

The resistance councils in Uganda

a study of rural politics and popular democracy in Africa

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The Resistance Councils in Uganda

A Study of Rural Politics and Popular Democracy in Africa

Volume II: Annexes

**PhD Dissertation by
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List of Appendices

| | |
|---|-----------|
| APPENDIX 1: FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY..... | 1 |
| APPENDIX 2:CENSUS DATA ON ETHNICITY IN CENTRAL UGANDA (BUGANDA) 1931-1991 | 6 |
| APPENDIX 3: TWO VILLAGE SURVEYS ON PARTICIPATION IN RC POLITICS..... | 8 |
| APPENDIX 4: SPSS TABLES FROM VILLAGE SURVEYS..... | 20 |
| APPENDIX 5: BUDGETS AND ACCOUNTS FOR LUWERO DISTRICT 1988-92 | 57 |
| APPENDIX 6: LIST OF TAPED INTERVIEWS..... | 60 |

Appendix 1: Fieldwork Methodology

In chapters one and two I have with reference to my methodology stressed two points:

1. The need for a historical approach. The evolution of the RCs needs to be linked to the history of the rural governing institutions. Their history remains in itself rather obscure; un-researched and probably with great local variance.
2. The need for listening to rural voices in order to get to peasant perceptions of events and institutions.

This appendix will outline how these intentions practically have been reflected within fieldwork methodology.

The validity of ethnography can according to Sanjek (1990) be assessed according to three canons: "theoretical candour, the ethnographer's path and fieldnote evidence"¹. My choices of theories at a more general level were discussed in chapter one. Middle range theories concerning such issues as rural mobilisation during guerrilla struggles, the character of rural stratification in Buganda represent other theoretical choices that I discuss in the particular chapters concerned. In this appendix I present a sort of sketchmap of the fieldwork experience and some problems of fieldnote evidence.

1. Choice of Areas and some problems of participant observation

Luwero and Mukono were early in the project planning phase selected as sites for fieldwork. The reasons were three: (1) the origin of the RCs during the guerrilla war in Luwero as opposed to the introduction of RCs in Mukono as part of a local government reform (2) the availability of earlier studies of local institutions particularly in this area - the former Buganda kingdom, and (3) the possibility of using elements of participant observation as a research strategy while still conducting fieldwork in more than one locality. Luwero had to be included in the study if I wanted to study the war and Mukono was chosen as one of the many possible comparative areas within Buganda because I had some earlier contacts and knowledge of the area from my work there 1989-90 as a sociologist on a water project.

The choice of the two particular villages where I lived followed slightly different paths. In Luwero I wanted to work in an area formerly under guerrilla control. Thus it had to be west of the Gulu road and river Lugogo. From my preliminary readings it appeared (Ddungu 1989) that Nakaseke subcounty would be most suitable. Here I found the home of Jajja Kaliika, the grandmother of my research assistant, very pleasant and ended up staying here on off for the six months I worked in this area. Housing is not easy to find within Nakaseke subcounty and I was lucky to be able to get a room of my own in the house of Kaliika. The house represented one of the rare examples of surviving brick walls and iron roofs in Nakaseke. Water could be collected from the handpump two miles away and kerosene lamps provided lights for night reading and

¹ Sanjek 1990 p.395.

writings.

Kamira in Mukono was chosen in quite a different way. Initially I had actually chosen to work in another part of Mukono (Nakisunga subcounty) and had actually gone so far that I had an election study carried out here in February-March 1992 by a research assistant. But after re-reading *Community of Strangers* by Robertson (1978) and having visited Kamira I decided to change field site in Mukono. Robertson gives a very personal and detailed description of his fieldwork in two villages carried out in Mukono 1965-66; especially Kamira village. His book includes photos and names of the informants and is extremely rich on personal characteristics just as a number of very unique observations of village communities are given. When I arrived in Kamira I soon realized that it was the "right thing": I met a number of the people described so sensitively by Robertson and they were all quite excited about the fact that I knew so much about them because of the book of Robertson. No other researchers have worked there since 1966 which otherwise might have somehow "skewed" the village. People were of course very excited to read about themselves and about their community in the copies that I brought with me. The book also helped to explain what (my) social science research is all about. First of all, the book gave me an opportunity to investigate political changes at community level in a longer (25 years) perspective.

I found accommodation in the neighbouring RC1 - close enough for me to walk to Kamira and to receive guests from there as my visitors. Kamira offered me many differences compared to Namasujju - as discussed particularly in chapter five.

My thoughts about where to stay reflected in a very manifest way some problems of mine concerning the use of participant observation. By participant observation I understand a strategy, rather than a method, whereby the researcher becomes accepted and trusted within the community or organisation of study². This enables the researcher to use a variety of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods like attending council meetings, getting access to minutes and files, conducting interviews of different kinds just as even a very formalised questionnaire survey can be better designed and conducted after a period of participant observation. Living within the community studied and learning the local language are two of the basic elements of participant observation within good anthropology. Even though I only partially fulfilled these conditions, then I am convinced that my very attempts at least improved upon my access to information and intuitive understanding of the communities.

The choice of residence is often a crucial part of participant observation, but since I studied the Resistance Councils that as institutions exist from village to district level then it was not evident where to stay in order to gain confidence through daily interaction. My stay in the two villages enabled me to view the Resistance Councils at higher level from below; how the District council for instance is experienced in day to day politics at village level. But I did not at the same time have the opportunity to get into the daily politics of the RCs at district level itself. Most of my interviews at district level also appeared a lot more circumscribed and formal; I felt that I to a much larger extent was a stranger at the district headquarters than in the two villages. However, that might naturally also be the outcome of the rather different power relations at this level between me the researcher and the informants³.

² This follows: Bernard, Russell 1988: *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Sage Publications.

³ See for instance the discussion of Ken Wilson 1993, p 191 on "asymmetric

Learning the local language, Luganda, is essentially a question of priorities: how much would my understanding of the RCs improve through knowledge of the language and how much information would I miss by spending time and resources learning the language rather than for instance get on with the interviews⁴. When I worked in Uganda on a water project in 1989 I started learning some Luganda at Makerere University at the language department. My time as a consultant on a large government water project was scarce and Luganda only spoken as the first language in one of the seven districts where the project was implemented so it was difficult to maintain the studies. Another hampering factor was the virtual lack of language learning material even within department of languages at Makerere. As I prepared for fieldwork in 1990 I got access to some dictionaries and a grammar during a visit to SOAS in London. In the early stage of my subsequent research in Uganda I had daily language lessons at Makerere for some three months during which I also did some library and archival research in Kampala. Still I had no illusions that I would ever be able to work entirely in Luganda and planned for the use of interpreters. My research had for funding reasons to be planned within a three year period and the 15 months of fieldwork in Uganda out of a total of 36 months of project time was already considered to be on the high side. Only the first three months of my stay did I spend considerable time on systematic language studies. Consequently my language skills never became more than rather rudimentary.

The above description of the extent and limits of my participant observation strategy hopefully gives the reader some clue to the conditions of fieldwork although this not necessarily tells anything about the exact consequences for the analysis. The analysis can only be evaluated in comparison with earlier and later works - the extent to which convincing arguments are made for new propositions. Thus it is in itself not interesting that I probably would have made a better study if I had been fluent in Luganda or spent longer time in the field until this is demonstrated to have been reflected in specific misinterpretations or oversights.

2. Rural Voices

Semi-structured interviews, daily conversations as well as songs constitute my material referred to as "rural voices". I was most conscious about the semi-structured interviews. They were all carried out with a base in either Namasujju or Kamira villages, but less than half of the some 100 interviews were carried out within these villages. Particular in Namasujju (Luwero) I tried to find knowledgeable informants to tell about the war and this brought me far around in three different subcounties within Luwero district: Kapeka, Semuto and Nakaseke subcounties. Also I wanted to get the view of representatives from the different levels of the RC system: from parish, subcounty and district level, just as I interviewed civil servants at various levels. A bit more than half of these interviews were taped and later transcribed and translated by a research assistant. Especially higher ranking RCs as well as a number of civil servants preferred not to have the interviews taped. Thus the bulk of the interviews taped are with peasant informants.

The informants were selected in order to get the view of a broad range of rural residents in Luwero and Mukono in order to offset any bias from the composition of informants. The criteria

friendships" and why fieldworkers so often feel they easily get friends among poor rural people.

⁴ See for instance Stephen Devereux 1993, p.43.

applied were gender, age, ethnicity, class and party affiliation. Still these voices are biased as the male elder established peasants were the most vocal in both interviews and songs.

Within each village I had some close friends I would meet daily with whom I would discuss events of the day and the interviews I might have conducted out of the village. Similarly, I would regularly have their views upon my preliminary "conclusions" as I went about. In Kamira I especially owe a lot to John Kalyowa and in Namasujju to Jajja Kaliika in whose house I lived and her son John Kaliika. As they obviously formed my understanding of many events I better briefly give their background. They are clearly part of what I term the village establishment: they are born in the villages, they own land, they head their households, both men have spent time as RC1 executives and both regards income and education they are all above average of their villages. Kalyowa is a Musoga and Catholic whereas the Kaliika family is Baganda and Protestant. In this sense I recognised their views as "biased". But what mattered to me was foremost that I felt we trusted each other and that they were solid insiders, who's friendship did not prevent me from getting other points of view. Their above average education also allowed them to be more observant, reflective and articulate. These were also the first people that I looked up upon my return in August-September 1993 when I spent one month in Uganda reporting back and discussing my preliminary results in the villages, at district level and at University etc.

Ethical considerations concerning protection of informants represent particular problems of the use of rural voices in data collection and representation. Horrifying examples can be found of how informants have become damaged through careless use of their information and names by the researcher. On the other hand, hiding villages and informants as X, Y and Z makes it very difficult to criticize certain research findings or at least to cross check data themselves. Occasionally it can also add to the boredom of reading the report or more seriously send a misleading picture of generalities and objectivity hiding the context of the phenomena researched.

During fieldwork my informants generally made it clear to me that confidentiality was directly unwanted. They were proud of the histories and of being part of a research project. The copies of the book of Robertson that he sent back to Kamira through me no doubt contributed to their desire of being included in another book. However Robertson (1978) in spite of somehow dealing with political institutions is foremost a story of his personal experience of his fieldwork as a young man in the area; how he made friends, of small character descriptions of individuals and - most celebrated in Kamira - lots of portrait photos.

Kamira and Namasujju villages are the real names of the villages where I lived during fieldwork. The names of the informants have generally been hidden in the text. Instead I generally refer to the number of the informant and in appendix six give a short characteristic of all the informants that had their interviews taped. Higher ranking politicians and civil servants often requested anonymity and this is of course respected throughout. The present form hopefully represents the best compromise between protecting informants and enabling the ethnographic data to speak for itself as well as being checked.

3. The Village Surveys

As part of my field work I conducted a questionnaire survey in the two villages Namasujju and

Kamira. The questionnaire survey served two purposes:

The questionnaire itself as well as details of the methodology and analysis are reproduced in appendix three and four. The surveys are censuses involving all adults in the two villages - some five hundred altogether.

The data are not samples of villages in central Uganda - not to speak of Uganda as a whole. What is represented here are two case studies from villages in Central Uganda. This kind of survey was foremost decided upon because of my concern with differences of participation in RC politics between different groups within village communities. This kind of survey also enabled me to get basic quantitative data from the villages where I carried out other forms of data collection. It would then be easier for me to interpret the data, just as I through my stay and interaction with people got a better relationship with people that would allow for more honest answers and higher rate of response. Finally, a research design with a real sampling would have caused immense logistical problems. An arrangement with stratified sampling would under no circumstances have been avoided.

4. The District and High RC Politics

Politics at the higher levels of the RCs were to a large extent analyzed as experienced from village level. However, the elections, council meetings at RC3 and RC5 level and court proceedings at RC3 level gave an opportunity of direct observations. Otherwise district files in both Mukono and Luwero gave a reasonable skeleton for subsequent semi structured interviews with civil servants and politicians at district level. The interviews were only occasional taped, but all conducted in English. This obviously eased the dialogue, but still many of these interviews were more formal and circumscribed than the better interviews in the villages - obviously because I did not achieve the same kind of rapport here through participant observation. Two district politicians remained though exceptions and much at district level is admittedly seen through their eyes.

Two large official conferences in Uganda also gave insights into the different perceptions of the role of actors and institutions. Thus I benefited greatly from the Annual Conference of the Ministry of Local Government and its decentralization workshop in 1992 where the Decentralisation Policy was launched as well as the Regional Conference on Local Self Governance in 1993 where especially the political debate concerning "Traditional Rulers" and the questions of federalism were raised.

Appendix 2: Census data on Ethnicity in Central Uganda (Buganda) 1931-1991

The administrative boundaries have kept changing in Uganda, which makes it somehow difficult to follow the changes of population in different regions and localities. The post-independence governments have also in a number of cases decided not to include data on ethnic identities in attempts of de-ethnizing politics. The censuses have also been heavily politicised as election constituencies have been based upon data from these. Nevertheless the data below give some clue to the very drastic changes of the population and its ethnic composition over the years.

| County or district / census year | 1931 | 1948 | 1959 | 1969 | 1980 | 1991 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Bulemezi , total population (1,000's) | 107 | 158 | 218 | 268 | 339 | 349 |
| - % Baganda | 87 | 63 | 54 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| - % Banyarwanda, Rundi | 1 | 9 | 17 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Bugerere , total population (1,000's) | 10 | 21 | 88 | 163 | 195 | 236 |
| - % Baganda | 89 | 58 | 35 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| - % Banyarwanda, Rundi | 0 | 4 | 11 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Luwero , total population (1,000's) | 132 | 176 | 242 | | 412 | 450 |
| - % Baganda | 88 | 65 | 55 | n.a. | n.a. | 54% |
| - % Banyarwanda, Rundi | 1 | 8 | 16 | n.a. | n.a. | 12% |
| Mukono , total population (1,000's) | 130 | 232 | 365 | | 634 | 825 |
| - % Baganda | 79 | 55 | 46 | n.a. | n.a. | 52 |
| - % Banyarwanda, Rundi | 2 | 15 | 17 | n.a. | n.a. | 8 |

Bulemezi county is used as an unit in the 1931, 1948, 1959 and 1969 censuses. For 1980 census I sum Nakaseke and Katikamu and Wabusana counties. Bugerere County was in the 1980 and 1991 censuses composed by Ntenjeru and Bbaale counties.

Luwero and Mukono existed only as districts in the 1980 and 1991 censuses. In 1969 they formed East Mengo district. I have reconstructed the population of these districts by adding the figures for Kyaggwe, Buvuma and Bugerere counties in order to get the populations for Mukono

before 1980 and adding the figures for Bulemezi and Buruli counties in order to get the population for Luwero before 1980.

The table above is composed from this material:

1. East African Statistical Department 1960: Uganda African Census 1959. Tribal Analysis vol ii (part i).

2. Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (March 1973): Report on the 1969 Census.

On page one of Vol III it reads: "... information on tribe... will be included in Vol IV". That volume was never published, as Richards (1982, p.30) noted: "...ethnic affiliation were not recorded in the 1969 census".

3. Republic of Uganda: Report on the 1980 Population Census Vol I: The Provisional Results by Administrative Areas. (Census Office, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. Published with assistance from UNICEF, Uganda, September 1982.) Nothing else apparently ever got published from this census.

In Report of the Electoral Commission 1980 (Uganda. June 1989). Office of the Electoral Commission), p 11 it is mentioned: "In the process of demarcating constituency boundaries.....The statistical and demographic data used were those of the 1980 Population census published by the Census Office as provisional figures".

4. The 1931 and 1948 census as summarized in J.M. Fortt: "The Distribution of The Immigrant and Ganda Population within Buganda" in Richards et al 1954. Detailed statistics only on Baganda, Banyarwanda and Barundi. Some figures on the "Baluuu" mentioned in the text.

Appendix 3: Two Village Surveys on Participation in RC Politics

1. Objectives of Study

As part of my fieldwork on the RC system in Uganda I conducted a questionnaire survey in two villages in Uganda: Namasujju and Kamira villages. The questionnaire survey served two purposes:

(1) *to collect basic quantitative socio-economic data on the two villages I lived in while conducting other forms of data collection on the RC system: various qualitative semi-structured interviews, observations of elections, participant observation in RC meetings, RC courts, Magistrate courts etc. The profile that I got would enable me to compare the two villages with averages from surveys and censuses and thus give me some guidelines to whether the villages in certain respects could be said to be "typical".*

(2) *to collect quantitative data on the level of participation in the RC system as well as seek to establish correlations between various levels of participation and socio-economic characteristics.*

2. Methodology

(a) Research Context and Selection of Villages

I stayed for some six months in Namasujju and three months in Kamira village. Namasujju is located in Nakaseke Sub County in Luwero district. I used this village as my base while I was travelling through the sub county as well as through Kapeeka and Semuto sub counties collecting stories about how the RC system developed through the war and how different people perceived the system. In the same period I attended the 1992 RC elections in Luwero district just as I attended RC meetings and court cases at different levels etc. The village Namasujju was chosen for practical reasons: I was looking for a base in the area of Luwero that was "liberated" by the NRA during the 1981-85 war. In Namasujju I met the grandmother of Juliet, my research assistant, "Jajja Kaliika", who received me very warm-heartedly and I soon felt quite at home in her house; she gave me a room of my own in her house and her son John, who spoke a perfect English, was quite delighted to have a foreign visitor to entertain.

Kamira village was chosen in quite a different way: I wanted do some research on the RCs outside the areas where they developed through the war. I furthermore had decided to stick to the central part of Uganda for two reasons: I would prefer to work in a local community where I could use some of my recently acquired Luganda (however inadequate it was) and, as the history of local administration and politics is much better described for the central part of Uganda than for the rest of the country, this would help me in analysing the changes brought about by the RC system at the local level.

By the end of my fieldwork in Luwero I re-read "Community of Strangers" by Robertson. I decided to look for one of the villages - Kamira - where he had been working in 1965-66. When I arrived in Kamira I soon realized that it was the "right thing": I met a number of the people

described so sensitively by Robertson and they were all quite excited about the fact that I knew so much about them because of the book of Robertson. No other researchers have worked there since 1966 which otherwise might have somehow "skewed" the village. People were of course very excited to read about themselves and about their community in the copy that I brought with me. The book also helped to explain what (my) social science research is all about. First of all, the book gave me an opportunity to investigate political changes at community level in a longer (25 years) perspective.

I found accommodation in the neighbouring RC1 - close enough for me to walk to Kamira and to receive guests from there as my visitors. Kamira offered me many differences compared to Namasujju, some of which are described more in details below.

(b) The Questionnaire

The questionnaire itself is reproduced as the last part of this appendix.

I tried to keep it as short as possible - and each interview could actually be conducted within approximately 15-20 minutes. Essentially I was looking into three different things:

(1) Questions concerning the "socio-economic" background of the respondents: various indicators of economic status, information on religion, ethnicity, clan, age, gender and years of residence in the village.

(2) Questions concerning participation in RC politics: participation in meetings, in the election, and knowledge about RCs.

(3) Questions concerning who people thought was "most important" asked in a way similar to older surveys from the sixties in the same areas.

The interviews were carried out by myself, my research assistant Juliet Kiguli from Makerere University (MISR), Douglas Kaliika from Namasujju and John Kalyowa from Kamira. I thank them all for the hard work they did, just as I am of course grateful to everyone in Kamira and Namasujju who took time to answer our questions.

(c) No Sampling - Some Consequences

The adult population of Namasujju is 117 persons. 113 persons was interviewed - a response rate of 97%.

The adult population of Kamira is 370 persons and 353 persons was interviewed. 2 persons were too mentally disturbed to be interviewed and we failed to interview" the remaining 15 persons; a response rate of 96%.

The adult population of Namasujju is so low that it wasn't worthwhile to make a sample. The adult population of Kamira was however sufficiently high to justify sampling. Looking back I would consider it to be a mistake that sampling wasn't done in Kamira. The reasons for not sampling in Kamira were partly an underestimation of the work involved and partly the difficulties encountered in the construction of a proper sampling frame. Neither the chiefs, nor the RCs, nor any other administrators have any list of residents. RCs and chiefs have a list of taxpayers and assisted me with the "skeleton" for what could be a sampling frame. However, the only way to get a proper sampling frame would be to visit each and every home and ask about the numbers of residents. As the questionnaire itself is very short - the interview can be conducted in 15 minutes - we thought that it wouldn't take up that many more resources to try to interview *all* then.

Thus the questionnaire survey is essentially a census: no sampling took place. This gives us a very high accuracy - at least we can tell that "65% of villagers in Namasujju told us in the questionnaire survey that they were protestant" without any sampling errors - although this of course not necessarily means that "65% of villagers in Namasujju are protestants" etc.

The data are not samples of villages in central Uganda - not to speak of Uganda as a whole. What is represented here are two case studies from villages in Central Uganda. This kind of survey was foremost decided upon because of my concern with differences of participation in RC politics between different groups within village communities. This kind of survey also enabled me to get basic quantitative data from the villages where I carried out other forms of data collection. It would then be easier for me to interpret the data, just as I through my stay and interaction with people got a better relationship with people that would allow for more honest answers and higher rate of response. Finally, a research design with a real sampling would have caused immense logistical problems. An arrangement with stratified sampling would under no circumstances have been avoided.

Interestingly the fact that it this essentially is a two-case study with no sampling gave me some puzzles during the first step of data interpretation:

"To do or not do a test of significance - that's a question that divides men of good will and sound competence"⁵

Nie (1975) argues

"as with all tests of significance, chi-square is strictly applicable only for making

⁵ Robert F. Winch and Donald T. Campbell 1969: "Proof? No. Evidence? Yes". *The Significance of Tests of Significance. American Sociologist, Vol 4, pp.140-43.*

interferences from sample data to conditions of existing in the larger population. It is not appropriate when data from the entire population is at hand"⁶

Winch and Campbell quoted above disagree. As we in this study has no sample but a census, and if we hypothetically find that 54% of the Basoga are protestant whereas 60% of the Baganda are catholics, then we can conclude that the majority of Baganda are catholics and the majority of Basoga protestants. But is it a "real" difference? In conventional thinking it would not be appropriate to apply a test of significance. A test would normally inquire into the probability of whether a difference in a sample would have occurred in the whole population. But

.....we elect to phrase the question differently: If we assume the set to be homogeneous, what is the probability that dividing the set into two subsets on the basis of a variable of classification that makes no real difference would give a difference between subsample means as great as that observed? With this reasoning, there is every justification to run a test of significance⁷.

Thus, in the discussion of the data I will occasionally refer to whether results are "significant" in the sense referred to above⁸.

⁶ Norman H. Nie 1975: "SPSS Statistical Package for the Social Sciences" p. 224.

⁷ Winch and Donald T. Campbell 1969 op cit. p. 142-43.

⁸ In case of cross tabulations I used Chi square tests. I would call a difference "significant" if it is within 95% confidence level.

The Questionnaire: English version of the form used in Namasujju village:

+-----+
| Namasujju Household Survey |
+-----+

a. Household number _____,

b. Name of respondent: _____,

Interviewer _____, date: _____

Questionnaire checked by: _____, date _____

Questionnaire entered computer by: _____, date _____

Sex: Male / Female (draw a circle around the right answer)

No

yes

Q1. head of household

How many adults live in the household: _____

How many children live in the household: _____

Q2. In which year are you born: _____

Q3. Where were you born: _____

- if not in this village, then for how long have

you been living here? _____

Q4. educational level _____

Q5. What is your Main Occupation: _____

Q6: Do you have other jobs: _____

Q7: Do you work for other people:

No

yes: _____

Q8. How much land do you own _____ (acres)

Q9. What type of tenure: _____

Q10. Do you rent, lend or hire land (if yes how much)?

Q11. How much land do your household
cultivate? _____ (acres)

Q12. Which crops do you grow? _____

Q13. What is your most important crop for cash income?

_____.

Q14. How much cattle do yo own?:_____.

Q15. Do you hire labour? (within the last year)

No

yes

Q16. What is your religion: (draw a circle around the right answer)

protestant,

catholic

muslim

other: _____

Q17a. Do you support any particular party?

No

..... which? _____

yes

Q17b. Have you ever supported any particular party?

No

..... which? _____

yes

Q18. What is your ethnic group (draw a circle around the right answer):

muganda

musoga

munyawaranda

mukwakwa

munyankole

bagisu

other: _____

Q19. What is your clan (if any).....

On the Resistance Councils

Q20. Are you or have you ever been a member of an RC committee?

No

yes.....which pos/year: _____

Q21: How often have you attended RC meetings this year? _____

Q22: Did you participate in the last RC meeting?

yes

No, because: _____

Q23: Did you attend the RC election?

yes

no, because: _____

Q24: Did you nominate any candidate or did you speak during the RC election?

Yes

No, because: _____

Do you know who is your..... (TICK right answer)

| | Knows name of | Knows face of | Don't know |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| RC1 Chairman | | | |
| RC2 Chairman | | | |
| RC3 Chairman | | | |
| RC4 Chairman | | | |
| Your two C.M.'s | | | |
| RC5 Chairman | | | |
| Your M.P. | | | |

Who do you consider to be the two most important people in

- the VILLAGE?

_____ and _____

because: _____

- in the SUBCOUNTY?

_____ and _____

because: _____

- in the DISTRICT?

_____ and _____

because: _____

Who do you consider to be the two most important WOMEN in the village?

_____ and _____

because: _____

Appendix 4: SPSS Tables from Village Surveys

In this appendix, I present the SPSS tables referred to in the main report. If the table refer specifically to Namasujju village then the letter "a" will be attached. If the table refer specifically to Kamira a "b" will be attached.

In footnotes I refer to the specific SPSS commands used for the tabulations.

List of Tables

| | |
|--|----|
| TABLE 1: LANDHOLDING IN THE TWO VILLAGES | 22 |
| TABLE 2A: AGE AND LANDOWNERSHIP, NAMASUJJU (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS)..... | 23 |
| TABLE 2B: AGE AND LANDOWNERSHIP, KAMIRA (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS) | 23 |
| TABLE 3A: SEX AND LANDOWNERSHIP, NAMASUJJU: (<i>HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS</i>) | 24 |
| TABLE 3B: SEX AND LANDOWNERSHIP, KAMIRA: (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS)..... | 24 |
| TABLE 4A: AGE AND EDUCATION IN NAMASUJJU | 25 |
| TABLE 4B: AGE AND EDUCATION IN KAMIRA | 25 |
| TABLE 5 ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE TWO VILLAGES | 26 |
| TABLE 6. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN THE TWO VILLAGES | 27 |
| TABLE: 7B ETHNIC GROUP AND PARTY SUPPORT IN KAMIRA..... | 28 |
| TABLE 8A PREVIOUS PARTY SUPPORT AND RC MEMBERSHIP, NAMASUJJU | 29 |
| TABLE 8B PREVIOUS PARTY SUPPORT AND RC MEMBERSHIP, KAMIRA..... | 29 |
| TABLE 9A: ETHNICITY AND CLASS, NAMASUJJU | 30 |
| TABLE 9B: ETHNICITY AND CLASS, KAMIRA | 31 |
| TABLE 10A: ETHNICITY AND CLASS (BAGANDA), NAMASUJJU..... | 32 |
| TABLE 10B: ETHNICITY AND CLASS (BAGANDA), KAMIRA | 32 |
| TABLE 11A: ETHNICITY AND "WORKING CLASS", NAMASUJJU..... | 33 |
| TABLE 11B: ETHNICITY AND "WORKING CLASS", KAMIRA | 34 |
| TABLE 12A ETHNICITY AND USE OF LABOURERS, NAMASUJJU..... | 35 |
| TABLE 12B ETHNICITY AND USE OF LABOURERS, KAMIRA | 36 |
| TABLE 13A KNOWLEDGE OF RCs AND SEX OF RESPONDENT IN NAMASUJJU | 37 |
| TABLE 13B KNOWLEDGE OF RCs AND SEX OF RESPONDENT IN KAMIRA | 38 |
| TABLE 14B: BAGANDA AND NON BAGANDA WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION IN KAMIRA | 39 |
| TABLE 15A PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION AND SEX, NAMASUJJU | 40 |
| TABLE 15B PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION AND SEX, KAMIRA | 40 |
| TABLE 16A AGE AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCs IN NAMASUJJU | 41 |
| TABLE 16B AGE AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCs IN KAMIRA | 42 |
| TABLE 17A: AGE AND NUMBER OF RC MEETINGS ATTENDED, NAMASUJJU..... | 43 |
| TABLE 17B: AGE AND NUMBER OF RC MEETINGS ATTENDED, KAMIRA | 44 |
| TABLE 18A: AGE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE RC ELECTION, NAMASUJJU | 45 |
| TABLE 18B: AGE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE RC ELECTION, KAMIRA | 45 |
| TABLE 19A: AGE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LAST RC MEETING, NAMASUJJU..... | 46 |
| TABLE 19B: AGE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LAST RC MEETING, KAMIRA | 46 |
| TABLE 20A: CLASS AND NUMBER OF RC MEETINGS ATTENDED, HHS IN NAMASUJJU | 47 |
| TABLE 20B: CLASS AND NUMBER OF RC MEETINGS ATTENDED, HHS IN KAMIRA | 48 |
| TABLE 21A: CLASS AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCs, NAMASUJJU | 49 |
| TABLE 21B: CLASS AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCs, KAMIRA | 50 |
| TABLE 22A CLASS AND PARTICIPATION IN LAST RC MEETING, NAMASUJJU | 51 |
| TABLE 22B: CLASS AND PARTICIPATION IN LAST RC MEETING, KAMIRA..... | 51 |
| TABLE 23A: CLASS AND PARTICIPATION IN RC ELECTION, NAMASUJJU | 52 |
| TABLE 23B: CLASS AND PARTICIPATION IN RC ELECTION, KAMIRA | 52 |
| TABLE 24A: ETHNIC GROUP AND PARTICIPATION IN RC ELECTION, NAMASUJJU | 53 |

TABLE 24B: ETHNIC GROUP AND PARTICIPATION IN RC ELECTION, KAMIRA 54
TABLE 25A: ETHNIC GROUP AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCS, NAMASUJU..... 55
TABLE 25B: ETHNIC GROUP AND KNOWLEDGE OF RCS, KAMIRA 56

Table 1: landholding in the two villages

Crosstabulation: IDO Village
 By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|-------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| | Row Pct | landless | small P | Middle P | Big Frm | Total |
| IDO | | | | | | |
| | 1 | 11 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 |
| Namasujju | | 19.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 25.0 |
| | 2 | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 |
| Kangulumira | | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 75.0 |
| | Column | 74 | 105 | 39 | 14 | 232 |
| | Total | 31.9 | 45.3 | 16.8 | 6.0 | 100.0 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

The following SPSS commands was used for constructing the four classes of landholders: recode q8 (lowest thru 0.99 = 0) (1 thru 4.99 = 1) (5 thru 19.99 = 2) (20 thru highest = 3).

Table 2a: Age and landownership, Namasujju (Heads of Households)

Crosstabulation: Q2 **Age**
 By Q8 **Land ownership**

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|--------|---------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| | Row Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total |
| Q2 | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Young | 10 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 26 | |
| | 38.5 | 42.3 | 11.5 | 7.7 | 44.8 | |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Old | 1 | 9 | 15 | 7 | 32 | |
| | 3.1 | 28.1 | 46.9 | 21.9 | 55.2 | |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Column | 11 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 | |
| Total | 19.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 100.0 | |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 17.91242 | 3 | .0005 | 4.034 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 2b: Age and landownership, Kamira (Heads of households)

Cross tabulation: Q2 **Age**
 By Q8 **Land ownership**

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|--------|---------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| | Row Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total |
| Q2 | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Young | 32 | 44 | 8 | 1 | 85 | |
| | 37.6 | 51.8 | 9.4 | 1.2 | 48.9 | |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Old | 31 | 41 | 13 | 4 | 89 | |
| | 34.8 | 46.1 | 14.6 | 4.5 | 51.1 | |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Column | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 | |
| Total | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 | |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 3.02187 | 3 | .3883 | 2.443 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

The table was constructed with the following SPSS commands: recode q8 (lowest thru 0.99 = 0) (1 thru 4.99 = 1) (5 thru 19.99 = 2) (20 thru highest = 3). recode q2 (lowest thru 34.99 = 1) (35 thru highest = 2). select if (q1 eq 1). process if(ido eq 1). cross /tables q2 by q8/opt 3/stat 1.

As above, but with: process if (ido eq 2). cross /tables q2 by q8 / opt 3/stat 1.

Table 3a: Sex and landownership, Namasujju: (Heads of households)

Crosstabulation: *SEX* *Sex of respondent*
 By Q8 *Land ownership.*

| <i>Q8-></i> | <i>Count</i> | | | | | <i>Row</i> |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <i>Row Pct</i> | <i>.00</i> | <i>1.00</i> | <i>2.00</i> | <i>3.00</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| <i>SEX</i> | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| <i>f</i> | | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>11</i> |
| <i>Female</i> | | <i>18.2</i> | <i>27.3</i> | <i>36.4</i> | <i>18.2</i> | <i>19.0</i> |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| <i>m</i> | | <i>9</i> | <i>17</i> | <i>14</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>47</i> |
| <i>Male</i> | | <i>19.1</i> | <i>36.2</i> | <i>29.8</i> | <i>14.9</i> | <i>81.0</i> |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| | <i>Column</i> | <i>11</i> | <i>20</i> | <i>18</i> | <i>9</i> | <i>58</i> |
| | <i>Total</i> | <i>19.0</i> | <i>34.5</i> | <i>31.0</i> | <i>15.5</i> | <i>100.0</i> |

| <i>Chi-Square</i> | <i>D.F.</i> | <i>Significance</i> | <i>Min E.F.</i> |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ----- | | | |
| <i>.39537</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>.9412</i> | <i>1.707</i> |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 3b: Sex and landownership, Kamira: (Heads of Households)

Crosstabulation: *SEX* *Sex of respondent*
 By Q8 *Land ownership*

| <i>Q8-></i> | <i>Count</i> | | | | | <i>Row</i> |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <i>Row Pct</i> | <i>.00</i> | <i>1.00</i> | <i>2.00</i> | <i>3.00</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| <i>SEX</i> | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| <i>f</i> | | <i>17</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>34</i> |
| <i>Female</i> | | <i>50.0</i> | <i>35.3</i> | <i>8.8</i> | <i>5.9</i> | <i>19.5</i> |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| <i>m</i> | | <i>46</i> | <i>73</i> | <i>18</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>140</i> |
| <i>Male</i> | | <i>32.9</i> | <i>52.1</i> | <i>12.9</i> | <i>2.1</i> | <i>80.5</i> |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| | <i>Column</i> | <i>63</i> | <i>85</i> | <i>21</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>174</i> |
| | <i>Total</i> | <i>36.2</i> | <i>48.9</i> | <i>12.1</i> | <i>2.9</i> | <i>100.0</i> |

| <i>Chi-Square</i> | <i>D.F.</i> | <i>Significance</i> | <i>Min E.F.</i> |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ----- | | | |
| <i>5.51018</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>.1380</i> | <i>.977</i> |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

Table 4a: Age and Education in Namasujju

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q4      Educational Level
Count |          | P1      | S1      |
Q4->  Row Pct |          |          |          | Row
      |          | 0      | 1      | 8      | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+-----+
      1 |    12 |    37 |    17 |    66
      | 18.2 | 56.1 | 25.8 | 58.4
      +-----+-----+-----+
      2 |    15 |    22 |    10 |    47
      | 31.9 | 46.8 | 21.3 | 41.6
      +-----+-----+-----+
Column      27      59      27      113
Total      23.9     52.2     23.9     100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
      2.84752      2      .2408      11.230
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

Table 4b: Age and Education in Kamira

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q4      Educational Level
Count |          | P1      | S1      |
Q4->  Row Pct |          |          |          | Row
      |          | 0      | 1      | 8      | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+-----+
      1 |    38 |   146 |    35 |   219
      | 17.4 | 66.7 | 16.0 | 62.0
      +-----+-----+-----+
      2 |    66 |    53 |    15 |   134
      | 49.3 | 39.6 | 11.2 | 38.0
      +-----+-----+-----+
Column     104      199      50      353
Total     29.5     56.4     14.2     100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
     40.90509      2      .0000      18.980
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

SPSS commands: recode Q4 (0 = 0) (1 thru 7 = 1) (7.1 thru highest = 8).
 recode q2 (lowest thr 34.99 = 1) (35 thru highest = 2). process if (ido eq
 1).cross /tables q2 by q4 /opt 3/ stat 1.

SPSS commands: process if (ido eq 2). cross /tables q2 by q4 /opt 3/ stat
 1.

Table 5 Ethnic groups in the two villages

Cross tabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By IDO Village

| IDO-> | Count Col Pct | Namasujj Kangulum | | Row Total |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| | | u 1 | ira 2 | |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 78 | 98 | 176 |
| | | 69.0 | 27.8 | 37.8 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| | | 1.8 | 2.0 | 1.9 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| | | .9 | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| Musoga | 4 | 1 | 73 | 74 |
| | | .9 | 20.7 | 15.9 |
| Kakwa | 5 | | 4 | 4 |
| | | | 1.1 | .9 |
| Mugisu | 6 | | 134 | 134 |
| | | | 38.1 | 28.8 |
| Tanzanian | 7 | 16 | 1 | 17 |
| | | 14.2 | .3 | 3.7 |
| Murundi | 8 | 11 | 3 | 14 |
| | | 9.7 | .9 | 3.0 |
| Sudanese | 9 | | 2 | 2 |
| | | | .6 | .4 |
| other | 10 | 3 | 17 | 20 |
| | | 2.7 | 4.8 | 4.3 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| | | .9 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Column | | 113 | 352 | 465 |
| Total | | 24.3 | 75.7 | 100.0 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

Table 6. Religious affiliation in the two villages

Crosstabulation: Q16 Religion
By IDO Village

| IDO-> | Count | | Namasujj Kangulum | | Row |
|------------|--------|------|-------------------|------|-------|
| | Col | Pct | u | ira | |
| | | | 1 | 2 | |
| Q16 | | | | | |
| | 1 | | 57 | 160 | 217 |
| Protestant | | 50.4 | 45.3 | | 46.6 |
| | 2 | | 51 | 108 | 159 |
| Catholic | | 45.1 | 30.6 | | 34.1 |
| | 3 | | 1 | 78 | 79 |
| Muslim | | .9 | 22.1 | | 17.0 |
| | 4 | | | 4 | 4 |
| "Pagan" | | | | 1.1 | .9 |
| | 5 | | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Other | | 3.5 | .8 | | 1.5 |
| | Column | | 113 | 353 | 466 |
| | Total | | 24.2 | 75.8 | 100.0 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table: 7b Ethnic Group and Party Support in Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18
By Q17BW

| Q17BW-> | Count | UPC | DP | CP | KY | UPM | Row Total |
|--------------|-------|------|-------|----|----|-------|-----------|
| Q18 | 11 | 22 | 33 | 44 | 55 | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 3.7 | 18 | | 7 | 1 | 27 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | | 100.0 | 1 | | | 1.3 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | | 100.0 | 1 | | | 1.3 |
| Musoga | 4 | 21.4 | 64.3 | 9 | 2 | | 18.7 |
| Mugisu | 6 | 61.5 | 26.9 | 7 | 3 | | 34.7 |
| Murundi | 8 | | | | | 100.0 | 1.3 |
| other | 10 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 1 | 1 | | 4.0 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 50.0 | | | 1 | | 2.7 |
| Column Total | 22 | 29.3 | 49.3 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 75 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 89.21617 | 28 | .0000 | .013 |

Number of Missing Observations = 278

Table 8a Previous party support and RC membership, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q17B Have ever supported a party
 By Q20 Ever been a member of a RC

| Q20-> | Count | Yes | No | |
|------------|---------|--------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Q17B | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Yes | 1 | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| | | 54.5 | 45.5 | 19.5 |
| No | 2 | 15 | 76 | 91 |
| | | 16.5 | 83.5 | 80.5 |
| | Column | 27 | 86 | 113 |
| | Total | 23.9 | 76.1 | 100.0 |
| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | | Min E.F. |
| 12.09891 | 1 | .0005 | | 5.257 |
| 14.11439 | 1 | .0002 | | (Before Yates Correction) |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 8b Previous party support and RC membership, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q17B Have ever supported a party
 By Q20 Ever been a member of a RC

| Q20-> | Count | Yes | No | |
|------------|---------|--------------|------|-----------------------------|
| Q17B | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Yes | 1 | 16 | 59 | 75 |
| | | 21.3 | 78.7 | 21.4 |
| No | 2 | 17 | 258 | 275 |
| | | 6.2 | 93.8 | 78.6 |
| | Column | 33 | 317 | 350 |
| | Total | 9.4 | 90.6 | 100.0 |
| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | | Min E.F. |
| 14.11708 | 1 | .0002 | | 7.071 |
| 15.84167 | 1 | .0001 | | (Before Yates Correction) |

Number of Missing Observations = 3

I cross checked whether this was biased against the UPC in Kamira, but found that 22.7% of those who previously had supported the UPC have held a post as RC executive later. (KY is below the average, and DP slightly above).

process if (ido eq 1).cross /tables Q17B by Q20 /opt 3 / stat 1.

Table 9a: Ethnicity and Class, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q18 | Q8-> | Count | Row Pct | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Row Total |
|--------------|--------------|-------|---------|-------|------|------|-----------|
| Muganda | 1 | 7 | 16.3 | 14 | 13 | 9 | 43 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | | | 100.0 | | | 1 |
| Tanzanian | 7 | 1 | 12.5 | 3 | 4 | | 8 |
| Murundi | 8 | 2 | 50.0 | 1 | 1 | | 4 |
| other | 10 | 1 | 50.0 | 1 | | | 2 |
| | Column Total | 11 | 19.0 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 |
| | Row Total | | | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 10.18636 | 12 | .5996 | .155 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

SPSS Commands: select if (q1 eq 1). recode q8 (lowest thru 0.99 = 0) (1 thru 4.99 = 1) (5 thru 19.99 = 2) (20 thru highest = 3). process if (ido eq 1). cross q18 by q8 /opt 3 /stat 1.

Table 9b: Ethnicity and Class, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|--------------|---------|------|-------|------|------|-------|
| Q18 | Row Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total |
| Muganda | 1 | 12 | 23 | 9 | 4 | 48 |
| | | 25.0 | 47.9 | 18.8 | 8.3 | 27.6 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | 4 | 1 | | | 5 |
| | | 80.0 | 20.0 | | | 2.9 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | 3 |
| | | 66.7 | 33.3 | | | 1.7 |
| Musoga | 4 | 8 | 15 | 6 | | 29 |
| | | 27.6 | 51.7 | 20.7 | | 16.7 |
| Kakwa | 5 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | | | 100.0 | | | 1.1 |
| Mugisu | 6 | 31 | 30 | 5 | 1 | 67 |
| | | 46.3 | 44.8 | 7.5 | 1.5 | 38.5 |
| Tanzanian | 7 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | | | 100.0 | | | .6 |
| Murundi | 8 | 2 | 1 | | | 3 |
| | | 66.7 | 33.3 | | | 1.7 |
| Sudanese | 9 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | | | 100.0 | | | 1.1 |
| other | 10 | 4 | 6 | | | 10 |
| | | 40.0 | 60.0 | | | 5.7 |
| Mugwere | 11 | | 3 | 1 | | 4 |
| | | | 75.0 | 25.0 | | 2.3 |
| Column | | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 |
| Total | | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 32.09349 | 30 | .3632 | .029 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

Table 10a: Ethnicity and Class (Baganda), Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
 By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|---------|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Q18 | Row Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total |
| Muganda | 1 | 7 | 14 | 13 | 9 | 43 |
| | | 16.3 | 32.6 | 30.2 | 20.9 | 74.1 |
| other | 10 | 4 | 6 | 5 | | 15 |
| | | 26.7 | 40.0 | 33.3 | | 25.9 |
| Column | | 11 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 |
| Total | | 19.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 3.98529 | 3 | .2631 | 2.328 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 10b: Ethnicity and Class (Baganda), Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
 By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|---------|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Q18 | Row Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total |
| Muganda | 1 | 12 | 23 | 9 | 4 | 48 |
| | | 25.0 | 47.9 | 18.8 | 8.3 | 27.6 |
| other | 10 | 51 | 62 | 12 | 1 | 126 |
| | | 40.5 | 49.2 | 9.5 | .8 | 72.4 |
| Column | | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 |
| Total | | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 11.63888 | 3 | .0087 | 1.379 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

SPSS: recode q18 (1 = 1) (else = 10). process if (ido eq 1). cross q18 by q8 /opt 3 /stat 1.

Table 11a: Ethnicity and "working class", Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
 By Q7 Work as a laborer/porter

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|--------------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Q7-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 1 | 77 | 78 |
| | | 1.3 | 98.7 | 69.0 |
| "Foreigners" | 2 | 6 | 23 | 29 |
| | | 20.7 | 79.3 | 25.7 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | 100.0 | .9 |
| Musoga | 4 | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | 100.0 | .9 |
| other | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | | 66.7 | 33.3 | 2.7 |
| Mugwere | 11 | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | 100.0 | .9 |
| Column | | 9 | 104 | 113 |
| Total | | 8.0 | 92.0 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 25.52052 | 5 | .0001 | .080 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

SPSS: recode q18 (7,2,8 = 2). process if (ido eq 1). cross q18 by Q7 /opt 3 / stat 1.

Table 11b: Ethnicity and "working class", Kamira

Cross tabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q7 Work as a labourer/porter

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|--------------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Q7-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 5 | 91 | 96 |
| | | 5.2 | 94.8 | 27.7 |
| "Foreigners" | 2 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| | | 54.5 | 45.5 | 3.2 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| | | 20.0 | 80.0 | 1.4 |
| Musoga | 4 | 4 | 68 | 72 |
| | | 5.6 | 94.4 | 20.7 |
| Kakwa | 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | | 25.0 | 75.0 | 1.2 |
| Mugisu | 6 | 13 | 120 | 133 |
| | | 9.8 | 90.2 | 38.3 |
| Sudanese | 9 | | 2 | 2 |
| | | | 100.0 | .6 |
| other | 10 | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| | | 18.8 | 81.3 | 4.6 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| | | 12.5 | 87.5 | 2.3 |
| Column | | 34 | 313 | 347 |
| Total | | 9.8 | 90.2 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 32.04417 | 8 | .0001 | .196 |

Number of Missing Observations = 6

Table 12a Ethnicity and use of labourers, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q15 Hires labour

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|--------------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Q15-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 23 | 36 | 59 |
| | | 39.0 | 61.0 | 72.8 |
| "Foreigners" | 2 | 3 | 15 | 18 |
| | | 16.7 | 83.3 | 22.2 |
| other | 10 | | 3 | 3 |
| | | | 100.0 | 3.7 |
| Mugwere | 11 | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | 100.0 | 1.2 |
| Column | | 26 | 55 | 81 |
| Total | | 32.1 | 67.9 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 5.14062 | 3 | .1618 | .321 |

Number of Missing Observations = 32

Table 12b Ethnicity and use of labourers, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q15 Hires labour

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|--------------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Q15-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 18 | 39 | 57 |
| | | 31.6 | 68.4 | 26.9 |
| "Foreigners" | 2 | | 9 | 9 |
| | | | 100.0 | 4.2 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | | 4 | 4 |
| | | | 100.0 | 1.9 |
| Musoga | 4 | 6 | 38 | 44 |
| | | 13.6 | 86.4 | 20.8 |
| Kakwa | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | | 66.7 | 33.3 | 1.4 |
| Mugisu | 6 | 7 | 71 | 78 |
| | | 9.0 | 91.0 | 36.8 |
| Sudanese | 9 | | 2 | 2 |
| | | | 100.0 | .9 |
| other | 10 | | 10 | 10 |
| | | | 100.0 | 4.7 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| | | 40.0 | 60.0 | 2.4 |
| Column | | 35 | 177 | 212 |
| Total | | 16.5 | 83.5 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 25.28783 | 8 | .0014 | .330 |

Number of Missing Observations = 141

Table 13a Knowledge of RCs and Sex of respondent in Namasujju

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of SEX Sex of respondent

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|--------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 4.9009 | 3.5031 | 111 |
| SEX | f | Female | 3.6724 | 2.9163 | 58 |
| SEX | m | Male | 6.2453 | 3.6210 | 53 |

Total Cases = 113
Missing Cases = 2 OR 1.8 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of SEX Sex of respondent

| | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| | f | Female | 3.6724 | 2.9163 | 484.7759 | 58 |
| | m | Male | 6.2453 | 3.6210 | 681.8113 | 53 |
| Within Groups Total | | | 4.9009 | 3.2715 | 1166.5872 | 111 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|------|-------------|---------|
| Between Groups | 183.3227 | 1 | 183.3227 | 17.1287 |
| Within Groups | 1166.5872 | 109 | 10.7026 | |

Eta = .3685 Eta Squared = .1358

SPSS commands used: compute knowledge = rc1 + rc2 + rc3 + rc4 + rc5 + cm + mp. process if (ido eq 1). MEANS /TABLES knowledg by sex /stat 1.

Table 13b Knowledge of RCs and Sex of respondent in Kamira

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of SEX Sex of respondent

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|--------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 5.1700 | 3.5161 | 353 |
| SEX | f | Female | 3.5241 | 2.9463 | 187 |
| SEX | m | Male | 7.0241 | 3.1718 | 166 |
| Total Cases = | | 353 | | | |

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of SEX Sex of respondent

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|--------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| f | Female | 3.5241 | 2.9463 | 1614.6417 | 187 |
| m | Male | 7.0241 | 3.1718 | 1659.9036 | 166 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 5.1700 | 3.0544 | 3274.5453 | 353 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|------|-------------|----------|
| Between Groups | 1077.2564 | 1 | 1077.2564 | 115.4716 |
| Within Groups | 3274.5453 | 351 | 9.3292 | |

Eta = .4975 Eta Squared = .2475

Table 14b: Baganda and Non Baganda Women's participation in the election in Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q23 Participated in RC election

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|---------|--------------------|------|------|-------|
| Q23-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | -----+-----+-----+ | | | |
| | 1 | 30 | 24 | 54 |
| Muganda | | 55.6 | 44.4 | 28.9 |
| | +-----+-----+ | | | |
| | 10 | 51 | 82 | 133 |
| other | | 38.3 | 61.7 | 71.1 |
| | +-----+-----+ | | | |
| | Column | 81 | 106 | 187 |
| | Total | 43.3 | 56.7 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| ----- | ---- | ----- | ----- |
| 3.95838 | 1 | .0466 | 23.390 |
| 4.63279 | 1 | .0314 | (Before Yates Correction) |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

SPSS commands used: recode q18 (1=1) (else = 10). select if (ido eq 2).
process if (sex eq 'f'). cross / tables q18 by q23 /opt 3/ stat 1.

Table 15a Participation in Election and sex, Namasujju

| Crosstabulation: | | SEX | | Sex of respondent | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--------------|------|-----------------------------|---|
| | | By Q23 | | Participated in RC election | |
| Q23-> | Count | Yes | No | | |
| | Row Pct | | | 1 | 2 |
| | | | | Total | |
| SEX | | | | | |
| f | | 45 | 14 | 59 | |
| Female | | 76.3 | 23.7 | 52.2 | |
| m | | 48 | 6 | 54 | |
| Male | | 88.9 | 11.1 | 47.8 | |
| | Column | 93 | 20 | 113 | |
| | Total | 82.3 | 17.7 | 100.0 | |
| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | | Min E.F. | |
| 2.27623 | 1 | .1314 | | 9.558 | |
| 3.08157 | 1 | .0792 | | (Before Yates Correction) | |
| Number of Missing Observations = | | | | 0 | |

Table 15b Participation in Election and sex, Kamira

| Crosstabulation: | | SEX | | Sex of respondent | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--------------|------|-----------------------------|---|
| | | By Q23 | | Participated in RC election | |
| Q23-> | Count | Yes | No | | |
| | Row Pct | | | 1 | 2 |
| | | | | Total | |
| SEX | | | | | |
| f | | 81 | 106 | 187 | |
| Female | | 43.3 | 56.7 | 53.0 | |
| m | | 137 | 29 | 166 | |
| Male | | 82.5 | 17.5 | 47.0 | |
| | Column | 218 | 135 | 353 | |
| | Total | 61.8 | 38.2 | 100.0 | |
| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | | Min E.F. | |
| 55.60884 | 1 | .0000 | | 63.484 | |
| 57.25719 | 1 | .0000 | | (Before Yates Correction) | |
| Number of Missing Observations = | | | | 0 | |

SPSS Commands: process if (ido eq 1).cross /tables sex by q23 /opt 3 /stat 1.

SPSS: process if (ido eq 2). cross /tables sex by q23 /opt 3 /stat 1.

Table 16a Age and Knowledge of RCs in Namasujju

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q2 Age

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 4.9009 | 3.5031 | 111 |
| Q2 | 1 | | 4.4118 | 3.0382 | 68 |
| Q2 | 2 | | 5.6744 | 4.0516 | 43 |

Total Cases = 113
Missing Cases = 2 OR 1.8 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q2 Age

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | | 4.4118 | 3.0382 | 618.4706 | 68 |
| 2 | | 5.6744 | 4.0516 | 689.4419 | 43 |
| Within Groups Total | | 4.9009 | 3.4640 | 1307.9124 | 111 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

| Source | Analysis of Variance | | | F |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------|
| | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | |
| Between Groups | 41.9975 | 1 | 41.9975 | 3.5000 |
| Within Groups | 1307.9124 | 109 | 11.9992 | |
| | | Eta = .1764 | Eta Squared = .0311 | |

SPSS Commands used: recode Q2 (lowest thru 35 = 1) (35.1 thru highest = 2).
compute knowledg = rc1 + rc2 + rc3 + rc4 + rc5 + cm + mp. process if (ido
eq 1). means / tables knowledge by q2 /stat 1.

Table 16b Age and Knowledge of RCs in Kamira

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q2 Age

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 5.1700 | 3.5161 | 353 |
| Q2 | 1 | | 5.0545 | 3.3497 | 220 |
| Q2 | 2 | | 5.3609 | 3.7806 | 133 |
| Total Cases = | | 353 | | | |

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q2 Age

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | | 5.0545 | 3.3497 | 2457.3455 | 220 |
| 2 | | 5.3609 | 3.7806 | 1886.6767 | 133 |
| Within Groups Total | | 5.1700 | 3.5180 | 4344.0221 | 353 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|------|-------------|-------|
| Between Groups | 7.7796 | 1 | 7.7796 | .6286 |
| Within Groups | 4344.0221 | 351 | 12.3761 | |

Eta = .0423 Eta Squared = .0018

Table 17a: Age and Number of RC Meetings attended, Namasujju

Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year
 By levels of Q2 Age

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 3.4862 | 2.7809 | 109 |
| Q2 | 1 | | 3.2059 | 2.8939 | 68 |
| Q2 | 2 | | 3.9512 | 2.5490 | 41 |

Total Cases = 113
 Missing Cases = 4 OR 3.5 PCT.

Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year
 By levels of Q2 Age

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | | 3.2059 | 2.8939 | 561.1176 | 68 |
| 2 | | 3.9512 | 2.5490 | 259.9024 | 41 |
| Within Groups Total | | 3.4862 | 2.7700 | 821.0201 | 109 |

Criterion Variable Q21

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|------|-------------|--------|
| Between Groups | 14.2093 | 1 | 14.2093 | 1.8518 |
| Within Groups | 821.0201 | 107 | 7.6731 | |

Eta = .1304 Eta Squared = .0170

SPSS Commands: process if (ido eq 1). means / tables Q21 by q2 /stat 1.

Table 17b: Age and Number of RC Meetings attended, Kamira.

| Summaries of | | Q21 | Number of RC meetings attended this year | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--|---------|-------|
| By levels of | | Q2 | Age | | |
| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
| For Entire Population | | | 3.1799 | 2.6188 | 339 |
| Q2 | 1 | | 3.0806 | 2.7235 | 211 |
| Q2 | 2 | | 3.3438 | 2.4380 | 128 |
| Total Cases = | | 353 | | | |
| Missing Cases = | | 14 OR | 4.0 PCT. | | |

| Summaries of | | Q21 | Number of RC meetings attended this year | | | |
|---------------------|-------|-------|--|---------|-----------|-------|
| By levels of | | Q2 | Age | | | |
| | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
| | 1 | | 3.0806 | 2.7235 | 1557.6303 | 211 |
| | 2 | | 3.3438 | 2.4380 | 754.8750 | 128 |
| Within Groups Total | | | 3.1799 | 2.6195 | 2312.5053 | 339 |

Criterion Variable Q21

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|-------|
| Between Groups | 5.5183 | 1 | 5.5183 | .8042 |
| Within Groups | 2312.5053 | 337 | 6.8620 | |
| Eta = .0488 | | Eta Squared = .0024 | | |

Table 18a: Age and Participation in the RC election, Namasujju

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q23    Participated in RC election
      Count  |Yes      |No      |
Q23-> Row Pct |      |      | Row
      |      1 |      2 | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+
      1 |    57 |    12 |    69
      |  82.6 |   17.4 |   61.1
      +-----+-----+
      2 |    36 |     8 |    44
      |  81.8 |   18.2 |   38.9
      +-----+-----+
      Column      93      20      113
      Total      82.3    17.7    100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
      .00000      1      1.0000      7.788
      .01153      1      .9145      ( Before Yates Correction )
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

Table 18b: Age and Participation in the RC election, Kamira

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q23    Participated in RC election
      Count  |Yes      |No      |
Q23-> Row Pct |      |      | Row
      |      1 |      2 | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+
      1 |   129 |    91 |   220
      |  58.6 |   41.4 |   62.3
      +-----+-----+
      2 |    89 |    44 |   133
      |  66.9 |   33.1 |   37.7
      +-----+-----+
      Column     218     135     353
      Total     61.8     38.2    100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
      2.06882      1      .1503      50.864
      2.40667      1      .1208      ( Before Yates Correction )
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

SPSS Commands: process if (ido eq 1). cross /tables Q2 by q23 /opt 3 /stat 1.

Table 19a: Age and Participation in the last RC meeting, Namasujju

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q22   Participated in last RC meeting
      Count |Yes      |No      |
Q22-> Row Pct |      |      |      | Row
      |      1 |      2 | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+
      1 |    32 |    37 |    69
      | 46.4 | 53.6 | 61.1
      +-----+-----+
      2 |    25 |    19 |    44
      | 56.8 | 43.2 | 38.9
      +-----+-----+
      Column      57      56      113
      Total      50.4    49.6    100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
      .79128      1      .3737      21.805
      1.17174      1      .2790      ( Before Yates Correction )
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

Table 19b: Age and Participation in the last RC meeting, Kamira

```

Crosstabulation:      Q2      Age
                     By Q22   Participated in last RC meeting
      Count |Yes      |No      |
Q22-> Row Pct |      |      |      | Row
      |      1 |      2 | Total
Q2    -----+-----+-----+
      1 |    89 |   131 |   220
      | 40.5 | 59.5 | 62.3
      +-----+-----+
      2 |    58 |    75 |   133
      | 43.6 | 56.4 | 37.7
      +-----+-----+
      Column      147      206      353
      Total      41.6    58.4    100.0

Chi-Square      D.F.      Significance      Min E.F.
-----
      .22201      1      .6375      55.385
      .33941      1      .5602      ( Before Yates Correction )
Number of Missing Observations =      0

```

SPSS: process if (ido eq 1). cross /tables Q2 by q22 /opt 3 / stat 1.

Table 20a: Class and number of RC meetings attended, HHs in Namasujju.

Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year
 By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 4.5636 | 3.0718 | 55 |
| Q8 | .00 | | 4.0909 | 2.0226 | 11 |
| Q8 | 1.00 | | 4.5263 | 4.3381 | 19 |
| Q8 | 2.00 | | 4.8750 | 2.3058 | 16 |
| Q8 | 3.00 | | 4.6667 | 2.3979 | 9 |

Total Cases = 58
 Missing Cases = 3 OR 5.2 PCT.

Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year
 By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| .00 | | 4.0909 | 2.0226 | 40.9091 | 11 |
| 1.00 | | 4.5263 | 4.3381 | 338.7368 | 19 |
| 2.00 | | 4.8750 | 2.3058 | 79.7500 | 16 |
| 3.00 | | 4.6667 | 2.3979 | 46.0000 | 9 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 4.5636 | 3.1480 | 505.3959 | 55 |

Criterion Variable Q21

| Source | Analysis of Variance | | | F |
|---------------------|----------------------|------|-------------|-------|
| | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | |
| Between Groups | 4.1313 | 3 | 1.3771 | .1390 |
| Linearity | 2.7139 | 1 | 2.7139 | .2739 |
| Dev. from Linearity | 1.4174 | 2 | .7087 | .0715 |

R = .0730 R Squared = .0053

Within Groups 505.3959 51 9.9097
 Eta = .0900 Eta Squared = .0081

SPSS: select if (q1 eq 1).recode q8 (lowest thru 0.99 = 0) (1 thru 4.99 = 1) (5 thru 19.99 = 2) (20 thru highest = 3). process if (ido eq 1). means /tables Q21 by q8 /stat 2.

Table 20b: Class and number of RC meetings attended, HHs in Kamira

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|--|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| <i>Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year</i> | | | | | |
| <i>By levels of Q8 Land ownership</i> | | | | | |
| For Entire Population | | | 4.1548 | 2.6649 | 168 |
| Q8 | .00 | | 3.5902 | 2.4040 | 61 |
| Q8 | 1.00 | | 4.6585 | 2.8381 | 82 |
| Q8 | 2.00 | | 4.0500 | 2.3278 | 20 |
| Q8 | 3.00 | | 3.2000 | 3.1145 | 5 |

Total Cases = 175
 Missing Cases = 7 OR 4.0 PCT.

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|--|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| <i>Summaries of Q21 Number of RC meetings attended this year</i> | | | | | |
| <i>By levels of Q8 Land ownership</i> | | | | | |
| .00 | | 3.5902 | 2.4040 | 346.7541 | 61 |
| 1.00 | | 4.6585 | 2.8381 | 652.4390 | 82 |
| 2.00 | | 4.0500 | 2.3278 | 102.9500 | 20 |
| 3.00 | | 3.2000 | 3.1145 | 38.8000 | 5 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 4.1548 | 2.6376 | 1140.9431 | 168 |

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|--|----------------|------|-------------|--------|
| <i>Criterion Variable Q21 Analysis of Variance</i> | | | | |
| Between Groups | 45.0331 | 3 | 15.0110 | 2.1577 |
| Linearity | 5.4548 | 1 | 5.4548 | .7841 |
| Dev. from Linearity | 39.5783 | 2 | 19.7891 | 2.8445 |
| Within Groups | 1140.9431 | 164 | 6.9570 | |
| R = .0678 R Squared = .0046 | | | | |
| Eta = .1949 Eta Squared = .0380 | | | | |

Table 21a: Class and Knowledge of RCs, Namasujju.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 5.7500 | 3.7331 | 56 |
| Q8 | .00 | | 4.4545 | 1.8635 | 11 |
| Q8 | 1.00 | | 4.2632 | 3.0703 | 19 |
| Q8 | 2.00 | | 6.8824 | 4.5122 | 17 |
| Q8 | 3.00 | | 8.3333 | 3.4278 | 9 |

Total Cases = 58
Missing Cases = 2 OR 3.4 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| .00 | | 4.4545 | 1.8635 | 34.7273 | 11 |
| 1.00 | | 4.2632 | 3.0703 | 169.6842 | 19 |
| 2.00 | | 6.8824 | 4.5122 | 325.7647 | 17 |
| 3.00 | | 8.3333 | 3.4278 | 94.0000 | 9 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 5.7500 | 3.4646 | 624.1762 | 56 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

| Analysis of Variance | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|--------|-------|
| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| Between Groups | 142.3238 | 3 | 47.4413 | 3.9523 | .0130 |
| Linearity | 119.1489 | 1 | 119.1489 | 9.9263 | .0027 |
| Dev. from Linearity | 23.1749 | 2 | 11.5874 | .9653 | .3876 |
| R = .3943 | | R Squared = .1554 | | | |
| Within Groups | 624.1762 | 52 | 12.0034 | | |
| Eta = .4309 | | Eta Squared = .1857 | | | |

SPSS: compute knowledg = rc1 + rc2 + rc3 + rc4 + rc5 + cm + mp. Process if (ido eq 1). Means /tables knowledg by q8 /stat 2.

Table 21b: Class and Knowledge of RCs, Kamira

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 6.6264 | 3.3407 | 174 |
| Q8 | .00 | | 5.3651 | 3.0916 | 63 |
| Q8 | 1.00 | | 7.3294 | 3.1221 | 85 |
| Q8 | 2.00 | | 7.1905 | 3.9066 | 21 |
| Q8 | 3.00 | | 8.2000 | 3.6332 | 5 |

Total Cases = 175
Missing Cases = 1 OR .6 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q8 Land ownership

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| .00 | | 5.3651 | 3.0916 | 592.6032 | 63 |
| 1.00 | | 7.3294 | 3.1221 | 818.7765 | 85 |
| 2.00 | | 7.1905 | 3.9066 | 305.2381 | 21 |
| 3.00 | | 8.2000 | 3.6332 | 52.8000 | 5 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 6.6264 | 3.2262 | 1769.4177 | 174 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|---------------------|----------------|------|-------------|---------|
| Between Groups | 161.3007 | 3 | 53.7669 | 5.1658 |
| Linearity | 116.7900 | 1 | 116.7900 | 11.2208 |
| Dev. from Linearity | 44.5107 | 2 | 22.2553 | 2.1382 |
| Within Groups | 1769.4177 | 170 | 10.4083 | |

Sig. .0019
Sig. .0010
Sig. .1210

R = .2459 R Squared = .0605
Eta = .2890 Eta Squared = .0835

Table 22a Class and participation in last RC meeting, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q22 Participated in last RC meeting
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | landless | small P | Middle P | Big Frm | Row Total |
|--------------|-------|----------|---------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Q22 | | | | | | |
| Yes | 1 | 7 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 35 |
| | | 63.6 | 55.0 | 66.7 | 55.6 | 60.3 |
| No | 2 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 23 |
| | | 36.4 | 45.0 | 33.3 | 44.4 | 39.7 |
| Column Total | | 11 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 |
| | | 19.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| .67545 | 3 | .8790 | 3.569 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 22b: Class and participation in last RC meeting, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q22 Participated in last RC meeting
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | Landless | Small P | M. Peas | Big Farm | Row Total |
|--------------|-------|----------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| Q22 | | | | | | |
| Yes | 1 | 27 | 52 | 12 | | 91 |
| | | 42.9 | 61.2 | 57.1 | | 52.3 |
| No | 2 | 36 | 33 | 9 | 5 | 83 |
| | | 57.1 | 38.8 | 42.9 | 100.0 | 47.7 |
| Column Total | | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 |
| | | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 10.61597 | 3 | .0140 | 2.385 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

SPSS: process if (ido eq 1). cross /TABLES Q22 by q8 /opt 4 /stat 1.

Table 23a: Class and participation in RC election, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q23 Participated in RC election
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|---------|---------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| Col Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total | |
| Q23 | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Yes | 1 | 10 | 14 | 17 | 8 | 49 |
| | | 90.9 | 70.0 | 94.4 | 88.9 | 84.5 |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| | | 9.1 | 30.0 | 5.6 | 11.1 | 15.5 |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Column | 11 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 58 | |
| Total | 19.0 | 34.5 | 31.0 | 15.5 | 100.0 | |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| ----- | ---- | ----- | ----- |
| 5.04237 | 3 | .1687 | 1.397 |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Table 23b: Class and participation in RC election, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q23 Participated in RC election
By Q8 Land ownership

| Q8-> | Count | | | | | Row |
|---------|---------------------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| Col Pct | .00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | Total | |
| Q23 | -----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Yes | 1 | 43 | 77 | 18 | 4 | 142 |
| | | 68.3 | 90.6 | 85.7 | 80.0 | 81.6 |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| No | 2 | 20 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 32 |
| | | 31.7 | 9.4 | 14.3 | 20.0 | 18.4 |
| | +-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+ | | | | | |
| Column | 63 | 85 | 21 | 5 | 174 | |
| Total | 36.2 | 48.9 | 12.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 | |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| ----- | ---- | ----- | ----- |
| 12.29737 | 3 | .0064 | .920 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

SPSS: process if (ido eq 1). cross /TABLES Q23 by q8 /opt 4 /stat 1.

Table 24a: Ethnic group and participation in RC Election, Namasujju

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
 By Q23 Participated in RC election

| | Count | Yes | No | |
|--------------|---------|--------------|----------|-------|
| Q23-> | Row Pct | | | Row |
| | | 1 | 2 | Total |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 64 | 14 | 78 |
| | | 82.1 | 17.9 | 69.0 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| | | 100.0 | | 1.8 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | 1 | | 1 |
| | | 100.0 | | .9 |
| Musoga | 4 | 1 | | 1 |
| | | 100.0 | | .9 |
| Tanzanian | 7 | 13 | 3 | 16 |
| | | 81.3 | 18.8 | 14.2 |
| Murundi | 8 | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| | | 81.8 | 18.2 | 9.7 |
| other | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | | 66.7 | 33.3 | 2.7 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 1 | | 1 |
| | | 100.0 | | .9 |
| Column | | 93 | 20 | 113 |
| Total | | 82.3 | 17.7 | 100.0 |
| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. | |
| ----- | ---- | ----- | ----- | |
| 1.59590 | 7 | .9788 | .177 | |

Number of Missing Observations = 0

SPSS Commands used: compute knowledg = rc1 + rc2 + rc3 + rc4 + rc5 + cm + mp. process if (ido = 1). cross /tables q18 by Q23 /opt 3 /stat 1.

Table 24b: Ethnic group and participation in RC Election, Kamira

Crosstabulation: Q18 Ethnic Group
By Q23 Participated in RC election

| Q23-> | Count | Yes | No | Row Total |
|--------------|---------|-------|------|-----------|
| | Row Pct | 1 | 2 | |
| Q18 | | | | |
| Muganda | 1 | 66 | 32 | 98 |
| | | 67.3 | 32.7 | 27.8 |
| Munyarawanda | 2 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| | | 71.4 | 28.6 | 2.0 |
| Mynyankole | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| | | 80.0 | 20.0 | 1.4 |
| Musoga | 4 | 39 | 34 | 73 |
| | | 53.4 | 46.6 | 20.7 |
| Kakwa | 5 | 4 | | 4 |
| | | 100.0 | | 1.1 |
| Mugisu | 6 | 78 | 56 | 134 |
| | | 58.2 | 41.8 | 38.1 |
| Tanzanian | 7 | 1 | | 1 |
| | | 100.0 | | .3 |
| Murundi | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | | 33.3 | 66.7 | .9 |
| Sudanese | 9 | 2 | | 2 |
| | | 100.0 | | .6 |
| other | 10 | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| | | 64.7 | 35.3 | 4.8 |
| Mugwere | 11 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| | | 75.0 | 25.0 | 2.3 |
| Column Total | | 217 | 135 | 352 |
| | | 61.6 | 38.4 | 100.0 |

| Chi-Square | D.F. | Significance | Min E.F. |
|------------|------|--------------|----------|
| 11.14236 | 10 | .3465 | .384 |

Number of Missing Observations = 1

Table 25a: Ethnic group and knowledge of RCs, Namasujju

Summaries of KNOWLEDG

By levels of Q18 Ethnic Group

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 4.9009 | 3.5031 | 111 |
| Q18 | 1 | Muganda | 5.6447 | 3.7690 | 76 |
| Q18 | 2 | Munyarawanda | 4.0000 | 2.8284 | 2 |
| Q18 | 3 | Mynyankole | 4.0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| Q18 | 4 | Musoga | 6.0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| Q18 | 7 | Tanzanian | 3.6250 | 2.5528 | 16 |
| Q18 | 8 | Murundi | 2.7273 | 1.6181 | 11 |
| Q18 | 10 | other | 2.3333 | .5774 | 3 |
| Q18 | 11 | Mugwere | 2.0000 | .0000 | 1 |

Total Cases = 113

Missing Cases = 2 OR 1.8 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG

By levels of Q18 Ethnic Group

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|--------------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | Muganda | 5.6447 | 3.7690 | 1065.4079 | 76 |
| 2 | Munyarawanda | 4.0000 | 2.8284 | 8.0000 | 2 |
| 3 | Mynyankole | 4.0000 | .0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| 4 | Musoga | 6.0000 | .0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| 7 | Tanzanian | 3.6250 | 2.5528 | 97.7500 | 16 |
| 8 | Murundi | 2.7273 | 1.6181 | 26.1818 | 11 |
| 10 | other | 2.3333 | .5774 | .6667 | 3 |
| 11 | Mugwere | 2.0000 | .0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 4.9009 | 3.4104 | 1198.0064 | 111 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|--------|
| Between Groups | 151.9035 | 7 | 21.7005 | 1.8657 |
| Within Groups | 1198.0064 | 103 | 11.6311 | |
| Eta = .3355 | | Eta Squared = .1125 | | |

SPSS: compute knowledg = rc1 + rc2 + rc3 + rc4 + rc5 + cm + mp. process if (ido eq 1). means / tables knowledge by Q18 / stat 1.

Table 25b: Ethnic group and knowledge of RCs, Kamira

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q18 Ethnic Group

| Variable | Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Cases |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------|--------|---------|-------|
| For Entire Population | | | 5.1733 | 3.5206 | 352 |
| Q18 | 1 | Muganda | 5.6837 | 3.7488 | 98 |
| Q18 | 2 | Munyarawanda | 4.5714 | 3.1547 | 7 |
| Q18 | 3 | Mynyankole | 4.2000 | 3.1145 | 5 |
| Q18 | 4 | Musoga | 5.0685 | 3.4088 | 73 |
| Q18 | 5 | Kakwa | 8.0000 | 4.2426 | 4 |
| Q18 | 6 | Mugisu | 4.7313 | 3.4186 | 134 |
| Q18 | 7 | Tanzanian | 6.0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| Q18 | 8 | Murundi | 8.3333 | 2.8868 | 3 |
| Q18 | 9 | Sudanese | 9.0000 | 1.4142 | 2 |
| Q18 | 10 | other | 4.2353 | 3.0110 | 17 |
| Q18 | 11 | Mugwere | 6.7500 | 3.6547 | 8 |

Total Cases = 353
Missing Cases = 1 OR .3 PCT.

Summaries of KNOWLEDG
By levels of Q18 Ethnic Group

| Value | Label | Mean | Std Dev | Sum of Sq | Cases |
|---------------------|--------------|--------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | Muganda | 5.6837 | 3.7488 | 1363.1939 | 98 |
| 2 | Munyarawanda | 4.5714 | 3.1547 | 59.7143 | 7 |
| 3 | Mynyankole | 4.2000 | 3.1145 | 38.8000 | 5 |
| 4 | Musoga | 5.0685 | 3.4088 | 836.6575 | 73 |
| 5 | Kakwa | 8.0000 | 4.2426 | 54.0000 | 4 |
| 6 | Mugisu | 4.7313 | 3.4186 | 1554.3284 | 134 |
| 7 | Tanzanian | 6.0000 | .0000 | .0000 | 1 |
| 8 | Murundi | 8.3333 | 2.8868 | 16.6667 | 3 |
| 9 | Sudanese | 9.0000 | 1.4142 | 2.0000 | 2 |
| 10 | other | 4.2353 | 3.0110 | 145.0588 | 17 |
| 11 | Mugwere | 6.7500 | 3.6547 | 93.5000 | 8 |
| ----- | | | | | |
| Within Groups Total | | 5.1733 | 3.4944 | 4163.9195 | 352 |

Criterion Variable KNOWLEDG

Analysis of Variance

| Source | Sum of Squares | D.F. | Mean Square | F |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|------|-------------|--------|
| Between Groups | 186.5094 | 10 | 18.6509 | 1.5274 |
| Within Groups | 4163.9195 | 341 | 12.2109 | |
| Eta = .2071 Eta Squared = .0429 | | | | |

Sig. .1279

Appendix 5: Budgets and Accounts for Luwero District 1988-92

All information from Luwero District Council Administration. Compiled by the accountant from yearly budget estimates.

Luwero District 1988/89: Estimated and Actual Revenue and Expenditure.

| | Estimated Revenue | Actual Revenue |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Graduated Tax | 156,903,000 Shs | 90,370,700 Shs |
| Licenses,Dues,Fees etc. | 68,746,400 Shs | 36,250,450 Shs |
| Rates,Interest etc. | 3,900 Shs | 800,300 Shs |
| Reimbursements | 571,000 Shs | 767,000 Shs |
| Subvention and Miscellaneous | 1,400 Shs | 1,400 Shs |
| Grants | 4,057,140 Shs | 14,400,000 Shs |
| Total | 230,283,130 Shs ===== | 154,289,270 Shs ===== |
| | Estimated Exp. | Actual Expenditure |
| Recurrent | 224,076,260 Shs | 154,734,770 Shs |
| Non-Recurrent | 40,000,000 Shs | 6,100,000 Shs |
| | 264,076,260 Shs ===== | 160,834,770 Shs ===== |

1989/90 ESTIMATED REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE:

| | Estimated Revenue | Actual Revenue |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Graduated Tax | 149,375,000 Shs | 160,375,000 Shs |
| Lic.Dues, Fees etc. | 86,103,300 Shs | 66,347,300 Shs |
| Rates,Interest etc. | 900,300 Shs | 1,180,300 Shs |
| Reimbursements | 800,000 Shs | 300,000 Shs |
| Subvention and Misc. | 1,400 Shs | 1,801,300 Shs |
| Grants | 14,400,000 Shs | 11,000,000 Shs |
| 10% Development Tax | | 15,000,000 Shs |
| | 251,580,000 Shs ===== | 256,003,980 Shs ===== |
| | Estimated Exp. | Actual Expenditure |
| Recurrent | 249,238,690 | 247,594,510 |
| Non-Recurrent | 67,011,800 | 20,000,000 |
| | 316,250,490 ===== | 267,594,510 ===== |

1990/91

| | Estimated Revenue | Actual Revenue |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Graduated Tax | 485,027,000 | 234,831,650 |
| Lic.Dues,Fees etc. | 112,150,400 | 94,337,540 |
| Rates,Interests etc. | 1,554,100 | 389,350 |
| Reimbursements | 800,000 | 1,819,800 |
| Subvention and misc. | 3,001,400 | 2,725,570 |
| Grant Block | 14,400,000 | 11,499,320 |
| 10% Development Tax | 48,000,000 | 23,000,000 |
| Feeder Roads Grant | | 22,347,000 |
| | 664,932,000 ===== | 391,457,230 ===== |
| | Estimated Exp. | Actual Expenditure |
| Recurrent | 662,904,015 | 345,391,990 |
| Non-Recurrent | 204,000,000 | 46,058,240 |
| | 866,904,015 ===== | 391,450,230 ===== |

1991/92

| | Estimated Revenue | Actual Revenue |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Graduated Tax | 310,000,000 | |
| Lic.Dues,Fees etc. | 161,225,800 | |
| Rents,Interests etc. | 1,500,000 | |
| Reimbursements | 2,000,000 | |
| Misc. and Subventions | 6,011,200 | |
| Block Grant | 14,400,000 | |
| 10% Development Tax | 31,000,000 | |
| Feeder Roads Grant | 27,000,000 | |

553,467,300

=====

Estimated Expenditure

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| Recurrent | 456,124,200 |
| Non-Recurrent | 95,001,600 |

551,125,800

=====

Appendix 6: List of Taped Interviews

57 semi-structured interview were taped and later transcribed, translated and typed on word-perfect files. This data base of transcriptions was later coded (with "M91" - a program for coding of qualitative interviews developed at Handelshøjskolen Copenhagen), which significantly helped to organise and analyse the material.

Most of the interviews of higher ranking RC politicians, of magistrates, of politicians from party head quarters and civil servants were not taped. Most of my interviews with rural inforants were taped rather than just noted, and because of the superior organisation and quality of this material compared to the interviews based upon written notes, I tended during the analysis of peasant interviews to rely foremost on these taped interviews.

The table below gives some very rough indicators of these informants and thus a very substantial part of my material referred to as "rural voices".

| Interview number | Tape Number | Characteristics of Informant |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 001 | 1 | Old female peasant, muganda, Kapeka, 21.1.1992 |
| 002 | 1 | Old female peasant, muganda, Kapeka, 21.1.1992 |
| 003 | 2 | Young male muganda peasant, ex-member of peoples militia, Kapeeka. 3.2.1992 |
| 004 | 2 | Old female peasant, muganda, Kapeeka. 3.2.1992 |
| 005 | 2 | Old male muganda peasant, Bulyake, 3.2.1992. |
| 006 | 2 | Middle aged muganda, big farmer, Bulyake, 3.2.1992 |
| 007 | 3 | Old male muganda peasant, Bulyake, 5.2.1992. |
| 008 | 3 | Old female muganda peasant, Bulyake, 5.2.1992. |
| 009 | 3 | Old male muganda peasant, Muluka Chief 5.2.1992. |
| 010 | 3 | Female muganda, RC and waragi brewer, Namasujju. |
| court.01 | 4 | Court cases in Nakaseke. |
| 011 | 5 | Old male muganda, Naseeta, 20.2.1992. |
| 012 | 6 | Old male muganda, Naseeta, 20.2.1992 |
| 013 | | Old female muganda peasant, Kito village. |

| Interview number | Tape Number | Characteristics of Informant |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| court.02 | 7 | RC3 Court cases in Nakaseke |
| 014 | 8 | Female muganda peasant, Kito village, 1.3.1992 |
| 015 | 8 | Old male "rich" peasant, muganda, Namasujju, 1.3.1992. |
| 016 | 9 | "Tanzanian" male peasant, Namasujju, 1.3.92. |
| 017 | 10 (+8) | Male muganda peasant, Namasujju, 2.3.1992. |
| 018 | 17 | Male, muslim, muganda peasant, Munyiolwe RC1, |
| 019 | 17 | Male muganda rich farmer/ landlord Nakaseke, 8.3.1992 |
| 020 | 18 | Munyarwanda peasant (and lay preacher) Namasujju, 8.3.1992. |
| elect.07 | 19 | RC5 Elections Luwero. |
| elect.08 | 20 | RC5 Elections Luwero. |
| | 21 | Songs by "Bulyake Ani yali amanyi" |
| 021 | 22 | Munyarwanda male peasant, Namasujju, 13.3.1992. |
| 022 | 23 | Munyarwanda male peasant, Namasujju |
| 023 | 23 | Very old male "Omuluulu" peasant, Bukuku village |
| 024 | 24 | Male "Tanzanian" peasant, Bulyake, 19.3.1992. |
| 025 | 24 | Old Tanzanian peasant Namasujju, 20.3.1992. |
| 026 | 24 | Young Tanzanian peasant Namasujju, 20.3.1992. |
| 027 | 25 | Old muganda peasant Namasujju. |
| - | 27 | War songs recorded in Kapeeka, 17.5.1992, by Kapeeka Blue Stars. |
| 028 | 28 (+29) | Male, Muganda big farmer Nakaseke, 18.5.1992 |
| 029 | 28 | Male, muganda big farmer, Namusale, 17.5.1992. |
| 030 | 30 | Parish Chief Bulyake, 25.5.1992. |
| 031 | 30 | Male, muganda peasant (singer in Bulyake), 25.5.1992. |
| 032 | 31 | Muganda peasant, ex-chief Nakaseke, 27.5.1992. |
| 033 | 31 | Old male muganda peasant Namasujju, 6.6.1992. |
| - | 31 | War songs from Kapeeka: St. Cecilia Mobile Group, Kapeeka, 27.5.92 |
| 034 | 32 | Old muganda ex-chief, Kangulumira. |

| Interview number | Tape Number | Characteristics of Informant |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 035 | 33 | Muganda, big farmer, Councillor, Kangulumira |
| 036 | 34 | Musoga, male peasant, Kamira |
| 037 | 34 | Male, Muganda, Kangulumira. |
| 038 | 35 | Itesot, chief and RC, Kigayaza, 7.7.92. |
| 039 | 35 | Muganda, old ex-chief, peasant, Kamira. |
| 040 | 36 | Mugisu, male peasant, Kamira. |
| 041 | 37 | Mugwere, old male peasant, Kamira, 19.7.1992. |
| 042 | 37 | Female musoga peasant, Kamira. |
| 043 | 38 | Male muganda, big farmer, RC3, Kangulumira, 24.7.1992 |
| 044 | 39 | Male muganda, big farmer, Kamira. |
| 045 | 39 | Female muganda peasant, Kamira. |
| 046 | 39 | Old male muganda, Kangulumira. |
| 047 | 40 | male muganda peasant, Kangulumira. |
| 048 | 41 | Female musoga peasant, Kamira. |
| 049 | 41 | Female Nyankole peasant, Kamira. |
| 050 | 42 | Male muganda peasant, Kangulumira, |
| 051 | 42 | Female muganda peasant Kamira. |
| 052 | 43 | Male muganda peasant (RC2) Kangulumira, |
| 053 | 43 | Old muganda peasant, ex-chief, Kizawula/-Kangulumira. |
| 054 | 46 | Male muganda peasant, Kangulumira. |
| 055 | 47 | Male muganda rich peasant Kamira, 16.8.92. |
| 056 | 48 | Itesot, Male Magistrate, Kangulumira. |
| 057 | 49 | Male musoga peasant Kamira, 19.8.92. |