

techniques for combatting many practical trypanosomiasis problems. Uganda is faced, however, with difficult residual problems in completing effective consolidation in much of the newly-reclaimed country; in particular, a great deal more work stands ahead before the major residual problem posed by *G. morsitans* in Ankole can be

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## REGIONAL CONTRASTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

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A study of the economic geography of Uganda would entail an examination of the distribution of economic activities within the country, and of the factors influencing this pattern. Many of these factors are physical or social phenomena, the distribution of which may be related to that of each economic activity: but together with rainfall, soils, tribal customs and numerous other variables, the existing level of economic development in each part of the country may play a role in encouraging or discouraging any activity in that area. This paper attempts to indicate the nature of the spatial relationship between levels of prosperity within Uganda and the pattern of recent economic development. Attention is concentrated on those activities which have been newly established, or which have expanded considerably, during the past decade, in order to discover the nature of the forces currently at work.

The relationship between the distribution of wealth and that of economic growth has been examined on a world scale by Gunnar Myrdal,<sup>1</sup> who observed that the gap between the richest and the poorest countries tends to increase rather than to diminish, and who suggested a general principle of cumulative causation most simply expressed in the adage "nothing succeeds like success". It seems possible that the same principle may apply to some extent within individual countries, such as Uganda.<sup>2</sup> There is undoubtedly a wide gap between the richest and the poorest parts of the country; there is also a great contrast between one area and another in the amount of development which has recently taken place; some indication will be given of the way in which the two patterns are related by reference to specific examples, although adequate data is not available to permit a statistical assessment of the significance of the relationship.

Some indication of regional differences in prosperity in Uganda is provided by the figures for income of African households in Buganda Kingdom and the other three regions of the country.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 1  
AFRICAN POPULATION : INCOME PER HEAD (£'s) 1959.<sup>4</sup>

	Uganda	Buganda	East	West	North
Cash income	10.7	19.3	10.0	5.4	5.3
Value of subsistence production	6.4	7.0	5.6	6.7	6.2

There are of course considerable variations within each Region, but they are not so great as to invalidate the general picture given by these figures. It is perhaps doubtful whether an addition of the two figures for each Region would provide a fair measure of relative prosperity, since it can be argued that the real value of subsistence production is underestimated. The assessments for food crops are based on prevailing market prices, but since only a very small proportion is sold it would appear that their value to the farmer is more than the market price. Furthermore, a 20% increase in the size of the crop may bring a 50% reduction in its local market price: it is surely absurd to suggest that the value of subsistence production of that crop has fallen substantially. Similarly the assumed value of maize produced within the subsistence economy in Kenya is carried high above that in Uganda by the price control in force there. However, since the estimated value of subsistence production is roughly similar in each Region, which seems to reflect fairly the situation, any underestimation would not materially affect the difference of income in absolute terms. Whether or not the people of Buganda are really 150% better-off than those of the north, their income in 1959 was about £15 per head higher.

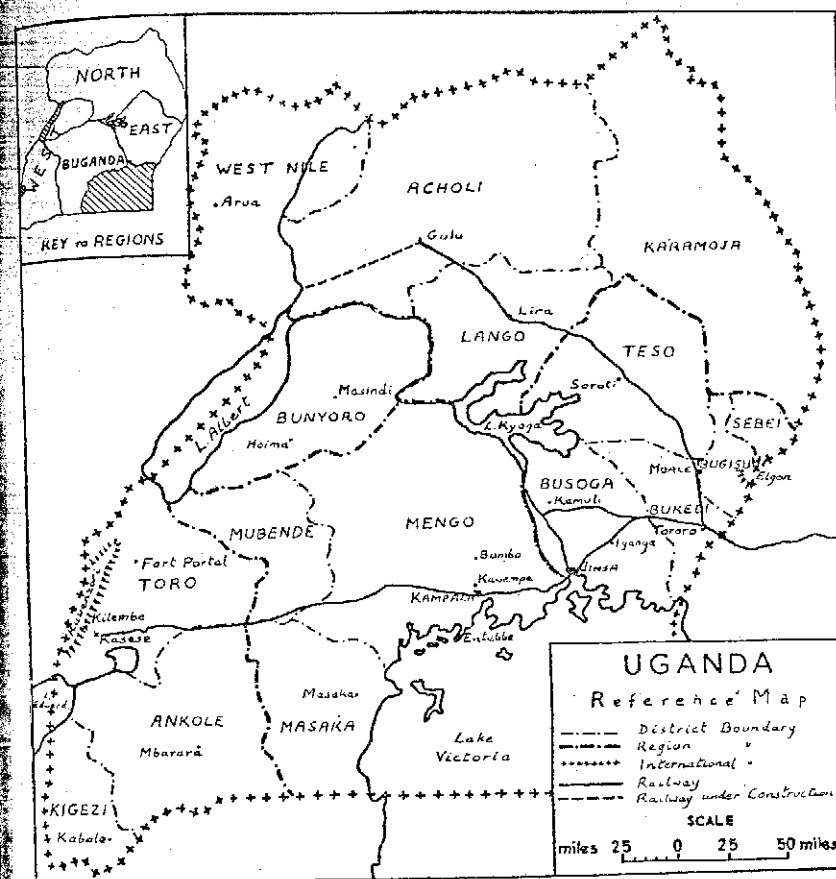
Some attention should also be given to the Asians and Europeans, since although they account for only 1.3% of the total population their incomes are sufficiently high to be of some significance for the general picture of regional prosperity. As non-African population is heavily concentrated in the areas where African incomes are highest, any allowance for them can only increase the contrast already apparent between Buganda on the one hand and the north and west on the other.

TABLE 2  
POPULATION BY REGION : 1959

	Uganda	Buganda	East	West	North
Population	6,536,616	1,881,149	1,902,697	1,503,375	1,249,310
African	6,449,558	1,834,128	1,872,949	1,497,510	1,244,971
Non-African	87,058	47,021	29,278	5,865	4,339
% Non-Afr.	1.3	2.5	1.6	0.4	0.3

Many indicators can be used to demonstrate differences in prosperity between area and another. In Uganda most confirm the pattern of (i) Buganda, (ii) the east, west and north, although the degree of disparity may vary considerably. One example is the use of motor vehicles, about which the recent report by E.K. Hawkins contains useful information.<sup>5</sup>

Since the four Regions are comparable in size and population, these figures are relevant to the present discussion; and the impression given is not invalidated by the existence of alternative forms of transport, since the areas with most vehicles also have the best railway services.



Numerous factors have contributed to this situation of inequality, but no attempt to evaluate these can be made on this occasion. It is possible only to note that Buganda has benefited from a more favourable physical environment, in terms of climate and soils, than that found in most parts of Uganda, and from its greater level of social and political development even before the establishment of the cash economy: and also that both Buganda and the east have enjoyed the benefits of relative proximity to the outlets to the coast, a greater development of local transport facilities, and a much greater share of government attention over the past sixty years.

TABLE 3  
OWNERSHIP AND USE OF MOTOR VEHICLES, 1958

	Residence of Owner		Petrol
	Cars	Lorries	
Buganda	69%	56%	51%
East	19%	27%	34%
West	8%	10%	10%
North	3%	6%	5%

For an examination of the regional differences in recent economic development it would have been useful to compare the figures of income per head in 1959 with those for ten years earlier: but comparable figures are not available, and the data necessary to produce them does not exist. It is possible, however, to consider some of the more important economic activities, and to discover whether there has been any tendency for development to be concentrated in the areas already leading in production.

The great advance in the prosperity of Uganda since the Second World War has rested most heavily upon the rapid expansion of coffee cultivation. Between 1950 and 1960 exports increased from 31,800 tons, worth £8.3 million, to 116,800 tons, worth £17.0 million, the main stimulus being the high price obtainable for the crop during the first half of the decade. As shown in the table below, the bulk of the expansion took place in Buganda, where the crop was already most firmly established, and where the people had the interest and the resources (including a well-established flow of migrant labour) to take advantage of the high prices. In western Uganda, where physical conditions are suitable for coffee over wide areas, the extent of new plantings and the increase of production in absolute terms have been much smaller, although the rate of increase has been very high.

The expansion of coffee cultivation has taken place partly at the expense of cotton growing, which still brings a substantially lower return per acre even now when coffee prices have fallen sharply. Cotton production has declined in Buganda although this has been off-set by an increase elsewhere. But while cotton cultivation has been forced from the centre of the country towards the periphery, the largest increase in production has taken place in the east. It is also noticeable that the ginning industry has not shifted its location to any great extent.

The only other peasant crop grown mainly for cash is tobacco, and although it makes a useful contribution to incomes in parts of the west and north, its significance is small compared with the two chief cash crops. It is however, included in the following table, which gives a virtually complete coverage of peasant cash crop production, since all other important crops are foodstuffs of which only a very small proportion is marketed.

TABLE 4  
PEASANT CASH CROP PRODUCTION.<sup>6</sup>

		Buganda	East	West	North
Coffee (tons*)	1949-51 average	25,900	3,200	300	-
	1959-61 average	88,500	6,700	4,600	90
Cotton (tons*)	1949-51 average	96,491	86,410	6,701	28,266
	1959-61 average	51,574	112,423	10,471	45,981
Tobacco (tons*)	1949-51 average	290	-	1,250	210
	1959-61 average	120	-	1,075	961
Income from the three crops (£)	1949-51 average	5,691,073	3,576,330	344,967	1,058,032
	1959-61 average	13,378,407	6,868,733	1,326,174	2,582,216

\* Clean coffee, seed cotton, cured tobacco

Plantation agriculture plays only a small part in the Uganda economy, but there has been a considerable expansion of both tea and sugar production in recent years. Tea is of rapidly increasing importance in the west, where the acreage increased by 4,400 between 1950 and 1960, but there was also an increase of about 5,000 acres in Buganda. Sugar production, discussed at greater length later, has expanded entirely within Buganda and the east.

The concentration of commercial agricultural development within Buganda and the Eastern Region has been assisted by the relative mobility of the population in Uganda. Large numbers of people from such remote Districts as Kigezi, as well as from areas beyond the borders of Uganda, travel to Buganda, where they work temporarily for Baganda farmers, and where they sometimes establish themselves for a while to grow cash crops on their own account.<sup>7</sup> In addition many people from West Nile District and from the south-west are employed on the sugar estates in the most developed part of the country. Some of the cash earned by the migrants is taken back to the north and west, but in terms of the distribution of economic activities the movement of people only strengthens the concentration in Buganda and in Busoga District of the Eastern Region.

Cattle rearing provides something of an exception to the general picture, for a striking recent development has been the expansion of cattle exports from Karamoja, in most respects the least developed District in the country. This is related

partly to government action and partly to the concentration on more profitable activities elsewhere, and it should be noted that almost all the cattle exported from Karamoja are sold in Kampala or Jinja where meat consumption is substantially higher than in most parts of Uganda. It is perhaps significant that the first signs of true mixed farming practices and of dairying are appearing in Buganda rather than areas with a stronger pastoral tradition.

The most important development of the post-war period that has taken place outside the more prosperous areas is the establishment of the first large-scale mining operation in Uganda, exploiting the Kilembe copper deposit in the Ruwenzori foothills. In this case there was no choice of location, for no other workable deposit of copper is known where a choice existed, in the case of the smelting plant preference was given to a site at Jinja, in the east. Although the mine provides about 9% of the country's exports by value, it has brought little other development in the surrounding area in its first seven years of existence: the hopes for the growth of a large town, for example, either beside the mine or at Kasese, the terminus of the railway built to serve it, have so far been disappointed.

Manufacturing industry is much more flexible in its location than either peasant agriculture or mining, and the establishment of a factory usually involves the selection of one site from among many possibilities. Industrial development has taken place on only a very limited scale in Uganda, but the pattern already shows a clear concentration in Buganda and parts of the Eastern Region. This applies both to the few large plants producing cement, textiles or beer, and to the many small concerns making such goods as furniture or building blocks. The distribution of factories recorded by the Labour Department is shown below, and it may be seen that although the rate of increase is as high or higher in the west and north as elsewhere, the number of factories recently established in these Regions is relatively small. As yet industry in these areas is confined almost entirely to the processing of primary products.

TABLE 5  
FACTORIES REGISTERED WITH THE UGANDA LABOUR DEPARTMENT

	Buganda	East	West	North
1956	375	356	80	30
1960	836	515	109	62
Increase	261	159	29	32

NB. Part of the apparent increase is probably due to more complete coverage.

The oil milling industry offers an example of the concentration of production in fewer, larger units, commonly observed in more industrialised countries. The production of vegetable oils has risen considerably since 1953, but the number of mil-

lination has fallen from 38 to 20, and to-day all milling takes place within Buganda and the Eastern Region, even though both raw material, cotton seed, and markets are distributed through all four Regions. Expansion has been concentrated almost entirely in mills in and near the towns of Jinja and Kampala, which now account for about 80% of the total production. It has often been pointed out that as far as the location of industry is concerned factories attracted to any area through very slight advantages may offer greatly increase its competitive strength for further development.<sup>8</sup> For almost any new industry being established in Uganda, the towns of Buganda and the East now offer much the most attractive locations: and the three largest factories under construction during 1962 were a steel rolling mill at Jinja, a fertiliser plant at Tororo, and a soluble tea factory near Kampala.

Among the important changes taking place in Uganda is the growth of its towns, which is related in part to industrial development, but mainly to the expansion of commerce. It is impossible to obtain satisfactory figures of urban population in Uganda on account of the arbitrary delimitation of township boundaries. The problem presented by Kampala<sup>9</sup> has been largely overcome as a result of the recent granting of urban status to the large urbanised area outside the municipality.<sup>10</sup> But the inclusion of large rural areas within some townships (so that Kabale officially exceeds in population both Soroti and Masaka) prevents valid comparisons. A more satisfactory basis for comparison is provided by the Asian urban population, since the function of the towns as commercial centres lies almost entirely in the hands of the Asians throughout the country. The picture at the 1959 Census for the 18 largest towns is given in the table below.

TABLE 6  
ASIAN URBAN POPULATION : 1959 CENSUS.<sup>11</sup>

Buganda		East		West		North	
Kampala	19,500	Jinja	9,085	Mbarara	986	Lira	687
Kibuga	27,600	Mbale	4,739	Kabale	660	Gulu	609
Masaka	2,187	Soroti	1,928	F. Portal	542	Arua	558
Entebbe	944	Tororo	1,264	Masindi	401		
Kawempe	418	Iganga	1,096				
Bombo	415	Kamuli	903				

In terms of the distribution of current development, the situation is complicated by the slackening of new construction that has taken place since 1958, but the main result of this has been that the general principle of the widening gap has applied with even more force. Around 1954-1957 much development took place in most of the towns of Uganda, although even then the largest had the greatest share of the expansion; but more recently new building has been largely confined to Kampala, and to a lesser extent the towns of Eastern Region. The floor-area of new non-residential buildings in the four largest towns of each Region in 1960 in square feet amounted to 319,000 in Buganda,

97,000 in the Eastern Region 26,000 in the Western Region and none in the Northern Region.<sup>12</sup> The only commercial buildings erected since 1960 in the towns of the north have been banks; but the situation in banking reflects that of commerce generally, although banks have been established in many District centres during the past decade they have been far less of a paying proposition than new branches opened in Kampala.

It would perhaps be useful to give some attention to the forces at work by way of examples, taking one primary, one secondary, and one tertiary economic activity. Sugar, cement and electricity production all provide cases where there has been development involving some conscious choice of location. There is land suitable for large-scale sugar cultivation in several parts of Uganda, including the rift valley in the west and north-west. But the main markets for sugar have always been in Buganda and the east, sales in 1960 indicating an annual consumption of about 42 lb. per head in Buganda, compared with 6 lb. in the Western Region; and the two large estates which account for virtually all the country's commercial sugar production are both situated in the area of greatest prosperity. Since sugar is therefore about 10% cheaper there than in West Nile or Kigezi District the market tends to become even more concentrated. But even discounting the price differential, which might be reduced if a new estate were established in the west, the difference in consumption is such that the expansion in the existing area of production more attractive than new development elsewhere. Buganda and Busoga District offer somewhat superior physical conditions to those in the west and north-west, where more irrigation would be required and the soils might give lower yields, but on the other hand the problems of obtaining land for plantation agriculture are very much greater. Around 1953-1954 the possibility of sugar production beside the Kazinga Channel in the west received close attention, but the project was dropped; and apart from a small estate in southern Masaka (within Buganda) the expansion of production from an average of 48,000 tons in 1952-54 to one of 95,000 tons in 1960-61 has taken place entirely on the two existing estates, rather than in areas distant from sugar supplies.

In the case of cement production physical conditions are most favourable in the west. Suitable raw material supplies in the form of large deposits of limestone are found only in two parts of Uganda, the Dura-Homa area in the west and at Tororo in the east. The former is of much the higher grade, but it is the latter which has provided the basis for cement production. The cement factory, which now meets all the country's needs, was built in 1952 at Tororo mainly because this was a much more convenient site than one in the west for supplying the most important immediate market, the Owen Falls Dam, because it was better placed for fuel and power supplies, and because the other limestone deposits were relatively inaccessible until the opening of the railway extension to Kasese in 1956. The dam clearly provided only a short-term demand, but other markets resulting from the higher level of economic development in the east and Buganda also favoured the Tororo location. As in the case of sugar, one result of this siting has been further concentration of the market into these areas, but for cement the price differential is much greater from 250/- a ton at Tororo to 320/- in Kigezi and West Nile), while the availability of cement directly affects other forms of material development. At present the factory is working well below full capacity, and demonstration teams have been sent out to encourage the use of cement in house-

building; but only occasional visits are made to the north and west as a result of the distance from the factory and because efforts at sales promotion bring a smaller return there than in the east.

The Owen Falls Dam, which provided the main stimulus for the establishment of the cement factory, has given Uganda abundant supplies of hydro-electric power. There were several possible sites for a dam and power station along the course of the Nile from Lake Victoria to the Sudan border, and although that at Jinja was the most immediately obvious, electricity could have been generated below Lake Kyoga or below Lake Albert if either had been more suitable for supplying the bulk of the demand for electricity. But the pattern of existing economic development was such that the main demand lay in Buganda and the Eastern Region, and the dam in fact provides a physical link between the two across the Nile. The Jinja site also offered the opportunity for the export to Kenya of power surplus to Uganda's requirements. As a result of this location hydro-electricity has been available in the area between Kampala and Mbale for several years, whereas power lines are only now being taken to the west and north. And although power has not brought as much industry to Jinja as was once hoped, its availability has certainly been one factor encouraging further development in this part of the country rather than elsewhere.

Numerous other considerations, apart from existing levels of prosperity, influence the distribution of new economic development, and space does not permit any mention of most of them, even though the result may be apparent over-simplification of the situation. But attention must be given to certain forces which act in direct opposition to that outlined above, preventing its full effect being felt in Uganda. These can be grouped together as government action, for as in the United Kingdom or in Italy, it is generally considered to be the duty of the government to reduce inequalities in economic development, and to assist the areas which appear to be falling behind.

In Uganda the Lint and Coffee Marketing Boards act in this way by buying cotton and coffee at fixed prices irrespective of the distance they have to be moved from the ginnery or curing works to the coast, thereby slightly subsidising the producers in Toro or West Nile. This applies particularly to cotton, since the grower receives the same price in West Nile as in Busoga, and in addition the Board pays all transport costs on cotton seed, which often amount to a large proportion of its value, and makes allowances for all extra costs, such as higher petrol prices, in the more remote areas. One consequence of this policy has been reduced incentive for people to migrate to Buganda to grow cotton. There is only a limited demand for tobacco within East Africa, and it has been official policy to restrict this crop to those Districts where other cash crops are relatively poorly developed. A further example of government action is provided by the Karamoja Cattle Scheme, under which more positive steps have been taken to increase cattle sales in that District than in more developed parts of Uganda. The Uganda Development Corporation has also checked somewhat the concentration of economic development by a policy of spreading its investment as widely as possible.

One of the reasons for the advance of Buganda and the east has been their relative accessibility, and an important element in the material development of Uganda is the current expansion of the railway system. A line from Kampala to the west was

opened in 1956, and work is in progress on a northern extension. The west and north have certainly suffered in the past from inaccessibility, and high hopes have been expressed about the role of the new railways in stimulating development. But apart from the fact that the impact of new railway construction has now been reduced by the improvement of road transport, there are many ways in which better communication between a favoured area and one less favoured are likely to work to the greater advantage of the former. The lines could assist the establishment of industries in the west and north if other conditions were right, but they also provide assistance to existing concerns in Kampala or Jinja, which can supply these areas more easily than before. If these railways had been in existence for the past fifty years the economic geography of Uganda might be very different; but now that the present contrasts in economic development have become firmly established, the effects of improved transport facilities may be to encourage the process of concentration of development as much as to counteract it.<sup>13</sup>

The widening gulf between rich and poor areas has been observed on a world scale. There is scope for a study of the principle as applied to East Africa, especially in terms of the concentration of industrial and urban development in Kenya rather than in Uganda or Tanganyika. As far as the Regions of Uganda are concerned it is suggested in this paper that the principle applies with considerable force. The poorer areas are not becoming poorer in absolute terms, and the rate of growth of the cash economy there may be as great as elsewhere: but the increment is very much smaller than in the richer areas. The difference between incomes in Buganda and those in the north and west is increasing and economic development tends to be concentrated in the areas where most has already taken place.

Opinions differ on what attitude should be taken to this trend towards concentration. It can be resisted by positive efforts to spread economic development more widely, but generally at the expense of the overall national rate of growth: it can be assisted, and people encouraged to move into the more favoured areas, but this poses severe political problems: or it can be accepted with a system of taxation which effects a redistribution of income between the Regions. The policy pursued at present seems to lie between the first and the third alternatives. Whatever attitude is taken, there is no doubt that the tendency towards a widening gap between rich and poorer areas must be recognized when the future development of the country is being discussed and when decisions affecting it are being made.

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11. The figures include Arabs and persons of mixed race.
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