

THE MAJOR FACTORS AFFECTING THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
AND THE PROGRESS OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

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A Thesis

Presented to

the Department of Business and Business Education  
Emporia Kansas State College

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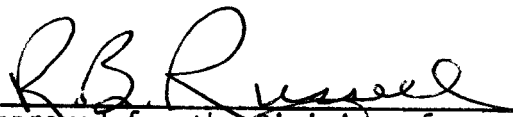
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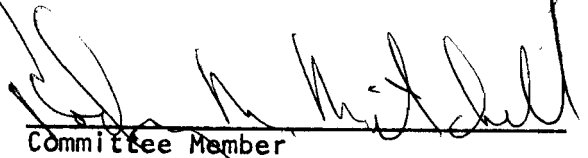
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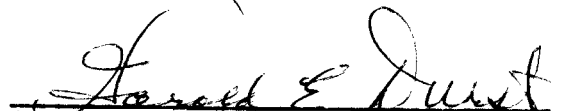
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EVEN THOUGH I AM FORBIDDEN  
I HAVE WALKED OUT THE HALLOW WORLD  
AND CLIMBED TO THE TOP OF THE HIGHEST HILL  
AND SEEN A CLEAR BLUE SKY  
AND MANY OTHER THINGS YOU HAVE NOT DREAMED OF  
AND WHILE STROLLING MY WONDERS AND FEARS OF  
KNOWING THE TRUTH  
I TOUCHED THE REALITY OF MAN.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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D. C. M. N.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania) is a land of great variety (covering 683,000 square miles) in physical features, climate, human type, economic development, and political evolution alike. There are few places on earth's surface where, in the space of a few hundred miles, one can experience such a range of contrasts. One can pass from high mountain snow to the deepest lake-filled troughs alive with tropical vegetation, from the invigorating climate of the highland areas to the dusty heat of rift valley (one hundred to two hundred miles wide), or from bustling modern cities to countrysides. There are great differences in trade activities from one area to another. Finally, there are, in East Africa, conflicts of tribal and racial interests present in all parts of the continent and great contrasts in the types of states which have emerged from the race of independence.<sup>1</sup>

Politically, with the exceptions of Ruanda and Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Zambia, the territories have been under British rule for many years and English is the official language. Most of Kenya was a crown colony except the coastal strip which was a

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<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Hopkins, "Conflict of Tribal and Racial Conflict" in Stanley and Burke (eds.), Transformation of East Africa (New York: Basic Books Printers, 1966), p. 375.

protectorate while Tanganyika was administered by the British under United Nations trusteeship.<sup>2</sup> The British territories have enjoyed common markets and certain services such as public communications administered by East African Common Services, today known as the East African Community.

East Africa is the meeting point for all the continent's major linguistic groups. Even "Click Language" is represented in Central Tanzania. The three greatest sub-races (of African origin) are the Nilotics, Nilo-himites and the Bantus.<sup>3</sup>

## THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

### Statement of the Problem

This study was designed to:

1. Analyze the factors which have slowed the economic development of the East African community.
2. Identify the major problems encountered in economic systems in East Africa.
3. Determine the problems in developing the economic growth of the community.
4. Identify economic reconstruction needs.

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<sup>2</sup>Cley and P. Robson, "Federation of East Africa," Structure and Administration of E. A. C. S. O. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>W. T. W. Morgan, "East Africa, Its People and Resources," People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 33.

### Importance of the Study

The economy of the East Africa community is growing at a high rate as projected, yet the majority of the citizens of the community remain on the poverty level. In order to explain this paradox, we will look at the problems tending to withhold economic success from many members of the community.

### Limitations of the Study

The study has the following limitations: the data in this study are limited to that available at the William Allen White Library at Emporia Kansas State College and, through their facilities, through interlibrary loans. As indicated in much of the relevant data surveyed, much of the available material is not current.<sup>4</sup>

### Assumptions

Certain assumptions underlie this study. These assumptions can be summarized as follows:

1. The environment in which the desired economy operates is such that the beneficiary does not readily appreciate the value of change and thus lacks interest in it.
2. The East African citizen is suspicious of accepting the change to more progressive socio/economic standards.

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<sup>4</sup>W. Leonard Doob, Periodic Surveys in Subsaharan Africa (Nairobi: Nairobi Publishing House, May 11, 1970), p. 38.

## DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Arusha

The capital city of East African Community (1967 Declaration).<sup>5</sup>

Dar-es-Salaam

Capital and largest city in Tanzania. It is also one of the chief port cities of East Africa.<sup>6</sup>

Duka

Small shops normally operated by a single family.<sup>7</sup>

E. A. C. or E. A.

Abbreviation for East African Community, is an economic organization consisting of three member countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (associate members include Zambia, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Burundi). The existing community is based on a treaty signed in Kampala on June 6, 1967, to preserve and re-establish a large part of the corporative relationship that was disappearing.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>A. W. Southhall, "Growth of Urban Society," Dar-es-Salaam (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 483.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 481.

<sup>7</sup>J. Keezan Warren, International Marketing Channels Less Developed Countries (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Incorporated, 1974), p. 309.

<sup>8</sup>Andrew M. Kamark, "The East African Community," The Economics of African Development (New York: Praegam Incorporated, 1971), p. 50.

### Gazetted Township

Government official papers classifying towns, population by residence.<sup>9</sup>

### Great Rift Valley

Geologically this structure is called a "graben." This valley extends as a series of depressions from Syria through the Dead Sea (the surface is nearly 1,300 feet below sea-level) to Africa. In East Africa it divides into two branches: western and eastern. Igneous activities and volcanoes are associated with the rift valley, forming such peaks as Kilimanjaro; these are now dead.<sup>10</sup>

### Kampala

The capital and the largest city in Uganda. It was made the capital in 1962 when Uganda, previously a British protectorate, became an independent nation.<sup>11</sup>

### Municipalities Grade A & B Townships

Grade A -- Municipal towns, these towns have populations above sixty thousand.

Grade B -- Townships under local government authorities. Normally, these towns have populations below sixty thousand.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>R. G. Abraham, "East African Township" in A. W. Southhall (ed.), Social Change in Modern Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 373.

<sup>10</sup>E. P. Seggerson, Physiography of East Africa (Nairobi: Nairobi Press, 1962), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup>Southhall, op. cit., p. 477.

<sup>12</sup>Abraham, loc. cit.

Nairobi

The capital and the largest city in Kenya with a population nearing one million people according to the 1971 population census.<sup>13</sup>

Non-African

A resident who is an immigrant from other continents besides Africa. The majority of Non-Africans are Europeans and Asians (Indians).<sup>14</sup>

Pound

East African sterling currency (Pound £) 1 £ = shs 20.  
Equivalent to \$2.8 U. S. currency 1975.<sup>15</sup>

Settlers

European immigrants farmers to the East Africa.<sup>16</sup>

Shillings

East African sterling currency (shs) shs 20 = 1£.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Southhall, op. cit., p. 469.

<sup>14</sup>Abraham, loc. cit. Non-Africans comprise people (male or female) of European or American origin, Arabs, Indians and Far East Asians.

<sup>15</sup>Kenya Newsletter, issued by Section of Embassy, Republic of Kenya, Washington, D. C., Vol. 3, No. 5 (1975), p. 28.

<sup>16</sup>Elizabeth Hopkins, "Racial Minorities in British East Africa," in Stanley and Burke (eds.), Transformation of East Africa (New York: Basic Books Printers, 1966), p. 87.

<sup>17</sup>Kenya Newsletter, loc. cit.



## Swahili

A language of the coastal population of East Africa, roughly from Southern Somalia to Mozambique, and including Zanzibar and the Comoro Islands. It is spoken by about 1.5 million people as a first language, this includes the people in East Africa and Congo (Kinshasa).<sup>18</sup>

### METHODS OF PROCEDURE

All the published materials listed below were extensively reviewed. This included library review of both periodicals and relevant studies. The writing of this report is thus based on the information provided by the following:

1. Periodicals, books, pamphlets, and microfilm from the William Allen White Library of the Emporia Kansas State College.
2. Xeroxed materials and books that were secured through the inter-library loan and from friends.
3. Data collected specifically for use in this study by the Marco Survey Ltd., Nairobi, Kenya.
4. Periodicals issued by the information section of the Embassy of the Republic of Kenya, Washington, D. C.

### PLAN OF STUDY

In the preceding section, the purpose of this study, its importance, the limitations, assumptions, definitions of terms

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<sup>18</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, Swahili, Vol. 26 (1974), p. 85.

and methods of procedure have been outlined. Related literature, largely studies of structure with regard to economic development in East Africa is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents a background of pertinent economic facts concerning East Africa. Chapter 4 deals with an analysis of factors. In Chapter 5, the data is summarized, and conclusions are drawn.

## Chapter 2

### THE REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

British East Africa was the name applied to the territories in East Africa before they achieved independence. The territories included the colonies and the protectorate of Kenya, the United Nations trust territory of Tanganyika, and Uganda. These territories had a total area of 682,469 square miles.<sup>1</sup> British East Africa was economically a system of joint services. The East Africa High Commission, which consisted of the Governors of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, was responsible for the administration of public services and functions common to territories, including currency, roads, customs, and communications. Each territory's government retained responsibility for local services such as health, education and police.<sup>2</sup>

After World War II nationalist feeling was strong throughout British East Africa. As the deadline for independence approached Britain attempted to form a federation of East Africa, but separate nationalist aspirations made this impossible.<sup>3</sup> Tanganyika was the

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<sup>1</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, East Africa, Vol. 4 (1974), p. 578.

<sup>2</sup>East Africa Geographical Journal, Vol. 129, Part 2, 1963, pp. 140-155.

<sup>3</sup>A. Rosberg and A. Segal, East African Federation, "International Conciliation," 1963, p. 30.

first of the four territories to achieve independence in 1961.<sup>4</sup> Uganda became independent in 1962. The following year Kenya and Zanzibar entered the ranks of independent states. Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged in 1964 and adopted the name United Republic of Tanzania.<sup>5</sup>

After Tanganyika became independent, the East African High Commission was succeeded by the East African Common Services Organization, which performed the same functions as its predecessors.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the East African Common Services became the East African Community. The East African Community was formed to establish a customs union, to facilitate the industrial development of the area, and to carry on research activities and common services previously controlled by the East African Common Services organization. The community was re-established by a treaty signed by three member nations in Kampala, Uganda, on June 6, 1967.<sup>7</sup>

The community provides for free intercommunity trade and a system of common external tariffs; there is also a system of transfer taxes that may be imposed on certain commodities imported from other members by a country with a trade deficit within the other two members. Transportation and communications services are handled by community corporations for railways, harbors, post

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Encyclopedia Britanica, East African Community, University of Chicago Macropedia, Vol. III (1974), p. 754.

<sup>7</sup> The East African, East African Common Services Report (Nairobi: Kenya Government Press, 1966), p. 3.

and telecommunications, and airways.<sup>8</sup> The East African Development Bank, established in 1967, provides and emphasizes projects that tend to make the three economies complementary.<sup>9</sup> Although all three countries contribute on an equal basis to the bank, Kenya, the most advanced, receives a smaller share of investments and guarantees in accordance with the policy of even development among the states.

East Africa is also the meeting point for all the continent's major linguistic groups. Even "Click Language" is represented in Central Tanzania.

## EAST AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY

### Regional Survey

East Africa borders the Indian Ocean for about eight hundred miles, and the coastlands form a very distinctive zone, although the plain is only one hundred miles wide around the Kenya and Tanzania border.<sup>10</sup> Winds from the ocean bring a high rainfall to most of the land close to the coast. This fertile land is quite densely populated. The rainfall drops quite rapidly inland and land quickly becomes arid and sparsely populated. As one travels from the interior towards the coast, the change from scared bush to forest is evident.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>East African Community Annual Report (Nairobi: Kenya Government Press, 1969), p. 38.

<sup>10</sup>Charles M. Good, Jr., Dimensions of East African Cultures (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 88.

Some of the special characteristics of the coastland stem from the fact that many people have approached them from the sea and have not penetrated far inland. Although most of the population is African there is a substantial Arab settlement, in sharp contrast to the rest of East Africa. Mombasa is an old town (see map of East African cities on page 96), Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga are not. These three cities are distinctive in that through them passes most of the foreign trade of East Africa.<sup>11</sup> This tends to quicken the pace of economic activities there, although in the whole zone the high temperature (high humidity) resulting from the low altitude tends to slow it down.

The coastal zone includes the islands of Zanzibar, and Pamba and Mafia together. They constituted a separate state for over one hundred years until they joined with Tanganyika to form a new state of Tanzania in 1964.<sup>12</sup>

### The Nyika Plateau

Away from the coast the land rises fairly gently to flat plateaus covering between 3,500 to 5,000 feet above sea level, known in some areas as Nyika (Swahili for wilderness). This is an area of short rainfall, poor scrub vegetation, and very sparse population, separating richer lands in the interior from the sea.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>A. M. Wilson, Social Change in Modern Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 35.

<sup>12</sup>Carey Jones, Geographical Journal, Vol. 131, Part 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 186.

<sup>13</sup>E. P. Seggerson, Physiography of East Africa (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1962), p. 10.

It is broken by mountain ranges notably Usambara and Pare mountains Taita hills, where relief brings about a higher rainfall and where more people have settled. Further south, it is broken by a zone of lowland in the basins of the Ruaha and Rufingi rivers where settlement is discouraged by periodic floods and disease rather than by low rainfall. Water, scarce in East Africa, is abundant there and can be controlled. This area offers promise for future agricultural development. In the south of Tanzania the plateau reappears, but the rainfall exceeds thirty inches in most years, and much of the land is under cultivation.<sup>14</sup> The rainfall is unreliable, soil is poor, and the area is remote from central economic life in Tanzania.<sup>15</sup>

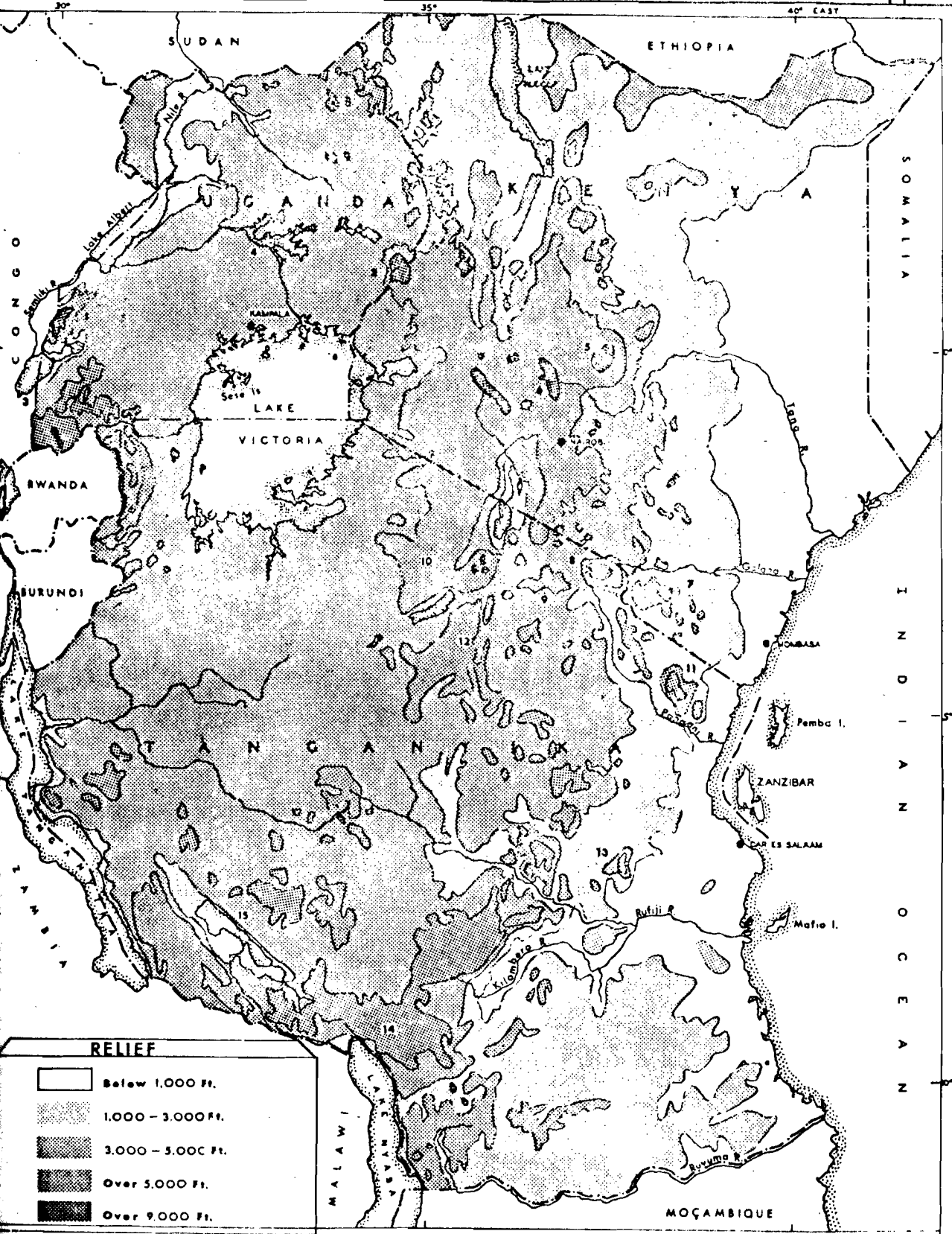
The highland south of the Nylka has recent volcanic rocks. It stands up as highlands, reaching to 19,500 feet including Kilimanjaro, Mt. Kenya and Elgon (see map on page 14). From the land over seven thousand feet above sea level, it extends three hundred miles westward almost to the shore of Lake Victoria. Although it is broken by the "North Rift Valley" (not shown in the map), the floor of which in places lies six thousand feet below the land to either side.<sup>16</sup> In this highland, heavy rainfall and fertile volcanic soils provide excellent conditions for agriculture. Much

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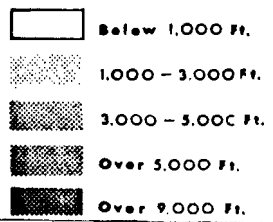
<sup>14</sup>J. H. Johnson, Rainfall in East Africa, Q. F. R. Vol. 5, 88 (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1962), pp. 1-9.

<sup>15</sup>ibid., p. 10.

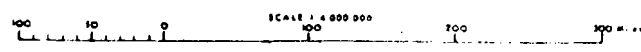
<sup>16</sup>Seggerson, op. cit., p. 10.



RELIEF



- 1. Ruwenzori Mts.
- 2. Mt. Elgon
- 3. L. Edward
- 4. L. Kyoga
- 5. Mt. Kenya
- 6. Aberdare Ra.
- 7. Taita Hills
- 8. Mt. Kilimanjaro
- 9. Mt. Meru
- 10. Serengeti Plain
- 11. Usambara Mts.
- 12. Mbutu Highlands
- 13. Uluguru Mts.
- 14. Southern Highlands
- 15. L. Rukwa



INTERNATIONAL BDT  
 PRINCIPAL TOWNS



of the land is under cultivation, but the fruit of this agricultural production is offset by the dense population.<sup>17</sup>

### Lake Victoria Basin

The land falls slightly northward from the central plateau of Tanzania towards the Lake Victoria Basin, and the density of the population is increased greatly. The Basin is one of the richest zones of East Africa, supporting over a quarter of the population of the region. The country receives more rain and has more fertile soil than that to the south, and advantage has been taken of its agricultural opportunities. The land around the lake in some ways forms a single unit, although it is divided among the three states. This region is densely settled by farmers who produce much cotton as well as animal food crops, also bananas (Uganda) and coffee, providing a green landscape all year around.<sup>18</sup>

## THE ECONOMY

### Subsistence Economy

"In terms of the activity of an average East African man or woman, the subsistence element in East African economies is probably still dominant."<sup>19</sup> That is to say, the amount of time the average East African spends on activities that merely keep

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<sup>17</sup>W. T. W. Morgan and N. M. Shaffer, Distribution and Density (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 36.

<sup>18</sup>ibid., p. 38.

<sup>19</sup>B. F. Johnson, The Staple Food Economics of Tropical Africa (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 142.

him alive and functioning is greater than the amount of time he spends earning discretionary income. The average East African is more in than out of the subsistence tribal economy.<sup>20</sup> He produces most of the goods and services he consumes.

The permeation of the money economy throughout Africa not only has considerable importance in its own right but will influence the whole pace of economic development in the future. It is almost impossible for anyone who has not lived in a subsistence economy to appreciate how profoundly it affects one's activities and outlook. To live in a subsistence economy means to live a hand-to-mouth existence in a world of great risk and uncertainty. Without the techniques or facilities for storage of food over any appreciable period, the East African is dependent on the yearly crop or his luck in hunting or fishing. Nearly every people have a "hungry season" when the last season's crop has been eaten and the new crop has not yet come in. The risk and uncertainty affecting a whole "community" is less with the spread of the money economy, because it is possible for individuals both to create a margin of security for themselves by setting aside a permanent store of value in the form of money and to survive apart from the community.<sup>21</sup>

### The Public Sector

From a comparatively late point in the development of East Africa, the government role in the economy was a major one. The private investments and the stimulation of production was encouraged

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p. 147.

by the government. The corollary of this is the continuing importance of the government as employer and of the publicly owned sector generally in the national accounts.

In East Africa, "current government expenditures run over 15 percent of the gross national expenditure."<sup>22</sup> If one adds the operations of the railway, electricity authorities, ports, etc., and the investments in the whole part public sector, the total approaches "one-third of the gross domestic product." Together they are, therefore, the dominant economic influence in the money economy of East Africa.<sup>23</sup> Many East Africans expect the state or public agency to be their employer. This has the effect of reinforcing one of the worst heritages of colonialism--the East African's acceptance of the idea that the best job to have is a government post.

#### Excessive Expectations for Public Service

The paternalistic attitude of colonial administration, particularly after World War II, also left behind the habit of expecting considerable benefit from free public services--free schools, free medical services, free or subsidized electricity, and subsidized housing.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, East Africa, Vol. 4 (1974), p. 576.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 577.

<sup>24</sup>A. H. Jamal, The Critical Phase of Emerged African States (Afairasi: East African Publishing House, 1965), p. 101.

The colonial government provided most of this for East Africa's cities--usually at the expense of the "agricultural population." But with the growth of the cities, and the legitimate political demand for the expansion and extension of these services throughout the land, it becomes financially impossible to maintain them on the uneconomic basis of the past. It is also economic nonsense to consume resources in subsidies rather than use them for economic development.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the world, pressure for such services is present. The way it is kept in line with what is economically feasible is either to charge the economic price or to hand over responsibility for the services to the local government concerned, in which case the citizens can make a choice between paying higher taxes or using the money for other purposes.<sup>26</sup> But, with the usual East African centralization of responsibility for these services in the national government, this economic calculus does not occur so immediately and directly. Pressure for the services thus tends to lead the East African governments constantly to increase their expenditures for them and to give lower priority to other investments that might in fact result in faster growth of the national income.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

## POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

According to the mid-year population estimates for 1968, the population of East Africa was 26.8 million.<sup>28</sup> Based on the total land area of 642,252 square miles, mean population density of forty-two persons per square mile is obtained. When compared with the major countries of Europe and Asia the mean population of East Africa is very low. According to the 1961 census, India had a total population of 438 million on an area of 126 million square miles, with a mean population density of 319 persons per square mile.<sup>29</sup>

Table 1

## Mean Population Estimates Per Space Land (1968)

	Total Land Area (Square Miles)	Estimated Population 1968	Mean Population Per Square Mile
Kenya	219,789	9,104,000	41
Tanzania	342,171	10,325,000	30
Uganda	80,292	7,367,000	92

Regional Population

The population of East Africa may be broadly divided into three main categories: first, those around the shores of Lake

<sup>28</sup>Oxford Economic Atlas, East African Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 174, 216, and 221.

<sup>29</sup>ibid..

Victoria; second, those in the highlands country and in the foot-hills of the major mountains; third, those in the coastal belt.<sup>30</sup>

Lake Victoria is ringed on almost all sides by areas of dense population. In Tanganyika, the lake and west regions, which surround the southern half of the lake, comprised in 1967 a population of some two and a quarter million over a quarter of the total population of Tanganyika, although the land area formed only one-eleventh of the country's total. On the north-western and northern side of the lake, the Masaka, Mengo, and Busoga districts of Uganda contained in 1968 two and one-half million people. Finally, on the north-eastern side Luo country in the Nyanza Province of Kenya likewise showed in 1968 comparable densities of over two hundred persons per square mile.<sup>31</sup>

In the group of the mountain areas, we must include the thickly populated districts of Central Province of Kenya, where the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru land units cluster. In some districts population densities range to two hundred to five hundred persons per square mile. North Nyanza and around the slopes of Mount Elgon have densities varying from three hundred to five hundred per square mile, while on the western side of the mountains, Uganda districts have similar densities of between two hundred to three hundred persons per square mile. In Tanzania, the category of thickly populated mountainous regions includes the southern slopes of

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<sup>30</sup>W. T. W. Morgan and N. M. Shaffer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 27.

Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru and Livingstone Mountain in Southern Highlands.<sup>32</sup>

The coastal belt consisting of a strip of low lying country constitutes our third region of highly populated density. This area has been subject to substantial immigration. The population was attracted not only to coastal cities, but also by the large sisal and sugar industrial plants, oil refinery, and shipping labor which have drawn immigrant labor from all parts of East Africa.<sup>33</sup>

### Urban Population

Precise international comparisons tend to be vitalized by the fact that the destination of urban population varied from country to country and from census to census. It is also true that urbanization of the population of East Africa is extremely low.

In the Tanzania census of 1968, thirty-three "gazetted townships" were defined which comprises an aggregate population of 664,072 persons of all races, or 5.1 percent of the total population of the country.<sup>34</sup> Of this population, over a third were in Dar-es-Salaam (228,742) and Tanga (138,053).

In Uganda the census of 1968 contained as "gazetted townships" those which comprised an aggregate population of 409,075

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<sup>32</sup>Seggerson, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>34</sup>R. G. Abraham, "East African Township," in A. W. Southhall (ed.), Social Change in Modern Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 300.

persons of all races, or 2 percent of the population of the country.<sup>35</sup> Of these, over one-third consisted of the populations of Kampala and Jinja. For the purpose of the Kenya population census, urban areas were divided into four categories: municipalities, grade "A" townships, grade "B" townships and trading centers.<sup>36</sup> Not all trading centers were defined as separate census areas and when the results of the census were obtained, it was found that several of the grade "B" and even some of the grade "A" had such small populations that they could scarcely be regarded as towns in the normally accepted meaning of the word. The author, therefore, defined urban areas as towns with a total of over two thousand people. There are approximately thirty-four towns of over two hundred population.

#### PEOPLE

It is difficult in the tradition of great social and cultural diversity, to distinguish East Africa by tribe; but it is very difficult to give definitions of units that will accommodate the wide range of factors. Clearly, tribe has reference to a distinctive group of people that possess the heritage of a common culture "the total of their forms of social organization, historical traditions, law and customs, value and beliefs."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>37</sup> W. T. W. Morgan, "East Africa, Its People and Resources," People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 34.



Thus, it is necessary to be somewhat arbitrary in distinguishing the various people of East Africa. The term "tribes" has the same sort of imprecise usefulness, difficult to define specifically, as the term "class" in western, industrialized countries.<sup>38</sup> The late Dr. Leaky (archeologist and sociologist) classifies East African people into three distinctive parts. They are broadly classified on "linguistic and traditional basis" into Nilotes, Nilo-himites, and Bantus.<sup>39</sup> Such distinctions are

Table 2

The Distribution of the African and the "Non-African"  
in Proportion, by Cities  
1968<sup>40</sup>

Country	African	"Non-African"
Tanzania	4.1%	72.1%
Uganda	3.0	85.0
Kenya	5.3	85.0

very adequate to the activities and interests which are of concern to the people themselves in their ordinary lives. For example, the Luo (nilotic) with their communal living society, and with a mixed economy of agriculture, do not resemble the Masai (nilo-himites) with their pastoral economy who are non-farmers, they

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup> R. G. Abraham, *op. cit.*, p. 318. "Non-African" comprises people (male or female) of European or American origin, Arabs, Indians and Far East Asians.

do not eat sea food. The Bantus in East Africa (found mainly on the southern hemispheres of Africa) have an exceptionally wide range of cultures and economic systems.<sup>41</sup>

### The Tribal Classification

The term East African people identifies about "110 different people in the mainland Tanzania, about 35 in Kenya, and about 37 in Uganda."<sup>42</sup> Of these, five comprise over a million people each; forty-three exceed one hundred thousand people. The smallest tribes contain only a few hundred people, but their culture, intermediate zones are generally between one and another.<sup>43</sup> Blacker's book of East African "demography" provides an adequate, overall account of the traditional culture and social system of perhaps thirty of these tribes.<sup>44</sup>

A number of larger and important tribes remain still undescribed by modern standard needs. Published studies of social and economic changes in recent decades are fewer, even for those people, such as Kikuyu and Chagga, where change has been most radical. Most books dealing with the traditional culture of East African people were written many years ago, and are not reliable

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<sup>41</sup>Morgan, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>42</sup>ibid., p. 36.

<sup>43</sup>E. A. Blacker, "Demography" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 43. The best general surveys of available information are contained in the volume of the "Ethnographic Survey of Africa (East Central Africa)," (London: International African Institute, 1970), p. 70.

<sup>44</sup>ibid., p. 79.

guides for the study of people of East Africa in the second half of the twentieth century.

### Historical Clusters

Although some tribes remain as little more than names on the ethnographic map, it is possible to group the better known people into clusters which are identifiable in terms of common historical traditions, linguistic similarities, and certain related social institutions and values. As far as present knowledge goes, the following clusters are fairly clear. Only the larger tribes are indicated in the lists.

Tribal names are given in their root forms:

- (a) Nilotes--Acholi, Alur, Lango, Luo, Padhola
- (b) Nilo-Hamites--(eastern Nilotes)
  - 1. Teso Cluster--Karamojong, Teso, Turkana
  - 2. Kalegin-Elgeyo, Kipsiqis, Nandi, Tuqen
  - 3. Masai Cluster--Arusha, Masai Samburu
  - 4. Tatoq Cluster--Barabaig
- (c) Inter-custrine Bantu--Ganda Ha, Haya, Kiga, Nkole, Njoro, Pundi, Rwanda, Soya, Toro
- (d) Elgon Bantu--Aisu, Lugya
- (e) North Eastern Bantu--Chagga, Embu, Gusii (kissi) Kamba, Kikuyu, Meru, Mbere
- (f) Coast Bantu-Bondei, Digo, Mijikenda, Sambaa, Zigua
- (g) Nyamwezi Cluster--Bena, Hehe, Sangu
- (h) Luguru Cluster--Kaguru, Luguru, Ngru<sup>45</sup>
- (i) Rouma Cluster--Makinde, Makua, Mawia<sup>45</sup>

In no case are all the people of a cluster identical in their economic system. In terms of their traditional economic systems and the exploitation of the natural resources, a more understandable classification can be made in the following way.

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<sup>45</sup>ibid., p. 15.

A. Primary Pastoral Economy, with little or no agriculture--  
Barabaig, Boran, Masai, Redille, Saburu, Somalia, Pastoral suk  
Turkana

B. Mixed Pastoral and Agricultural Economy

1. Pastoralism predominant--Aogo, Karamojong, Kipsiqis,  
Kuna, Nandi

2. Agriculturalism predominant--Arusha, Beia, Kissi,  
Ha, Hehe, Iraqw, Iramba, Kamba, Lango, Luqata, North Luhya,  
Luo, Njakjusa, Padhola, Rangi, Highland Suk, Sukuma, Teso;  
Tugen, Turu

C. Mainly Agricultural Economy, with minor pastoral  
interests--Acholi, Alur, Chagga, Embu, Aisu, Kikuyu, Nyoro,  
Sambaa, Toro

D. Primary Agricultural Economy, with little or no hus-  
bandry--Digo, Ganda, Haya, Kiga, Konjo, Makua, Ngori, Ngindo,  
Nyanwazi, Soga, Yao, Zaramo, Ziqua<sup>46</sup>

There have been great basic changes that have occurred in  
the last two decades toward a greater development of agricultural  
interest, slight disappearance of tribal territories (traditions  
of belief), due density, increasing demand for cash income, and  
greater attention to crop production, husbandry by government and  
commercial concerns.<sup>47</sup>

#### AFRICAN HERITAGE

In general African cultural social background relevant  
to economic development is very different from that of any other  
developing region of the world. Because of Africa's geography,  
great size and climate, it was after 1900 that the influence of  
the rest of the world began to reach most of Africa South of  
Sahara.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> h. K. Schneider in W. R. Bascom and M. J. Herskovits,  
Continuity and Change in East African Cultures (Chicago: University  
of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 144-167.

Perhaps there is a need to break the old African traditional heritage that is passed to modern Africa. A study of the old African economy shows that it was one in which the methods of production were simple and the units of production were small. The middle-men were both hated and indispensable. Agricultural progress was seriously impeded by the perpetuation of communal right-over land.<sup>49</sup> Chronic underemployment was one of its basic problems and, despite moral exhortations among the people, the propensity to save was low. It was an economy heavily dependent on foreign sources for improved industrial and agricultural methods and, to some extent, for capital.<sup>50</sup> The ambitious young men often preferred careers in the professions and government service. Men here wrongly pinned their hopes on industrialization and economic nationalism to absorb its growing population. Industrialization was slow to come, and the blessing of economic nationalism proved to be mixed.<sup>51</sup>

### The Extended Family

Perhaps even more important than economic outlook, both positively and negatively, is the inheritance of the continuing strength of the tribal ties to which nearly all East Africans are subject. To begin with, one must consider the "Lineage Systems"

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<sup>49</sup>ibid., p. 152.

<sup>50</sup>A. I. Richard, Economic Development and Tribal Change (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 78.

<sup>51</sup>Industrialization in East Africa, 5th Edition. Published by United Africa Press, Nairobi, 1966, p. 87.

or "extended family"--under which an individual has deep ties with and feels obligation to a large number of people beyond the nuclear family of the fathers, mother and children.<sup>52</sup> Good fortune is shared with many others and in crisis one individual can call on help from many others.

Unfortunately, in terms of potential economic development, the extended family has many drawbacks. It tends to discourage individual enterprise and initiative, as the burden of family obligations rise with the degree of an individual's success.<sup>53</sup>

There are other drawbacks. Family crises tend to prevent accumulation of capital, or drain away the discretionary purchasing power.<sup>54</sup> The people with small incomes find it hard to comprehend the greater cost of living of individuals with higher incomes.

The age structure for the East African population is significant, for, as in most underdeveloped countries, a large proportion of the population is not of working age.<sup>55</sup> Children of fourteen years or under account for about 45 percent of the total population, which is comparable with the figure for Nigeria or Brazil, and in East Africa many children assist in picking cotton or herding cattle. Nevertheless, productivity is generally far lower than that of adults, and, as increasing numbers of children

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<sup>52</sup>UNESCO, "Population Movements in East Africa," in K. M. Barbour and R. M. Prethero (eds.), Essay on African Population. Routledge and Kegan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 96.

<sup>53</sup>ibid., p. 98.

<sup>54</sup>ibid., p. 100.

<sup>55</sup>L. H. Brown in E. W. Russell (ed.), The Resources of East Africa (Nairobi: Literative Bureau, 1968), p. 102.

attend school, their contribution is decreasing, although education should enhance their income earning capacity in the future.

Sharp contrasts in age and sex structure exist within East Africa, generally resulting from migration. In Njombe and Songea districts in Southern Tanzania, about one-third of the adult men are usually away. Thus, adult males make up a much smaller proportion of the resident population than is normal. The situation is similar one thousand miles away in west Niles District of Uganda. The males of sixteen or over account for only 22 percent of the population, compared with the national average of 28 percent, and in the Kingezi District less than 20 percent were adult men, according to the 1969 census. The absence of adult men is even more marked in parts of western Kenya, for they comprise only 17 percent of the Kakamega District in the Kenya 1968 census.<sup>56</sup>

In all these areas the high ratio of children to adults tends to lower the level of economic activity. This is not true of the preponderance of women among the adults, for they generally do more work than men, but the ratio of men to women may affect the economic activity in each area.<sup>57</sup>

Conversely, an unusually high proportion of men of working age means more development.<sup>58</sup> This is most evident in the cities but also applies to larger areas, such as Buganda or Tanga regions. Other factors must be favorable to attract people, but the relatively

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<sup>56</sup>Fred A. Burke, The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 11-15.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 30.

high level of activity in areas such as Buganda is certainly related to the age and sex, and especially to the numerous immigrant men who either work as laborers or grow cash crops on their own account there rather than in their home area.

#### THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF EAST AFRICA

Trading is an extremely important economic activity, even though it is not itself productive.<sup>59</sup> By redistributing goods it increases their value, and it provides much employment in the process. Yet trading is sometimes omitted in studies in marketing geography, partly because of little data available on internal trade in East Africa.<sup>60</sup> However, the main trading pattern of the region may be outlined.

Trade plays a smaller part in East African life than in that of more highly developed regions where people's wants are greater and where they satisfy few of their own requirements. It is less important even than in West Africa, where it forms the main interest of an enormous number of people.<sup>61</sup> Most East African people produce their own food and cannot afford to buy many other goods. Nevertheless, some goods are now sold in many parts of the region and the proceeds are used to buy goods produced elsewhere. Commerce is thought to contribute about 10 percent of all paid

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<sup>59</sup>M. Andrew Kamark, The Economics of African Development (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 68.

<sup>60</sup>ibid., p. 98.

<sup>61</sup>A. I. Richard, Economic Development and Tribal Change (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 83.



employment. This commerce was mainly introduced since 1900 but it has been superimposed on the traditional pattern of small-scale trade which has not been entirely superceded.

The importance of trade in East African life has greatly increased through the development of new forms of exchange which involve selling of goods for cash and buying goods produced far away. Originally such trade consisted almost entirely of sales for export overseas and the purchase of imported goods, but today an increased volume of sales is to other parts of East Africa and many of the commodities purchased have been produced within the region.<sup>62</sup>

This type of trade has provided the main basis for urban development. Both the large cities and the small towns of the regions owe much of their present importance to their trading function; even though many originated as administrative stations within most rural areas, the settlement pattern is highly dispersed and the clusters of buildings which are sometimes termed "villages" usually consist mainly of "dukas."<sup>63</sup> Most of these small trading centers grew up to handle the import and export trade, although many now serve as markets for local trade.

In review of a survey conducted by Keegan, East Africa dukas are very small, carry one hundred items and occupy no more than

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<sup>62</sup>D. A. Hawks, Official Journals, East African Trade (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1963), p. 10.

<sup>63</sup>Warren J. Keegan, Multinational Marketing (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Incorporated, 1974), pp. 308-9.

fifty to seventy-five square feet.<sup>64</sup> This indicates that the dukas were operating on an average gross margin of approximately 12 percent, which is considered to be lower cost form of distribution.<sup>65</sup> The East African duka is highly inefficient as a form of distribution because the sales per person in the duka are much lower to keep the duka developing significantly with the community economy.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF TRADING ACTIVITY

##### Nairobi

The most important center of trade in East Africa is Nairobi. A photograph of Nairobi is provided on page 33 to give an example of the modern cities of Africa. Administration, manufacturing and commerce are three main functions of the city, and are all comparable in importance, each employing more than fifty thousand people.<sup>66</sup> The 1960 survey of distribution recorded one thousand wholesalers in and out of a total for Kenya of three thousand. It recorded two thousand retail establishments compared with similar numbers in the next nine towns of the country together.<sup>67</sup> The value of all sales by these Nairobi traders in 1960 was shs. 400 billion.<sup>68</sup>

The great importance of Nairobi as a trading center is related to the fact that it performs trading functions at several levels. In some fields it serves the whole of East Africa and

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>66</sup>Morgan, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>68</sup>Kenya Chamber of Commerce, Trade (Nairobi: Kenya Government Press, 1973), p. 5.

## Nairobi City Business Area -- 1968



*Government Road, Nairobi, Kenya*

in more ways it serves Kenya and Uganda and a small part of Tanzania.

In retail trade Nairobi serves a large area, part of which is relatively prosperous. Its pre-eminence has probably hindered the growth of neighboring towns such as Limuru and Ruiru as shopping centers. Even Thika, thirty miles north of Nairobi, is more important in manufacturing than in trade.<sup>69</sup> Much of the retail trade of Nairobi, however, is dependent on the large population and purchasing power of the city itself. Many people obtain their living by supplying the needs of the administrations, industrial workers, and even the establishment of groups of up to thirty shops at various points throughout the higher class suburbs.<sup>70</sup>

The importance of Nairobi is trade and is related to its functions as the capital of Kenya and in some respects as administrative center for East Africa. There is a close relationship in which its importance in such fields as banking and insurance are also involved. Two other factors which favor Nairobi more than possible rivals, such as Mombasa, are its centrality in both Kenya and East Africa, and its location on the eastern edge of the most prosperous part of the region. No town is better placed to serve the whole of Kenya, or to serve all countries, especially since means of communication have been on Nairobi. The country south and west is sparsely populated, but in that to the north and east much purchasing power is concentrated. There are substantial, very affluent, European

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

and African settlements which are of increasing significance as cash income rises.<sup>71</sup>

### Mombasa

Mombasa is not only the leading port in East Africa but also a major center of trade. The first function has led to the second, and the two together have enabled it to become the second city of Kenya, with a population of 380,000 (1969 Census).<sup>72</sup>

Although many importing and exporting firms have headquarters in Nairobi, and their goods are consigned directly to or from the port, many others have offices in Mombasa and compete successfully for the trade of a large part of East Africa. Most traders in Moshi, for example, and many in Kisumu or Kampala, obtain supplies through Mombasa importers. The export marketing trade provides much employment outside the port area far apart from private firms concerned mainly with exports. The Uganda Coffee and Lint Marketing Board has large warehouses in Mombasa.<sup>73</sup>

Mombasa functions in retail and local wholesalers markets but this activity is small in relation to its size. Its sphere of influence is inevitably reduced by its coastal location, while much of its immediate innerland is arid and sparsely populated. The ships calling at the port provide extra trade, for they generally

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<sup>71</sup>A. M. Wilson, Social Change In Modern African Trade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 193.

<sup>72</sup>Oxford Economic Atlas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 147.

<sup>73</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, East Africa, Vol. 4 (1974), p. 579.

take on some supplies and their crews and passengers often spend some time ashore. However, this is of small importance in comparison with the export trade.

### Dar-es-Salaam

In some ways Dar-es-Salaam combines the functions of Nairobi and Mombasa, since it is both the capital and the leading port of Tanzania.<sup>74</sup> Each of these roles encourages trade, and the city is much the most important center of trade in the country. On the other hand, it does not dominate the whole country as much as Nairobi and Mombasa together dominate Kenya, for both North and South have only limited marketing connections with it. Arusha and Moshi have closer trading links with Kenya cities and with the port of Tanga. Bukoba has closer ties with Uganda and Kenya and Mowara Region is often linked physically with the capital only by sea and it is therefore commercially independent to some extent. Dar-es-Salaam also plays a smaller role than Nairobi and Mombasa combined. It is comparable in size with the latter, and its inhabitants are very much dependent on its trading functions. It is the main center of import, export, and wholesale trade for the area of 280,000 square miles and a population of 19 million people.<sup>75</sup> It is also the center of small-scale wholesale and retail trade for the coastal region while the purchasing power of the city population is sufficient to support a wide range of specialized shops.

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<sup>74</sup>B. F. Johnson, The Staple Food Economics of Tropical Africa, Tanzania (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 131.

<sup>75</sup>ibid., p. 26.

### Kampala

Kampala is smaller than the three cities mentioned above, but it is very clearly the commercial capital of Uganda. Several of the major importing and exporting firms of East Africa have branches there, and merchants import goods directly from the port of Mombasa. Many of the businessmen are middlemen who buy from Nairobi or Mombasa wholesalers and who often sell to other wholesalers in smaller towns.<sup>76</sup> Kampala controls most of the trade of Buganda and Western Uganda, but less of that of the east and north. Thus, whereas little is obtained, their cement is consigned directly from Toro to the northern towns. Little is dispatched to towns in the west for these obtain their supplies through Kampala dealers.<sup>77</sup> Although location and the communication pattern limit Kampala's role as a distribution center for Uganda, Kampala middlemen merchants have extended their sales area in the west beyond the border of Uganda to Bukoba and to Rwanda.

### Others

It is not practical to examine the trade of every town in East Africa, but some further features of the distribution of trade might be noted.

Most of the towns classified as others are majority administrative centers, and their marketing functions have developed from this. Although they differ considerably, they are very similar in

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<sup>76</sup>W. T. W. Morgan, East Africa, Economic Characteristics (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1960), p. 279.

<sup>77</sup>ibid., p. 280.

appearance. In addition to administrative functions, these towns provide services such as hospitals, and they have generally become centers of local communication. The features tend to enhance their roles in trade. The size and importance of these trading centers is generally related to the size, population and propensity of the areas they serve. Most of these towns are newly created. Their populations range from between three thousand to six thousand and they have rather less than one hundred shops, most along a single main street.<sup>78</sup> All are retailers, but many also sell goods to traders from the countryside and buy some local agricultural products.

Most of the towns created are very young, and they came into existence due to the scarcity of land. These towns are scattered throughout East Africa and vary in both size and frequency with the density of population and the local level of income.

#### COMMUNICATION ACTIVITY

Transportation has become an important economic activity. Official estimates place its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of East Africa at £45 million which accounts for 6.1 percent of the total.<sup>79</sup>

#### Road Transportation

Road and rail transportation are probably roughly comparable as sources of income in East Africa, although they differ

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<sup>78</sup>UNESCO, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>79</sup>Oxford Economic Atlas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 174, 216, 221.



greatly in structure. Road transportation is operated mainly on a very small scale; but there are so many small operators that the number of people earning a living in road transportation is very large.<sup>80</sup> Motor vehicles came into general use in the 1920's, but the greatest expansion of road transportation came thirty years later. "Today there are many more vehicles per head of population than in Nigeria or even Egypt (approximately six persons per car)."<sup>81</sup> In Table 3, on page 40, road transportation shows that the majority are private cars but the figure for vans, lorries and busses understates the volume of commercial road transportation. Cars on many East Africa roads are used, legally or otherwise, as taxis, providing many people with good incomes. This is especially well-developed in Uganda and helps to explain the small number of busses there. Within each country, road transportation activity is heavily concentrated in the most prosperous areas, especially around the capital. Traffic counts show a far greater intensity on roads around Nairobi, Mombasa, Kampala, Jinja, Dar-es-Salaam, and Tanga than elsewhere.

The overall importance and the pattern of road transportation are both affected by the nature of the road network. Road building has been assisted by the character of the earth in many areas, simple earth (murrum) road serving very well for light traffic. Although few roads are tarred, the road network is much better than in countries such as Sudan, and in much of East Africa is

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 147, 174, 193.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 147, 174, 183, 193.

Table 3  
 Transportation in East Africa (1963-73)<sup>82</sup>

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Totals
Thousand miles of roads of which bitumen surfaced	52.2	40.9	39.1	132.2
(thousands, units 000)	2.2	2.2	0.7	5.1
<u>Private Vehicles</u>	100.2	72.6	61.9	234.5
Commercial	29.5	30.4	20.8	80.1
Lorries	10.4	11.1	6.4	
Vans	8.2	7.4	7.0	
Busses	2.6	2.2	1.7	
1963 Figures				
Private	44.0	22.0	18.0	84.0
Commercial	9.0	8.0	6.0	23.0
<u>Rail-Track</u> (In kilometers)	962 km.	3,782 km.	1,160 km.	5.9 km.
<u>Rail-Vehicles</u> (units 000)	16.3	4.2	7.2	
<u>Air-Craft</u> (units 000)	.05	nd.*	.04	17
<u>Sea Transportation</u>	nd.	nd.	nd.	

\*nd. -- No data available

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 174, 216, 221.

adequate for the demand made upon it.<sup>83</sup> Some areas without roads, notably in central and western Tanzania, are found. In other areas many roads are impassable in the wet season, but the distribution of road transportation activity is related mainly to factors other than the roads themselves.

### Rail Transportation

In spite of competition from the roads, railways of East Africa still undertake most long-distance movement of bulk loads. All are operated by East African Railways Corporation on behalf of the three governments. The rail works employ more than eighty thousand people.

The entire railway system covers 5,895 kilometers, all being meter gauge, and virtually all single track.<sup>84</sup> The East African Railway Corporation Road Services is operated mainly in Uganda and Tanzania although a nucleus of road services between Mombasa and Nairobi was established to provide express services for certain commodities.

The railway has been increasing at a moderate rate over the past few years. Between 1965-1971, passenger number rose by an average of 6.6 percent per year, while the corresponding growth rate of freight was approximately 10 percent.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 147, 174, 193.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 147, 174, 193.

### Sea Transportation

Sea transportation, as an economic activity, concerns East Africa mainly through employment at the ports. Sea transportation administration is operated by the East African Harbors Corporation on behalf of the East Africa Community.<sup>86</sup> There are several sea ports which serve Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Eastern Region of Zaire.

Periodically, these harbors suffer from severe congestion with serious repercussions upon the economy of the entire East African region. The organizational changes within the East African Cargo Handling Services responsible for handling of cargo, as opposed to the administration of the port, makes handling operations slower and more inefficient.

### Air Transportation

Air transportation is less than the other forms of transportation, for it can be used only by the most affluent passengers and for the most valuable goods. In each case the re-fueling of planes in transit provides a useful source of income. Regular internal services call at thirty-four places in East Africa, of which twenty-one are in Tanzania.<sup>87</sup> The large size and peripheral population pattern of that country make air transportation more appropriate than in Kenya or Uganda. Air transportation is unlikely to become a major economic activity in East Africa until its cost is greatly reduced.

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 193.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

## Communication Media

Communication media includes television, radio receivers, telephones and daily newspapers. These sources are growing at a rate of 10 percent per year.<sup>88</sup> The growth in urban areas is higher than in rural areas. No current data are available.

Table 4  
Communication Media<sup>89</sup>  
(Thousands) 1963

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania
Television	22.1%	10.0%	0.0%
Radio Receivers	70.1	40.0	30.0
Telephones	6.1	6.1	3.2
Daily Newspapers	19.0	12.3	8.3

### SUMMARY

This review of literature was divided into eight areas which are pertinent to this study. It was designed to provide background information related to:

- A. East African Political Environment
  1. Regional Survey
  2. Nyika Plateau
  3. Lake Victoria Basin

<sup>88</sup>Morgan, East Africa, Economic Characteristics, p. 36.

<sup>89</sup>Oxford Economic Atlas, op. cit., Table 1.

- B. The Economy
  - 1. Subsistence Economy
  - 2. The Public Sector
  - 3. Excessive Expectations for Public Service
- C. Population Distribution
  - 1. Regional Population
  - 2. Urban Population
- D. People
  - 1. Tribal Classification
  - 2. Historical Clusters
- E. African Heritage
  - 1. The Extended Family
- F. Understanding the Economic Activities of East Africa
- G. The Distribution of Trading Activity
  - 1. Nairobi
  - 2. Mombasa
  - 3. Dar-es-Salaam
  - 4. Kampala
- H. Communication Activity
  - 1. Road Transportation
  - 2. Rail Transportation
  - 3. Sea Transportation
  - 4. Air Transportation
  - 5. Communication Media

## Chapter 3

### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

#### EAST AFRICAN ELITE

This survey was conducted and certain information provided to the argument of the study. However, difficulties of conducting research in the formerly British-controlled territories of East Africa are no different from those encountered elsewhere, only more intense because of lack of basic bench-mark data and basic socio/economic data. Stratified probability sampling in more advanced societies can be designed in many ways. Voters rolls, rate-payers registers, and the like are usually up-to-date and easily available to the researchers. Such data do not exist in East Africa.<sup>1</sup> Survey research must be designed, therefore, on what data are available. There is little constructive value in the criticisms of the purist that sampling techniques used in Africa do not fit acceptable Western standards.<sup>2</sup> It is true that they do not but Leonard Doob states that "the scholarly or scientific gains to be derived from

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard W. Doob, Periodic Surveys in Sub-Saharan Africa (Nairobi: Nairobi Publishing House, May 11, 1970), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

valid results are so staggeringly inviting that the frustrations of the moment are rendered almost impotent.<sup>13</sup>

Marco Surveys, Ltd., Nairobi, is the original data source on its determination to publish Who's Who in East Africa in 1974. Its part information is the basis for this study.

The survey by Marco Survey, Ltd., Nairobi, had faced some difficulties in deciding who was to be interviewed, however. It took several months of careful planning. Staff lists were prepared by the four governments; directories of commerce and industry, and membership lists of all available professional, cultural and warfare organizations and societies were examined. Finally, the wage structures of the largest companies were checked and compared to the wage paid by the four governments. Every interview was planned and every respondent was presented. There were direct mail interviews, and each respondent signed the completed form as correct after the interview.

The criteria for selection to be interviewed were two. The first criterion was income. The optimum cut-off point was an income of £1,000 per annum, which is higher than the average European or Asian income and is also higher than the starting scales for university graduates.<sup>4</sup> The second criterion was the position held by the respondent. Women who have been included are elites in their own right and not persons who are simply wives of elites. There are only sixty women in the total of 1,423 interviews, about

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<sup>3</sup>East Africa 1974 (Nairobi: Marco Survey, Ltd., 1974).

<sup>4</sup>Doob, op. cit., p. 256.



4 percent, so sex was not used as a basis of tabulating the socio/-economic data.

This data is presented on a comparative basis to illustrate, by the basic classification data, the differences and similarities of the African elite of the three countries--Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Zanzibar has been included and treated separately in most of the tables.

This study is divided into three parts. The first is an analysis of the elite in East Africa based on the basic classificatory data that was collected in the original research for Who's Who in East Africa<sup>5</sup> and additional studies which, in addition to describing the elite, give insight into their opinions, attitudes and beliefs. The second is a survey of urban elite opinions on basic social and economic problems and technical assistance. It is based on a stratified probability sample of those who most closely resemble the elite in three African capital cities. The third describes a survey which is beginning to provide research into changing attitudes and knowledge that will temporal orientation, "determinism." The sample will be described at the beginning of the second part for each of these surveys, and a few sample tables will be given to illustrate some of the results of this research.

Approximately 6 percent of the Africans listed for interview refused to be interviewed. There were numerous reasons given for refusing, but the chief factors were education and personal reasons, claiming that they were not important enough to be included.

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<sup>5</sup>Marco Survey, op. cit., p. 19.

Inevitably, some of those listed were not available for interview. Five attempts were made in every case of this type before giving up. An estimated 10 percent of those listed were "not available" for interview, for one reason or another.

The interviews were conducted by permanent senior research assistants. All of these have at least a Bachelor of Arts degree or its equivalent, and are either nationals of the country in which the interviews were conducted or had many years of residence there.

Standard codes were used to clarify the data, and cards were punched for 80-column I.C.T. data-processing equipment in Nairobi.

#### URBAN ELITE OPINION

A recent study poses the hypothesis that the role of the city in Africa is that of generator, communicator, innovator, and intergrator.<sup>6</sup> The research accepted this hypothesis and designed a stratified probability sample in each of the capital cities of East Africa to test the attitudes and opinions of the city African on certain questions involving his personal life, international affairs and social problems. The sample was stratified by age and education. The respondent had to have had some secondary education and had to be at least eighteen years of age. It cannot be said that the attitudes and opinions expressed in answer to questions are those of the elite, but they do represent the opinions

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<sup>6</sup>Fred G. Burke, African's Quest for Order (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Incorporated, 1964), chapter 4.

and attitudes of a probability sample of urban African, eighteen and over, who has had some secondary education and who lives in one of the capital cities of East Africa. Therefore, the opinions of this group will be closer to those of the elite than a sample based on the population as a whole.

The people interviewed were chosen in the following manner. Each city, including peri-urban and dormitory areas, was divided into geographical units using a grid method on a base map. Each square of the grid was numbered, except for those that were in the business area--marshalling yards, ocean, and the like--and 10 percent of the squares were chosen by using a table of random numbers. The number of units of housing in each was then determined, and the quota was divided proportionately between each. The interval between units was determined and a starting point selected.

The interviewers continued interviewing to the set interval, until the quota was completed. Three callbacks were made, where necessary, for each respondent before declaring that interview void. The household was defined as that group which regularly takes its meals together. The head of the household was interviewed to determine how many in the household of either sex were over eighteen and had had some secondary school education. Those were then listed, and the person to be interviewed was selected by a system of random numbers. Only one person was interviewed in each household. If the unit did not have at least one person, as defined by education, the interviewer then proceeded to the next household by the fixed interval. Ten percent of the interviews were checked by field supervisors. The interviews were

conducted in English for the most part, but some Swahili was used in Dar-es-Salaam.

The questionnaires were pretested in each of the capital cities, and the questions were modified where necessary. The translation of Swahili was made in the usual way of two separate translators who worked from English to Swahili and vice versa.

The interviews were conducted from September 15 to October 5, 1974. The tables have been shortened for printing convenience by grouping items that have less than 5 percent response into the category, "Others." Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number, or, if the percentage was too small in a subsample, whole numbers were given in parentheses.

#### OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

The following is a description of a few of the questions which were used in pretesting a series of eighteen questions in three capital cities of East Africa to establish eight scales to assess opinions and attitudes about temporal orientation, government, confidence and optimism, science and determinism, conception of people, politics and tribalism or traditionalism. It is intended that the scales, when adequately tested, revised, and evaluated, can be used for "periodic surveys at least fixed intervals over the next five years."<sup>7</sup> Such surveys will provide scales that can be used to measure social change and that can be used to compare

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<sup>7</sup>Gordon M. Wilson, "The Transformation of East Africa," Basic Scale for Periodic Research (New York: Basic Books Printer, 1971), p. 456.

data from the three capital cities and also to compare the basic data between the elite of the urban areas and probability samples from selected rural areas.

The pretests were carried out in Nairobi, Kampala, and Dar-es-Salaam. Each was based on a probability sample of 150 people, stratified by age, eighteen and over, and education. The respondent must have had some secondary education. In fact, the sample for the pretests were chosen on the same basis as the survey described in the third part. A probability sample of this type is unavoidably composed mostly of males, young adults who are relatively wealthy, engaged in the more skilled occupations and professions, representing the politically and socially important members of the community. It closely resembles the elite described in the second part of this chapter. The research selected only a few questions to illustrate the possible value of the results. It is patently evident, however, that though these "one-shot" results are:

. . . merely interesting or suggestive, they will become significant and really helpful when comparative data are obtained over a period of time so that trends, knowledge, and public opinion can be detected and measured by established scales.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 456.

## Chapter 4

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

The age of the elite of East Africa shows some significant differences among the four countries. Table 5, on page 53, is the percentage distribution by age. If we disregard the "not stated" categories, the average ages are as follows: Kenya, 31-45 years; Uganda, 36-40 years; Tanganyika, 31-35 years; Zanzibar, 41-45 years; East Africa, 36-40 years.

Table 5 shows the average age of elite to be higher in Uganda and Zanzibar than in Kenya and Tanganyika. Uganda has 17 percent of elite over fifty years and Zanzibar 28 percent; while 4 percent of elite are in this age group in Kenya and Tanganyika. Later the analysis will reveal that one-third of the Uganda elite are Baganda; thus, the explanation of the older average age may be that Baganda has had a strong traditional, centralized government for many years, and, therefore, positions of power of authority have been open to the Baganda for a much longer period than for other East Africans. The same explanation can apply to the elite of Zanzibar.

The process of Africanization can be seen in Table 6, on page 54. There is a smaller percentage of Africans in the civil service in Kenya than in the other two countries, but a higher percentage of elected and appointed representatives due to the regional

Table 5  
 East African Elite: Age Factor  
 By Percent

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanganyika	Zanzibar	Total
Up to 25 years	5%	1%	1%	2%	3%
26-30 years	18	15	18	8	16
31-35 years	26	15	21	5	17
36-40 years	21	20	20	9	20
41-45 years	12	16	11	17	14
46-50 years	4	8	8	5	6
51-55 years	2	9	2	10	4
56-60 years	1	4	2	8	3
61-65 years	1	3	-	7	2
66 and over	a	1	-	3	1
Not stated	10	8	17	26	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	457	409	444	113	1,423

a -- Less than .5 percent.

Table 6  
 East African Elite: Occupation Factor  
 Sample by Percentage Distribution

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanganyika	Zanzibar	Total
Civil servant	27%	42%	51%	46%	40%
Elected/appointed	41	34	23	10	31
Commerce/industry	12	10	9	19	11
Trade union politician	13	5	4	6	8
Education	6	6	7	a	7
Professional	3	1	1	7	2
Cooperatives/trade	1	1	3	1	1
Religious/warfare	2	4	6	-	4
Agriculture	1	2	1	3	1
Miscellaneous	2	3	3	2	3
Total	108%	108%	108%	108%	108%
Base	457	409	444	113	1,423

a -- In a few cases the same person qualified in more than one classification.



form of government. Kenya also has a higher percentage of elite who qualify as trade unionists.

There are several ways of describing occupations. Civil servants, for example, can be in medical, education, or other services. Table 7, on page 56, gives occupations of the elite in East Africa by a different set of criteria.

### The Education Factor

Table 8, on page 57, shows that in the categories University and above, East Africa rates 25 percent--with Kenya 25 percent, Uganda 24 percent, Tanganyika 19 percent, and Zanzibar 32 percent. The high number in the last country is accounted for in Table 7, "East African Elite: Where Educated." A higher percentage were educated in the United Kingdom and India/Pakistan (52 percent) because of lack of local secondary schools. Another factor is that a well established social class structure was part of pre-Independence culture. The upper class in Zanzibar and, to some extent, those among the Baganda could afford overseas education whereas those from other countries were dependent on financial help from government sources.

There was a higher percentage of elected or appointed representatives in Kenya, and this category was not so highly educated as the "civil servant" of "all others" categories. It can be seen that there are more elected/appointed representatives than civil servants or others in the lowest categories of education. In the highest educational brackets, we have more civil servants in the elite of all three countries than in the other two classifications.

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Table 7  
 East African Elite: Specific Occupation Factor  
 By Percent

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanganyika	Zanzibar	Total
Education (administration)	5%	4%	6%	7%	5%
Education (teacher)	1	3	1	2	2
Medical practicing	4	5	3	5	4
Sciences	1	1	1	2	1
Law/judicial	1	6	2	8	2
Accountancy	2	1	2	-	1
Farmer	1	2	1	3	1
Entrepreneur	2	2	1	9	2
Senior executive	34	36	61	44	45
Junior administrator	7	14	14	3	11
Legislator (only)	38	20	7	8	21
Party/union officials	13	5	4	6	8
Editors/art/authors	1	1	1	5	1
Clergy senior	1	3	4	-	2
Others (unclassified)	2	5	3	2	3
Base (all Africans interviewed)	457	409	444	113	1,423

Table 8  
East African Elite: Education Factor  
By Percent (1972)

Educational Level Reached	Kenya	Uganda	Tanganyika	Zanzibar	Total
No formal education	-	-	-	-	-
Attended junior secondary	22%	13%	8%	21%	15%
Attended senior secondary	21	18	23	13	20
Obtained certificate of secondary	12	8	3	10	8
Obtained higher certificate high school	a	a	a	-	a
Nonuniversity technical studies	5	7	19	6	10
Nonuniversity teaching studies	4	6	7	-	5
University studies non-graduate	-	22	20	17	17
University studies 1st degree	17	15	16	26	17
Post-graduate university master's degree	5	7	2	4	7
Post-graduate university studies higher degree	2	2	1	2	1
Not stated	1	-	1	1	a
Base (all Africans interviewed)	457	409	444	113	1,423

a -- Less than .5 percent.

Civil servants in Uganda are more highly qualified than in the other three countries; 59 percent have university education. In Kenya 56 percent, in Tanganyika 42 percent, and in Zanzibar 56 percent have university education. Elected and appointed representatives generally have less education. In Kenya 22 percent, Uganda 37 percent, and in Tanganyika 26 percent (Zanzibar could not be tabulated) have university education. Uganda is still the highest among the three countries.

#### Country Where Education Was Obtained

Table 9, on page 59, gives details about the country in which the respondent was educated in his final year of education. It can be seen that the highest percentage of the elite were educated in local East African schools (58 percent). The United Kingdom came next (28 percent), followed by the United States (7 percent), India/Pakistan and other African countries. There are very significant differences between the East African countries, however, which are worth noting. Zanzibar and Uganda have many more elite who were educated overseas and in the United Kingdom, particularly, than the other countries. Kenya had fewer, by 10 percent, than the next lowest, which was Tanganyika.

It would be a waste of effort to detail all of the East African schools attended by the East African elite. There were nearly one hundred. What is significant, however, is to show that out of this total only a few schools account for handful accounts for more than 5 percent of the elite in each country and, moreover, this handful accounts for a very significant percentage of the elite.

Table 9  
East African Elite:  
Where Educated

Country Educated	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania	Zanzibar	Total
East Africa only	67%	54%	57%	42%	58%
Africa--outside East Africa	3	4	4	1	4
The U. S.	8	5	8	2	7
The U. K.	18	38	27	38	28
India/Pakistan	4	3	3	14	4
Australia/ New Zealand	a	-	-	-	a
Canada	-	a	-	-	a
Western Continent Europe, i.e. Germany, Norway	1	1	3	2	2
U.S.S.R./China or Eastern European Countries	-	-	a	-	a
Elsewhere outside Africa	1	1	1	-	1
Not stated	1	-	a	2	1
Total	103%	106%	100%	100%	100%
Base (All African interviews)	457	409	444	113	1,423

a -- Less than .5 percent.

In Zanzibar, the Government School, Zanzibar, had 37 percent of elite as former students, and no other school had even 5 percent. In Tanganyika, the Tabora Government School accounted for 30 percent and St. Andrew's, Minaki, for 8 percent. No other Tanganyika school had more than 9 percent. St. Mary's, Tabora and Old Moshi Secondary School each had 5 percent. Uganda elite went to King's College, Budo. This school educated 33 percent. St. Mary's College, Kisubi, can count 9 percent; Nyakasura High School, 6 percent; the rest had less than 5 percent. The Kenya picture is relatively the same. Twenty-four percent of the elite attended Alliance High School, 9 percent Maseno High School, and 7 percent The Holy Ghost College, Mangj. The remainder had less than 5 percent of the elite as students.

The British emphasis on the "old school tie" type loyalty was instilled into the spirit of each of these schools. The term, waliny teacher, has an honored meaning in East Africa as evidence the fact that Mr. Nyerere (president of Tanzania) prefers the press and radio to address him as such. We can speculate that much of the so-called nepotism that is said to exist is at least partly due to the "old school tie" spirit. All East African schools did, in fact, have a school tie, a uniform, and a crest or coat of arms still worn with pride by many of the alumni.

### The Factor of Religion

This survey did not include Zanzibar, and, therefore, the paper is unable to provide comparative figures for Zanzibar of East Africa as a whole. One would logically expect to find relatively

the same number of elite as the general percentage for the population as a whole in each religious grouping.

Table 10, on page 62, is complicated by the category among the elite of "normal Christian," which did not appear in the first survey. This category has been added because many of the sophisticated Africans were educated in Christian schools so they do not regard themselves as pagan, and yet they do not belong to any formal church. The category "normal Christian," or simply Christian, is used to describe them. We can generalize that fewer Moslems are among the elite than one would reasonably expect from the above figures, particularly in Tanganyika. Fewer Roman Catholics in Kenya and Uganda are among the elite than one would reasonably expect from the above figures about the proportions to be expected.

Moslem education in East Africa is less than education among the other religions. Protestant missions have been strongest in education since earliest times in East Africa, and this is reflected in Table 10. Even in government schools in the old colonial tradition, the Church of England, as the state church, dominated the educational field. "In the British System and in England today, religion is taught along with the three R's." This will explain the larger number of Protestants in the population as a whole and among the elite of Uganda and Kenya. Zanzibar, of course, is a Moslem country. Most of the 7 percent "other" in Zanzibar were Bahai. The white fathers of Tanganyika dominated the field of education in early German times and remained a powerful force throughout the Trusteeship period.



Table 10  
East African Elite: Religion Factor  
Compared to Population Percentage

	Kenya		Uganda		Tanganyika		Zanzibar	Total
	Elite	Others <sup>a</sup>	Elite	Others <sup>a</sup>	Elite	Others <sup>a</sup>	Elite	Elite
Roman Catholic	21%	29%	25%	34%	26%	28%	4%	22%
Protestant	54	45	65	50	22	26	-	43
Moslem	4	16	3	10	16	39	88	14
Pagan	-	8	-	6	-	7	-	-
Normal Christian	15	-	2	-	24	-	1	13
Other	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	1
Not stated	6	2	5	-	11	-	-	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	457	2,400	409	2,600	440	2,000	113	1,423

a -- The percentages for "others" is based on the probability sample (7,000) of survey conducted by Fred G. Burke. "Some grass-roots attitudes affecting political and social intergration in East Africa," paper delivered to the African Studies Association, San Francisco, October 26, 1963.

### The Factor of Voluntary Associations

The degree to which individuals in African societies join groups of voluntary association is a measure of social change. The comparison between the four countries which is given in Table 11, on page 64, shows significant differences between them. Tribal associations are much stronger in Kenya than elsewhere, 21 percent as against 2 percent to 8 percent in Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Uganda. This underlines the felt need of the Africans of Kenya for security among their own people in the face of insecurities of the old colonial system and its concomitant privileged European and Asian classes. Nowhere else in East Africa was the position of the settler or trader so strong. Moreover, political parties were banned in Kenya on a national basis until comparatively recently, although district associations were encouraged by the administration.

Kenya elite rate highest in political party membership (35 percent) as against 17 percent to 22 percent and trade union membership (20 percent) as against 5 percent to 12 percent.

Uganda elite join more groups of voluntary associations than the elite of other countries. The average Uganda elite has membership in two groups; Kenya, 1-7; Zanzibar, 1-6, and Tanganyika, 1-5. Moreover, the kind of groups that the Uganda elite support are more sophisticated. The Uganda elite rate much higher in religious (16 percent) versus 6 percent to 9 percent; professional (15 percent) versus 4 percent; and cultural (16 percent) versus 6 percent to 11 percent. The Uganda elite is only second to the Zanzibar elite (42 percent) as members of social clubs (36 percent) but significantly higher than the Kenya elite (23 percent) and the

Table 11  
 East African Elite: Voluntary Associations Factor  
 By Percent

	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania	Zanzibar	Total
Member of a tribal association	21%	8%	3%	2%	10%
Religious society/union	6	16	6	9	9
Business society	5	8	6	11	6
Professional society	9	15	4	15	9
Academic society	12	20	7	17	13
Political party	34	21	22	9	25
Charitable organization	5	13	12	42	10
Social club	23	36	25	9	29
Sporting club	6	16	11	15	11
Other organizations	11	4	5	10	8
Cultural organizations	6	16	11	10	11
Trade union	20	5	12	5	12
Belong to none	18	17	33	17	22
Total <sup>a</sup>	176%	195%	157%	165%	175%
Base (All African interviews)	457	409	444	113	1,423

a -- Many individuals belong to more than one group.

Tanganyika elite (25 percent). One in three of the Tanganyika elite (33 percent) does not belong to many voluntary associations, compared to only 17 percent or 18 percent for the elite who do not belong to at least one society in the other East African countries. Business is presented equally in each of the four countries.

Table 11 is one of the most significant of the survey. The Uganda elite, of whom one in three was Baganda, have had University at Kampala for many years. It was once the only center for higher education in East Africa. Therefore, culture, in the western sense, was for many years a factor of influence on elite of Uganda which was not available in either Kenya or Tanganyika.

#### The Tribal Factor

The percentage of the elite in each country by tribe, compared to the percentage of the population represented by that tribe, should give an interesting index of the degree to which the tribe has progressed and, indirectly, of the influence of its members.

The first significant fact which emerges is that 9 percent called themselves "Tanganyikans" and would not use the label "tribe." We can only assume that the actual percentage by tribe of this group is about the same as described in Table 12, on page 66, with the obvious inclusion of some who are of mixed percentage. The most significant fact is that there were 30 percent who belonged to Kenya tribes, 2 percent Ugandans, and 5 percent Zanzibarees. No other East African country had as high percentages in these categories. That amounts to 37 percent who were of tribes other than those of

Table 12  
Tanganyika Elite by Tribal Group

Tribe	Percent of Population	Percent of Elite
Sukuma	19%	3%
Nuyamweri	7	2
Makonde	6	-
Haya	6	7
Chagga	6	12
Goga	6	-
Ha	5	-
Hehe	4	1
Nyakusa	4	3
Wguru	4	-
Sambaa	3	1
Zaramo	3	1
Yao	3	-
Mwevu	2	-
Others (Less than 2%)	13	22
Stated Tanganyikan	?	9
Kenyan Tribes	?	30
Uganda Tribes	?	2
Zanzibarée	?	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Base</b>	<b>10,204,000 (1973)</b>	<b>444</b>

Tanganyikans. The major tribe, the Sukuma, represents one in five of the Tanganyika population, yet has only one in thirty-three among the elite. There are twice as many Chagga among the elite as their tribal percentage would warrant. Surprisingly, the Haya have more than their share, although all the rest have fewer, except the very small "other" tribes who have nearly twice as many.

In Uganda we would expect to find the Baganda over represented in the elite (see Table 13, on page 68). They have, like the Chagga, twice as many (33 percent) as the tribe percentage would warrant (16.2 percent). An even higher percentage, 28 percent, claimed to be "Ugandans," a classification not recorded in the official census figure. Only 1 percent are from Tanganyika and 1 percent from Kenya. Unlike Tanganyika, the smaller tribes, which each represent less than 1 percent each of the population, have only half as many elite (6 percent) as their combined percentage (9.4) would expect. Tanganyika had twice as many. The Watoro was the only other tribe in which the percentage of the elite exceeded that of the tribe, 4 to 3.2.

Kenya is unique in that there are several tribal groups that exceed their quota of elite and by almost the same ratio (see Table 14, on page 69). The Luhya have a slight margin by ratio over Luo and Kikuyu. The Kamba, Mero, and Embu, related tribal groups, are all seriously under their expected percentages. Like Tanganyika, but unlike Uganda, the small tribal groups--each of less than 3 percent of the total population, but represent 16.1 percent of it--have 22 percent of the elite. A high percentage of this group of the elite are from the numerous coastal tribes

Table 13  
Uganda Elite by Tribal Group

Tribe	Percent of Population	Percent of Elite
Baganda	16.2%	33%
Banyonkole	8.1	3
Teso	8.1	3
Basoga	7.8	4
Bakiga	7.1	1
Lango	5.6	2
Bagisu	5.1	3
Acholi	4.4	3
Lugbara	3.7	1
Watori	3.2	4
Banyaro	2.9	3
Karamujong	1.9	-
Alur	1.4	1
Banyole	1	-
Kumam	9.4	1
Others (Less than 1%)	-	6
Not stated	-	1
Stated Ugandan	-	28
Kenyan tribe	-	1
Tanganyika tribe	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Base</b>	<b>7,367,558 (1973)</b>	<b>409</b>

Table 14  
Kenya Elite by Tribal Group

Tribe	Percent of Population	Percent of Elite
Kikuyu	19.5%	23%
Luo	14.4	19
Luhya	12.5	19
Kamba	11.7	6
Meru	6.9	2
Kisii	4.9	3
Embu	3.9	1
Kipsigis	3	2
Nandi	2.2	1
Others (Less than 3%)	16.1	22
Stated Tanganyika	-	2
Total	100.0%	100%
Base	9,204,000 (1973)	457



Table 15

## Question 1

What, in your opinion, is the most important problem facing our country at the present time?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
Education	22%	29%	28%	27%
Poverty-famine	13	24	18	19
Unemployment	41	6	18	18
Economic development	6	24	12	14
High cost of living	10	3	9	8
Border disputes				
Inter-African disputes	3	1	5	3
Political instability	1	6	3	3
Tribalism	2	-	2	1
Land apportionment	3	-	-	1
Public laziness	1	-	1	1
Other problems	2	4	5	4
Don't know/not stated				
Refused to answer	2	2	3	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>109%</b>	<b>105%</b>	<b>105%</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>Base</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>1,235</b>

Table 16

## Question 2

All things considered, how satisfied are you with your present standard of living--very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
Very satisfied	6%	13%	4%	8%
Fairly satisfied	32	50	25	36
Somewhat dissatisfied	32	26	37	31
Very dissatisfied	29	11	32	24
Don't know	1	-	1	1
Refused to answer	-	-	1	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base (all interviews)	389	451	395	1,235

Table 17

## Question 3

Do you think political matters should be left to the government or should people like yourself take some active part in political affairs?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
Left to government	26%	24%	13%	21%
People to take an active part	72	72	73	72
Other answers	1	1	4	2
Don't know	-	2	8	3
Refused to answer	1	1	2	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	389	451	395	1,235

Table 18

## Question 4

Which one of the following do you think our country needs most at the present time, more schools, more hospitals, more housing, more factories, or more roads?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
More schools	40%	44%	51%	45%
More factories	40	37	28	35
More hospitals	17	10	15	14
More housing	1	6	5	4
More roads	2	3	1	2
Don't know	-	-	-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	389	451	395	1,235

Table 19

## Question 5

Now, which one do you think our country needs most: an honest government without corruption, a government that gets things done, fair distribution of wealth, national unity, or individual freedom?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
An honest government without corruption	44%	38%	51%	44%
A government that gets things done	23	18	17	20
National unity	22	20	17	19
Individual freedom	6	14	6	9
Fair distribution of wealth	5	9	8	8
Don't know	-	1	-	-
Refused to answer	-	-	1	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	389	451	395	1,235

Table 20

## Question 6

Which do you prefer--government ownership or private ownership of major industries?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
Government ownership	51%	43%	38%	44%
Private ownership	38	38	31	36
Mixed (voluntary answer)	10	18	29	19
Don't know	1	1	1	1
Refused to answer	-	-	1-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	389	451	395	1,235

Table 21

## Question 7

As you know, there are many different ways in which African states can establish closer ties among themselves. Which of the following ways would you favor: an organization for settling disputes between African governments, closer economic relations, political federation, African military organization, cultural exchanges?

	Nairobi	Dar-es-Salaam	Kampala	Total
Favor	94%	96%	85%	92%
Oppose	3	3	9	5
Don't Know	2	1	4	2
Refused to answer	1	-	2	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base	389	451	395	1,235
Closer economic relations	22%	49%	53%	41%
Political federation	26	39	27	31
An organization for settling disputes between African governments	34	32	15	28
An African military organization	15	18	11	15
Cultural exchanges	3	10	3	6
Don't know	-	1	1	-
Total	100%	149%	110%	121%
Base	366	432	337	1,135

(8 percent), only 2 percent are Tanganyikans, and the Ugandans did not rate statistically.

#### ELITE OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

Not only does Scale 1, Table 22, illustrate a sound basic knowledge of modern methods to prevent crops from being damaged, it also illustrates a similarity of knowledge between the three sample areas which are widely separated geographically. Scale 1 will be invaluable when comparing the results of our first rural study, the field work of which has been completed and is at the stage of processing.

Table 22

#### Scale 1

It does not help much to try to prevent crops being damaged  
by insects and diseases: such losses can  
never really be prevented

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	8	12	12	11
Disagree	%	88	85	87	86
Uncertain	%	4	3	1	3
Base		153	156	150	459

Scale 2, Table 23 on page 78, also illustrates, but not so conclusively, similarities between the three areas. Nairobi had 17 percent agree, whereas Dar-es-Salaam had only 10 percent, with Kampala somewhere inbetween. One could say, therefore, that



there is a higher degree of tribalism among the elite of Nairobi than among the elite of Dar-es-Salaam

Table 23

## Scale 2

A man should never marry a woman who does not belong to his tribe

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	12	10	17	13
Disagree	%	81	83	80	82
Uncertain	%	7	7	3	5
Base		153	156	150	459

While Scale 3, Table 24, shows a similarity between the three areas, it shows that the respondents of Nairobi are much

Table 24

## Scale 3

People have it within their power to bring harm and misfortune to others through magic

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	26	28	30	28
Disagree	%	45	46	61	51
Uncertain	%	29	26	9	21
Base		153	156	150	459

more sophisticated in regard to magic than in the other sample points and that fewer are uncertain. A significant number in each area, however, believe that magic can be used to bring harm and misfortune to others.

Scale 4, Table 25, shows a consensus between the three areas, but shows an over all unfavorable knowledge about science and knowledge. The majority, 83 percent, believe that many important matters can never be positively understood by the human mind. The question can provide a very useful comparison in changing patterns of knowledge regarding science in the future.

Table 25

## Scale 4

Science and knowledge are useful, of course, but many  
important matters can never be positively  
understood by the human mind

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	80	79	86	83
Disagree	%	9	12	13	1
Uncertain	%	11	9	1	6
Base		153	156	150	459

Scale 5, Table 26 on page 80, shows an unfavorable public opinion about the role of traditional chiefs and the dichotomy caused by loss of status in recent years by traditional chiefs whose roles have been largely taken over by the political appointee of the ruling party. The question will also provide useful comparative

data between rural/urban areas and will be useful in the future to measure changes in attitudes and opinions about traditional chiefs.

Table 26

Scale 5

A man ought always to obey his traditional chief

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	42	38	45	42
Disagree	%	42	46	49	46
Uncertain	%	15	16	6	12
Base		153	156	150	459

Scale 6, Table 27, not only shows an area of new problems for East African elite, but also the wide divergence of response

Table 27

Scale 6

Government and politics are so complicated that the average man cannot really understand what is going on

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	81	65	72	72
Disagree	%	16	24	22	21
Uncertain	%	3	11	6	7
Base		153	156	150	459

between the three sample points. In Kampala, 81 percent agree with the statement and only 3 percent are uncertain; whereas, in Dar-es-Salaam, 67 percent agree, while 11 percent are uncertain. The statement will provide a useful measure in future of the attitude of the elite toward government in each of the three sample points.

Scale 7, Table 28, is a new problem of investment and saving which, as you can see, has brought out differences between the three sample points and will provide in the future a useful measure of changing attitudes toward savings and the postponement of rewards.

Table 28

## Scale 7

If I had the choice, I would prefer to be given a small sum immediately, rather than be promised a very large sum one year from now

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	62	54	62	60
Disagree	%	24	37	30	30
Uncertain	%	14	9	8	10
Base		153	156	150	459

There are other examples above of similarities and dissimilarities which are even better than Scale 8, Table 29 on page 82. It does show, however, a close correspondence between Kampala and Nairobi, while Dar-es-Salaam shows a more tolerant attitude in

their response to this statement. Once again, the comparison between urban and rural areas should show an interesting and significant difference.

Table 29

Scale 8

A woman's place is in the home

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	45	36	45	42
Disagree	%	46	61	51	52
Uncertain	%	9	3	4	5
Base		153	156	150	459

Scale 9, Table 30, shows significant statistical differences between the response from Kampala and those of the other two sample

Table 30

Scale 9

The traditional ways of the past are the best

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	15	33	33	27
Disagree	%	68	58	56	61
Uncertain	%	17	9	11	12
Base		153	156	150	459

points. This fact is even more interesting when we know that in Uganda the present form of government has been designed to maintain the traditional ways of the past; whereas, in the other two areas, the present government has been designed to change, politically at least, traditional ways. The reactions of the Kampala respondents, therefore, are a significant indication of their dissatisfaction with efforts to maintain traditional ways.

Scale 10, Table 31, also illustrates that Kampala has a different reaction than the other two sample points, although there are less significant differences between Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi.

Table 31

Scale 10

The present is all too often full of unhappiness;  
it is only the future that counts

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	29	50	60	46
Disagree	%	44	27	32	34
Uncertain	%	21	23	8	20
Base		153	156	150	459

Scale 11, Table 32 on page 84, is a really significant indication of the basic dissatisfaction of the Kampala respondents with the status quo. The dissimilarity was also reflected in Scale 10.

Table 32

Scale 11

The government is doing all it can to develop our country

		Kampala	Dar-es-Salaam	Nairobi	East Africa
Agree	%	51	86	84	74
Disagree	%	21	5	10	12
Uncertain	%	28	9	6	14
Base		153	156	150	459

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this study were to:

1. Analyze the factors which have slowed the economic development of East African communities.
2. Identify the major problems encountered in economic systems in East Africa.
3. Determine the problems in developing the economic growth of the community.
4. Identify economic reconstruction needs.

All the published materials listed below were extensively reviewed. The review included library research over both periodicals and some relevant studies. The writing of this report is thus based on the information provided by the following documents:

1. Periodicals, books, pamphlets, microfiche from the William Allen White Library of the Emporia Kansas State College.
2. Xeroxed materials and books that were secured through the inter-library loans.
3. Report collected by the Marco Survey Ltd., Nairobi.
4. Periodicals issued by the information section of the Embassy of the Republic of Kenya, Washington, D. C.

In order to determine the social and economic problems of East Africa a questionnaire-interview method was used. In total,



1,423 elites were interviewed. Approximately 6 percent of the elites listed for interview refused to be interviewed.

The interviews were conducted by permanent senior research assistants.

The data collected were compiled (using standard codes to clarify the data, and computer cards were punched for 80-column I. C. T. data processing equipment in Nairobi), summarized and interpreted.

Finally, conclusions were reached.

#### SUMMARY

British East Africa was the name applied to the territories in East Africa before it achieved its independence. The territories cover a total area of 682,469 square miles, which was divided into three parts: Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. They all became independent by 1963.

The communities continued economic ties among each other and on June 6, 1967, at Kampala, the three member nations signed a treaty which was to re-establish the community.

East Africa enjoys a great deal of economic advantages:

1) It borders the Indian Ocean which provides a cheap means of exporting and importing goods. 2) it is a meeting point for trade (east and central African trades).

East Africa is divided into five geographic regions (which provide a variety of climates):

1. coast region
2. Nyika region or Savanah region

3. East and West Highlands

4. Lake Victoria region

Due to the influence of the cultural traditions, the subsistence element in East African economics is still dominant. This is evident in most of the rural areas. The public sector of East African community plays a very great part in developing the economy. The public sector is expected to be major employers in the community and is expected to provide free public services--free school, free medical services, free or subsidized public utilities and housing.

On an average scale, the population of East Africa is yet low. A clear study shows this is not true in some locations, which are densely populated varying from two hundred to five hundred people per square mile. The population in urban cities of East Africa is still low and the people do not consider cities to be their home. Details show that the major East African cities have over 50 percent of all the urban population while the minor cities are far less than 50 percent of the total urban population.

Standardization of East African people is too difficult due to the fact that the population is composed of a variety of sub-races whose traditions differ from each other among the tribes.

The sub-races classified are:

1. Nilotes
2. Nilo-Hamites
3. Inter-cushite
4. Bantus.

Based upon the sub-races of East African people, the traditional heritage carried from one generation to the other makes the economy

of the community hard to work in. Perhaps even more important on the economic outlook is the inheritance of continuing extended family, contrasts in age and sex.

The study shows that trading is an extremely important economic activity, even though it is not itself productive. The trade study has shown that trade has been playing a smaller part in East Africa and for those operating its economic efficiency is very low. The greatest part of trading activities is located in the major East African cities. This conclusion has led to the fact that the majority of the people are living in rural areas where means of traveling to cities are difficult for them, and the lack of money has probably created the situation where people have to live subsistently.

### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of the survey of literature and the analysis of findings follow.

#### Survey of Literature

If it is correct, as suggested by Kamark, that the economic lives of rural Africans are not influenced by environmental conditions more than by cultural disposition, then this would mean that the introduction for new technology should bring about economic changes relatively unhindered by cultural "conservatism."<sup>1</sup> That is to say the potentialities of natural resources can be more

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<sup>1</sup>Kamark M. Andrews, The Economics of African Development (New York: Praeger, Incorporated, 1967), p. 79.

effectively tapped by the introduction of new methods and understanding, and new forms of organization of production. It may be objected that this, in fact, has not occurred in East Africa, and precisely, some would say, because of limitations of "cultural conservatism." But closer studies quite strongly suggest that where people can see the advantages to themselves of economic changes that are both feasible and safe, then the changes do occur.<sup>2</sup> Thus, African people have accepted changes first and most radically (indeed they have often deliberately sought them) in the more favorable areas where the possibilities of new technology and new ideas are more readily applicable, and where people are exposed to external influences and have access to modern communications and living styles.

The type of national economic progress which is to emerge, the longer-term political goals, the roots of nationhood in the multiplicity of subcultures and naturally uneconomical tribal ties out of which national culture is forged remain the crucial unanswered questions which affect the economic progress of East Africa.

### Analysis of Findings

The results of the analysis has shown that the elite of East Africa have advanced to a more desirable socio/economic way of thinking. This conclusion has led the author to suggest that, perhaps, the integrating forms of tribes can be worked out, beginning with the East African elite; for, however much too depends ultimately on local and tribal support, they have more chance to see above

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

the disadvantages of these functions. The middle class is still small, flexible, mobile and unstable, not yet clearly or acceptably differentiated from strata above or below. The mass of unskilled workers are the most temporary and the least involved. If no efforts or attempts are applied, the society will inevitably continue to live in their life of ethnically based networks and subcultural pockets.

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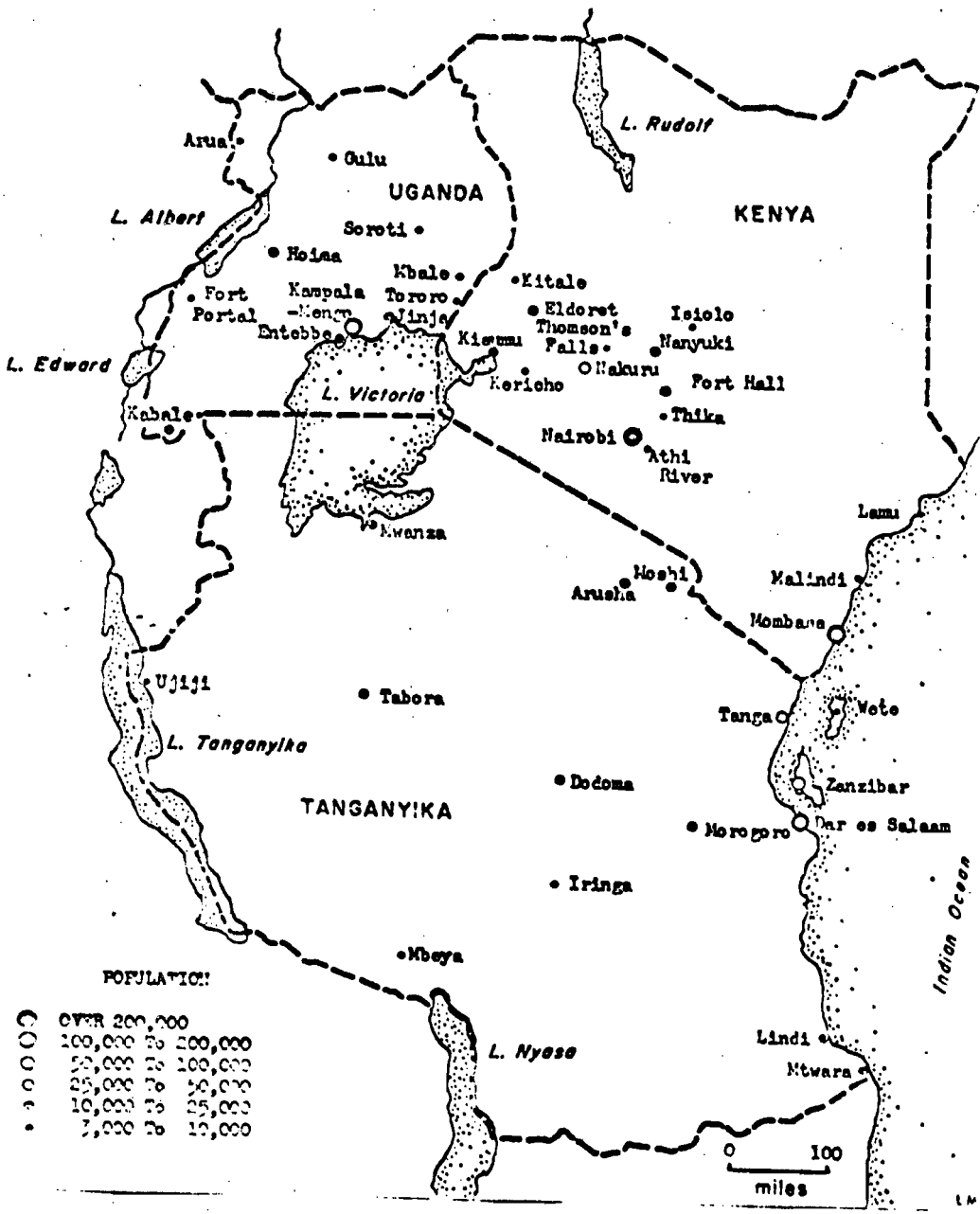
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## APPENDIX

# URBAN CENTERS



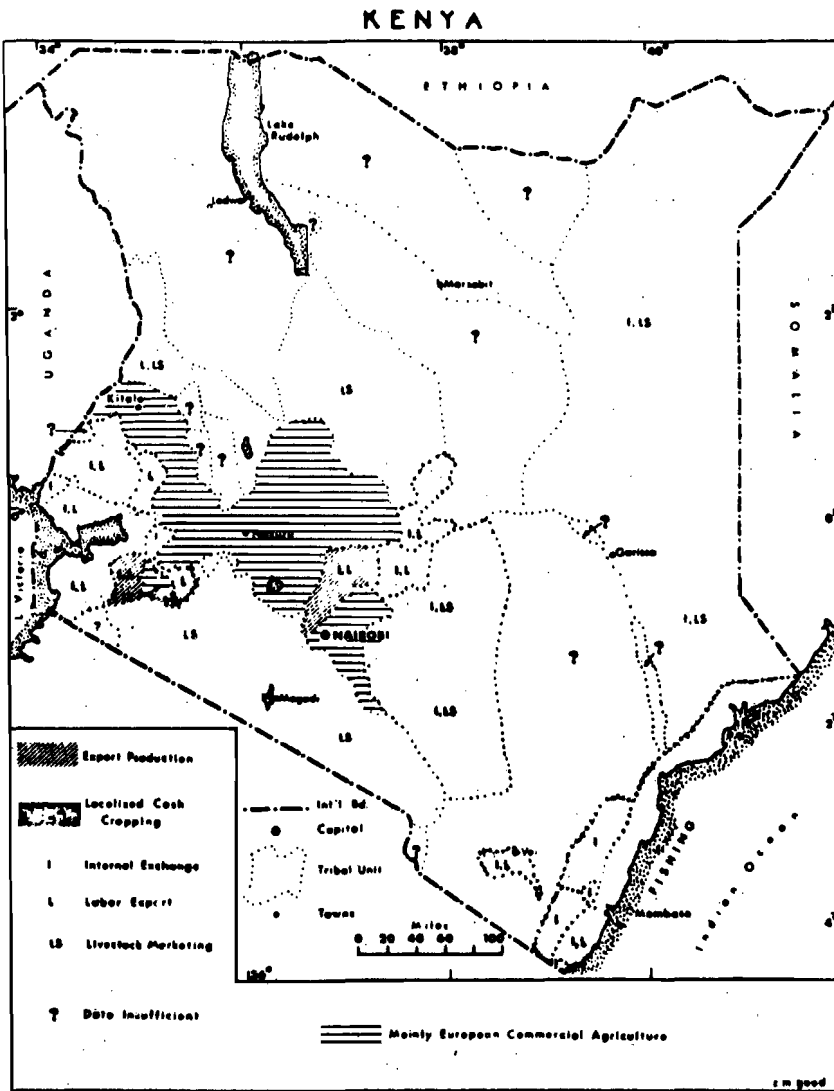


Fig. 5.--Principal Sources of Income

# TANZANIA

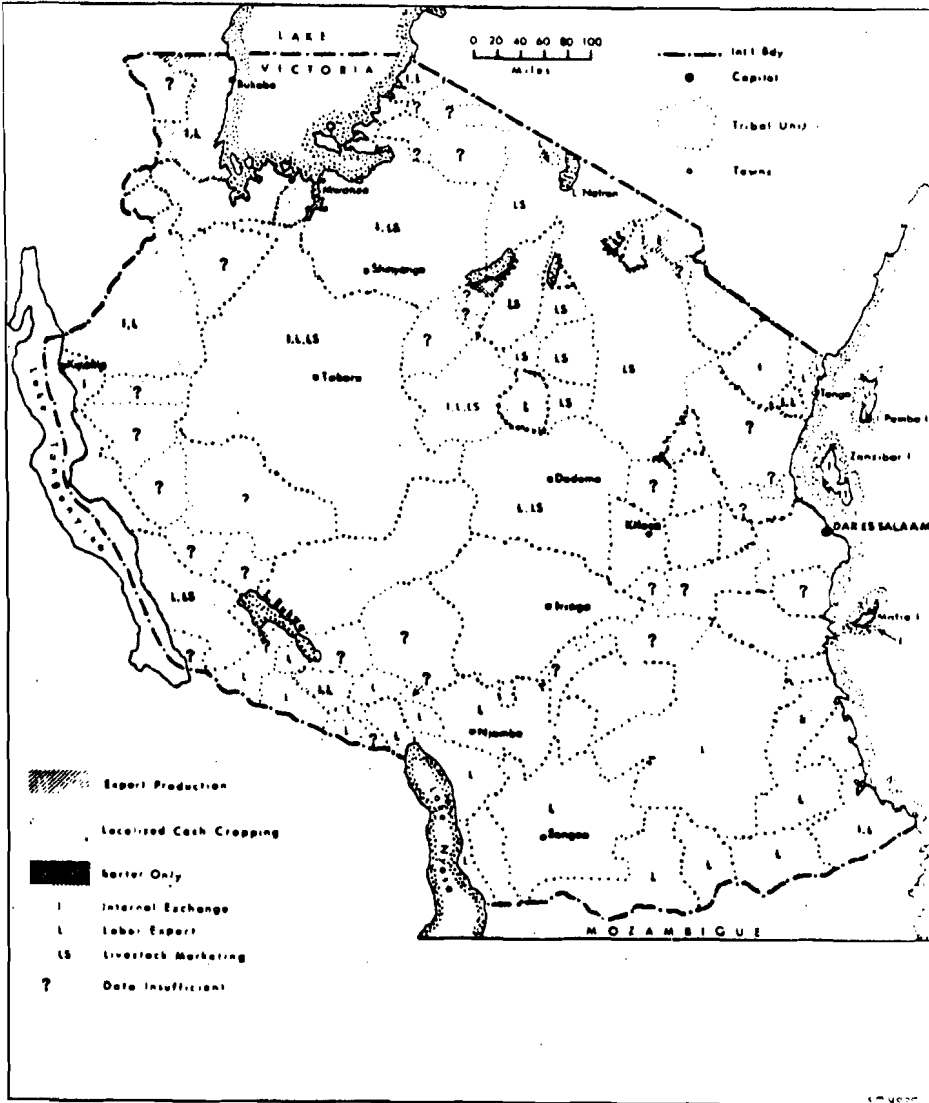


Fig. 1. --Principal Sources of Income

# UGANDA

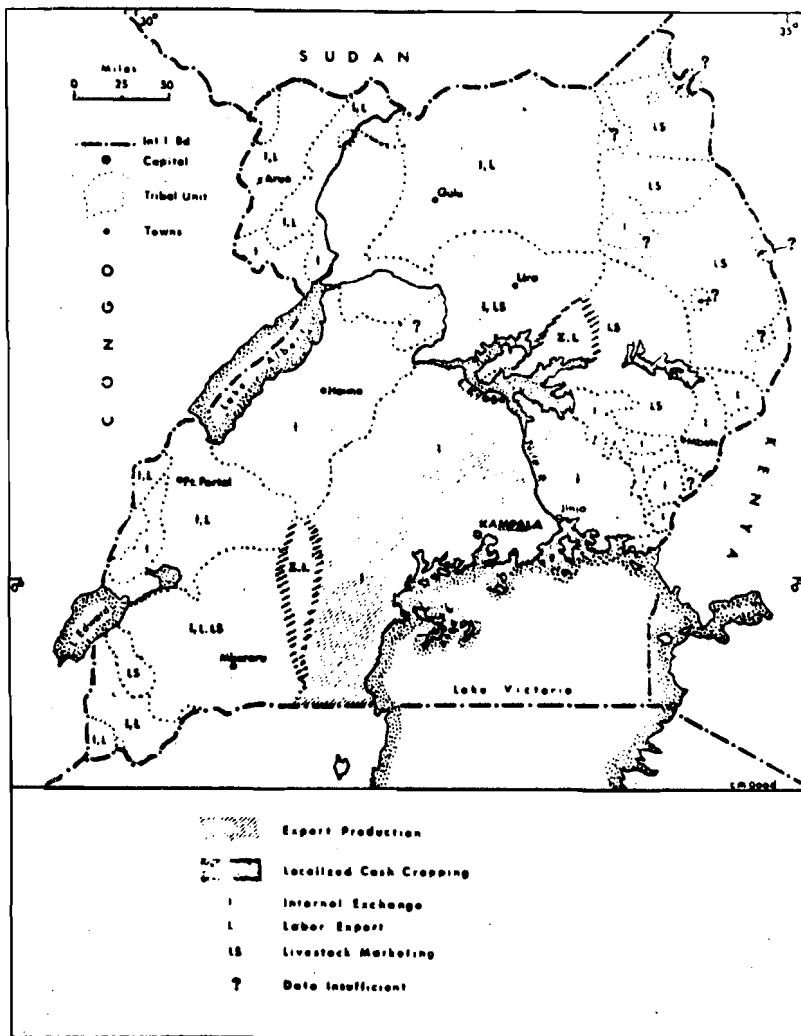


Fig. 13.--Principal Sources of Income



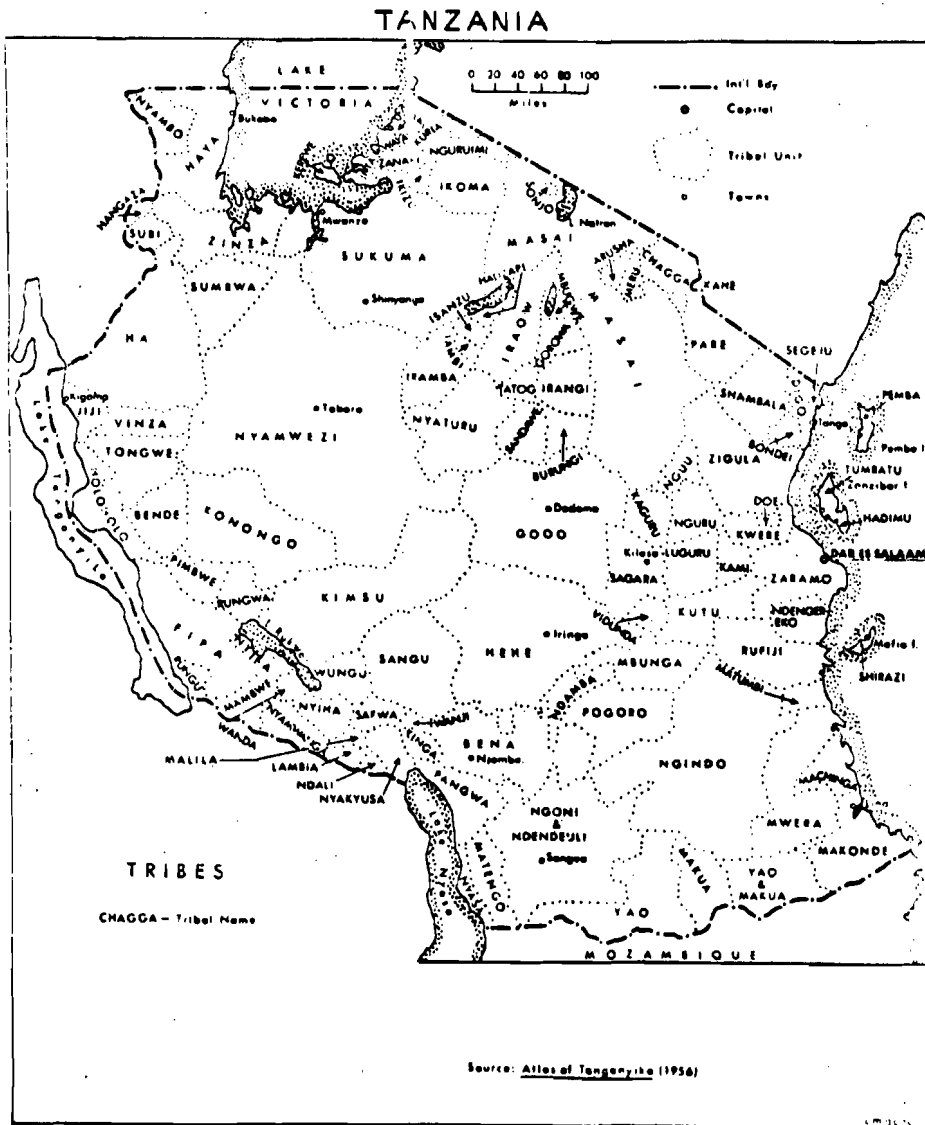


Fig. 5.--Tribal Units and Names



