Mama Morandi of Bugene, a pioneer woman from Kituntu in her late sixties, boasts of having brought nine women that are now married in Bugene village. She adds that each one of them has brought another handful of girls thus creating a tradition that has seen a flow of girls to this village. This movement system has created an exchange relationship of brides (i.e., marriage fields) between Bugene and Kituntu areas. There are Bugene girls (women) married and living in Kituntu as well. I found similar relationships between Rutunguru and Kihanga villages, Kihanga and Nyakatuntu, Nyaishozi and Kishao among the villages visited. For example, Mama Blandina of Bisheshe village (her new village/home) encouraged three girls to this new home. One of the girls, now a woman in her early thirties, is married to her brother in-law. In exchange[59] two girls from Bisheshe are married in Kaisho - one of them to her nephew. The villages of Bisheshe and Kaisho that stood approximately eighty kilometres apart without contacts now have exchange visits as a consequence of marriages. One such visit was recorded in my mobility register where a son in-law visited the spouse's parents in Rutunguru village in August 2000. My assessment of the growing relationships and the

visits taking place is that more marriages are likely be concluded and hence increase the bonds between these villages. On her part Mama Chiwajizire, in her late thirties and mother of four children, is one of those now married in Bisheshe through the influence of Mama Blandina. She admits that before marriage, she did not know Bisheshe or the people living there. Today she accepts the village of Bisheshe as home with as many relatives as she had in Kaisho. I asked her if she occasionally goes to visit Kaisho in view of having a new home. After an expression of shock, she answered that Kaisho is home in the same way as her village of residence – Bisheshe. "I have two homes"; she answered with an air of satisfaction (Field notes 2000).

Marriage relations also initiate the movement of children and young people between bonded villages. There is the visiting of a married sister in her new village by people from her natal village that has been called '*okusyara*'. It is during such movements that prospective spouses meet when the visitors are young men and girls. The other aspect of movement associated with marriage is one where the children go to stay with their married sisters or aunts and young men visiting who get fascinated by the new landscape and ultimately opt to settle there. In the narrative of Omuzee Mathias Kadabada (Chapter 6) a Rwandan mover, the wife Nyinababiligi came with a son of her elder brother to live with her in Karagwe. In another village of Chitwechenkura near Nkwenda, a village outside the field study, four young men had moved under this customary practice. I suggest that the institution of marriage among the Banyambo can be seen as a source of cultural movement. A bride goes first. Others then follow her and this leads to the creation of a marriage field between villages. The children who move to stay with their married sisters/aunts adds to the flow. There is movement of young people on visits (*okusyara)* and settlement (*'okutura'*). Marriages (*'amashwere'*) are movement and causes of movement in the culture of the people. They establish new 'homes' in the case of brides; they link non-related families and clans thereby increasing tribal ties and relationships that help form and maintain a single cultural identity.

The second special movement indicated by the language of the people and movers is the

[59] The term 'exchange' is a misnomer since there is no agreement of a give and take nature. It is used here to denote the two-way flow of girls between villages.

'okupagasa' metaphor which means to work for gainful employment at a person's place in other words wage labour. It is novel in the context of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda and was introduced by the colonial administration. The administration of the Belgians in Rwanda and the British in Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) and Uganda introduced a hut tax that had to be paid in cash. To obtain the required cash, people had to find paid employment that they called *'okupagasa'* from the Kiswahili word *'kupagaa'* meaning to work for money. Those engaged in *okupagasa* increased as cash payments was adopted as a way of paying dowry instead of cattle or other traditional items of exchange. The period of employment varied up to three calendar years after which a person returned home with money to pay the tax or the bride price, household utensils and clothes. Omuzee Rubona was lucky to secure employment in Kagando mines then owned by Malaysians.

In the event of crop failure in former times, the Banyambo would work for food at a neighbour's house or in the next village. The metaphor for movement to work for food is/was *'okushaka'* and the worker returned daily with food supplies for the family. People crossed the cultural territory in search of money - a movement they called okupagasa. I suggest that the *'okupagasa'* is a purposeful movement as a way to acquire the bride price or if necessary a survival technique to avoid jail terms (then) for those who failed to pay. This movement was discontinued after the introduction of coffee as a cash crop. The hut tax is now called a development levy. This *'okupagasa'* movement resembles rural-urban migration. There are however few Banyambo youths migrating to urban centres. I suggest that this movement is limited because it is not seen as a 'homeward movement' where young people might find relatives to live with. The distance to most urban centres adds to the perception of towns as unknown places of danger.

7.8 Culture-led visits and the mobility register for current movements in Karagwe

The visit to Omuzee Daudi in Bisheshe was not unique and entirely outside the culture as shown by the mobility registers. I was interested to record the frequency of movements motivated by culture at short and long-term distances in Karagwe. Such registers of

ongoing movement were maintained in three villages of Nyakaiga, Nyakahanga and Rutunguru (Figure 3.2). Three registers were also kept at the informal crossing points on the Kagera River. The register keepers were people involved in the crossing or those who had access to the points. Two of them own dugout canoes to ferry people across, and a third record keeper enjoys the respect of persons living in proximity to Masheshe point along the Karagwe/Ankole border. The register keepers recorded overnight-stayers because daily commuting was part of life. In the villages of Nyakahanga and Rutunguru, overnight-stayer visits took place in the dry season (June to August). Eight formal visits involving groups of five people and above carrying gifts, drums and singing on the way were recorded. Six households were recorded to have received these visitors. The motives of these visits were visiting parents, parents in laws and blood pact brothers. The average duration was three days i.e. arriving late in the afternoon and departing in the morning of the third day on weekends i.e. Friday evening to Sunday afternoon. Visits to parents' in-laws from distant places exceed this normal duration. In Rutunguru, for example, a couple from Ankole stayed for two weeks at Omuzee Bilimbasa's house – the father of the bride. There was no such movement recorded for the agricultural season of the short and long rains i.e. September to December and March to May apart from visits to sick people. One-day movements are frequent due to bicycle transport available and short distances involved between the neighbouring villages. There was no specific pattern of movement flow to be discerned. Village members visit one another as long as there are relatives or friends in another village or a specific need like visiting a traditional healer for consultations before a sick person is taken there for treatment. The Banyambo continue to use both traditional and modern medicine in consideration of the costs.

7.9 The '*Omuka/Oweitu*' or 'homeward movement's metaphors as movement expressions in Karagwe

The Banyambo world-view considers movement to be that of '*okufuruka*' (to migrate like foreigners do), '*okutuntumuka*' (to run away or take flight), '*okubura*' (to get lost or to disappear) and '*okusabara*' (to sail away) as listed in Table 7.1 of movement metaphors – the language of movers. These forms of movement lead to areas outside the geographical

and created cultural territory that Banyambo are familiar with. The mover goes to places where there are no relatives defined in the social networks of consanguinity, affinity and traditional blood pacts. I suggest that this movement is 'migration' in the language of population mobility found in the literature reviewed (Chapter 2). This view, however, is problematic as it partially suggests that there is no other movement among the people in the district as well as in their larger cultural territory. Moreover, the movers to be grouped under '*okufuruka*', '*okubura*', '*okusabara*' and '*okutuntumuka*' headings are few and the majority unmarried. Many Banyambo families are likely to hide any of their members who moved due to shameful acts like sorcery, witchcraft and theft. Information related to these movements is hidden from studies because no family would like to be associated or known to have relations with such persons who bring disgrace. Household members try to erase such memories and disassociate with such people. A study to collect population mobility data using conventional techniques such as surveys and census may collect and analyse a small portion of the movement covered by these metaphors only. The movements of people defined by the '*omuka/oweitu*' metaphors and the short-term duration movements ('*okusyara/okuzinduka*) are simply not listed

In this section I have suggested that the concept of 'homeward movement' is an ideal expression of movement that gives a better understanding and means to capture the event of movement among the inhabitants of Karagwe. This understanding of movement expressed by the metaphor '*omuka/oweitu*' reveals the ebb and flow of population movement in Karagwe where it is underpinned by culture as shown in the narratives. These metaphors of long and short distance movements show people in the families or households involved, the direction in which they are inclined to go, where they have relatives, and where the destination society resembles as much as possible the one they are leaving behind (Magalam 1968). Using the '*omuka/oweitu*' concept, the movers are seen to move from one geographical location of their cultural territory to another in the same territory. The presence of relatives in the social networks at the points of origin and destination make them feel that they are moving from home to home. It is this tautology of words i.e., 'coming from home going home', and the perception of home as a place where one has relatives that can obstruct an outsider observer from seeing and

understanding the movement. I argue that the Banyambo perception is not tautological on two grounds: -

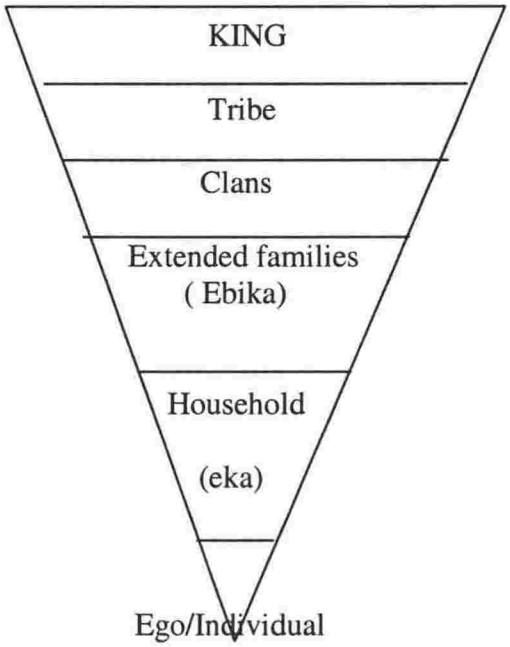
a) That the two metaphors are used with a nuance where 'home' connotes a birth-place where one has parents and relatives (*'oweitu'*) and also where one has a dwelling structure – house and relatives (*'omuka'*). These perceptions fuse where a person builds a dwelling at birthplace: 'home' has two meanings at once.

b) Sociologically, a home is not only a central institution enabling face to face human relations but as Fairchild (1944) states, "It is naturally and usually the place with refreshing and encouraging social atmosphere, co-operative management and daily cultivation of the more intimate human interest and values" (Fairchild 1944: 142).

The understanding and meaning of their metaphor *'omuka/oweitu'* according to which meaning I give the expression of a 'homeward movement' or *'omuka/oweitu'* movement, is justifiable in terms of the sociological understanding above. The people move within their cultural territory and have relatives at origin and destination points who provide a refreshing and social atmosphere. The *'omuka/oweitu'* metaphors of movement are used and accepted because one feels at home in each location. They are part of the cultural living experience i.e. movement is built in them and beyond which the perceived movement is *'okufuruka', 'okutuntumuka', 'okusabara'* and *'okubura'* (to disappear/to get lost). The *'omuka/oweitu'* metaphors are the basis of Banyambo movements acting as points of reference at origin and destination since people are born and attached to them in social networks of brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and parents. People are linked to one another through the pyramidal chain in the ascending order of household, extended family *(echika/eihiga)*, clan and the apex tribe (Figure 7.2). To get an understanding of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda movement that is inspired by their culture, I argue that the *'omuka/oweitu'* metaphors have to be interpolated on a geographical and cultural map to see where the movement starts and ends. This interpolation shows the movement of people that do not acknowledge mobility on the basis of moving within a cultural territory - they are certain in their perception that they are 'coming from home

going home'.

Figure 7.1 Social organisation structure of the Banyambo kingdom



Source: Field notes 2000.

Reflecting the Banyambo movement upon the review of literature in Chapter 2, I posit that permanent movement in the cultural territory is expressed by the metaphors of '*okutaha*' (to go home), '*okutura*' (to settle among your own kindred) and '*okushwerwa*' (marriage on the part of the bride). These movements are permanent but movers are open to coming back usually after generations as seen in the life histories of movement (Chapter 6). Close to the permanent movements expressed by the metaphors that culminate in the '*omuka/oweitu*' (homeward movement), there is another quasi-permanent movement within one's farm. The movement within one's farm is captured by the metaphor of '*okwiha omwanya*' (to change place), '*okweshejeza*' (to push on the side/sideways) and '*okwirirayo*' (to push a bit apart). The moving household relocates within the same square area in the same way a person would adjust to the left or right on a church pew without moving off.

The metaphors of '*okusyara*', '*okutayaya*' that denote visiting and the '*okujendajenda*' and '*okugorora amaguru*' that mean wandering have no equivalent in the literature of

migration as they cannot be called 'circulation'. Both short and long-term movements among the Banyambo are important in maintaining cohesion, common identity and mutual aid in the community. The *'okushwerwa'* metaphor representing a long lasting relationship of spouses and the movements embodied establishes and maintains the social network links. For example, there are several movements contained in this relationship. The spouses make visits to the bride's parents where they stay for a week – the metaphor for this visit is *'kuza aha kasika'* literary translated as 'going to the bedroom'. The actual meaning is that it is a maiden visit for brides shortly after marriage. The yearly visits are called *'kuza aha nyabya'* meaning 'to go to the delicious dishes' served in round earthenware bowls. The bride's father making a first visit to her daughter's new home with gifts of beer, grain, bunches of bananas, local soft drinks of *'obushera'* (sweetened light finger millet porridge) is called *'okutwarira'*. Again when a woman makes a visit to her in-laws taking the first harvest produce the metaphor is *'okuganuza'*. All these movements exist within the marriage and cultural context of the Banyambo. I posit that marriage is both a relationship and a movement among the Banyambo because these movements cannot exist outside this institution.

Looking at movement using the language of the movers one learns that movement among the Banyambo is diverse and purposeful. Movements establish and maintain relationships at family, clan and tribe levels. Movements are diverse because they capture all life situations and are of different durations, always take place in a familiar cultural territory. The Banyambo movement is inseparable from their created cultural territory where it derives meaning and significance.

7.10 Summary and conclusion

This chapter set out to understand the movement of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda people by looking at the language of movers and their perception of the movement experience within their cultural space. The perception of the people is that they do not move but that they are going home. The activity of going home involves a change in location and movers describe this as *'okutaha'*, and *'okutura'*. These metaphors

express a movement that starts at a point of origin called 'home' and ends in a destination point also called 'home'. To ease this tension created by the word home, the Banyambo use two words: *'omuka'* and *'oweitu'*. Movement becomes a journeying home; what I have called a 'homeward movement'. This 'homeward movement' is based on residential and natal place concepts of a refreshing and encouraging social atmosphere giving an environment for the creation of humane interests and values.

Another movement taking place in the same cultural context is the short-range movement called *'okusyara'* among the people. I suggest that the Banyambo do not see all movements as movement because a) the movements take place in the familiar cultural ground, b) the movements start and end at home in their perception, and c) the movements are directed at strengthening and elaborating the social bonds among the people. Increased movements among the people promote a greater sense of oneness. The language of the movers and the people shows another movement that leads outside the cultural territory, expressed by the metaphors of *'okubura'*, *'okutuntumuka'* and *'okusabara'*. The people perceive this as movement but since they prefer to disassociate with it, it is likely to escape the attention of a researcher. This may lead to the erroneous conclusion that the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda do not move. They are effectively mobile but the movement has to be related to the *'omuka/oweitu'* concept for a homeward movement picture to emerge. Their movement is inspired by culture and takes place in a cultural territory. Movers are homeward bound. It is this view that can enable the study of the movement of people in Karagwe to be researched and its meaning understood, as the movers themselves perceive it.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

Rural to rural movement is a subject of concern to developing countries and particularly for East African countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) because the bulk of the population lives and moves constantly within and between these areas. Yet, scholars and government officials continue to be attracted to the more conspicuous rural to urban movements where the movers are taken to erode tangible 'development' efforts to be achieved in urban centres (De Jong 1981, Amin 1972). This perception of population mobility has caused a gap in migration literature where movement between and within rural areas is almost totally obscured. The studies of rural to urban migration attribute the causes of movement to poverty and deprivation (Todaro 1976, Liviga 1998) and uneven development in these countries (Amin 1972) while Chambers (1983) suggests that researchers are attracted by better working and rewarding conditions of urban centres – the urban trap. These studies remain in the confines of the economic equilibrium and historical structural models to analyse population movement at the macro-level and using measurable yardsticks.

In this study I argue that the movement of rural people is influenced by culture and social interactions in created social and cultural spaces. I suggest that movement is a result of people living together and conforming to the rules, norms, and regulations they have established in a cultural territory. This movement - which is not acknowledged as an isolated phenomenon - becomes a means to reactivate, strengthen and maintain the social bonds among people who share a common identity that was created through historical movements, consanguineal and affinal ties as well as blood covenants or pacts. The movers aspire and move to live with kith and kin and consider themselves to be at home at every place in their perception. In the worldview of the movers, both origin and

destination points are 'home' as expressed by the *'Omuka/Oweitu'* metaphors in the local dialects of this study. According to their understanding 'home' is a place where a person resides as well as a place where one is born and has relatives and/or roots in a cultural territory. Movement, then, becomes a 'homeward journey' taking a person home when he/she is equally coming from home. In this perception this movement is not movement because a person is within the created cultural space occupied and shared by all members who subscribe to the same norms, rules, regulations and material artefacts of their culture. It is the movement taking a person outside of this created cultural territory that is considered as movement through the metaphors of *'okubura'*, *'okutuntumuka'*, *'okusabara'* and *'okufuruka'* i.e. to get lost, to flee, and to migrate respectively. In these movements, a person goes outside the cultural territory to unknown places without accountability. Local movements within the cultural territories of Karagwe, Rwanda and Ankole (Southern Uganda) cement and increase social ties binding the people together. Movement is part of the socialisation process of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda and is imparted upon community members from early childhood. Children are allowed and encouraged to live with relatives as part of the socialisation process where they learn virtues and values and become familiar with various parts of the cultural territory.

This understanding and meaning of movement as perceived by the people of Karagwe in their worldview was arrived at through a change in the method of analysis and research instruments adopted in this study. Instead of measurable yardsticks to distil movers, an ethnographic approach was used and people were given an opportunity to give their own meanings of movement in life experiences as suggested by Chapman (1990), Halfacree (1983) and McKendrick (1994). This approach enabled me as a researcher to listen to the movers and understand the perception of movement as the movers saw and explained it in the created and geographical territory i.e. the movers' environmental context.

In Chapter One, I show that the studies in population movement focus on rural to urban movements thereby creating a wide gap in the understanding of mobility by ignoring to explain rural to rural movements. I argue that this approach gives the impression that

movement is unidirectional (rural to urban) and that scholars' and government officials' attention is based on the fear that movers erode tangible 'development' efforts. This apprehension and concern for 'development' in the Tanzanian context is reflected in the presidential call to regroup people in order to benefit from social amenities such as schools, health and clean water to be provided by the government (Yeager 1982). This directed movement among rural people was economically motivated and failed to achieve the expected results.

I also show that current Tanzania population studies depend on the economic explanations such as poverty to account for causes of movement instead of seeking to understand movement as effected by the people in their perception. I suggest a shift from the dominant themes and methods of analysis to one that is interpretative and premised in humane considerations created by historical movements and experiences and social networks of relationships of the people. I draw inspiration from the works of Chapman (1978, 1990, and 19891) that suggest new ways of knowing about movement as demonstrated through the experiences of Pacific Island peoples. This methodological approach invariably shows that the gap in the literature is not a simple oversight on the part of researchers but rather the paucity of research paradigms not geared to study movement as perceived and understood by the movers and expressed in their language.

In Chapter two, an attempt is made to link current population literature to the observations of Uchendu (1975) and Vandsemb (1999) through a literature survey, and show that the existing gap between rural to urban migration and rural to rural movement is caused by the current methodological approaches. The literature describes movers as circulators and wage labourers seeking better social and economic life in the urban centres. Using an array of economic variables, the movement of people from rural to urban areas is seen as a strategy to escape [rural] poverty. But more important is the assumption that rural people do not move between and within rural areas as per examples given by Amin (1995: 32) - the Masai of Tanzania and the Bassari of East Senegal.

As a first step, I had to re-orient or position myself to critically examine the sea of

literature relying on previous studies of movement in other developing countries outside the East African region. With a mind set to understand the movement of people in rural areas, I drew inspiration and confidence from the Pacific Island movement studies, particularly the works of Chapman (1977b, 1985 1990, and 1991), Bonnemaison (1985), Mabogunje (1972) in West Africa, and Young 1998 to study rural movement in Karagwe. In these studies, Chapman and Mabogunje question the relevance of western technical terms and paradigms to understanding movement in developing countries. They suggest a choice of a suitable methodology to address movement in these communities, establishing continuities between past and present movements to avoid dichotomous views of rural and urban, and above all, in the case of Chapman working at micro level where individual experiences of movement gain prominence. Building on the studies of Chapman (1977b and 1995) on the language of movers and alternative ways of knowing, I used a humanist approach in the ethnographic paradigm and the language of movers to understand movement itself and the literature at hand. This approach enabled me to understand the perception and meaning of movement as the people of Karagwe rural area understand it.

For a point of departure to understand population mobility literature, I explored the classifications provided by Ritchey (1976) and Wood (1982) and tried to link these studies to understanding rural to rural movement. Ritchey gives a generic classification and groups the literature into labour mobility, social demographic and cognitive behavioural classes or studies. Wood gives two classifications namely the economic equilibrium and historical structural studies. The similarities between the two classifications lie on the units of enquiry at macro level, the research instruments used, the goal to explain the causes of movement and the fact that they remain focused on movement from rural to urban areas. The movement of people is conceived to be a relocation of labour in response to market needs (Ritchey 1976: 364). This conceptualisation of movement as a relocation of labour to market needs obscures and fails to understand peoples' perception of the phenomenon as well as its meaning to the people involved. Looking at the rural areas and particularly Karagwe where such movement takes place and the shortcomings of these approaches to understand movement

as movers do – the perception and meaning, I argue that rural movement is inspired by culture. I then explore the construction and perception of the [rural] cultural territory among the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda focusing on Karagwe. I argue that culture is a worldview of the people, a framework and a map guiding the actions of people. It consists of rules, norms and beliefs, regulations and material artefacts shared by a people subscribing to a common identity. Culture converts an otherwise geographical space into a personalised cultural territory within which people move.

Chapter three presents a geographical overview of the study area as well as showing the foundations on which identity and the cultural territory of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda are built. I show that Karagwe district lies one degree south of the Equator west of Lake Victoria and forms international boundaries for Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. It is hilly with a prominent north-south range reaching a height of 6,235 feet above sea level. The inhabitants of the district are the Banyambo who live on the fertile plateaux and valleys after emerging from hunting and gathering (Katoke 1975). Until the sixteenth century they were under the leadership of a local king called Nono but acknowledged the suzerainty of the Bunyoro-Kitara Empire to the north. When this empire collapsed after the invasion of the Lwoo-Babito, the Bahima rulers moved southwards to occupy Karagwe, Ankole, Toro, Koki, Rwanda and other Bahaya states on the shores of Lake Victoria. Notable among this group is King Ruhinda (father of kings i.e. Kizara Bagabe) who conquered and established his rule in Ankole, Karagwe and placed parts of Rwanda, Buhaya states, Buzinza and Busubi under his sons to govern the new territories.

I argue that the first seeds of a common identity and the construction of a common cultural territory begin with King Ruhinda whose Bachwezi/Bahima entourage spread across the kingdoms leaving behind relatives as they advanced to subdue other kingdoms. The dissemination of material culture begins here as well. The movement of the Bahima entourage later involved the local people to serve in the local army to defend the kingdom or service at the royal palaces. The intermarriages taking place between the pastoralists and agriculturalists increased the social connections between the peoples. The coming together of the people mixed the two cultures as reflected in the family whose structure

and relations were modelled on the kingship lines.

I further argue that the Bahima and clan movements occasioned a diffusion of a language, material culture, intermarriages and a system of social interactions in the communities of the Banyambo, Banyankole and Banyarwanda. The Banyambo of Karagwe as well as the sister states where the rule of King Ruhinda extended directly or indirectly developed multiple connections linking all people from a household level to the tribe through clan systems, intermarriages and movements. These interactions made [and continue to make] people feel at home at every corner of the kingdom and the sister states and allowed free movement.

The fourth chapter explores the methodological approach to the study and highlights the evolution of my thinking from the dominant literature of the economic equilibrium and historical structural models to a humanistic and ethnographic approach. This shift in orientation aims at understanding the perception and meaning of the phenomenon of movement as perceived by the movers themselves. I argue that an understanding of the movers' perception is revealed in the meaning of movement and the language of the mover in his/her cultural territory. This way of knowing entails listening to the mover giving a personal account of movement experience and then relating this experience to the spoken language. As I show it was a constant struggle between the self: one side consisting of the economic paradigms I was trained in, and the other side a desire to approach the phenomenon of movement from a different, non-positivist approach where the human thought and actions are given meaning and value. This evolution in thought is seen in the first stages of the study where I developed a model, the implementation of which, would lead to distilling the characteristics of movers instead of understanding the event of movement. The evolution of thought is equally seen in the proposed choice of a robust sample instead of a manageable sample developed later to permit careful listening to the movers and observing the behaviour of people on movement. The introduction of mobility registers in three villages and three informal border-crossing points is significant. The number of movers from Rwanda and Ankole is very negligible during the study period yet highly significant to culturally inspired movements. On the surface the

low numbers can be attributed to the tensions existing in Rwanda and Uganda at the time of the study but I suggest that movement inspired by culture is slow and has no time frame. People move as they feel it necessary or when the conditions of conformity to rules, regulations and norms demand a family to relocate. For example, the deepening of friendship to becoming a blood covenant cannot be put on a time scale. It is very much dependent on the will of the participating individuals. Likewise decisions to relocate in a farm or to follow a blood relation have no time frame in which to occur.

Chapter five builds on chapter three where the foundations of a cultural territory and networks of relationships were laid by transforming a geographical space into a personalised cultural territory. I observe that the oneness or a common identity of the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole is premised on: -

a) a common kingship structure and suzerainty that once held these sister kingdoms together and continued by his posterity as kings,
b) past movements of the pastoralist and agriculturalist peoples in the cultural territory,
c) intermarriage and blood pacts or covenants established by people to create a brotherhood between unrelated peoples as well as,
d) early childhood socialisation or training that makes a child feels at home with relatives responsible to correct him/her according to the established traditions.

In this chapter I also discuss the cultural practices that lead people to move in their created cultural space and to see this movement as a strategy to enhance security (i.e., the group support embedded in relations of brotherhood) and strengthen existing social relations. I underscore the fact that decisions to move are taken at household level in the course of negotiating a living and conforming to the culture. The bonding ties are explored in detail to highlight the identity of the people. I suggest that movement is a result of accepting, living and enacting or practising the culture they have established.

Chapter six presents the personal life histories of movement as given by a cross-section of the movers. The movers show movement in their farms and movement into and within

Karagwe. Movement is made to live with relatives or to trace and live in the historical places of ancestors who moved earlier. The material assistance given by the relatives is underscored in the narratives showing a strong feeling for home. Kin and friends/blood brothers help a mover to settle in a new place. Karagwe, a destination point is home as much as it is a point of origin like Ankole and Rwanda. The salient part of these narratives is the consultations made at household level before a move is made. It is also observed that movers do not sever links with their people in their immediate origins because of the relatives left behind. Visits continue to be exchanged though movers do not contemplate a return. Visits are intended to maintain and strengthen the blood ties.

The perception, meaning and language of the mover are the subject of Chapter seven that uses the narratives to show the links between movement and the language of the movers. The movement of people in their cultural space is a 'homeward journey' (literally a going home) expressed as '*okutaha*' and '*okutura*'. Karagwe and the sister states/kingdoms of Ankole and Rwanda are home because of the presence of relatives of clan, intermarriages and blood pacts. Movement is a 'homeward journey' leading one from home (where one resides) to home (where one has roots or is born). Both places are marked by the presence of relatives of blood, familiarity with the environment and the material culture that form the essentials of a home in the perception of the people. Movement leading outside the familiar cultural space is the one people consider to be movement as expressed in the metaphors of '*okubura*', '*okutuntumuka*', and '*okusabara*' that literally translate as to disappear, flee and sail away into the unknown. The community shuns this movement and no person would like to be associated with people relocating in this style. By contrast, movement within the cultural territory is encouraged as it promotes social cohesion of community members by strengthening, maintaining and reactivating the bonds of identity, for example, the account of Omuzee Frede Alishanga – connections to Ankole, Nkwenda and Rukiga of the second wife. Two dimensions are seen: short term movement that consists of visits and is closed, and long term movement that is open ended. I suggest a movement that is known in duration and returns at an origin point to be closed while one leading to other places to be open. The movement I describe as closed has one peculiarity of starting home (origin) and ending home (destination) in response to

the question 'where are you going?' The common response '*ninduga omuka, ninza oweitu*' (i.e. 'I am coming from home and going home') is given by all movers. These metaphors show the nature of movement as short in respect of visits, and long term duration in respect of *okutaha* and *okutula*.

In Karagwe the institution of marriage contains several movements within it apart from the procreation and bringing hitherto unrelated families and clans together. Marriages create multiple connections for households and involve a) movement of the spouse (bride), b) visits to the parents of the spouse, c) movement of children to live with maternal relatives as well as the married sisters, and d) the creation and expansion of the marriage fields for villages. All these movements take place within the marriage structure but are not perceived as movements by the people because a spouse is reborn in the household of the parents' in-law.

8.2 Conclusion and research areas

The people of Karagwe and sister kingdoms move within the cultural territory they have established through historical movements, intermarriages and blood pacts or covenants. Movement is a 'homeward journey' (i.e. *omuka/oweitu* movement) to strengthen, maintain, and reactivate the social relations among the people. This movement occurs as a result of living and fostering the social norms and rules of interaction that govern their lives – a framework or point of reference. For example, when a person sends a child to go and live with a relative in another part of the cultural territory, the motive is to show the love and trust one has for the other as well as maintaining the relations. The sending household is confident the child will receive parental care and love as he/she would from the biological parents.

This study is an affirmation of movement inspired by cultural practices of the people. The movement is inspired by culture that is manifested in their perception of the cultural territory, language metaphors and the purpose of the movement. Such movements take

place in rural areas and escape the attention of researchers using conventional variables to study movement. I argue that similar studies be conducted in other societies because the political concern of movers remains unresolved namely that movement erodes the to-be 'fruits of development' in the introductory chapter.

The study is also a step towards bridging the gap between the literature on the movement of people to urban centres and rural to rural places. Whereas studies in rural to urban migration are primarily explained by economic motives (Todaro 1976) and the 'push and pull factors' (Lee 1966), movement in rural areas is complex and calls for understanding of the phenomenon. Movement takes place out of social and human considerations as people live in their created cultural spaces. An understanding of this movement requires a researcher to engage in the language of the movers [where culture is verbally expressed]. Language is vocal symbols used to communicate the thoughts and feelings of members so that they interact and co-operate. Language also is an enabling factor to get the feelings and thoughts of people, it tells the purpose and significance of the movement phenomenon. In Chapter seven, for example, the language shows the meaning of movement as well as being a repository of past events i.e., a store for the history of people by way of names of people and places. The metaphors of *omuka* and *oweitu* used by the people show continuity between the past and present. The people of Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda are living in a present connected to the past as movers seek to trace their roots and ultimately settle in ancestral farms. The past is with them just as the present. The movement of people is also seen in the present as deliberate efforts to maintain and strengthen ties that are created by intermarriages and blood covenants (established to create durable relations between unrelated people/families). The movement of people re-enforces the connecting ties between households, clans and tribes, for example, the saying that *akanyanssi kaza owa nyamugarura* literally meaning that "grass bends or faces towards one who brings it back". This saying of exhortation invites and encourages people to visit each other by stressing reciprocity.

At the centre of these rural movements purposely made to maintain, reactivate and strengthen ties among people is the cultural territory or space. Movement is taking place

in a familiar cultural territory created by the people – in the study area of Karagwe - this cultural territory was created by historical movements, intermarriages and blood covenants. The people of Karagwe, Ankole and Rwanda created this cultural territory through a personalisation of the geographical spaces they occupy. The erstwhile geographical space is familiar because they live and move within it, they have consanguineal and affinal relatives in the three kingdoms and are further united by shared values, norms, foods and language. This is a shared common identity for the Banyambo of Karagwe, the Banyankole of Ankole (Southern Uganda), and the Banyarwanda of Rwanda lived in the cultural territory they established. I argue that rural movement is intertwined with the concept of cultural territory in which people move. An understanding of rural movement calls for an examination of the established and familiar cultural territory outside which movement does not take place in the perception of the people. People prefer moving to similar environments or those they perceive to be similar (Mangalam 1968) not only to avoid culture shock but rather where they can feel at home. The feeling of home among the rural people is critical to movement and its understanding can enlighten our perception of movement in these communities. In the narratives of Chapter 6, for example, the movers showed that they went to places where they felt at home or anticipated to feel at home by finding their relatives. These relatives would be of blood /consanguineal, intermarriages/affinal and blood covenants.

An understanding of rural to rural movement or intra-rural movement makes a researcher engage with the notions of identity, place and movement and the notion of a cultural territory or created cultural spaces. A dialogue that engages identity and place would lead to an understanding of population movements rather that efforts to distil the characteristics of movers in order to predict movement. Perceiving movement by engaging in the place-identity-cultural space dialogue will open ways to understand rural movements and movement in other societies. In the economic and dependence models, for example, movement of people is explained as being externally generated: the urban opportunities that attract people and the uneven distribution of resources/'development' between places. Capitalism and colonialism have created these 'economic imbalances' between places as well as causing the movement of people to various parts of the world.

Today globalisation is giving rise to an increase of movement of people. For example, Indians will move to live with relatives in Britain, and the Chinese will go to visit their relatives in the USA and Canada. Continued movements will be inspired by cultural influences to maintain the bonds, and activate relationships among other things. Crewe and Kothari (1998) in the study of Gujurati migrants in Wellingborough (Britain) ask: -

> "Why did an upwardly mobile group of people who were becoming such important and powerful actors in the South Gujurati agricultural scene choose to move to Britain where...they would probably live in less favourable conditions? (1998: 13)

In her study, the answer to this question is attributed to the role of women in population movement using a feminist approach. In this study, the role of women as supporting and consulting people to husbands was stated but not explored. It is yet another challenge raised by the language of movers in rural areas to be studied as well as to answer Crewe's question by explaining the causes of this movement and meaning.

Another challenge to researchers of population mobility is to explore movement not only as a strategy of people living, coping with, and co-operating in a created cultural space but to explore movement as a relationship. The Banyambo, for example, use the metaphors of *'mujenzi wanje'* and *'mutahi wanje'* literally meaning co-traveller and one who enters me [my heart and house] to describe a friend. The word *'mutahi'* is derived from *'okutaha'* - a metaphor of movement in the language of Karagwe people. With movement revealed in the language of movers as an enactment of or an actualisation of a culture for people living in a cultural territory, the challenge comes to define movement as a relationship and the implications this would have on our understanding of movement. Movement is equally a strategy to maintain the culture or the way of life but more important it is a strategy to maintain the bonds of a shared common identity between people. Movement also connects the past and present in the life situations of the rural people and is mediated by language. Movement is also a relationship between people and place as well as between people and their past. It is a homeward journey among the

people of Karagwe. It is such perceptions and meanings that shed light on the movement of the people of Karagwe.

APPENDIX 1

ORIGINAL STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR USE TO COLLECT DATA IN THE FIELD STUDY 2000

Dear respondent,

I am Philbert Katalyeba of Rutunguru and resident in Morogoro. I am a student at the Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. I am conducting research on trans-border population movements in Karagwe. I kindly request you to take part in this research by answering the questions asked. You are assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The results are not intended for any government but the University alone. I thank you in advance for your trust and assistance. You will be visited at least twice and I beg you to be patient with me on these visits.

Mwene Katalyeba.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Surname..... Other names.....

.Sex... Marital status.....

.Village..... Ward...Tribe.....Country of origin..... Totem.....

Could you briefly tell us your life history?

1. When did you or your parents enter Karagwe?

Parents.....self.....

2. To make such a long journey, may be you came with a friend and/or friends. Whom did you come with? Do you know where your friend could be now?

3. What means of transport did you use when coming to Karagwe? Did you cross the Kagera River by pontoon or canoe?

4. Were you married at home or did you get married in Karagwe?

5. Did you come with your spouse at first entry? If not, when did the spouse come?

6. Upon arrival in Karagwe, in which village did you build your first house?

7. Was this after staying with a Mnyambo or your friend from home?

8. Was life in the first days hard or were you well received by the people?

9. Having stayed for a long time in Karagwe, do you consider yourself a Mnyambo?

10. When you came who was the Omukama (Chief or King) in Karagwe?

BOUNDARIES

1. Do you own a plot of land to yourself or do the family and clans own all the land? How do you mark your plot of land and banana plantation to differentiate it from your neighbour's?

2. How do you know that you have entered another village? Are there any marks to show different villages e.g. *emiti, emijera, empanga, enyanza*? (trees, streams, valleys, and

rivers respectively).

3. If your brother is living in another village, can you go and live with him on the same land?

4. Which tribes do you think are related to you and can you call the members of these tribes your brothers and sisters? What about the Teso, Sukuma and Mashi?

5. Do you think members of these tribes (Teso, Sukuma and Mashi) are your brothers?

6. Supposing you live in Ankole or Kigezi, do you consider yourself as *amufuruki* or *omutaka* (migrant or native?

7. How many foreign lands *(amahanga)* have you visited traditionally?

8. The Babiliji (Belgians) and Abanjereza (British) created the *embibi* (boundaries) between us; do you think these really exist between you and Karagwe? If not explain.

9. Using examples tell us briefly what is meant by these words: *omuntu* (indigenous), *omunyamahanga* (foreigner).

10. How often do you visit your parents or relatives at home in Rwanda or Uganda? When last did you visit your home and did the people recognise you? Do they come to visit you in Karagwe?

CUSTOMS AND VALUES

1. Before Christianity came, what was the name of your god? Was this god for the tribe or for the clan?

2. Can you briefly explain how you or your fathers used to worship this god: *okuterecherera n'okubandwa* (the prayers of appeasing spirits and invocation prayers for being possessed by spirits respectively). Who was leading these intercession prayers or ceremonies?

3. What are the most important items in the house that a man should have? And what are these items for the women?

4. What qualities do you expect a man to have in order to a man?
And what about a woman?

5. How do you feel if your children married outside your tribe(s)?
What is the traditional form of paying bride price? Is the bride price shared among

relatives of the bride?

6. A parent who has no male offspring whom does he bequeaths his property after death? To a sister or brother?

7. If you have three kraals and your brother has a good house, whom do you think society respects most?

8. Men traditionally never *okwevuga* or *okweshongora* (poetic recitation of praises to a person) a female sibling. What are the reasons behind this?

9. Is beer making in you home area different from that of Karagwe? If so who taught you to make beer like the Banyambo do?

10. At every wedding the *oburo* (hardened porridge made from finger millet flour) is served no matter how small. What is the significance of this?

11. Among the Banyambo women are forbidden to drink beer and eat certain foods like *ensenene* (grasshoppers), *orurimi* (tongue meat), *omutima* (heart) and *n'ensigo* (kidneys). What is the practice of your tribe and how do you find this custom?

12. Would you prefer to have a majority of male or female children?

Note: *Okwevuga* and *okweshogora* are traditional self-praise songs and poetry.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE HOST

1.Is there a specific time when the Banyarwanda and Banyankole come to your village for settlement?

2.Who allocates land to them for settlement? Is there a procedure to be followed?

3.Do you consider the coming of the Banyarwanda and Banyankole advantageous to the Banyambo community? In what specific areas are they helpful?

4.During the initial one year of entry into your community where do the Banyarwanda and Banyankole obtain food from?

5.Which one of the two would do you like most: being a herdsman or being a farmer?

6.Do you consider them to be your kinsmen and brothers? Give reasons for your answer.

7.Do you think there are major differences between the Banyambo, Banyarwanda and Banyankole? List these differences.

8.Do you feel that the Banyarwanda and Banyankole like education more and their children perform slightly well than the Banyambo?

APPENDIX 2

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

WIZARA YA TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

MKOA WA KAGERA
MKUU WA WILAYA

OFISI YA

SLP 22
KARAGWE
3.5.2000

Afisa Mtendaji wa Kata;
Nyaishozi, Bugene, Nyabiyonza,
Kaisho na Murongo.
KARAGWE

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA KWENU Dr. PHILBERT KATALYEBA

Rejea mada tajwa.

Napenda kumtambulisha kwenu mtajwa Mwalimu wa Chuo Cha Uongozi Mzumbe (IDM- Mzumbe) ambaye sasa hivi ni mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Udaktari (Doctor of Philosophy katika Chuo Kikuu i.e., Victoria University of Wellington – New Zealand). Atakuwa kwenye Kata zenu akifanya utafiti wa jinsi mila zetu zinavyochangia watu kubadili makazi au kuhama kanda ya maziwa makuu.

Kwa kipindi chote atakachokuwa na nyinyi, mpeni ushirikiano wa karibu.

Wasalaam;

BITEYAMANGA M.E.
KAIMU KATIBU TAWALA (W),
KARAGWE.

Nakala kwa: Dr. Philbert Katalyeba.

Katibu Tarafa

Bugene/Nyaishozi

Katibu Tarafa, Nyabiyonza

Katibu Tarafa, Kaisho/Murongo

A TRANSLATION OF LETTER: MAIN TEXT

The Secretary
Nyaishozi, Bugene, Nyabiyonza,
Kaisho and Murongo,
Karagwe.

Re: INTRODUCING DR. PHILBERT KATALYEBA

This is to introduce the above named Mr. Philbert Katalyeba - a lecturer at the Institute of Development Management, Mzumbe (IDM Mzumbe) currently a student studying at Victoria University of Wellington for a doctorate degree. He will be visiting your wards to do research on the influence of our culture on people's movement.

Kindly accord him your greatest co-operation for the duration of his research.

Yours faithfully,

(signed).
BITEYAMANGA M.E.
ACTING DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY,
KARAGWE DISTRICT.

APPENDIX 3

TABLE 1 - SEQUENTIAL SPATIOTEMPORAL PROCESS AMONG MODERNIZING POPULATIONS

THE VITAL TRANSITION	THE MOBILITY TRANSITION
PHASE A – The Premodern Traditional Society (1) A moderately high to quite high fertility pattern that tends to fluctuate only slightly (2) Mortality at nearly the same level as fertility on the average, but fluctuating much more from (3) Little, if any, long range natural increase or decrease	PHASE 1 – the Premodern Society (1) Little genuine residential migration and only such limited circulation as is sanctioned by cusmary practice in land utilisation, social visits, commerce, welfare, or religious observances
PHASE B – The Early Transition Society (1) Slight, but significant, rise in fertility, which Then remains fairly constant at a high level (2) Rapid decline in mortality (3) A relatively rapid rate of natural increase and thus a major growth in size of population	PHASE II – The Early Transitional Society (1) Massive movement from countryside to cities, old and new (2) Significant movement of rural folk to colonization frontiers, if land suitable for pioneering is available within country (3) Major outflows of emigration to available and attractive foreign destinations (4) Under certain circumstances, a small, but significant, immigration of skilled workers, technicians, and professionals from more advanced parts of the world (5) Significant growth in various kinds of circulation
PHASE C – The late Transitional Society (1) A major decline in fertility, initially rather slight and slow, later quite rapid, until another slow down occurs as fertility approaches mortality level (2) A continuing, but slackening, decline in mortality (3) A significant, but decelerating, natural increase, at rates well below those observed during Phase B	PHASE III – The Late Transitional Society (1) Slackening, but still major, movement from countryside to city (2) Lessening flow of migrants to colonization frontiers (3) Emigration on the decline or may have ceased altogether (4) Further increases in circulation, with growth in structural complexity
PHASE d – The Advanced Society (1) The decline in fertility has terminated, and a socially controlled fertility oscillates rather unpredictably at low to moderate levels (2) Mortality is stabilized at levels near or slightly below fertility with little year-to-year variability	PHASE IV – The Advanced Society (1) Residential mobility has leveled off and oscillates at a high level (2) Movement from countryside to city continues but is further reduced in absolute and relative terms (3) Vigrous movement of migrants from city

(3) There is either a slight to moderate rate of natural increase or none at al

to city and within individual urban agglomerations

(4) If a settlement frontier has persisted, it is now stagnant or actually retreating
(5) Significant net immigration of unskilled and semiskilled workers from relatively underdeveloped lands
(6) There may be a significant international migration or circulation of skilled professional persons, but direction and volume of flow depend on specific conditions
(7) Vigrous accelerating circulation, particulary the economic and pleasure-oriented, but other varieties as well

PHASE E – a Future Superadvanced Society
(1) No plausible predictions of fertility behaviour are available, but it is likely that births will be more carefully controlled by individuals—and perhaps by new sociopolitical means
(2) A stable mortality pattern slightly below present levels seems likely, unless organic diseases are contrlled and lifespan is greatly extended

PHASE V – A Future Superadvanced Society
(1) There may be a decline in level of residential migration and a deceleration in some forms of circulation as better communication and delivery system are instituted
(2) Nearly all residential migration may be of the interurban and intraurban variety
(3) Some further immigration of relatively unskilled labour from less developed areas is possible
(4) Further acceleration in some current forms of circulation and perhaps the inception of new forms
(5) Strict political control of internal as well as international movements may be imposed

Reproduced from: Zelinsky, W., (1971). "The hypothesis of the mobility transition". The Geographical Review, Vol. 61: 219-249. Page 230-31.

APPENDIX 4

Table 1 *How epistemology informs, rather than precludes, methodological strategy : Examples from migration studies*

Research Tradition	Objectives	Migration Example	Methods and Application			
			Survey/Questionnaire	Interview	Fieldwork	Nonreactive
Positivist	Establish empirical regularities which are assumed to be of general (universal) significance	(Patterns, Reasons for, and Outcomes arising from) Counter urbanisation from SMSAs	**Mathematical modelling of census migration data to provide a national overview and trend projection.**	Content analysis of responses to a structured interview to establish why households decided to migrate	Fieldwork survey in urban fringe to identify suitable sites for 'migrant' residential developments	Comparative systematic analysis of migrant and non-migrant children's writing about what they like most about their (new) home.
Humanistic	Valorise human experience and seek to understand the meaning, value and human significance of events	'Return' migration of 'American' Jewish families to Israel	Detailed social attitudes questionnaire to establish and understand the personal context of (non-functional reasons for) this migration	In-depth interview to explore the meaning of this migration experience to each individual migrant	**Ethnographic, participant observation to share the emotions, experiences and significance of this particular migration**	Analysis of reported accounts (autobiography, speeches, magazine articles) of return migration, to situate the personal significance of the act in its wider socio-political context.
Realist	Identify the structures which generate outcomes via mechanisms (necessary causal powers) under specific contingent conditions	Migration associated with decentralisation of Government departments from London to other parts of Britain	Expansion method data modelling which, being attentive to context, enables the specificities of each department's migration to be isolated from the general experience.	**In-depth interview with senior civil servants to uncover the underlying processes behind these departmental migrations**	Participant observation within the circle of decision-makers to establish the processes which contrive to produce the resultant migration.	Interpretation of a series of internal Departmental briefing papers to chart the temporal development (life course) of the processes at work.
(Feminist) Standpoint Theory	Knowledge is socially constructed. Establish a successor science in which unprivileged knowledge (i.e. women's) is recognised and valorised	Migration experiences of women partners (of) male company executives	Implementation of a survey, designed by women using their (familiar) language to generate an overview of migration experiences that they collectively deem to be important.	**Focus group interview to share and rationalise migration experiences among the group**	Unobtrusive observation of family processes involved in these migrations, undertaken while fulfilling a service sector function (removals, estate agency house search, mortgage lender, etc.)	Interpretation of experiences contained with letters commissioned for a women's journal on the subject of 'Me and my partner on the move'
Postmodernist	Establish that the *multiple* positioning of the author (or reader) has influenced the production (or interpretation) of the narrative	Migration of elite 'third world' women	Log-linear modelling of migration data to estimate the significance of different 'positions' on the propensity to migrate.	In-depth interview with the women to 'unpack' their rationalisations of their migrations	Unobtrusive access to migrant's experiences via a service function (e.g. labour market consultant, removal contractor)	**Unpack autobiographies, personal journals and/or letters of migrants which discuss the migration experience.**

Source: McKendrick, J.H., (1999). "Multi-method research: an introduction to its application in Professional Geographer 51(1) p. 45

APPENDIX 5

MOBILITY REGISTER SHEET: FIELD STUDY 2OOO – KARAGWE

Village/Kijiji/Echaro.....Crossing point/Kivuko/Echambu.....

Ward/Tarafa.....

Date/Tarehe/Ebiro..... Month/Mwezi/Okwezi.....

Name of household/Nyumba/Eka ya:.....

Date	No. of visitors	Origin	Motive of visit	Duration	Relationship	Description
	Idadi ya wageni Orubara	Wanapotoka Oburugo	Madhumuni Echijenderero	muda omwanya	Uhusiano Obuzare	Maelezo kushoborora

Recorder's name/Mtunza kumbukumbu/Omuhandichi w'okubara.....

Signature/Sahihi/Echinkumu.....

Please use the following words to describe movement: (Tumia mojawapo ya maneno haya kuelezea madhumuni ya safari)(Shobolora n'echigambo chimwe orujendo norwenchi omulyebi): *okusyara, okuzinduka, okuganuza, okutayaya, okutaha, okubura, okutuntumuka, okusabara, anga okufuruka.*

APPENDIX 6

Table 4.1 **Adjusted sample size of the study: population of wards and villages studied 2000**

Ward Population	Population	Villages Selected	Household	Banyambo h'holds	B'rwanda h'holds	B'nkole h'holds	interviewed
Kaisho/Murongo	94,680*	5	16	3	9	4	32
Bugene/Nyaishozi	86,320	3	15	3	6	6	30
Nyabiyonza	50,230	2	13	3	8	2	12
Kituntu/Mabira	61,270	2	6	1	3	2	12
TOTAL	292,600	14	50	10	26	14	85

Source: Field notes 2000.

Population figures given by Ward Secretaries.

APPENDIX 7

A RECONSTRUCTED CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS IN KARAGWE AND KINGS

DATE	EVENTS
1350 ca	Bunyoro-Ktara Empire under the Bahima/Bachwezi flourishes
1400	Lwoo-Babito invasion of Bunyoro-Kitara Empire. Emperor Wamala flees the Empire leaving a vacant throne Young Ruhinda – son of last Emperor unable to flee grows up under the Lwoo-Babito rule.
1440	Ruhinda reorganises his forces, heads for the southern kingdoms of Ankole and Karagwe. Conquers Ankole and ascends to the throne.
1450	Ruhinda conquers Karagwe and ascends to the throne of King Nono.
1450-1490	Ruhinda subdues southern states of Gishaka, Busubi, Buzinza, Kyamutwara and other Buhaya states. He appoints his sons (princes) to govern the territories.
1490	King Ruhinda Kizara Bagabe (father of kings) dies. He is succeeded by his son Ntare I and other princes become kings in their princedoms.
1520	Ruhinda II succeeds his father King Ntare I as king of Karagwe.
1550-1749	About five to eight kings reign in Karagwe under the names of Ntare and Ruhinda. Period of calm and prosperity in the

	kingdom. More intermarriages and local movements.
1775	King Ntare V (Kiitabanyoro) regains his throne by defeating the invading Banyoro.
	He is followed by about two kings there after and peace
1820	King Ndagara I forecasts the coming of the Whitemen and their superior powers.
	Prosperity in Karagwe – himself being a blacksmith makes spears, royal iron stools and many articles of the royal armoury.
1853	King Rumanyika Orugundu (the great) ascends to the throne
1856	Rumanyika Orugundu receives Speke the explorer and provides him an escort to the interior
1883-1916	Unstable period in Karagwe under the regency of Kaketo and Kakoko. Unjust rule and many Banyambo escape to neighbouring kingdoms for safety. Acceleration of intermarriages and movements among the people
1916	King Rumanyika II succeeds to the throne in Karagwe – prosperity and calm, return of people and more local movements
1919 May	Rwanda comes under Belgian rule following the defeat of Germany in World War I. Belgian missionaries make converts
1934	The Milner Oates Agreement between Belgium and Britain on a new border – Karagwe loses part of its territory of Gishaka to Rwanda
1939	King Rumanyika II is accused of insubordination to British rule. He is exiled first in Ukerewe Islands of Lake Victoria. Finally as compromise he is exiled in Ankole. King Ruhinda B.I VII is crowed new king of Karagwe.

1961	Tanganyika becomes an independent state and republic
1962	Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda attain independence
1963	Tanganyika Government abolishes chieftaincy under the republican constitution
	First civil strife in Rwanda – influx of refugees to Tanzania
1964	Tanganyika and Zanzibar form union to become Tanzania
1964-1996	Relative stability in Rwanda to be followed by the massacres/genocide a year later

APPENDIX 8

While long ago Hutus and Tutsis had different genetic pools, similar lifestyles and intermarriage promoted genetic resemblance over time.

Just as physical characteristics are an unreliable guide for identifying individuals as Hutu [agriculturalists] or Tutsi [pastoralists] in Rwanda and Burundi, so too is geography. In neither country is there a particular region which can be described as a historical Hutu or Tutsi homeland. Of course, there are sections in both Rwanda and Burundi in which one group is more prominent. In Rwanda, for example, about 45 percent of Tutsi inhabit a region in the centre of the country around Nyabisindu, which was once the seat of power of the Tutsi monarchy.

Turning to the question of language, this attribute again fails to divide Hutus and Tutsis within the two countries. Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda both speak Kinyarwanda, which is closely related to the language spoken by the Tutsi and Hutu of Burundi, namely Kirundi. Other aspects of culture, such as dance and music, are also shared by the two groups.

In short, if one accepts the standard definition of a tribe as "a territorially bounded and culturally discrete entity," then the Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda and Burundi are quite clearly not different tribes. On the other hand, while the media's use of the phrase 'tribal warfare' may be uninformed, it is true that in both countries the two groups perceive themselves as distinct and competitive.

Source: Dravis M., (2001) "Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi"
http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/burundi.htm

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