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USING LAND AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD RESOURCE

A case study of peasant owned land in Western Uganda's Tooro Kingdom

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USING LAND AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD RESOURCE
A case study of peasant owned land in Western Uganda's Tooro Kingdom

By
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED AS ONE OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR AN AWARD
OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES DEGREE OF
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TRONDHEIM, NORWAY

MAY 2006

DECLARATION

I *Mutegeki Patrick Bright* do declare on this 9th day of May 2006 that this thesis has been written by me. Unless otherwise mentioned, I personally collected and analysed all used research materials. I also declare that this thesis which has been supervised by Dr. Gunhild Setten has never been presented for any academic or non academic award anywhere before this submission.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all children that have no safe place to live in.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Producing this thesis has undergone a process that has received support in one form or the other from a number of individuals and institutions. The least I can do in appreciation is to acknowledge such assistance and inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns the utilization of land as a socio-economic livelihood resource. Based on a case study of peasant owned land in Tooro Kingdom, different uses to which land is put are studied in relation to their importance to people's efforts towards sustaining livelihoods. An underlying thinking is that current ways in which the resource is being used do not necessarily exhaust all its potential. Therefore, there is a possibility that the socio-economic productivity of the resource can be enhanced through finding solutions to the challenges being faced in its use.

A sustainable livelihood framework is used together with realism theory to give the study a theoretical background. Here, land is viewed as a natural resource whose livelihood potential can be utilized depending on not only people's capacity to identify that value and continuously utilize it for their benefit, but also based on factors beyond the control of the individual land users or owners. A qualitative research methodology was the main tool for generating research materials during the research process. Emphasis in this was laid on research interviews, fieldwork observations and a study of secondary research sources with a questionnaire being used in situations where it was preferred to interviews by respondents.

The findings show that some peasant owned land in the study area is being used for socio-economic livelihood purposes. These range from either subsistence or commercial uses to a combination of both. The findings also show that the application to which this land is put and the derived benefits are both affected by factors including those linked to the land user/owner's capacity to utilize the resource, land's ability to respond positively to the uses to which it is put as well as the general conditions within which the resource is used. It is also shown that it is important to attend to challenges faced in the use of peasant owned land if its livelihood productivity is to be enhanced.

The study concludes that one of the main socio-economic uses of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource in the study area is in the agricultural production of food stuffs needed to feed the growing population. Land is also vital as a physical ground on which to set up human settlements. Other uses including quarrying, brick making and construction of shops provide a source of income that is used to purchase items that may not be produced by the individual households and yet are important for their survival.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAMP	Area Based Agricultural Modernisation Programme
BTF	Batebe of Toro (Tooro) Foundation
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
LC	Local Council
LSSP	Land Sector Strategic Plan
MFPE	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MWLE	Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
P.B	Patrick Bright
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
UBOS	Uganda Bureaus of Statistics
UCC	Uganda Communications Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPPC	Uganda Printing and Publishing Corporation

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The relationship between humanity and the resources available for its existence is probably as old as life itself. Human beings have sought and utilized different components of nature one generation after another in a process that has contributed to our continued existence. Because of this time tested relationship, it may be said that the presence of mankind now and in the future largely depends on the extent to which we use available resources in a way that sustains our livelihoods.

This study focuses on the socio-economic use of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource in Western Uganda's Tooro Kingdom. It looks at the different uses to which land is put and how these uses contribute to the capacity, assets and activities needed as a means of supporting human existence in the study area. With a particular interest in identifying ways of enhancing the resource's socio-economic productivity, the study also attends to the factors affecting the level of benefits that people derive from land use.

This chapter is made up of eight sections. After this introduction, I present a background of the study. This is followed by; a research problem, research questions, research objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study and how the thesis is organised.

1.2 Background to the study

Allen (2002, 648) defines the word "peasant" as meaning a "small landowner or farm labourer" on the one hand and as "an uneducated or rude person" on the other. This English language word which Johnston *et al* (2000, 575) confirm as having been in common use since the fifteenth century and "referring to individuals working on land and residing in the countryside", is one that has attracted varying meanings over the years. Interpretations such as its Marxist employment in reference to the "idiocy of rural life" in

the “nineteenth century” as well as the “heroic and revolutionary connotations” in its regard in Maoism (Johnston *et al* 2000, 575), display the word as one that can mean different things to different people and situations over time.

For some, what may be seen in peasants is the poverty in their subsistence existence in rural areas tilling small plots of land largely for food crops to support their families which in many developing countries are indeed large families. Others may see the determination these people have in regards to continuing existing despite the hardships they face in sustaining their households. One may also see the; “direct access (they may or may not have) to their means of production in land, ... the predominant use of family labour and a high degree of self-sufficiency” (*ibid.*) as they exist using what they have as livelihood resources. Features of peasantry identified during this study are presented in chapter five

A livelihood in this case is seen in the context of Chambers and Conway’s 1992 definition as comprising of the activities, assets and capabilities required for a means of living. As Ellis (2000) puts it, the assets and activities together with the abilities to access them (may) together determine the living gained by the individual or household under consideration. A detailed discussion about livelihoods is given in the theoretical framework chapter.

As I started preparing a topic for this research project, an old question that I have had for years increasingly took central stage. It was a question about what peasants have in the rural areas of Uganda that could help them improve their capacity to meet their daily life needs. Attention was being paid to a kind of natural resource that could contribute to their capacity to get food for their children, pay for school fees, medical care, clothing and also improve their ability to earn and save some money.

One of the major resources that I identified as existing in areas inhabited by peasants for this study is land. Some of this land is owned by the peasants. With Allen’s first definition of a peasant that was given earlier and land as “the solid part of the earth’s surface...” (Allen 2002, 496), peasant owned land is here referring to a piece of the surface of the earth that belongs to a person who is mainly engaged in small scale subsistence cultivation or rearing of livestock either for him/herself or for others. It is this land that attention is being paid to in this thesis with emphasis on how people in

Tooro Kingdom (hereafter, simply referred to as either Tooro or the Kingdom) are using and benefiting from it.

1.3 Research problem

Article 237(1) of the 1995 Uganda Constitution (Uganda Government) clearly states that land in the country belongs to the people of Uganda. Tooro being part of the Republic of Uganda, has its land governed under the national laws that also give the rural area based peasant just like any other citizen in the country the freedom to own and use land. But, it is not clear how the use of peasant owned land is socio-economically contributing to the sustenance of livelihoods in the study area. This has led me to identify the following research questions in section 1.4.

1.4 Research questions

- What are the main socio-economic uses of peasant owned land in Tooro?
- How do these uses affect human livelihoods in the study area?
- Which factors are affecting peasant owned land's role as a livelihood resource?
- How can the productivity of such land be enhanced?

1.5 Research objectives

In an attempt to find answers for the above mentioned four questions, this research project was undertaken with a mission of four specific objectives. These are;

- Identifying main socio-economic uses of peasant owned land in Tooro.
- Assessing how these uses are affecting human livelihoods in the study area.
- Identifying factors affecting this land's role as a livelihood resource.
- Finding out possible ways of improving the productivity of such land.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study relies on different uses of peasant owned land to assess the importance of this resource to people's capacity to earn a living. I emphasise an assessment of identified land use outcomes and their contribution to the capabilities, assets and activities that are important for the studied people's day to day life. Of value here are opinions from users of peasant owned land, members of the government administration, academic scholars, related documentary evidence and views from a random selection of members of the public within the study area.

The study limits its scope to a qualitative analysis that relies on a combination of realism theory and the sustainable livelihood framework to relate livelihood outcomes to land as a natural livelihood resource. Details of the theoretical framework and its application during this study are given in chapter three.

1.7 Significance of the study

This research project is thought to be significant because it is intended at generating knowledge about how peasant owned land is contributing to the socio-economic wellbeing of people in the study area. Such knowledge may be used by development planners at local and central government levels. Non-governmental organisations that are aiming at improving the livelihoods of the people in this particular study area or in a similar place elsewhere may also use the findings especially in regards to enhancing land productivity.

Since the research fieldwork was undertaken in my home country, it is also important because it gave me an opportunity to learn more about this country and how the inhabitants in the study area utilize their land. This is further believed to have given me a privilege of directly applying the knowledge gained while studying at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Norway to an African situation in Uganda.

Being part of my study programme for a Master of Philosophy in Development Studies Degree Course, this research project also has the importance of satisfying one of the major requirements for the completion of my academic studies. The study is also

significant to future research in the area of land use and its implication on society and the economic situation of people. It will for example provide researchers studying the values of land in Uganda or any other country, knowledge about a case study of Tooro and how people are utilizing peasant owned land.

In conclusion therefore, the overall significance of this study is the production of more knowledge relating to how people and nature relate to each other. These are findings that can be used by development planners, research students and indeed the inhabitants of Tooro themselves in a process of trying to sustainably improve their livelihoods.

1.8 Thesis organisation

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. It starts with a general introduction followed by a description of the study area, theoretical framework and research methodology. These are then followed by three chapters about research findings and their analysis. The thesis ends with chapter eight in which conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies are given.

In the introduction chapter, an attempt has been made to lay out a foundation upon which this research project was undertaken. The description of the study area in chapter two gives the geographic location, administrative structure as well as demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the area within which this study was undertaken. This is followed by the theoretical framework chapter which puts the research process into a geographic thought perspective. It spells out how land use, its benefits and the factors affecting its role for people's livelihoods can be interpreted geographically. The chapter starts with an introduction before narrowing down to realism theory that is later augmented by the sustainable livelihood approach. This setting of theory is first discussed in general and then related to the research project. At the end of the chapter, a summary is given emphasising the main points of the analytical framework.

In the research methodology chapter, details of the different techniques used during data collection and analyses are given. The chapter displays details about how the research process was undertaken, the kind of data that was targeted and its sources. It also

describes the challenges faced during the process and gives reasons why particular techniques were used. It is also in this chapter that my opinion about the level of relevance and trustworthiness of research materials' sources is given. These chapter contents together provide a picture of where research materials came from and how they were handled to produce the findings in this final product.

Chapters five to seven are basically made up of research findings and their analysis. Chapter five looks at peasant land ownership and management. In chapter six, different land uses and their values to people's livelihoods take central stage. The same chapter also looks at identified factors that affect land use, associated values and the enhancement of land's productivity. In chapter seven, a summary linking research findings to the theoretical framework is presented.

Finally, chapter eight sums up the entire thesis. Its conclusion recaps salient futures of this work before recommendations are made based on the findings. This is then followed by suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an overview of the study area is presented. It gives a general background about Uganda before concentrating on Tooro the study area which is located in this country's western part. The chapter includes a description of the area's geographic location, size, climate, drainage pattern and relief. This is followed by a brief insight into the Kingdom's history, size and administrative structure. Attention is then devoted to aspects of population size, distribution, density and general demographic characteristics. This is before presenting a section about socio-economic household characteristics that have been considered important for this study.

2.2 Geographic location and size

Uganda is a landlocked country situated in East Africa. Sharing borders with five countries, it neighbours Kenya to the east, Tanzania in the south, Rwanda to the southwest, Democratic Republic of Congo to the west and Sudan to the north (Nyeko, 1996) as shown in Figure 1. It lies astride the equator between latitudes $4^{\circ}12'$ N and $1^{\circ}29'$ S as well as longitudes $29^{\circ}34'$ and $35^{\circ}0'$ East of Greenwich (Gakwandi, 1999).

The country has an area of about 241,139 sq km (Rheeder, 2002) of which 197,058 sq km is made of land while 44,081 sq km is made of water bodies (Nyeko, 1996 and Namirembe, 2005). Most of this area occupies a north-wards sloping plateau north and west of Lake Victoria (Baines, 2002).

2.3 Climate, relief and drainage

Most of Uganda experiences a tropical climate of an average 26°c temperature during day time and 16°c at night with the months of December, January and February usually being the warmest (Jenkins *et al*, 2001). Generally, annual temperatures

range from 15⁰c to 30⁰c (Nyeko, 1996). Precipitation averages between 750 mm – 2000 mm per year. The rainfall is lowest in the dry pastoral areas in the northeast of the country and highest in the area around Lake Victoria in the south, Mount Elgon in the east, Rwenzori Mountains in the west and Gulu in the north (United Nations, 2002). In the central region north of Lake Victoria, annual rain fall ranges from 1750 to 2000 mm and generally falls through out the year usually with the months of January and February having a mild dry season (Gakwandi, 1999). Within Tooro, as exemplified by the statistics about the Districts of Kabarole and Kyenjojo, annual rainfall is between 1000 and 1200 mm while temperatures average between 22 and 25⁰c (Uganda Communications Commission, 2003a and b).

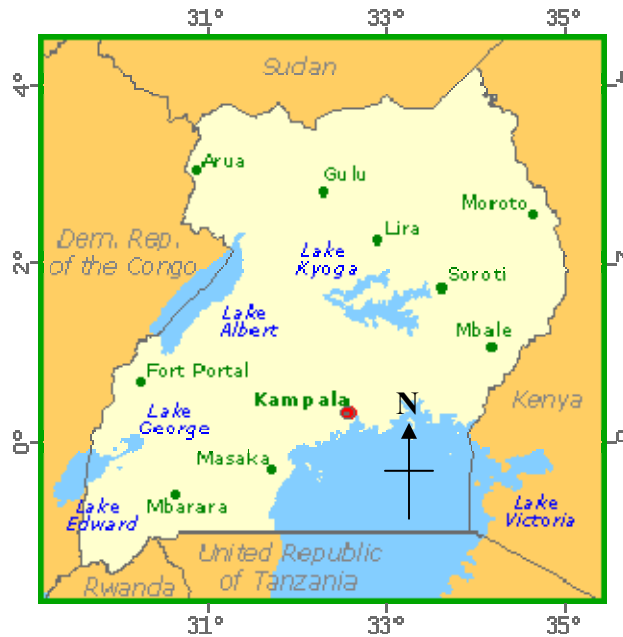


Figure 1. Uganda’s geographic location

Source: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations website (Accessed in March 2006)

A part from location, Uganda’s climate is largely moderated by altitude and areas of water bodies including lakes, rivers and swamps. High altitude areas in the country have been known to have lower temperature in general compared to low altitude areas. For instance, as the country’s altitude rises to a height of 16,763ft above sea level at Margherita peak on the Rwenzori Mountains (McCoy, 2003) west of Tooro, negative

temperatures are not strange at all. Sloping down from the Margherita peak which is also at the highest point in the country, the over 79 km long mountain range along Uganda's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo has unique climatic variations compared to the rest of the country. For instance, at its peaks beyond 14,000ft above sea level, the area is capped with snow and large glaciers (McCoy, 2003) an indication of the very low temperatures there. Rheeder (2002) has stated that the lowest temperature recorded in the country has been on the glacial peaks of the Rwenzori Mountains. On the other hand, the country's lowest point located at Lake Albert which is at 2,037ft above sea level and situated just to the north of Tooro, the temperature rises significantly reaching a range of 22- 29⁰c annually on average (McCoy, 2003) while incidents of above 29⁰c have often been recorded in this area.

Most of Uganda's land forms are said to be a result of its long history of successive earth movements. The extensive uplift as represented by the plateau on which much of the country lies combined with rifting and warping (Gakwandi, 1999) has greatly contributed to the moulding of the area. This may be seen in the diversity of land forms in the area ranging from the western arm of the East African Rift Valley and the Rwenzori Block Mountains to the down warped Central Uganda basin in which Lake Victoria is located. Some land forms have been formed due to volcanicity. These according to Nyeko (1996), include; Mount Elgon, Tororo plug, Mount Moroto on the eastern border with Kenya and then Bufumbira on the south western tip of the country. Volcanic action has also created crater lakes, springs, geysers and associated soils some of which are within Tooro.

In Uganda, the water bodies are diverse. They include the world's second largest Lake called Lake Victoria with an area of 69,484sq km, of which 20,430 sq km is in Uganda (McCoy 2003). Also present, are Lakes; George, Albert and Edward which are located within the western arm of the East African Rift Valley with the last two being shared between Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Other major Lakes are; Kyoga and Kwania in the central region. The country's drainage is dominated by the River Nile basin. The river flows from Lake Victoria northwards through Kyoga and Albert descending an altitude of about 1700ft before reaching the Uganda-Sudan border (*ibid.*). Other rivers include; Kafu flowing into the western end of Lake Kwania,

Katonga flowing into swamps at the north eastern corner of Lake Victoria, as well as Mpanga which flows through Fort Portal Municipality, Tooro's headquarter.

2.4 Tooro (Toro)

This Kingdom is located in Western Uganda where it forms three Districts. These are Kabarole, Kamwenge and Kyenjojo as shown in Figure 2. Tooro's surface area of about 7000 sq km is surrounded by seven Districts which in a clockwise direction starting from the south include; Mbarara, Bushenyi, Kasese, Bundibugyo, Kibaale, Mubende and Sembabule.

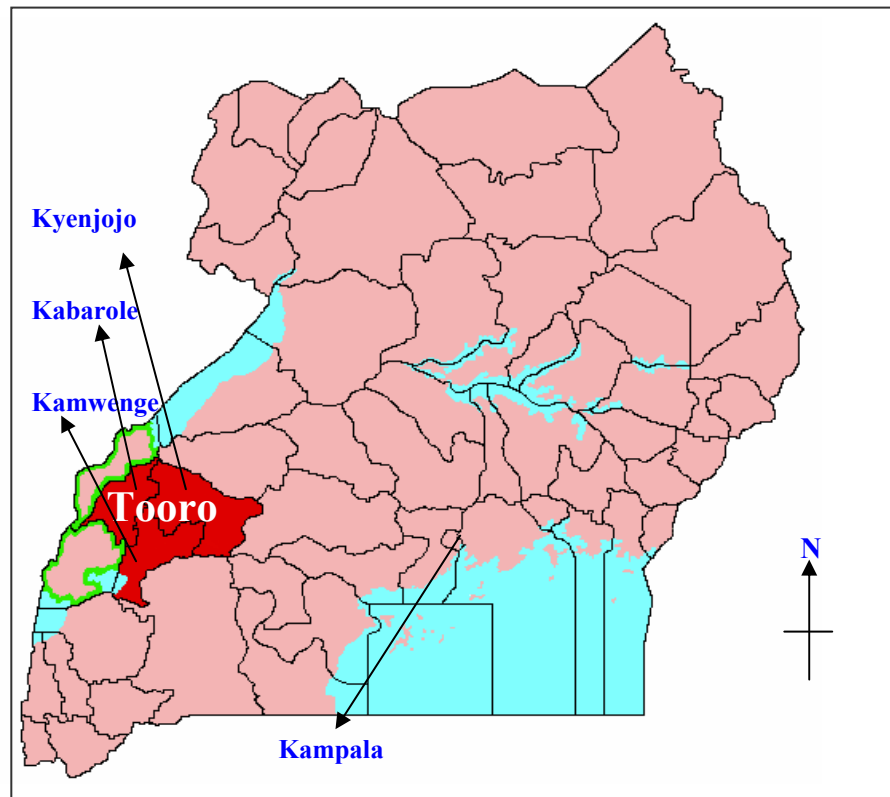
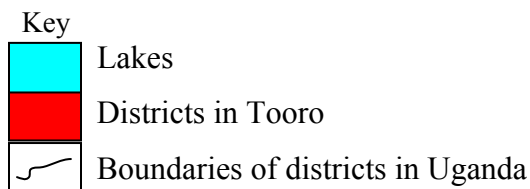


Figure 2 A sketch map of Tooro's location in Uganda

Based on Wikipedia, 2005



This section is devoted to some of the characteristics which may influence human livelihoods in the study area. These range from its natural resource base, culture and economic activities to its social and administrative setting. Although these characteristics may in no comprehensive way describe the entire situation in the Kingdom, they are presented here to provide some insight into the study area.

2.4.1 Brief history and administrative structure

Having been part of a larger Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara that dates back to the 16th Century under the Babiito dynasty (Batebe of Tooro Foundation, 2003), Tooro seceded in 1830 (Uganda Communications Commission, 2003a) becoming a Kingdom under the leadership of Omukama Kaboyo Olimi I. This son of the then Omukama Nyamutukura Kyebambe III of Bunyoro-Kitara took over a land that was occasionally reclaimed by Bunyoro until 14th August 1891 when Omukama Daudi Kyebambe Kasagama became the King. This was interrupted in 1967 when all Kingdoms in Uganda were abolished in favour of having a republic. They were, however, reinstated in 1993 as cultural institutions but this time with no legislative, executive or administrative powers.

Therefore, although Tooro's King is present with virtually all the monarchical posts, the royal body only serves as a cultural/traditional institution. Its leaders are prohibited from participation in partisan politics under chapter 16 of the 1995 Uganda Constitution.

The three Districts making up Tooro like any other District in Uganda are then governed within the decentralized local government system of governance under the national President as the political and administrative head of the Country. At the top of each District is an elected local council five Chairperson over seeing all activities within the area. Each of these Districts is further subdivided into smaller administrative units called Counties. These are also subdivided into Subcounties and then Parishes. Each of these units has periodically elected leaders. In general, the District Chairperson is the political head of the District with responsibilities including; monitoring of the general administration of the District, co-ordinating activities of both urban councils and councils of lower local administrative units in the District, presiding over executive committee meetings as well as performing other functions as may be prescribed by the national

parliament (Uganda Government, 1995).

A District Land Board is present in each of the Districts. The board attends to matters concerning land. These include facilitating the registration and transfer of interests in land as well as allocating land that is not owned by any person or authority in the area. Details of the structure and functions of these boards and other land management institutions as well as their impact on land ownership, use and management are given in chapter five.

2.4.2 Population characteristics

In order for land to be used sustainably as a livelihood resource, the population must not only be willing but also be capable of utilizing the resource. In this section an attempt is made to show the number, distribution and general characteristics of people in the study area.

a) Population size and composition

The 2002 Uganda population and housing census main report puts the population size in Tooro's three Districts at 997,815 persons (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). This includes 356,914 persons in Kabarole, 263,730 persons in Kamwenge and 377,171 persons in Kyenjojo. Out of the people in Kabarole, 178,354 are male while 178,560 are female. In Kyenjojo, 190,600 are female and 186,571 male. In Kamwenge, 136,911 persons are female and the males make up only 126,819 persons (*ibid.*).

As of 2002, the population was growing at an annual average rate of 3.3 percent with 56 percent of Uganda's total population of 24,442, 084 being made up of people below the age of 18 years (*ibid.*). As shown in Table 1, Tooro has 57% of its population under 18 years of age while about 4.7% is at least 60 years of age.

Table 1. Tooro's population size and age composition

District	Number of people below 18	18 to 59 years	At least 60	Total Population
Kabarole	199,371	139,276	18,267	356,914
Kamwenge	150,287	102,837	10,606	263,730
Kyenjojo	218,746	140,469	17,956	377,171
Total	568,404	382,582	46,829	997,815

Based on Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2005)

About 38.3 percent of the Kingdom's population lies within the age bracket of 18 to 59. These are the people within the working age group which is supposed to not only support its own livelihood but also that of the other 61.7 percent of the population that is either too young or too old to sustain itself by the region's standards. With some of those people within the working age group either still in school or unemployed, the figure for those actively involved in economic activities is likely to drop even further. However, not all those above 60 years or below 18 year of age are dependants. Indeed as it was found out during this projects' fieldwork, some people start earning economically before the age of 18 years while others continue working well beyond 60 years. But even with the presence of such people, the population distribution still shows more dependants than bread winners.

b) Rural-urban population distribution and density

Like in the rest of the Country, the majority of the people in Tooro live in rural areas. Over 85 percent of the population was nationally classified as rural based by the national population and housing census in 2002. In Kabarole, 88.5 percent was recorded as rural based compared to 96 percent and 95 percent in Kyenjojo and Kamwenge respectively (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). This leaves the urban centres in the Kingdom with between 4 and 11.5 percent of the area's inhabitants.

In general, Uganda has an average of about 124 persons per square kilometre. Kabarole, Kamwenge and Kyenjojo in Tooro, have a population density of 200, 115 and

96 respectively (*ibid.*). This then would mean that for every square kilometre of Tooro, there is an average population of about 137 people.

2.4.3 Household socio-economic characteristics

The socio-economic value of land to people's livelihoods is largely based on how such a resource is utilized in efforts directed towards earning a living. Depending on how capable they are in regards to improving or sustaining their wellbeing and that of their dependants, people may direct their efforts towards using the different available resources. Peasant owned land just like any other resource needs people to put it to use. However, the outcome of such land utilization may be affected by not only who is using it but also under what conditions. Factors identified during this research project as affecting the use and values of such land are discussed in chapter six.

Nonetheless, in this section attention is now paid to a selection of social and economic characteristics that may in one way or the other affect the level of benefits people get from the Kingdom's resources. While such characteristics are presented in relation to land use, land ownership and the associated benefits in later chapters, this section's purpose is to only highlight them in general. The term 'household' is being used in the context of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics' definition as "a person or group of persons who normally live and eat together" (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2003).

a) Main source of income and employment levels

On a national scale, 74.8 percent of all households in the country are engaged in agriculture with about 91 percent of these mainly depending on subsistence farming (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). The latter category depends on growing crops or/and rearing of animals on small scale for the main purpose of home consumption although some of the products may be sold or exchanged for other items that the household may need. This is in line with earlier findings by Rheeder (2002) who states agriculture as the backbone of the Ugandan economy.

On a large scale, Tooro has commercial tea estates that employ hundreds of people. Employment on tea estates ranges from tea planting and weeding to harvesting. Members of the community working on these farms have a relatively stable source of

income on which to depend for their livelihoods. The same tea estates contribute to the local and national economy by not only paying taxes but also earning foreign currency from tea exports.

Other sources of income include employment in the mining/quarrying sector, wood product manufacturing, public service, construction, private school management, merchandising of especially household domestic appliances and fishing. In table 2, different occupations and the percentage of people employed by them is given. This is intended at giving a picture of the main source of employment and household livelihood in the area.

Table 2. National employment and household livelihood source

Employment by main sector	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	71.2%	82.5%	76.5%
Sales and Service	9.4%	6.8%	8.2%
Mining and Manufacturing	2.9%	1.4%	2.2%
Construction	2.8%	0.1%	1.6%
Other Sectors	13.7%	9.2%	11.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Main source of household livelihood	Rural	Urban	National
Subsistence Farming	77%	12.1%	68.1%
Employment Income	14%	69.5%	21.7%
Others	9%	18.4%	10.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2005)

The Employment income referred to in Table 2. above under the section on household livelihood excludes any income that may be earned from subsistence farming. In general all people earned an average estimated income of 1,460 United States Dollars (\$) per person in 2003(UNDP, 2005). This included \$ 1,169 per female and \$ 1,751 per

male.

b) Education and literacy level

The education level of people in an area may not only influence how they independently use their land but also how they are likely to respond to government programmes directed towards land ownership and use. The capacity to read and interpret information directed to for instance the modernisation of agriculture, peasant financial assistance, the use of pesticides or the written publications about available markets for local products can require that the person receiving or interpreting such information be at least literate enough or have somebody capable of translating such information for them. Otherwise efforts directed towards improving livelihoods through better and sustained land use may not yield benefits if the implementers do not get the essential programme information.

National statistics show that out of every one hundred persons aged 10 years and above in the Country, 68 can read and write (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). More males are literate compared to females in the age bracket. In this regard, it is reported that 76% of the males are literate compared to 61% percent of the females aged 10 years or more (*ibid.*). On the other hand, some members of the population can neither read nor write. The United Nations Development Programme's 2005 human development report states that 31.1% of adults aged 15 years and above as of 2003 in Uganda were illiterate (UNDP, 2005).

However, with the help of the Universal Primary Education Programme about 83.8% of all children aged between 6 and 12 are enrolled in school (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). This is through the government's initiative to educate children free of charge. The programme is likely to increase literacy levels for these children. When this primary school enrolment is combined with gross secondary and tertiary schools' figures, the total enrolment becomes about 74 percent (UNDP, 2005) for the school-going age group. The increased literacy levels may be important in regards to understanding of for instance written instructions about agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, hybrid seeds as well as government publications on recommended planting, harvesting and storage techniques.

c) Average household size and composition

The 2002/2003 Uganda national household survey report shows that Uganda's western region where Tooro is located has an average household size of 5.2 people (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2003). This is as compared to 4.8, 5.5, and 5.1 persons in central, east and north regions of the Country respectively. The national average household size during the same time stands at 5.1 persons per household (*ibid.*). Within these members of each household about half of the total size has been reported as made of biological children of the family head (*ibid.*). Others may include relatives, friends or servants.

Although the number of female headed households has dropped over the years, surveys reveal that about 20 percent of all households in the western region are female headed. In Table 3. below, three time periods are compared in regards to the percentage of households in western Uganda that are headed by each of the sexes.

Table 3 Percentage of female and male headed households in Western Uganda

Household head	1997	1999/2000	2002/2003
Male	66.5	78.4	78.3
Female	33.5	21.6	21.7
Total	100	100	100

Based on Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2003)

d) Housing conditions and tenure of dwelling

Land use especially for subsistence farming, may require many of the items used such as hoes, seeds as well as harvests to usually be stored at the peasant's homestead. In the case of where some of the products are intended for sale, there is a need for good storage facilities. This would ensure that the farm produce is kept safely until it is taken to the market. Besides, even the peasants need to sleep in a safe place if they are to go to work the following day rejuvenated from the previous day's exhaustion.

The term 'dwelling unit' is being used here to refer to a housing structure occupied by a person or group of persons who usually live and eat together. National

statistics for the year 2002 show that out of every 100 dwelling units, 17 were made of permanent wall, floor and roof materials while 50 had walls made of mud and poles. 54 percent of all dwelling units had iron sheet roofs (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). About 78 percent of households in the area were occupying their own houses (*ibid.*) and therefore did not have to spend money on renting accommodation.

e) Household expenditures and poverty estimates

Uganda's Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2001,3) discloses that the proportion of people living below the "poverty line" has been declining. It states that between the years 1992 and 2000, the percentage of people living below that poverty line dropped from 56 to 35 percent of the total population. However, UNDP (2005, 40) puts the figure of Ugandans below the national income "poverty line" at 55 percent for the period 1990-2002 which is relatively higher than the national figures.

Many of the people that deal in subsistence farming get their products directly from their farms for family consumption. This therefore reduces on their monetary expenditures on food stuffs if they were to directly purchase them from the market. If such products are to be measured in monetary terms, such individuals 'income' may increase. Nonetheless, the majority of the area's inhabitants still make a lot of expenditures on consumption items. For the period 2002/2003, only 4% of all average monthly expenditure is reported in the national socio-economic survey as having been spent on non consumption while the rest was on items including health, education, clothing, food, transport and fuel. As shown in Figure 4, 44 percent of all monthly expenditure is reported as having been spent on food, drinks and tobacco, a category with the highest average monthly expenditure.

Table 4. Share of monthly household expenditure in 2002/2003

Items	Percentage of total expenditure
Food, drinks and tobacco	44
Clothing and foot wear	4
Rent, fuel and power	19
Household appliances and equipment	7
Transport/Communication	8
Education	7
Health	4
Other Consumption	3
Non Consumption expenditure	4
Total	100

Based on Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2003)

With 96% of total expenditure spent on consumption, it means that there is largely very little or no income left to save or invest. It therefore becomes very hard for such households to acquire enough money that may be needed to economically develop a piece of land on a sustained basis. The shortage of savings and investment capital may also be linked to high dependency ratios in which the income earner has to financially support relatives and friends that are not earning income. This strains the earner, leaving him/her with virtually nothing to save or invest.

2.5 Summary

This chapter presented a general insight into Tooro as part of the Republic of Uganda. It started off with introducing Uganda with aspects of location, climate, relief and drainage as general Country characteristics that are about the whole Country including Tooro. Aspects of the Kingdom's administrative structure, brief history, size, population composition and density were then presented. These were followed by a selection of the study area's socio-economic characteristics. I devote the next chapter to the theoretical framework that was used during this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a presentation of the study's theoretical framework is made. It consists of realism theory and sustainable livelihoods framework that have been used to guide this attempt towards an analysis of how the use of a natural resource called land is contributing to human livelihoods in the study area.

The following part of the chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, I start with looking at realism theory's meaning and application. I then explain its relevance during this study. This is before its limitations and a need for an augmenting analytical framework are expressed. Before the last section which has the chapter's summary, the second section is devoted to sustainable livelihoods framework, its general meaning, application, limitations and relevance to this research as an analytical framework within which to study livelihoods. These sections are presented here as a background for section 4.4 in chapter four which looks at research materials analysis and the importance of realism theory together with the sustainable livelihood framework as a single analytical tool.

3.2 Realism Theory

3.2.1 Meaning and application

Klausen (2004) begins an argument for realism theory by asking a series of questions which the author presents as forming a central concern of philosophy throughout most of its history. The questions ask whether there is a world out there, independent of the way we experience it, think of it or talk about it. And if so, whether we know what its like.

Two years later, Sayer (2006) gives an example of how the world was at one time thought of as being flat. But as time went on, the thinking changed to viewing the same world as round. In this process however, the shape of that physical world is not likely to have changed along with our human ideas or perceptions of it. Here, the existence of

particularly the earth's shape is seen as independent of the way it is thought of.

Earlier literature including that of Alston (2002) and Cloke *et al* (1991) also attends to questions about 'reality'. For instance, while acknowledging the use of the philosophy, theory and methodology of realism by human geographers, Cloke *et al.* (1991) recognise that realism has a deep historical link. To use their own words, these authors explain that "since the early history of philosophy, especially in Platonic-Socratic thought, there has been a notion that there exists a 'real' world of physical things, which is independent of our senses and therefore is independent of our perception and cognition of those things" (Cloke *et al.* 1991, 132).

The existence of that same world is explained in Alston (2002) as not only independent of how we think or cognize about it, but also, of what we know about it. This is the very reality which Roy Bhaskar writes about in his 1975 (and 1978 second edition) book titled *A Realist Theory of Science*. Related realism philosophy is written about by Andrew Sayer in 1984, 1992, 1994, 2000 and 2006, indicating a thinking that has 'historical roots' going way back in human existence than the 20th and the 21st centuries during which these authors avail their works.

As a theoretical approach in geography, realism emphasises three main domains of reality. These domains according to Bhaskar (1978, 13 and 56) include; the "real", the "actual" and the "empirical". These together as components of reality form the foundation of realism theory whose basic defining feature according to Sayer (2000 and 2006) is the belief that there is a world existing independent of our knowledge of it. How we use that world and the resources it has is greatly affected by the presence or absence of knowledge about what that world offers and our capabilities to utilize the offered resources to satisfy even our livelihood needs.

Therefore, largely based on our processes of thought, perceptions, meanings and interpretations of that world around us, we attach value to components of nature and the way we use them for instance to satisfy our socio-economic livelihood requirements. For example, the way in which we use available land as a resource will greatly be influenced by what we comprehend as being offered by that land and how well we can practically utilize it for our own needs. Otherwise, the physical natural potential which that land is offering may exist whether we know it or not.

As in Holt-Jensen (1999) and Bhaskar (1978), Sayer (2000, 11) also names the domains of reality as the real, actual and the empirical and goes further to define the real as "...whatever exists, be it natural or social, regardless of whether it is an empirical object ... and whether we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature". He also explains that "the real is also the realm of objects, their structures and power" (*ibid.*) insisting that "whether they be physical, like minerals [or in this case, land], or social, like bureaucracies, they have certain structures and causal powers, that is, capacities to behave in particular ways, and causal liabilities or passive powers, that is, specific susceptibilities to certain kinds of change" (*ibid.*).

Land as an object therefore has its 'power' and 'structure' from which its resource potential is derived. Depending largely on which value people attach to it, peasant owned land will provide soil fertility to the peasant farmer who uses it for crop growing and the harvest can be sold to earn some income to pay school fees for this peasant's children. Another person who sees the same piece of land as a solid ground with a strategic location on which to construct rental houses for tenants and is capable to achieve this use, will become a landlord earning rent from the members of society who live in his/her houses. This person may pay some taxes to government which in return is expected to protect people and their property as well as provide social services needed in the area. These different potentials of that same piece of peasant owned land may remain part of realism's real component of the resource and may or may never be utilized by people for improving their livelihoods.

Sayer (2000, 12) continues after explaining the domain of the real by noting that the "actual" then "refers to what happens if and when those powers [for instance a piece of land's potentials] are activated, to what they do and what eventuates when they do...". He then explains the last domain of reality called the 'empirical' as "... the domain of experience, and insofar as it refers successfully, it can do so with respect to either the real or actual..." (*ibid.*). In other words, the empirical is in a contingent relationship to either the real and/or actual components of reality.

In this regard, Sayer states in relation to the empirical that while we may be able to make an observation of things such as the structure of a household or an organisation and what happens when they act, some structures may not be observable. Insisting

that although “observability” may make us more confident about what we think exists, existence itself is not dependent on it Sayer (2000, 12).

He therefore goes on to say that because of the existence of the unobservable, rather than relying purely on the criterion of using the observed to make claims about what exists, realists also accept a causal criterion in which a “plausible case for the existence of unobservable entities can be made by reference to observable effects which can only be explained as the product of such entities” (*ibid.*). In this line of thinking, it can be argued that what is observed as benefits of land use while important in regards to understanding of the resource’s role in people’s livelihoods, may not necessarily exhaust all the potential which that resource can offer. However, it can lay a foundation for deeper analysis and possibly, a more efficient way of seeking better use that may enhance land’s productivity.

Table 5. The three domains of reality under realism theory

	Domain of <i>Real</i>	Domain of <i>Actual</i>	Domain of <i>Empirical</i>
Mechanisms	✓		
Events	✓	✓	
Experiences	✓	✓	✓

Source: Bhaskar (1978, 13 and 56). Also included in Bhaskar (1975, 56), Holt-Jensen (1999, 128) and Cloke *et al.* (1991, 137)

Bhaskar (1975) who is quoted by Cloke *et al.* (1991, 137), argues that “... the causal structures and generative mechanisms of nature must exist and act independently of the conditions that allow men ... access to them, so that they must be assumed to be structured and intransitive, i.e. relatively independent of the patterns of events and the actions of men ... alike. Similarly I [Bhaskar] have argued that events must occur independently of the experiences in which they are apprehended. Structures and mechanisms then are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate; just as events are real and distinct from the experiences in which they are apprehended.” Bhaskar then continues to explain in close relation to the realism domains shown in Table

5 above that mechanisms, events and experiences thus constitute three overlapping domains of reality which are the real, the actual and the empirical.

In this case, land as a natural and ‘real’ object, the ‘actual’ could then refer to the utilization of the land for instance in cultivation and what is harvested as farm products, which form the actual values of the land. This requires human beings to utilize the land’s real potential such as its fertility, texture, morphology, quantity, location and general structure which would otherwise remain unutilized depending on not only how well or badly people apprehend what this natural resource is offering but also on how equipped they are towards utilizing such potential for their benefit.

Therefore, the socio-economic benefits that people acquire from the use of peasant owned land depend greatly on how efficiently people direct the land’s potential into satisfying their needs as individuals or/and society. To use ‘realism terms’, the socio-economic role of using peasant owned land as a livelihood resource for the people in Tooro largely depends on how much of the ‘real’ potential of land is ‘actually’ efficiently utilized to satisfy the social and economic needs of these people on a sustainable basis.

3.2.2 Realism’s application during this study

One of the aspects that have been of particular interest during this research project is realism’s view that “objects of knowledge are the structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena” (Cloke, *et al.* 1991, 138). Therefore, to have some insight into how socio-economic land use is performing as far as the livelihood of Tooro’s people is concerned, one may identify the structures and mechanism that enable land to generate socio-economic value.

Generally, emphasis is on realism’s three domains of reality of namely; the real, the actual as well as the empirical and how they interact between themselves. The existence of the domain of the real has kept my mind open to a possible existence of phenomena or potential in land use that may be beyond or less than what is documented or talked about as existing. The study then concentrates on features in the domains of the actual and the empirical to analyse the livelihood benefits the individual people under study are getting from using their land socio-economically. In other words, taking central

stage is an investigation into not only the different ways in which the respondents are using and benefiting from peasant owned land but also the factors behind their activities, experiences and perceptions in regards to the resource's potential. Variations between what is shown by research findings as land's contribution to livelihoods and the possible reasons as to why some people are benefiting more than others are then used to analyse ways that are reported as likely to enhance land's socio-economic productivity.

All in all therefore, in an analysis of the socio-economic use of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource, the main 'objects of knowledge' are the types of land use, factors affecting people's land use and the extent of livelihood benefits from it. The causes of their land utilization as well as their facilitation for sustainable land use are also vital in this case. It is an investigation of the underlying practices and mechanisms that determine how and to what extent land contributes to people's livelihoods. For instance, it is researching about how people in Tooro use land, how they benefit as well as the factors that affect their activities in this regard.

This line of thinking together with the sustainable livelihoods framework explained later in the chapter have aided my data collection and analysis because they bring together society and nature as the former utilizes the latter for human existence based greatly on the capabilities that people have in regards to sustainably harvesting nature for their livelihoods. Such human capabilities range from the knowledge of comprehending that land can be used to satisfy some of their socio-economic needs to the practical requirements of the needed capital, which is important in sustainable land use.

3.2.3 Realism theory's critique and a need for an analytical framework

Realism has not escaped criticism especially in regards to its description of reality. What Sayer (2006, 98) refers to as the realist philosophy's basic idea of the world being whatever it is largely independently of what particular observers think about it as opposed to being "simply a product of the human mind" has in the past been challenged. Kitchin and Tate (2000, 24) explain that "anti-realists (or metaphysical idealists) contend that the world exists only in the mind - reality is constituted in thought - and there is no logical reason to suggest that it [the world] has material existence beyond our thought."

In this line of reasoning, reality may be seen as ‘constructed’ by the people themselves.

This is also close to the principles of transcendental idealism as promoted by Immanuel Kant in which, as Holt-Jensen (1999, 127) explains- “... the natural world becomes a construction of the human mind...”. People here mentally construct their own world and not instead, that a real world exists independent of people who then live within it, using what it can offer to make a living for themselves as would generally be the case under realism theory. However, the example used earlier in this chapter in reference to the independence of the earth’s shape from how the human mind thinks of it as either round or flat shows that human mental constructions may not be in line with what physically exists. As Sayer (2006, 98) explains, our accounts of the world are dependent on available discourses which may vary in their ability to “make sense” of that world as they did in the case of the different discourses about the shape of the earth. In this case therefore, it may be said that the natural world can have material existence beyond or even different from what is mentally constructed by humans in its regard.

Cloke *et al* (1991, 168) mention that some of the commentators comparing the task of realism with the methods available for its deployment have concluded that the realist epistemology is “under-equipped” for its task. These writers continue while quoting Allen (1983) by pointing out that while “realism is not concerned with each and every social object; it is only concerned with identifying those objects or groups which possess intrinsic causal properties, which, in turn, offer a key to understanding the complex world of social phenomena. It therefore sets itself the analytical task of conceptually specifying such objects, their properties, and their potential range and scope. [The problem with this however is that]... it takes this aim upon itself with little in the way of accompanying methodological prescriptions to achieve its goal” Cloke *et al* (*ibid.*). This therefore raises the need for analytical guidelines that would enable the studying of an individual item such as land and then relating it to other items for example peasant labour and available financial capital to invest on utilizing it which would all affect the resource’s livelihood role.

For purposes of analytically relating the use of peasant owned land to people’s livelihoods, realism theory has in this study been used together with the sustainable livelihoods framework. This is mainly because land as a natural existing resource

remains simply a potential asset, which on its own can virtually do nothing at all to improve the wellbeing of people. It needs people to attach value to it and then practically use it for instance in subsistence agriculture. Peasants need the money to; buy seeds for planting, to pay the labour force and even when the crops are harvested, they need the good infrastructure for them to be delivered to the market.

As shown in the following section, the sustainable livelihoods framework classifies all these different components into human, physical, natural, social and financial livelihood assets which are needed as a precondition for improved livelihoods, economic growth and socio-economic wellbeing in general. It is on the basis of these five livelihood components that the research findings are analysed in search of land's social and economic role for the livelihoods of the people in Tooro.

3.3 Sustainable Livelihood Framework

3.3.1 Meaning and application

Sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) is an analytical tool that has increasingly gained use in the 1990s as an in-depth research and planning framework for development thinking. According to Potter *et al* (2004), the approach is a simplification of 'real' life and does not try to directly represent the complex 'reality' but rather eases the identification of the main factors affecting people's livelihoods and the typical relationships between them. SLF takes a crucial stand in essentially being people-centred in linking humanity, its livelihoods and its environment. It starts from what people have and works towards what they can have to make their lives better.

To use the words 'real' and 'actual' as applied under realism theory that has been explained in the preceding pages, the sustainable livelihoods framework mainly utilizes the actual and empirical domains of reality by looking at what people have and are gaining from what they have. It then aims at building on what they have to improve it and in the process aim at improving people's livelihoods as a development process. In other words, having put into consideration the 'actual' and 'empirical', it goes ahead to focus on how much of what is being offered by reality (in realism's domain of the real) can sustainably be utilized for people's wellbeing.

In a book titled “Sustainable livelihoods: Building on the wealth of the poor”, Helmore and Singh (2001, 87) explain that “the essential element at the root of all human development and economic growth is livelihoods”. Therefore, in sustainably explaining the value of socio-economically using land as a livelihood resource in Tooro, one has to put into consideration what the poor people’s lives are gaining for their wellbeing from the available resources. For instance, an analysis into the role of socio-economically using peasant owned land may be done by revealing how the livelihoods of the poor people in the study area are affected by utilizing this natural resource to meet some of their day to day needs.

This analytical framework has what Potter *et al* (2004) have called the “asset pentagon” at its core. According to these authors, this pentagon is made up of five types of livelihood assets that people may or may not have as a basis for pursuing their livelihoods. These five are; natural, human, social, physical and financial capital assets and are essential in the analysis of the extent to which people’s livelihoods are improved or worsened by the presence or absence of any of the five assets.

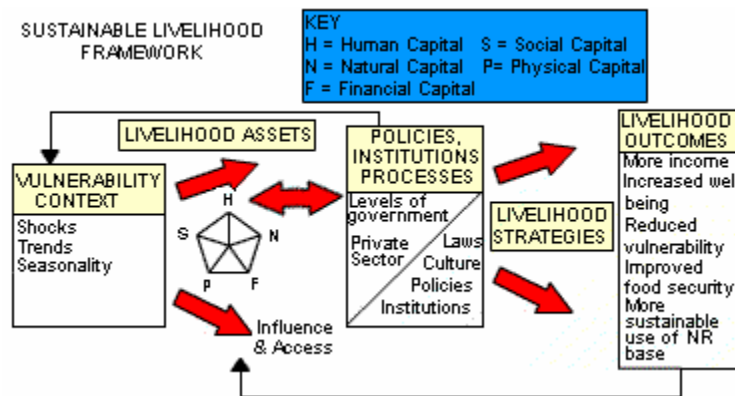


Figure 3. Sustainable livelihood framework

Source: Department for International Development (DFID, 1999)

In the context of Karim and John (1998) as well as Chambers and Conway (1992), a livelihood’s sustainability is not only measured in terms of its effects today but also in the future. The capacity to provide for current needs without compromising future generations’ ability to satisfy their own needs is important to sustainability in this case.

A sustainable livelihood therefore should have the ability to either maintain or enhance its capabilities to attend to human needs not only now but also in the future without undermining the natural resource base. It should also be able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks related to people's capacity to have a living. In this case, if land is to be used as a livelihood resource on a sustainable basis in the cultivation of food crops for example, its users should attend to their current livelihood needs without comprising its ability to attend to future needs.

In Figure 3 above, the sustenance of human livelihoods largely relies on the set of five capital assets in the asset pentagon. An analysis of their livelihood outcomes however needs to put into consideration not only the assets' extent of availability and use but also the conditions within which they are used. Such conditions include the influence of for instance government policies, laws, and the role of the private sector as well as people's culture in the area under study. Analysis also has to put into consideration the needs and vulnerability context within which the resource is used and the livelihood strategies people undertake within the existing conditions to satisfy their livelihood needs while avoiding the vulnerabilities that may be associated with an inability to satisfy such needs both now and in the future.

According to Ellis (2000), natural capital assets refer to the natural -non man/woman made- resource base that yields products utilized by human populations for their survival. He gives examples of land, water and trees. He then defines physical capital as referring "to assets brought into existence by economic production processes, for example, tools, machines, and land improvements like terraces or irrigation canals" (Ellis 2000, 8). In this case human capital refers to the skills, abilities, education, health status and generally the overall capabilities of individuals and populations under consideration. Ellis regards financial capital as stocks of cash that can be accessed in order to purchase either production or consumption goods. It also includes access to credit. Social capital then "refers to the social networks and associations in which people participate, and from which they can derive support that contributes to their livelihoods". (*ibid.*)

In addition to these five groups of assets, a livelihood is also comprised of activities directed towards these assets and the access that individuals or households

have in relation to the assets and activities which together determine the “living gained” by the person under consideration (*ibid.* 10). This is in line with Chambers and Conway’s definition of a livelihood that was given in the introductory chapter. Therefore, an analysis of the values of one asset for example natural capital in form of land, may come out better when this resource is studied together with the other four components of the asset pentagon that may influence its role.

Peasant owned land alone for example as the natural resource under consideration in this study, can virtually do nothing at all on its own for people’s livelihoods. Although its physical content may exist (as in the case of the earth’s shape that was mentioned under realism), its livelihood value is affected by a number of factors. For instance, it needs human capital in form of people’s labour and skills to be used for agriculture. Because humankind lives in societies and indeed usually develops cultures, institutions as well as social networks therein which may influence how we attach value to basically everything, land’s socio-economic values would also be affected by the available social capital. Social resources are in this case vital if they improve the people’s ability to work together and increase current productivity without negatively affecting future productivity of the available resources.

Nevertheless, even with the natural capital, the social capital and the human capital, the land’s productivity still needs the financial capital if for example the seeds to plant and the garden tools to use are to be purchased in the case of agricultural land use. To sum up, physical capital is needed too. This can be in form of transport networks to markets, storage facilities for the farmers’ produce and communication facilities that will inform the market that some products are available for sale.



Figure 4 A road maintenance vehicle as a physical capital asset

Source: Mutegeki P.B. Fieldwork, 2005

In Figure 4 above, a road maintenance vehicle as an example of physical capital is seen repairing the road between Kamwenge and Kabarole Districts in July 2005. For the farmers, such a road enables them to transport their products to the market.

In other words, explaining peasant owned land's socio-economic role, is also explaining what makes the resource perform the way it does and the structures as well as processes that enable people to utilize it for their livelihoods. It also means explaining the benefits people get from the land, but also; factors that affect their decision making; facilitations that they receive; available policies on land use as well as the vulnerability they experience during for instance poor harvest or extremely low market price seasons.

As shown in Figure 3, it also means explaining the strategies available to utilize peasant owned land more sustainably for better livelihood outcomes of for example improved incomes, food security, living standards, reduced poor peoples' vulnerability, sustainable use of natural resources as well as a generally better socio-economic environment. This is important for assessing the contribution that land use makes to the livelihoods of the people in Tooro.

3.3.2 Sustainable livelihoods framework's relevance to this study

The use of the SLF approach during this research project has been intended to emphasise how land use is affecting people's lives socially and economically. It has also been intended to help in the analysis of the research material about how the resource can be used better for the livelihoods of the people living in the study area. By identifying people's opinions and practicalities of how the peasant owned land resource is being used as well as the factors affecting current use, benefits and the possibilities for improvement, attention is paid to the individual peasant and the District administration as vital components of this research project's target.

During the analysis of research findings, the main centre of attention is the availability and interactions within the frameworks asset pentagon of namely land as the natural capital and then the human, the social, the physical and the financial capital that influence the socio-economic use of land as a livelihood resource. Research materials are studied for the extent of contribution made by land use towards improving people's livelihoods and how this is influenced by the presence or absence of the components of the asset pentagon within prevailing conditions. The sustainability of the current benefits derived from land use is also analytically important. Here, the capacity to utilize the land resource not only for today's needs but also for future needs is studied. This has relied largely on fieldwork material collected from individuals, public documents and my personal observations.

3.3.3 Sustainable livelihood framework's limitations.

Although this SLF approach is indeed a people-centred framework that is contributing to the explaining of the pro-poor development complex especially as far as the high value of what people already have and know in regards to their livelihood situation and how to improve it is concerned, the interaction between human, natural, social, physical and financial capital is not simple to fully comprehend. Increased homestead incomes derived from a good farm harvest due to favourable rains can for instance easily be attributed to increased financial or human capital applied on the farm during the same agricultural season. This could wrongly attribute contributions of one

component of the asset pentagon to another hence influencing the research analysis process unfavourably.

However, the sustainable livelihood approach as an analytical framework complementing realism theory is important because it basically and conveniently ‘unpacks’ livelihood assets needed in land use into its major components of human beings, physical infrastructure, finance, societal benefits and nature. All these together are important in regards to better explaining in an illustrative way how the use of peasant owned land as a real natural capital resource is performing in people’s efforts to sustain their livelihoods.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter I presented realism theory together with sustainable livelihood framework as a tool that has formed a thinking underlying the analysis of the use of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource. I presented realism theory starting with its meaning and application with an intention of showing that the current use and knowledge about the potentials which land offers may not necessarily exhaust what that resource could be used for as far as human livelihoods are concerned. However, what is known or observed can be a foundation for deeper analysis of the likely potential values that peasant owned land can be used for. But the realist epistemology is limited by a shortage of simple means that can be used to identify the major roles played by the different actors in the use of land as a livelihood resource. In this case, the sustainable livelihood framework presents subdivision of these actors that can be analysed. It centres on the asset pentagon but emphasises that any role played by even a single asset as far as livelihood outcomes are concerned is affected by a variety of factors including the conditions within which the resource is used and the strategies that people apply in utilizing it.

A combined use of realism theory and sustainable livelihood framework in the analysis of research findings is given in the next chapter. This research methodology chapter gives details about how research materials were collected, analysed and presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the methodology behind the generation of research findings. Techniques and approaches used in the collection, analysis and presentation of research materials are discussed. It is also here that the importance of the analytical framework is linked to the analysis of collected materials.

4.2 Research materials' source and selection of respondents

Research materials were mainly collected from the three Districts of Kabarole, Kamwenge and Kyenjojo as well as Uganda's Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment. Vital data about all the 997,815 people that were in Tooro on the night of 12/13th September 2002 was gained from findings of the Uganda national population and housing census undertaken by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics. According to the Bureau's chairman board of directors, Professor Ben Kiregyera, these census findings released in March 2005 form "the most comprehensive census ever undertaken in Uganda" (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005, i).

In addition to the socio-economic and demographic statistics about all the people in Tooro that were gained from the census main report, a sample size of 33 respondents was selected from the Kingdom with 11 respondents from each of its three Districts. Research materials from these respondents were mainly collected through in-depth research interviews with a research questionnaire only being used in particular cases when preferred by the respondent. The questionnaire was mainly used for those people who preferred to provide information for my research during their own free time and therefore preferred that I leave them with the questionnaire to be collected later. Out of the above 33 respondents, 4 people from Kabarole and 3 from Kyenjojo used the questionnaire.

The choice of respondents from each District was judgementally selected with emphasis on representation of government, opinion leaders, peasants owning land and

the general public. This was purely for qualitative research purposes only. Kitchin and Tate (2000, 55) describe judgemental sampling as one in which “sampling elements are selected based on the interviewer’s experience that they are likely to produce the required results”. In this regard, I had made contact with each of the three Districts’ local administration prior to the fieldwork. This gave me information that was important in my selection of respondents. An official letter from the administration of each of the Kingdom’s three Districts allowing me to go ahead with my research project was received (see Appendices I, II and III). It is also based on such information and authorization that local government representation for the data collection process was made. This was then followed by my judgementally selecting peasants owning land and members of the general public for the kind of uses to which they were putting their land.

Research materials were also collected from a workshop attended by over fifty land administrators. Opened on 20th June 2005, the workshop that was organised by the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment for District land administrators had a theme of “Land Management for Poverty Eradication”. During this workshop that was also addressed by the State Minister for Lands, Mr. Baguma Isoke about the Uganda government’s land policy and ways of enhancing land productivity, the land administrators from various Districts expressed their views about how land should be managed for better returns as well as the challenges they were facing in their respective Districts.

Research materials from the selected 33 respondents’ sample, the land management workshop, a full national population and housing census report were augmented by my observations of the different ways in which Tooro’s land was being used. This combination provided me with a broad set of research materials which has been crucial for this thesis.

4.3 Research materials collection techniques

The gathering of both qualitative and statistical research materials that can relevantly be interpreted in regards to this project’s research objectives formed one of the major issues put into consideration when choosing research materials collection

techniques. Qualitative research materials collection was mainly focused on people's perceptions, opinions, experiences and feelings about how the socio-economic use of peasant owned land is affecting the livelihoods of my respondents. This is in a way in line with the general meaning of qualitative methods which Johnston *et al* (2000, 660) describe as "...concerned with how the world is viewed, experienced and constructed by social actors".

The focus of statistical research materials collection was mainly on the three District headquarters, the Uganda central government and the peasants themselves regarding the economic and social benefits gained from using peasant owned land. Findings about the general livelihood characteristics of the population under study also benefited from available quantitative statistics. Such quantitative data included; peasant's land size, family size, average amount of farm harvest and the general market prices of peasants' farm products.

Therefore, the used data collection techniques included research interviews, observations, research questionnaires, secondary data studies and a workshop discussion. These techniques were classified and used as follows;

4.3.1 Research interviews

Research interviews refer to a method of data collection in which the researcher gathers research materials by orally communicating with the respondent/interviewee from whom he/she seeks answers aimed at satisfying research objectives. The process usually involves the researcher/interviewer asking questions or seeking opinions or views from the interviewee about issues decided by the researcher.

Kitchin and Tate (2000, 213) explain that "the interview is probably the most commonly used qualitative technique. It allows the researcher to produce a rich and varied data set in a less formal setting." During this research, it is a technique that involved me as the interviewer seeking information from selected interviewees based on a set of topics included in an interview guide. According to Mikkelsen (1995, 103), the interview guide approach relies on predetermined "topics and issues" which are specified in advance in outline form. Then the "interviewer decides the sequence and wording of

questions in the course of the interview” (*ibid.*).

In the case of this research project, these predetermined topics which were derived from the study’s four research questions and the particular issues to cover in each interview, were outlined in advance. However, special attention was paid to each respondent and interview environment in that the wording and sequence of questions varied for more feasible data collection.

During this exercise, emphasis was laid on seeking answers from key respondents through examination of opinions, beliefs and experiences based on their interview responses. Interviewees were asked questions related to the ways in which they used their land and how this affected their capacity to meet their day to day livelihood needs. This was thought to directly gather research responses for the analysis process.

This method of data collection has advantages. For instance, it does not only allow the researcher to explore specific avenues of enquiry especially for the logical gaps within the interview process during which follow up questions can be raised for issues considered important but also conveniently allows for flexibility of the interview process to pay particular attention to each respondent. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000), it also has an advantage of having a more conversational ‘feel’ and yet allowing for the different outlined topics of interest to be explored.

However, this very strength of the interview guide approach of data collection presented some challenges during fieldwork. The conversation feel and flexibility referred to above were found to consume a lot of time especially at times when a respondent seemed to generously explain beyond what was asked for. Kitchin and Tate (*ibid.*) explain that such challenges can lead to a possible inadvertent omission of specific topics that would otherwise be important for the research process. These authors continue to say that variations of questions posed to different respondents due to the technique’s flexibility in interview questions sequencing and wording can reduce comparability of responses even on the same topic. This therefore called for cautiously keeping the interview conversations based around the specified predetermined topics and issues during the data collection exercise without discouraging my respondents from expressing themselves.

4.3.2 Overt observations

During this kind of data collection method, the researcher gathers the required information from specified phenomenon or phenomena, item(s), person or group of persons by using eyes to gain the required research materials. To refer to a description given by Wolcott (1995) that is also quoted by Kitchin and Tate (2000, 219) for the observation method of data collection, "...in observation you watch as events unfold....". In other words, here the eyes are very important as the researcher uses them to gather required research materials.

Observations can either be overt or covert. The word "overt" is defined by Allen (2002, 628) as either meaning "open to view" or "not concealed". Following on then, the overt observations occur when the observed know that they are being observed unlike the covert observations which are "concealed" in that the observed do not know that they are being observed. The observations can also be planned to look for predetermined specific information or just observing general characteristics of the study object without predetermined issues.

Overt observations were undertaken during this research exercise with a purpose of collecting information related to this project's four research questions. Such observations attended to the different ways in which land is used in Tooro, the main types of people's houses, the transport networks and common products in local markets.

This technique has an advantage of allowing the researcher to collect first hand information from the observed. This method was for example used to observe farmers in their gardens as they continued their farming practices. It was also used to observe the type of crops grown, the kind of farm tools used as well as the main agricultural products in the local markets. Some of the items symbolizing important observations that I saw especially in regards to the relationship between people's livelihoods and the use of peasant owned land were photographed.

On the overall, research materials collected through observations complemented findings gained through research interviews, secondary data studies and research questionnaires. They also acted as one of the ways of counter checking the data gained from for instance interviews about the main agricultural products in the local markets since in addition to the interviews, I also physically visited some of the main markets

in the Kingdom to see what was being sold there.

4.3.3 Secondary data studies

Limb and Dwyer (2001, 43) state that “the choice of research methods usually flows conceptually and logically from the research questions”. This ‘flow’ helps to direct the research process towards answering the questions upon which the entire research project is based. In situations where essential research materials can be accessed from an already existing publication, the use of secondary data studies can become a viable tool in research.

This is a research materials collection technique that involves the gathering of information from non-first-hand sources that may include published literature, paintings, photographs, films, documentaries, dairies, letters, autobiographies and sound recordings. The technique is advantageous in that it allows for an opportunity to collect information about phenomena or events that may have occurred in the past. It is also of value in providing statistical data that could not easily be generated during a limited amount of time and yet needed to backup a first hand finding. As Cryer (1999, 54) puts it, “ideally literature should be used in articles and theses as evidence to support an argument or counter-argument or to carry it forward”.

A very important secondary data source for this study has been the Uganda population and housing census main report of 2005. This report presents information regarding population size, family size, age distribution and working proportion of the total population. It also shows indicators about the level of dependants, average household items and the general overall demographic and socio-economic indicators of the study area. This information is part of the data used in this study especially in regards to studying the general livelihood conditions of the people in the study area and how they may affect resource use. For instance demographic indication revealing a large proportion of the population as being of children may be used to deduce that these are children that have to be supported by working adults thus increasing these workers consumption expenditure.

More vital secondary research material included; the 1998 Uganda Land Act

(Uganda Government); the 2004 Land (Amendment) Act (Uganda Government 2004a); the 2004 Land Regulations (Uganda Government 2004b); the 1995 Uganda Constitution (Uganda Government); the 2005 Kabarole District Local Government NAADS Mid Term Review Report (Uganda Government, 2005b); the 2005 Progressive Report of the Area Based Agricultural Modernization Programme-Kabarole (Uganda Government, 2005a) as well as the Uganda Poverty Status Report (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2001). The Uganda Land Sector Strategic Plan 2001-2011 (Ministry of Water Lands and Environment, 2001) and the 2005 Kabarole Agricultural Enterprises Zoning Programme Report to Uganda's President (Kabarole District Local Government) have also formed relevant secondary data sources. These were augmented by internet-based literature.

One of the weaknesses with this kind of data collection technique is that some secondary research materials may not reflect what really happened or is happening. This could be due to the purpose for which such data was collected or the techniques that were used during the production of such material that may not be in line with this research project's objectives. Some secondary research material may not be up-to-date and therefore give findings that do not reflect what is happening.

Secondary data may also be too specific with goals that are not directly related to those of this study. Caution was therefore required in order to put the purpose and time of publication of secondary materials and their relevance to this study into consideration while using this method. Studying the available data in the field with an interest of only collecting information that is believed to be relevant to this research helped me reduce the method's shortfall during this study.

Another weakness with this technique is that some important literature may not easily be accessible to a researcher due to for instance administrative restrictions on the part of the literature owners. However, I attended to this weakness by going to Uganda with my student identification and after arriving I also requested for and indeed received authorization letters from the local authorities from each of the three District headquarters as shown in the appendices. This enabled me to access public documents related to the specific objectives of this project.

4.3.4 Research questionnaires

In reference to Harald Enderud's view about research methods, Mikkelsen (1995, 223) explains that they are tools to be used for answering specific questions as well as "solving different scientific or practical problems". Therefore if a questionnaire is to be used, it should then be directed towards the questions for which the research was intended. It should also put into consideration the practical challenges likely to be faced during data collection.

The research questionnaire involves a set of questions that are written for the respondent to answer. On the one hand, the questions can be close-ended in which each question has answer options from which to choose while on the other, the questionnaire is made of open-ended questions that allow the respondent to give their own answers. The former category has an analytical advantage of comparing responses from the different respondents based on a similar set of answer choices but is disadvantaged by restricting the respondent to only predetermined answers. The latter has the advantage of allowing the respondent to express their views in their own words thereby enriching the variety of collected response but this may make the analysis of varied data difficult due to varying responses.

During this research project, questionnaires made up of both close-ended and open-ended questions were used. The close-ended questions targeted specific answers such as the age of the respondent, number of family members living in a particular house, the sex of the respondents, number of family dependants as well as the size of land owned by an individual. The open-ended questions sought issues such as views, opinions and perceptions regarding to how socio-economically using peasant owned land is contributing to people's livelihoods in the study area.

The main challenge that I faced during the use of the research questionnaire method is that most respondents preferred me to leave them with the questionnaires so that they could fill them in later. This was disadvantageous because I only had a specific number of days during which to stay in any particular District and yet some respondents ended up taking many days to fill in the questionnaires. In instances where the questionnaires were left behind for respondents to fill in, I had to go back to the respondent on the promised day to collect the questionnaires although sometimes I

found that some respondents had actually lost some questionnaire copies and had to give them new ones.

4.4 Research materials analysis and the importance of the analytical framework

When explaining the phrase ‘reality’, Helmore and Singh (2001, xi) note that “people inhabit a world that is “real” to them, and they “know” with a certain degree of confidence that this world possesses such and such characteristics. However, in other societies what people “know” as “real” may be marginally or entirely different”. In this case therefore, what would be desired in order to be on some level of safe side is to know what is genuinely ‘real’ and then utilize it the best way possible to for instance sustain human livelihoods and in the process work towards improving people’s wellbeing. But the decision about what is real or not real is too complex in the human context as seen under realism. Nonetheless, there is a need to find some form of theoretical middle ground on which to analyse the ways in which some components of nature are used and how their productivity can be enhanced for the livelihoods of the people under study.

In essence, what realism theory classifies in the domains of the real, the actual and the empirical and how these interact when it comes to people’s livelihoods is “unpacked” by the sustainable livelihoods’ analytical framework into the natural, human, social, physical and financial assets that people need for their wellbeing and therefore livelihoods. During this research project, realism theory and the sustainable livelihoods framework have been used as complementary approaches important in the analysis of the livelihood role played by socio-economically using peasant owned land as a natural ‘real’ capital resource.

While analysing research materials, the uses of peasant owned land and the factors influencing their contribution to my respondents’ livelihoods were studied in a descriptive way based on the asset pentagon suggested under the sustainable livelihood framework. These findings were also analysed in relation to the presence or absence of the different components of the asset pentagon of namely natural, human, social, physical and financial assets as well as how land’s value is influenced by the general conditions within which the resource is used. Important in the analysis was an underlying thinking

that the current uses to which peasant owned land is put may not necessarily exhaust all the potential that the resource has for human livelihoods.

The collected data was also analysed in relation to my respondents' perceptions about what they said the use of peasant owned land can or could contribute to their livelihoods. This was directed towards analysing the relationship between what people believed (or perceived) to exist and the actual observed or reported land use. Differences in benefits gained by different respondents from land use were also analysed in this regard. For those respondents who reported that their land could be more productive than it currently is, an analysis of reasons behind their belief and possible options of improving such land's productivity were analysed in line with the thought of peasant communities attempting to derive more actual benefits from the real domain of reality explained under the realism theory in the theoretical framework. The analysis applied to all collected data including that gained from interviews, questionnaires, observations and secondary sources.

All in all, qualitative analysis of research materials emphasised content in the description, classification and the making of connections between the findings. This process which was an ongoing analytical process even during fieldwork relates collected material to the four objectives of this research project.

4.5 Research materials' validity and reliability

Professor Ben Kiregyera, the chairman board of directors of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, asserts that the 2002 Uganda population and housing census was the most comprehensive census ever undertaken in Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005). This was included in his foreword for the census' main report that was released in March 2005 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics). This in a way is a sign that such an official source of data is one of the best that I could get about the study area. With its widespread data sources and professional handling by the Statistics Bureau, I think that such data is highly valid and reliable within the context and purposes for which it was produced.

The validity and reliability of research findings is thought to have been helped by my ability to communicate in Rutooro, the local language. I think this is likely to have

rescued the loss of findings or occurrence of misunderstandings that could have come up with a communication failure between me and my respondents. This however meant that I had to translate the findings into English only retaining a few direct quotes when writing this thesis. This is partly because I thought that many direct Rutooro quotes' need of an immediate translation either before or after their presentation was likely to make the reading of such long texts rather uncomfortable to this document's reader.

Because the present research process was largely on a non-sensitive subject especially as far as the Country's politics is concerned, it is thought that people had largely nothing to fear when providing information especially since I had introduced myself purely as a student. This is thought to have generated research materials related to what such respondents knew. It is however necessary to mention that chances of some of the interviewees giving responses that they may have wanted to provide and not necessarily what was happening is possible. In attending to this possibility, I used more than one research materials collection method. The findings generated by these different methods were then used to counter check each other in regards to validity and reliability.

4.6 Summary

In summary therefore, this chapter presented a research methodology that was used during this study. I explained the kind of research materials that I collected and also gave a general view about their source and their analysis. The different techniques of data collection that were used during the research process have been explained and an insight into their advantages and disadvantages given. I then devote the next chapter to peasant land ownership and land management in the study area.

CHAPTER FIVE

PEASANT LAND OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

5.1 Introduction

The ownership and management of land in Tooro is of unrivalled importance to people in the area especially those whose subsistence is dependent on the utilization of this resource. As the national Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment puts it, land is a main natural resource in the area with most people depending on it for their livelihoods (Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, 2003). In this chapter, I first look at main features of peasantry. These are then followed by sections about land ownership and management.

5.2 Features of peasantry

Hesselberg (1985, 48) mentions that peasantry as a whole “consists of small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipment and labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for fulfilment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power”. Peasants may be seen here as those whose ultimate livelihood security and subsistence lies in their having certain rights to land and in labour of family members, but also, through their rights and obligations, in a wider socio-economic system within which they live. In the following subsections, features of peasantry that were identified during this study are presented.

a) Subsistence agricultural production

Small scale growing of crops and rearing of animals mainly for home consumption characterised responses from the majority of the people that were interviewed regarding the uses of peasant owned land. Respondents explained how much of the food was grown to feed their families. This finding was in conformity with national figures that state that at least 77% of all people in rural areas rely on subsistence

farming as the main source of household livelihood (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005).

b) Rural location

Writing in 1966, Eric R. Wolf talks of peasants as “rural cultivators” who “raise crops and livestock in the countryside ...” (Eric 1966, 2). Many of the peasants observed in Tooro were found to be located away from towns and municipalities. They lived in villages located in rural areas.

Cited in some interviews was the peace and quiet as well as opportunities for free resources in rural areas away from the towns as benefits of living in the rural areas. Some respondents explained that items such as water, pastures and firewood were free in some areas. As one of the respondents put it in Rutooro while referring to an advantage associated with his rural location, “*Embuzi zange zilya ebinyansi byabusa*”. This was in reference to the free grass that his goats grazed on in the village which would generally not be the case in cities and towns. Besides, it is generally accepted that the cost of living is much higher in cities and towns compared to the subsistence dominated rural areas where most peasants spend much of their time.

c) The use of simple tools

Basically, every peasant interviewed during this study confirmed that they use simple tools to cultivate their gardens. They gave examples of hoes, *ebipanga* (machetes) and knives as the main tools used. This may largely be due to the low prices such tools cost and their availability in local markets.

None of all my respondents said they ever used a tractor or any automatic agricultural machine on their gardens. Some of the reasons given for not using such equipment included the high cost of buying or hiring one as well as the fact that many of their farms were small in size usually not exceeding two acres per piece.

d) The value of family labour

“*Mukazi wange, abaana, naanye....*”, literally translated as my wife, children and me, was a common full list given by male respondents when I asked them about the labour force that was applied in using their land. Although many of the females said

that it was them and the children and very rarely the husband who cultivated their landholdings, the response of both sexes shows the importance of family labour as far as land use in Tooro is concerned.

The involvement of non family members in the use of peasant owned land was found to be rare. A major reason reported for this was the cost of paying the outsider which was said to be undesirable especially when people within the household were available to do the necessary farm work. This farm work was also found to be a form of keeping the unemployed adult members of the household busy.

e) Household rights and obligations over land

Peasantry is also characterised by the peasant having some form of rights over the land in question. While research findings show that some people have full ownership rights to a particular piece of land, others only have user rights. The ownership rights belonged to people who for instance were having the land under either the freehold or customary land tenure systems (see section 5.3.1). Those with only user rights were said to be restricted in the way they used land and for how long since they had to put into consideration the interests of the land owner. People falling under this category that were interviewed said that they were cultivating land belonging to a relative or friend who was not using it during that time.

Further inquiries on the matter revealed that most of the cultivators of crops on land for which they had only user rights had an obligation to make some payment to the land owner. This included very often a share of the harvest between the land user and the land owner while on very rare cases the land user paid the land owner in cash. According to one of the respondents in Kyenjojo District, the cash payments by the land users were rare largely because many peasants are very poor and usually receive the right to use land as a way of helping them feed their families.

Peasants were also found to have obligations to holders of political and economic powers in the study area either directly or indirectly. Directly some cultivators had to pay some taxes. For instance, when taking some of their farm products to the market, some peasants were observed to be paying market dues.

f) Low financial investment

Research findings further show that the level of financial investment made by peasants on their land is relatively low. The cost of buying a hoe or knife is extremely low compared to what the cost of buying a combined harvester or a mechanised irrigation system would be. Some of the peasants said that they manually irrigated young crops in times of a delayed rain season as opposed to having a machine do the work for them. However the irrigating of crops was found to be rare since the majority of subsistence farmers were said to time the usually regular rainy season for the planting of crops which are then harvested in drier periods.

The low financial investment is also linked to the low level of expected financial benefits. My observations in the field suggest a low financial cost preference in the peasants' choice of items such as labour, seed inputs, low cost tools, free animal grazing areas as well as the timing of crop planting during the rainy season. For example, family labour that is used during cultivation was found to largely not to be paid financially but to instead benefit from the harvest through feeding on it. It was also common in peasant households to find a reserve of maize or beans that was put aside from the previous harvest in order to be used during the next planting season. This in a way meant that the money that would have been used in buying for example such seeds or paying for labour or expensive tools was not used there.

5.3 Land ownership

Land ownership in Tooro like in the rest of Uganda is mainly governed by the national 1995 Constitution which states in article 237 (3) that land in the Country shall be owned in accordance with land tenure systems classified as Customary, Freehold, *Mailo* and Leasehold (Uganda Government, 1995). These four types of land tenure came into existence after the abolition of the 1975 Land Reform Decree no. 3 which had transformed all land in the Country into public land managed by the government's Uganda Land Commission (Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, 2005). The decree had been intended at making sure that land was used for economic and social development (*ibid.*) but became unpopular partly due to increased land wrangles between

government and the former private land owners leading to its being replaced by the four tenure systems which are now explained in the following subsections.

5.3.1 Land tenure systems

a) Customary land tenure system

The customary tenure is a traditional method of owning land in perpetuity (Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment [hereafter, MWLE], 2005). In this type of tenure, individuals, families or traditional institutions are said to acquire and use land in accordance with the area's customs and norms regarding land ownership. The system is also characterised by interests and rights in such land being regulated by the community's rules and customs (MWLE, 2005). The word 'community' may be used in this case to refer to people living within the same area and have some common or related interests in their land resource. Busingye (2002) explains that the customary land tenure system in Uganda can either be communal customary tenure or individual/family/clan customary tenure. The communal tenure targets community owned land which may include livestock grazing land, gardens, burial grounds or hunting areas. Here, the community is in charge of how this land is used. Busingye further explains that the latter category of customary land tenure has the land owning individual/family/clan having more control in its utilization.

During fieldwork, out of every five of my respondents owning land at least three fell under the latter category. They said that decisions about how and when to use their land were largely theirs to make although suggestions from family and community members were still important. Usually individuals or families in this category of land ownership have specific pieces of land to use which are recognised by the community as theirs (MWLE, 2003). However interview research findings show that owners of land under this tenure system have no official registration certificates in form of land titles or certificates of ownership. According to the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, this kind of land was formerly public land and is "... without any form of registration" (MWLE 2005, 67).

b) Freehold land tenure system

The freehold tenure system involves owning of registered land on a permanent basis. Busingye (2002) explains that the system has its roots in the Country's colonial times when the colonizing government in an arrangement with local Kingdoms gave out grants of land with the new owners allowed to have certificates of title. In this case, the owner "has full powers over this land and can do anything with it except in cases where legal conditions have been put on the landowner not to do certain things"(MWLE 2005, 67). Normally, such conditions are stipulated in the certificate of title. Otherwise the landowner may sell or lease the land or use its title to get loans. He/she may even pass it on by a will to a new owner (*ibid.*). This is also a tenure system that recognizes and protects the rights of lawful and bona fide occupants on the land and the improvements made on the resource (*ibid.*). Some people in Tooro are said to own land under this type of tenure system which is also present in the Districts south of the Kingdom (MWLE, 2003).

However the Land Amendment Act (Uganda Government 2004a, 10 and 11) restricts transfer of any family land except with prior consent of the owner's spouse even if the title holder is either the husband or his wife. This is regardless of whether the land is under the freehold tenure system or not. This in a way limits the ways in which land may be used especially if disagreements have occurred between the spouses. Here family land refers to that on which the family residence is located and/or that from which the family derives sustenance for instance through farming.

c) Mailo land tenure system

This is largely similar to the freehold tenure system only that in mailo, special treatment was given to a particular group of people in Central Uganda, who based on the 1900 Buganda Agreement between the then Queen of England and the Buganda Kingdom, were given large chunks of land to own (Busingye, 2002). In this tenure system, the owner referred to as a mailo owner/land owner (MWLE, 2005) owns the land forever unless if he/she sells it off or gives it away as a gift or in a will (MWLE, 2003). Otherwise, this person or institution is said to have full powers over the land which can be sold, leased or dealt with as the owner pleases within the confines of the prevailing

laws. This is a system where registered land is owned indefinitely with the owner usually having its title.

d) Leasehold land tenure system

The fourth land tenure system is leasehold which involves owning land for a specified period of time. It is created by either a contract or operation of law through which a landlord grants another person, group of persons or institution(s) exclusive possession of a piece of land for a defined period. This may be in return for payments called rent or a free grant (MWLE, 2003). The arrangement which is usually based on a written agreement may also involve payment of a premium (MWLE, 2005). In Tooro, like in the rest of Uganda, such leases are common on land that was owned by government or local authorities (MWLE, 2005).

According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2003), about 94 percent of land in Western Uganda is owned under either a customary (50%) or freehold (44%) land tenure system. On the over all however, peasant ownership of land in Tooro is said to mainly fall under the customary tenure system. These people have their main economic activity as labour intensive agriculture and are generally faced with social and economic livelihood challenges of living in a Country that has an annual population growth rate of 3.3%, and a national population average density of 124 persons per square kilometre (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005).

5.3.2 Means of acquiring land by Peasants

Four major ways of acquiring land by Peasants in Tooro have been identified. These include; inheritance, direct purchase, family land subdividing and on a smaller scale, debt recovery.

a) Inheritance

This involves a situation where after the death of a household head, his/her properties including land are given to the children, relatives and friends usually according to his/her wish. The line of land inheritance in the study area was largely found to be from father to son. As some of the respondents explained, the logic behind the centuries

old practice has been that usually the deceased person's daughters would go to stay with their husbands after getting married and it was (and continues) to be preferred that the sons inherit the their parents' assets including land since they would be staying around.

Some male peasant respondents said that the land they own belonged to their grand-fathers who had left it for their father in turn when he died it was left for them. When asked about whether they would leave it for all their children regardless of their sex, the majority still insisted that the line of inheritance was from father to son. Attempts to find female respondents who had inherited their parents' land yielded no evidence at all since even in the extreme case of when the land owners died after having only daughters, some respondents reported that in certain cases a close male relative would take over the land after the parent's death. However, this qualitative study does not in anyway represent the entire situation in the whole Kingdom but only that of those people that were studied.

b) Direct purchase

Some respondents explained that their land was purchased using cash. This is another way of acquiring land in the study area. Transactions between willing land buyers and sellers were reported as a major way in which people gained land. Here, both men and women can acquire land as long as they have the money.

While some people sold pieces of land to make a larger investment elsewhere, others were selling for the need of consumption money. One of the female respondents in her mid sixties said she had sold all the pieces of her land one at a time largely because she did not have enough energy to cultivate them and yet she needed food to feed her self and the many orphans that she was looking after. As our discussion revealed, this person had lost most of her children and was living with her young grand-children that were unable to work and yet needed to eat.

c) Family land subdivision

This form of acquiring land by peasants is basically similar to that of land inheritance explained earlier only that this happens when the parent or benefactor is still alive. Usually as the land-owner's children grow older towards starting their own

families, the parent or benefactor in question subdivides his land allocating particular pieces to his sons. Fieldwork inquiries show that these new land owners usually construct their houses on the acquired land and very often cultivate some crops on the remaining part largely also using the family labour including that of their wives.

This kind of land ownership transfer was found to be preferred by about half of my respondents because it avoided subdividing of assets after the owner had died which was very often complicated in situations where no will had been made. Therefore they preferred the subdivision while alive. Basically, the other half of the respondents had reservations about this method. Some of these said that because not all the children had the same potential or were liked to the same level, some had to get larger shares of their parents' property. Doing this when the parent is alive would however put him/her in danger especially from those that are unhappy with how he gave out his/her assets. For largely this reason many people kept their will a secret to only be revealed by a particular source after the will maker is dead and has been buried. Nonetheless, it is clear that some families subdivide their land while still alive.

d) Debt recovery

In very rare situations and for a very small portion of people, land had been acquired as a form of recovering money that had been lent to the former land owner. Although the situation was more common with loans got from banks, fieldwork inquiries revealed that some landowners had acquired some of their land after the former landowner failed to honour an agreement on which a debt had been based. As one of the respondents disclosed, some peasants put in their pieces of land as security for borrowing urgently needed cash. Apparently, they also promise to pay back within specific periods of time, agreeing that failure to pay would mean losing the land that is put up as loan security.

The unfortunate part of this form of acquiring land as narrated by one of the respondents is that usually the borrowed money is in many cases much less than the market value of the land. This means that the former landowner loses out unfairly. This is said to happen largely because the person putting in his/her land as loan security, very often hopes to pay back the borrowed money in time to reclaim their land. In this

scenario, they are willing to even accept less money compared to the land's market value because their intention is not to sell. But when the loan repayment time expires, a few of these people face what some respondents referred to as the “unfortunate” event of losing such land. This nonetheless gives the person that lent out the money a new piece of land.

On the overall, out of the four methods in which peasants in the study area were found to have acquired their land holdings, inheritance, direct purchase and family land subdivisions are the common ones.

5.3.3 Decision making about peasant owned land

The question here was about who makes the decisions regarding what to do with peasant owned land. Such a question has been considered important because it gives an insight into the decision making process that determines how the resource is used. Making decisions about how, when and for what purposes land is used and then following up such decisions with sustainable actions will greatly determine the livelihood benefits derived from land use.

Research findings about who makes decisions about peasant owned land largely show that the land owner is usually the person in charge although his/her actions must be within the rules and regulations of the government administration especially those in charge of land use and management. Decisions were found to be made by the family head. Some respondents said that it was up to them as land owners to make the choices about how to use their land. However, inquiries further revealed that many household heads discussed or at least talked about such decisions with their spouses and in a few cases with some relatives and clan members.

5.4 Land management

Research findings show that a number of organisations have been put in place regarding land management. They include; land committees, land tribunals, district land boards, a national land commission and a Ministry in charge of water, land and environment. While some of these focus on the Country as a whole, the decentralization system of governance in Uganda has increasingly taken the tasks of managing land to

institutions established within the specific Districts.

According to the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment (2003), each of the land management/administration institutions has been established to perform specific functions. These range from dispute resolution and land ownership transfers to the ensuring that available land is used for purposes that are within both local and national legislation. Although working to attain varying mandates, these institutions perform their duties as components within a unified national land policy.



Figure 5. Land managers at a joint workshop

Source: Mutegeki P.B Fieldwork, 2005

During my fieldwork, observations revealed that some level of collaboration between the different stakeholders in land management exists. For example, on 20th June 2005, the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment organised workshops for different stakeholders involved in land management. In Figure 5, a group photograph of the members of one of the joint workshops organised for land managers is presented. This was also attended by the Lands' State Minister, Land Commissioners and Land board

Members. During this workshop, the State Minister for Lands, Mr. Baguma Isoke (shown in Figure 5 seated in the front row, fourth from the left) addressed the congregation on a theme titled “Land Management for Poverty Eradication”.

In the following subsections on land management, I present an overview of the different involved governmental institutions. The sections explain the functions which are undertaken by each and the jurisdiction within which they operate.

5.4.1 Uganda land commission

Article 239 of the 1995 Uganda Constitution gives the Uganda Land Commission a mandate of holding and managing any land in Uganda that is vested in or acquired by the government in accordance with constitutional provisions. Such land may include forests, game parks, water bodies and swamps (MWLE 2003).

Where applicable, the commission is also mandated by the Land Act to hold and manage any land acquired by the government abroad. According to section 49 of the 2000 revised edition of the Uganda Land Act, the commission has an option of delegating the management of such land to the Country’s foreign missions. This act also stipulates that the commission has a function of procuring certificates of title for any land vested in or acquired by the government.

5.4.2 District land boards

Each of the three Districts in Tooro has a District land board. The board has the responsibility of managing all land that was formerly public land (MWLE, 2003). It holds and allocates all land in the District that is not owned by any person or authority. Such land may for instance be allocated to the landless poor, investors or be put under government programmes considered important for socio-economic development. The board also has an important function of facilitating the registration and transfer of interests in such land. According to section 59 of the 2000 revised edition of the Uganda Land Act, it may also take over the roles and powers on land that was leased by the former controlling authority.

5.4.3 District land tribunals

These refer to special courts put in place to handle land disputes. Located in each District, a tribunal gets its mandate from the amended Land Act and the 1998 Uganda Constitution which empower the tribunal to settle disputes related to for instance; the grant of leases as well as repossession, transfer and acquisition of land by individuals and institutions (MWLE 2005). However the tribunals do not have the powers to make orders for cancellation of a certificate of title and vesting title since these are supposed to be referred by the tribunal to the High Court (*ibid.*). Nonetheless the majority of common cases regarding for example the boundary between two peasants' land or the destruction of one farmer's crops by the neighbours' goats or cows can be handled here.

5.4.4 Land committees

These are appointed by the District Council on the recommendation of the Sub County Council. This four-person committee in each Parish in the District is mandated to assist the District land board in an advisory capacity on matters relating to land. This includes the ascertaining of land rights and obligations (Uganda Government, 2000). Usually, the committees are made of people from within the Parish and their members are therefore at an advantage regarding the advising of the land board that is responsible for the whole District since they can closely monitor developments in the Parish on a regular basis.

5.4.5 Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment (MWLE)

According to the Ministry's official internet website, its major function regarding land is land management consisting of physical planning, land surveying, mapping, registration and administration (MWLE, 2006). This is on a national scale and is done in coordination with the other governmental land management institutions.

With all the major land management institutions put into consideration therefore, the administration of land in Tooro like in the rest of Uganda is a job done by many players. These range from land committees, land tribunals, district land boards and a land

commission to a national Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment. The purpose in this section has been that of presenting an overview of these different institutions.

5.5 Summary

In summary therefore, this has been a chapter about land ownership but also about land management and peasantry. It has presented the different forms of land tenures systems including freehold, leasehold, mailo and customary and explained that of all these forms, peasant owned land mainly fall under the category of customary system of land ownership. The chapter also looked at how land is managed identifying the different legal land management institutions. This was after a look at features of peasantry that were identified during this study. In the next chapter, I look at the different uses of peasant owned land, their livelihood benefits and the factors behind the resource's value.

CHAPTER SIX

USING PEASANT OWNED LAND AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD RESOURCE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to research findings about the socio-economic use of the study area's peasant owned land as a livelihood resource. I start with identified uses of this land and how these uses are contributing to the studied people's efforts towards attending to their day to day socio-economic needs. I then present and discuss findings about the factors affecting the different types of land uses and their associated livelihood benefits. A presentation and discussion of the issues that respondents reported as vital for the enhancement of land's socio-economic productivity then follows. This is before the chapter ends with a summary.

6.2 Identified uses of peasant owned land and their contribution to livelihoods in Tooro

a) Crop cultivation

The growing of crops was found to be the main way in which land is used in the study area. Both research interviews and observations clearly indicate that a variety of crops are grown in Tooro. These mainly include bananas, maize, cassava, pumpkins, vanilla, yams, potatoes, millet, ground nuts, tomatoes, onions, tea, peas and coffee.

With the exception of tea, vanilla and coffee which are largely cultivated for sale, crops are grown mainly for home consumption with only a small part of the harvest some times being sold off to buy domestic items such as salt, sugar, paraffin and soap. In a few instances some respondents explained that in certain situations where they needed a product not in their gardens, they could exchange part of their harvest for that food stuff grown by a willing relative or friend within the area.

Much of the growing of crops was found to be done on a small scale. This is also seen from the responses collected about the size of land owned by my respondents in

which only one out of every eleven people said that the land they owned exceeded five acres. In general, interview responses and my observations show people using smaller plots of land which they personally or with the help of their family members or friends manually cultivate. According to research interviews, the growing of crops also largely depends on climatic conditions with the rainy season being used for planting and the drier periods for harvesting.



Figure 6. Banana plants as an example of how land is used in crop cultivation

Source: Mutegeki P.B Fieldwork, 2005

Figure 6 is showing how land is used in the growing of banana plants. These plants were found to form a typical land use form in all the three Districts in the Kingdom. The plant, which has been grown in the area for generations, was said to be the Kingdom's staple food stuff. Virtually all village homesteads that I visited during fieldwork were found to at least have some bananas growing nearby with many of my respondents explaining that a meal without some bananas is not really a full meal. The different types of this plant were found to also form the major component of *Tonto*, the

area's main brew, which is usually essential at traditional ceremonies and a common drink during social gathering.

In this case therefore, land is seen as being used through the cultivation of crops to provide livelihoods with a source of food and income. Family gardens were said to generate food stuffs during the harvest season. This helped households reduce on the financial expenditure that would otherwise have been made to purchase such food stuffs from the markets. This, according to some respondents, enables people to use such money for other needs at home.

For those that sold off some of the cultivated crops' harvest, a new source of income and employment emerged. I personally witnessed some of the banana sellers who transported bunches on their bicycles to be sold off at local markets. In about a third of these instances, it was observed that actually some of the bananas were bought before reaching the local market by buyers who waited for them by the road side along the way to markets.

In Figure 7, two bicycles carrying such banana harvests are seen parked by the road side in one of the trading centres along the Kabarole-Kamwenge main road. Thousands of people in different parts of Tooro are said to be directly involved in the sale of various banana types and their products such as *ensande* and *tonto*, local soft and alcoholic drinks respectively. For these people, this is a form of employment and a means of sustaining a living not only for themselves, but also their wives, children and other dependants they may have.



Figure 7. An example of banana harvests that end up being sold

Source: Mutegeki P.B Fieldwork, 2005

b) Animal keeping

Land in the study area was also observed to be used in the rearing of animals. I observed some land used for pastures in parts of Burahya and southern Bunyangabu in Kabarole District as well as in Nyantungo, Kakabara, Kyegegwa and Matiri in Kyenjojo District (see Figures 8 and 9). In these areas the main animals reared were cattle and to a lesser extent, goats. Some respondents mentioned sheep, pigs, rabbits and poultry as also being reared but on a smaller scale in various parts of the Kingdom. In many cases the number of livestock per animal rearing homestead was not reported to exceed for instance 20 cows per homestead. Exceptions however were said to exist where the number of cattle went beyond even sixty, especially in more pastoral areas. The cows were found to be an important source of meat and milk. When some of these products are sold, they earn the owners some income to help them in their efforts of trying to sustain their livelihoods.

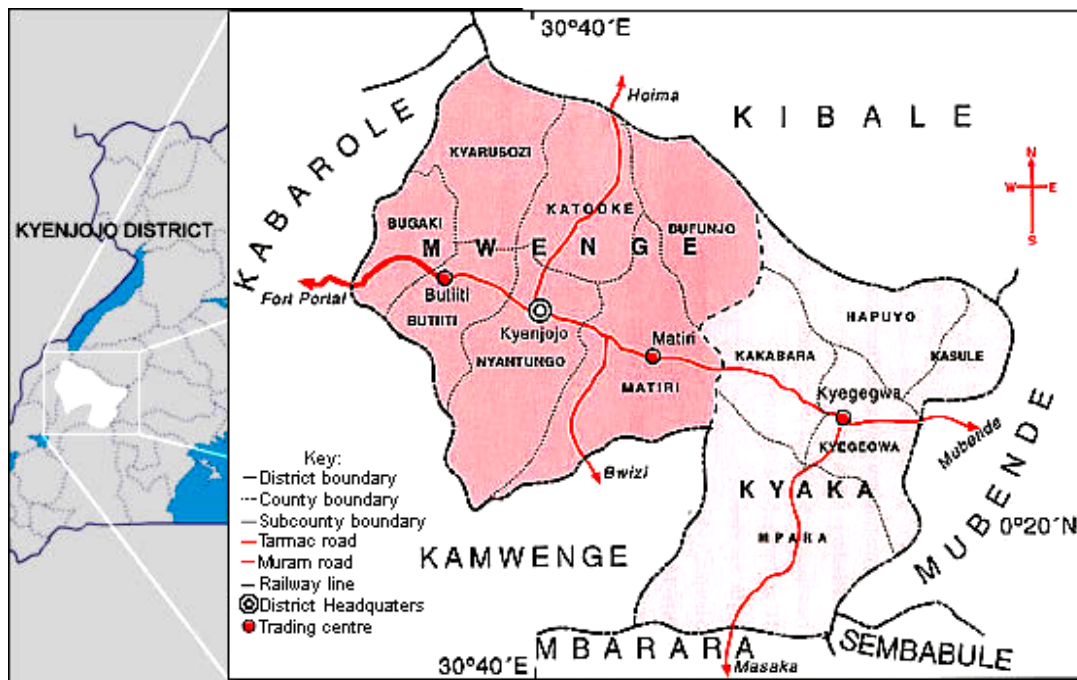


Figure 9. Mwenge and Kyaka Counties in Kyenjojo District

Source: Uganda Communications Commission, 2003b

The use of land in animal keeping in the study area was also found to include fish farming. These aquatic animals were found to inhabit artificially created water bodies in form of fish ponds. This practice was found to occur on private land where fish species from lakes and rivers would be introduced into the water enclosures of an average size of 200sq meters dug out on relatively water saturated land in parts of Kabarole and Kyenjojo. For instance in Kyenjojo alone, over 310 fish ponds were reported by the District administration as officially registered. Common fish species included; Nile tilapia (*Oreochromis nilotica*) and cat fish (*Clarias gariepenus*). The fish farming is mainly market oriented and is providing the owners with a form of income.

On the overall, land use for the keeping of the various animals is seen as a way of generating more livelihood income, more food but also a source of social pride gained from for instance the number of animals owned, their quality and how they are generally looked after. For many respondents, land and the animals on it had a value that could not easily be measured in monetary terms. This could be because the resources were not only economic goods but also in the case of cattle, very important within Tooro's traditional setting as a pre-requisite for fulfilling socially accepted requirements for starting

up a family especially through marriage. Such values make land an important socio-economic resource for the people in the study area.

c) Quarrying and brick making

Quarrying was found to involve the obtaining of building materials from open excavations made into the land surface. Such materials mainly included stones, sand and a reddish type of soil. With the majority of house walls in the Kingdom said to be made of *obudongo* (a hardened mixture of sticky soil and water) supported by poles and reeds, the excavations provide a reliable and relatively low cost source of items used in the construction of houses. According to interview findings, many peasant homesteads in the area have relied on such construction materials for generations in the construction of semi permanent houses.

A combination of observations and interviews revealed that stone quarrying was a major source of income in the area. Together with sand excavations, this form of land use supplies a growing demand of material for the construction of permanent houses. Such houses also use bricks particularly made from clay or the above mentioned reddish soil. For the land owners and many workers in this sector, these forms of land use are a source of employment, a way of getting an income and therefore ensuring that the people involved get something to help sustain their livelihoods.

d) Settlement

Human dwellings are usually constructed on the land surface. In this, land provides a physical ground on which human beings settle. Although some respondents that I asked about how they were using their land quickly talked about animal grazing or crop cultivation, without necessarily including their constructed houses as a use, indirect questions about the issue together with observations show that people live in houses constructed on land close to their gardens and animal grazing areas. As in Figure 6, some of the crops are grown close to the main house. For some, this closeness of settlements to the gardens was explained as a technique that helps the farmers keep a close look at what is going on in the gardens while others simply explained it as being caused by the lack of anywhere else to build their houses.

In some areas it was also found to be common for related families to settle close to each other on the same landholding. Some explained this as the result of such land having been previously owned by a single person who latter subdivided it into smaller parts for his children. Over years these children further subdivided it into smaller parts for their off-springs until the current generation. However, research findings show evidence of some people having settled in an area where they do not have relatives. This was reported to occur in all the Kingdom's three Districts. The settlements are said to be dominated by people who buy land in new areas and decide to set up homes there. Either way, land here is seen as providing livelihoods with a base at which to build a house, raise a family and then attend to other needs of life as they come.

e) Commercial tree growing

The growing of trees on a relatively large scale was observed as I travelled deeper into the Kingdom on my way from Kampala to Fort Portal. The young trees which were at the time about 3 to 5 feet tall, examples of which are shown in Figure 10, were said to be grown on a commercial basis mainly for their timber, but also for firewood made up of smaller tree pieces collected after harvesting of mature ones.



Figure 10. One of the tree plantations on a hill

Source: Mutegeki P.B. Fieldwork, 2005

Inquiries made about the tree plantation in Figure 10 revealed that the current trees had been planted on a site where mature one had been harvested recently providing the owner and the workers with an income source. Although questions still remain about the sustainability of such a practice and the trees themselves take time to mature, this kind of land use was seen as another way of supporting livelihoods especially through the generated income.

f) Burial grounds

When a person dies in Tooro, a series of traditional functions follow relating to where, how and who is to bury the deceased. In some families a specific land area is decided at which family members are laid to rest while in others, the person is laid close to his/her house. While the main public functions may end in the first three days for a female or first four days for a male, the private and land related functions can apparently go on for over 90 to 120 days after burial when *okuhenda ekimasa* function takes place. According to field inquiries, the function involves revisiting of the burial ground very early in the morning by very close family members to clean up and organise the grave and the land surrounding it.

Usually such land is permanently protected and any attempts to use it for any other purpose especially by for instance a new owner can be socially condemned. An example here was found in Kibimba Village in Burahya County where a new inhabitant who had bought land that had grave sites cleared them away in order to construct a house. Although he was not related to the former land owners or the buried remains, this person is said to have been openly criticised for what was called an “inhuman” act. In some instances, such people run a risk of being socially isolated since many inhabitants of the area are said to regard such land as sacred.

While this use is largely social, the mystery of believing that the dead have some form of impact on what living people achieve even economically may have an influence on the motivation that such people have in their livelihood endeavours of sustaining their lives. It is likely, that those thinking that their predecessors were buried properly and the burial grounds are safe, may eliminate that as the cause of any encountered hardships.

Although any detailed investigations into such lines of thinking are beyond the scope of this study, some respondents insisted that their buried close relatives had an influence on whether these people succeeded or failed in their efforts of gaining a sustainable livelihood. Explaining that it was therefore an obligation to set aside some land for their remains in order to be on the safe side.

g) Loan/social security

Unlike the other uses mentioned in this section, here land is not physical utilized as in for example the cultivation of crops but rather its mere presence enables its owner to gain benefits through using it as security for borrowing in hope of paying back later. “People here can lend me money because they know that I am not going anywhere ... I have good land” said one respondent in Rutooro regarding to how his land resource was being used as security for acquiring a loan. Speaking in the local language, he further said that although borrowing money using land as a security asset was risky especially in cases of where he failed to pay back the money in time, it was an option that can be used to get capital to invest in something else. For example, the borrowed money can be invested in poultry farming, piggery or even to buy some exotic breeds of cattle to boost household incomes and therefore livelihoods.

Evidence from most interviews further reveals that owning land in a particular area is very often associated with permanency in that the owner of such land may be seen as some one that will stay in the area for a long period of time. This can come with privileges of being considered by the area’s inhabitants as being “one of them”. Although it was found to have challenges of its own, being “one of them” was largely considered important by some respondents because it created a large social circle of members to whom they could run for help in case of trouble. Some respondents for example explained that if they saw some one stealing from one of their neighbour’s garden, they would quickly apprehend such a thief since they knew that next time it could be their gardens in danger and their neighbour could possibly help them too.

Land related privileges of being “one of them” were also evident for peasants who wanted to get a bank loan. Research findings indicate that it was easier for some one owning land to acquire a loan as compared to a landless person. The State Minister for

Lands, Hon. Baguma Isoke explained the bank's preference of land as loan security during a land management workshop in June 2005. To use his own words, "...the only thing which the money institutions, ... the banks know as money in kind, is land". He continued explaining that with this "money in kind" that is officially registered, one can go to banks and acquire "money in cash" in form of a loan. This was confirmed in an inquiry at a local bank in Fort Portal at which it was indicated that a land (ownership) title was very important for a person seeking a loan.

h) Tourism

Tourism, a temporary movement of people to destinations away from their usual places of work and stay, has led to leisure and business travellers spending time visiting Tooro. Although much of the industry has been directed towards the area's scenic beauty and culture, observations made during this study show that smaller land owners particularly those close to tourist popular spots such as national parks, crater lakes and cultural sites also benefited.

The use of peasant owned land for tourism purposes was largely in the setting up of relatively smaller rest houses and the supply of food stuffs for the tourists. Fresh fruits were also said to be a delicacy during sunny hot days and therefore their supply from local gardens provided the owners with a source of income. Examples of such benefits were identified near Kibale Forest National Park where private establishments targeting the park's tourists were observed in operation. These establishments have also provided a source of employment to some local people that might otherwise have been without any reliable means of sustaining their livelihoods.

i) Construction of rental houses and retail shops

When I asked one of my land owning respondents about how his land was being used, the answer was a very straight forward one. "*Nyombekereho amaduuka*", he said while referring to a line of shops that was located by the road side just meters away from a trading centre. For him, land had provided a physical ground on which to construct these shelters that were not only socio-economically important for him as a source of income, but also as a place where other members of the area regularly came to

purchase urgently needed domestic appliances. The shops were found to sell items including salt, sugar, paraffin, clothes, bags, sauce pans, matchboxes and some farm tools.

These shops, such as those shown in Figure 11, were observed to exist in virtually all major trading centres through which I travelled during my fieldwork in the Districts of Kabarole, Kyenjojo and Kamwenge. Usually, the front portion of the building was having merchandise in them while the behind quarters were often providing accommodation to tenants with a few cases in Kyenjojo in which the behind quarters were operating as lodges.



Figure 11. An example of shop constructions as a form of land use

Source: Mutegeki P.B. Fieldwork, 2005

When asked where they got help from when they or their relatives fell sick, most of my respondents said that they went to the nearest shop for medicine. Many of these shops were found to sell tablets against diseases such as malaria, cough and influenza. These are life saving services of these shops. In all this therefore, whether it is

rental houses or retail shops occupying it, land here is seen as a livelihood resource through its use as a ground on which to construct commercial human shelters for those seeking accommodation but also the bringing closer of essential goods and services in shops to the people who need them.

In a nutshell, this subsection has attended to different uses of land that were identified during this study. These have ranged from crop cultivation, animal rearing, settlement, quarrying, brick making, burial grounds, commercial tree plantations and tourism, to the provision of physical grounds on which to construct needed rental houses and shops.

It is largely based on the way people use land that they attach value to it. In most cases, the uses to which this peasant owned land has been put are linked to the socio-economic endeavours that people engage in to ensure their continued existence. While in many cases land has only been used for specific purposes such as the production of food or cash crops for example, the findings in this section have shown that people do use this resource towards sustaining livelihoods. For some, it boosts their social confidence and pride as members of an area in which they live, but for most it's a source of income and food. Either way, land is a resource that people in the study area are using to earn a living.

6.3 Factors affecting the management, use and value of peasant owned land

Basically every respondent contacted in regards to this subject at least identified one factor affecting the management, use or value of land that is owned by peasants. In this section, I present and discuss these factors. A number of factors identified as in one way or the other affecting how land was managed or used were also found to affect the value which people attached to the resource.

a) Land's natural potential and people's perceptions

Based on interview responses, people's perceptions were greatly linked to the expectations they had in regards to how they would benefit through land use. Many of the respondents that had reported using their land mainly for agriculture for example, said

that land was a very important resource from which their homesteads gained much of the food used at home. For them, the resource was in this case seen as a form of 'food reserve'. Others, who perceived it as somewhere to set up an investment in the form of providing accommodation to travellers, were found to have either set up or interested in setting up rest houses or lodges. Although many other factors may play a role in how land is used or managed, research findings reveal that the choice of what to do or how to do it was greatly influenced by what the user or owners of the resource perceived as benefits of their efforts.

In some cases, respondents said that the experiences and benefits derived from land use by previous users as well as other current inhabitants provided examples that enabled them make choices about how to use their own land. In parts of northern Bunyangabu County for example, observations were made on some gardens where a generally unique type of crop had been growing. On inquiry, I was informed that the plant, that I later came to know as vanilla, was largely new in Tooro but had recently become very popular even to small scale farmers due to its then attractive international market price. Apparently, the price of one kilogram of harvested vanilla was fetching much more money than any other plant of similar quantity cultivated in the area. As word spread around, many people are said to have started transforming their gardens into producing vanilla in large quantities largely due to their expectations of higher returns.

Therefore, many people changed their land use in the preceding example largely because of their perception in regards to two things. One, as some respondents explained, was in regards to their previous land uses which were considered less rewarding compared to this 'new money maker'. The massive praise that vanilla got as fetching lots of money in little time is said to have given peasants another option for which to use their land. Two, was the belief that the land resource they owned had the potential to sustain their new venture. May I say that during all this time, the land itself - the physical component of the earth surface - was patiently and silently waiting as its inhabitants' perceptions and actions changed. And when the peasant finally settled for vanilla, the generous land accommodated it, natured it all the way to maturity. Then, it was time for harvesting, selling and enjoying. To cut the long story short, land was there for the peasant when he/she needed to use it, but he/she had to take the decision and follow it

with efficient action. Otherwise, the land itself and its potential might have not been used that way. Its use and benefits in this case form what realism theory has referred to as the actual and empirical domains of reality while its entire potential including the unexploited, form the real domain of what the land resource is offering.

b) Land tenure

Much of the peasant owned land in the Kingdom falls under the customary land tenure system as opposed to leasehold, freehold or mailo as explained in chapter five. The customary tenure system was found to have some impacts on the choices of uses to which land was put. For example, as one respondent explained in reference to his duty as one of the current owners of the inherited family land that he was occupying, he insisted that he could not use it for any purpose that was not accepted by all its owners. This was said to even occur in cases where he personally believed that such use would be beneficial to all of them. In a way this kind of customary land ownership arrangement restricts not only the uses of land but also it's would be livelihood benefits.

The tenure system was also found to come into play when the owners of such land sought some financial support from banks to invest in land use. In my inquiries at a local bank and from the responses I got from the State Minister for Lands, Hon. Baguma Isoke, it is clear that usually people with land titles (certificates of ownership), have the opportunity to use their land as a security for acquiring a bank loan. But those owning land under the customary land tenure system usually have no such documentation of ownership. This therefore makes it harder for them to gain much needed money and may therefore end up using their land for only those purposes that they can afford to fund with their limited financial resources. Here, the tenure system is seen as part of existing laws as shown under policies, institutions and processes that affect the use of a livelihood asset within the sustainable livelihood's framework (see Figure 3).

c) Land size and quality

Fragmented pieces of land were found to be owned by peasants in the Districts of Kabarole, Kyenjojo and Kamwenge alike. The matter was made worse when one piece of land had to some times be subdivided into smaller pieces for different members in a

family during the inheritance method of acquiring land as explained in chapter five. Both observations and interviews show that usually each piece that was under different ownership had an artificial boundary separating it from other pieces in form of some trees, shrubs or a trench.

In such a situation therefore, large scale land use farming was found to be difficult because many of the plots are too small. Many people then apparently resorted to growing a few crops with basically no economies of scale and largely for home consumption while relying heavily on manual labour. It was also observed that partly because of the small plots and the equally smaller road networks in the villages (an example is shown in Figure 12), it was even made harder to use any form of large mechanised farming equipments such as tractors that have been known to efficiently work on large scale farms in parts of America, Europe and Asia.



Figure 12. A 'road' that peasants have been using to reach their gardens in Kiryantaama in Bunyangabu County

Source: Mutegeki P.B. Fieldwork, 2005

The combination of the small land sizes and a continued use of land plots for the cultivation of same types of crops, one season after another, could mean that the quality

of returns from land use could decline. Although, I did not get any specific findings on this matter, some of the crops I observed during this study seemed to be under nourished by the land on which they are located. I could not however draw a conclusion about whether their ill health was linked to previous uses of the same piece of land or if it was a result of possible mismanagement of that land by the owner.

d) Capital

One of the main factors given by my respondents regarding land ownership and use was the shortage of enough financial capital to invest in the land. Some of these people said that although they had many ideas about how to utilize the resource, money was a problem because they did not have enough to implement their ideas. There is a shortage of capital to develop available land.

However, a visit to the local banks showed that there were opportunities for loans. Banks including Stanbic Bank Uganda, Centenary Rural Development Bank and Postbank Uganda are some of those in Tooro at which I found large numbers of people, many of whom were either depositing or withdrawing money. In Figure 13, some of these bank clients are shown lining up outside Stanbic Bank.

When asked about why many peasants were said not to be utilizing the borrowing opportunities presented by the available banks in the Kingdom, most of my respondents said that getting a bank loan was like giving away the land for free. They insisted that the banks charged very high interest rates which can not easily be gained by using the loan on land use. In cases where the borrowed money was not paid within the stipulated time, the land owner was said to lose the land to the bank. This financial institution could then sale the land to recover its money or use it as per the prevailing regulations.



Figure 13. People lining up for bank transactions in Tooro

Source: Mutegeki P.B Fieldwork, 2005

This is said to leave peasants with a capital shortage. Two major implications of this exist. One is that buying new land becomes virtually impossible. The second is that for those already owning some land, putting up new investments as well as sustainable management of that asset becomes harder especially in areas where direct financial inputs are required. In the end, owning such unutilized land becomes a challenge especially due to its un-productivity leading some of the people to lose their ownership by being forced to sell it off.

e) Decision making

A factor related to decision-making was also expressed by some respondents. While most land belonged to the man who is usually the household head and thus final decision maker, much of the work was done by other family members. These, as indicated in the preceding chapter, include the wife (or wives) and children who are usually not financially paid for their labour. As one female respondent explained, what keeps them working is the knowing that the crops or domestic animals they are looking

after are for their benefit for instance through the provision of food and milk. The surplus can also be sold off in order to for instance buy the children some school-books.

A land use problem comes in when the choices of decisions taken by the land owner are not considered good for the family by other family members. This was said to de-motivate some of the labour force into reducing their efforts put into managing the land. In certain cases the former gardens were found to grow into bushes some of which became insecurity spots at night when they were apparently used by criminals in the village to hijack passers-by. Although this was not found to be very common, it nonetheless shows a challenge that is linked to decision making within the homestead.

Decision making is part of human capital under sustainable livelihoods framework. The types of decisions made are likely to affect not only how particular pieces of land are used but also the kind of benefits gained. As seen from the above example, a disagreement within the family may affect its motivation to use their land to extents that it transforms former gardens into bushes that then turn into insecurity spots for the area's inhabitants. This hampers people's capacity to sustainably utilize existing land potentials.

f) Land hiring

In the case of this research, this involved the temporary transfer of user rights of land from a permanent owner to a new land user for a specified period of time in exchange for either money or part of the harvest. Although not very common, some respondents explained that they had gardens on land that did not belong to them. Such transactions between peasants were however found not to be formal as they largely depended on an understanding between the owner and the intended user and not even a single respondent reported any form of written agreement for such an arrangement during this study.

A case in point here was identified at a female headed household in Kamengo trading centre about four miles to the northeast of Fort Portal Municipality in Kabarole. According to the family head of this household who was about 40-50 years of age, she had over five dependants including her mother, children and an orphan left behind by her late sister to look after. Although she had no job, all these people needed food every day.

She explained that because of this hardship, she had to regularly go around the village to look for land that was not being used so that she could request its owners to allow her grow some crops on it for her household. She further explained that although the owners of such land very rarely directly demand for payment, she felt obliged to give a portion of the harvest to the land owner as a social sign of appreciation.

Further inquiries on this form of land use rights transfer indicate that the transactions are guided by a form of 'unwritten' sets of social rules. This is to an extent that if for example one used somebody else's land and never offered anything in return to the land owner, chances are that it would not only become harder for such a person to gain user rights to such land for the next season, but also word would apparently go around the community about the person's ill 'act'. As one respondent explained, even other members of society are likely in this situation to bring up all kinds of excuses to avoid giving such a person user rights to their land largely because they now know that they will not get any rewards in return. Therefore to avoid this, many people who end up using other people's land, pay back usually in the form of part of the benefits gained from the use of the resource.

Land here is seen as being used by the owner to gain some returns even though in many cases he/she may not be able or willing to use it at the time. This is done in a social setting within which 'friendships' or (to put it more starkly) winning over the favours of relatives, friends and those members of the area within which one stays is socio-economically a very important aspect of sustaining livelihoods. Largely, as explained by one elderly respondent, the Batooro (People belonging to Tooro's main tribe) are said to be very social people who help each other in times of hardships to sustain not only their nuclear families but also their extended families and friends when need arises. Therefore giving a favour today may indirectly mean securing a favour tomorrow. It's largely an aspect of social capital as explained under the sustainable livelihood framework. This is in the context that 'free' giving out of land to be used by somebody else may be in expectation of not only a portion of the crop harvests but also winning over the friendship of the land user, his/her family and all those within the area that may get to know about the good acts rendered to such a needy family.

g) Large families leading to high dependency ratios

Although national figures show an average national household size of 4.7 persons per household as of 2002 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2005), some of the findings about my respondents presented a larger number of people living in the same house. Figures of seven or eight dependants in a home were found not to be rare in this study. The majority of the family members are said to be children of the family head. Outside the immediate family within a homestead, are the extended family relatives staying in other areas but occasionally asking for help.

This was found to cause challenges for the ownership and use of land due to both land fragmentation and the high levels of dependency in the family. As shown by Bwango, a respondent in Kibimba Village, Burahya County, Kabarole District, the many children in the family presented a challenge of having to later distribute the land amongst them. This respondent, who was living on one of the pieces of land formerly belonging to his late father, is one of over five brothers that had depended on their parent as a breadwinner when alive and then after his death subdivided his land amongst themselves.

The problem here is that large families require large consumption expenditure which may leave many families in the area with virtually no money to invest in land use. As seen under the land size factor, when a piece of land is fragmented into smaller pieces which the family head gives to his sons, the economic viability of the land was found to decline since no major agricultural investment was found to sustainably exist on smaller pieces.

h) Political intervention and corruption

Another factor identified during fieldwork as affecting the use and management of land as a livelihood resource was that of administrative short-comings on behalf of the government. Political intervention combined with general corruption of some government officials were reported by some respondents in both Kyenjojo and Kamwenge Districts as making land ownership and management hard. This kind of mismanagement is even evident in article publications in national newspapers where some leaders are reported as “overruling” legal decisions taken by for example authorized administrators on issues concerning land. In appendices VI and VII examples of

newspaper articles of such interferences are presented by *The Daily Monitor* of 25th April 2005 and *The New Vision* of 20th May 2005 respectively. When augmented by the land tribunals, committees and boards' delays on taking decisions on some of the inhabitants' land issues, land management and generally, land use face a challenge.

A case in point here was found to be the delays in solving conflicts between neighbours who were complaining about the boundary between their land. Apparently, some of the land surveyors wanted money beyond what was legally required in order to measure the land. As the respondent in her late sixties or early seventies explained, she could not afford to pay the money and therefore gave up on the whole process of the measuring and putting up of an agreeable boundary with her neighbour. Beena (May her soul rest in peace), a then resident of Kamengo Village in Kabarole further explained that her younger and financially better-off neighbours then put up a fence as a boundary including a large chunk of her land. Her complaints again to the local authorities did not yield any results, explained this lady that was later reported dead as of February 2006, apparently before her land dispute could be resolved. This scenario which is said not to be an isolated case has been reported to affect the social relations amongst neighbours due to land related misunderstandings.

i) Absentee landlords

These are people that received free land from former political and colonial leaders of the area especially before Uganda's independence in 1962. This land has been legally owned within their families for decades but some have never lived on it or used it for any major economic purpose. Therefore, landless people then occupied it but with no legal ownership.

As the Deputy District Chief Administrative Officer of Kyenjojo explained during an interview I had with him, the current occupants find it hard to make long-term investments on such land for fear of being evicted by the lawful owners. This is a challenge because the current occupiers of the land are not sure that they will own it in the long run and therefore put in minimal efforts in its management. Many use this land in the cultivation of quickly maturing crops such as beans, ground nuts, maize, cassava and potatoes which, however, if sold do not really earn much at the market.

j) Income inequalities

The location of peasants amongst richer members of the community was identified by some respondents as one of the factors affecting their owning and using of land. As one respondent explained, richer people have larger farms, a lot of livestock and some of the cattle often escape from the farms eating up crops in nearby gardens. Although there are legal provisions for claiming compensation from the offending animal owner, the respondent said that they feared annoying the rich. “Even if you sue him, you can not win” said a respondent referring to the rich owner of the offending animals.

This kind of resignation amongst some of the poorer peasants living among economically rich members of society makes land management inefficient. This was found largely to be because the peasants invested in their land with reservations for fear of the anticipated damages that may happen to their land resource. The crops they cultivated on such land were found to always be in danger of prematurely being “harvested” by someone else’s animals. Extreme cases of richer members of the same area buying off poorer ones were suggested to be occurring in some parts of the Kingdom although, I did not personally interview any person directly involved in such a situation.

Income inequalities were also reported to be a source of another challenge affecting land use. This is said to be a challenge of food thieves that illegally collect food stuffs from people’s gardens without the consent of the owner. As Mr. Byaruhanga, a top local government official interviewed at the Kyenjojo District headquarter offices said, these people waited for other members of the community to till the land, plant seeds, weed the gardens and when the crops matured, the thieves just went and stole the produce before being harvested by the owner. These were a big challenge for land management because such theft made it harder since some of these acts were carried out at night when the land owners are supposed to be resting before the following day’s work routine. It is also reported to be de-motivating the otherwise hardworking members of society.

k) Low life expectancy

United Nations Development Programme’s 2005 Human Development Report puts Uganda’s life expectancy at birth at 47.3 years (United Nations Development Programme 2005). Field observations also revealed more young people as compared to

adults above the age of about 40 years. With at least the first two decades of this life expectancy being spent as a child and then as a young adult who is still being looked after, people basically have little time to live and exploit the land they own.

As some respondents explained, many people tend to make only short-term investment, so that before their time is up, they have at least used part of it. Many parents do not live long enough to see their children grow into fully grown adults. Indeed, for the people in their twenties that I asked whether their parents were still alive, at least half reported either one or both parents as deceased. This is a challenge for peasant land ownership and use since many decisions are made for the short term with every new owner of a piece of land making new decisions and therefore limiting long term investments even in cases when they would be more beneficial.

l) Market

The forces of demand and supply were found to also play a role in how land is used in the study area. Although many people were reported as mainly involved in agriculture for subsistence purposes, the example of vanilla given earlier is a clear indication that the availability of a market for specific types of crops or activity can persuade people to use their land for the production of required goods. This was also evident in the growing production of bricks for the construction of permanent buildings by the increasing number of affluent inhabitants in the area.

The market factor was also said to influence land use in another way. As some respondents explained, food stuffs at the market were expensive and this therefore encouraged people to attend to their gardens to ensure that at least some of the food they consumed at home was not bought from the market. When I randomly inquired about the price of a bunch of bananas at Mpanga market (in Fort Portal) from four vendors, I was given a price of 4,600, 3,000, 5,000 and 2,900 Uganda Shillings from the respective persons. Considering that some people do not earn that much even in a week, and many have large families to feed, the market price for food was said to be high. Here, the market is seen as 'forcing' people to seek alternative ways of feeding themselves by producing the food through farming. Nonetheless, one female respondent indicated that sometimes part of her harvest was sold off by someone she did not name (probably the

husband) in order to buy alcohol, although it was clear that the family did not have enough to eat.

m) Government policy

Between the months of June and August 2005, Uganda's President undertook a tour to different parts of the Country with a message encouraging increasing the benefits got from land use through agriculture. One of the reports that were presented to him while in Tooro was that from the Kabarole District Local Government Chairman, Mr. Augustine B. Kayonga regarding important agricultural programmes in the area. This report, a copy of which I personally received from the Chairman himself, details the District's local government efforts towards improving productivity through the zoning of agricultural enterprises in the District.

The government policy towards land use in general and agriculture in particular is that of modernising agriculture. Efforts are being made to educate people in for instance seminars such as the one whose participants are shown in Figure 14. The President's tour is in many cases 'replicated' by other government officials including Ministers, Land Boards Managers, District Chairpersons as well as organisations such as the National Agricultural Advisory Services in such a way that the improving of the livelihood of the poor peasant is a national goal. For example, in a land management seminar to which I was invited as a research student on June 20 2005, the State Minister for Lands, Hon. Baguma Isoke continuously explained to the different land management stakeholders present, that land is a resource that can be used in alleviating poverty. He gave examples of various areas in the Country that had increasingly used their land better. He even promised the seminar participants that a study tour to such places would be organised for them to see those area's achievements first hand so that they could go back to their respective places and educate the masses.



Figure 14. Land managers attending a workshop about managing land for poverty eradication

Source: Mutegeki P.B Fieldwork, 2005

Although reports of corruption and massive misuse of government resources were found to be ‘common speech’ during fieldwork in that people reported believing that lots of public funds were being swindled by some immoral government officials, the government policy and the associated agricultural programmes are mandated in a way to help the poor peasant improve his/her livelihood. The policies in this case are seen as one of the factors affecting land use through encouraging agricultural modernisation.

n) Demography and labour supply

It was generally observed on a number of fieldwork travels I made to different parts of Tooro that many people were either too young or too old to be considered as part of the Kingdom’s ‘legal’ labour force. The majority were school children while the elderly indeed seemed too old to viably use a hoe for any major agricultural purpose. About 60% of the area’s population was reported in the 2002 national population and housing census as either below 18 years of age or as being at least 60 years old (Uganda

Bureau of Statistics, 2005).

Research findings from some families in the study area revealed that actually a number of younger adults seasonally migrate to Kampala, Uganda's capital where they work for much of the year and usually only come back home during the holiday seasons surrounding the Christmas or Easter Season. However some respondents said that although family members indeed do seasonally migrate, they usually remit some money to support work in the village. Some of this money was reported as being used to pay for agricultural inputs such as seeds, hoes, pesticides and in cases where non-family labour is used, to cover the wages.

This scenario of the youth temporarily migrating to the city was found to influence land use in three main ways. First, where many of the younger and usually healthy and energetic persons have migrated out of the Kingdom without remitting major financial support, the elderly were said to very often use land for cultivating small gardens. Second, the emigrants remitted funds to run not only the farming activities but also contribute to the livelihoods of the young and older relatives that were left behind. In this case, some relatively larger gardens or livestock was said to exist. Third, the funding was said to have apparently been remitted but misused. In such a case, land was reported as being occupied by bushes and basically not being used for any major economic purpose. In all these cases what was coming out clearly was that the demographic characteristics of the inhabitants of the area in general and the quality and facilitation of labour force in particular were factors affecting how land was being managed and used.

In a nutshell therefore, land's role as a socio-economic livelihood resource is influenced by a number of factors. Although it may be very challenging to identify which factors play a major role and which ones do not, the different factors presented in this section are those that the research findings show as influencing land use, land management and in a way, the benefits that people derive from land use.

6.4 Enhancing peasant owned land's socio-economic productivity

A number of issues were considered important by most respondents as preconditions for using land more productively as far as livelihood benefits are

concerned. These include the following;

a) Financial facilitation of land users

The need for financial assistance was raised as the single most important issue to which attention has to be paid if land's productivity is to be enhanced. Money was reported as needed to buy farm inputs. When the farm products are harvested, many respondents said that they needed proper storage facilities which also required money for setting them up.

The impact of such financial facilitation was said to have had good results in parts of Kabarole District. Here, some households that had received financial assistance were showing signs of enhanced results from using their land resources. A few groups that had accessed grants to facilitate their agricultural investments also reported gains. For example, Kibiito Vanilla Farmers Association of Kabonero Parish in Bunyangabu County, which received a grant of 540,000 Uganda Shillings [/=] in 2002 had as of April 2005 increased the number of acres under vanilla cultivation from 4 to 20 (Uganda Government, 2005a) within the three years. This association had also contributed labour and "support stems" to the investment. Its expected gross income at harvest in May 2005 was reported as 75,000,000/= (*ibid.*). In this case, this reported income is indeed extremely high but reports of generally increased returns after financial assistance have also been reported in the area by a number of farmer's groups. These include; Nsororo Tulibamu Horticulture Group, Kibiito Abakwataniza Banana Growers and Marketing Group as well as Nkimbiri Abeteraine Women's Group.

Whether it is for individual peasant land owners or groups of people, monetary assistance has been reported by most respondents as a way of enabling especially poor land users to purchase production facilities that they would have otherwise not afforded. This may enable them to use their land resources for higher yields. Caution was however needed in this case because some of those that received such assistance were said to have diverted it to uses for which the help was not intended.

b) Increasing the market for local produce

Another way of enhancing land's productivity that was identified during fieldwork was the increasing of the market for local land use products. In some interviews, people expressed the view that even if they were to produce on large scale, there was no market big enough to consume all their produce. The said lack of a market may have discouraged these people from engaging in commercial agriculture.

Respondents interviewed from both the Kyenjojo and Kabarole Districts' local government administration emphasise the need to increase market for farm produce. This would enable what was termed a "common" man to increase his income and therefore have a better capacity to support his family. The perception was that lots of harvested crops ended up being wasted because the producers could not quickly access a market. The situation is made worse by some of these products being highly perishable. Tomatoes, cabbages, passion fruits, mangoes and milk are examples of what was considered as perishable since no refrigeration system was in place in order to keep the goods fresh.

Land's productivity in this case would be enhanced if the items produced as a result of land use would get a market to enable farmers earn some extra income. Some suggestions about how to increase the market included the exploiting of the growing market in Kampala, the capital city where demand for agricultural products is high.

c) Transport improvements

For the peasants' products to successfully reach the market, a reliable infrastructural base needs to be in place. A road as the one shown in Figure 15 can enable various agricultural producers to deliver their harvests to the market. In Tooro, the newly constructed road that connects Kampala to Kabarole through Kyenjojo District is enabling faster movement of both passengers and their goods and is likely to create access to markets that were not easily accessible in the past. For example, I had an opportunity to travel with some banana traders that were going to buy bananas to be sold at markets in Kampala. This could have been harder without a reliable road network.



Figure 15. A reliable road needed to transport large amounts of agricultural products

Source: Mutegeki P. B Fieldwork, 2005

However, some roads in the study area are still narrow. For instance, the road from Kabarole to Kamwenge is relatively narrow and I personally observed a vehicle that had just got into an accident at a ‘feared’ spot on the day I travelled to Kamwenge for research interviews. All in all, improved transport was said to favour safe and quick transportation of land use products from places of production such as gardens to places of demand at the markets. Many of those that showed interest in the need for larger and permanent roads were mainly targeting large markets to the east of Tooro.

d) Encouraging a more positive perception about land’s values

Research findings also show that there is a need for land users to view peasant owned land as an important resource to be used in more profitable ways. The perception that the land resource can be used in a better way is needed if people are to voluntarily improve their efforts in regards to sustainably utilizing it for their benefit. During fieldwork it was observed that the government was undertaking public awareness radio

programmes through which messages about agricultural modernization were broadcast. These programmes encouraged peasants to work harder and to seek financial help. They were also informed about available markets for their produce. Inquiries at the Kabarole District Administration revealed that some programmes had already been around for over a year. For example, 36 radio programmes are reported by the Progressive Report of Area Based Agricultural Modernisation Programme as having been aired on the Voice of Tooro, the Kingdom's main radio station as of February 2004. This is said to be encouraging people to view land as a vital resource for their livelihoods.

By March 2005 a number of study/exchange visits to other parts of the Uganda had been undertaken by various inhabitants in the study area. For instance, it is reported that in March 2005, a selected number of farmers, members of drama groups and a District technical team among others were taken to visit at least two other Sub-Counties to learn about how "rice production is yielding good results" as well as the need for farmers to be more organised (Uganda Government, 2005a). About two months earlier, about 30 farmers are also reported as having visited the Sub-Counties of Rwimi and Kibiito to calculate estimated yields and net profits regarding particular land uses (*ibid.*). Encouraging a more positive perception in regards to land's value especially through letting land users and owners know about how other people are utilizing their land is said to open up new opportunities for the people involved.

e) Land tenure and size

The customary land tenure system under which much of the land owned by peasants is categorized needs to be made friendlier to the acquiring of bank loans. People should be allowed to get certificates of ownership. The gaining of such legal evidence of ownership would then enable owners to apply for long term loans from main financial institutions. Such loans can be used to purchase more land and make large-scale agricultural investments.

In a way, the size of owned land was said to affect what livelihood use the resource could be put to. Plots of land were reported to be under small scale crop cultivation partly because of their small size. The findings about how to increase land size are very limited. This is largely because virtually all the land in the

Kingdom seems to have an owner and unless such owners are willing to sell, the chances of peasants expanding their land size are said to really be limited. Besides, inquiries further show that land is too expensive in the study area. For instance, one respondent who said that he was selling his piece of land in Kamengo, partly because it was too small for him to rear cattle on it, is said to have spent months looking for a buyer but in vain. This piece of land about the size of two thirds of a football ground was being priced at 4,000,000/=. However it had by the end of July 2005 not received any person to buy it although many people are said to have inspected it. The owner said that he was planning to migrate to another part of the Kingdom where he had more land for his animals.

Here, a larger piece of land is viewed as one of higher value and therefore with better chances of 'rewarding' users with higher levels of returns to investment. However the large size was said to only be worth if it has a corresponding high quality for example in terms of being fertile enough to support crop production or the grazing of large numbers of animals.

f) Reduce subsistence and increase commercialisation of land use

Enhancing peasant owned land's productivity in many cases was said to require the reduction of subsistence production while increasing market oriented land use. Although the main emphasis is on agriculture, people were found to set up commercial buildings for rent. A few schools were said to be located on private land too. Nonetheless the main thrust of efforts have been on increasing the rearing of animals and growing of crops for sale and some farmers have been reported to be supported by government programmes such as those on the modernisation of agriculture.

The increased agricultural production for the market would enable the farmers to increase their incomes. As shown in Table 6, some farmers were selected for agricultural commercialisation support. It however does not reveal the basis for selecting these particular numbers and categories. Nonetheless, these are said to have increased the production and marketing of products such as rice, passion fruits, vanilla, pigs, coffee as well as horticultural products. Per unit value of land in cases of rice or vanilla production is said to be enhanced with large scale production as economies of scale increase. This is partly because many of the inputs are bought in large amounts allowing for

possibilities of discounts. In addition, when large quantities are sold at once, some peasants reported receiving their money in large amounts enabling them to buy items they could not afford before.

Table 6. Farm enterprise supported for agricultural commercialization as of April 2005

Enterprise supported	Number of farmers supported under AAMP in Kabarole District	Purpose of grant provision to the farmers
Rice	504	Promotion of large scale rice growth
Apiary	16	Commercial production and introduction of “high yielding technologies”
Vanilla	11	Training purposes for this new type of crop in the area
Goats	21	Improving local growth rates
Piggery	16	Facilitating quick multiplication
Horticulture	12	Development of enabling environment for producing even during dry season
Passion Fruit	5	Producing high yielding varieties
Coffee Wet Processing	4	Value addition to coffee harvest
Product Marketing	6	Looking for Market for Products

Based on Uganda Government 2005a, 5

g) Family planning to control population size and reduce dependency

Although some respondents argued that a large family can provide a source of cheap labour on farms, many younger respondents in their twenties or thirties preferred having small families if they were to save and later invest some of the money they earned. As members of the latter category explained, having a larger family meant feeding lots of people who did not really produce any major positive economic returns.

“*Baingi bagara...*” said one respondent in Rutooro in reference to many of such dependants being lazy.

Generally, research findings show that a family comprising a couple with two or three children was considered generally enough by most respondents in the above mentioned second category. Anything beyond this in many cases was considered too many to look after and also make some savings. The small family is also said to limit the likelihood of massive subdivision of family land that would have occurred if the parents had too many children. However, the extended family network in the study area is likely to keep the number of dependants still high. This was evident from research interviews, in that people explained that they had an obligation to support (including financially) not only their spouses and children but also their extended family of parents, grandparents and their siblings.

h) Reducing corruption and political intervention

This study also shows that there is an outcry against corrupt government officials. The use of money to bribe public servants was said to be very high even in cases where land transactions are involved. If land’s productivity is to be enhanced, scenarios such as that of Beena given in section 6.3 h) have to be avoided. As research findings show, people also need to know that when they sell agricultural products to the market they will receive all their money without exaggerated taxes. In cases where taxes are due and paid, one respondent said that the money should be used to provide social services in the area.

Largely, there was a form of consensus among my respondents in that a reduction of both political intervention and corruption would contribute to allowing them to peacefully utilize their land resource without fearing that some “powerful” government official may grab the land from them. A few also said that a reduction in corruption could enable those people that need financial assistance to be among the first beneficiaries of government financial assistance as opposed to the current situation where apparently a few corrupt officials redistribute such funding amongst themselves and their relatives.

The effect of reduced corruption and political interference on land productivity is in this case seen as allowing peasants to gain due benefits from the ownership and use of

their land resource including such value that was reported during fieldwork as being lost due to the misuse of office.

i) Improve security for farm produce

On a related note, some respondents from the Kyenjojo District Administration emphasised the need to reduce the harvesting of agricultural products by thieves. If successful, this may re-motivate peasants that are discouraged from making major investments on their gardens for fear of the growing number of thieves that are said to be visiting gardens of items such as maize, ground nuts, vanilla and stealing whatever they can.

Improved security especially by the use of trained Local Defence Units on a regular basis is said to be one possible way in which people's gardens can be protected. This would enhance land productivity by enabling those people that have prepared the gardens and looked after the crops to harvest them and generally enjoy the fruits of their hard work. For livelihoods, this is good news because it is likely to not only increase food available for homesteads but may increase chances of extra harvests being sold off to earn some income.

l) Increasing of off-season land use

Cultivation of crops during the rainy season which is usually the case in the study area should be expanded to include use even during times of little or no rain. According to respondents who expressed some knowledge of irrigation, this was cheap and possible through the manual watering of gardens during the dry spell. Evidence of the manual watering of tomato gardens has been reported in the 2005 Area Based Agricultural Modernisation Programme Report as occurring in parts of Bunyangabu County in Kabarole.

Because formerly such land was only being cultivated once or twice in a year in line with the rain season, the utilization of the same piece of land at the times when it would otherwise be idle was said to lead to increased off-season output. Although conflicting responses occurred in regards to whether this would lead to soil exhaustion, this kind of land use when accompanied by the use of fertilizers may lead to an overall

increase in output. In this case peasant owned land's productivity would have been enhanced.

6.5 Summary

Chapter six has been devoted to a presentation and discussion of research findings. It started with the identification of different uses to which peasant owned land in the study area was found to be put and how these uses were important to people's livelihoods. This was followed by the factors identified as affecting land use and its associated values. It ends with a look at issues that were raised by respondents as important if land productivity is to be enhanced.

In the next chapter I relate the study findings to the analytical framework. Salient features of what was found out in Tooro are analysed in relation to the sustainable livelihoods framework and realism theory.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I highlight the findings of this study in relation to the theories that have been advanced. In light of the empirical evidence generated from the field, I analyse the interactions between the different uses of peasant owned land and the livelihood outcomes produced based on the sustainable livelihood framework (see Figure 3) within a realism theory line of thought.

The underlying thinking here is that there is a possibility that, not all the potential that land is offering for the benefit of human livelihoods are necessarily being utilized or known. Therefore by improving on the performance of the different factors affecting the productivity of land, there is a chance of deriving better returns from what reality (as seen under realism theory) offers in a land resource that one owns. This is line with the interlinkages between the factors affecting the management, use and value of peasant owned land as discussed in relation to realism theory and SLF in section 6.3.

In the following sections, I start with a summary of findings about livelihood strategies which people in the study area undertake in regards to using land as a livelihood resource. This is then followed by a look at the conditions within which the resource is used. I then analyse the kind of livelihood outcomes produced through the socio-economic use of peasant owned land.

7.2 Land-use livelihood strategies

In order to satisfy particular livelihood needs that people have, some actions may be undertaken. In some instances, the actions lead to expected results while in others, they do not. The empirical evidence has shown that certain categories of land related actions are being undertaken by inhabitants of Tooro towards satisfying needs ranging from producing enough food for their families, to the generation of household income. As human beings think and take decisions regarding the strategies through which to

meet their livelihood needs, land itself with its usually generous and patient nature may calmly wait as part of realism theory's domain of the real. When the peasant is ready to for instance engage in crop cultivation, the land can accommodate and nurture the crops all the way to maturity, giving the land user an essential source of food and therefore source of life sustaining energy. In the following three subsections, three land related livelihood strategies are presented.

a) Subsistence strategies

The majority of the study area's inhabitants have been reported in the findings as involved in subsistence production, either as cultivators or animal keepers. These kinds of activities are directed first and foremost towards satisfying household needs of food. The desire and pressure to feed hungry and probably regularly crying kids gives parents no option but to look for ways of finding solutions to the challenges being faced. This has been found to lead household members into undertaking a strategy of growing crops on available land and in cases where the household has no land of its own, the family head may seek permission to use other people's land at the times when the owners are not using it.

b) Combining subsistence with some commercialization strategies

In a few instances, respondents reported selling off part of their harvest to purchase items that they could not produce for themselves. The purchase of medicines for example in this study area with reports of high levels of malaria infections was found to be a common expenditure spot. Other regularly needed items included salt, sugar, paraffin and soap.

While in the above mentioned case the combination of subsistence and some level of commercialization was partly due to the need to satisfy basic household needs, in other cases the motivation was the desire to make some money that was not necessarily for domestic needs. Indeed as reported by one of the female respondents, some husbands sold part of the harvest to just have a nice time buying and drinking some liquor at a nearby bar. Apparently, this occurred in cases even when a homestead was not having enough food for its members.

c) Commercialization strategies

Growing evidence indicates that market oriented land use strategies are gaining more support from the area's inhabitants. The cultivation of cash crops such as tea and vanilla are on the increase and so is the construction of permanent shops on private land. These are said to be generating incomes not only for the government for instance through taxes but also for the small scale local investors involved in such ventures. If consistent and sustainable, these may create a sigh of relief for both the socio-economic policy makers and peasants as both parties need to find lasting socio-economic solutions for the very poor.

As shown in the findings, commercialisation is still on very small scale in the rural areas where most peasants live. This means that many of these people will still rely on their subsistence strategies for some time to come. While what may happen in the future still remains to be seen, what is known as per this study is that many people utilize subsistence means towards satisfying their livelihood needs, a few are involved in combining subsistence with some form of commercialization and fewer inhabitants have been studied to be engaged in purely commercial land uses.

On the one hand, while land may be said to exist with its potential, on the other hand, there is the human being with his/her needs and perceptions about what exists or does not exist. One day, he/she may see land as good for the cultivation of bananas and on another day, the cultivation of vanilla. As shown in Sayer's (2006) example of the independence of the earth's shape from whether we thought of it as flat or round, so may be land's potential as human preferences change from bananas to vanilla. However, depending on the choice of strategy undertaken to utilize that land, the actual benefits may vary. This was seen in the findings when some peasants abandoned their former uses of land to adapt a new use of growing vanilla plants that generated better economic returns due to its high international market price.

7.3 Conditions within which peasant owned land is used

It has been indicated in the findings that some respondents said that they had

different ideas about how to use their land but did not have enough money to implement their plans. Therefore, although both the strategies in which to use land as a livelihood asset and land's physical presence may exist, the capacity to implement the strategies may be restricted by a number of factors that are grouped under the following categories;

7.3.1 Availability of livelihood assets needed in socio-economic land use

An analysis of the importance of land to human livelihoods may require an investigation into how that land is used and what is gained through utilizing it. The analysis may also need an inquiry into what other resources people under study need in order to sustainably utilize that land. This is even made more vital by knowing that using land itself for virtually any human need requires the application of at least one other resource. For instance, the human need of food production may require among other things, the fertile land but also the farmer, the seeds to plant, the tools to use on the farm, the infrastructure connecting the farmer's home, farm and where the produced food is required. These are different components of food production that are important in order for land to be useful as a food 'production' resource.

In the following five subsections the resources identified as vital to the use of peasant owned land are grouped into five types. These are based on the capital resources in the asset pentagon presented under the sustainable livelihood framework. Each is seen as having the capacity to either positively or negatively affect the human capacity to generate benefits from land's potential.

a) Financial capital

The need for monetary capital was evident in virtually all interviews during fieldwork. It is clear that the need for money was perceived by most respondents as very important if land use was to yield better and sustained results. For some, it was for purchasing firm inputs, while for others, the money was needed to acquire larger pieces of land to satisfy their needs. In either case, respondents expressed belief that the getting of the money would make their work easier.

Some land owners said that they were not using their land on any large scale

because they lacked the finances to invest in it. In this, financial capital is seen to be crucial as a facilitating livelihood asset that enables the land user to purchase the required tools and then exploit his/her land's natural potential.

b) Natural capital

The use of land in agriculture was said to partly depend on natural factors such as the climate and soil type. Some respondents said that they for example were doing much of the planting of crops such as beans, maize, ground nuts and sweet potatoes during the start of the rain season. There was also a reliance on the soil's natural fertility with many respondents saying that they rarely applied any artificial fertilisers on their gardens. The rain, sunshine and soil texture may be described as natural in this case.

In areas where popular building stones, brick making soils and sand were found to be occurring naturally, many people were observed engaging in the quarrying and excavation business to produce such materials that had a ready market. One could therefore say that the natural occurrence of such construction materials attracted users into participating in related activities which for many, income generation was boosted.

c) Physical capital

This is made of, as Ellis (2000, 8) puts it, "assets brought into existence by economic production processes". As opposed to natural capital, physical capital is man-made. Observed examples here included the road infrastructure linking various producers, the shops supplying farm implements and household storage facilities needed to safe guard harvests until they are due for use or sale. Physical capital is important to the economic process of production, demand and supply. This is largely because these capital assets for instance enable production by availing the equipments needed by the farmer to undertake cultivation and when crops are mature and harvested, the infrastructure enables their supply to those that consume them.

For some peasants, the production and consumption is accomplished by members of the same household, while for other subsistence producers, evidence was found indicating that they sometimes did sell part of their harvest to buy items that they could not produce for themselves. In either case, some physical capital was needed in the

enabling of not only food production and its delivery to the consumers, but also in transfer of necessary information between the stakeholders.

d) Social capital

As indicated in section 6.2., being “one of them” was considered by some respondents as important since it gave a person a large circle of members to whom they could turn in case of trouble. In some instances, respondents reported having borrowed money from within the members of the area to attend to domestic needs. Although it is debatable whether membership in such ‘circles’ brings more benefits than costs, most respondents seemed to highly value having a good image amongst the people they live with. *Baragira kiki*, a Rutooro phrase literally translated to ‘what will they say’, was said by an elderly respondent to be a very important component of the area’s main language because it in a way kept members alert about the impact of their activities on the rest of the people they lived with. Apparently, it is part of a culture in which caring (or at least appearing to be caring) for relatives, friends and neighbours is considered to be important.

Social capital is also said to be valued in land’s role as a socio-economic resource. For instance, research findings show that some people use land belonging to other members of society based on an informal arrangement between the owner and user. They also show that the choice of whom to allow or not to allow when it comes to giving permission to the landless seeking idle land to cultivate in this case largely lies with the land owner. While the beneficial expectations may include receiving part of the harvest, the findings have shown that the perceptions generated within the area by the actions of both the user and owner can influence their arrangement in the transfer of land user rights between the stakeholders. All in all, social capital is seen as good when it favours sustainable use of peasant owned land and the protecting of the harvests especially in cases where food theft is high. It becomes costly when some of the actions taken in favour of having a good social image continuously reduce the person’s capability to gain a living.

e) Human capital

Probably the most important form of capital as far as land use is concerned is human capital. He/she attaches value to the land, finds ways of exploiting it for his/her benefit and then when capable, goes ahead to utilize it towards satisfying his/her needs which can include food supply and shelter construction.

It may be argued in close alignment with realism theory that without the attachment of value to land by the human being, the physical presence of the land and its potential would still exist but not as something considered important for livelihoods. Research findings show that many people were using their land resource in ways they thought could supply them with for example the food they needed to feed their families or the quarried stones they could use in constructing their own houses or sell to fetch them some income.

Despite the shortcomings in regards to labour supply in the study area, human capital is still very important. This is largely because any livelihood benefit found out as accruing from peasant owned land during this study has usually had some form of human input, be it the attaching of value or the physical exploitation of the resource.

7.3.2 Vulnerability context

The research findings have shown that in some areas land has been used for animal keeping while in others crop cultivation. Subsection 6.2 b) identifies particular areas such as parts of southern Bunyangabu and Burahya in Kabarole District as well as parts of Kyenjojo particularly in Kakabara, Kyegegwa, Nyantungo and Matiri as areas in which I observed pasturelands. Findings also show that some areas, particularly those with high levels of water saturated land, were being used to develop ponds for fish farming. Like the cultivation of crops, the rearing of animals and stone quarrying, some land uses were found to occur more in particular areas than in others. Observations, secondary data studies and research interviews, all show that some interrelated features can influence not only how land is used but also when and for what purposes. In the following two subsections, features of the context within which land is used in the study area are discussed.

a) Existing trends

Subsistence farming has been going on in the study area for generations. Research findings show that many inhabitants have had small gardens of for example maize, cassava, potatoes or beans cultivated in largely the same way like that in which their parents and grandparents did. A trend apparently set by the predecessors of the current inhabitants for instance in undertaking the cultivation of specific crops or the looking after of particular domestic animals seemed to continue existing in the families of some of my respondent. Examples of people who were rearing cattle inherited from the parents were identified during fieldwork although the number of animals had either increased especially with the birth of new ones or decreased with the sale or death of some animals.

Changes, however, were said to be occurring. For cattle keeping, some people had started replacing local cattle breeds with foreign hybrids considered as providing larger amounts of milk and meat. For the storage of crop harvests, the trend was changing too. While it is said that about three or four generations back many people used to keep a lot of the farm harvest in small grass or dried-banana-stem fibre (*ebigogo*) thatched shelters usually raised in homestead backyards, many peasants today are said to be keeping their harvest in iron roofed houses which are considered safer.

Features of the existing trend seemed to influence even new immigrants to undertake land use activities that were not very different from what the older inhabitants were doing. One example of such an immigrant is a respondent who said that he had migrated from a neighbouring District of Bushenyi. When asked about how he was using his newly acquired land, he said that it was currently idle but he planned to plant maize on it. As indicated earlier, maize is one of the main crops grown in the Kingdom. Although it may be hard to determine whether the use of land for relatively familiar and time tested purposes is a sign of popularity of such purposes or just a lack of innovation or options on the side of the land users and owners, one thing seems to be clear. People seem to prefer using their resources for purposes that have been proved to be successful as compared to new and risky ventures.

In a nutshell therefore, the context within which land is used will not only

affect how and when such land is used but also the kind of livelihood outcomes generated. Such context may be seeking to overcome household food shortage through growing more crops or the use of land for time tested purposes within particular seasons. In these kinds of uses, people already have challenges that they want to overcome which are likely to therefore influence the choices they take and the possible outcomes gained.

7.3.3 Land use policy, institutions and processes

One of the most important legal pillars with regards to Tooro's land use, ownership and management is the 1998 Uganda Land Act (Uganda Government, 1998). Together with its revised edition of 2000 (Uganda Government, 2000), Land (Amendment) Act of 2004 (Uganda Government, 2004a), Land Regulations of 2004 (Uganda Government, 2004b) and the 1995 Uganda Constitution (Uganda Government, 1995), the act forms the legal framework within which land related matters can be attended to. These sets of legislative instruments were found to guide the work of land institutions, policies and processes. For instance, land boards, committees, commissions and tribunals all have a direct link to these instruments which have created and assigned them land related obligations.

Apart from legislation, government involvement in the ownership, management and use of peasant owned land is seen in the different agriculture modernisation/commercialization programmes undertaken to encourage people to participate in particular socio-economic activities deemed important for poverty alleviation. Examples of these can be seen in the direct physical participation of government officials including the President and Ministers in which different rural places are 'toured' and seminars organised as shown in the findings.

However, not all is well with what the Government is doing in this regard. Public money is very often reported misused by some of the same officials that are supposed to help poor members of society including small scale land users and owners. It is indeed disheartening and if the trend continues, many very poor peasants are likely to become even poorer and their households are likely to continue failing to acquire the capacity to even satisfy the very minimum of basic livelihood needs.

The findings have shown that access to land is crucial for the Kingdom's inhabitants especially those whose subsistence is dependent on agriculture. Land's natural potential and the human need to attend to livelihood requirements have been found to lead even some landless households into seeking permission to use other people's land in order to cultivate some food crops. Research findings have also shown that the regulation of access and use of such land is also vital for such people and can determine whether or not people get access to such land not only now but also in the future. Therefore, any sustained productivity enhancement in utilizing land's livelihood potential requires that land-use related strategies be guided towards generating livelihood outcomes within a process of improved access and efficient use of the resource.

7.4 Socio-economic livelihood outcomes

At the end of it all what is really the most important issue for this study is the role of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource. In this, finding out the value people attach to the land, how they use it and the outcomes they get, have been cardinal to the entire research process. The research findings have shown the different uses to which land is put and how people are benefiting in terms of livelihood outcomes. In the following subsections, attention is paid to the socio-economic value of three main categories of land related livelihood outcomes based on the findings in chapter six.

a) Food security

With subsistence agriculture being the single most common use of peasant owned land that was identified during this study, improving food security for the people involved is a major livelihood outcome for land users and owners. Most respondents clearly indicated that the first priority in crop cultivation was to generate food for their households. Some people who are landless requested user rights of unutilized land belonging to other members of society so that they could use it to grow food crops. The food supply was found to be dominated by bananas. These were augmented mainly by cassava, potatoes, beans, yams, maize, ground nuts and millet.

By many peasant households regularly producing some of the food they

consumed, their monetary expenditure of purchasing food from the market was likely to reduce compared to if they had to buy everything from the market. This however assumes that the cost of producing such foodstuffs especially with the use of unemployed family labour is less than what would be spent if such foodstuffs were just bought. The household food production and consumption may also mean that the main demand pressure on market food stuffs would be from those that are not growing their own, especially the few people living in towns and the rural landless who have failed to undertake subsistence cultivation. This is said to be one of the main reasons that have enabled the Kingdom to have relatively enough food supplies for its inhabitants for generations. The cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals may therefore be said to be important because they generate food that human beings need to survive. For livelihoods, this is vital.

b) Generation of income to purchase needed items

When some of the agricultural products grown on peasant owned land are sold, income is generated. The sale of milk, meat, hides, bananas, *tonto*, vanilla, tea, timber and firewood for example has been reported as generating money for the people involved. As shown in chapter six, such income can be used to acquire goods and services that the households can not produce for themselves.

This study has also found out that construction materials such as bricks, sand, clay and stones quarried from one's land, generated income on the market. Such products were reported as a major boost for those that have land containing these raw materials that continue to enjoy growing demand with increase in the population size and the associated need for houses. However, in the case of using peasant owned land for this cause, income generation is still low. Nonetheless, these findings have shown that even the little money gained can be life saving, as in the case when it is used to for instance buy medicine for a malaria infected child or mother.

c) Contributing to increased wellbeing, social pride and vulnerability reduction

An improvement in food supply and income for members of a household may be associated with added advantages of confidence and self esteem for the

homesteads involved. Socio-economically, the feeling of being able to not only feed oneself but also the children and have the capacity to afford some level of housing and medical care in a secure neighbourhood was indicated as something that is very important in the lives of my respondents. Some respondents associated owning land in a particular area with having an advantage of enabling one to enter a new 'circle' of community members to whom they could turn for help in case of trouble. This was largely in reference to the being "one of them" thinking explained in chapter six where some of the members of the same area help each other in cases of need. Land in this case may be said to be a sign of permanent residence of the owner and a reason for other permanent residents of the area to associate more with such a person.

An example of the value of a cow and the land on which it stays that was given in the findings has shown that the animal is not only an economic good, but also a traditionally very respected asset. This has been seen in its value in the establishment of socially accepted families especially through customary marriages, but also in the social pride associated with having large amounts of land and cattle. Apparently, the high social regard for land ownership was said by some respondents to have the ability of making landless people feel inferior and vulnerable in the area within which they stayed, therefore reducing their sense of belonging and thus social pride.

7.5 Summary

This has been a chapter that has highlighted salient features of the research findings based on the theoretical framework. Utilizing the structure of the sustainable livelihood framework within a realism theory line of thought, different aspects of the findings have been brought to attention and an effort to combine main features of both chapters five and six made. In the final chapter, I present research conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

8.1 Introduction

Eight chapters have made up this thesis. They include the general introductory first chapter which is closely followed by the description of the study area, theoretical framework and research methodology as chapters two, three and four respectively. Chapters five and six present research findings. In chapter seven, a summary of research findings is presented in relation to the theoretical framework advanced in chapter three.

This final chapter includes conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies. The conclusions present main points of the research findings particularly in regards to the extent to which they answer the research questions raised at the beginning of the study. In the recommendations, attention is paid to possible ways of attending to the challenges of utilizing land as a livelihood resource while the suggestions for further studies highlight potential areas for research that have been considered important, but could not be covered within the scope of this study.

8.2 Conclusions

The socio-economic role of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource is that of being an asset which people in the study area use in efforts towards sustaining their livelihoods. The research findings have shown that various food crops are grown on a subsistence basis and this is generating food that is consumed by households in the study area. These foods have been found not only to reduce the amount of money that would have been spent on purchasing such products from the market but also enabled household heads to feed their families. With a continuous food supply, human existence is favoured as we can not exist without having something to eat. For livelihoods, this is good news because it presents them with a basic requirement of life and therefore an opportunity to attend to other challenges of life as they come.

Money has been found to be another livelihood benefit that is generated from the

use of peasant owned land. Empirical evidence from the field shows that this financial benefit is mainly generated from the sale of agricultural products such vanilla, tea, bananas, ground nuts, milk, meat, hides and animal skin. Successful production of these sold commodities would basically have been impossible without the availability and use of land's potential. More money has been said to come from materials directly extracted from peasant owned land or its products. These materials have included sand, clay, bricks and stones which have demand on the market as construction materials especially with the growing population and the associated need for housing in the study area. Although the amount of income generated from peasant owned land is still relatively low compared to, for example that generated by commercial tea estates owned by large scale entrepreneurs, it is still very important since it helps some peasants acquire essential items including medicine, soap, salt, sugar and fuel that they would otherwise have not had access to without the money.

The combination of improvements in income and food supply is socio-economically very important for people's livelihoods. This is because it improves their capacity in regards to attending to these people's means of a living. With Chamber and Conway's (1992) definition of a livelihood as comprising of the capabilities, assets and activities required for a living, land in this case is seen as an asset and its use is done by human activities while the study area's inhabitant's capacity and ability to utilize this part of the physical world form their capabilities. As seen under realism theory, land's physical potential exist regardless of what humans may think about it. But its value to human livelihoods requires that people attach meaning to it and practically utilize it. To link land's natural potential to human livelihoods, I use the sustainable livelihood framework within a realism theory line of thought. This generally spells out issues to look for in an analysis of the link between land and its livelihood outcomes since the utilization of land's potential is affected by a variety of factors as seen in chapter six. All in all therefore, land is a livelihood resource and it is not only being used but also socio-economically benefiting people that are using it in Tooro.

8.3 Recommendations

Based on the research findings, the following recommendations have been made in an effort towards finding ways of enhancing the productivity of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource.

The seminars on land use for poverty eradication should be extended beyond land management officials to include the poor peasants living in rural parts of the study area since this will spread vital information and knowledge on alternative methods of efficient land use to the people that need it most. This should also be accompanied by an increase in the agricultural modernisation sensitization programmes that were found to be largely based on radio communications from the Voice of Tooro radio station in Fort Portal to also include and put into consideration the inhabitants that do not own or use a radio. One way of reaching these people may be through for example visits of peasant homesteads by professional workers and the use of easily interpretable information posters in the villages.

Land owners under the customary tenure system should be enabled by government to acquire land titles and facilitate them to use such documents to secure efficient low interest loans. This is likely to enable them acquire the money needed as land development capital from banks that need such documentation.

The government's efforts in the promotion of agricultural commercialization should be accompanied by a search for reliable markets for the peasants' produce. This would avoid the wastage of harvests in cases where there is limited market amidst increased agricultural production by peasant households.

An effort should be made to encourage a reduction in the proportion of household income that is spent on consumption expenditure. This may be done by the promotion of family planning to encourage having smaller families and the reduction of dependency in the family. People should also be encouraged to save part of their earnings to increase their chances of having some form of investment capital. In cases where financial assistance is provided to help land users, these people should first be educated about the values of investing such money and not just feeding on it.

Efforts should be made to reduce the misuse of public funds by some government officials since these funds could have helped the poor peasants. This should be

accompanied by efforts to curb illegal political intervention so that legitimate authorities mandated to attend to land issues do their job and be motivated to work efficiently.

All in all, measures should be undertaken to increase the productivity of peasant owned land by attending to the challenges being faced. This is likely to increase land's chances of contributing to the capacity of people in the study area in regards to their efforts towards attending to their livelihood needs.

8.4 Suggestions for further studies

One of the major bottle necks affecting the socio-economic use of peasant owned land is the small sizes of the pieces of land owned by each homestead. Many observed pieces were too small for any large scale use which has very often been associated with economies of scale that can enhance returns to investment. Therefore, I would suggest further studies into enhancing the productivity of such land. In the following suggestion, an investigation into the viability of a method that would let the small-land-pieces owners retain ownership but improve their returns by receiving profit through letting a commercial entrepreneur use their land is suggested.

I would be interested in looking at the viability of some form of land use that I have called *land shareholding*. This would enable the individual owners of small pieces of land located close to each other to let a large-scale user, possibly an entrepreneur, utilize them as one large piece enabling even mechanised large scale commercial agriculture. This investor would have to get into an agreement to provide some form of dividends to the individual owners (now termed shareholders) of the small pieces based on the profits the investment makes.

Because many of these shareholders are currently scattered all over the would be large farm, there is a challenge of how to viably transform the land area into one farm on a sustainable basis. A rather “radical” option would be to resettle the peasants into a form of residential area. This would allow for the use of large agricultural machines to operate on the whole farm without the trouble of having to avoid the closely located households as the case would be today. But resettlement is likely to be politically very sensitive and would cost a lot of money. This could therefore need a large investment and the

convincing of these people and the authorities that this can work. For now, there are more questions than answers about whether such land shareholding can be viable and actually improve the socio-economic wellbeing of the poor peasant land owner and the economy in general. This is the main suggestion for further studies.

I would also suggest further studies into how culture affects the choices of use to which peasants put their land. This would also include the studying of the associated benefits such people get. Another suggestion is of a study into the kind of non agricultural income generating activities that peasants could get involved in to improve their capacity to sustain their livelihoods.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

KAMWENGE DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Telegram.....
Telephone.
Fax.
E-mail: kamwengel@yahoo.com

Office of the CAO
Kamwenge District,
P. O. Box 1408,

Your Ref:
Our Ref: CR/

11-7-2005

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to introduce to you MR PATRICK BRIGHT MUTEGEKI a student on the programme of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies, specializing in Geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

The above student has expressed interest in conducting his fieldwork research in this district during June – August 2005 period. His topic is 'THE ROLE OF PEASANT OWNED LAND AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT RESOURCE'.

Any assistance rendered to enable him get the data he requires is highly appreciated. The research is purely for academic purposes.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Nyakahuma John'.

Nyakahuma John
Deputy Chief Administrative Officer/Kamwenge

Deputy Chief Administrative Officer
KAMWENGE

Appendix II

KABAROLE DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Telegram.....
Telephone. 0483-25050.
Fax. 0483-22722
E-mail kabarole@africaonline.co.ug



Office of the Chief Administrative Officer,
Kabarole District,
P. O. Box 38, Fort Portal.

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Your Ref.:

Date 28th June 2005

Our Ref. CR/106/1

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

RE: PATRICK BRIGHT MUTEGEKI

This is to introduce to you the above named person who is a student at Norwegian University of Science and Technology. He is currently undertaking his field work and data collection during June – August 2005 in this District, on the topic "**The Role of Peasant Owned Land as a Socio-Economic Development Resource**".

This is therefore to recommend him for any assistance in the process of data collection in the relevant fields, which may include; responding to interviews, questionnaires and making the relevant information accessible to him.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Okiror Iporetum'.

CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER
KABAROLE DISTRICT

OKIRÓR IPÓROTUM
CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER/KABAROLE.

Appendix III



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

KYENJOJO DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

TELEPHONE G/LINE: +256 483-22326
CAO'S OFFICE: +256 483-22326
C/MAN'S OFFICE: +256 483-22713
D/ENGINEER'S: +256 483-22842
DDHS'S: +256 483-22326

P. O. Box 1002,
KYENJOJO

Date 7th July 2005.

In any correspondence concerning
This subject please quote: **CR309/4**

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

PATRICK BRIGHT MUTEGEKI

This is to introduce to you the above named person who is a student at Norwegian University of Science and Technology. He is currently undertaking his fieldwork and data collection during June - August 2005 in this District on the topic " **The Role of Peasant Owned Land as a Social-Economic Development Resource**".

This is therefore to recommend him for any assistance in the process of data collection in the relevant fields, which may include; responding to interviews, questionnaires and making the relevant information accessible to him.


Joseph Byaruhanga

For: **CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER/KYENJOJO**



Research Questions

1. **What are the ways in which peasant owned land is used in Tooro?**
2. **How do these uses affect human livelihoods?**
3. **What are the factors affecting peasant owned land's role as a livelihood resource?**
4. **How can the productivity of such land be enhanced?**

Uses of peasant owned land

Do you own any piece of land?

If the answer is yes

How are you using that land?

What could be the size of that land?

Is it all as one piece?

If not, how many pieces do you own?

What is the size of each piece?

How did you acquire that land?

If you do not own any piece of land;

Please explain the reason(s) as to why you do not own any land

Would you like to own a piece of land?

Which part of Tooro would you prefer to own land in and why?

How would you use that land?

How do you think that would affect your capacity to earn a living?

What are the main ways in which people are using land in Tooro?

Categories of livelihood outcomes

- A) More income
- B) Increased ability to meet basic needs

- C) Reduced vulnerability
- D) Improved food security
- E) Sustainable use of natural resources

Questions about category A

- What is your main source of income?
- Do you have any other source of income?
- How is owning/using land affecting your ability to earn an income?
- On average, what is your monthly income?
- What are the main things you spend money on?

Questions about category B

- How many people live within the house in which you stay?
- How many of the people you live with have a source of income?
- Do you have dependants? If yes, how many?
- Who is/are the 'bread winner(s)' in the house in which you stay?
- How is owning/using land affecting your ability to sustain your life?
- How is owning/using land affecting the ability of your household to sustain the lives of its members?

Questions about categories C and D

- Do you have enough food to eat?
- Does your family have enough food to eat?
- What is the main source of your food?
- What are the main problems affecting your food supply?
- What in your view are the main challenges facing you as; an individual, family, village, district, Kingdom?
- How far from your home is your main source of water? In your view, is that water clean enough?
- Would you regard the security situation around your home as adequate? Why?
- What is the main type of food that you eat?

How do you get that food?

What food type did you eat in your most recent meal? Why?

What was the main challenge you faced in getting that meal?

Questions about category E

Do you use fire wood for cooking your food?

Do you think your current source of food will continue for the foreseeable future?

Why?

What is the major source of energy used by your household in preparing food?

In your personal view, do you think your district's natural resources are being used in a sustainable way?

Please explain your answer.

Policies, institutions and processes relating to using land as a livelihood resource

F) Levels of government involvement in socio-economic land use

What would you say is the role played by the government as far as the socio-economic use of peasant owned land is concerned?

In your view what do you think the government should be doing in regards to the use of peasant owned land as a livelihood resource?

G) Role of the peasant in the use of their land as a livelihood resource.

What do you see as the main role of the peasant regarding the use of their land?

What do you think the peasant's role should be?

What are the main challenges faced in the use of such land?

H) Effects of culture, laws and policies on how peasants use their land and how they benefit

Is culture having any effect on how you use and benefit from land? Please explain you answer.

How about the land tenure system?

I) Land management institutions and policies

How is land managed in this district?

Who makes the final decision about how land is used in your household?

Who has no decision making capacity as far as land use is concerned in your household and why?

What are the main institutions concerned with land management and use in the district?

What would you say is their main role?

What would you like their role(s) to be?

Do you know any land policies that govern how land is used in this district? If yes, do you think that these policies are important? Please explain.

J) Processes undertaken in the socio-economic use of peasant owned land

Please explain the processes you (or your closest land owning relative in case you do not own land) go through from choosing how to use a specific piece of land until you achieve benefits from your work?

What are the challenges faced during that process?

Livelihood strategies undertaken by peasant households regarding meeting their household needs

K) What are the types of economic activities that peasants are involved in to support their welfare?

L) What could be the reasons for undertaking such activities?

M) How do peasants perceive the values of the activities in which they are involved in?

N) What types of economic activities would peasants like to get involved in?

Inter-relationships between peasant owned land's value and the access to livelihood capital assets needed for its utilization

O) Human capital

- P) Social capital
- Q) Physical capital
- R) Natural capital
- S) Financial capital

Appendix V

**A RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT THE ROLE OF PEASANT OWNED
LAND AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESOURCE.**

Student's Name: Mutegeki Patrick Bright.

University Address: Geography Department, Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, P.O.Box: N 7491, Trondheim, Norway. Email: mupabe@yahoo.com or Mutegeki@stud.ntnu.no

The student GUARANTEES that his PURPOSE for collecting information through this research questionnaire is for academic use ONLY.

Questionnaire Serial Numbers District in Uganda Date

1. Please tick the appropriate answers about you for this question.

a. Sex. Male..... Female.....

b. Age

Below 19 years..... 19-25 26-32..... 33-39.....

40-46..... 47-53..... 54-60..... Above 60.....

c. Marital Status

Single..... Married..... Divorced..... Others (please specify)

.....

d. In which of the following categories does the highest level of education you have

attained fall? Nursery school-Primary 6..... Primary 7- Senior 3..... Senior 4-

Senior 5..... Senior 6..... University degree Never been to school.....

None of the above (please explain).....

.....

2 a. Do you have any people you look after as dependants? Yes..... No.....

2 b. If your answer to 2 a. above is yes, please fill in the space provided below the;

Number of your children under your care.....

Number of orphans under your care.....

Number of your relatives' children under your care.....

Number of other people under your care (please specify).....

.....

.....

.....

3 a. What is your main source of income?.....

3b. Do you have any other source(s) of income? Yes..... No.....

3c. If your answer in 3b. above is yes, please list those sources of income in the space provided below (you can use an extra sheet of paper if necessary)

.....

.....

.....

.....

3d. If your answer to question 3b. above is No, please explain why.

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. Please tick the most appropriate answer about your average monthly income in Uganda Shillings.

Less than 50,000.....

Between 50,000 and 100,000

Between 100,001 and 500,000.....

500,000 and above

5. Do you own any piece of land? Yes..... No.....

6a. If your answer to question 5. above is yes, please explain how you are using that

land.

.....
.....
.....
.....

6b. Which of the following ranges best describes the total quantity of land that you own?

Less than a¹/₄ acre..... ¹/₂ -1 acre..... Between 1-5 acres Above 5 acres.....
None of the above (please explain)

.....

6c. Is all the land mentioned in 6b. together as one piece? Yes..... No.....

(Please explain)

.....
.....
.....
.....

6d. If you were to value the total amount of land you own in terms of Uganda shillings,
how much money would it generally be worth?

.....
.....

7 How did you acquire that land?

Purchased it..... Inherited it..... Others (please explain)

.....
.....

8. If your answer to question five 5 was no, please explain why.

.....
.....
.....

9. In your view what are the benefit(s) of being a landowner in this district?

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.....
.....

10. What could be the main ways in which people outside your family are benefiting from the land that you are owning?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Which of the following best describes the main type of labour utilized on your land?

Family members.....

Wage paid workers.....

Both wage paid workers and family members.....

Others (Please specify)

.....
.....
.....

12a. Does the current land tenure system in Uganda influence how you use your land?

Yes..... No..... I do not know

12b. Please explain your answer in question 12a. above

.....
.....
.....

.....
13a. Do you pay any taxes regarding your land? Yes..... No

13b If you answered yes to 13a. above, please explain;

(i) The kind of tax(es) you pay

.....
.....
.....

(ii) How much you are supposed to pay in a year on average

.....
.....

14a. How do you think the government is using the taxes you pay?

.....
.....
.....
.....

14b. How do you think the government should use the taxes you pay?

.....
.....
.....
.....

15a. Do you pay any taxes regarding the kind of uses or products you get from your land?
Yes..... No.....

15b. If you answered No to 15a. above, please explain your answer. Otherwise, please
continue to 16a. below.

.....
.....
.....
.....

16a If you answered yes to 15a above, please explain;

(iii) The kind of tax (es) you pay

.....

.....

.....

(iv) How much you are supposed to pay in a year on average

.....

.....

16b. How do you think the government is using the taxes mentioned in 16a. above?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

16c. How do you think the government should use the taxes mentioned in 16a. above?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

17 What would you say are the major economic activities in this district?

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18 How does land use contribute socio-economically to your livelihood?.....

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.....

19. What factors are influencing the contribution of land as a socio-economic livelihood resource?

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.....

20 In your view, how can the productivity of land owned by peasants be improved?

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.....
.....
.....

21 Apart from land, what are the main assets that you own?

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.....
.....

22. In your personal view, what is the single most important issue as far as your well-being is concerned? (Please explain your answer)

.....
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.....
.....

23a. Assuming you have been given one free acre of land and asked to choose a place of your own preference in this district, which location would you prefer and why?

.....
.....
.....

23b. How would you use that land?

.....
.....
.....

24a. Lets assume that the land in question 23a. above has been increased to 10 acres, which location in the district would you prefer and why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

24b. How would you use the 10 acres in 24a. above?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

25. How would the increased land ownership in 23a. above influence your ability to earn a living;

(i) Socially

.....
.....
.....

(ii) Economically

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Jovia used RDC to grab land - lawyer

By Lominda Afedraru

COURT - A defence lawyer told the High Court in Kampala on Wednesday that Ms Jovia Akandwanaho used Entebbe Deputy Resident District Commissioner (RDC), Ms Alice Kaggwa, to grab land in Kisubi, Kaku off Entebbe Road.

Jovia is a wife to Lt. Gen. Salim Saleh Akandwanaho.

The Registered Trustees of the Religious Brothers of Christian Instruction, residents Ms Teopista Namuli and Mr Fred Bugembe sued Jovia for allegedly encroaching on their 500 hectares of land.

Their lawyer, Mr Edward Bamwite, told Justice Mary Maitum, that Jovia secured a letter from Kaggwa authorising her to evict them from the land.

“My clients had reported the case (of trespass) to the local authorities and as they were waiting for the results, Jovia Akandwanaho came with a letter from the Entebbe Deputy RDC authorising her (Jovia) to evict the plaintiffs,” Bamwite told court.

He was supporting his clients’ application seeking a temporary injunction restraining Jovia from further trespass on the land until the main case was concluded.



Baguma warns Major Mutale over evictions

By Cyprian Musoke

upset: Lands minister Baguma Isoke addresses a land tenure sensitisation seminar at Kiboga district headquarters yesterday

MAJOR Roland Kakooza Mutale's Kalangala Action Plan (KAP) and other soldiers have been warned not to get involved in land evictions that have rocked Kiboga district, leaving a number of people dead.

State minister for lands Baguma Isoke said it is the duty of the Police, LCs and the district security committee to oversee eviction of any unlawful occupants.

Addressing Kiboga district leaders at the council hall over the land matters yesterday, Baguma said land disputes were a civil not a military matter.

"Kakooza Mutale comes here yet you (pointing at Police officers) are here? What is your role? Have you failed to protect the citizens and their property? This nonsense and abuse of office must stop. They (Mutale's group) have caused disorder and breach of peace. My heart is bleeding!" said Baguma passionately.

The meeting had earlier been informed by the Kiboga district chairman, Siraje Nkugwa, that Mutale and 'men in military uniform' were to blame for the vicious land upheavals in the district.

"Kakooza Mutale came here, purporting to solve land disputes. Men from his office have come twice to my office, asking to intervene in land disputes and I told them to proceed only if the law covers them," Nkugwa said.

He said he later heard that the 'army men' were causing havoc and that when the civil

ians realised that the Police was not protecting them, they picked their machetes (pangas) to wage war.

He said there was a group of notorious rich land dealers in Kampala who forge court orders, buy military and private security groups in town and pay area LCs to allow them evict people.

He pointed out a man only identified as Ssanyu, now in Luzira prison, who was arrested with a fake court order while enforcing an eviction.

Speaking in a mixture of Runyoro and English, a visibly vexed Baguma, who called the leaders by their first names, repeatedly banged the table to express disgust at the anarchy in his mother district.

"In Uganda, Kiboga is number one in being disorderly. You don't know the rule of law and you don't follow hierarchy. Nowhere in Uganda is such anarchy as is in your district, my mother district," he said, looking at the chairman Nkugwa (right) and the RDC behind him.

He said while Kibaale district had more land cases, there was no anarchy as was the case in Kiboga.

“Your district does not have a good name in government. The President yesterday showed me files and files. When I told him that this meeting would try to solve some cases, he reluctantly said ‘may be’,” Baguma said.

He criticised the district leaders for not making the land a priority, by obtaining land titles that they could use to acquire credit to develop themselves.

He said they were sleeping on their riches while the people in western Uganda, who acquired titles to every piece of land, have left them behind.

The minister said he was shocked to learn that the district lacks a valuer, a physical planner and a land committee.

“Why are you sleeping here? I want you to become rich. Does any one of you here have a full suit?” he asked, looking around the room in which no one wore a suit or looked exquisitely dressed.

Ends

Published on: **Friday, 20th May, 2005**

