

Alternation of *Munziri* Light Fishing in Lake Albert, Uganda: From Livelihood to Labour

ウガンダ・アルバート湖岸の漁村における小魚灯火漁の変遷
——生業から労働へ——

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Munziri (*Neobola bredoi*) is a tiny, thin fish measuring less than 4 cm (Photo 1.) used for human consumption as well as a component of chicken feed. *Munziri* is its local name in Alur, and the fish is also called *mukene* by bantu-speaking people. This article describes the alternation of the light fishing of *munziri* in the fishing village of Runga, located on the east side of Lake Albert in the Republic of Uganda. There are approximately 3,000 people and 260 boats in this area that mostly depend on *munziri* light fishing, and Runga became the second revenue collection in Hoima District in August 2015.

The fishing of *munziri* is more difficult work compared to other methods of fishing in Runga, as fishers must continue to cast and collect nets during the night and simultaneously manage lamps to cast light. Before the introduction of rampart nets, there were some break periods for workers during the full moon phase. Currently, however, fishers manage to continue their work through shifting the time that they fish and by using more lamps.

There is an ethnic division of labour in Runga wherein fishers are generally Alur and Bagungu. In the 2000s, fishmongers were mainly Baganda, and since 2014, the Bafumbira have joined this group as well. Most workers here are the Alur from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and from the West Nile in Uganda. The methods of fishing *munziri* as the main labour system of fishery in Runga have been changed by the relationship among stakeholders.

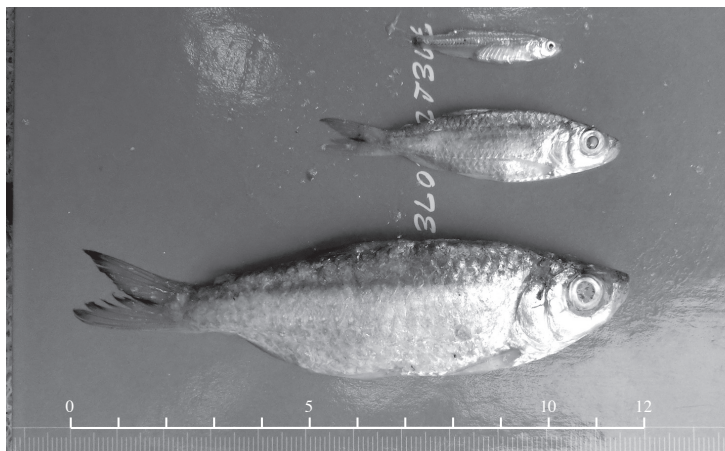


Photo 1. *Munziri* (top), *Ongom* (middle) and *Ragogi* (down)

1. The Introduction of *Munziri* Light Fishing in Runga

In 2001, most *munziri* fishing was carried out in Bikunyu, about 14 km south of Runga, using landing nets which are locally called *bench* or *kitemba kya munziri* (Photo 2.). Bikunyu is a small bay with no light or clear water. This method of fishing included placing a lamp at the top of the boat and paddling offshore to scoop out the *munziri* from the water using *bench*. In 2002, some fishers moved to Runga to fish *munziri*, and in 2003, rampart nets, or *munziri* fishing nets made up of towels sewn together and edged with rope and corks to serve as floaters, were introduced in Runga in 2003.



Photo 2. *Benchi*

1.1. Initial Causes of *Munziri* Light Fishing

There were two major reasons for the introduction of *munziri* light fishing. First, the Fishery's Office in Entebbe sent marines to destroy fishers' gill nets and seine nets as well as to enforce the illegality of fishing what are considered to be undersized fish in the entire landing site of Lake Albert (Tahara, 2004). In 2002 and 2003, Runga was attacked four times by marine officials from the Fishery's Office in Entebbe. In this area, the types of fish considered legal for fishing are Nile perch measuring at 20 inches and above and tilapia measuring at 11 inches and above. The size of fishing gear considered legal in Uganda is set at size 9 and below for hooks and 4 inches and above for mesh of gill nets, although most gear utilised in this area were illegal (such gears are referred to as *marafuku*), with hooks typically measuring at around size 12 and above and gill and monofilament nets measuring at about 2 and a half inches¹. The reasoning behind workers utilising *marafuku* is that people need to fish to survive in Runga, and there are other species of fish in Lake Albert providing good sustenance which require smaller mesh nets and hooks in order to be caught. Since officials' enforcements, however, locals have shifted to the *munziri* light fishing method to avoid further prosecution through net burnings.

Second, there are many fishing robberies in this area, and most such robberies occur when gear remains submerged in water for several hours. To alleviate this issue, *munziri* nets have been implemented as they are large enough (Photo 3.) and they do not need to be submerged as deep into the water for several hours as do gill nets and hooks. Table 1 shows how the number of *munziri* nets have

been increasing in this landing site since 2002. The numbers of nets are 20 in 2003, 68 in 2007, 180 in 2009, 90 in 2012, and more than 100 in 2014. Currently, there are lights scattered on Lake Albert during the night, and these cast a brighter glow in the dark. However, as a greater number of nets are introduced in this area, it has become increasingly difficult to acquire fishing workers, referred to as *liter* in Alur.

Table 1. Number of Boats and *Munziri* Nets

Year	2003	2007	2009	2012	2014	2015
Boats	200	314	360	200	250	260
<i>Munziri</i> Nets	20	68	180	90	100+	100

Source: BMU Office of Runga



Photo 3. *Munziri* net

1.2. The Revenue of *Munziri*: Fish Movement Permits

There are many kinds of fishing taxes such as those placed on costs for obtaining licenses for boats, nets, fishing and processing. As for *munziri*, the major tax revenue collected is obtained through the requirement of a fish movement permit (FMP). This tax is applied for the transport of fish, set at 20 UGX/kg for dry fish and 10 UGX/kg for fresh fish. The tax, which was introduced in 2003, has never changed since its implementation and remains the same in 2016. *Munziri* light fishing is thus welcomed by the Fishery's Office due to its great revenue. FMP is collected by members of the Beach Management Unit (BMU) when lorries or buses carrying fish depart from Runga. Revenues collected are sent to sub-counties, and 25% of the revenue is then returned to the BMU of each landing site.

There are two types of *munziri* markets. The first is dried *munziri* reserved for human consumption, which is transported mainly by boats to fish markets in Panyimur to send to the DRC and northern areas of Uganda up to South Sudan. Cleanly dried *munziri* are packed into plastic sacks, usually measuring around 30-35 kg. One sack is worth about 120,000 UGX in 2016, and smaller variable sacks worth anywhere from 60,000 to 100,000 UGX are also distributed.

Another type is dried *munziri* which is mixed with other materials to produce chicken feed. This type of *munziri* is transported by lorries to factories in Kampala and Jinja for processing (Photo 4.). Dried

munziri are then packed into a big plastic sack, presumed to be around 80 kg and sold for about 14,000 UGX in 2016².

Table 2. Average FMP per Month Collected by the BMU (unit: UGX)

Year	2005	2008	2010	2012	2014
FMP	600,000	480,000	350,000	100,000	480,000

Source: BMU Office of Runga



Photo 4. Lorry of carrying *munziri* sacks

2. Fishery as a Livelihood

Fishers in Runga are mainly Alur and Mugungu, with the majority of workers being Alur peoples from the West Nile and DRC who work for survival (Tahara, 2016). Typically, three workers can operate one boat with *munziri* net.

2.1. Fishing as a Team

Munziri fishing is usually carried out by teams of individuals. To illustrate this commonality, I will describe one worker's case³. This particular man works alongside eight other colleagues, and their boss owns three boats and one engine. The first boat houses the engine and pulls two other boats in order to conduct fishing work. Each boat is manned by three people who operate directing, casting, pulling and managing the night lamps. The fish catches are distributed within each boat.

On 7 August 2016, the first boat gathered two basins of *munziri*, the second received five basins, and the last boat gained three basins. The individual member focused upon in this case was working with the team on the last boat. Their boss negotiated on prices with fishmongers, and set the price of one basin of *munziri* at 14,000 UGX. This particular business is consistently conducted using cash. On this particular date, the teams received 42,000 UGX (14,000 UGX multiplied by three), subtracting 4,000 UGX

accounting for paraffin fuel costs for engine and 8,000 UGX in 'program' costs (referring to cigarettes, food, and battery charging) to amount to a total of 30,000 UGX. The total profit was divided in two, with half going to the boss's share and the other half distributed amongst the workers. Then, 15,000 UGX was divided into three, and our individual worker made 5,000 UGX. In this case, the boss and all of his workers were Alur from the DRC, and the fishmonger was Bafumbira from the southwest.

2.2. Inflow of Baganada

After the initial practice of *munziri* light fishing was introduced in Runga, a commercial route was established by Baganda people sent by Kampala and Jinja chicken feed factories. These representatives buy *munziri* at landing sites from boat owners and workers, and employ women to carry and dry *munziri* by basin, a practice called *goiting*⁴ in Alur (Photo 5-1., Photo 5-2.). The dealings are always conducted using cash as payment, and cash robberies in 2005 and 2007 resulted in the murders of Baganda people. Buying *munziri* has thus proven to lead to some difficulties, and in an attempt to avoid further risk, the Baganda introduced lending as a means to furnish money for fishers.

This Baganda system is called a credit base. First, the Baganda lend a small valuable such as paraffin, tobacco, drinks, and daily commodities to fishers. Then, they determine the price of *munziri* with an advantage and monopolise the workers' *munziri* catch for their loan. They then bring new colleagues in one by one, and the fixed price is applied to all of them.

In 2008, one fisher remarked, 'Runga has been spoiled by *munziri* light fishing. The market system has changed by Baganda using new roads. They are different from other tribes. The problem is that a good

market of *munziri* is only located in Kampala'. As a matter of fact, there exists some level of constructed mutual aid wherein fishers are supported by the Baganda who lend lamp fuel, living expenses, and even children's school fees in exchange for fishers' *munziri* catch.



Photo 5-1. *Goiting* : Carrying *munziri*



Photo 5-2. *Goiting* : Drying *munziri*

2.3. Changes in Fishing

Fishers often state that one cannot expect a good catch of *munziri* when the sun is shining bright in the daytime, especially during the month of July, as the fish swim deep to avoid the sunshine. Fish go up to play when the rain comes, then you can expect to get good catch like May. Previously, there was a break in the fishing season during the full moon phase, which is called 'Luna-time' in Runga, where fishers could take rest, repair their damaged gear, and wait for the fish to mature. Now, however, there is no such break, and fishing continues throughout all seasons.

In the evening, the time of work depends on the position and movement of the moon, and fishers prepare pressure lamps to cast light. These lamps are tied onto stands made of reed, locally called *ondodi*⁵, which are folded into a triangle. The lamps are placed on the centre of the triangle (Photo 6.), which provides stability as the flame of a pressure lamp is unstable when placed upon the water. The *munziri* are typically located about 6 km or further from the landing site, and workers use paddles to row out into the water.

In 2002, there were few engines available, and people were required to paddle to move offshore. The height of the net in the water was 8 metres, typically using two rolls for nets. Then, in 2009, people generally used four to eight rolls, and the height of the net reached 16 m while the length of the net reached 50 metres. One fisher remarked that in order to retain workers, it was essential to give them a place to stay and food to eat, but this was becoming increasingly difficult to provide. Workers have often stated that their nets 'never become older', which means that workers can go to any fisher who has a good net, sufficient gear, and decent care.

In the 2010s, it became difficult for fishers without engines to find workers. There are some methods to obtain an engine, such as through renting one on a monthly or daily basis or co-renting engines with other individuals. As the number of available boats increased, however, fishermen found it easier to obtain a space that allowed them to work and live on the water. Further, in 2015, fishing nets grew even bigger: fishermen were using about 10 to 15 rolls to craft *munziri* nets. The use of engines has become



Photo 6. Pressure lamp tied on *ondodi*

more commonplace than paddling, and some fishers without engines gave up their search for workers and sold nets and boats instead.

2.4. Purchasing Strategies at Landing Sites

Immediately after landing, the purchase of *munziri* begins. There are mainly two groups of buyers: (1) fishmongers for chicken feed, and (2) women who are sent to process and sell *munziri* at the market.

The prices of *munziri* at landing sites are actually quite negotiable. The price is influenced by the climate, the character and number of fishmongers, the quality of *munziri*, and so on. From the same boat, people could buy *munziri* at a different cost. During the rainy season, the price of *munziri* is lowered as drying the fish becomes more difficult since the *munziri* are typically dried on the ground directly under the sun. Although human consumption *munziri* are not dried out directly on the land (Photo 7.), chicken feed *munziri* are dried on the ground and mixed with soil to dry faster (Photo 8.).

The price of one basin of *munziri* at landing site on 7th August 2010, was set at 9,000 UGX, only to be raised to 10,000 UGX on the 10th and 12,000 UGX on the 13th of the same month. The reason for rise in cost was due to the wind, called *swasi*, which was blowing strongly on the night of the 9th, causing many boats to give up casting their nets in the water. The *swasi* occurs frequently and often causes accidents to occur on the water, and the strong gusts usually continue for a few days. On the morning of the 10th, a few boats landed and the *munziri* catch proved smaller than the previous day's, causing the price to immediately go up, and on the 13th, the price rose even higher.



Photo 7. *Munziri* for human consumption



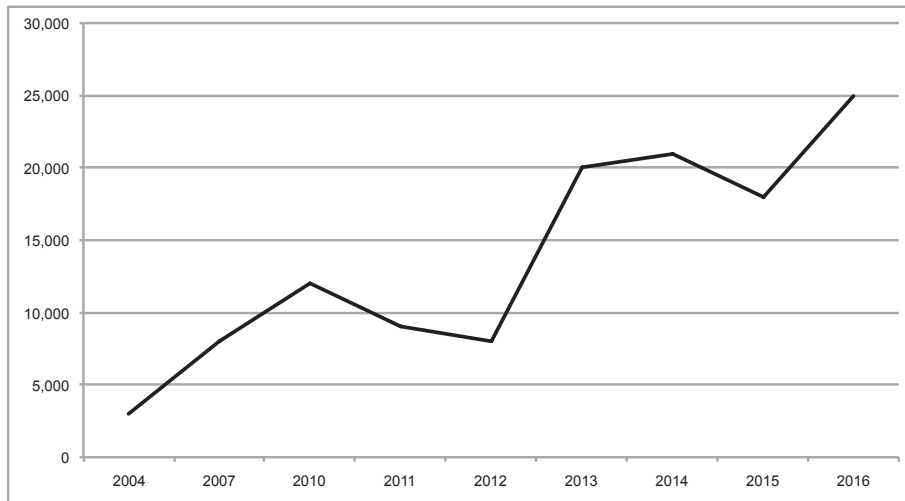
Photo 8. *Munziri* on the ground for chicken feed

Table 3. The Price of 1 Basin of *Munziri* at Landing Sites (unit: UGX)

Year	2004	2007	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Average Price	3,000	8,000	12,000	9,000	8,000	20,000	21,000	18,000	25,000

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

Graph 1. The Price of 1 Basin of *Munziri* at Landing Sites (axis: UGX)



source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

Table 3 and Graph 1 show the average price of *munziri* from 2004 to 2016. The price is rising up about 8 times from UGX3,000 to UGX25,000.

Fishmongers, who are mainly Baganda employed at either the Kampala or Jinja factories, occasionally employ *goiting* women to transport *munziri* from the boats to dry and refurbish their fish stock. Some women are also conducting their own businesses, which is called *abicamkani* in Alur. This *abicamkani*, literally meaning ‘where I eat’, involves buying, processing, and carrying fish to sell at the markets in Runga, Kigorobiya, Biso, and Panyimur, among others.

One basin is used as the measurement and carrying method of *munziri*. The quantity of one basin of *munziri* is also adaptable according to the individual fishmonger’s measurement method. The standard measurement is about 20 kg, but the actual quantity is said to be around 25-30 kg as fishmongers are assumed to exaggerate the size. When a boat takes more time to return to the landing site, the *munziri* become limp and many people assume that the basins can then be packed into a basin measuring up to 30 kilograms.

Other types of fish, such as the Nile perch, *angara*, *munama*, *ragogi*, and *mangarama*, are also caught during *munziri* fishing. People are accustomed to dividing them into half between workers and owners. The ‘Congo rule’ was gradually introduced in 2009, which states that workers have the right to most of the other fish obtained while only a few are designated for the owner, as workers are forced to fish during the night without any sleep.

2.5. The Cost of Fishing

The future of *munziri* light fishing is facing a higher cost than any other fishing method, for there are many items required for preparation. Prior to beginning *munziri* light fishing, approximately 1,442,500 UGX were necessary as a starting cost in 2011. The cost breakdown for nets is shown in Table 4, and that of boats is illustrated in Table 5. The number of pressure lamps required are usually around two or three, and a brand-new pressure lamp cost 75,000 UGX in 2011, growing to 100,000 UGX in 2015. Even in 2011, the cost of one lamp (75,000UGX) could be doubled or tripled if two or three lamps were used.

Table 4. The Cost of Making Rampart Nets (unit: UGX)

Commodity	Necessary unit	Price of unit	Total price
Net	4 rolls	92,000	368,000
Rope	5 rolls	5,500	275,000
Corks	200 pieces	700	140,000
Strings for Joining Nets	3 rolls	1,500	4,500
Workers for sewing	1 roll	10,000	40,000
Total Cost			827,500

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

Table 5. Cost of Boat Construction (unit: UGX)

Commodity	Necessary unit	Price of unit	Total Price
Wooden Boards	20 sheets	16,000	320,000
Piece of Frame	7 pieces	7,000	49,000
Nail	7 kg	7,000	49,000
Labour of Boat Builder	length of boat = 4.8 m	1m = 10,000	48,000
Total Cost			465,000

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

2.6. The Change of Lamps

Initially, people used one pressure lamp for fishing, but this number grew to two or even three in 2011, and reached four in 2015. The pressure lamp is tied on the grass to flow into the water and attract *munziri* from the deep water. Pressure lamps can prove to be a headache for fishermen, as they are easily turned off when placed on the water and require special care to ensure proper lighting.

These lamps, although sensible, can be difficult to maintain. The maintaining cost of three pressure lamps in 2015 is shown in Table 6. To use a pressure lamp, kerosene worth 5,000 UGX is necessary for each lamp, and it further costs 15,000 UGX for three lamps. The flaming portion of the lamp used to light the fire is called the *kitambe*, and this component must be changed each time the lamp is used. Ten *kitambe* cost 2,500 UGX in total. Further, *ngom*, a white clay used to stick *kitambe* to the head portion of the lamp, costs 1,000 UGX for a set of two. In total, at least 19,000 UGX daily is necessary to regularly use a pressure lamp.

To maintain a pressure lamp, even more items are necessary (Table 7). Two spare needles inside a

lamp costs 500 UGX, and the jet portion of a lamp costs 1,000 UGX. In the event that the glass portion of a pressure lamp is broken, 8,000 UGX are required for repairs, and to repair a broken *murongoti*, the tube reserved for fuel located inside the lamp, 15,000 UGX are required. Thus, the pressure lamp requires a great amount of financial maintenance to ensure daily use.

Table 6. Daily Cost of Three Pressure Lamps in 2015 (unit: UGX)

Item	Cost
Paraffin	15,000
<i>Kitambe</i>	2,500
2 <i>Ngom</i>	1,000
Match Box	500
Total	19,000

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

Table 7. Maintaining Costs of Pressure Lamps (unit: UGX)

Item	Cost
Spare Needle	500
2 Spare Jets	1,000
Glass	8,000
<i>Murongoti</i>	15,000

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants

In May of 2014, a new lamp was introduced which is called a tube or new locally (Photo 9). The light is a white LED. The total cost of a tube includes that of one valve, estimated at about 12,000-20,000 UGX (depending on the voltage), that of a battery which is estimated around 40,000-50,000 UGX (based on the size), and that of a wire which connects the valve to the body, priced at about 1,000 UGX. The body is called *kaduka* in Alur, meaning 'something that does not sink' and *tulee* in Lugungu, meaning 'floater' or 'anything which does not sink in the water'.

This newer lamp does not require fuel or spare parts, and maintenance costs amount to merely 1,000 UGX for charging each valve through solar power. Not only due to this much cheaper cost and for their use in the water, these new lamps are much more stable and easier to handle against the strong wind. As for utilising, maintaining, and consumption, these new lamps are much better than the original pressure lamp.

On the horizon at night, there is a mix of white and yellow light spots as the light of the pressure lamp is a yellowish tint. This new lamp was introduced by the Bafumbira from Kabale in Buliisa District. These people initially came to Runga to buy *munziri*, and then eventually set stations to fish and improved upon original fishing methods, according to locals' reports.



Photo 9. New lamp

3. Fishery as a Business

3.1. Inflow of the Bafumbira

In 2013, the Bafumbira reached Runga from Walukuba in the Buliisa District to conduct business in Runga. Walukuba is famous as a place of abundant *munziri* catch. The Bafumbira, reported to have originated in Rwanda as cattle-keeping people, are called Bafumbira in Uganda, Banyarwanda in Rwanda, and Nyamulenge in the DRC.

In 2015, more than ten Bafumbira business owners in Runga had begun their own businesses. They only targeted the *munziri* for chicken feed and no attention was paid to *munziri* as a human consumption commodity. Most *munziri* bought and dried by the Bafumbira are sold to the Baganda who came to Runga specifically to purchase *munziri* and transport them via lorry.



Photo 10. *Ndombolo* (down) and basin (top)

The Bafumbira have also introduced a larger basin for carrying *munziri* which is called a *ndombolo* measuring one and a half times larger than the original basin and which includes a more durable handle at the top (Photo 10). People now measure *munziri* with a basin and carry them in a *ndombolo*. This is reasonable as *munziri* are typically piled in a mountain-like formation in a basin and thus would often fall out of the basin while being carried.

3.2. Division of Labour

Fishery owners typically employ three categories of people. One category is women who carry *munziri* from the landing site and place them on the ground to dry prior to collecting them for storage. The entire process involved in the cycle of dealing with one basin pays 900 UGX. Women who are employed locally in Runga are called *boda*, which is usually a term reserved for the bike taxis in Uganda. The second category includes workers who dry the *munziri* on the ground using gardening tools or rakes (Photo 11). These workers, simply called 'boy'⁶, mainly accompany their bosses and are paid 100,000 UGX per month (2016). The third category is made up of fishing workers⁷. Owners supply all the needs for fishing such as nets, boats, an engine, and fuel. The bosses and their workers are bound to a contract setting the price of *munziri* per individual *ndombolo* during one season.

In 2015, their price of *munziri* was between 8,000 and 9,000 UGX, and the original price of *munziri* at a landing site was about 14,000 to 15,000 UGX. The other remaining types of fish caught are reserved for workers, except for a few fish that are given to their bosses. Different from the employees of other

bosses such as Alur, Mugungu, or Muganda owners, these fishers need not worry about the fuel and other cost reductions, which used to be called 'programs'. Most workers reported that they feel better adhering to this system. Because there are many kinds of potential risks involved for all fishery workers, such as rain during the drying of *munziri*, lack of *munziri* catch caused by wind, and so on, but all of these risks are assumed by the owner or boss. According to this system, workers and women are Alur, and boys are Bafumbira; there has been no exception to this fact in both 2015 and 2016.

Table 8. Fishery Business Details

Arrival Time of Boss	Price of Ndobolo	Boats	Engine	Workers	Women	Boys	Store
2013 Sep	9,000	3	2	9	3	3	1(+3)
2014 July	9,000	2	1	6	2	1	1
2015 May	8000	4	2	12	4	2	1

Source: Collected by the author and local research assistants



Photo 11. Boys

3.3. Other Bafumbira Businesses in 2015 and 2016

For businesses focusing on *munziri* reserved for chicken feed, workers buy dried *munziri* from the women who are *abicamkani* at 4,000 UGX/kg. Further, a loaned engine is also provided. There are two methods of lending engines in this regard. One is lending an engine using cash as collateral wherein engines are loaned out at a charge of 350,000 UGX, 400,000 UGX, or 500,000 UGX depending on the horsepower. Another method of loaning out engines involves the free lending of engines to mainly Alur fishers. In this system, all of the *munziri* caught by a fisher should be sold to the Bafumbira who loaned them the engine. The price is negotiable, and the fuel is paid by the renter. This business is called *tyend* (meaning 'legs') by the Alur. According to this system, the general price was about 14,000-15,000 UGX in 2015, but the price of *tyend munziri* eventually grew to about 6,000-8,000 UGX. One engine can

usually pull four boats, and the owner of the boats share the cost of fuel, which is set around 20 litres for about 10,000-15,000 UGX.

Most *munziri* are bought by the Baganda from the Bafumbira. The price of dried *munziri* in 2015 was set at around 2,800 UGX/kg, and one sack was priced around 110,000-120,000 UGX depending on how tightly the fish were packed (Photo 12-1., Photo 12-2.). Typically, one big sack weighing 120 kg is sold at around 300,000 UGX.



Photo 12-1. Packing *munziri*



Photo 12-2. Packed *munziri*

4. Politics of Munziri Light Fishing

4.1. Prohibition of Fishing at Night

Although night fishing was illegal due to security purposes since the 'Fish and Crocodile Law' was issued in 1954, *munziri* light fishing was an exception to this rule until 2007. Some issues surround the fishing of *munziri* have been pointed out by the Fishery's Office, and night fishing for *munziri* became illegal in Lake Albert.

The District Fishery's Officer (DFO) in Buliisa District insisted on halting light fishing based on a

scientific view in 2007 at a meeting in Hoima. His reasoning was that some species of fish are affected by the light illuminating the water during the night. He also warned that Lake Albert's entire ecosystem will collapse if the *munziri* species dwindles, which he argued is possible as the nets are getting bigger and more people are entering into *munziri* light fishing without any phases reserved for non-fishing. This, he argued, could affect the food chain system.

However, the commissioner of Hoima suggested to soften the law according to the social economic perspective as people at the landing sites depend on *munziri* light fishing for survival. According to his view, politicians should stand against the law of prohibiting light fishing until people can find alternative subsistence. He also added that prohibiting light fishing should be done on a regional level as well as at the district level. Until now, this decision prevailed and light fishing was allowed in landing sites.

4.2. Reverting Back to Pressure Lamps

As previously mentioned, people have been shifting to use the new LED lamps and fewer fishers use pressure lamps due to easier usage and lower costs. However, an announcement of the minister in Hoima was informed by the Assistant Fishery's Officer (AFO) on the 13th of January 2015 prohibiting the use of the new LED lamp and forcing people to go back to using the pressure lamp.

The Assistant Fishery's Officer (AFO) gave a lecture on the necessity to changing back to using the pressure lamp from the new LED lamp based on scientific reasons, using many technical words to describe that the LED light, reaching deep into the water, can leak battery acid which can contaminate the water and affect the fish. The BMU of Runga notified the announcement to fishers in February of 2015. People could hardly understand this as they recalled the AFO previously telling them that the new LED lamp was in fact better than the pressure lamp as it does not involve the use of paraffin in the water. People thus questioned whether the paraffin used in pressure lamps would contaminate the water and adversely affect the fish.

In addition, some assumed that many who were in the business of selling paraffin now had no market, and due to this suspicion, many went to parliament to complain. Shortly thereafter, the Fishery's Office redacted the decision and forced fishermen to go back to using the pressure lamp for using paraffin. Regarding this rule, I will reveal some fishers' opinions, as follows.

The government program is different from local people's will. The government thinks that the lake is government property, then any time they can just come up with the law and there is no negotiation. At this time, it is the same. They just announce the new rule. But it is difficult to buy a new lamp and no one buys the older one.

People can't fish with pressure lamps now. If the government forces people to use it, people will give up fishing, as buying paraffin and keeping spares make the people poor.

The situation has never changed in Runga landing sites since the time when fishers' nets were burnt in 2002 and 2003 to enforce *munziri* light fishing. The local people are always affected by such governmental policy.

4.3. Tax Shifts

The FMP is a significant issue, the fee has been set at 20 UGX/kg for dried fish and 10 UGX/kg for fresh fish since its introduction in 2003. For example, with the FMP, *munziri* with sand estimated at 100 kg results in an FMP of 2,000 UGX, and *munziri* for human consumption estimated at 50 kg results in an FMP totalling 1,000 UGX.

In late 2014, the Fishery's Office attempted to change the FMP to 10% for fresh fish and 20% for dried fish. With this new FMP, it is assumed that 50 kg of *munziri* should result in an FMP cost of 5,000 UGX. However, this has not yet been applied to any landing sites because it is necessary to obtain permission from the local government such as through sub-counties and the Local Government Council. Moreover, the collection of FMPs ceased from the beginning of 2016 to August 2016 by the NRM party's movement for the presidential election.

In addition, user fees have been introduced since 2012. Each boat is supposed to pay 50,000 UGX for fishing each year. The BMU is supposed to collect this money. The reasoning behind introducing a user fee is based upon the fact that other taxes collected in landing sites go to headquarters in Entebbe and are never returned to the district. To alleviate this issue, the district introduced the user fee and 25% of users' fees were returned to the landing sites. To illustrate the success of this fee, 2.5 million UGX were brought back to Runga landing sites in 2014, and the BMU could build its own office as a result.

5. Closing Remarks

In this paper, I described the lifeworld of a fishing village on the shores of Lake Albert from the view of their subsistence. The lives of fishers, workers, and fishmongers are affected by the politics of government, and these groups try to improve upon their lives utilising individual strategies.

Fishers often stated that their personal character is constructed by their livelihood. One day, they spent 40 litres of fuel to fish and got nothing, but another day when they gained a good catch, they forget everything about how much they spent and the fact that they had just recently experienced a poor catch. The people from the DRC use the word *kikwere* to describe the expression, 'no fish and no life'. For survival, they use *marafuku*.

Runga is greatly associated with revenue collection, and in this area, there is merely a government school, while there are no dispensaries or proper markers, among other issues. Some people say that Runga seems like a refugee camp, as 80% of people are from outside other areas and the 'UNHCR should register us'. When I asked one fisher why people come to stay here for fishing, he answered, 'Here is our Kampala'. This sentence can serve as an answer as to why the people of Runga keep moving and shifting, not only according to location, but also in their life strategies.

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- 1 As for monofilament, any size of mesh is prohibited. Monofilament nets are called 'water nets' or 'active nets' as they are not seen in the water and never rot.
 - 2 People estimate that the real quantity of a big sack can reach more than 100 kilograms.
 - 3 A worker is called *barria* or *litel* in this area.
 - 4 *Goiting* is a work paid through cash. In 2010, carrying and drying one basin was worth 400 UGX.
 - 5 In this landing site, there were originally many *ondodi*, but now they are disappearing as cows trample on their way to water.
 - 6 This kind of worker is called *jurutic* in Alur, but they are called 'boys'.
 - 7 This kind of worker is called *liter* in Alur, but they are called 'workers'.

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ウガンダ・アルバート湖岸の漁村における小魚灯火漁の変遷 ——生業から労働へ——

田原 範子

本論文は、東アフリカ・アルバート湖岸の漁村における2001年以降の小魚灯火漁の変遷を描きだしたものである。小魚灯火漁がその村に2003年に導入された社会的背景には、政府による漁網の規制、首都カンパラからの魚仲買人の流入があった。小魚灯火漁にかかる労力と費用は、他の漁法に比較して負担が大きく、人びとはランプや漁網に工夫をこらして漁獲量の増大を図った。魚仲買人はガンダ人、網主はグング人・アルル人、網子はコンゴ民主共和国出身のアルル人という構造ができ、販売ルートも確立した。

2014年、あらたにフンビラ人が魚仲買人として流入した。フンビラ人たちはボート・漁網・ランプ・燃料・エンジンなどの漁労に必要なすべてを準備し、小魚灯火漁はワーカーたち、魚の加工は女性と少年たちを雇用し、分業体制を導入した。また、従来のプレッシャーランプに替えてLEDランプを導入した。生業としての漁業は、労働としての漁業へと変化しつつある。

ところが2015年1月13日に水産資源省から、LEDの光は深くまで届くため使用を禁じるとの通達があった。しかし、小魚の乱獲が環境の及ぼす影響を配慮した水産資源省は、小魚灯火漁そのものを違法とする通達を2007年11月に出していた。しかし地域の行政官が「人びとは飢えている」として通達を差しとめ、現在、この地域では小魚灯火漁を実施が可能となっている。漁業は、人びとにとって生活を営むため手段であり、地域行政にとって漁獲は地域の歳入を得る資源である。政府による規制に対応しつつ、漁業を営む人びとの実践に焦点を当て記述した。

