

Post-Colonial and the Money Economy Trends on Work Ethics in Tooro Region- Western Uganda

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Abstract: *The study was aimed at tracing the influence colonialism and the money economy impacted on the work ethics in Tooro region as well as socio-economic development. The study was guided by the following objectives: to identify what makes people in Tooro have the kind of work ethics they exhibit especially after colonialism, explore the purpose of work in colonial and post-colonial era, establish the new work places, how influential their work ethics have been on social and economic enhancement of society. The study established that while the pre-colonial purpose of work was to cater for society welfare, colonialism introduced new civilisation and monetary economy which targeted individuals more than the family and society. The newly introduced terms and conditions of work contradicted the Tooro values and purpose of work. Economic development was now gauged on individual basis other than the family and community basis; people became inward looking with less concern for community welfare. Conclusively, the hybrid work ethics of colonial-independence era have made people take pride in their personal achievements and not success of the society. Some people have even aimed low: on achieving their target, they reduce on working. The writer therefore recommends people in Tooro to uphold and respect work, workers' rights, and the work places in order to find meaning in what they do.*

Key Words: *Development, Socio-economic, Work Ethics, Work environment,*

I. INTRODUCTION

Tooro is one of the kingdoms to the West of Uganda, within the inter-lacustrine region. It borders with the kingdoms of Bunyoro-Kitara to the North, Buganda to the East, Rwenzururu to the South and West, and Bundibugyo to the North West. Tooro kingdom started as chiefdom under Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. In 1890 it became independent under the leadership of Omukama Kaboyo Kasunsu-Nkwanzu, ((Mulindwa & Kagoro 1968). In the pre-colonial era, the work ethics aimed at meeting the needs of the community. This has somewhat changed as new purpose of work set in the colonial and post-colonial era. Pope Paul VI on Mission Sunday 1970 put it that, the excessive economic, social and cultural inequalities among peoples arouse tension and conflicts and are a danger to peace, (AFER vol. xvi, 1974). In pre-colonial Tooro, these differences were minimal and people lived in harmony. Under colonialism, different environments under which people in Tooro worked created such inequalities. People working there have continued to exhibit varied work-ethics to suit the conditions, in a way coming up with varied levels of development in the region. Colonialism introduced new purpose of work and concerns like poll tax, education and cotton cloth, as well as new work environments, away from home. Such environments included towns, tea plantations, schools, hospitals, administrative offices to mention, but a few.

Objectives of the Study were to;

- identify what makes people in Tooro have the kind of work ethics they exhibit especially after colonialism,
- explore the purpose of work in colonial and post-colonial era,
- identify the new work places, and how influential their work ethics has been on social and economic enhancement of society.

II. METHODOLOGY

To achieve the study objectives as stated above, the researcher used the survey research design. Participatory observation, questionnaires and interviews guides were used to obtain information on the behaviours and attitudes of people working in towns, tea companies, and technical institutions among others. Key informants were particularly people who hail from Tooro region aged eighteen (18) years and above. Data was qualitative and quantitative analysed.

III. RESULTS

Research findings were qualitatively and quantitatively analysed, then discussed following sub-headings like: Ethnic background, land tenure system, people's status, and work environment

Kinds of Work Ethics and factors behind their nature

Work ethics of people in Tooro region in the colonial period evolved out of several factors including cultural aspects, how land is shared, people’s status in society and various environments under which people live and work.

Table 1: A summary on kinds of work ethics and factors behind their nature in colonial and post-Colonial periods

		Colonial	Post-colonial
Work Ethics		Hard work, team work, Time keeping, Appreciation of work and workers	Hard work, time keeping, doing any work for payment, negotiating for a good salary, Individual work
Purpose of work		Family welfare, Money, Individual development, Promotion in offices	Family & personal welfare, Money, Individual gratification, Promotion in offices
Types of work Environment		Homesteads, colonial offices, Tea estates, cooper mines, Schools and administrative offices	Homesteads, Tea estates, cooper mines, Schools, Institutions and administrative offices, Urban centres, markets.
Reasons for the type of Work ethics	Ethnicity	Batooro, Bakonjo, Bamba each with varied ethnic interests and values	Mainly Batooro and Bakiga, other minority groups in towns- learning from one another
	People’s status	Royals, administrators, Ordinary people, women and children (some exempted from manual work)	Ordinary people, women and children, employed,, unemployed, immigrants
	Land tenure	Bibanja, King and royals’ land	Bibanja,, others have no land at all, milo land royals mainly

Ethnic Back ground

Tooro region is constituted of several cultures namely Bakiga, Bakonjo, Bamba and Batooro. The four ethnic groups have lived symbiotically in the same region; however there are also clear differences in work ethics depending on their special and specific ethnic values.

i) The Bamba

The Bamba also known as Babwisi are Bantu speakers living on the western foothills of the Rwenzori Ranges, Western Uganda (Langlands, B. 1971). Bamba’s activities were predominantly hunting because of the available game in their habitat (forested and mountainous part of the region). The trade demanded values like patience, cooperation or team work and commitment to one’s work. Hunting provided the community with meat and hides for clothing and bags; the latter were admired in the whole region. The trade made Bamba carry out skilful blacksmith for tools required in hunting.

ii) The Bakonjo

Until 1967, the Bakonjo were part of former Tooro Kingdom and settled all over the kingdom among the Batooro (Kagoro et al, 1968). Today they inhabit districts of Kaseese, Bundibugyo and scattered in Kabarole district. According to Nzita, the Bakonjo are involved in variety of activities as long as the activity contributes to development. They are good black smiths making iron tools mainly, clay vessels of all purposes, Nzita, (1978). The Bakonjo are purpose oriented in their work and well known for their hard work as exhibited by the amount of agricultural products and team work. Apart from self-reliance in family needs, the Bakonjo aim at increasing wealth in form of money and domestic animals. Mumbere¹⁹ years explained that money is invested again in animals especially goats which are valued for the payment of bride price and traditional ceremonies. The Bakonjo are well known for feeding some areas in Kabarole district. Kaboona, B.¹ mentioned that most of the food the Batooro in the areas of Kichwamba and Karago, Kabarole district eat is brought by their neighbours the Bakonjo. That should one miss buying food staffs on the market day; the family suffers food shortage for the whole week till the next market day.

iii) The Batooro

They occupy districts of Kabarole, Kamwenge, Kyegegwa and Kyenjojo, Western Uganda. The Batooro form the majority of the people living in Tooro kingdom and their Runyoro/Rutooro language

¹Kaboona, B. 81 years , (Karago-Bukuuku) as interviewed on 28/8/2013

dominates all other languages spoken in the kingdom. Batooro fall under two groups: Abahuma and Abairu. The Bahuma reared animals whereas the Bairu cultivated crops. The two groups lived symbiotically despite some small differences in their kind of livelihood. Different kinds of work and utensils used in different homesteads created variations in lifestyles, (Mulindwa & Kagoro, 1968).

Other cultures living among the Batooro are the Bakonjo, Bamba and Bakiga. From these, the Batooro have copied certain attitudes towards work. For example, working as a team and growing several new crops unique to their traditional ones- millet, beans and bananas.

The Bakiga

The Bakiga settled in Tooro as migrants from South Western Uganda. Their influx in the region was due to the effort of colonialists to overcome the labour shortage suffered by tea estates in Tooro, (Langlands, 1971, Rwagweri, 2003). Tea like coffee and cotton were the cash crops introduced in Uganda and Tooro region in particular by the colonialists for locals to earn money and meet their obligation of paying poll tax (Akingbade, 1967). According to Ruhweza, F², the Bakiga dominated the labour force in tea plantations because the Batooro had considered the work enslaving. Ndoleriire, O. Added "the whites forced the Batooro to work on the plantations but to no success. Harsh measures like killing their cattle which Batooro were proud of were used, but still they did not succeed. It is mentioned in the stories of Tooro that some elderly men committed suicide because of loss of their cows."³

The Bakiga were welcomed quickly by the local Batooro especially as the Bakiga demonstrated hard work particularly in digging. Their physique demonstrated energy which the locals exploited by giving them such hard work of digging tough grounds. Kaije, J⁴ explained that one Mukiga man would dig a big piece of land in a day, which would take a Mutooro three days. As immigrants in the region of Tooro, the Bakiga needed food and land on which to cultivate rather than buy food. According to Rebeeka,⁵ this has made many migrants work extra hard, demand for a quick pay and save money.

Land Tenure System

Land is yet another factor contributing to work ethics of people. The Batooro for many years have had land inherited from their fore -fathers. According to Langlands, B, land in Tooro belonged to the King in trust of his people, who were ideally like squatters, Langlands, B. (1971). People were free to use the land for personal needs, as well as use their produce to pay tributes to the King. For example the king would be given first harvests of every food cultivated and local beer brewed in homes. In regard to value for land, Rwagweri uses the Batooro's common statement; "it is ever available" Rwagweri (2003). This implies that land is there to stay; they worked just optimally. Kalya, I⁶ explained that the Batooro were contented with their wealth; they had food from their gardens and milk from their cows, unlike the Bakiga who came with real need. He further asserted that; the Batooro have given relief food to other regions in Uganda yet they have never asked for relief from anywhere! As such nowadays almost all homesteads have a cow or two grazing on a small piece of land. The Tooro rich soils offer good harvest for almost everything cultivated. This has made the Batooro contented even if one actually owned no land at all; in a way reduced some people's capacity to plan for the future. It is also noted that for a long time the Batooro have lived in nucleus kind of settlement. Munyaka, S⁷ explained the problem faced by his clansmen who refused to migrate from their ancestral land, leading to land fragmentation. On the other hand Kisembo S.⁸ confirmed that people do not want to acquire land. He said that they are stuck to their birth places commonly referred to as "*ha mutoma*". On the other hand, families with large pieces of the land, for example can afford a large herd of cattle and cultivate on a large scale thus producing extra for sale. According to Rwagweri, currently there is a shift from beyond substance to unlimited accumulation of wealth, making people restless and more hard working on the land, trying to use it maximally, (Rwagweri, 2003). For a long time in Tooro society, land was owned by males but not females. Even today family land belongs to male children except for a few cases where the daughters are also allocated small pieces of family land. A similar example is in Mozambique where women do not own land, yet they are a big contributor to the investment made on the land, Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, (2001). Women were meant to marry and become part of the husband's family. Those women who did not marry or failed in marriage were taken care of by the traditional system. As colonialism set in, an unmarried girl with no land, like males, was compelled to seek employment outside her

²Ruhweza, F. 93 years (Nyamabuga-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 20/08/2013

³Ndoleriire, O. 67 years (Makerere- Kampala) as interviewed on 1/7 2015

⁴Kaije, J 74 years (Kasogi- Kabonero) 29/8/2013

⁵Rebeeka, 34 years (Rwentuha-Kyegegwa) as interviewed on 22/8/2013

⁶Kalya I. 86years (Buheesi) a on 11/122014s interviewed

⁷Munyaaka, S. 54 years (Kasogi-Kabonero) interviewed on 14/2/2015

⁸ Kisembo, S 65 years (Bukara- Kabonero) as interviewed on 9/10/2013

homestead in order to cater for her needs. Ruhweza F.⁹ added that a good number of people sought employment in the tea companies and estates for a wage. According to Bakwata, J, “Some local people have left their homes and fields unattended to in search for a paying job in tea estates. Others even sold their small pieces of agricultural land and moved to trading centres to do petty business. Some have bought motorcycles and gone into the motorcycle transport business.”¹⁰

One housewife, Kabasomi¹¹ complained saying that if it was not for land shortage people would grow food and other crops to eradicate the looming poverty in homes. This is true around Fort Portal municipality and other over populated places near towns.

People’s Status

Status of individuals has come out as key determinant of people’s attitudes towards work. The statuses considered are the royal people, administrators, ordinary people and children.

The Royals

The royals in Tooro are from the Babiito, a ruling clan in the Kingdoms of Tooro and Bunyoro. However the queen, wife to the king elevated her clan’s status to be very close to the Babiito. And her relatives regarded themselves superior to other clans and population in the kingdom. The Queen mother figure was insignificant, her role was only in the palace. Rather the paternal aunt to the king commonly known as “Rubuga” played a big role in the affairs of the kingdom and the life of the king even governance. Other clans were meant to serve the ruling clan in all ways. The royals for example owned male and female slaves who handled daily chores in the homestead. The princes and princesses were made to stay free from work, let alone fetching water. Kaboha, B. ¹² clearly described life among the royals being spent on touring, eating, making merry and being entertained.

Administrators

The administrators were in charge of supervising general welfare of the population, yet not getting involved in manual work themselves. Commonly referred to as “*abanyoro b’omukama*”, included the county (Saza), sub-county (*Gomborra*) and the parish (*Abemiruka*). In support is the Tooro proverb, “*omuhuma tayetweeka*”¹³ Meaning that people rearing cattle do not have to carry heavy loads on their heads and most administrators were Bahuma. Instead, subjects provided some of the labour required by their administrators who considered work to be for other people other than themselves, Langlands, B. (1971). Mulindwa and Kagoro (1968), mention various duties carried out by different clans of Tooro all done for their King and his entire family and clans’ men and women.¹⁴ On addition to slaves, chiefs had prisoners at the administrative headquarters, and were made to offer free labour on homesteads and farms. This trend made Chiefs use resources available without reservation. One lady who preferred anonymity said,

“*eb yokulya biroho babirya; omusana guroho bagwota*”

Literally meaning when there is food people eat it and when the sun shines bright, people should busk in it to enjoy! Implying that, they were placed in such positions of receiving luxuries and enjoying natural resources to the full. The EAU (02) 1962/18 report explains that the Bamba/Bakonjo were compelled to work on “mailo” estates without payment.

To support this ILO (1999): Decent Work put it:

“many millions of people spend much of their lives caring for others as part of the global growth of voluntary and community work. Much as a lot of that contribution is informal, not demanding for skills, they consume a lot of time and energy. The people involved may not continue with another work like digging, driving and the like.”

⁹Ruhweza Francis 93 years, (Nyamabuga-Bugaki) interviewed on 20/08/2013

¹⁰Bakwata J. 52 years (Nyamabuga-Bugaki) interviewed on 20/08/2013

¹¹Kabasomi, K. 58 years (Kitumba-Fort Portal) interviewed on 16/08/2013

¹²Kaboha, B. 90 years (Kacwamba- Fort -Portal) as interviewed on 16/8/ 2013

¹³ Abahuma who were known economically rich people in Tooro reared cattle. Cows gave them milk, ghee, bulls which would be slaughtered young for beef and these produce distinguished them from the crop farmer. So the proverb confirms the activities carried out by cattle farmers who did not require too much labour compared to digging, planting, carrying harvested bulky food stuffs on their heads and the like among agriculturalists.

¹⁴ Abookya as the cooks, Abaduuma look after beer, Abakoorogi milk the cows, Abambukya are in charge of the kings’ water for bathing and washing. These are some of the jobs some clans specialised in to be done for their kings.

The Ordinary people

Ordinary people were neither royals nor administrators and had no special attachment to them. They were self-reliant with an obligation to work hard for the welfare of their households. Zigira described a family or a home among the Batooro as very significant, Zigira, C.A.B. (1990). In a home the Batooro found political, economic, social and religious fulfilment. The head of the home was obliged to provide good welfare for all members of the homestead; his wife, children and other family members had some work to do, supervise the work and administer justice in the family. He ensured that family morals were maintained. Mbiti, J. explains family morals to include: caring for the home's property, the field and animals. Also that people knew what is right or wrong in their use of family belongings, to safeguard the welfare of the community, Mbiti (1975).

Jaawa, C.¹⁵ described a head of the family as one with authority; a father was a king in his home. His wives referred to him as "*Omukama*" even today elderly women refer to their husbands as "*mukama wange*", literally meaning "my king". Akiiki- Byaruhanga¹⁶ describes a father as one with authority bestowed upon him by Ruhanga, the Almighty God.

(i) Women

Women have a special status in Tooro: as wives, daughters, mainly to work around the homestead, but with no land. Today under the spirit of self-reliance men and women are involved in a variety of work, in order to meet their individual and family needs. Kyomuhendo, et al elaborate on material factors contributing to Ugandan women participation in the market economy. Those factors are: economic where women desire to generate income as well as a functional market economy in existence with niches open to women. Increasingly, women in the region are busy cultivating crops for sell not food for the homes. Onions, tomatoes have taken over millet, beans and sweet potatoes to be served at table! Demographic and health factors where emphasis is on female headed homesteads, geographical mobility and urbanization that include women, political and military security, as well as government support for women as decision makers are also mentioned, Kyomuhendo, G. B. & McIntosh, M.K. (2006). Women education has also very much influenced women on work. In other wards women have external factors mainly pushing them to work more than inner conviction.

According to Nussbaum, M. circumstances affect inner lives of people; that is what they hope for, love, fear and what they are able to do. And in the case of women she says;

"in an effort to have property and money in her own names as well as economic independence and economic sufficiency, explains the manual labour women get involved in world-wide" Nussbaum, M. (2000)

(ii) Children in Tooro

In Tooro like any other community in Africa and Uganda in particular, children were engaged in the work and trades of their parents and kinsmen and women. They were taught several skills and responsibilities in preparation for adult life. The girl was expected to develop into a successful house wife and mother, while the boy into a responsible husband, father and head of the household. Mugamba, V.¹⁷ explained that girls among the cattle keepers (*Abahuma*) woke up early in the morning to start working with their mothers. Statements like '*kora nk'omwiru olirya nk'omukama!*' translated thus "work as a slave in future you will eat as a king", inculcated the idea to serve in children early. The saying '*mwiru wange*' meaning my slave boy is used in appreciating hard working young people. Appreciation is one work ethic that is taught in Tooro. For example, after eating a meal the cook is appreciated for preparing food. She too responded positively to those who have partaken of the meal; intimating that her work would be meaningless without people to eat the food. The statement goes;

"*Webale kucumba.....*" and the reply is;

"*Webale kulya.....*" literally meaning thank you for eating. With formal education, children spend much of the time in schools and less in homes w o get involved in their family's chores. Some of them are despising work. Unfortunately when they happen to drop out of school, they remain sceptical to working; this has increased irresponsible and idol youths in society

Work Environment

While all the work so far discussed took place in a home environment, other work environments of colonial and post-colonial era include towns, tea plantations, government offices, schools, hospitals to mention but a few. Most of these places of employment have clear terms and conditions of work. Workers are given appointment letters also made to sign the terms before undertaking the job.

This is in consonant with the Article 40(1) which provides for the Parliament to enact laws that provide for,

¹⁵ Jaawa, C. 83 years (Kibiito) as interviewed on 19/8/2013

¹⁶ Akiiki-Byaruhanga, B.A.T. 76 years (Makerere University) interviewed on 31 /06/ 2015

¹⁷ Mugamba, V.86years (Kyegegwa -Mpara) interviewed on 25/8/2013

“the rights of persons to work under satisfactory, safe and healthy conditions ensuring equal payment for equal work done without discrimination and to ensure that every worker is accorded rest and reasonable working hours and periods of holidays with pay, as well as remuneration for public holidays.” Uganda constitution (1995) Much as conditions of work in companies and other public place have been described in the Employment Decree 4/1975, not all these terms and conditions are fully followed. Kajumba, G. a workers’ representative (Union member) explained that these terms and conditions are accepted without any resistance by whoever wants the job. Sempala pointed out; “much as some provisions embedded in the statutes concerning laws regulating the conditions of work appear to be positive, this does not mean that workers have benefited from them because the statutes have inadequacies”, Sempala, D. (2001).

On the other hand, Birungi, J.¹⁸ the administrative officer Mabaale Tea Company explained that workers are interviewed and later appointed with full knowledge of terms and conditions of work at the estate or and the factory. Timbigamba¹⁹, a worker at Mpanga Tea Growers Company added; “a person looking for a job has no alternative, but to sign the terms and conditions of service. Otherwise there are many other “hungry” people looking for any one ready to take it with worse conditions”

Where the terms are not clear; the practice has contradictions, workers give partial loyalty to their employers. For example According to the production manager, Baguma, E.²⁰ unethical behaviours has also contributed greatly to the performance levels of tea companies which have registered decline in production in 2013/4 compared to the past. Mabaale Tea Company has had a decline in the tea leaf received from 100,000kilograms to 60,000 kilograms a day. Likewise, Mpanga Tea Company declined in leaf volume from 7000 kilograms to 4000kilograms on the average a day²¹. Common unethical behaviours include workers stealing and vandalizing valuable items of a company, selling tools without the knowledge of the employer, absenteeism from work, late coming among others.

According to Baguma contract appointments have been introduced at tea companies and Virika Technical Institute, as an effort to improve working terms²². Baguma and Mbabazi²³ added that there are some changes and improvement of social amenities, as well as the improved work conditions. Birungi, J²⁴. The Human Resource manager, said that workers now prefer contracts because workers are able to invest their monthly salary and later their gratuity. Kamakune²⁵ a shop keeper attendant described contract jobs as good because they assure one of gratuity. However, Baguma, E.²⁶ the Production Manager, explained that contract employment has created changes in work ethics. Some people reduced commitment towards work, the development and continuity of the company because they will not be accountable and not necessarily use those tools and equipment in future.

Where conditions are hostile, they oppose Todaro’s description of development which includes among others; sustenance, self-esteem and freedom, Todaro, S. (2006). For example much as that payment for working overtime enriches the pocket, workers remain with no profitable time for constructive thoughts. Brasor’ description of hard working Japanese suits this situation: they work for an average of over eighty (80) hours as overtime a month.²⁷ A gong or a bell is rung to alert workers about time for every work schedule including eating meals. In a way this makes people less responsible in managing their lives and time.

Labour challenges are enormous affecting production; it was observed that there are few people ready to work and be employed rather they prefer self-employment. Towns in the region namely Fort Portal, Kyegegwa and Kyenjojo specifically, have several of the kind who have abandoned manual work like agriculture in favour of simple jobs in towns. Since they are not skilled, they end up employed on low scale jobs which in turn give them low pay. Todaro and Smith (2006) put it clearly that rural–urban migrants engage in self-employment forms like hawking, petty services, trading and small scale commerce. The majority of the people doing petty jobs like selling polythene bags, hawking household items, collecting and selling empty bottles, and carrying loads for people either on the head or using wheel barrows to mention but a few in Kampala are Batooro. Justifiably Kampala residents do not call such persons by their names, but by their culture, Mutooro.

¹⁸Birungi, J. 36 years (Mabaale- Bugaaki) interviewed on 20/8/2013

¹⁹Timbigamba, 20 years (Busoro-Fort Portal) as interviewed on 16/8/2013

²⁰Baguma, E. 40 years, (Mabaale-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 1/7/2015

²¹Rwija, E. 45years, (Mpanga) as interviewed on 1/7/2015

²²Baguma D. 36 years (Virika- Fort Portal) interviewed on 17/8/2013

²³Mbabazi 38years (Mpanga- Rwenzori commodities) as interviewed 16/8/2013

²⁴Birungi, J.36years, (Mabale-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 20/08/2013

²⁵Kamakune, B.(Mabale-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 20/08/2013

²⁶Baguma, E. 40 years (Mabale-Bugaki) as interviewed on 1/7/2015

²⁷Brasor in (japantimes.co.jp/textfd2012 08 05pb.ht.)

Limited capital for investment has affected people's work capacity. To overcome this, some people have resorted to borrowing money from money lenders at a very high interest rate. Unfortunately failure to pay back, a borrower loses his/her property plus any development achieved leading to a negative social and economic development. Mwesige, I. (55years)²⁸ one of the victims to the money lenders referred to them as mercenaries. Todaro and Smith add, low productivity leads to low income which leads to low ability to purchase nutritious foods, which can lead to low capacity for work, having an impact to low productivity too (Todaro and Smith, 2006).

Coupled with this shortage of labour force is people's mind-set. Some people do not wish to work in their own local area, they would rather be employed far from their villages irrespective of the low payment. Sunday G.²⁹ had this to say;

Someone would rather work on a tea plantation where conditions of work may not be favourable and the pay may be low, rather than on a job offered in his or her village.

According to Musana, P.³⁰ such men run away from the villages where development is needed leaving real work in the country-side to come and pretend to be working in Kampala. One Rebeeka³¹ a taxi-driver shared his experience about his day's schedule which includes driving a taxi to Kyenjojo town from early morning and embarking on agriculture in the afternoon. His Batooro colleagues concentrate on taxi driving even when it is not profitable! According to Karamagi,³² some young men of his time enjoyed working for a shilling per day by carrying golf equipment for the white golf players. As for Kabakiddi, E.³³ her contemporaries left good productive work in their homes to work as house maids in of Indians' homes in towns.

Unlike in pre-colonial era where people worked for the convenience of the family and community members, today people demand for money. For example, payment of labourers per day has made it difficult for individuals to get workers unless there is cash at hand. Twebaze, J.³⁴ explained that the boys get their pay immediately the work given them is completed and sometimes not even completed. She used the term "*Kagweraho*" literally meaning the pay 'falls' in the pocket and immediately leaves it to pay for the day's needs. Also observed are people following work schedules without individual creativity, hence work becoming less interesting and meaningless. Often in homes relatives are paid money for the work they do or else they seek employment elsewhere. Unfortunately too unethical behaviour has been demonstrated by some employed relatives. Kobusinge supplemented by saying,

abaana abo beebwa kandi tibasiima ebibakolerwa. Abaingi basiisire n'amaka g'abobuzaale bwabu, translated to mean that some employed relatives never appreciate the kindness. And that some have even interfered with marriage relationships of the very relatives employing them!

Kajumba³⁵ explained that her work efforts at her brother's farm were not respected and appreciated by the workers. When she decided to leave, production at the farm declined even livestock reduced in numbers and quality. On the other hand, there are such young people who want to depend more on their relatives, than get work. Often those employed are irresponsible, relying on hand outs as supplementary from relatives. Karamagi, C.³⁶ explained that the challenge is bigger than seen because there are many young people still sleeping in their parents' homes and eating from their mothers' pots; naturally the mother cannot deny a child food!

Work Conditions

Different conditions exist in different places. Under institutions and companies, work conditions are stated in appointment letters, but in private companies and homesteads, one tries to fit in the state as it may be set by the proprietor. One Kamuli, T.³⁷ explained that the working terms are favourable at Mabaale Tea Company, but that much as accommodation is provided to the workers at the camps and meals are served centrally, they are not acceptable to some Batooro who have their homes near and can afford other food staffs. On the other hand the worker has no time to get his/her own food and cook, it makes living conditions hostile. Such were braced by thereally focused workers and foreigners whose homes were are far away to run back to.

Byaruhanga, S.³⁸ reiterated that working in tea companies was optional for those not ready to work on their land at home; the impatient to see crops mature, harvested and sold off some for money; they preferred ready money

²⁸Mwesige, I. 55 years (Katumba- Fort Portal) interviewed on

²⁹Sunday ,G. 55 years (Kitumba-Fort Portal) interviewed on 16/8/2013

³⁰Musana, P. 55 years (Makerere University- Kampala) in a discussion on 08/07/2014

³¹Rebeeka, (Rwentuha-Kyegegwa) interviewed on 22/8/2013

³²Karamagi , 74 years (Fort Portal Town)

³³Kabakiddi, E. 83 years (Kamengo-)

³⁴Twebaze J. 5 years (Kabaleebi-Kabonero) interviewed on 9/10/2013

³⁵Kajumba, G. 48 years (Rwentuuha-Kyegegwa) interviewed on 22/8/2013

³⁶Karamagi, C. 74 years (Central Division-Fort portal) interviewed on 07/08/2014

³⁷Kamuli, T. 36years (Mabale-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 20/08/2013

³⁸Byaruhanga, S. 85years(Kasogi-Kabonero) as interviewed on 17/08/2013

paid at the estates. Karamagi³⁹ expounded that even today young people despise work because they have their relatives who still give them what to eat. In fact some people make such comments like:

“*ndy’owawe, niwe ondaaza?*” translated as, “Do I eat at your home or you give me accommodation?”

As termed by Ebonyu, role clarification as a formal context where a supervisor states his expectations to the direct subordinate and together the two parties discuss means by which the obligation can be effectively managed is very important in the operations of any work organisations, Ebonyu, F. (2004). Unlike companies, some contemporary homesteads lack role- clarification. On this Ebonyu further explain that members get involved in roles according to demand thus the outcomes rarely meet the expectations of such roles. Therefore dissatisfaction occurs in all aspects, but mainly social, Ebonyu, F. (2004). This is exemplified among house helper who is assigned almost all the chores in the homestead, some housewives are taken like beasts of burden. In other homes, the husband does most of the work alone for the satisfaction of the wife and the children. In each case described above, performance does not meet the expectations of the employer, the beneficiary and other members.

Discussion

There are a number of benefits explained by informants as presented in the table below.

Table 1.2: Different Social Benefits by the working group

Social benefits	Respondents	Social benefits	Respondents
Made more friends at work	02	Gained respect from the village	03
Now have address where to be located	05	At least have something to do and get money	11
Got a title and socially identified even if not married to some body	03	Able to take care of other people	11
Gained responsibility in society	10	Paid children’s fees up to University	04
Have a chance to associate with others	08	Children have studied up to University, raising family status	02
Time is spent responsibly	02	Have got a home, a good home	04

Source: Field Research

Workers use their appointment letters issued before reporting on duty and the monthly salary as security to join SACCO as well as access a loan from the bank. One Baguma⁴⁰ and others expressed satisfaction with a monthly salary now used to care for their families. Others have used their pay to invest in animal rearing, employing other workers on private tea estates, animal farm and other gardens. The challenges introduced by the money economy in society as well as the new developments of the 20th Century and new millennium have made the Batooro adopt work ethics like learning and adapting new skills of farming to increase productivity. Jaawa⁴¹ supported the development as demonstrated by women who have diversified their activities to include pig rearing. Nowadays pigs and a variety of fowls have been recorded (UBOS 2011-2012). The impact of taboos on work ethics has reduced, justifying their practice that taboos were for the past not for the present generation. This is further encouraged by the *bibanja* land tenure system, which leave most families with small pieces of land on which to cultivate their food. Other people have migrated in search of large pieces of land in the region. For example Aine, J. ⁴² narrated their experience with her father that others have taken to growing quick maturing crops many of which are for sell.

Picture 1.1a: Banana Plantation with Compost manure in trenches

Picture 1.1b: Banana Plantation with Compost manure in trenches



Source: Field Research

³⁹Karamagi C.74years (Fort Portal) as interviewed on 07/08/2014

⁴⁰Baguma, 44years (Mabaale-Bugaaki) as interviewed on 20/8/2013

⁴¹Jaawa, C.83years (Kibiito-Kibiito)interviewed on 19/08/2013

⁴²Aine, J. 43years (Migongwe-Kyaka) as interviewed on 10/07/2014

Picture 1.1 a

Picture 1.1 b

Picture 1.2: Modern Goats' House Illustrating the inside and outside



Source: Field Research

Modern methods of cultivating crops in lines, constructing trenches in banana plantations for run-off and manure, plus application of organic manure on crops as fertilizers are now in practice encouraging dual economy that is both animal rearing and crop farming. However, Muramuzi E. (54years)⁴³ explained that those new methods demand hard work and commitment on the part of the farmer. People have adopted team work spirit as exemplified among the youth making bricks. Kaije, J⁴⁴ described the contribution of group members towards the success of many social functions including burial and funeral ceremonies. Raised standards of life are observed in people's healthy looks, dressing well, and others by the good nature of their homesteads portraying money. Homes are empowered economically; as depicted by household items. For example, there are few plastic utensils but more of enamel, aluminium and crockery utensils. There are increasing numbers of motor-cycles improving the transportation system. The employed men acknowledge increased or more respect from their wives, family members and society at large. Mosse, J. (1998) supports this with an explanation on the disparity created by the money economy prior independence. Men were paid more than females, to enable them meet family needs, unlike the women who had little responsibility over their family needs. Nowadays there are women employed outside their homesteads, in tea companies. Timbigamba T.⁴⁵ explained that some women are happy to be away from home because "work in homesteads does not pay"! This is supported by Kyomuhendo, et al 2003 when she elaborates on material factor contributing to Ugandan women's participation in the market economy. Twebaze, J.⁴⁶ added that the stability of family is dependent on both husband and wife's input. Snyder reiterated that women have tried to supplement men's income and the food they eat by selling small items, they start small enterprises using capital from other previous jobs or inheritance and loans (Snyder, 2000). Both men and women have an address instead of identifying women by their relation to men, that is; a wife, mother, mother-in-law, sister and daughter Timbigamba, T.⁴⁷ working in the tea plantations together with nine (9) other informants acknowledged that good work attitudes have created responsible society members now, caring men and women. The employed spend time responsibly hence gaining respect from family and members of society. It has come out in this study that to achieve development, people should practice good work ethics like as presented in Table 1.3

Fig.1.3: Good work ethics for Social and Economic benefits

Work ethics	No. of informants	%
Being responsible at work	17	27
Hard working	13	20
Respecting other workers	13	20
Keeping time at work	10	16
Be ready to learn new skills	11	17
Total	64	100

Source: Field Research

⁴³Muramuzi E. 54 years (Kasogi- Kabonero) as interviewed on 28/8/2013

⁴⁴Kaije, J. 74 years (Kasogi- Kabonero) as interviewed on 28/8/2013

⁴⁵Timbigamba, T. 20 years (Busoro- Fort Portal) interviewed on 16/8/2013

⁴⁶Twebaze, J. 50years (Kabaleebi-Kabonero) as interviewed on 09/10/2013

⁴⁷Timbigamba, T. 20years (Busoro-Fort Portal) as interviewed on 16/08/2013

In conclusion, good work ethics have contributed to some economic development of the region. Post-colonial and the money economy have greatly influenced the work ethics of Tooro region. People are out to work for money and such other things which would raise their self-esteem as individuals or family, but not community. Employment is sought outside the homestead and villages. People who take trouble to work demonstrate development both on body and homestead than those who do not bother to work.

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