



UiT The Arctic University of Norway

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
EDUCATION

**ACQUISITION OF FINANCIAL SERVICES BY SMALL SCALE BUSINESSES
AMONG INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN URBAN CENTERS.**

A case of the Karamojong community in Jinja Municipality, Jinja District-Uganda.

SSEJJEMBA BESWERI CHARLES

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies

June 2020



**ACQUISITION OF FINANCIAL SERVICES BY SMALL SCALE BUSINESSES
AMONG INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN URBAN CENTERS.**

A case of the Karamojong community in Jinja Municipality, District Jinja-Uganda

By

Ssejjemba Besweri Charles
Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies
Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education
UiT-The Arctic University of Norway
Spring
June 2020

Supervised by:

PETER IAN CRAWFORD
Professor of Visual Anthropology
Department of Social Sciences
UiT-The Arctic University of Norway

Acknowledgement

I have put effort in this thesis, though, I would not have made it through without the contribution of the following people;

First, I bless God for giving me wisdom and good health to undertake this project.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Peter Crawford who always had his door open when I needed help. I am highly Indebted for your dedicated supervision, your remarks and engagement during the process of learning.

To MIS 2018 colleagues, thank you for steering me in the right direction whenever I felt I was stranded, your guidance and valuable feedback during class presentations helped me to improve my thesis

Sincere gratitude goes to my wife Loy. Thank you for supporting me emotionally to carry on each day of my writing, I had reasons to continue because you spoke to me.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Karamojong community of Jinja Central Market, *Shauri Yako-Massee* for the opportunity to carry out research in the community. I thank you all who willingly shared your precious time during the interview process. Special thanks goes to Pastor Adundo Alfred, the Managing Director of Macedonian Vision Africa, Mr. Matiya, without your validation and guidance this research could not have been successful.

Finally, I express my profound gratitude to my loved ones who have supported me during the entire process; my mother Babirye Grace, my sister Sarah and my brother in law Simon for the unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout the two years of the course. This milestone would not to be possible without your help to put pieces together. I am forever grateful.

Ssejjemba Besweri Charles.

Abstract

Business is the new livelihood of the urban Karamojong. However, the Karamojong face daily challenges as they struggle with already-established traders to attract customers in urban market settings. Previously, commercial banks had not addressed the needs of the Karamojong, who generally lacked collateral required to secure commercial financial services. However, with the introduction of microfinance institutions, the Karamojong have been able to advance their businesses and meet their basic living needs. Microfinance services have played an important role in the growth of Karamojong small businesses in Jinja Municipality, while also providing the Karamojong insurance in times of emergency.

This study explores the experiences of Karamojong small business owners in Jinja Municipality in acquiring financial services. It investigates the types of businesses the Karamojong operate, the financial services available to them, the challenges they encounter, how things can be improved, how these businesses have impacted the lives of the urban Karamojong, and finally, how the relationship between the Karamojong and microfinance institutions has changed over time.

Qualitative data was gathered from 19 participants through observation, focus group discussion and interviews in Jinja Municipality. In the past, and still today to some degree, the Karamojong have been misrepresented, manipulated and discriminated against in Jinja Municipality and even in their places of work. The Karamojong were found to operate kiosks, local breweries, cereal sorting, charcoal, wooden and steel products. This research took into consideration both age and gender of those involved in business; more of the business operators were women, though it was easier to approach men than women. Participants had acquired financial services from microfinance institutions and Village Saving and Loan Associations. The microfinance institutions in particular offer training in financial management skills to their Karamojong clients, leading to further opportunities for the Karamojong to better their businesses, beyond simply having access to necessary small-scale capital, which has also had an impact on how the Karamojong are seen in the wider Jinja community. Today, the urban Karamojong are able to pay house rent, feed their families and cover their children's school fees, due to the positive influence microfinance opportunities have provided.

Contents

Acknowledgement	ii
Abstract.....	iv
Abbreviation	ix
List of figures.....	x
List of Tables	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Research questions.....	2
1.3 Indigeneity in the African context	2
1.4 Karamojong Indigeneity	3
1.5 Background of the Karamojong.....	4
1.6 Description of the population and region under study.....	7
1.6.1 Location of Jinja District.....	7
1.7 Previous research and the gap in the field	9
1.8 Relevance of the study	9
1.9 Thesis Outline	9
CHAPTER TWO: PREVIOUS RESEARCH.....	11
2.1 Overview of small-scale businesses.....	11
2.1.2 Small and Medium Enterprises businesses in Uganda.....	11
2.1.3 Indigenous people’s businesses world over	11
2.1.4 Karamojong livelihood and gender participation.....	12
2.2 Indigenous Peoples migration in general.....	13
2.2.1 Karamojong migration to urban centers.....	13
2.3 Types of microfinance institutions in Uganda.....	14
2.4 Microfinance agents and services	16
2.5 Microfinance institution innovation in Uganda	16
2.6 Microfinance service accessibility in Uganda	17
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	19
3.1 Power and empowerment.....	19
3.1.2 Empowerment and business	19

3.1.2	Human Capital Theory	21
3.1.3	Human Resource Development Theory	22
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY		24
4.1	Introduction.....	24
4.2	Field Experience	24
4.3	Research design	26
4.4	Ethics.....	26
4.5	Sampling	27
4.5.1	Sampling of the study area.....	28
4.6	Information sources	28
4.7	Data Collection Methods	28
4.7.1	Interviews	29
4.7.2	Observation	30
4.7.3	Focus Group Discussion.....	31
4.8	Reflexivity.....	31
4.9	Challenges.....	32
CHAPTER FIVE: KARAMOJONG SETTLEMENT AND BUSINESSES		34
5.1	Karamojong cause, nature of migration and settlement pattern	34
5.2	Movement and settlement pattern.....	37
5.3	Life in town and income sources.	38
5.3.1	Accommodation and relying on cash	39
5.3.2	Newcomers businesses and gender participation.....	40
5.3.3	Work Safety.....	44
5.3.4	Nature of newcomer’s businesses	45
5.4	Karamojong business areas.....	47
5.5	Karamojong community relationship	48
CHAPTER SIX: FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO KARAMOJONG.....		51
6.2.1	Macedonian Microfinance.....	52
6.2.2	Karamojong VSLA	56
6.3	Impact of microfinance services to the Karamojong	59

6.4	Challenges faced in the acquisition of financial services and business operations	61
6.5	Karamojong relationship with microfinance institutions over the years	65
6.6	What can be done to improve the Karamojong businesses?.....	67
CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSIONS OF THE FINDINGS		71
7.1	Empowerment to the study	71
7.2	Human Resource Development and Human Capital Theory.....	72
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION		74
8.1	Summary	74
8.2	Conclusion	76
8.3	Future research recommendations	77

Abbreviation

CBO	Community Based Organization
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
HCT	Human Capital Theory
HRD	Human Resource Development
JCM	Jinja Central Market
MVA	Macedonian Vision Africa
NGO	Non-Government Organization
ROSCAs	Rotating Saving and Credit Associations
SACCOs	Saving and Credit Cooperation
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UN	United Nations
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations
VS	Village Savings

List of figures

Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing Karamoja Region

Figure 2: Map Showing Jinja District Sub counties.

List of Tables

Table 1. Participants interview list

Table 2: Participant financial service distribution list

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The evolution of microfinance sectors in Uganda in the 1990s brought hope of poverty reduction to the rural poor community. This occurred at the time when commercial banks were ‘segregate and ineffective’ and the needs of the poor were not a priority, thus their target market was the rich, especially those in agriculture (Lakwo, 2006, p. 32). Microfinance institutions emerged to extend manageable credit and loan services, especially, to the impoverished societies. Since then, microfinance institutions in Uganda have grown and diversified their operations, improved their products and design through the use of technology to boost small scale businesses. Following the microfinance ‘poor oriented attitude,’ the poverty level among the local community beneficiaries has drastically changed compared to the past years, and Uganda is credited for enhancing economic growth through microfinance (Lakwo, 2006, p. 8). Despite the various shortcomings, microfinance institutions have contributed to the reduction of economic vulnerability and also boosted household income (Carlton & Wien, 2001, p. 21).

Among the microfinance service beneficiaries are the Karamojong migrants of Jinja Municipality. When cattle rustling and the civil war ended, the NGOs and the Ugandan government, initiated programs to settle the Karamojong, which meant that pastoralism was to be put to halt because it was no longer sustainable. Programmes were designed to create means of settlement and sustainability as a way to empowerment (Nannyonjo, 2005).

While in town, the Karamojong are involved in various business activities, working for a variety of small and larger businesses in a cluster settling. Basically, members of the same family (blood

related) jointly working together. At the first encounter with them, I did not understand how the Karamojong were able to manoeuvre through the hard-economic times with the nature of their businesses. I wondered how they managed to meet expenses like rent, school fees, and other basic needs whose costs do not differ from their neighbors. Meanwhile, I had seen large businesses owned by Karamojong. I did not fully grasp how they were able to achieve this greater success. Later in this thesis, I have discussed how the lives and businesses of the Karamojong have been impacted by the microfinance institutions, the businesses they operate, the constraints they face in financial service acquisition and business management. With this background information, my research is based on three questions.

1.2 Research questions

The major objectives of this study focus on how microfinance institutions and businesses have impacted the lives of the Karamojong who live in Jinja Municipality, and to find out how the relationship of the Karamojong and financial institutions have changed over time. Furthermore, to find out whether the Karamojong acquire any financial and business managerial skills and whether they apply them with ease. This research explores what accounts for the gender proportion in business management, how the Karamojong learn their business skills given their nomadic background, therefore, the following research questions guide this study:

1. What small-scale businesses do Karamojong engage in and what financial services are available to the Karamojong in Jinja Municipality?
2. How has the acquisition of financial services and involvement in small scale businesses changed the Karamojong's social and cultural lives?
3. What can be done to improve the Karamojong's small businesses?

1.3 Indigeneity in the African context

There is a comparable challenge and greater criticism in Africa than the rest of the world, to define who the Indigenous people are. This is due to the complexity of the situation of the Indigenous people (Barnard & Kenrick, 2001; Coates, 2004). For this reason, some African heads of states have shunned from defining Indignity to ensure equal treatment of all their nationals and tribal groups (Coates, 2004). While there are issue surrounding Indignity, it is widely acknowledged that Indigenous Peoples have been subjected to marginalization and

discrimination, have relatively small population, are connected to their traditional land and resources and do not have political powers (Coates, 2004, p. 14).

The African Commission on Indigenous Rights developed measures to guide on who is Indigenous. One of the points raised was; those tribes whose culture is at the verge of phasing out, are discriminated against and less developed than other tribes in the community (Coates, 2004, p. 1). On the other side, the United Nations Working Group on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples resolved that each tribal group could define who they are (ibid.), though other the guidelines suggested did not put a clear line to distinguish Indigenous Peoples from minority groups; characteristics such as permanence in an area, the right to natural resource and attachment to land and traditional culture, are shared by both minority groups and Indigenous Peoples. However, the definition that is globally cited is that of Jose Martinez Cobo:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (Coates, 2004, p. 6).

This definition clearly states the connectiveness of the Indigenous people to their ancestral land as the first peoples, their distinct culture and having suffered the effects of colonization. Important key to their identity is the right to self-identification, colonial relationship, right to land and natural resources, distinct culture and economies (Coates, 2004, p. 12).

1.4 Karamojong Indigeneity

Olsen (2017, p. 2) defines Indignity as ‘quality of being Indigenous’. While Saugestad defines Indigenous Peoples as; descendants of people who occupied territories before colonization (Saugestad, 2001, p. 3). Looking close at that definition, one would assume that all Ugandan tribes are Indigenous considering that most, if not all, tribes occupied their territories in the

precolonial times. This too, asserts the old report by the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights which argued that ‘all Africans are Indigenous to Africa’ (Mukasa, 2014, p. 2).

Indigeneity in Uganda is a question of debate. Article 36 of the 2006 Ugandan Constitution points to the ‘protection of the rights of minorities’ however, it does not show a line between minorities and the Indigenous people, nor does it define who the ‘minorities’ are but rather states that minorities have a right to participate in decision making processes (The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 2006 Article, 36). In addition, the third Schedule of the Constitution of Uganda identifies all tribes and communities who were in existence at the date of colonization and as of 1st February 1926 as Indigenous. Still, no definition is made on who is Indigenous, though characteristics for the Indigenous people are listed as those who ‘maintain close ties to the land in both cultural and economic practices; suffering from economic and political marginalization as a minority group’ of which the Karamojong and the Batwa are among them. Also, the Karamojong are listed among the Indigenous peoples on third Schedule Article 10(a).

Although Uganda is not listed among the nations that ratified the ILO convention 169, this does not mean Uganda has not taken initiative to protect the rights of the Indigenous people. First, Uganda is a signatory to the UNDRIP and participates in the annual celebration of the International Day of the Indigenous Peoples (Mukasa, 2014). In the same vein, Article 20 of the Uganda Constitution stipulates that; all people are entitled to rights and freedom. The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative spearheads the fight against acts that deprive people their freedom in Uganda.

Programs and policies have been initiated as strategies to improve the lives of the Indigenous peoples. In particular to the Karamojong, there are women empowerment groups which encourage women to take part in businesses and get access to loans (Gelsdorf, Maxwell, & Mazurana, 2012).

1.5 Background of the Karamojong

The name “Karamojong” is linked to words meaning ‘too old to move any more’ (Chapman & Kagaha, 2009). The Karamojong are semi-nomadic pastoralists whose social and economic life

was structured around the maintenance of livestock. Cattle are households' most important assets, followed by sheep, goats and poultry (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). To the Karamojong, cattle were viewed as an end of production, one who never own cattle was viewed has poor (Namukwaya & Kibirige, 2014). Karamojong survived on milk, meat and blood, and relied almost entirely on livestock for survival (Gradé, Tabuti, & Van Damme, 2009).

The Karamojong occupy Nakapiripirit, Abim, Moroto, Kotido, Amudat, Napak and Kaabongo Districts in the North Eastern part of Uganda (Mugerwa, Kayiwa, & Egeru, 2014). These districts are ranked among the poorest, most vulnerable and marginalized region in the country (Namukwaya & Kibirige, 2014; Nannyonjo, 2005; Okurut, Odwee, & Adebua, 2002). The region has been affected by several calamities among which include, cattle rustling by neighboring herders, drought and cattle diseases which caused immense suffering for the people of Karamoja (Stites & Akabwai, 2012).

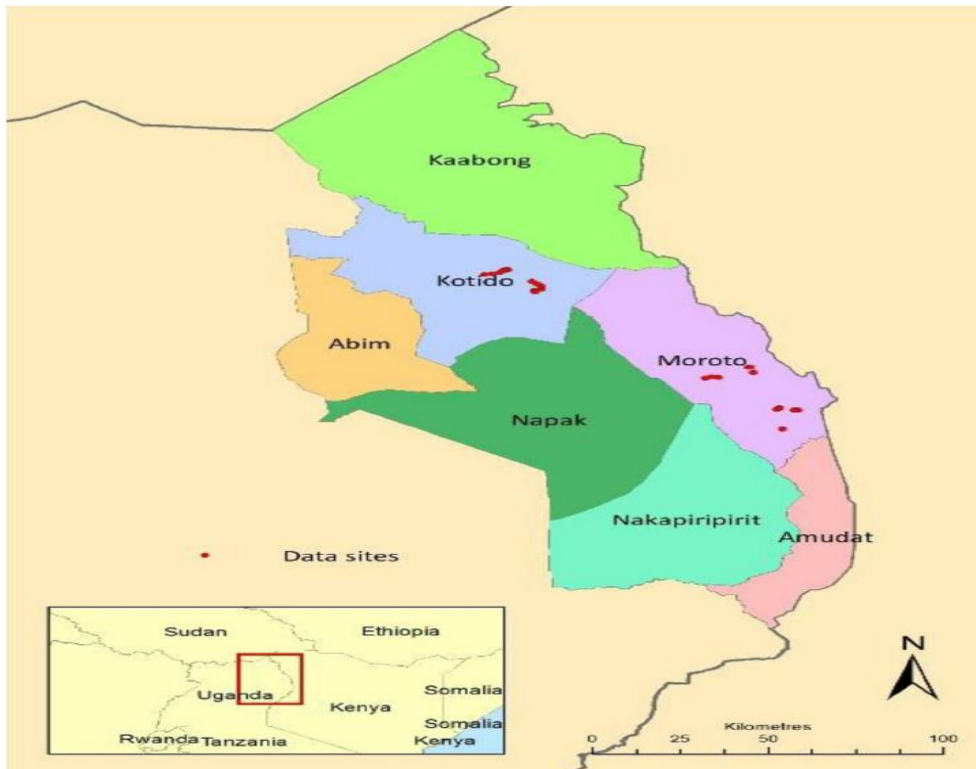
In Karamojong society, the man is the head of the family, and during marriage ceremonies the man pays bride price to the girl's family. If this is not done, the children he bares do not belong to him but the woman (Chapman & Kagaha, 2009). The larger extended families live in enclosed homes known as '*Manyatta*'. Members of a home normally meet to discuss issues that affect the family and the community. As far as decision making is concerned, men have a greater role to play. According to the Karamojong, division of labor is allotted depending on gender; men are responsible for the safety of the home and herding while women do daily home cores and general welfare of the children (Huisman, 2001).

The wars in Northern Uganda, which lasted for over three decades, destabilized the economy of the northern region. This led to the displacement of over 40% of the people and Uganda's Indigenous Peoples are still recovering from one of the worst conflicts in the world (Gelsdorf et al., 2012, p. 2). Civil wars were related to cattle raiding and struggle over grazing land, while the Lord Resistance Army rebel (LRA) group was a political war against the leadership of the National Resistance Army. Whereas LRA war was not specifically in Karamoja region, the effects of this war were felt in the whole northern region. Much as cattle raiding and the wars ended, the effects of the conflicts are still felt today (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). The government, nongovernment organization and international agencies are addressing poverty via income

generating projects as a mean of livelihood recovery and to reduction of poverty levels in Karamoja region where people have been trapped in untold poverty (Nannyonjo, 2005).

The calamities and the government changes in settlement patterns, led to the displacement of almost 2 million people from northern Uganda, some being Karamojong. This caused an influx migrants to urban centers in search for alternative ways of livelihood (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). Economic motivation is the major reason for migration (Ayoo, Opio, & Kakisa, 2013). Of those who move to urban centers and engage in small businesses, majority are women and children (Briggs, 2009). The government has created avenues in which the Karamojong get access to credit facilities to boost their income activities such as brewing, but much income comes from the private microfinance institutions. The role microfinance institutions play boost people's livelihoods and businesses. Business has become an economic springboard for the revival of Indigenous communities and development of enterprises for rural urban migrates. There has been much efforts from the government, aid agencies, development partners, and the people themselves to improve livelihoods but the need is great. Not everyone in the community is reached through efforts such as the Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA) by NGOs Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) but, at least, an opportunity was created for improving incomes for Karamojong. These initiatives provide small-scale micro-finance loans to members of their Associations. SACCOs are both private and government initiatives while VSLA are initiated by NGOs (Ayoo et al., 2013; Nannyonjo, 2005; Turyahikayo, 2015).

Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing Karamoja region



Google map: *Map of Karamoja Region showing the study sites in the districts of Moroto and Kotido, 2015.* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Karamoja-Region-showing-the-study-sites-in-the-districts-of-Moroto-and-Kotido-The_fig1_283312919

1.6 Description of the population and region under study

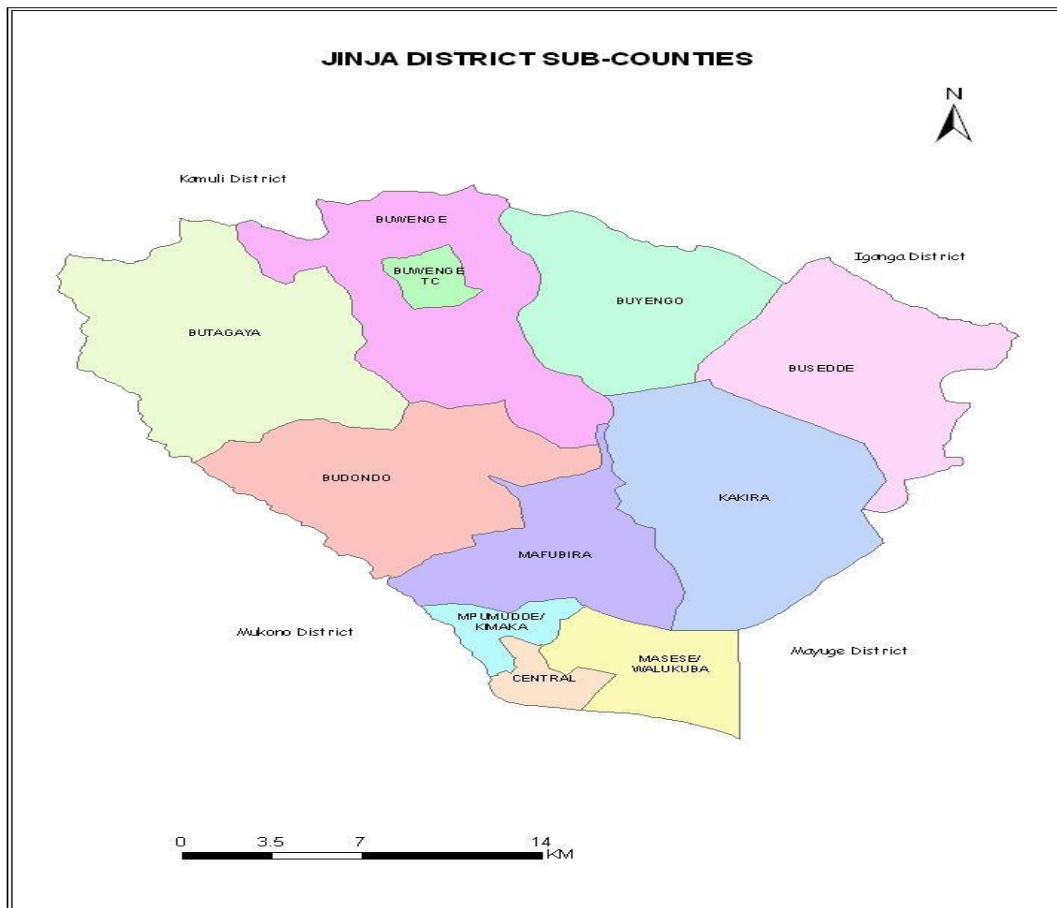
Jinja Municipality is home to majority Karamojong migrants compared to other parts of the District. This influx, which started over two decades ago, is attributed to several factors discussed later in the thesis. Today, the Karamojong are increasingly operating small to larger retail businesses. The Karamojong have got a social network that links those in rural areas to town, and those who succeed continue paving way for their tribesmates to come. The Karamojong live in homesteads closely linked to each other, with a village elder as their head. In Jinja Municipality, the Karamojong popularly reside in the *Masese* and ‘*Shauri Yako*’ villages. In the early morning, the Karamojong move to Jinja Town center to prepare for the morning business rush hour, men and women do different activities.

1.6.1 Location of Jinja District

Jinja District is located along the shores of Lake Victoria and the River Nile in the South-eastern part of Uganda. The District has three counties; Butembe, Kagoma and Jinja Municipality. There are three divisions in Jinja Municipality which are; Walukuba-Masese,

Mpumudde-Kimaka, and Jinja Central. The District is made up of six subcounties; Buwenge, Butagaya, Budondo, Buyengo, Mafubira and Busedde, and 3 three Town Councils, i.e. Kakira, Buwenge and Bugembe.

Figure 2: Map showing Jinja District Subcounties.



Google map. *Jinja District subcounty*. Retrieved from <https://docplayer.net/59787170-Higher-local-government-statistical-abstract-jinja-district.html>

Jinja District is bordered by Kamuli District in the North, Luuka District to the East, Mayuge District to the southeast, Buvuma District to the south, Buikwe District to the west and Kayunga District to the northwest. Jinja is a commercial and industrial town also known as the Capital of Busoga region of Uganda. These districts make up Busoga region; Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli, Luuka, Buyende, Bugiri, Kaliro, Namutumba, Namayingo, and Mayunge District. Busoga is 8, 920 square kilometres in area, with a length of about 160 kilometres and a width of a little over 80 kilometres.

1.7 Previous research and the gap in the field

Following several years of drought and civil wars in the region in the past three decades, over a million people decided to move triggering an influx of Karamojong into major towns of Uganda (Gelsdorf et al., 2012, p. viii). Previous studies reveal that the Karamojong livelihoods are changing as they get integrated in the urban setting. The Karamojong operate various businesses through the aid of financial institutions. Business operation is an alternative means to replace pastoralism (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). Scholars have written about Karamojong pastoralism (Gulliver, 1952), the civil wars (Quam, 1999), migration (Stites & Akabwai, 2012), and their changing livelihoods (Namiro, 2016; Ssenkaaba, 2015). However, little research currently exists on the small businesses operated by the Karamojong, especially in the urban centers and how they relate with financial institutions. A major gap in the current research exists around the concerns pertaining to the collateral the Karamojong provide during credit acquisition, as newcomers in the areas they live.

1.8 Relevance of the study

Findings from this study highlight the businesses the Karamojong operate and challenges they face in business management in relation to microfinance institutions. The study shows how the Karamojong navigate the business atmosphere and hassle of the city in comparison with other traders who have existed for longer in the urban areas, and have probably conducted businesses longer. Findings from this project serve as basic information based on academically tested standards that will help Indigenous-owned small-scale businesses address challenges they face in the operation and management of their businesses, as well as the difficulties they might have accessing financial services from the financial institutions around them. The study examines the relationship between financial institutions and the Karamojong (as Indigenous people), and what sort of collateral they are able to use to secure loans from financial institutions. It is a tool that informs and illustrates the statistical trends for stakeholders to make informed decisions during intervention and policymaking for Indigenous peoples as far as entrepreneurship and financial services are concerned.

1.9 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter One presents an introduction to the topic, research questions, Indigeneity, general overview of the population under study, the gap in the

field, and relevance of the topic. Chapter two contains a review of literature on Indigenous migration, small businesses, and microfinance institutions. Chapter Three explains the theoretical and conceptual framework of which data is analyzed. Chapter Four entails field experience, methodology and tools used during data collection, and how data was handled throughout the research period reflexivity, ethics and challenges faced in the field. Chapter Five presents Karamojong settlement pattern and the businesses they operate. Chapter Six consists of the financial services available to Karamojong. Chapter Seven presents the discussion of the findings. Chapter eight consists of a summary and conclusion of the research.

CHAPTER TWO: PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 Overview of small-scale businesses

Business is any activity that earns profit (Sule, 2013). To achieve this, a business has to create means to attract buyers and satisfy customer needs. A business can operate on small scale or large scale and can be owned by individuals or groups of people. There is no generally agreed upon definition of what small scale businesses are, because every country has different economic situations (Turyahikayo, 2015). However, the classification of small businesses depends on capital size, the number of employees and government policies. Small businesses operate on minimal capital, normally managed by single individuals or on family basis with minimal returns (Sule, 2013).

Small scale businesses contribute greatly to the development of the world economy, especially in poverty eradication. For example; small scale businesses contribute to over 60% of the economy in Brazil and India (Kibuuka et al., 2015), while in the United states small business account for over 95 % (Twyford, Alagaraja, & Shuck, 2016), and over 80 % in Africa. The success of small-scale businesses is attributed on how they are managed. In Africa, the development of small scale businesses are attributed to roles played by financial service institutions and the owners managerial skills (Kibuuka et al., 2015).

2.1.2 Small and Medium Enterprises businesses in Uganda

SMEs in Uganda have a maximum of 50 employees and have a working capital of up to 50 million Uganda Shillings [approximately 13,333 USD] (Turyahikayo, 2015, p. 22). Majority of SMEs in Uganda are rural and semi urban based. The biggest portion (75% of the GDP) of the Ugandan economy depends on SMEs and produce 80% of manufactured goods. Unfortunately, 50% of the small businesses in Uganda collapse in their initial stages annually due to lack of working capital and poor management skills (Turyahikayo, 2015).

2.1.3 Indigenous people's businesses world over

Indigenous businesses have played a tremendous role in the global economy; they have created employment and have increased production of goods and services. They take up 85% of businesses in Africa (Sule, 2013), while in Australia, Indigenous businesses are lower than those of the non-Indigenous. Most Indigenous businesses are on a small scale (Collins,

Morrison, Basu, & Krivokapic-Skoko, 2017). Worldwide, Indigenous businesses are attached to land use, relatively on microscale, and depend on the extended family networks. Indigenous Peoples have low levels of incomes in many parts of the world and are economically marginalised. They are involved in various income sources in their different localities, for example; 28 Indigenous tribes in Mexico grow coffee, Ekuri Indigenous people in Nigeria rely on forest products, while the Ngata Toro Indigenous community in Indonesia carry out fish farming and agriculture. The Indigenous businesses are centred around culture and social values (Berkes & Adhikari, 2006).

2.1.4 Karamojong livelihood and gender participation

Currently, in the Karamoja region, there is a great deal of opportunities for the expansion of marketing schemes for locally produced livestock and agricultural goods, as well as for minerals and other natural resources both within Uganda and across the wider region (Nalule, 2010). Cross-border trade between Northern Uganda and South Sudan is increasing, after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in Sudan in 2005 ending the country's civil war, cross-border trade between Uganda and Sudan increased from a value of \$7.9 million in 2006 to \$8.6 million in 2007. As trade increases, so too has the number of businesses expanding into Northern Uganda (Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

Unlike other pastoralist groups in East Africa, the Karamojong are traditionally very much involved in pastoral livelihood and cultivation, more so than the other Indigenous groups of the region. For a long time, agriculture and herding was the primary livelihood activity in North Eastern Uganda, animals and land were a much-treasured asset in the home (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). In the early 1990s, these assets vanished, forcing many to move to towns to seek casual labor, mostly young people seek urban opportunities (Quam, 1999). Today, the type of work done by the Karamojong in urban areas is generally determined by their gender. Young men will serve as casual laborers, for example; fetching water, making bricks, handicrafts, burning charcoal or collecting firewood. Meanwhile, girls and women carry out tasks such as laundry, cooking, housecleaning, brewing and petty sales of various items. The wage they acquire from these activities helps them to purchase other food such as maize, sugar and oil (Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

According to the journal of Contemporary African Studies in the research about microcredit programmes, women constituted 70% of beneficiaries who took part in saving schemes (Muhumuza, 2005). The journal further asserts that the participation of women in business is increasing due to urbanization and advocacy for women from international organizations. Due to civil conflicts and war, government policies and other factors have forced many women out of the villages, where they have joined women's groups which have supported them in gaining greater economic and social freedom (ibid.). Today, many women own their own businesses and have access to financial services, and their incomes sustain their families. This has become possible through women's savings groups (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). NGOs have also played a part in women becoming more involved in businesses, largely by targeting women through their credit support programs (Muhumuza, 2005). These NGO credit programs have proved that women are better able to support their families than men, as well as the fact that women have been reported to manage loans better than men to develop their businesses, and to repay the loan (Carlton & Wien, 2001). Running one's own small-scale business or finding casual employment is a new trend for both men and women in urban centers. However, cattle-keeping is still the major livelihood activity for the Karamojong overall. Still, participation of women in economic activities is increasing not only in Northern Uganda, but across the country at large (Muhumuza, 2005).

2.2 Indigenous Peoples migration in general

The phenomenon of Indigenous migration world over is as diverse as the individual communities themselves, its wide scope raises many questions in current migration theory as this challenges the mistaken belief before that Indigenous communities are static groups, rooted in their areas and culture, unable to welcome change (Trujano, 2008). There is an ongoing movement of Indigenous Peoples from their long-cherished communities which is attribute to the growing inequality in different regions (Kleist & Thorsen, 2016). Other factors for migration are economic survival (Namiiro, 2016). These movements are not necessarily seasonal or culturally-influenced movements, but are in response to new conditions (Trujano, 2008).

2.2.1 Karamojong migration to urban centers

In the past 25 years, there are many reasons why the Karamojong have been migrating from their homeland, among them are; loss of cattle due to raids or disease, famine, domestic

violence, land loss or simply being invited by relatives to migrate to town (Stites & Akabwai, 2012, p. 6). Some Karamojong migrants do not leave Karamoja knowing exactly what they will find in town when they arrive, while others who come with family or friends have heard about city life through their social networks and plan to engage in similar activities to what their predecessors do (Stites & Akabwai, 2012). Given the cost of living in towns, Stites and Akabwai (2012, p. 24) found that the Karamojong migrants generally live in slum areas once they arrive, with little access to basic services. Though town life is full of challenges, the Karamojong cite food security as one of the benefits they find in towns, as food is one way they are compensated at their work places (ibid.). Even though they work and live in towns, the Karamojong maintain links to their relatives and networks in their homeland. Stites and Akabwai (2012, p. 19) noted that some Karamojong send food back to those in Karamoja and create avenues for others to follow them to migrate to town.

2.3 Types of microfinance institutions in Uganda

Microfinance institutions in general are categorized into three types: formal, semi-formal and informal (Wakoko, 2003). Formal microfinance institutions are governed and regulated by the state, they depend on public funds to sustain their business entities. These include commercial and cooperative banks which are urban-based and target agriculturalists and insurance companies (Mutesasira, Sempangi, Hulme, Rutherford, & Wright, 1998). Semi-formal institutions include the Saving and Credit Cooperation (SACCO) which are controlled by laws instituted by individual groups or people (Wakoko, 2003) or by the microfinance institutions themselves which offer credit facilities to small-scale businesses (Mutesasira et al., 1998). SACCOs use members' collective savings to lend out to other beneficiaries in the same saving group. Semi-formal institutions are governed by trade unions or the authorities under which they are registered and survive on grants and loans from donors that fund the institution's lending businesses. A report by the United Nations Development Programme found that most microfinance institutions in Uganda are sustained by donations (Lakwo, 2006).

Informal microfinance institutions have grown much faster than formal institutions due to their flexibility, speed and ability to meet the needs of the poor (Carlton & Wien, 2001, p. 40). Examples of the informal sector in Uganda are individual moneylenders, credit unions, Village Saving and Loan Association (VSLA) and Rotating Saving and Credit Associations (ROSCAs)

(Mutesasira et al., 1998). Most informal microfinance institutions are rural based because of their low lending rates, and less stringent security requirements which are more manageable for the poor (Wakoko, 2003).

The Association of Microfinance Institutions of Uganda classifies microfinance institutions based on their managerial system. Classification ranges from A to D.

A classification means the institution has well-documented procedures and qualified staff, with over 15,000 active members. Some commercial banks fall under this category. B means the organization has fewer documentation procedures, but good and quality management services and 500 to 15,000 active clients. This category is largely dominated by NGOs and are limited by guarantee¹. C classification means the institution is familiar with the best practices, has modestly qualified staff and has 500 to 3,000 active members. This group is again largely operated by NGOs. Lastly, D classification means the institution is small and community-based run by largely untrained staff with little knowledge of best practices. Those in this category largely focus on rural clientele and have only a small number of active clients (Carlton & Wien, 2001; Lakwo, 2006).

These dimensions of microfinance have impacted small-scale businesses mostly operated by the poor, through providing savings and credit services in circumstances where saving is obligatory because those savings are used as loan security (Carlton & Wien, 2001). In Uganda, the microfinance service sector has been attractive to donors outside the country because of the sector's ability to reduce poverty by increasing their client income and boosting sustainability (Lakwo, 2006). However, the sector does have its downsides though. Clients are often stressed about being able to make weekly re-payments which strains borrowers' relationships with microfinance officials, all of which increases tension and anxiety (ibid.). Despite the stressful factors, beneficiaries learn discipline through working hard to improve their businesses and to repay the loans (Lakwo, 2006, p. 43). Additionally, microfinance institutions often offer courses to their clients which cover bookkeeping, budgeting or managing inventory (Stites & Akabwai, 2012).

¹ Is a category where no member owns the microfinance. Group members contribute funds that add to the fund pool.

2.4 Microfinance agents and services

The majority of microfinance providers in Uganda, are either commercial banks and privately-owned microfinance institutions, or NGO community-based SACCOs. However, new operators join the industry every year offering more credit and saving services. Microfinance institutions work with many demographics, giving loans to individuals and small businesses, to boost agriculture or private social investors, life insurance services, education in business management, household food security, health and nutrition. The SACCOs contribute greatly to extending financial services to the rural poor, though the organizations still struggle to build their capacity. With only a few exceptions, microfinance providers generally offer only a single service (Carlton & Wien, 2001). SACCOs are the most widespread microfinance providers in Uganda with the majority of their members borrowers, and few savers (Carlton & Wien, 2001).

Small-scale businesses typically prefer to work with SACCOs over banks due to their better accessibility, cheap loans and their proximity to people's locations. Low-income earners in Uganda generally avoid loans from banks for a number of reasons, including bank staff attitudes, high transaction rates and lacking of the banks' required security for loan acquisitions (Carlton & Wien, 2001).

2.5 Microfinance institution innovation in Uganda

When financial institutions began to develop in Uganda in the 1990s, their target demographics were the coffee and cotton agricultural sectors. They were urban based, and the majority of beneficiaries were government officials and the rich. Financial institutions such as banks, had high operational charges and offered poor customer care with unfavorable operational hours (Mutesasira et al., 1998). The poor in the community were unable to benefit from the early financial institutions because the organizations focused their interest on the middle class, while excluding the poor through limited accessibility in their policies and procedures (Lakwo, 2006). The collapse of some commercial banks due to financial crisis left a gap that could be filled by microfinance institutions, which began to offer services to urban and semi-urban low-income people across Uganda.

Microfinance institutions emerged to complement banks by providing a way for small businesses to access manageable loans. This type of financial innovation is 'poor people

centered’, and an easier avenue for the poor to access microfinance services (Carlton & Wien, 2001; Mutesasira et al., 1998). FINCA and Uganda Women Finance Trust were among the first microfinance institutions to begin operations in Uganda in the 1990s. Initially, they struggled to get off the ground, but soon gained support from donors, NGOs and the Local Government as they quickly began to make an impact on poverty reduction (Carlton & Wien, 2001). Today, microfinance is a great tool in poverty eradication and vulnerability reduction in Uganda (Carlton & Wien, 2001). Microfinance institutions mostly lend to sizable groups that can easily be monitored and supervised by their initiators, and these groups are equipped with financial management skills and trained to manage business (Lakwo, 2006). As they have continued to develop, the microfinance institutions have diversified their operations to create more flexible services specifically designed for poor communities (Carlton & Wien, 2001; Lakwo, 2006, p. 32), as will be discussed in the next section.

Today, over 70% of people in Uganda borrow money from these informal microfinance institutions (Carlton & Wien, 2001, p. 15). Before finance service reforms were introduced in 1990s, Uganda had one of the least developed financial systems in Sub-Saharan Africa with a limited number of entrepreneurs operating in the country (ibid.). These reforms improved monetary policies which enhanced competition and increased financial efficiency (Carlton & Wien, 2001). Currently, Uganda has a strong and dynamic microfinance industry as far as outreach and sustainability are concerned. The reasons for its success include population growth, formal sector shortcomings, government involvement, donor commitment, competition and strong capacity builders (Carlton & Wien, 2001).

2.6 Microfinance service accessibility in Uganda

Although the microfinance sector has been designed to reach low-income earners in both rural and urban areas (Carlton & Wien, 2001), approximately 43% of the population in Uganda lacks access to financial services (Lakwo, 2006, p. 12). This is unfortunate because microfinance services do not typically reach out to the ‘poorest of the poor’. Instead, the clients that institutions reach out to the most are the ‘poor but wealthy’, those clients who can afford the basic needs in life and are able to service the loan repayments (Carlton & Wien, 2001, p. 20). Large portions of the Ugandan population, especially in rural areas, cannot easily access financial services due to lack of capacity to meet the microfinance requirements (Lakwo, 2006).

However, there is still hope for Uganda's rural areas. The country has one of the fastest growing microfinance institution sectors on the African continent, which are diversifying their operations to reach many (Bada, 2012; Carlton & Wien, 2001).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter examines the theoretical framework. Several theories have been advanced to explain the management, success and failure of businesses. Earlier research focused on growth, size and failures of the businesses (Kibuuka et al., 2015). In this, I will focus on the concept of Empowerment, Human Capital Theory, Human Resource Development and migrations which the findings are analyzed.

3.1 Power and empowerment

To have power is to have influence over others (Lakwo, 2006). For this study, power is explained in two dimensions. According to Lakwo (2006), first, power is as an act of dominancy, where one group or individual dominates and controls the others. In this dimension, power is ‘negative and controlling,’ in the way that the powerful controls the powerless for their own interest. Furthermore, this kind of power is associated with knowledge, in the sense that those who are powerful do not provide the necessary information to the powerless or distort truth for their own agenda (Lakwo, 2006, p. 17). For example; a husband can give a false reason to his wife for acquiring a property yet in the actual sense he is going to benefit his own interest. Power has been misused in the way that those who are powerful manipulate the interests of the powerless for their own gain.

Secondly, power is a means to strengthen self-worth and self-knowledge. This is a feeling of worthiness and confidence, and a means by which the powerless can raise and gain their lost glory and development when they are empowered (Lakwo, 2006). These two dimensions are the basis for conceptualization of empowerment in this study.

3.1.2 Empowerment and business

Empowerment is ‘the expansion of assets and capability of the poor people to participate in negotiating with, control and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives’ (Lakwo, 2006, p. 22). As an economic development goal, its purpose is to reduce poverty, enabling people to have control over their lives by building skills and self-esteem, to own and control their productive assets and to learn self-reliance and solve their own problems. Thus, empowerment enables the poor to own their situation and access public services that allow them to enhance their economic growth. Since empowerment enables people to manage their resources, it also

results in confronting issues of discrimination and marginalization. Therefore, it can also be a tool to facilitate social justice and equality. Empowering Indigenous Peoples through business is an ideal strategy for working towards self-determination. Empowerment can enable marginalized groups to identify with the development strategy ideal to them (Lakwo, 2006).

Business and financial knowledge empowers people to think and act in a matter that affects their lives and communities. Therefore, access to financial services is vital in the process of empowerment, as financial services offer opportunities to liberate people from poverty through education and the ability to control resources and decisions (Kabeer, 2001; Wakoko, 2003).

As empowerment is a process of social transformation and management development, Lakwo (2006, p. 15) asserts that availing resources to the poor in the community is not in itself adequate to transform a society. Any empowerment strategy should allow space for people to be accountable for their own developments and initiatives, initiated by their own actions. Human development that does not directly involve beneficiaries in the process cannot amount to empowerment. To ensure productivity and sustainability, beneficiaries should be directly involved in the frontline processes of their own development.

The process of empowerment involves both collective and individual change. For empowerment in governance to be effective, those who are empowered must form a body of governance and elect their own leaders, while also appointing groups that can work to remind the state about their needs. The State involvement in the affairs of the beneficiaries is key for empowerment to be effective, and those being empowered should be encouraged to take part in decision-making. In governance, empowerment does not aim to create special treatment for select citizens or give special treatment to certain groups, but instead, its aim is to create an atmosphere that enhances economic production and decision-making in powerless people. Therefore, empowerment is a process and outcome of changing individual or group wellbeing, where those who were once disadvantaged are now on an equal standing to make decisions and live their lives with agency (Lakwo, 2006). Empowerment ensures that people are not just included in the development process, but also that they are involved in changing and developing that process themselves. Thus, empowerment is a solution to marginalization because it is an avenue for oppressed groups to be included in the joy of the outcomes of a development strategy.

Empowerment is about more than just reducing poverty, it is both an ‘outcome’ and a ‘process’ (Lakwo, 2006, p. 44). If, in an economic process of development, individuals end up having good incomes and flourishing business, but were not directly involved in the policy-making process, empowerment ensures that people are not just included in the development process, but also that they are involved in changing and developing that process themselves. Thus, empowerment is a solution to marginalization because it is an avenue for oppressed groups to be included in the joy of the outcomes of a development strategy. This means that empowerment that it is not merely about development, it is broad and encompasses social changes in relationships. Those who need to be empowered should be viewed as actors in the process of creating social change, making empowerment an ‘inside out approach’ (Lakwo, 2006, p. 44). The empowerment process should enable individuals to own and carry out their own development plans via the force within themselves, building their self-reliance, to allow people to recognize and redefine themselves, and that instead of being second class citizens, they are people with voices and rights (ibid). It is through empowerment that individuals or groups are able to choose what is best for them, allowing them to own their ideologies and access their own interests without being enslaved by others. Empowerment elevates individuals from positions without power to being who and where they dream to be.

3.1.2 Human Capital Theory

Human Capital Theory (HCT) is a branch of economics that deals with education. HCT assumes that both the individual and society grow when we invest in people (Sweetland, 1996). HCT has been an influential theory in the field of education (Fitzsimons, 1999), and holds the assumption that, peoples’ learning capacities are of comparable value to other resources involved in the production of goods and services (Nafukho, Hairston, & Brooks, 2004). Since the 1960s, the concept of capital has become diversified into different dimensions (Sweetland, 1996). These dimensions include Human Capital, Financial Capital and Process Capital, among others. HCT argues that improved performance comes as a result of investing in people, and suggests that the more people are trained and educated, the higher their productivity (Nafukho et al., 2004).

HCT was first developed by economists Adam Smith and John Stuart, who were the first to link economics and human capital in the 1700s. Smith presented his theory through two

principals. First, labor is not just quantifiable, it includes the ability of society as well as the 'state of skills' by which that labor is applied. Second, ability acquired through education requires actual expenses. Smith further argued that human ability is an agent of wealth production (Sweetland, 1996, p. 344). HCT asserts that individuals can spend money on a variety of things, for example; people may migrate to seek better employment opportunities, or one can accept a low-paying job, as long as this can sustain them (Nafukho et al., 2004).

3.1.3 Human Resource Development Theory

Human Resource Development theory (HRD) is 'any process or activity that, either initially or over the long term, has the potential to develop adult's work-based knowledge, expertise, productivity and satisfaction, whether for personal or group, team gain, or for the benefit of an organization, community, nation, or ultimately, the whole of humanity' (Nafukho et al., 2004, p. 546). HRD is key resource to small businesses and its practice can lead to small business development, yet most small businesses do not practice it (Carsrud, 2016). The key terms in the definition are 'process', 'development' and 'improving performance.' The intervention process of HRD can include training to improve performance and organizational transformation in weak areas of management. Carsrud (2016, p. 29) further states that most businesses do not invest in HRD because it requires time and money, both of which are costly. However, there is evidence that small business growth does occur when HRD is applied (Carsrud, 2016, p. 29). According to Swanson (2001), HRD theory depends on three core concepts. First, psychological theory, which deals with developing human resources as agents for productivity, considers the limits of human behavior. The second is economic theory, which deals with the efficient and effective use of resources to produce wealth in a competitive environment. Lastly, systems theory deals with group or individual interactions with the environment, focusing on purpose and relationships. Systems theory requires critical thinking and being able to make use of new available tools for sound practice. HRD assumes that an individual's performance depends on the skills they have acquired and the effort they put into their work (Swanson, 2001, p. 305). With regards to this current research, I will now discuss HRD in relation to small businesses, which is the focus of this thesis.

As earlier discussed, small businesses are key to job creation and a means for community growth worldwide, yet many fail within their initial period of establishment due to poor management and a lack of the owners' operational skills. As such, businesses often experience

reduced economic growth. When businesses fail, the families and individuals running them become unemployed, which can then trigger suffering and starvation. HRD can help businesses improve by increasing or invigorating performance (Carsrud, 2016). However, most small businesses have paid little attention to HRD, which creates a cycle where businesses do not fund training, which leads to underdeveloped skills. The lack of skill causes less money to be earned, money that could be spent on HRD is not priority. Often these businesses lag in product and capital development, and pressing needs are not attended to, even though HRD could potentially improve the business overall performance. This is unfortunate, since small businesses play a tremendous role in the economic and social development (Carsrud, 2016, p. 29). In the case of my research demographic, the small Karamajong businesses prioritize family welfare more than diverting what little earnings they have towards training. Small businesses generally focus on the need at hand, but it is important to note that HRD should be considered to be absolutely relevant and practiced daily in businesses with a small workforce and limited resources, because business performance is the life of the business (ibid.). Carsrud (2016) also notes that a business owner should focus more on the impact of the failures, rather than the opportunities they see as being available to improve.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates the field experience, how I established relationship with the respondents, my method of selecting respondents, the data collection methods, positionality, ethics and the challenges I faced in the field. The chapter also presents some findings of the study.

4.2 Field Experience

I interacted with the Karamojong in marketplaces, school and workplace. Before entering the field, I was fully convinced and confident that this would be quite smooth for me. From having lived in the area for much of my life before now, I knew where the Karamojong lived and their trading areas. I would be welcomed as a customer then to buy items. However, when I returned to the community as a researcher, I was viewed as someone with ‘negative motives.’ Having been away from the community a decade, my first encounter with them upon my return did not yield any results. Though some people I spoke to remembered me, others mistook me for a government spy who had come to disturb their peace and gather information that would criminalize them. I had to retreat and find a relational approach.

Smith (2013) highlights that relationship building is crucial in Indigenous research, I had to build this connection first. I spoke with the Traders’ Association chairperson in Jinja Central Market who gave me the contact information of a local Karamojong leader who would be of help to my research project.

I met and talked with the Karamojong leader known as ‘The Senior Elder’ who acted as my guide during the first week of my data collection. Elders act as foremen in the Karamojong social network, linking those in the villages to those living and working in the town. Particularly, the Senior Elder would also ensure that newcomers found accommodation, and were known by all Karamojong living in Jinja Municipality. He briefed me on how to approach the participants. There were three common working places of the Karamojong in Jinja Municipality; ‘*Shauri Yako*’ also known as ‘*Kikaramonja*’ (means the place of the Karamojong), *Kazi Mingi* and Jinja Central Market. ‘*Shauri Yako*’ and ‘*Kazi Mingi*’ are Swahili phrases meaning ‘Your problem,’ and ‘Too much work’, respectively. The Senior

Elder assisted me in finding suitable participants to speak with, as we identified how best to establish relationships and schedule interview dates. The Senior Elder told me general information about the history of the Karamojong movement from their ancestral homeland in North Eastern Uganda to Jinja. It was not easy to get information from the Karamojong without the Senior Elder's endorsement, but with it, people were much more willing to speak with me.

The Senior Elder introduced me to the business Karamojong members, and formed them of the purpose of my research. I was now officially welcomed into their community. Most participants were very curious to know more about what I study and the intent of my research, and why the Karamojong specifically. Some community members continued to reserve information relating to my study for reasons known only to them. I explained myself and provided them with complete information.

When meeting with the Senior Elder to determine how best to proceed in my research, he invited me to his home, which was approximately five kilometers away from the business center. Before we focused on my research, he told me his own story on how he found his way to Jinja Town. Once we arrived at his home², he explained to me the nature of Karamojong migration to urban centers. He told me that he was the only Karamojong person who owned land in 'Shauri Yako' village. As such, he offered newcomers space to set up temporary residential settlements. The Senior Elder told me how he had been brought to the town by a relative 25 years ago³. The Senior Elder confirmed to me that the majority of Karamojong in the area had been brought to Jinja town by friends or relatives. In the settlement area, Karamojong live in homesteads composed of 3-10 members who are blood-related or friends of friends, and they pool funds to pay rent⁴. The Karamojong maintain their cultural settlement pattern but with a different shelter system from the Indigenous *Manyatta* style of housing

² Normally elderly people in the community are met at their homes for discussions. Discussion of a kind that require details, if requested to be held outside a home is viewed as a disrespect, unless when one agrees otherwise.

³ Migration at that point, and still today, takes place in a chain link style, with friends connecting friends and relatives.

⁴ House rent at the time of data collection ranged from 5,000 to 50,000 Uganda Shillings, approximately \$1.30 to 1375 USD per month.

settlement. *Manyatta* is the Karamojong Indigenous houses enclosed with thorny shrubs (Senkaba, 2015).

4.3 Research design

This study took a phenomenological and an ethnographic research approach. In a phenomenological approach, participants' experiences are collected and used to interpret their experiences, with a particular focus on what participants share in common in their experiences (Creswell, 2007). Meanwhile, I also used ethnographic research which focuses on observation, listening and interacting with participants in their real work/lived environment (Silverman, 2013).

4.4 Ethics

Ethical issues are very crucial and sensitive in research (Chilisa, 2012). It is on the researcher to be mindful of their actions to prevent misrepresentation of one's study population (Olsen, 2017). For my study, I got consent from the local Karamojong community leaders in Jinja Municipality to conduct research. Just like other Indigenous groups elsewhere, the Karamojong have rights to self-determination; they are a people with a defined culture with socially defined views who need privacy. Chilisa (2012) emphasizes the importance of seeking explicit permission to protect participants in research from physical, mental and psychological harm. Therefore, I also sought permission from individuals when asking them to participate in my research, explaining that I was interested in their views on financial services and businesses, asking them whether they were comfortable disclosing information about their businesses and financial acquisitions. Some people refuse to share certain information for different reasons, such as misrepresentation as a result of misunderstanding the context (Swann, 2004). I, therefore, had to seek permission regarding the publication of their data, whether it was acceptable to take voice recordings or during my study. I stated clearly the purposes of the data I collected to avoid any potential cases of unethical conduct. Since the Karamojong have a different language and culture than me, I employed the help of a reputable translator who was a part of their community and a trusted leader. I used his translation service in only few occasions because many of them understood *Luganda*, the widely-spoken language in the study region. Though style may be 'difficult to translate' (Swann, 2004, p. xv), he helped me avoid accidentally omitting important information, or stopping me from making ethical errors due to cultural differences. I was aware that translations can sometimes result in missing out on

important points, and that the English language may not always be adequate in translating Karamojong precisely (Swann, 2004), but I strove to find an appropriate and reliable person to do the translation work voluntarily.

The issue of seeking consent from Indigenous Peoples through consultation has been supported by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Article 32, ILO 169). It states that Indigenous Peoples should be engaged in a free and pre-informed participation in matters that concern them (UNDRIP, 2007). Therefore, there must be prior consultation with the Karamojong regarding any issue that affects them. The Karamojong participation in my research was voluntary. Though they consented to participate, each was told that they were nonetheless free to withdraw their consent at any time without giving a reason. All the information they gave was to be made anonymous and there were no negative consequences to them if they chose to withdraw.

4.5 Sampling

I selected my participants with intention. I spoke with the Karamojong running small businesses and those who had experience using the financial services in Jinja Municipality. I therefore used a purposive sampling technique for this focused study. This technique identifies participants who have cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). I also used non-probability sampling as the sample size was small. The selection process did not allow for all or just any Karamojong individual to be selected. Other factors that informed sampling included gender involvement in businesses and the position the person held. Convenient sampling was also employed, where participants revealed information about themselves willingly (Tagoe, 2009).

In total, the study comprised of 19 individual participants with a focus group of four men and one woman. Five of the individual samples were women and 10 were men. The focus group was composed of members of the Karamojong Village Saving and Association. I needed to listen to both individual and collective views regarding credit and saving schemes, challenges encountered while working, financial services experience. I also used the individual interviews to seek clarity and relate information (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008).

For security and ethical purposes, I have chosen to keep the participants identities undisclosed. I use pseudonym labels to identify them, from Q1 to Q15 for the individual participants, A1 to A5 for Focus group participants, K1 for microfinance officials, and Chairperson Central Market and the term ‘Senior Elder’ for the Karamojong leader. At times it appeared that my participants did not know which information they should reveal and which to protect. According to Maurstad, a researcher should have knowledge about the cultural context of any group they are researching. This guides them in determining what information to withhold and publish (Maurstad, 2002).

4.5.1 Sampling of the study area

I choose to carry out my research in the area that had a large sample of interest. Jinja Municipality has a high number of Karamojong small-scale traders and financial service organizations that favor the interests of the Karamojong community compared to other parts of the District. The area has a history of Karamojong migrants who occupy the community.

4.6 Information sources

Men were my primary source of information. I met many women as well, but men were much more willing to talk to me and share information than the women. When I asked the Senior Elder about why it was hard to speak to the women, he explained to me that women, especially those under 25 years of age, generally do not feel at ease talking to strangers. Regarding the few women I spoke with who were opposed to me recording our conversation, he explained that it is teenage behave for Karamojong girls in the region. The Senior Elder devoted much of his time and was very willing to provide information that led to the success of my field research.

I was also conscious of avoiding cases of omissions and exaggerations from the people I spoke with. As such, I watched YouTube documentaries and read local newspapers sustainable livelihood and culture⁵, trade and market to relate to the information given to me.

4.7 Data Collection Methods

This research was qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is ideal when building theories (Chilisa, 2012). Primary data was collected in July and August 2019. The use of various collection methods is useful for data verification (Bryman, Becker, & Sempik, 2008). Field

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJU5NGfu5es&t=107s>

notes, observation, focused group discussion and recorded semi and unstructured interviews were the primary methods of data collection, collected directly from participants (Scheurich, 2014).

I draw secondary data from journal articles, archive materials, reports, newspapers and magazines, internet sources and textbooks.

4.7.1 Interviews

Interviews were my primary method of data collection. I held face-to-face interviews with three categories of participants: individuals, key and focus group. Face-to-face made it easy to correlate with observation. I will go into more detail about the focus group in a following section of this chapter.

I initially scheduled interviews with 20 small business owners, however 5 of them lost interest before we met. I also interviewed 4 key participants and held a focus group discussion. The key participants were made up of a Karamojong elder, 2 microfinance officials and the Traders' Association chairperson. I scheduled a convenient time with them for interviews, and days later I went back to collect data. I recorded the participants who consented to voice recording, as recording helped me seek clarity so as to produce authentic information. I kept in contact with the participants and contacted them whenever I needed clarity on any issue. I also returned to the field to seek clarity on issues that seemed to be unclear to me during the field period.

Interviews with key participants lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and took place at an agreed upon location. Interviews with individual participants were held at their places of work and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, with break intervals when they were attending to their work or customers. Meeting my participants in their workplaces gave me an opportunity to observe how they behaved in a familiar work setting. Key participants interviews were conducted in both *Luganda* and English languages. This was not something we specifically agreed upon beforehand, but rather came through the natural flow of the discussion. Regarding the individual interviews, 13 out of the 15 interviews were done in *Luganda*, and two interviews required an interpreter from *Karamojong* to *Luganda* language. The Interpretation for the two participants was also not arranged beforehand since this was a partial interpretation basically

for terms and words that the participants would not translate in *Luganda*. The Senior Elder acted out the interpretation role.

According to Scheurich, interviews help to find out what is in the mind of the interviewee that cannot be known directly (Scheurich, 2014). The interviews allowed me to interact freely with my participants to learn about how they carried out their businesses, what they thought about financial services and the procedures involved in acquiring and servicing credit. Interviews were non-structured in nature because not all participants had the similar circumstances.

4.7.2 Observation

Throughout the fieldwork period, I observed the nature of Karamojong businesses and workplace settings. I saw whether a participant was tense or in a relaxed mood. Coming from a place of observation gave me a better way to approach my participants and allowed me to adjust my own behavior or respond to them in a way that would allow me to gather the results I was looking for.

As Knowles (2000) has highlighted, observation helped me to tell if there were differences between the words I heard from participants and actual practices. While observing, I noticed that they were keen to see what I would be looking at, and they would closely watch my moves. I asked my research assistant why this was so, and he explained that there were groups of people who would pretend to be students when approaching businesses, but would afterwards alert the authorities who had actually sent them from their street working areas⁶. One participant requested to look through my field notebook to verify exactly what I was writing. Following these past incidents, the business-owners had learned to keep a keen eye especially on strangers who approached them about interviews and questionnaires. They observed me much as I did them. A participant, at the end of my fieldwork, told me that he had also done an investigation about me to find out more about me. I had been part of the original SACCO staff long before any of those I interviewed had come to Jinja, and he told me that when he learned about this, it earned me credibility. Through all my fieldwork experiences I learned to consider the interests of my Karamojong participants. Credibility is built on a mutual relationship with

⁶ It is illegal in Jinja Town to operate any business in an authorised working area

the people (Smith, 2013), and without cultivating a positive relationship with my participants it would have been difficult to succeed in this study.

4.7.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group is ideal for open discussion on matters that participants jointly share. They are useful to understand the participants' experience (Kinalski et al., 2017). Focused group encouraged discussions about the Karamojong experiences and background information in the business management and microfinance services. The focus group was made up of 5 members of the Karamojong Village Saving and Loan Association. After they agreed to take part in the focus group, I met with them in the central market at their working place. I acted as the conversation guide during the discussion and directed the conversation to my research questions. Our discussion lasted for an hour, with participants voicing many varying views that had not been raised during the previous individual interviews. The discussion was largely focused on the participants' collective views. One participant would clarify another's point, and the others would then give further elaborations on the others' views.

4.8 Reflexivity

Positionality is the association of the researcher to the participants. In an Indigenous Studies context, research should be for the participants (Saugestad, 1998), and their voices and goals should be considered first (Chilisa, 2012; Deloria Vine, 1999). In this study, I was a complete outsider. I am not working in business, I am not Karamojong, and furthermore I entered the field as a researcher. This meant that I had a different position to the people with whom I was speaking. Some participants refused to share information with me because they mistook me to be a spy. Often I had to hustle to prove to them that I was simply a student and a researcher, even after presenting university identity information to prove my validity as a student.

At the same time, I do have connection to the Karamojong community. I had previously worked at Nile Baptist Church in Jinja for the Ministry of Children under Compassion International Uganda, a non-profit NGO that cares for vulnerable children and families, as a Sponsor Donor Relations Officer and Financial Manager from 2014 to 2018. Among the families the organization focuses on are those of the Karamojong. In my position, I would regularly interact with Karamojong children in particular, but also with their parents. My former position and experiences with Compassion International Uganda gave me an opportunity to reach out to the

Karamojong community for this research with minimal resistance and doubt. Despite the fact that it had been a long time since I had left the project, the community leaders supported my project because of my past service for their community and saw the benefit in my research to further contribute to it. However, such interactions do not make me an insider; they merely facilitated my entry into the field. My positions as worker and researcher were very different from one other, and each came with different expectations, roles and challenges. However, my awareness of this fact helped me in my research in determining how to relate with the Karamojong community. Some participants still perceived me as a project officer working with a charity organization, but I made sure to declare my new role as researcher before conducting any fieldwork so that they understood the new person I now was.

4.9 Challenges

There was no better location or way available to conduct the interviews than in participants' workplaces. However, the workplace environments had a lot of noise from vehicle movements or even just from the general noise of a market setting. This interrupted interview recordings because often my participants or I had to strain our voices, and time and again I would ask for clarifications on what they had said which prolonged the interview time. One time I had to schedule a new date with a participant to complete the interview due to the busy environment. Some participants would be attending to both me as well as their customers while we spoke, which would also disrupt the interview. For the participants I spoke with who were working at home, children were often playing around or crying, which also caused interruptions in our discussions. However, having worked in the Children's Ministry before, I brought along play materials to keep the children busy to minimize interruptions during interviews.

When it came to the participants who were brewing, the time needed for the interviews was much longer because they required numerous breaks to allow them to maintain brewing processes for their businesses.

Five of the individual interview participants withdrew before our interviews took place. One was due to their busy schedule, another did not give any reason for withdrawing. The other three withdrawals happened at the end of the interview as the conversation wound up being out of the scope of my study. This was a setback in that I had to find new people to replace them.

In terms of audio recording, this brought tension and a sense of unease to a few of the participants, which also prolonged the time needed to attend to a participant. Some participants wanted to listen to their voices after the interview. This meant that I had to stay longer than scheduled. Others thought that the recording required them to take more time to prepare themselves. One participant asked me to give him time to clear his throat for while before we started the interview. I had to explain that voice clearing was not required, for the voices were simple for my own academic purposes, and that the recordings would not be used or listened to anywhere else, or by anyone else.

Despite these challenges, however, my fieldwork was generally fruitful. I am satisfied that I was able to collect reliable information about the businesses run by the Karamojong in Jinja Municipality, and about the financial institutions they interact with.

CHAPTER FIVE: KARAMOJONG SETTLEMENT AND BUSINESSES

This chapter contains the findings and analysis related to my research questions, as well as observations. I present the findings about how the Karamojong moved to Jinja, the businesses the Karamojong operate, and their relationship with their community.

5.1 Karamojong cause, nature of migration and settlement pattern

Roughly two decades ago, the Karamojong began to move from Karamoja primarily to Jinja Municipality while some were scattered in small numbers in other parts of the District. There are various causes attributed to their migration, such as; domestic violence, famine due to drought, insecurity, band wagon movement and cattle disease. These findings are in agreement with Stites (Stites & Akabwai, 2012). Of the 15 small business owners I spoke with, 13 said they moved specifically to find new means of survival due to the effects of civil wars.

The prolonged civil wars in the Karamoja region have scattered many families, and triggered famine in the land which has led to scarcity of grazing land. The most vulnerable victims of the wars are those who were defeated and forced to flee as they had no ability to fight back, among them were women and children. As Participant Q13 stated:

I disagreed with my mother-in-law on how to spend money earned from cow sales. She wanted to take the biggest portion for drinking alcohol. When I refused, she started a quarrel and ended up fighting. I decided to leave the home to join my husband who was in town.

Similar cases of bitter domestic violence were narrated to me by participants Q1 and Q14. Poverty, due to the outcome of the wars, created a state of hopelessness and anxiety triggering instability in homes. As such, the people affected resorted to drinking as a way to console themselves (NAI, 2019)⁷. Problematic drinking behavior in the Karamoja community has also been attributed to depression, asset loss, land conflicts or even loss of relatives as a result of wars (Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

Participants Q3, who migrated to Jinja Municipality in the early 1990s, reported that he decided to move his whole family together due to the Lord Resistance Army war. He had earlier shifted

⁷: <https://nai.uu.se/news-and-events/news/2019-05-07-women-victims-when-karamojong-abandon-pastoralism.html>

his family from Moroto to Gulu District rural area where he was caught up in the war zone. Insecurity in the area forced him to leave his home abruptly without prior preparation:

When the war started, it was too bad in the area. The rebels burnt down people's huts, I flee with my family. Many people left the village at that time. I decided to leave all my property to save my family. We stayed in Gulu Town, and later we shifted to [Jinja Municipality].

The LRA war destabilized Northern Uganda since 1987 (Dunn, 2004). As earlier discussed, this war, which lasted nearly two decades (Nannyonjo, 2005), displaced over a million people and accounts for the majority of migrants from Northern Uganda to urban centers in major towns in the country (Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

Q1 and Q12 also told similar stories of migration; I had numerous people explaining that their movement to Jinja Municipality was triggered by more than one factor, but especially because of wars. The government had given the Karamojong guns to defend themselves against cattle raiding from their neighbors. Later the government realized this would become a threat to national security. Q12 explained:

Previously we got guns from government, when the guns were taken away from us, we felt insecure thinking our enemies would come back to attack again. I had to flee from the village.

In 2002, Uganda launched an operation to disarm the Karamojong to end terrorism of armed Karamojong and halt illegal gun trafficking from Sudan and Kenya (Nannyonjo, 2005). Guns were given to Karamojong to guard themselves against cattle raiders from Kenya, instead they used them to raid neighboring areas (Nannyonjo, 2005; Reliefweb, 2002). This operation however, created a state of fear, Q12 is among the victims who eventually decided to flee.

The 'bandwagon trend' is another reason for movement; they were participants who shifted just because their friends and relatives lived in town. People in this category moved with uncertain knowledge of what opportunities existed in town. Q9 explained:

For long I heard people speak of Town, I did not know exactly how it feel to be in town. When I got my money, I moved in here with hope that my life will better someday.

Some of the people I spoke to, such as Q9, moved without a clear view of what to expect when they arrived in Jinja Municipality. According to Todaro (1971, p. 387), migrants seek for 'better life' in town without knowing how it will be achieved. Meanwhile, others I spoke to had been affected by prolonged dryness and drought, cattle rustling and cattle diseases. Therefore, they moved to find new livelihoods. Q1 explained:

My husband had moved to here before me. I stayed in Moroto to care for the kids and our cows. There was a long period when drought persisted. I would not find pasture for my cows. I was losing many cows to hunger and diseases. There was also a conflict with my neighbor over the cause of the disease – he accused me of having cows that were infecting his cattle. I decided to sell off the cows. With the money, I got out and moved to town with my children. I heard people say there is money in town. My husband, too, told me this, though I was hesitant. But in the end I came here to look for that money.

In this case, one challenge brought about a chain of challenges: drought brought about scarcity of grazing land triggering conflicts among the people. The Karamojong pastoralist invaded neighboring districts for pasture and water, which led to the destruction of infrastructure and paralyzed the economy of the region forcing people to move (Nannyonjo, 2005, p. 473).

Others like Q8, told of how, when her husband died, she was left with no means of taking care of the kids:

I was left with four kids but no means of survival. I decided to move to town because my friends too had moved.

Q12 said he moved because he had lost his livelihood:

I was the bread-winner at home. I was a hunter and a cattle keeper. The government stopped us from moving place to place along with our cows. Cows were the only mean of family food, I would not watch my kids starve to death. As a man, I had to find means to feed my family that is why I came to town.

The Ugandan government banned pastoralism in order to; facilitate long time social and economic integration through income generating and skills development programmes, to provide resettlement assistance that includes psychological support and healthcare and financial assistance to those seeking amnesty and to spearhead Conflict resolution and reconciliation among the defected parties (Nannyonjo, 2005, p. 485). However, to some Karamojong this was not convincing enough, therefore they moved. Among the study

population, most men attributed migration to finding bread for their families, women cite family problems related to mistreatment either by in-laws or husbands. Those who earlier migrated, when they found out that the Jinja area was peaceful, with food and a conducive working environment, they invited those they left home to join them in town. Most of my participants reported that they were encouraged by their predecessor to come to town.

5.2 Movement and settlement pattern

I asked my participants how they found their way to Jinja. Some came by public means while others walked as they rested in the towns they passed along, still others took advantages of the produce trucks and cattle carrying trucks along the way. Those who travelled on foot moved in stages, from district to district. When coming by foot, some will decide to settle in towns along the way, others choose to continue.

Some saved to travel by car, in which case it normally takes a longer period to have all the money needed to travel. Otherwise those who failed to raise money for the bus come to the urban centers on cattle trucks, paying a reduced amount to cattle truckers as transport fee. Q7 said:

For a period of a year I failed to raise enough transport for the bus, I paid 20,000 [5.3USD] shillings to the truck from Moroto to Mbale District, I walked the rest of the Journey.

He faced hardship during his arrival because he did not know anyone in Jinja Town. There are several others like Q7. It takes determinations to walk, participants told me, and it was a sacrifice for them to change their lives. Those who walked on foot either did so in groups or individually. Among my participants, three came walking individually while seven walked in a group. Q12 explained that he walked for several days to Jinja:

I trekked for two weeks from Moroto to Jinja. I carried a bottle of water with roasted cassava and started the journey to Jinja, I didn't have money to find a bus. My friend told me that it will be well when I get to town. It was not that easy a journey, my feet swelled, but I finally got to Jinja.

The participants who travelled in groups, made several stops in towns along their routes to freshen up. Q6 was among those who walked in a group. As he explained:

I came in a group of 10 people. We travelled while making stops: from Moroto to Katakwi, Katakwi to Soroti, Soroti to Mbale, Mbale to Iganga, Iganga to Jinja. This journey took three months. We made stops in those towns to rest and find food enough to continue the journey. However, five of our friends decided to stay in one of the towns along the way. I continued to Jinja because I have relatives here.

When I asked how they survived the migration journey, Q10 told me:

At times we begged on the street or asked people to give us food in exchange for work. I asked people in the market if I could take their garbage to the dump pit in exchange for food or money.

Many people who had travelled in groups told me stories of travel experience such as these. Q3 and Q5 came on cattle trucks, while Q6 had come with her parents when young. Q5 had travelled for adventure, but ended up settling in *Shaura Yako*:

My friends were bringing cattle on a truck to sell. When I reached here, I met fellow Karamojong, and they convinced me to stay with them.

Q5's decision to remain in Jinja was due to finding fellow Karamojong. Q4 was encouraged to move by his brother who had already moved to Jinja, and Q11 came to visit her sister who was sick but never wound up returning to traditional home.

5.3 Life in town and income sources.

Of the people I spoke with for my research, the earliest Karamojong migrants to Jinja Municipality were adults, and later their children joined them. When the Karamojong move from their homeland in North Eastern Uganda, a few come with their own money, ready to invest in a business venture, while others start from scratch when they get to town. Those who do not come along with cash, collect firewood in forests, cut grass to make compound brooms and others collect grain in the mills that fall on the floor or even dig for money. Q9 stated me:

I had sold my cows back home, so when I got [to Jinja], I had capital to start this brewing business. Part of the money I used for transport and rent, and with the balance I bought utensils for making brew.

Q4, meanwhile, did not have any money with him when he came. For his business venture, he went into the bush⁸ to cut grass for broom-making:

I got grass and started making brooms. Later, I had saved enough money to start my henna-making business. Now, I have two businesses, henna and broom-making.

This study findings show that the majority of participants did not require cash to start businesses. Though the Karamojong migrate to town, they hold one foot in town, and keep the other back home, this is because they see town as a temporally place. According to the study by Stites and Akabwai (2012), this is insurance against the unknown. In the event of uncertainty, one can easily shift.

Q5 told me:

Although I chose to stay in Town, I do not see myself forever here. One day I will go back home. I do not own any land or very valuable property in Town, I live like a camper here. I am here because I found friends who speak the same language as mine.

The Karamojong often travel back home to take food to their relatives and maintain their social network. Lakwo (2006, p. 20) states that, 'urban life is a means of livelihood diversification'. Some participants did not migrate to Jinja Municipality to stay in town forever; those who took food back home also sent along other items for sale in the village.

5.3.1 Accommodation and relaying on cash

With regards to accommodation, most of the people I spoke to did not struggle in finding a place to stay or work. The majority of those I spoke with stated that upon their arrival they were housed either by friends, tribemates or family members. Q2, Q6, Q7 and Q15, who all came in separate groups, told me that they shared houses with fellow Karamojong whom their leaders in Jinja connected them with. Meanwhile Q4, Q8 and Q11, who arrived individually, stayed with family members who had come to Jinja before them.

⁸ Bushes along the roadside in Jinja Municipality (or a cross Uganda) and deserted areas have a particular kind of grass that is used to make compound and house brooms

However, I was told by the majority of participants that they found it challenging to adopt the urban system of relying on cash for every need. This is in accordance with findings of Stites and Akabwai (2012, p. 12) who said migrants find it hard to switch to cash for day by day survival. As Q10 put it:

I had a little money when I came from home, but in just days it was used up.
I found it hard to find food to eat. In Karamoja I did not have to buy everything; here in town, without money, you cannot survive.

5.3.2 Newcomers businesses and gender participation

The Karamojong engage in many activities in Jinja. While certain activities are done by either females or only males, there are others that cut across gender lines. Beside the small businesses my participants operated, some had additional sources of income to supplement what they earn in businesses. The businesses of my participants are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants interview list

Identification Code	Gender	Type of Business	Age	Part time jobs	Work location
Q1	Female	Sells cereals, flour and grains	32	-	JCM and Kazzi mangi
Q2	Male	Brewing, firewood	26	Cleaner	JCM, <i>Shauri Yako</i>
Q3	Male	Brewing, Charcoal	42	Any job available in the community	Masese, <i>Shauri Yako</i>
Q4	Male	brooms, Henna	28	Loading trucks	<i>Shauri Yako</i> , JCM
Q5	Female	Brewing, blooms, firewood, henna	27	Picking cereals, dish washing	JCM, <i>Shauri Yako</i> and <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q6	Male	Brewing, Henna, steel and wood products, solar lamps	24	Cleaner	JCM, <i>Shauri Yako</i> and <i>Kazzi mangi</i>
Q7	Male	Scrap dealer, jerrycan and ropes	29	Luggage carrier	JCM and <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q8	Female	Henna, grains, craft bags	25	Threshing	<i>Kazzi mangi</i> , JCM
Q9	Male	Hawking, Charcoal, firewood, brewing	37	Loading trucks	<i>Shauri Yako</i> , <i>Kazzi Mangi</i> , Masese
Q10	Male	Steel and wood products	32	Sugarcane factory	JCM and <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q11	Female	Brewing, roasting maize	33	Dish washing	<i>Shauri Yako</i> , <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q12	Male	Wooden piggy bank, steel grill, rat trap cages, plastics	28	Hawker, sweeper	JCM and <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q13	Female	Brewing, Charcoal, roasted cassava	52	Any job available in the community	<i>Shauri Yako</i> , <i>Kazzi Mangi</i>
Q14	Male	Henna, solar products, clothes	38	Loading trucks	JCM and Jinja Town
Q15	Male	Clothe hungers, charcoal stoves, solar lamps	46	Luggage carrier	JCM and Jinja Town

The study findings reveal that when they first arrive to Jinja Municipality, the Karamojong will usually do casual work for other people. Q8 and Q13 said that they were hired to thresh beans on their first day, while Q14 was hired to load sacks onto trucks for an Indian shop. In general, Karamojong women, men and youth work as casual laborers in grain and cereal sorting stores and mills at *Kazzi Mangi* and Jinja Central Market. They sort dirty particles out of maize, ground nuts, sorghum, millet and beans. They also might wash clothes, work in gardens or sell

firewood. Men will most often work as hawkers⁹ or they will gather grasses from the bush to dry them and make brooms in order to begin gathering capital to start their businesses.

Age is not a major determinate on what kind of work one does. For example; Q4, aged 28, loads trucks, just like Q15, aged 46. However, gender is a considerate factor as regards to one's work. No women I spoke with were involved in loading trucks and none of the men were involved in sorting grain. This distribution of labor is not far from the traditional Karamojong setting. There, the chief occupation of a man is fighting, thatching the huts and cutting wood, while the women cultivate food, gather firewood, cut grass for thatching and prepare food (Wayland, 1931, p. 196). The men are typically involved in work that requires much more strength. The women were gatherers before coming to town, which then relates to the nature of the work of sorting and threshing that they normally do in the urban setting as well. The Karamojong women in particular help with threshing because threshing is uncommon practice among the non-Karamojong traders in the region as the Senior Elder noted:

Threshing is a common practice to us Karamojong, especially women. We grow up threshing. So when we come to town, the local people in the market like us because we do neat work.

Threshing¹⁰ is a traditional Karamojong activity associated to a woman's work in a home. Traders in marketplaces hire them to thresh grain. While visiting Jinja Central Market, I observed Karamojong women picking up and sorting the cereals and grains that had fallen on the ground. Q5 explained:

These grains that fall down is our food and my income. I come early morning with my children, pick the cereal that drops down, wash it, dry it and sell part of it to get capital for my businesses. The other part of the cereals is food for my family.

As the Karamojong livelihoods have transitioned from pastoralism to business, they have devised means of working along with strangers from other cultures in the hassle of the city to ensure food security (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). As such, what seems to be a waste to other locals

⁹ A person who travels about selling goods

¹⁰ Threshing is separating chaff from grain. As the Karamojong have traditionally grown grains, this activity is part of their traditional knowledge and expertise.

of the community is, for the Karamojong, an opportunity. The Karamojong are able to survive in town because they take advantage of opportunities around them.

The Senior Elder had this to say about, the Karamojong approach to finding work in the city:

We, the Karamojong, work hard to survive here in Town. We have trained our youth to labor much to win favor here because we are foreigners. We do not despise any work. We do all sorts of work as long as we get food to survive. We do not work to have mansions or accumulate a lot of worth, we would wish too but our incomes cannot allow. Therefore, we work for daily food.

The Karamojong move door to door, shop to shop, asking for any work available. While some might send them away, most businesses that require casual laborers welcome them. However, instead of asking for work, some Karamojong move to the forest to collect firewood to sell it to get capital. Q2 explained:

When I came, my friends told me about the firewood business, I followed them to the forest to cut firewood. We cut the trees, carry them home to dry and sell them off. I chose firewood because the forest was near from my home and I was assured of the market by my friends. It is through selling firewood that I got money to start this brewing business.

The Karamojong business activities cover a wide range of goods and manufacturing: sorting and trading cereals, ground nuts and maize, henna, brewing, selling rope and jerry cans, scrap dealers, making wooden piggy banks, steel grills, rat traps, selling charcoal, clothes hangers, hawking, charcoal stoves and solar lamps. Brewing, cereal and grain sorting, and henna making are the most involved in businesses. The Karamojong work in close proximity with each other as it is one way they can keep track of and look out for each other, the Senior Elder explained.

None of the Karamojong engage in one businesses or activity. Some of them have seasonal activities, while others have multiple jobs during their regular days. One who carries sacks early in the morning, hawks goods in the afternoon and sells clothes in the evening. Q5 told me:

I sort grains in the morning and in the afternoon go to find grass to make brooms. At times I go to the forest to look for firewood for selling. Some seasons I drop all these and brew in the morning, and then in the afternoon, I make henna.

Q6 and Q10 sell wooden piggy banks, local steel grills and rat traps in the mornings at the Jinja Central Market, and then in the afternoon Q6 hawks solar lamps, while Q10 sweeps the market in the early mornings, and makes steel clothes hangers and hawks plastic products in the afternoons. Meanwhile, of the women I spoke with, Q2, Q11 and Q13 brew *Ekwete*¹¹ in the mornings and then sell firewood, and roast maize and cassava in the evenings. Threshing, cereal sorting and making craft bags are seasonal businesses for the women, especially during the harvest and tourism seasons. I was told by numerous people that the nature of the business one does at any time depends on the anticipated customer demand. However, all women I spoke to operated a periodic business in addition to their regular work.

While carrying out multiple businesses a day seemed well for the Karamojong, it does not allow concentration and therefore hinders businesses to grow. Business economist Koch (2011) asserts that 80% of our priority gives 20% outcome, and the opposite is also true. When effort, time and resources is dedicated to fewer tasks, there is likely to receive higher returns. The Karamojong tendency to move from place to place and from business to business hampers their business growth. If the Karamojong businesses are to grow, there is need to minimize this ‘business nomadism.’

5.3.3 Work Safety

To ensure that they are safe, the Karamojong stick to the same locality. As discussed earlier, the Karamojong live in *Masese* and *Shauri Yako*. The nature of settlement is similar to the ‘*Manyantta*’ traditional settlement pattern¹². The Senior Elder narrated to me, that this traditional pattern is maintained for protection and security, since they are migrants in the region. This pattern of togetherness is maintained at workplaces too, moving to and from home to work and back¹³.

¹¹ Local brew (alcohol) made of sorghum and maize

¹² In a typical traditional Karamojong settlement pattern, members of the extended family live in homesteads close to each other.

¹³ While there are Karamojong who work from home and town, many work in both locations due to holding multiple jobs.

5.3.4 Nature of newcomer's businesses

New Karamojong arrivals to Jinja Municipality have one thing in common: they do the work available at the time of their arrival because of their connections to fellow Karamojong in the area. Men and women work in different jobs. Men will often get attached to Indian shops where they wait for any available casual jobs, while women will move into eating areas and ask if there is any work available. They get their connections through their community elders, their relatives or fellow housemates. In the first week of their arrival, newcomers will follow their colleagues to work, and sit and watch how the businesses are run. None of my respondents spent long looking for a job. By the time the majority of them arrived in Jinja, a friend or relative had connected them to someone already working. When vacancies arise, those who are present are given first priority. The Senior Elder told me that some newcomers would request to do voluntary work to keep busy as well as to gain the trust of the business owners.

I noticed that the Karamojong newcomers gravitate towards specific shops, especially the Indian shops, cereal sorting stores and luggage carrying businesses. When I inquired about this, Q7 told me:

Those jobs do not require academic qualifications. Many of us did not go to school and we are strangers in this land, so we cannot be offered good jobs.

During my time in the field, I did not come in contact with a Karamojong who worked as a shopkeeper, a cashier or even holding any office. The Traders' Association informed me that many did not have qualifications to hold such jobs. Though I saw some large businesses run by Karamojong, I did not go look much into them because they were out of my scope of study.

Most jobs which are offered to the Karamojong are those that require strength to do them. Q12 told me how the Indian shop asked him if he was strong enough to hawk saucepans on the streets. Q12's positive response earned him a job, further aided by the recommendation of a friend and their elder. The boss of the Indian shop offered him a 20% commission on every product sold.

The literacy level in Karamoja is 11% (Gelsdorf et al., 2012), and the region overall lacks physical infrastructure and education facilities (ibid.). Over 80% of the population lives below the poverty line (ibid.). This can in part explain why many do not attain formal education which

is a prerequisite for jobs in the formal sectors. Therefore, the majority of Karamojong in urban setting are involved in the unskilled wage labor.

The busiest work hours for the Karamojong I spoke with were weekdays from 7am to 10am. As Q15 described:

I wake up at 5am and walk to town to be ready, so that by the time the boss opens the shop, I am available. Most shops open at such time and the demand of workers is high. I have to carry luggage in two different shops.

Q5 told me how she found her early morning dishwashing job:

There were many customers and the people who were supposed to wash the plates had not reported to work. The lady asked me to work. Now, I have been working for the past six months.

All those I spoke with had acquired the skills needed to run a business from microfinance institute, friends and relatives. Wages from the additional income sources outside their own small businesses depend on the amount of work performed. As earlier discussed, the mode of payment also depends on the nature of the work one engages in, and is normally paid once the work is done. Those who work in loading stores or restaurants are normally paid cash instantly, while those who thresh or sort stones from cereals are paid at the end of the workday. Unlike the men who are only paid in cash, the women I spoke to who worked in eating places and homes mentioned that they were given food or material goods as payment for their work. No one I spoke to had a contract for the work they did, nor had they ever bothered requesting one. Karamojong are not the only casual workers who do not have work contracts, most unskilled and part time workers in Uganda are not given job contracts. This is because contracts come along with variety of terms and conditions like training and paid leaves which employers are not ready to spend money on (Dumas & Houdré, 2016).

Women are more engaged in seasonal activities than men – brewing, cereal sorting and dishwashing – the kind of jobs that have unreliable income. As such, begging is also a source of income that they turn to once in a while. Two of the women confessed to me that some days they were forced to beg on streets to be able to meet their family needs. Q13 explained:

When I arrived in town, my husband's income could not sustain us with our two children. The dishwashing work I got was paying me less to meet family demands. I was compelled to carry my children to the streets to beg.

Begging is associated with those who have children and the purpose of it is to boost family income, or to come out of a pressing need. Of the two participants, none begged as the sole income source. This was not something they did always but often. The rest of the participants were involved in a livelihood activity. The study by Musubika (2017, p. 43) noted that the Karamojong begged to meet 'daily needs and expenses.'

5.4 Karamojong business areas

Karamojong small businesses are not situated simply anywhere as other local business operators in the region. There are specific places in Jinja Municipality where they carry out their work and businesses. Many are located in busy areas around food stores, grinding mills, luggage stations, markets, or even food eating places. The primary reason for this is that these places or business types need cheap labor, which the Karamojong can provide. Known places where the Karamojong businesses focused during the time of my research were; *Masese* landing site, *Kazzi Mingi*, *Shauri Yako* and Jinja Municipality Central Market. Q1 told me that she sells cereals at *Kazzi Mingi* because it is the allocated place for cereals in the town, and many of her friends work in the same area. Threshing is one major activity that takes place in *Kazzi Mangi*, for example, and the Karamojong are very skilled and experienced in this as it is part of their core household activities in their traditions. Likewise, eateries in markets employ Karamojong to wash plates because the Karamojong workers are readily available and cheap to pay. The pay the Karamojong usually receive for washing plates for one full day is food and, on average, 1,000 Shillings (0.27 USD). The Karamojong who work in restaurants will often request to take food left on customer plates for their family members back home.

Q11 explained:

I come here at two o'clock every day to check if there is work to wash plates. I am not told a specific time to come, so I keep checking. If I am given work my pay is between 500 to 1,500 [Shillings] per day, depending on the number of plates. Sometimes the boss gives me food as pay. I eat some and keep part for my children back home.

As stated earlier, a common job for the Karamojong men is loading and unloading sacks of cereal from trucks at both *Kazzi Mangi* and the Jinja Municipality Central Market, mostly for

Indian-run shops. Instead, they station themselves at these junctions in hopes of being called to work. Meanwhile, they operate their own small business. Q12 elaborated:

I work with the Jinja Municipal Council as a road sweeper. I do this work from 5am to 6.30am in the morning. From morning to 12 o'clock I work here selling jerrycans, plates and small water plastic tanks. Later in the afternoon, I hawk these same items.

5.5 Karamojong community relationship

Since the Karamojong are now living in a foreign land in Jinja Municipality, they strive to not disrupt the order in the Jinja community. The Karamojong are careful in how they behave and try not to cause disputes in order to live a peaceful life. The Senior Elder told me:

When our people arrive here [from outside Jinja], we brief them how they should conduct themselves. We know this is not our homeland, people here see us as foreigners, less developed and backward. Because we come from a war region, some people suspect us to be associated with trouble, so we stay in separate residences from [the rest of the Jinja community]. We do not touch things that do not belong to us, and we request for help humbly from the community when we must. There a few cases of theft recorded among us but these are rare cases. Since to survive in the city requires money, we have learned to be very humble because we know we need the community around us to survive. Unlike our homeland where cash is not a much-needed essential, here in town everything requires money. Normally our neighbors do not give us free money, we offer services to receive the money, so we create a good understanding with the community to survive.

According to the Senior Elder, some people in the community harry insults to the Karamojong, calling them all sorts of names and describing them in an inhuman manner. Since the Karamojong need money, they are compelled to put a 'deaf ear' to insults and behave well in the community they live in to win favor. Though, others have admitted that they get offended. Q8 said:

In the marketplaces, some people call me dark-charcoal girl, and others by sorts of descriptions, this at times hurts me.

Being casual laborers, the Karamojong seek out work in the community like washing dishes, washing clothes, digging in gardens, sweeping compounds, cutting firewood and mopping in exchange for food or material things, not necessarily money. Asking for jobs is how they

introduce themselves to the Jinja community. The community accepts the Karamojong because they are hardworking and honest. Karamojong perform their jobs well and wait patiently for their wages, whether food or material things like clothes. Most Karamojong work and move in several places within the community. At times they return to former employers to ask if they can still employ them. This would be probably be attributed to the former nomadic pastoral livelihood, but it can also be due to the changing dynamics in town. Therefore, the Karamojong seek to explore every opportunity.

The manager of Macedonian Microfinance described the Karamojong in this way:

The Karamojong are honest and trustworthy people. They are a very peaceful people who respect those around them. I have worked with some of them since 2005. They are some of the few people who have faithfully returned our loan money. The women are much more reserved when it comes to strangers, they will only talk to you after studying you and learning that you will not harm them.

The Karamojong have learned to be vigilant, especially with strangers claiming to be researchers with recording and filming gadgets. If any stranger is to come to their community, information is passed throughout the community. By the time I reached the community most of them were already aware I was coming. The Senior Elder stated:

Our people are instructed to report any suspicious person holding a camera or recording gadgets to our leaders. This is one way we ensure all our people are safe. We always train them to be conscious about people whose identity is uncertain.

The Karamojong are relaxed in regards to learning the local languages. The men will generally try to learn a new language, but this is not so common with the women. The Karamojong women are reserved in most cases, and they do not interact so much with strangers. When they do talk to people it is when they especially need work. It is been noted that language is a means through which culture is transmitted (Swann, 2004). This implies, then, that learning another language is opening oneself up taking up another culture. The Karamojong are passionate about their culture, as is evident in the way they maintain traditional dressing, body tattoos and jewelery regardless where they are. Some participants informed me that they get discouraged to learn new languages of the locals around them because they subject them to discrimination.

CHAPTER SIX: FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO KARAMOJONG

In this chapter, I discuss the financial service institutions available to the Karamojong, what is required of them to secure financial services initially and the financial management skills they acquire. I elaborate on the challenges they face in acquiring business and microfinance services, how the relationship between micro-financial institutions and the Karamojong community changed over years in Jinja Municipality. Lastly, I discuss what can be done to improve the business experiences of the Karamojong.

Jinja Municipality has several financial service providers ranging from commercial banks, microfinance institutions such as Village Savings and Loan Associations. Centenary Bank and FINCA are two of the commercial banks that are most used for their microfinance services. Most of the people I spoke with were not so familiar with the banks, and even had negative attitudes towards them. According to my participants, bank demands are way too high for them to afford, and many do not have collateral the banks require them to present. Q5 said:

My business is too small to get a loan from the bank. I also hear that banks require a lot of things that I do not have. I did not study so much and people in the bank speak English, which I do not understand very well. I also hear that when you go to the bank to get a loan, if you fail to pay, the bank may take anything from your house, so I fear them.

Q4 said:

I did not even try to go to banks because I knew I could not be given a loan. I did not have collateral to show in the bank. I heard rumors from people that banks require security to have money.

Meanwhile, Q15 explained that:

‘I went to Centenary Bank to find out what is required of me to have a loan. The loan officer informed me that I needed to show collateral in form of a motorcycle, land title, bicycle or any household item as security for my small business. When I looked at myself, I did not have any of the things that the bank wanted. I decided to give up on getting a loan from the bank.’

Of the 15 people I spoke with, only one participant, Q13, was able to get financial services from a commercial bank. The rest got financial services from savings groups that specifically address Karamojong needs.

Q13 narrated,

I borrowed once from FINCA and Pride Microfinance to boost my small business through a women’s saving group. FINCA required us to be part of a

group in order to be given money. Each member of the group was required to record anything they owned as security to receive a loan. My father-in-law gave me a fridge to present to the bank as security. I first borrowed 100,000 Shillings and paid back 120,000 Shillings (USD 27 and 32). All was going well until one member of the group disappeared with the money. I used my savings from the brewery business to clear the loan. This was a set back and my business collapsed. This was the last time I borrowed money from the bank. But, I am happy because FINCA taught me to manage my business and to save.

The participants, apart from one, acquired financial services from microfinance institutions that paid attention to their needs and priorities. Participants revealed they do not meet the requirements of commercial banks and could not fully express their views due to language barrier. This study focuses on two microfinance institutions in Jinja Municipality that offered convenient and Karamojong need-centered services; Macedonian Microfinance and Karamojong Saving and Loan Association.

6.2.1 Macedonian Microfinance

Macedonian Microfinance¹⁴ is a sub-project under Macedonian Vision Africa (MVA), a Christian NGO in the Walukuba-Masese Division. MVA was established in 2005, with a goal to transform the lives of the people in Jinja Municipality from poverty. MVA receives its funding from donations. MVA's microfinancing services were founded to enhance household income for poor families, the project vision bearer specifically aimed at the Karamojong. Several of those I spoke to explained that Macedonian Microfinance services were focused on sustainable individual empowerment and to release households from poverty. The microfinance is managed by Pastor Alfred Adundo, with a team of staff.

I spoke with Pastor Alfred Adundo, the director of MVA, who is known in the Walukuba-Masese region for working with the Karamojong for over a decade. He told me that he had been concerned about the situation of the urban poor, so he connected with donors and secured funds to start a microfinancing program in Jinja Municipality to support low-income earners with manageable loans to allow them to earn a better living. In 2010, he started up a program

¹⁴ See <http://macedonianvisionafrica.org/macedonian-microfinance/>

which lent money to families to start businesses to be able to support themselves when they are in town. He said that commercial banks could not give the vulnerable poor loans because they lacked security proof that the banks required. He explained:

When I become a residence of Walukuba-Danida area, I found many families suffering. I felt a call¹⁵ to make a change in the lives of the Karamojong people. I talked to the district leaders about my vision, which was approved. I found the Karamojong community leaders to sensitize and mobilize his members about this new innovation in the village. I told them that I wanted to begin up a project that could give microfinance services specifically to the Karamojong community. I encouraged the leaders to discuss the matter with community members to form groups. Then, I hired specialists in finance and entrepreneurship to train the group members on how to manage their businesses and finances. I started by giving out loans of 5,000,000 [approximately 1,300USD] to two groups, each with twenty-five members, to be repaid two months later.

Macedonian Microfinance issues capital in form of loans to its beneficiaries. These beneficiaries are required to form groups in order to secure loans. The goal is to empower them to live sustainable lives and to offer away out of poverty by offering affordable loans, especially to women.

Macedonian microfinance is divided into two groups: one situated in the Masese-*Kikaramoja* Zone with the Karamojong as the majority beneficiaries, and the other in Walukuba for other cultural/ethnic groups in the community. For my research purposes, I focused on the group based in Masese-*Kikaramoja*. This group has been named *Teete* by the Karamojong themselves. *Teete* primarily serves the Karamojong community, and consists of 30 beneficiaries. Each of the two groups receive loans which the group then shares among its beneficiaries. Macedonian Microfinance lends out at an interest rate of 10%; likewise, *Teete* lends out to its individual beneficiaries at 10% interest rate. The MVA director explained the *Teete* group this way:

Of the two groups, the Karamojong group is our success story, in terms of performance. The group members' businesses are the most successful in the [Macedonian Microfinance] project. I attribute this to their dedication to hard

¹⁵ Christian vacation to help the poor

work and their discipline with money – they repay their loans on time. Men in this group hawk goods, buy and sell scrap metals or make charcoal stoves while the women roast maize or cassava on the streets, make henna or weave craft bags.

The group is secure in that, if a member fails to pay back their loan, the burden of repayment is transferred across all group members. The loan can be repaid between three to six months. Individuals are not given loans, rather the group distributes to the members. Likewise, individuals do not pay back the loan, it is the group that pays back the loan to Macedonian Microfinance. Some individuals might repay on a weekly basis while others monthly.

K1, a loan officer from Macedonian Microfinance, said:

I believe that our services are affordable and appropriate to the Karamojong community. Before we started giving out loans, we consulted the Karamojong through their leaders about what they expect and what they should expect from us as microfinance institution. We agreed that the loans shall be repaid within six months. Since we lend the group, it is upon the group to decide how their individual members should repay back. We do not only give out loans, we also train our beneficiaries how to manage the loans, basic skills on how to operate businesses, how to make records of cash flow in the business and other simple budgetary procedures.

Macedonian Microfinance offers its beneficiaries financial education by training them in business and credit management and livelihood skills. Livelihood skills cover making sanitary pads, bags and mats. The microfinance loan does not demand any material security or guarantees, unlike commercial banks in Jinja. K1 continued:

The group itself is the security. If any member fails to pay, the burden rests on the committee. The group committee consists of a chairperson, a secretary and a treasurer. This committee ensures that all members repay in time. We do not follow up the individual members about loan repayments, but rather the group leadership. We allow them to self-govern themselves. With regards to the *Teete* group, we have never experienced any case of failure to repay the loan. The follow-ups we make are on the businesses of the individuals, so that we can report success stories about their achievements.

The first beneficiaries of *Teete* group were migrants who came from Moroto. Out of the money that they received, many were able to boost their businesses. Loans were given to those who had a plan of what they wished to begin.

All of the five female participants (Q1, Q5, Q8, Q11 and Q13) were beneficiaries of *Teete*, and had received loans to expand their businesses. Women are the majority beneficiaries of microfinance institutes across Uganda (Mutesasira et al., 1998). No wonder Macedonian Microfinance majority beneficiaries are women. Pastor Alfred said:

Women are active beneficiary and have proved to repay loans well than men.

Several organization target women as a mean to poverty reduction, improve household income and to promote women's decision making as a way of empowerment (Lakwo, 2006). Although most beneficiaries in the *Teete* group are women, this study found out that men were 'present in the names of their wives.' Q13 had this to say:

I got a loan to boost my husband's henna business. My husband did not want to be part of the microfinance, claiming that such groups best fit women.

Men have greater decision making with regards to financial matters in the home, even when they are not actively involved in income activities (Lakwo, 2006; Mutesasira et al., 1998; Wakoko, 2003). Since the vision bearers' goal was to target mostly women, some men believed that the microfinance could benefit women better. Others saw no benefit of being part of the group with their wives. One male participant explained that attending together with his wife was twice the amount of time wasted, and he preferred his wife attend the group as he concentrated their businesses. The women greatly value their membership in the group. They see this as a strategy to have their voices heard and a means to build solidarity and empowerment. Q8 said:

Before I joined *Teete*, I would not even speak before people. Now I am happy and proud that I can also give my views in public.

K1 stated:

Men were less interested in joining the [*Teete*] group, claiming they were busy. Women are very dedicated in attendance and participation.

Four of the men I spoke with were members of both the *Teete* group and the Karamojong Village Saving and Loan Association (VSLA), while the other six worked only with the VSLA. Some I spoke with also saved their money in piggy banks at home, such as Q9:

I keep the petty money like balance on foods in my tin at home. I also save with our Village SLA.

6.2.2 Karamojong VSLA

The Karamojong VSLA is a category of microfinance that uses member's savings to grant loans to their beneficiaries. The Association operates on terms set by the individual members. The terms verbally are communicated to members during weekly meetings scheduled normally on weekends. The Karamojong VSLA was formed to boost their income sources and meet unforeseen expenses. The VSLA, which consists of 30 beneficiaries, has a cabinet of three members: a chairperson, a mobilizer, and the treasurer. Every year a new committee is elected by a vote of all members. The Association savings are relatively small, ranging from 500,000 Uganda Shillings to 3 million (133 to 800 USD). The participants I spoke with told me that savings are stored in a metallic box (safe) with three padlocks that is kept by the treasurer. The keys to the safe are with three members of the group who were not part of the committee. This implies that if the box is to be opened all the three must be present. A4 explained:

(...) we do this to ensure the safety of our money. When the safe is to be opened the three people are witnesses of how much is taken in and out. Ever since I joined the group, we have never heard any issues related to theft. I do not have any fears about money loss or even theft.

The Association also appoints agents who follow up on members who get loans. Loan agents can move to beneficiaries' families to follow up on loans taken. If a member fails to pay, agreements on things that can be taken from the member's family are taken to cover the loan. To get a loan, the savings of the beneficiaries act as security, and a beneficiary wanting a loan cannot get a loan worth more than 50% of their savings. If any member wants a loan for more money than his savings' value, they must find a guarantor. If the loan-taker fails to repay, the guarantor is responsible for paying back the loan. Every meeting, each member is required to pay 1,000 Shillings (0.27USD) to cater for unforeseen events. Examples of unforeseen events are sickness of members, burials, weddings or school graduation ceremonies, facilitation to trainers and emergency cases of family welfare. Therefore, the Association offers its members

insurance to cope with shocks, in the same vein, strengthening relationship and trust in the Karamojong community.

In the event of a burial, graduation or introductory ceremony, the Association will generally contribute food, chairs, tents, cooks or public address systems in kind. The weekly meetings are mandatory, latecomers and defaulters are penalized.

A2 said:

In our Association we pay a one-time membership fee of 5,000 Shillings (1.33 USD). On top of this, every member deposits an annual fee of 15,000 Shillings (4USD) as payment for a seat. We meet on weekends to discuss matters of how to develop our businesses and also to pay our weekly savings.

A 'seat' is a metaphor of fees such as organizing the sitting area and airtime for mobilization work in the Association. The committee sometimes hires entrepreneurs to educate members on how to save despite their little earnings. During these meetings, members who wish to take up loans apply by a raising of hands. Beneficiaries receive loans at 15% interest rate. At the end of the month, each member can collect not more than 50% of their savings, as A1 said:

The Association allows us to collect some money at the end of the month. The money I get I basically use it to pay house rent and fees for my children. Personally, I normally collect my money after three months.

Not all members collect their savings at the end of the month. Others collect it when they want to add capital in their businesses or to pay for an urgent need.

A3 commented:

One benefit I have gotten from the Association is that when you have a celebration of anything at your home, the Association helps with chairs, tents and food. So when I have any need, the group comes up to help.

The Association also hires out entrepreneurs to education members on how to manage savings and food security. On top of that, the Association has a vegetable growing income generating project which is managed by all beneficiaries. Members are trained how to grow vegetables in the limited space around their homes. The Association also owns a demonstration garden for vegetable growing. The sales generated from the garden are recorded as Association income and runs day to day expenses.

A2 said:

I our Association trains us how to manage our savings and the loans. We are trained to separate sales from profits. They also encourage us to keep records of business income and expenses. This has helped me so much because I have learned to work hard knowing at the end of the week I have to retain some money for saving. I am happy for what I learn, though I do not record my transaction, I am able to remember since my business is small. The Association has also encouraged us to grow vegetables around our homes for some of us who have space. This is to boost diet in homes.

Some of those I spoke with were members of *Teete* as well as Karamojong VSLA, as the two organizations offer services that are related. None of the women I spoke with were part of the Karamojong VSLA. Q14 said:

I am a member of *Teete* and Karamojong VSLA. The Association gives us services like; chairs and tents during burial and weddings which *Teete* does not give us. For example, when I lost my little sister, the Association provided the van that took the body home in Moroto, I do not receive such services in *Teete*.

Table 2: Participant financial service distribution list

Identification Code	Microfinance institution
Q1	<i>Teete</i>
Q2	Karamojong VSLA and <i>Teete</i>
Q3	Karamojong VSLA and <i>Teete</i>
Q4	Karamojong VSLA
Q5	<i>Teete</i>
Q6	Karamojong VSLA
Q7	Karamojong VSLA
Q8	<i>Teete</i>
Q9	Karamojong VSLA
Q10	Karamojong VSLA
Q11	<i>Teete</i>
Q12	Karamojong VSLA
Q13	<i>Teete</i> , Commercial bank
Q14	Karamojong VSLA and <i>Teete</i>
Q15	Karamojong VSLA and <i>Teete</i>

6.3 Impact of microfinance services to the Karamojong

The study collected information from participants concerning the impact of financial services to Karamojong businesses and families. All those I spoke to were able to pay house rent and provide food for their families. They told me they did not regret entering agreements with the microfinance institutions because they saw benefits they attributed to being part of the microfinance experience, such as being able to feed their families and boosting their businesses.

As Q2 put it:

My children did not go to school for a year, I did not have enough money to cater for feeding and school demands. The school had a lot of demands which my earning would not meet. When I joined Macedonian Microfinance I got a loan to boost my business, and through this business I am able to save some little money to pay school fees for my children.

Q5 told a similar story:

I am happy that I am able to send my children to school again. When I started my business of selling firewood I went to the bank to try to find a loan. The bank asked me for security for the loan I did not have anything. But through the [*Teete*] group, I was able to get a loan from Macedonia Microfinance. Now I sell firewood and also run my alcohol business.

Likewise, Q2 commented:

The Association gave me food, tent and chairs when I lost my uncle. I have taken up a loan twice, and now my business is doing well.

Q8, a member of the *Teete*, said:

I got a loan of 30,000 Shillings [8USD] from Macedonian Microfinance to start up my henna business, I was able to save and increased my savings. I later got a loan of 70,000 Shillings [18.7USD]. This loan helped me improve my brewery business. Now I am happy that I am able to feed my family. I pay house rent and save some money for unforeseen events.

Those I spoke to told me they were able to expand the production in their businesses, especially the women brewing alcohol, who said they were able to buy brewing drums and bigger saucepans, such as Q11:

Before I got a loan to buy these Ekwete drums, I used to borrow from my neighbor. This was so inconvenient because it meant that when my friend brewed, I would not also. Occasionally I would hire jerrycans, but this was too expensive for me given the little profit I get from this business. I got a loan and bought my own utensils.

The microfinance services have provided hope and means of sustainability for the Karamojong to provide for their family. None of those I spoke with said they got loans to feed their families or to start a business. The sole purpose was to boost their income activities. These study findings support existing literature; improving household income, business growth and insurance to uncertainty (Lakwo, 2006; Mutesasira et al., 1998; Stites & Akabwai, 2012).

The VSLA also contributes to the community, such as providing community latrines, piped water and boreholes. Senior Elder explained:

Formerly, this Kikaramoja community had three latrines. As you can see, there are many people living in this community. The latrines were not enough for all of us. We jointly pulled funds together through our Association committee to have more latrines built up. You can also see this piped water. It was through the bank that this community received water. Members collected money to have this tapwater. Each household pays a subsidised fee for a jerrycan of water. Our people are happy.

I was told that before latrines and other services were made possible through the Karamojong VSLA, the local community would use the bush and temporary pit halls as toilets. However, diseases such as diarrhoeal were rampant in the community. Though the financial service institutions provide relatively small loans to their beneficiaries, they appear to be appropriate for the sizes of the business, and enable the loan-takers to survive an ever-changing and competitive business environment (Lakwo, 2006). The Karamojong VSLA not only provide beneficiaries with individual opportunities to support their families, but also offer the community shared needs which strengthened relationships and interpersonal networks.

Meanwhile, the establishment of Macedonian Microfinance appears to have highlighted who the Karamojong are. Their dedication to work and loan repayment display the Karamojong ethos to the rest of the Jinja community. The past perceptions of the Karamojong as a hostile community have changed drastically. Instead, the Jinja community sees the Karamojong values of commitment and faithfulness further strengthened by their position in the Jinja business community. Karamojong participation in microfinance programs has enabled them to gain business management knowledge and skills for self-sufficiency and also increase profits. As Q15 testified:

I learned how to keep records of my business, I can record my saving and stock. I know how to treat my customers when they come to buy goods. Since then, more customers buy from me, my profits have also increased.

While all my participants acknowledge to learn record keeping, only Q15 and Q1 said they recorded business cashflows. The rest said they trusted their memories to recall sales and transactions. As such, many of my study population would not exactly tell how much they earned annually. Previous studies show that businesses do not keep records due to lack of business and management skills (Tushabomwe-Kazooba, 2006). However, to the Karamojong, it is a different story. Failure to keep records is attributed to the low priority attached to recording, and they end up losing track of business transaction and fail to account for their own expenses and profits (Tushabomwe-Kazooba, 2006, p. 32). Proper record keeping helps to inform decision making such as, how to spend funds, what to spend on and also projecting future sales (ibid.).

6.4 Challenges faced in the acquisition of financial services and business operations

Despite the benefits that financial services contributed to the Karamojong businesses, participants cited several challenges in the operation of their businesses. Women mentioned more challenges in business and loan operations than the men, such as; people taking on credit and not paying and exploitation from some men. Q5 whose business is also her home, said:

People come to me in disguise, pretending that they are buying yet they have no money. After taking my alcohol, they then inform me they do not have the money. Others take on credit but when it comes to paying, they do not pay me. This affects my capital. One day a man came and took my money from my tin where I keep it. He claimed I did not have to work because my husband was working for me.

Such situations have forced some women to abandon working and opt instead to beg on the street. Women are still vulnerable and face marginalization in the society. This is evidence of the ongoing gender inequality. There should be policies to change the exiting drama that women are subjected to in business. This is why the empowerment approach is ideal. Leaders in the community should take an upper hand in striving to stop women's oppression. According to Lakwo (2006), right resources should be provided to address women's discrimination, and that only eradicating poverty cannot transform society from gender oppression.

Others described customers shunning them, refusing to buy from them because they were dirty, such as Q8:

Some people do not want to buy from me. A buyer told me, “You Karamojong are dirty people.” He went and bought from the neighbor instead. Others do not speak, but the way they look at me, I can tell that they discriminate against me.

Some people would refuse to buy from Karamojong because they saw them as ‘dirty’ people. However, this depiction of them is unfair. I observed that one’s cleanliness depended on the nature of one’s work – it is hard for one who works in making henna or hangers from old car tyres and charcoal to keep clean. To the Karamojong I spoke with, the term ‘dirty’ was relative. I observed that women maintained their traditional body tattoos and their long, beaded necklaces. While this might seem to be ‘too much’ body ‘decoration’ to the modern businesspeople in Jinja Municipality, to the Karamojong it is a symbol of beauty and pride. The implication of this was that the Karamojong continued their traditions while in Jinja Municipality. Living in town and engaging in businesses does not separate the Karamojong from their traditions, nor does it compel them much to abandon their culture.

Meanwhile, Q2 said:

In this community, we are many people who make alcohol so at the end of the day I get few customers. So sometimes I pour out this ‘*Ekwete*’ when it gets bad. If you have a loan from the microfinance sometimes it is hard to pay it back.

Q3 echoed this issue:

There is no way I can preserve this brew, when it is not bought, I pour out and that means a loss.

Participants cited inability to preserve brew and foods for long, yet the funds were received from loans.

Q11, another woman, told me how market authorities would harass her about having her children out at the marketplaces.

The authorities here do not want me to bring my children in the market. I come with my children because I do not have anyone to take care of them at home. So I find it very hard. Whenever I come with my children they tell me to send them back home. The other thing is, my son helps me here in the market when

we are sorting cereals and authorities tell me the child should be at school. I do not have any other person to help me so I do not know what to do.

Children often work with their parents to boost household income, as parents working outside of their homes find it hard to leave their children home if they have no one to take care of them. Also, they may not have food for the children at home. Such narrations illustrate some of the hassle the Karamojong women endure when operating businesses, just to earn them enough for food and basic life needs.

Men, meanwhile, faced other challenges, citing theft from buyers, destruction of commodities by either rats or rain, credit buyers failing to pay on time, poor storage facilities or competition. Q6 said:

One of the problems I find here is that customers can give you a big note of money, but when you move away to [break down the bill for change], you find they have carried away more goods.

Theft was a challenge also cited by Q15:

Like you can see, this place [JMC], it is an open place. There is no lock, I cover my goods with just polythene bags. Sometimes I find my goods missing.

Theft concerns relating to storage space were only reported by Q15.

Another difficulty mentioned was exploitation from locals in the community. Because some Karamojong businesses do not require capital, some members of the community assume they should sell to them at the lowest price. Others feel the Karamojong do not have many expenses to meet, therefore they have less need for funds. Q2 commented:

I go to the forest to collect firewood. I use a lot of strength to cut it, then carry it on my head here in *Shauri Yako*. Some people demand very low prices from us, claiming there is no capital I invest in the firewood.'

Similarly, Q9 said:

I gain very little profit from this charcoal business. Some people demand to be given more than the normal measurements.

Q1 and Q7 complained about tax levies:

When the officers come, they charge by looking at the stock of the business.

As mentioned earlier, few of my contacts maintained their business records. However, this was a general problem in the market, not just with the Karamojong traders. The chairman of the JMC said:

The majority of people here do not have records of their businesses. It is not only Karamojong who do not keep records, also other people in the market. It becomes hard for revenue officials to levy appropriate taxes for them. That's why they just look at available stock.

Another challenge is competition from within the Karamojong community, as well as other non-Karamojong community traders. As earlier discussed, many Karamojong are confined at *Kazzi Mangi*, JMC and *Shauri Yako*. As such, they compete within these areas for markets for their goods. Q6, who brews alcohol in *Shauri Yakko* said:

Many of us here sell alcohol, therefore I do not get customers well because of the high competition.

Similarly, the small scale businesses the Karamojong operate face high competition from large-scale traders who offer well-packaged products compared to how the Karamojong sell their goods. However, as much as hardships are cited in the operation of their businesses, the Karamojong also have opportunities that they explore to survive in the market. The products they deal in are those that the wider community has previously ignored, and yet they are very essential, for example rat traps, piggy banks, compound brooms and firewood. A number of people in the community use these products, and this market is a trade opportunity for the Karamojong. Just because few others sell them, this keeps them in the market and constantly able to provide for their families and meet their needs.

Another challenge which was mentioned were the seasonal rains which interrupt trade, and goods sitting long in shop due to a lack of customers. For example, Q10 complained that his wooden piggy banks were aging because there were fewer customers demanding them. He further explained that some goods were seasonally bought, so if goods stayed after a season, they were deemed a loss.

Finally, one challenge mentioned not directly related to business management, is sexual abuse, cited by the women. One female participant told me that some men gang up and rape the women

as they travel back home from work. Two others mentioned the issue of sexual harassment in general. Senior Elder also mentioned:

Men sexually harass, especially, these young girls who deal in cereal. Either men force, coerce or manipulate them into sex. This affects their performance in business due of psychological issues.

The Karamojong community came up with a strategy to prevent sexual abuse. When women move home after work, they move in groups with their children. Q5 told me:

We cannot walk alone because we are in a foreign land, to ensure we are safe we walk in groups to defend one another.

Other challenges cited in general were getting burnt in fire while brewing and husbands using business capital for drinking alcohol or even womanizing.

6.5 Karamojong relationship with microfinance institutions over the years

Jinja Municipality microfinance institutions have made numerous changes in how they view the Indigenous Karamojong people over the [number of years/decades] that the Karamojong have been living there. Initially, the Karamojong were viewed as a very vulnerable pastoral group, unable to meet the basic requirements to receive any financial services. The focus was only on what the financial service institutions required. However, according to Bedi (2010), banks have since developed strategies on how to promote and empower the Karamojong through human resource development programmes. Finance institutions have learned over time that unless customer needs are prioritized in product design and service delivery, no success can be realized. Therefore ‘market concepts’ have been restructured and redesigned to bring satisfaction to the customer expectation (Bedi, 2010, p. 158). Narrations in section highlight the situation before and what has changed in the relationship between financial institutions and the Karamojong community;

In speaking with the Karamojong business owners, many told me how commercial banks gave them little support when they needed financial help to boost their businesses. Q2 explained:

When I came to Jinja, a friend directed me to a commercial Bank. When the credit officer asked me whether I had the requirements to access bank loans, I told him that I needed just a little bit of money for my business. He said that the bank would not give me the 100,000 [26.7 USD] Shillings that I needed because I did not have corollate. Instead, he advised me to form a group of people to be given loans, but I failed at finding a group to be part of.

As discussed earlier in the literature chapter, commercial banks and most microfinance institution did not target the poorest of the poor. Banks did not attend to the Karamojong because they lacked security for the products and services that the financial services requires. Currently, small business enterprises are increasingly growing throughout Uganda, though their operators are generally below-average income earners. At the same time, user friendly financial services that support the needs of the marginalized poor have emerged in support for the needs of these individuals, who are often excluded due to organizational rigidity in set rules and guidelines.

The director of Macedonian Microfinance, Pastor Alfred Adundo, is very conscious of these difficulties, however:

The Karamojong community is among the most vulnerable group Jinja Municipality. If we asked for security from them before offering the loans, the majority of them would be left out, and Macedonian Microfinance's goal of releasing the community from poverty and boosting household income would not be fulfilled. I and my team sought of a way to make microfinance options available to the Karamojong community. We came up with a system where the group is the security. We do not require them to present any material thing as security. This is an idea that my staff presented to me, we have tried it and it has worked out well. The Karamojong group turns out to be our model group and the best performing group. We had fears in the beginning, based on the nature of their pastoral life. We thought they would shift to another area with our money. I learned later that we assumed wrongly. We started by giving them loans from 50,000 Shillings [13.3USD], and now the Karamojong group can be lent up to 2,500,000 [667 USD] Shillings for a group.

Q5 said:

First I got a loan of 30,000 [8USD] Shillings from Macedonian Microfinance, and paid it back after one month. I got my second loan of 100,000 [26.7USD] Shillings and paid back 120,000[32USD] Shillings in three months. I am now planning to get a loan of 150,000 [40USD] Shillings. I have been paying back well, which is why the amount given to me keeps on increasing.

The Karamojong can access loans much more easily today, without strings attached. Pastor Alfred Adundo said:

We do not require Karamojong to have many documentations while accessing the loan, I have worked with Karamojong for a long time now, I know many of them. I have never had any instances of the Karamojong group failing to pay back the loan. I discussed and agreed with their group leaders about the payback period and the interest rates because our microfinance is more of a charity work. I did not want to impose rates that are burdensome. Therefore, themselves choose an appropriate period they want. Much as we sent three to six months for our loans.

Currently, Macedonian Microfinance and the Karamojong VSLA are one of the microfinance institutions that have successfully focused on needs of the Karamojong. At the time of this research, reforms were instituted by Macedonian Microfinance offering services especially for the Karamojong community. In the beginning, no individual was given a loan exceeding 100,000 Shillings [26.7], today a single beneficiary is able to get a loan upto 500,000 Shillings [133 USD]. The beneficiaries are not required to present any visible security for any financial services rather the social networking through the group. My study population did not cite any difficulty dealing with Macedonia Microfinance. On the other hand, the Karamojong SLA offers wider services that commercial banks do not offer. These non-cash services cater mostly for the welfare of homes and more especially act as insurance for uncertainty.

6.6 What can be done to improve the Karamojong businesses?

Any business requires financial security to ensure longevity of operation. The Karamojong I spoke with face challenges in sustaining businesses due to the fact that they do not have wealth or property investment that can support their small initiatives. I heard varying views on what the Jinja Municipality Karamojong want the local authority to do for them to improve their businesses. While the Karamojong have social networks, they requested for a platform at local levels that can advocate for them, speak for their empowerment and address the challenges they face. Q1 explained:

You see here where I work [Jinja Central Market], our stores are small, yet we are so many people in one place. If Jinja Municipal Council could find us a bigger place where we can all work and fit, it would be better for us.

The Karamojong at Jinja Central Market work in a congested place, each individual operator is assigned a partitioned area, though in an open place. One trader's products could fall into the

neighbor's place of operation. However, I observed that it was not only the Karamojong who worked in such an environment, even the non-Karamojong experienced the same situation. Those in brewing faced a challenge of forced vacations since the majority of those working in brewing were landless and squatters on the land. Q3, aged 42, said:

I have been a resident of [*Shauri Yako*] for over 15 years. I work, and I stay here, but this land is not mine. I have seen people come threatening to evacuate me from this land, so often I live in fear worrying about where to go. I do not have land of my own. I desired to have my own house, but as you see, this business income does not allow me to have it. I request the government allocate this land for us Karamojong because we have stayed here long so that we can construct our own houses and stay with our children and carry out our businesses without an interruption.

Q3 is among those who operate in an area that he does not own in *Shauri Yako*. The Senior Elder informed me that JMC was aware of the landless situation of the Karamojong, yet nothing was decided upon.

Although many of our people do not have documented ownership of this land, the Council is aware about our stay here. I personally own land in this area, but it is so small to accommodate all our colleagues. When I came here over two decades ago, this place was deserted. It seemed like no one owned this land. Through our networks, I encouraged my fellow Karamojong to come and stay in this village. I inquired about this land ownership and bought this piece of land for myself. However, other colleagues of mine, whom I live with in this Village, do not have ownership. The Council warned the people to buy land here so as to get ownership. But as you see, many of our people are poor¹⁶, they cannot afford buying land.

Another concern was voiced regarding taxes. Six of those I spoke with were not pleased about the manner in which taxes were currently collected. Q7 commented:

I work for day to day food for my family, yet I have to pay market tax for this place daily. The tax collectors come here and charge me without knowing or asking how much I have earned and they need the money immediately. Most

¹⁶ 'poor' to the Karamojong is perceived different from the popular definition. It means one who does not have a house, land and what to eat. This is in agreement with the previous research by Namukwaya and Kibirige (2014, pp. 1765-1766).

times they collect tax at the time I start selling. I would like the tax collectors to exempt me from paying taxes because my business is too small.

Q1 said:

I request that the tax collectors reduce the amount of taxes that they charge me.

The existing literature about the taxation system in Uganda indicate that; the tax burden on small scale businesses is greater than the larger businesses and has an effect on the growth of small businesses. (Bahigwa, Ellis, Fjeldstad, & Iversen, 2004, p. v). Additionally, the tax collectors act aggressively and harass the taxpayers (ibid.). The privatization of tax collection is partly to blame for the harsh behaviors of tax collectors. Tender owners have personal interest in the business and so employees (the tax collectors) apply effort to have the job well done (Bahigwa et al., 2004). My study population's major concern was against the manner taxes were collected, the burden of the tax upon their businesses and also given tax breaks for Indigenous initial businesses. They were not only Karamojong affected by the oppression method of tax collection and the tax burden, other traders in the businesses as well.

The Karamojong requested for equipment to advance the production and quality of their products.

Q10 elaborated:

I make wood products, but I do not have good equipment to cut wood when I am making piggy tins. If there is any way I can have access to such machines that can design wood products, I trust my business can do better.

Meanwhile Q8 was concerned about having enough customers:

I make local bags and necklaces from beads, banana fibers and sisal. Sometimes it is very hard to get customers to buy them. The bags stay here for long and get spoiled. I want the government to create a market for me to be able to sell my products faster.

Q10 wishes to have access to modern woodcutting equipment to be able to compete with other similar businesses in the market. Creation of capacity-building programmes to share institutional knowledge can enhance skill advancement. This can be possible if clear communication channels are established between Karamojong community, the local authority

or NGO. Macedonian Vocational Institute¹⁷ is one of the projects reachable to Karamojong. If collaborations are made, the Vocational institute can equip the Karamojong with Skills that may boost their businesses. Through the same avenue products' markets can too be addressed.

¹⁷ See <http://macedonianvisionafrica.org/macedonian-vocational-school/>

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSIONS OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings in relationship with the theoretical framework.

7.1 Empowerment to the study

The goal of empowerment is to ensure that the powerless retain their control and are able to be accountable for their own lives (Lakwo, 2006, p. 22). The findings of this study reveal that despite the Karamojong taking part and contributing to the Jinja community, some people of Jinja Municipality view the Karamojong as foreigners, dirty, and subject them to discrimination and sexual harassment. The Karamojong have often heard comments on how their style of addressing is inappropriate for operating businesses, how typical Karamojong hairstyle and body tattoos seem off-putting to those who were newly introduced to them. To the Karamojong, their way of living is their way of life and their culture. External interaction has not been more effective in transforming the Karamojong culture (Knighton, 2017). Some of my participants seemed to not be so bothered about how outsiders view them, though others such as Q8 admitted that these attitudes of outsiders affected them in terms of how customers interact with the Karamojong businesses.

The Karamojong have been regarded to as backward people, this is a perception that was held by colonial masters and still is held by outsiders (Mamdani, 1982). The consideration of the Karamojong as being 'backward' is strange to the Karamojong themselves. The Karamojong do not view themselves as neither poor, underdeveloped nor backward, this is something that the Jinja community imposes upon them (Mamdani, 1982; Namukwaya & Kibirige, 2014). Contrary to this view, historical evidence reveal that the Karamojong had an organized system of governance, good land utilization system and a rich culture (Mamdani, 1982). The colonial systems brought exploitation to the Karamojong. As such, the Karamojong traditional setting was deteriorated; hunting was regarded as poaching and cattle destocking as over grazing. The Karamojong practiced hunting and destocking, at the same time, maintained the grass savanna (Mamdani, 1982, p. 66).

According to Lakwo (2006, p. 15), empowerment helps people to own their own situation, and be able to manage and have control over their own lives. Empowerment presents an opportunity to bridge the gap of marginalization. Macedonian Microfinance integrates the Karamojong, especially women into leadership positions, women are able to speak out and have their voices

heard, Macedonian Microfinance allows the Karamojong to operate and get accounted for their own businesses. Macedonian Microfinance does not get involved into how the Karamojong run their business, this is a means to allow the Karamojong to have full control of their undertakings.

In my discussions with the Karamojong small businesspeople, it is clear that the discrimination against them comes out first and foremost based on class and gender. Women, mostly, were stigmatized by non-Karamojong men in the community. It is for this reason that, some men thought that Karamojong should not have their own money. Empowerment, however, can transform structures that perpetuate gender inequality (Lakwo, 2006, p. 4). As noted in the Chapter Five, there were people who cheated the Karamojong in their workplaces them because they thought of the Karamojong as simply people to be used, without rights of their own. Cases were reported of where people took their good and products on credit and never paid back. Those who took up part time unskilled jobs were not given work contracts. Employers have generally been less bothered to consider the Karamojong has important service providers or recognizing their status as workers. The Karamojong are unaware of where to seek help to be considered as equal workers like other people in the community who operate businesses and are employed. Since empowerment involves transformation of the social system, the Karamojong have an opportunity to use their elders to stand on the frontline to remind those who are in authority of their rights (Lakwo, 2006). However, empowerment is not aimed at creating special treatment for the powerless but to have them at the same level with other people in the society (ibid.).

7.2 Human Resource Development and Human Capital Theory

As the Karamojong businesses are their means to sustain themselves and their families, I have chosen to use the Human Resource Development and Human Capital Theory to explain how they are related to the business. Both of the theories examine the acquisition of knowledge and the process of development for sustainability. The Human Capital Theory assumes that when individuals are trained to gain knowledge they become productive (Sweetland, 1996), which then leads to further development (Fitzsimons, 1999). To connect this to the Karamojong business operators, my findings reveal that the Karamojong who receive training in some

business management skills have learned how to attract customers, and hence increase profits in their business. An example of a participants who made a difference through training is Q15.

Macedonian Microfinance and the Karamojong VSLA take the Karamojong into a series of training opportunities to improve their business performance. Macedonian Microfinance, specifically, makes follow-ups to their beneficiaries to measure performance of their project work. The process of knowledge attainment involves real cost to both parties; the microfinance institutions and the beneficiaries. The microfinance institutions hire trainers. The skills that the Karamojong gain help them to hassle and survive the competitive environment they live in. while the beneficiaries have to sacrifice to attend to gain the knowledge.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

The major objectives of this study was to learn about the businesses run by Karamojong migrants in Jinja Municipality, to determine how microfinance institutions have impacted the lives of the urban Karamojong, to explore how the relationship between the Karamojong and the microfinance institutions has changed over time, and what needs to be done to improve the businesses of the Karamojong in Jinja Municipality. Analysis was based on the qualitative data gathered from interviews and conversations with 19 Karamojong business-operators in Jinja Municipality.

I found that the Karamojong had a strong social network that connected their fellow Karamojong colleagues with available businesses and job opportunities in town. All the Karamojong I spoke with were involved in multiple income sources on a daily basis. Upon arriving to the city, the Karamojong introduced themselves in Jinja Municipality by waiting at businesses, grain mills or even knocking on doors to ask for work such as washing clothes, digging, sweeping or cutting firewood. Most of those I spoke with operated similar businesses and worked in the same locality. The nature of their work did not require formal education or knowledge, and they learned basic skills from their fellow Karamojong to run their businesses. While financial institutions often teach business management skills such as record keeping, some of them revealed that they did not consider records and bookkeeping as particularly essential to their businesses, and as a result their annual turnover is generally based on estimates.

The Karamojong women are more involved in sorting grains, dishwashing, brewing, making henna and cleaning market spaces. Meanwhile, the men are more likely to be loading trucks, hawking goods or cutting firewood, and more likely start work in the early morning hours. Age is not a major determinate to the businesses that the Karamojong operate but gender. The Karamojong businesses did not require much capital to operate. As such, the Karamojong have been able to use microfinance institutions to build their businesses. Microfinance service providers such as Macedonian Microfinace describe the Karamojong as faithful beneficiaries who repay their loans on time and are active members of the microfinance. It was worth noting that although the Karamojong have acquired microfinance loans, their current savings are not

sufficient to handle future needs. The loans simply help their businesses and families to meet the day-to-day needs.

The main challenges the Karamojong face in operating their business is discrimination, sexual harassment and the inability to preserve foods and competitions from customers within the marketplace. Of those operating food businesses, it was reported that some people would refuse to buy from them because they saw the Karamojong as 'dirty' people. However, this depiction of them is unfair. I observed that one's cleanliness depended on the nature of one's work – it is hard for one who works in making henna or clothes hangers from car tyres and charcoal to keep clean. To the Karamojong I spoke with, the term 'dirty' was relative. I observed that women maintained their traditional body tattoos and their long, beaded necklaces. While this might seem to be 'too much' body 'decoration' to the modern businesspeople in Jinja Municipality, to the Karamojong it is a symbol of beauty and pride. The implication of this was that the Karamojong continued their traditions from their homes here in Jinja Municipality. Living in town and engaging in businesses unlike what they would be doing in Karamoja does not separate the Karamojong from their traditions, nor does it compel them to abandon their culture.

The majority of the Karamojong in Jinja live a 'hand-to-mouth' lifestyle; they would wish to accumulate wealth like other people around them, but their income sources do not allow them to, therefore, what they earn allows them to access the basic needs for their households. Those who have accumulated a little more than others will normally send food back home to help others while starting up businesses in their homeland. But the rest of the Jinja community has often perceived the Karamojong as people who are less developed. Those who hurry insults to the Karamojong have no idea why the Karamojong are now in the town. The Karamojong live as campers or squatters in Jinja community, knowing that at some point in time they will travel back to their homeland.

I also observed that the Karamojong involve their children in running of businesses, especially the women working at the grain sorting mills. The Karamojong who received loans from microfinance institutions were able to cover the costs of the basic needs of their families. Those whose incomes were low at times were forced to beg on streets.

I discovered that the Karamojong do not operate business in only one area, nor do they operate just one business. Rather, everyone I spoke with has multiple casual jobs and small businesses. The Karamojong businesses were located in various types of areas as well. Some worked at home while others worked in markets or both. This trend of working in diverse locations can be seen as a connection to their traditional nomadic pastoral lifestyle before coming to the city, where the Karamojong do not settle in one place but rather move from place to place looking for pastures and water.

Today, microfinance institutions such as Macedonian Microfinance make it possible for the Karamojong to acquire financial services. Macedonian Microfinance does not require the Karamojong to have tangible security to secure financial services. Instead, loans and other financial services are given to groups as the group itself acts as the security. Findings reveal that the Karamojong are very committed to repaying their loans, even more so than their counterparts in the community. Despite the challenges the Karamojong face in operating their businesses, they learn from their mistakes, even if this results in it taking a long while to fully establish themselves in Jinja Municipality with their limited income activities. The Karamojong navigate the business atmosphere and hassle of the city with other traders who have existed for long in the urban area.

8.2 Conclusion

The Karamojong are attracted to towns not just to hold money, but due to push factors such as the loss of herds, prolonged dryness and domestic violence. As noted by Reyes-García and Pyhälä (2017), this modern world phenomena of increased reliance on cash has produced a variety of changes which have shaped the lives of the Karamojong, forcing them to be integrated into a ‘majority population’, mostly in urban centers, to engage in wage businesses. The Karamojong have adapted to the modern life of doing business and loan acquisition, though maintaining their tradition customs to an extent.

Karamojong VSLA and Macedonian Microfinance have empowered the Karamojong living in Jinja Municipality to become self-reliant through the provision of manageable loans and finance services, as well as providing lessons in business management skills. Business has become the new form of livelihood for Karamojong migrants living in urban centers. However, the Karamojong tendency to move from place to place and from business to business hampers

their business growth. If the Karamojong businesses are to grow, there is need to minimize this ‘business nomadism.’ Karamojong do not operate business in town to acquire luxury life, but rather to meet the basic necessities of life. This is evident when some respondents were not paid in cash form but food and material things. Casual work done alongside small business has been a mechanism for the Karamojong to expand their household incomes. As I heard in my conversations with the Karamojong in Jinja, currently all of their earnings are used for accommodation and food, with little remaining to put towards savings.

While at observation, the Karamojong small businesses fairly perform, the Karamojong are able to survive in town on the meagre earnings, they explore the opportunities and endure the hardships that come along their way. The harsh conditions in their homeland and the nature of their past livelihood is ground for commitment to business.

8.3 Future research recommendations

While those I spoke with for my research survived on meagre income, I also observed large-scale textile and bag businesses that were also owned by Karamojong. I did not understand how they were able to evolve into large-scale operations, while the majority of their counterparts were struggling to, raise food for their families. I would wish to conduct a further research at PhD level to explore this phenomenon, to add to my findings in understanding the trends of Karamojong businesses in Jinja Municipality.

Among my study participants, I connected with one who makes Indigenous craft bags and beaded jewelry. This is a good area for Indigenous programme designers to explore, to improve Indigenous knowledge-based craft services and products by commercializing Indigenous knowledge and culture through the provision of support in the form of mentorship or funds to entrepreneurs to enhance their market impact. This is also a way of facilitating creativity and innovativeness.

Finally, with increasing changes brought about by globalization and modernization, there is a need for urgent intervention to help the Karamojong create sustainable businesses in both economic and environmental senses in Jinja Municipality, particularly given the increasing number of migrants coming to the town. In addition, future research should explore the implications of the ‘hand-to-mouth’ lifestyle of the Karamojong in an urban setting. Further

research should also be done to understand the experience of minors who are involved in businesses to inform policymakers and assist in creating interventions through appropriate programs for both adults and children. I would recommend such work to be done by a Karamojong insider.

References

- Ayoo, S., Opio, R., & Kakisa, O. T. (2013). Karamoja situational analysis. *Northern Uganda Women's Empowerment Programme (NUWEP)*. Kampala: CARE International in Uganda.
- Bada, J. K. (2012). ICT for business services: The case of Ugandan microfinance institutions. *International Journal of Research and Reviews in Applied Sciences*, 11(1), 140-152.
- Bahiigwa, G., Ellis, F., Fjeldstad, O.-H., & Iversen, V. (2004). Rural taxation in Uganda: implications for growth, income distribution, local government revenue and poverty reduction. *EPRC Research Series*, 35.
- Barnard, A., & Kenrick, J. (2001). *Africa's indigenous peoples: 'first peoples' or 'marginalized minorities'?* : Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.
- Bedi, M. (2010). An integrated framework for service quality, customer satisfaction and behavioral responses in indian banking industry--a comparison of public and private sector banks. *Journal of Services Research*, 10(1).
- Berkes, F., & Adhikari, T. (2006). Development and conservation: indigenous businesses and the UNDP Equator Initiative. *International journal of entrepreneurship and small business*, 3(6), 671-690.
- Briggs, B. R. (2009). Issues affecting Ugandan indigenous entrepreneurship in trade. *African Journal of Business Management*, 3(12), 786.
- Bryman, A., Becker, S., & Sempik, J. (2008). Quality criteria for quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research: A view from social policy. *International journal of social research methodology*, 11(4), 261-276.
- Carlton, A., & Wien, L. (2001). *Microfinance in Uganda*: L&R Sozialforschung.
- Carsrud, A. L. (2016). Commentary on the reality impacting Twyford, Alagaraja, and Shuck's "Human Resource Development in Small Business: An application of Brethower's Performance Principles to on the job training". *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 28(4), 41-44. doi:10.1002/nha3.20160
- Chapman, C., & Kagaha, A. (2009). Resolving conflicts using traditional mechanisms in the Karamoja and Teso regions of Uganda. *Minority Rights Group briefing*.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). Postcolonial indigenous research paradigms. *Indigenous research methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 98-127.
- Coates, K. (2004). *A global history of indigenous peoples : struggle and survival*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Collins, J., Morrison, M., Basu, P. K., & Krivokapic-Skoko, B. (2017). Indigenous culture and entrepreneurship in small businesses in Australia. *Small Enterprise Research*, 24(1), 36-48.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design : choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed. ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Deloria Vine, J. (1999). Spirit and Reason.
- Dumas, C., & Houdré, C. d. (2016). *Non-standard forms of employment in Uganda and Ghana*: ILO.
- Dunn, K. C. (2004). Uganda: The Lord's resistance army. *Review of African Political Economy*, 31(99), 139-142.
- Fitzsimons, P. (1999). Human capital theory and education. *Encyclopedia of philosophy of education*, 1-5.
- Gelsdorf, K., Maxwell, D., & Mazurana, D. (2012). *Livelihoods, basic services and social protection in Northern Uganda and Karamoja*. Retrieved from

- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *British dental journal*, 204(6), 291-295.
- Gradé, J., Tabuti, J. R., & Van Damme, P. (2009). Four footed pharmacists: indications of self-medicating livestock in Karamoja, Uganda. *Economic Botany*, 63(1), 29.
- Gulliver, P. H. (1952). The Karamajong Cluster. *Africa*, 22(1), 1-22.
- Huisman, C. (2001). Once Patriarchs and Warriors: Masculinity and Modernity in Karamoja. In: Uganda.
- Kabeer, N. (2001). Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment.
- Kibuuka, M., Sumil, N., Byamukama, E. M., Sophia, K., Sumil, M., Ssemugenyi, F., & Tindyebwa, W. (2015). Managerial skills and success of small scale enterprises in Kampala Uganda: presented at the Canadian International Conference on Advances in Computer Science, Humanities and Education, April 1-2, 2015, Dubai, UAE.
- Kinalski, D. D. F., Paula, C. C. d., Padoin, S. M. d. M., Neves, E. T., Kleinubing, R. E., & Cortes, L. F. (2017). Focus group on qualitative research: experience report. *Revista brasileira de enfermagem*, 70(2), 424-429.
- Kleist, N., & Thorsen, D. (2016). *Hope and uncertainty in contemporary African migration*: Taylor & Francis.
- Knighton, B. (2017). *The Vitality of Karamojong Religion: dying tradition or living faith?* : Routledge.
- Knowles, C. (2000). *Bedlam on the streets* Routledge. In: London.
- Koch, R. (2011). *The 80/20 Principle: The Secret of Achieving More with Less: Updated 20th anniversary edition of the productivity and business classic*: Hachette UK.
- Lakwo, A. (2006). Microfinance, rural livelihoods, and women's empowerment in Uganda.
- Macedoian. Macedoian Vision Africa [Non Government Organisation]. Retrieved from <http://macedonianvisionafrica.org/macedonian-microfinance/>
- Mamdani, M. (1982). Karamoja: colonial roots of famine in North-East Uganda. *Review of African Political Economy*, 9(25), 66-73.
- Maurstad, A. (2002). Fishing in murky waters—ethics and politics of research on fisher knowledge. *Marine Policy*, 26(3), 159-166.
- Mugerwa, S., Kayiwa, S., & Egeru, A. (2014). Status of livestock water sources in Karamoja sub-region, Uganda. *Resources and Environment*, 4(1), 58-66.
- Muhumuza, W. (2005). Unfulfilled promises? NGOs' micro-credit programmes and poverty reduction in Uganda. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 23(3), 391-416.
- Mukasa, N. (2014). The Batwa indigenous people of Uganda and their traditional forest land: Eviction, non-collaboration and unfulfilled needs. *Indigenous Policy Journal*, 24(4).
- Musubika, S. (2017). *Behind the scenes of street begging. Karamojong women of North Eastern Uganda*. UiT Norges arktiske universitet,
- Mutesasira, L., Sempangi, H., Hulme, D., Rutherford, S., & Wright, A. (1998). Use and impact of savings services among the poor in Uganda. *Kampala, Uganda: Microsave*.
- Nafukho, F. M., Hairston, N., & Brooks, K. (2004). Human capital theory: Implications for human resource development. *Human Resource Development International*, 7(4), 545-551.
- NAI. (2019). The Nordic Africa Institute. *Women victims when Karamojong abandon pastoralism*. Retrieved from <https://nai.uu.se/news-and-events/news/2019-05-07-women-victims-when-karamojong-abandon-pastoralism.html>
- Nalule, S. (2010). Social management of rangelands and settlement in Karamoja. *Kampala: FAO*.

- Namiiro, M. (2016). *The Socio-Economic Impact of Migration on The Livelihoods of Karamajong Women And Children: Katwe Slums." A Woman is a Warrior".* The University of Bergen,
- Namukwaya, V. A., & Kibirige, I. (2014). Perceptions of poverty among the marginalised: A case of members of community based groups in Kaabong and Kotido Districts, Uganda. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(23), 1763.
- Nannyonjo, J. (2005). Conflicts, poverty and human development in Northern Uganda. *The Round Table*, 94(381), 473-488.
- Okurut, F. N., Odwee, J. J., & Adebua, A. (2002). Determinants of regional poverty in Uganda.
- Olsen, T. A. (2017). Gender and/in indigenous methodologies: On trouble and harmony in indigenous studies. *Ethnicities*, 17(4), 509-525.
- Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and policy in mental health and mental health services research*, 42(5), 533-544.
- Quam, M. D. (1999). A bibliography of Karamoja, Uganda: Books and articles published in English. *Electronic Journal of Africana Bibliography*, 5(1), 1.
- Reliefweb. (2002). Uganda: Army to begin forcible disarmament of Karamojong. *The New Humanitarian*. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/uganda-army-begin-forcible-disarmament-karamojong>
- Reyes-García, V., & Pyhälä, A. (2017). *Hunter-gatherers in a Changing World*. Cham: Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Saugestad, S. (1998). Research on, with and by indigenous peoples. Reflections on the insider and the outsider perspectives in anthropology, with examples from the University of Tromsø and the University of Botswana. *CHAGS, Osaka October*, 1-8.
- Saugestad, S. (2001). Contested Images: 'First Peoples' or 'Marginalized Minorities' in Africa? *Africa's Indigenous Peoples: 'First Peoples' or 'Marginalised Minorities'*, 299-322.
- Scheurich, J. (2014). *Research method in the Postmodern*.
- Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*: SAGE publications limited.
- Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*: Zed Books Ltd.
- Ssenkaaba, J. (2015). The Changing Livelihood of the Karamojong People of North-Eastern Uganda and its impact on the Survival of their Traditional Gender Roles. In: UiT Norges arktiske universitet.
- Stites, E., & Akabwai, D. (2012). Life in town: Migration from rural Karamoja to Moroto and Mbale. *Medford, MA: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University*.
- Sule, O. E. (2013). Low and High Potentials of Entrepreneurial Development within the Framework of Indigenous Small Scale Management in Africa. *International Journal of Business Administration*, 4(3), 41.
- Swann, B. (2004). *Voices from Four Directions: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literatures of North America*: U of Nebraska Press.
- Swanson, R. A. (2001). Human resource development and its underlying theory. In (pp. 299-312). [London] :.
- Sweetland, S. R. (1996). Human capital theory: Foundations of a field of inquiry. *Review of educational research*, 66(3), 341-359.
- Tagoe, M. (2009). *A handbook for writing research proposals*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press. 82p.

- Todaro, M. P. (1971). Income Expectations, Rural-urban migration and employment in Africa. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, 104, 387.
- Trujano, C. Y. A. (2008). *Indigenous routes: A framework for understanding indigenous migration*: Hammersmith Press.
- Turyahikayo, E. (2015). Challenges faced by small and medium enterprises in raising finance in Uganda. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, 3(2), 21-33.
- Tushabomwe-Kazooba, C. (2006). Causes of Small Business Failure in Uganda: A Case Study from Bushenyi and Mbarara Towns 1.
- Twyford, D., Alagaraja, M., & Shuck, B. (2016). Human resource development in small business: An application of Brethower's performance principles to on the job training. *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 28(4), 28-40.
- UNDRIP. (2007). *United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*.
- Wakoko, F. (2003). *Microfinance and women's empowerment in Uganda: a socioeconomic approach*. The Ohio State University,
- Wayland, E. J. (1931). Preliminary studies of the tribes of Karamoja. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 61, 187-230.