



Responsible Land Governance: Towards an Evidence Based Approach

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 20-24, 2017



LAND TENURE AND ITS IMPACTS ON FOOD SECURITY IN UGANDA: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM TEN DISTRICTS

SAMUEL MABIKKE¹, MOSES MUSINGUZI², DANILO ANTONIO¹, OUMAR SYLLA¹

¹United Nations Human Settlement Programme, Kenya

samuel.mabikke@unhabitat.org

²Department of Geomatics and Land Management, Makerere University, Uganda

musinguzim@hotmail.com, musinguzim@cedat.mak.ac.ug

Paper prepared for presentation at the
“2017 WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY”
The World Bank - Washington DC, March 20-24, 2017



Responsible Land Governance: Towards an Evidence Based Approach

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY
WASHINGTON DC, MARCH 20-24, 2017



Copyright 2017 by author(s). All rights reserved. Readers may make verbatim copies of this document for non-commercial purposes by any means, provided that this copyright notice appears on all such copies.

ABSTRACT

The need to establish the link between land tenure and food security is increasingly gaining currency as governments and development organizations refocus their effort towards assisting farmers to move away from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture. It is argued that given how land plays a crucial role in the livelihoods of most Africans, food security and poverty reduction cannot be achieved unless issues of access to land, security of tenure and the capacity to use land productively and in a sustainable manner are addressed.

This study was conducted in ten districts located in southwestern and eastern Uganda, where customary land tenure systems and agricultural practices vary significantly. The overall objective of the study was to analyse land issues that farmers experience, which could limit efforts to improve agricultural production and hence adversely impact on food security. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Data collection methods including household questionnaire surveys, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and document review were employed. A total of 623 farmers participated in the study as respondents, of which 55.7% were females.

Results from the study show that 73% of the farmers hold land under customary tenure which is mainly acquired through inheritance and purchase. In addition, 25% of the farmers did not possess any document confirming ownership of land rights while 42% possess an informal purchase agreement. Although these findings point to lack of tenure security, it is surprising that 83% of the farmers felt security of tenure under the prevailing conditions. The study also identified that women do not hold equal rights with men when it comes to making key decisions on land. The study recommends fit-for-purpose land administration tools to address area specific land tenure and food security challenges including security of land tenure. Women's rights on land should be promoted through targeted interventions, given that the Ugandan Constitution and Land policy advocate for equal opportunities for both men and women.

Key Words:

Food Security, Land Tenure, , Uganda

1 INTRODUCTION

The need to establish the link between land tenure and food security is increasingly gaining currency as governments and development organizations strive to assist farmers to move away from subsistence farming towards commercial agriculture. Meanwhile, the recognition that land rights and food security are neatly linked together and are both development and policy variables, has raised the need to consider rather carefully, the links between land tenure and food security (Maxwel & Wiebe, 1999).

It is argued and rightly so, that given how land plays an important role in the livelihoods of most Africans, food security and poverty reduction cannot be achieved unless issues of access to land, security of tenure and the capacity to use land productively and in a sustainable manner are addressed (ECA, 2004). This is consistent with the GLTN (n.d) view that in the developing world, access to land and security of tenure are prerequisites for providing shelter and for the realization of food security and sustainable rural and urban development. In other words, while not denying that agricultural activities and livelihood options are affected by several factors such as climatic conditions, markets, infrastructure, and physical conditions among others, it is abundantly clear that unequal access to land and insecure land tenure have the most profound effect on the livelihoods of smallholders.

By Independence in 1962, Uganda was perceived by many observers as a food basket for East Africa. Besides the fact that Uganda is yet to contend with a complex co-existence of four legally recognized forms of land tenure (Freehold, Customary, Leasehold and Mailo Land), and that agriculture is mostly rain-fed (rainfall in most parts of the country allows for double cropping), the country's rural population is preoccupied by smallholder agriculture in which low-cost inputs and traditional, labour-intensive farming techniques are applied (Leliveld, Dietz, Foeken, & Klaver, 2013). Indeed, results from the 2014 national census show that nearly two thirds (64%) of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016) with most land users in desperate search for arable land. This has induced migration as differences in soil quality, land tenure and access to markets have considerable bearing on where people choose to live (The World Bank, 2015).

Overall, per capita agriculture production in the country has declined. While available statistics show that Uganda's agricultural sector registered positive growth at 1.8 percent and 1.5 percent in 2012/13 and 2013/14, respectively (The World Bank, 2015), agricultural growth does not cope with the population growth rate of about 3.0 percent (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Hence, it is not surprising that estimates show that over two thirds of the country's population is food insecure. What is clear is that with about 90% of Uganda's rural households participating in agriculture, which is the economic mainstay, land remains central in promoting rural livelihoods either directly or indirectly. Uganda's agriculture-based

economy is dominated by subsistence farmers, cash based, with little available commercial credit, weak government institutions and low levels of education (USAID, 2008).

Land offers a wedge for the poor to mobilize their own power to chart their development destiny. Yet, for fostering growth in the rural economy in order to support Uganda's overall growth, farmers must register significant improvements in productivity, market access, and competitiveness. Overall, a vibrant agricultural performance in the rural areas is a springboard for sustainable growth of urban centers. It is likely to be very difficult however, to imagine improved agricultural competitiveness in a complex and fragile system of land tenure complete with inequitable access to land and weak security of land rights. Equitable access to land and security of land tenure are vital for realizing food security and sustainable development.

This study was undertaken at the auspices of Global Land Tool Network (GLTN), International Fertilizer Development Center (IFDC) and the Netherlands Embassy in Uganda. The IFDC supported the food security initiative, which also seeks to address environmental protection, alleviate global hunger and poverty, and the promotion of economic development and self-sufficiency. The analysis of land tenure security is in the ambit of the Land and Global Land Tool Network Unit of the Global Land Tool Network that focuses on research and tool development and supply of technical advice to Member States.

2 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the study was to undertake an empirical analysis of the land issues that farmers experience which could limit the effort to improve agricultural production and hence food security. The study explore solutions to the identified problems within the context of the existing policy, legal and institutional framework. The study focused on the following geographical regions: i) Eastern Uganda (Mbale, Tororo and Buteleija), ii) the Rwenzori region iii) South-western region (Kabale, Kisoro, Mbarara, Kiruhura, Isingiro) and iv) Wakiso District in the Central Region (see figure 1 below)

The Study was based on four specific objectives as highlighted below:

1. To identify the land tenure systems and issues in IFDC Project areas (South Western Uganda and Eastern Uganda) and Netherlands Embassy intervention areas (Mbarara and Wakiso),
2. Identify land tenure security issues that may affect efforts to improve agricultural practices from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture in the IFDC and Netherlands Embassy project areas
3. Assess how the existing policy, legal and institutional framework (formal and informal) can support or limit land tenure security and hence food security among the farmers in the target areas, and

4. Develop feasible and acceptable solutions to the existing land tenure issues that may be implemented within the existing policy, legal and institutional framework.

3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

The South-western districts (Kabale and Kisoro) are highly populated and characterized by individualized mode of customary land tenure, with small land sizes. The individual households are autonomous in making decisions on land acquisition, utilization and disposal. Subsistence agriculture is carried out on small, but fragmented pieces of land in these districts. IFDC has promoted growing of Potatoes in this area. On the other hand, the other south-western districts (Mbarara, Kiruhura and Isingiro) are characterized by fairly larger plots of land and dairy farming is the most dominant agricultural activity, sometimes mixed with crop production. The Netherlands Embassy, through SNV (an International Development not-for-profit organization) is supporting farmers in dairy farming activities. The Eastern districts (Mbale, Tororo and Butalejja) are characterized by communal land ownership, in which decisions about acquisition, use and disposition of land require endorsement by heads of extended families or clan heads. IFDC supports the growing of Rice in this region. Wakiso district, neighboring Kampala Capital City of Uganda, on the other hand is a peri-urban environment where land use is rapidly changing from agricultural to residential. Wakiso district is predominantly under the Mailo land tenure system with overlapping rights of landlords and tenants on each piece of land. This is considered to be a major hindrance to land use and hence agricultural production.

4 OVERVIEW OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR LAND ADMINISTRATION IN UGANDA

Uganda has a dual system of land administration where both statutory/formal and customary/informal land¹ administration systems function at the same time. The present institutional set-up of Uganda's statutory land administration system is a product of the government's effort to overturn colonial legacy, improve professionalism, effectiveness, subsidiarity and transparency in land and public sector management. The statutory land administration system is built on the five-tier structure through a decentralized framework following the enactment of the Local Government Act, 1997. Figure 1 shows a decentralized land administration system with the District (LC5) and Sub-County (LC3) levels being part of the formal Local Governments.

The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development plays residual roles and service delivery is decentralized to the District Land Board, District Land Office, and Area land Committees, and the Recorder

¹ Customary Tenure was formalised under the 1995 constitution although most of the land transactions are still carried out informally.

(sub-county Chief), in case of customary land. Meanwhile, the Uganda Land Commission is in charge of all the land vested in the government.

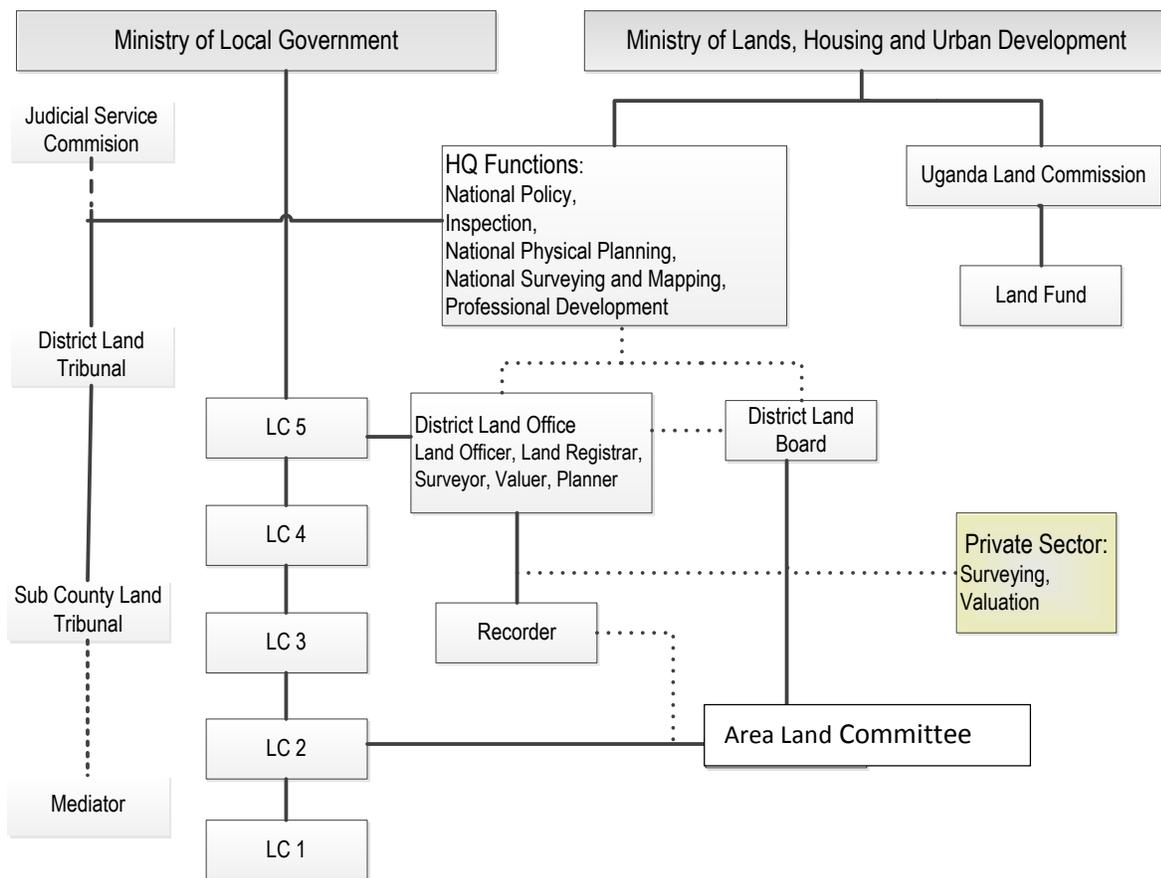


Figure 1: Organogram of Uganda’s Land Administration Institutional Framework

Land Tribunals shown in Figure 1 above had been formed for dispute resolution but they were suspended in 2007 due to issues in implementation and backlog of cases. However, mounting challenges in dispute resolution due to unresolved surging disputes prompted the government to reinstate tribunals under a special division in the Magistrate’s courts and the High Court (RoU, 2011). District Land Boards function as semi-autonomous but are obliged to function in line with the national policy. Overall, a third of all the members of the Board must be women.

CUSTOMARY LAND ADMINISTRATION SYSTEMS

By character, customary tenure lends itself to informal systems of administration. However, Uganda is one of the few countries in Africa that have attempted to formalize customary land tenure, which is estimated to constitute about 80% of land in Uganda. The legal legitimacy of customary tenure system is derived from the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 which also upheld some of the former land tenure systems

in Uganda. The Constitution vests all the land in the citizens of Uganda according to four land tenure systems, namely;

- Customary land tenure,
- Freehold land tenure,
- Mailo, and
- Leasehold land tenure

Freehold tenure is a statutory tenure where the land holder enjoys land rights for eternity. Mailo tenure is similar to freehold except that in the former, the registered land owners rights are subject to those of occupants, who are categorized by the Land act as lawful or bonafied. The leasehold tenure is limited for a prescribed period under certain conditions.

According to the Uganda Land Act 1998 (Cap 227) customary land tenure refers to “*a system of land tenure regulated by customary rules which are limited in their operation to a particular description or class of persons.*” The customary system of land administration is vaguely structured with no clearly established and legally defined functional structures. It is governed by customs, which differ from region to region or from tribe to tribe. Today in Uganda, there are 17 tribes belonging to the Bantu and Nilotic groups. Each of the tribes has specific customs relating to acquisition, utilization and disposal of land, although there are some similarities that cut across a group of tribes.

The Local Council Courts Act (2006) gives powers to Local Councils, which are largely constituted by semi-illiterate persons without any legal background, to preside over land disputes on customary land, up to any value. However, the same Act limits jurisdiction of Local Council Courts ,for other cases, to values of not more than one hundred currency points (US \$ 570), thereby demonstrating the importance, that government attaches to Local councils in handling customary land issues. The power of Local Councils to handle land matters of any value is premised on the fact that customs are complex, are not documented, which makes it difficult for formal courts to handle. Secondly, the majority of customary land rights holders perceive formal courts as exclusively for the elite; they don’t understand how the courts operate; and besides, they cannot afford the high costs of engaging lawyers for effective legal representation. On the contrary, local council courts are relevant because they use natural justice, do not require the level of evidence in formal courts and proceedings are usually in local languages, which local people understand.

Despite the robust efforts towards the elevation of customary tenure to the status of other legally recognized land tenure systems, the provisions that subordinate customary norms to statutory rules, still weaken it as a comprehensive tenure system. Some financial institutions have been reluctant in accepting customary land as collateral for credit because of the uncertainty about the complex land rights associated with customary

tenure, most of which are not documented. However, financial institutions are beginning to accept individually held customary land as collateral and a good case is in Kasese District (in south western Uganda) where several customary land holders with Certificates Of Customary Ownership have accessed loans from commercial banks.

5 MATERIALS AND METHODS

5.1 THE STUDY DESIGN AND SAMPLING FRAME

The study employed various methods and techniques to appropriately capture information for assessing the land tenure and food security issues in the focal projects areas. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed; the qualitative methods were central to the assessment of the local perceptions towards security of tenure and food security at the community and household levels. Quantitative methods served to explain proportions of land used by respondents, state of security or insecurity of land tenure and food within households and communities.

The sampling frame was obtained from the farmers' lists which were provided by IFDC and SNV field personnel for IFDC and Netherlands Embassy project areas respectively. Individual households were selected randomly from stratified sub-lists of men and women. Selection of respondents for key informant interviews was done purposively at the institutional level where relevant respondents from IFDC partner institutions were hand-picked. These included public institutions and Civil Society Organizations with focus on agriculture and land administration/governance. In particular, the staff of the District Land Office, District Land Board, and District Agriculture Office were selected and interviewed. Civil Society Organizations partnering with IFDC selected, included IIRR, Africa 2000 Network and CARITAS. For Wakiso District, Participatory Rapid Appraisal techniques were used. A group of 20 farmers from Busukuma, Masulita, Kakiri, Mende, Namayumba, Sissa, Gombe, Kasange sub-counties and Wakiso Town Council were involved in a meeting at UWEP offices in Wakiso. A discussion with the farmers resulted in identification of land tenure and food security issues in the district as well as possible solutions as perceived by the farmers.

5.2 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data collection techniques of particular importance were Key Informant Interviews (face to face), questionnaire surveys, document review, PRA and Focus Group Discussions. In this case, the qualitative data collection process involved discussion of topics formulated along the themes of the study. For the questionnaire survey, a total of 603 respondents participated, out of which 55.7% were female and 44.3% were male (see **Table 1** below)

The data obtained from the discussions was recorded, transcribed and integrated into the general presentation of findings. The successful data collection exercise was promptly followed by data cleaning and subsequently, data analysis in line with project objectives. Data analysis was carried out using SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Scientists). Descriptive statistics such as cross tabulations, frequencies, means and any other statistical output were derived from the raw data.

Table 1: The gender of the respondents

Gender of the Respondent	Frequency	Percent
Female	336	55.7
Male	267	44.3
Total	603	100.0

6 STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

6.1 FINDINGS ON ACCESS TO LAND AND LAND TENURE SITUATION

Nature and distribution of land tenure systems

This study investigated the nature of land tenure systems in the study areas. Results show that households in the dairy farming region (Mbarara, Kiruhura and Isingiro districts) hold on average, about 93 acres but the lowest holds 5 acres while the highest holds 750 acres. The average land size in other areas reduces tremendously to 3.34 acres hence showing the disparity in land holding between dairy farmers and crop farmers.

In Wakiso district, farmers remarked about the reducing household land holdings. They attributed this to the emerging vibrant land market characterized by real-estate companies and speculators acquiring arable land which is converted into smaller plots for residential purposes. The issue of reducing agricultural land was summarized by the District Production Officer as follows:

“Agricultural land is on a decrease due to the pressure from the booming real estate business in the district. You can see all the real Estate companies that are buying land in Wakiso for example Hossana Estates. This has reduced the land for agriculture forcing the farmers to acquire land for agriculture away from Wakiso in Bulemeze, Masaka and other places. ”Dr. Oyine Patrick District Production Officer Wakiso District

Results from the study show that Customary is the predominant system of land tenure in all the districts. Overall, customary tenure was found to be a dominant system of land tenure at 73% followed by Freehold

at 14%, Leasehold 9.8%, and mailo 0.7% (see Table 2). These statistics do not include Wakiso district where all the land is held under Mailo system, with most farmers as occupants on registered land.

Table 2: The Proportion of Various Land Tenure Systems in the Study Area

Land tenure systems that respondents subscribe to	Frequency	Percent
Customary	440	73.0
Freehold	86	14.3
Leasehold	59	9.8
Mailo land	4	0.7
Occupancy	12	2.0
Total	601	99.7
Not clear	2	0.3
Total	603	100.0

Modes of Access to Land

There are different modes in which farmers' access to land within and between the different systems of land tenure observed in the study districts. The most dominant mode of land acquisition was through purchase at 327 cases (52%), followed by inheritance with 223 cases (35%) (see Table 3). The variations between districts show that land purchase was more pronounced except in Butaleja, Tororo, Mbarara and Isingiro districts where inheritance registered comparatively higher cases. The increase in land access through direct purchase is considered to be gradually transforming customary tenure to a market oriented system and hence invalidating a common notion that customary land is not for sale. Cases of buying/purchase were comparatively higher in South-western Uganda and cases of land access by inheritance were higher in Eastern districts. This is not surprising given that customary land in Western Uganda is predominantly individually owned compared to eastern and northern Uganda where clans and extended families still play a crucial role in land use/transaction.

Table 3: How the Respondents acquired or accessed land

How the respondent acquired or accessed land	District of the Respondent								Total
	Kabale	Kisoro	Mbale	Butaleja	Tororo	Mbarara	Isingiro	Kiruhura	
Buying/purchase	125	75	27	25	30	21	9	4	327
Inheritance	45	23	20	50	49	20	14	2	223
Gift	0	6	7	7	5	0	0	0	25
Lease	12	1	20	12	1	1	0	2	49
Allocation/resettlement	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Adverse possession	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3

Total	168	105	75	95	87	42	23	8	629
-------	-----	-----	----	----	----	----	----	---	-----

Access to land in Wakiso District was found to be varied and complex. Most of the farmers who participated in the PRA had purchased their land assets as evidenced by confirmed possession of the land sales/purchase agreements from previous occupants locally known as *Bibanja* holders. Some *Bibanja* holders had upgraded their rights to full ownership from landlords through a form of land sharing. Under the arrangement of land sharing, farmers who were *Bibanja* holders (land occupants) would take 25% of the land with full rights and release 75% to the landlords, who would also acquire full rights. While this mutually agreed arrangement meant that the landlords allowed tenants to acquire their own land title, and therefore guaranteed them more secure land rights, it resulted into significant reduction in the sizes of the farmers' land available for agriculture.

Other forms of land access pointed out by farmers in the district included land inheritance and adverse possession which was reportedly more pronounced during President Idi Amin's regime.

6.2 FINDINGS ON LAND TENURE SECURITY

Evidence of Land Rights

The study observed that land rights holders possessed varying evidence of land rights against which the degree of security of land rights could be effectively analyzed. Whereas the majority (253 or 42%) of the respondents was in possession of the informal purchase agreements as documentary evidence to ownership, the number of those without any documentary evidence of land ownership/rights at 150 (25%) was generally considered to be very high. Furthermore, the study found that 84 (14%) respondents possessed lease/rental agreements; while 64 (10%) possessed will/letters of administration and only 46(7%) held land titles (see Table 4 **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Table 4: Evidence of ownership rights to land

Documentary evidence for land that respondents use	District of the Respondent								Total
	Kabale	Kisoro	Mbale	Butaleja	Tororo	Mbarara	Isingiro	Kiruhura	
Land title	0	10	4	1	1	19	9	2	46
Will/letters of administration	12	15	11	7	6	4	7	2	64
Purchase agreement	113	51	31	24	22	6	3	3	253
Lease/rent agreement	16	13	6	10	32	6	1	0	84
None	26	15	22	53	23	7	3	1	150
Total	167	104	74	95	84	42	23	8	597

Perceived Security of Land Tenure

Despite the fact that a considerable number of respondents had no documentary evidence of land ownership, it was found that surprisingly, the majority of landholders perceived their security of land tenure rights as guaranteed. The results show that 83.6% of the respondents felt that they enjoyed security of land tenure compared to 16.4% (see **Table 5** below) who recorded weak security of land tenure.

In Wakiso district, participants of the PRA indicated that they felt insecure with the land tenure given that most of them were occupants on registered land. The source of insecurity was the landlords who were capable of conniving with real estate companies to evict them from their land.

Table 5: Responses on possession of secure land rights

Whether or not the respondents feel secure	Frequency	Percent
Yes	504	83.6
No	99	16.4
Total	603	100.0

Overall, it was observed that in such areas where the respondents recorded a perceived high sense of tenure security, their perceptions must be treated with caution. Firstly, the study found out that respondents' understanding of secure land rights could have been restricted to the absence of conflicts over their land. Many of the land owners had never experienced forced land evictions and therefore considered their rights to be secure. Indeed, other than Wakiso District where land disputes were reportedly high, 95.6% of the respondents sampled from other study areas had never experienced or witnessed forced evictions and only 4.4% confirmed that they had actually experienced forced evictions. Secondly, most landholders had never encountered situations such as compensation for land take from development projects that required documentary evidence of land ownership. Hence, the assumption of secure land rights is not informed by genuine conditions that surround landholders' situations, the very reason as to why 110 out of 150 respondents without any form of documentary proof of land ownership in Table 6, claimed secure land rights.

Table 6: Relationship between the sense of security and documentary evidence of land tenure

Whether or not the respondents feel secure	Type of documentary evidence for land that respondents use					Total
	Land title	Will/letters of administration	Purchase agreement	Lease/rent agreement	None	
Yes	42	59	222	65	110	498
No	4	5	31	19	40	99

Total	46	64	253	84	150	597
-------	----	----	-----	----	-----	-----

Thirdly, the landholders' perceptions of secure land rights apply to the individual landholdings where they have absolute rights. Besides, land has not been put to good use and is predominantly used for subsistence farming. Indicators of tenure insecurity are expected to rise once land values increase as is the case of Wakiso District, and it will be then that farmers will realize the tenure insecurity associated with undocumented land. It is also noted that where land conflicts were reported, the farmers felt tenure insecure, which is an indication that the current perception of tenure security is not sustainable. Relatedly, the District Staff Surveyor of Mbarara district observed that:

“Generally people have a sense of security leaving in no fear of losing the land. This could be due to ignorance as can be seen in the customary land holding.”Byaruhanga Willy Zonal District Staff Surveyor Mbarara

Sources of land tenure security

Based on the different land tenure arrangements identified in the study districts, land users were found to derive the sense of land rights security from diverse sources, both formal and informal. The respondents' perception of secure land rights is derived from different factors (herein referred to as sources). Based on Table 7, the study identified that 41% of the respondents who felt secure on the land attributed it to the comfort from possession of informal document (sales agreement), followed by the long duration of use of the land (37%), community recognition (19%) and possession of a formal document 2.6%. With the exception of the possession of the formal document, the rest of the sources are some of the typical characteristics of the customary tenure system.

Both the long duration of use and community recognition are dominant sources of tenure security of land rights in customary communities and are considered to be effective if no powerful land grabbers from outside the communities are involved. Indeed it was identified that in areas where land grabbing or expropriation have not been experienced, customary owners may perceive formal land documents (such as land titles) as not an exclusive but one other way of guaranteeing secure of land rights. For such communities, land titling programs should entail a substantial component of sensitization.

Table 7: The Reasons for the Sense of Security

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
I have a title or CCO	13	2.6	2.6
Community recognition	97	19.4	22.0

Long duration of use	185	37.0	59.0
I have an informal document	205	41.0	100.0
Total	500	100.0	

6.3 ACCESS TO LAND FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Land renting

The study found out that 55% (331) of the respondents accessed other people’s land for agricultural production, including for subsistence purposes (see Figure 2). Only 45% of the respondents did not rent land for agricultural production implying that they are self-sustaining in terms of availability of adequate land for agriculture.

Meanwhile, the practice of land renting also involved the farmer groups who collectively secured land for demonstration farms at the Sub county level. Some individual farmer groups (such as Buhara Youth Farmers Association, Kabale District) also rented land purposely for commercial agricultural production. Whether land renting as privately as individuals or collectively as groups, the tenants generally had minimum assumption of rights to the land accessed through renting. This in equal measure reflects the real extent to which the majority of the respondent experienced weak security of land rights on the total land area they accessed for agriculture.

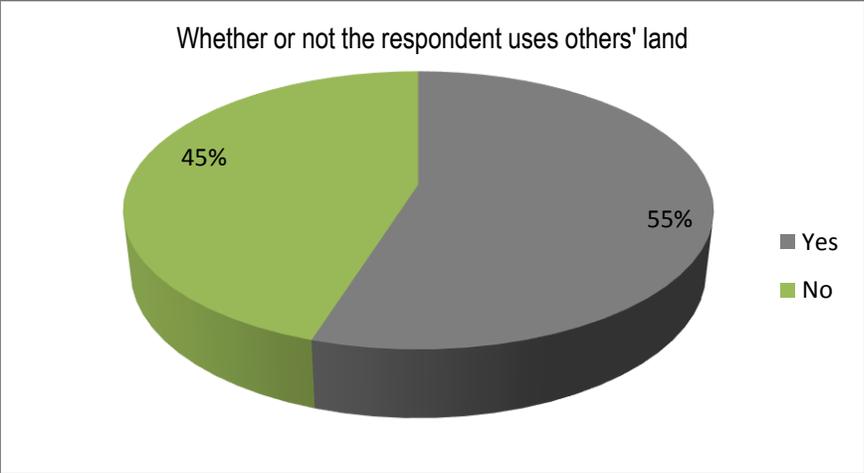


Figure 2: the percentage of respondents renting land for agricultural use

Restrictions of rights to the rented land units

Based on the submissions from the respondents, there existed several land use restrictions that severely impeded effective and secure use of rented land for economically gainful agriculture production. Table 8 shows some of the key restrictions that farmers experienced.

Table 8: Restrictions facing tenants on the rented agricultural land

Land restrictions	Description	Most affected	
		Individual land users	IFDC farmer groups
Limited use period	Landlords offer land on short term leases/rental periods. Land owners seek to benefit from any interested tenant willing to pay higher rent. Tenants can only make seasonal contracts with land owners.	√	√
Limited use of artificial fertilizers if any at all	Landlords are skeptical of application of artificial fertilizers. They institute strict conditions on tenants to desist from the application of artificial fertilizers, failure of which could result in the termination of tenancy contract.	√	√
Restricted application of soil fertility improvement technologies	Tenants are allowed to apply the use of organic manure and crop rotate. Permanent water and soil conservation infrastructures such as water retention ditches, planting of hedgerows such as with Caliantra and elephant grass, are not allowed.	√	√
	Tenants restricted from the application of minimum tillage as conservation practice with use of herbicides such as glyphosate.	N/A	√
Limited exclusivity	The right to exclude others from accessing the rented land is very limited. Tenants can only restrict others from using the land during the short-term use for agriculture.	√	√

The fact that 55% (see Figure 2) of the respondents used other people’s land for agriculture and only 19% (Figure 3) of the respondents offered their land for rental/others to use, reveals the extent to which the demand for land on the rental market outstrips supply. Such a variation would technically translate into competition for land which may further complicate the security of tenure of famers who substantially or entirely depend on rented land for agricultural production.

The majority of the respondents who did not offer their land for rental or use by others calculated at 81% (see Figure 3) therefore combine those who find their family owned land sufficient with no excess and the 58% (see Figure 2) that must rent extra land to enhance agricultural output due to land shortage. Therefore, the proportion of respondents able to offer/rent out is much smaller than that of the farmers who access land partially or entirely through renting. The number of those who actually rent out land is smallest in Kabale and Tororo districts.

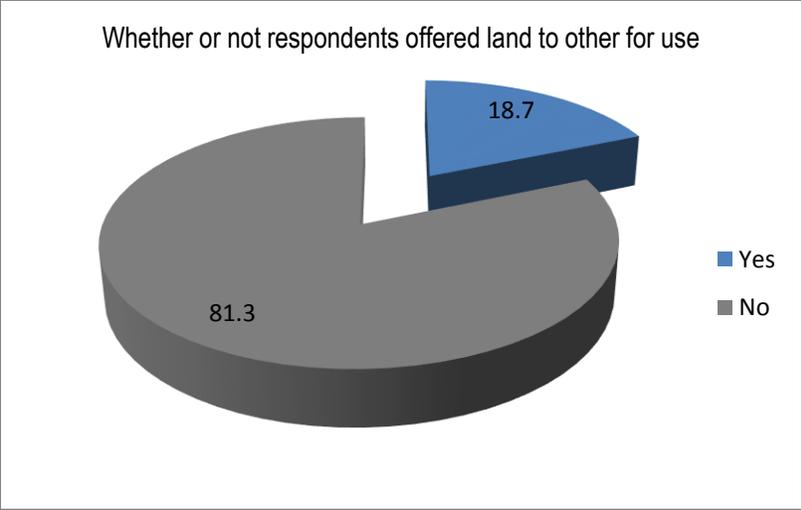


Figure 3: the percentage of respondents who offered agricultural land for renting

Land Renting Contracts/Agreements

The farmers renting land face another layer of tenure insecurity, derived from the nature of agreements which they make with the landlords. Table 9 shows that the majority of the respondents who rented out land for agriculture did it against verbal Contracts (agreeing in principle by a gentleman’s agreement), informal agreement where terms are written down and parties sign, formal agreement where the agreement is registered with authorities or no agreement in case of access to land without knowledge or permission of the land owner.

The real threat of insecure rights to land is elevated by the fact that the 163 of the 296 respondents that offered land to others for use across all the study districts actually did it against verbal contract, and others (6) required no binding contract at all. The study found that 126 respondents entered into informal written agreement with tenants while only 1 respondent entered into formal agreement with the land users.

With the exception of the formal agreement, other forms of contract inherently had a potential risk that the land lord would deny the land users/tenants the privilege to fully exercise their rights to land. The situation was consistent with the findings from the respondents who rented land for agricultural production; both for subsistence and commercial purposes.

Table 9: The form of Contract binding the land owners and users/tenants

District of the Respondent	What contract binds the respondent and the land user				Total
	Verbal Contract	Informal document/Agreement	Formal Agreement	None	
Kabale	30	11	0	0	41
Kisoro	21	54	0	1	76
Mbale	16	6	1	2	25

Butaleja	35	21	0	2	58
Tororo	43	29	0	0	72
Mbarara	10	2	0	1	13
Isingiro	6	2	0	0	8
Kiruhura	2	1	0	0	3
Total	163	126	1	6	296

6.4 FINDINGS ON LAND DISPUTES

Overall, it is estimated that land disputes are widespread and affect about 33 – 55% of landholders in Uganda (MercyCorps, 2011). In this particular study, the majority (76.7%) of the respondents indicated that they had not been involved in any form of land dispute. This is shown in Table 10 which further shows that only 23% of the respondents were involved in a land dispute. Three major types of land disputes were identified in the study districts:

- a) Disputes between neighbouring land owners as either individuals or families
- b) Disputes over land succession at the family level;
- c) Disputes between communities over the boundary in agriculturally productive areas

Table 10: The number of respondents who have ever experienced disputes on land

Whether the respondent experienced a land dispute	Frequency	Valid Per cent
Yes	138	23.3
No	454	76.7
Total	592	100.0

Types of land disputes

Of the three aforementioned types of land disputes, boundary disputes were reportedly predominant except in Butaleja where the boundary dispute between communities prevails. The reported dominant occurrence of boundary dispute (59%) as shown in Table 11 is because land boundaries under the dominant customary tenure system are not precisely defined nor are they documented but are instead general in nature. Boundaries can therefore be manipulated easily by unscrupulous landholders or can naturally adjust through gradual soil erosion processes. With growing population pressure, land scarcity means that a real or perceived slight shift in land boundaries can trigger a serious dispute between neighbouring landholders.

Table 11: The type of disputes experienced

Types of land disputes	Frequency	Valid Per cent
Boundary dispute	74	59.2
Succession dispute	20	16.0

Types of land disputes	Frequency	Valid Per cent
Dispute on user rights	8	6.4
Compensation dispute	4	3.2
Ownership dispute	19	15.2
Total	125	100.0

Furthermore, of the respondents that had experienced land disputes, only 16% were involved in land succession dispute. The occurrence of this type of dispute can be attributed to the dominance of the customary tenure system characterised by land inheritance as one of the key forms of land access. The prevalence of succession dispute was thus associated with struggle between family members to hold rights in particular landholdings. The identified ownership disputes (at 15%) are majorly closely related to land succession struggles within families. However, ownership disputes may also emerge independently for instance, in cases of adverse possession, overlapping land rights on the same piece of land due to low levels of transparency or fraud.

Dispute resolution

a) Existing land dispute resolution mechanisms

Based on the findings from Focus Group Discussions and Informant Interviews, the process of dispute resolution as well as the players in the study areas are both formal and informal. Generally, the early stages of a dispute involve the disputing parties engaging with each other to find quick solutions to the problem. However, where tension between parties and emotions are high, community members including respected elders and clan leaders can be involved from the start. At this level, consensual approaches are sought to find a compromise that is acceptable to all parties and therefore likely to bring on table peace, respect and re-establish friendship between the parties. This approach involves consultation of witnesses and each affected party to fully understand the details of the problem before undertaking the conciliation and moderation.

However, when the dispute becomes immune to resolution at this level, parties forward the cases to the Local Councils (LCs) and most especially Local village Council (LC1). The active involvement of LCs is widespread and indeed, the LCs are very active in land matters right from the point of land transactions and are therefore now seen as an important party in the land dispute resolution.

The defacto involvement of LCs in land dispute resolution is prescribed by law under Local Council Courts Act (2006) which sets these courts “at every village, parish, town division and sub-county level”. The 3rd schedule of the Act specifies “disputes in respect of land held under customary tenure” as one of the areas where such courts have jurisdiction. When handling customary land matters, the Act does not limit the

jurisdiction of LC Courts to a specified monetary value, implying LCs handle matters on customary land of any value. Some Authors have argued that by allowing LC courts to deal with land disputes of any value, the law makers simply showed how less important they considered customary land to be (Nakayi, 2011). However, this could also be interpreted to show the strong importance the law makers attached to the LC courts in resolving land disputes.

When the conflict is not solved by the LC1, then the case is referred to the parish Court, the sub-county court and finally to the Chief Magistrate's court which has supervisory roles over the LC courts. The primary concern of the respondents was that the higher the dispute goes in terms of hierarchy for resolution, the lesser are the chances of fair judgment. Respondents fear that chances of other parties to pay informal fees for favourable judgement are high.

Given the above discussion, It is not surprising therefore that 53.8% of the respondents indicated that LCs handled their dispute followed by clan leadership 23.1%. Figure 4 further shows that only 15.4% of the respondents indicated that their land disputes were handled by the courts of law. Preference for LC courts could not be without reason: The study identified that the costs of land dispute resolution at a community level are very reasonable and within the reach of customary land holders. For instance, respondents in the districts of Kabale and Kisoro paid only UGX 10,000 (Approx.US \$ 2.9) at the LC1 which is considered affordable and accessible to all.

Based on the study findings therefore, the majority of the respondents prefer to have land disputes resolved at the community level. However, contrary views were encountered in Waksio district, a peri-urban area, where farmers did not prefer the involvement of LCs and police in land dispute resolution but instead opted for the involvement of the RDC² and State House. They claimed that apart from LCs imposing informal facilitation charges, the type of land grabbers (mainly wealthy developers, influential politicians and high ranking security Officers) are beyond the scope of LCs. It is also important to note that the Jurisdiction of LC Courts does not cover Mailo land which is the dominant land tenure system in Wakiso, although LCs could still come in as mediators.

² RDC stands for Resident District Commissioner, who is the principal representative of the President at the District Local Government Level. RDCs are usually in charge of security but are also involved in handling other indirect matters that affect national security, including land issues. Experience shows that they use mediation or coercion to handle land matters.

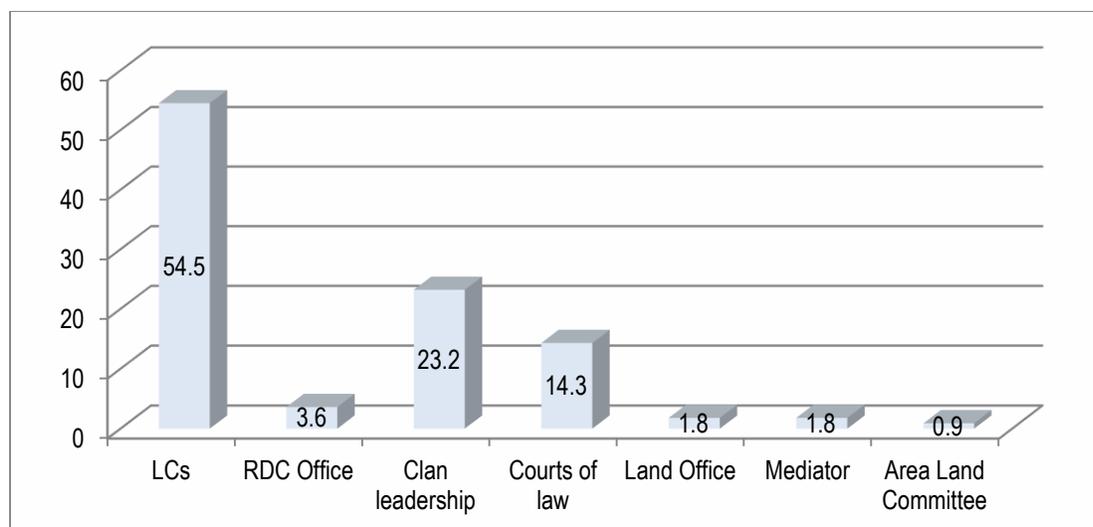


Figure 4: The Institutions involved in handling Land dispute

6.5 FINDINGS ON FOOD SECURITY

The study focused on the frequency of skipping meals or eating less than required due to lack of food or sufficient financial resources to purchase food. The survival mechanisms during transitory or chronic food insecurity were equally of importance to the study.

In the study districts, the number of respondents that indicated to have skipped meals was 382 (63%) while those that did not skip meals was at 220 (37%) (See Table 12). These figures however show geographical variations indicating that most districts registered high cases of skipping meals in the previous 12 months. In Butalleja district, 78 out of 95 respondents had skipped a meal against their wish, while 49 out of 75 respondents in Mbale District had skipped a meal. The proportion of respondents who had skipped a meal in Kabale district was 29% while in in Tororo and Kisoro districts, the figures stood at 19%, and 15.4% respectively. Generally, Mbarara, Isingiro and Kiruhura districts registered the lowest levels of skipping meals and this is attributed to the income levels of the farmers.

Skipping meals was also reported in Wakiso District mainly due to a combination of factors that limit the ability of farmers to produce adequate food. The identified factors included crop destruction by animals, poor farming techniques applied on the farms, low levels of labour input (agriculture left to women only), unpredictable weather, pest and diseases coupled with lack of genuine pesticides/drugs on the market, and lack of improved seed varieties.

While 63% of the respondents indicated to have skipped meals, the analysis of food security conditions is only complete with careful assess of the amounts and nutritional quality of food consumed by the respondents. To analysis this aspects, farmers were asked if they had eaten less than they desired because

food was not sufficient. A big percentage of respondents ate “less than they desired” at 63.8% and the proportion of those that felt the food they ate was enough was 33.6%.

Table 12: Families that had skipped meals in the last 12 months

District of the Respondent	Whether the respondent has skipped meals in the last 12 months				Total
	Yes		No		
	Count	%	Count	%	
Kabale	111	29	57	25.9	168
Kisoro	59	15.4	46	20.9	105
Mbale	49	12.8	26	11.8	75
Butaleja	78	20.4	17	7.7	95
Tororo	73	19.1	14	6.3	87
Mbarara	7	1.8	35	15.9	42
Isingiro	5	1.3	18	8.1	23
Kiruhura	0	0	8	3.5	8
Total	382	100	220	100	603

Overall, the study found that 68.3% of the respondents had eaten less than they should in the previous 12 months because they had no food or even the money to buy food. Of those that reported to have “eaten less than they felt”, results show that the districts of Mbale (registered 14.8%), Kabale (30%), Butaleja (18.4%) and Tororo (15.5%) were nearly in the same range of high food scarcity (see Table 13). The reduction in food rations was also reported to be common in Wakiso District. On the other hand, the Southwestern districts of Mbarara, Isingiro and Kiruhura registered the lowest cases of respondents eating less than they should. The latter are dairy farming districts which also practice crop farming as a means to improve food production and nutrition at household level.

Through interviews and focus group discussions, the study identified that overall, farmers experienced the cyclical pattern of inadequate availability and access to food supplies due to climate fluctuations and cropping patterns. The school opening periods were also reported to trigger food sales resulting in recurrent food scarcities. Recurrent cases of physical availability and economic access to food that follow known events annually had elevated the transitory food insecurity situations to relative chronic levels in many areas. Some families however, were reported to be constantly vulnerable to the real threat of chronic food insecurity due to low endowment of land, constant poor food production and low ability to offer wage labour. Specifically, some respondents in Kamuganguzi Sub-county in Kabale District reported that:

“We normally experience food scarcity from the months of March and May and then October to December every year. This is because most of families often sell most of the produce after harvesting

seasons for revenue and keep with small food stock, most of which is replanted at the beginning of the rain seasons in April and September. However, there are some families that constantly lack food because their small land cannot support enough crop production to guarantee them food availability even during the food harvesting seasons. In addition, some of these families do not afford some survival mechanisms like brick making and offer labour for food or cash either because members are too weak or they are aged”..

Table 13: Farmers that have ate less than they felt they should in the last 12 months

District of the Respondent	If respondents ever ate less than they felt they should because there wasn't enough food or money to buy food				Total
	Yes		No		
	Count	%	Count	%	
Kabale	125	30.3	43	22.5	168
Kisoro	68	16.5	37	19.3	105
Mbale	58	14	17	8.9	75
Butaleja	76	18.4	19	9.9	95
Tororo	64	15.5	23	12	87
Mbarara	10	2.4	32	16.7	42
Isingiro	10	2.4	13	6.8	23
Kiruhura	1	.24	7	3.6	8
Total	412	100	191	100	603

Coping Mechanisms/Survival Strategies

To cope with food insecurity, respondents employ various mechanisms based on the varying opportunities available to them. Based on the findings from Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions, farmers respond to food insecurity through the following measures;

- Access to relief aid,
- Support from friends/relatives,
- Offering labour for food, food exchange and
- Direct buying/purchase of food using money obtained from casual labour.

Other survival actions/measures included engagement in production of handcrafts, brick making, and access to credit from the village saving groups and SACCOs. Skipping the meals and reducing the food portions were equally reported by respondents as some of the common survival mechanisms devised during the seasonal food scarcity periods.

Results from the household survey show that the majority of the respondents who did not produce sufficient food offered labour in exchange for food (38%) while 27% were helped by friends and relatives. A less proportion of respondents (16%) managed to buy food using their own resources and an even smaller proportion (9%) received food from food relief agencies (see Figure 5).

The real challenge is that food insecurity has transited into a constant threat to land tenure security due to the risk of losing land rights in exchange for food, vital for survival. For instance, some respondents in Kabale and Kisoro district experienced loss of their land which had been offered as security to village saving groups and SACCOs to overcome devastating effects of seasonal food insecurity. The underlying issue is that for several respondents, borrowing was often not aimed at investing in productive ventures, but to buy food for the family to survive the harsh conditions of food scarcity. The ability of some of the affected persons to service the loans is low. The process of recovering loans normally resulted in the sale of the land offered as security. However, these families often recover from these shocks by working hard to recover and buy land to replace the landholdings lost.

Based on the above findings, it can therefore be argued that whereas addressing land tenure security could lead to food security, the latter is also to a large extent a guarantee to land tenure security. This is the essential link between the two, which justifies the need to address both land and food security issues together.

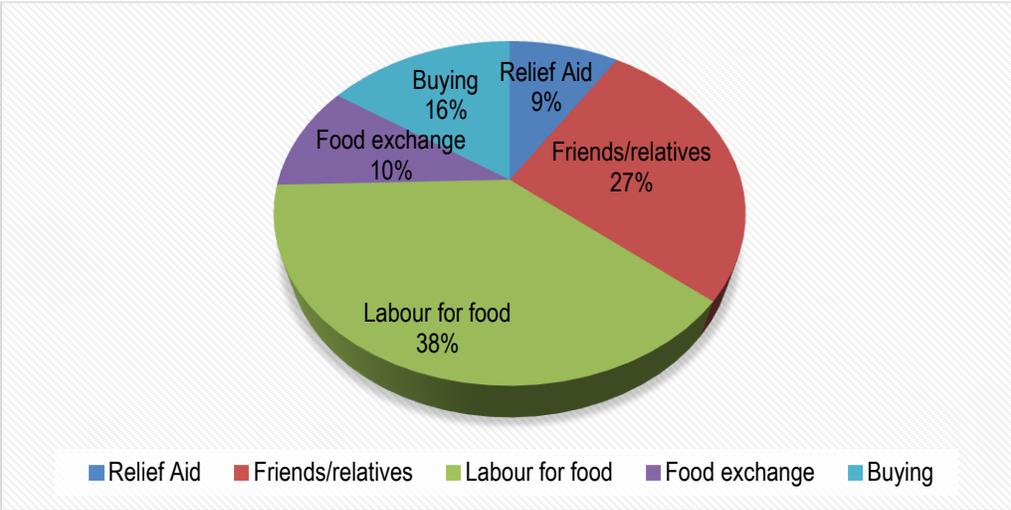


Figure 5: The Survival mechanisms employed by the respondents in times of food scarcity

7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions and recommendations in this section were made on the basis of two considerations. Firstly, an analysis of data obtained by use of questionnaires, focus group discussions, PRA and interviews within the study districts was made, which generated primary information on land tenure and food security. Secondly, the obtained information was further scrutinised and its relevance weighed against the major focus of the study, namely, transforming agricultural practices from subsistence to commercial. The conclusions were then arranged according to the study objectives.

7.1.1 Land tenure systems and issues

1. Farmers in the project areas predominantly hold land under customary tenure where customs, traditions and norms govern how land is acquired, utilized and disposed of. The other tenure systems are leasehold and freehold but these account for a very small proportion, which may be ignored for policy formulation purposes.

The study further concludes that land holding and transactions are predominantly in the informal domain, as would be expected of customary tenure. This has not only limited farmers' access to affordable long-term credit and proper planning but is potential for land conflicts. The current tenure situation where many farmers possess informal documents as evidence of tenure while almost an equal proportion do not possess any documentary evidence cannot be sustained if commercial agriculture is to be promoted.

On the other hand, the Uganda legal framework recognizes customary tenure implying that there is an opportunity for farmers to acquire legal documents for securing their customary land rights, but this has not been utilized among the project beneficiaries. Although many farmers feel secure with the current arrangement, this will not continue much longer as land values continue to rise and the pressure for land continues to increase. The sense of security of tenure on the side of customary land holders is a disincentive for any efforts for formalizing land tenure and requires massive sensitization and education.

2. Land disputes in the study area, reported by 25% of the respondents are considered to be a significant tenure security issue given that the land value is still low and agricultural activity is still subsistence in nature. Considering that the majority of the disputes are related to boundaries, they could be eliminated through adjudication and demarcation.

7.1.2 Land tenure security issues that may affect efforts to improve agricultural practices from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture

3. In addition to the problem of lack of documentary evidence of land rights highlighted above, we conclude by highlighting land scarcity as another threat to commercialization of agriculture in the study districts. Land scarcity in this study was conceptualized to include lack of land to practice farming for a fairly longtime and farming on fragmentation small pieces of land which are scattered all over. Lack of sizeable land for agriculture and unwillingness of landlords to rent/lease out land for a long time will have negative impacts on the plans to introduce commercial farming.
4. The study concludes that the level of consultations at the household level between spouses concerning making important land tenure/use decisions was encouraging. This included making the decisions to offer land as security for access to credit from rural saving groups in times of food insecurity especially in the districts of Kisoro and Kabale. We also note that most of the respondents were women who, culturally, must consult their spouses before making any decision on land. However, through key informant interviews, we identified that women do not hold equal rights with men when it comes to making key decisions on land. Women are generally free to make decisions on short term land use but are limited in making decisions on long term investments including commercial agriculture. It was reported that men actually enjoy the bulk of making post-harvest decisions such as sale of the produce and utilization of the proceeds. We therefore conclude that women rights on land are inferior and subordinate to those of men.

7.1.3 How existing policy, legal and institutional framework can support or limit land tenure security

5. This study identified existence of an enabling legal and policy framework governing land administration and management that is sufficient in strengthening the tenure security of farmers in the project areas. The constitution provides for owning land customarily while the Land Act 1998 (with amendments) and the Land Regulations 2004 provide for the operationalization of this provision. The customary tenure would be the best option for farmers in rural areas given that it is flexible in terms of regulations governing access and utilization of land. In addition, it is cheaper and hence affordable by the local people and besides, land matters on customary land such as conflicts can be handled at the village level as provided for in the Local Council Courts Act (2006)

6. The study identified many cases of land renting by farmers in all the study districts, but this is undertaken without formal documentation. Under the current legal framework, there are provisions such as renting and occupancy where rights of land users could be secured. These provisions can minimize risks associated with informal conveyancing and hence attract serious investors in land for food production.
7. Policy implementation gaps were however identified in empowering Village Local Councils to play a bigger role in land transaction and dispute resolution as mandated by the Local Council Courts Act 2006. The practice shows that land dispute resolution and overseeing land transactions at the local level has been well handled by the Village Local Councils (LC 1). Despite their strong social legitimacy, LCs are outside the legally established land management structures. Yet while the Land Act provides for the formation of the Area Land Committees, this was not followed by the corresponding effort to provide the required budget allocation for their functioning.
8. Due to the bureaucratic and cumbersome land registration processes, the majority of landholders are unable to obtain the Certificate of land title including those who can bear the high costs involved. As a result, the majority of landholders seeking to register their land do not go beyond the acquisition of the Freehold Offer letters. Unfortunately, commercial banks do not recognize Freehold Offers and therefore tend to grant credit at much lower values for the land offered as collateral for credit. Moreover, credit for investment in agriculture is offered at commercial rates not considering the risks and dynamics involved in the agricultural industry.

7.1.4 Other Conclusions

9. The study identified food insecurity as another form of land tenure insecurity. Seasonal food insecurity has pushed landholders into discrete borrowing from village saving groups and SACCOs against their only productive assets as the source of security for credit. This form of investment in unproductive ventures means that a considerable number of poor landholders are unable to service their loans potentially leading to loss of their land.
10. Whereas the study finds that many farmers practice agriculture on rented land, the limited awareness of the landlords concerning soil fertility improvement technologies such as application of artificial fertilizers will continue to affect agricultural production, given that tenants are not permitted to apply soil fertility improvement technologies.
11. Soil and water conservation measures are not generally applied in the study districts. Cases of contour ploughing and terracing among others exist but are permanent conservation infrastructure of the past conservation effort motivated by various Civil Society Organisations, successive

political regimes, and Faith Based Organisations. Without concerted effort to improve soil and water conservation measures, the risk of environmental contamination from the application of inorganic fertilisers and glyphosate herbicides is likely to be high.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Given the close link between land tenure security and food security, IFDC and Netherlands Embassy should consider land tenure security as one of its strategies for improving agricultural production in the target communities. Farmers should be assisted to know the sizes of their land, to obtain legal documentation such as CCOS or land titles which could be used for accessing affordable credit, undertaking safe land transaction such as renting and to facilitate better planning of their land. A tenure security programme, using low cost techniques should be considered whose implementation is either in a sporadic manner for target farmers or in a systematic manner for all farmers in the target communities. Such a programme will require involvement of local governments and Ministry of the Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development.
2. There is an urgent need to address the problem of land fragmentation in the project areas and generally in Uganda. Because of the complex issues involved, this should be planned as a long term strategy, which should be implemented incrementally. However, what should be considered in the short run is a national study documenting the level of fragmentation, expected issues and approaches for addressing such issues. The study should make appraisals of known approaches such as land consolidation, land swaps and participatory land readjustment program, and to what extent these may apply in the Ugandan context.
3. Intervention is required in promoting Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) and use of LCs in resolving land conflicts, mainly on customary land, which forms the bulk of land held by farmers in the project areas. LCs and Traditional Institutions should be empowered through sensitisation and training to equip them with capacity to handle land disputes more efficiently.
4. Intervention is required to close the gap created by cumbersome, expensive land registration processes by instituting pro-poor , inclusive and gender responsive tools to streamline clear definition of boundaries, demarcate communal land and a sustainable system of updating the changes on the ground to reflect changing realities.
5. Government should provide support for implementing the Land Policy, Land Act and other relevant policies. For example, government should operationalise offices of recorders, area land committees by providing infrastructure, logistics and training.
6. Given the observed lack of awareness about what constitutes sustainable land tenure security among farmers, there is need for sensitisation of farmers on the various avenues for securing land

rights. Farmers need to be sensitised about the opportunities for registering customary land and acquisition of CCOs which are generally cheaper and less cumbersome to obtain. The sensitisation campaign should extend to financial institutions to educate them about the legal status of a CCO, which is comparable to a freehold land title, more especially if land is individually owned. This study noted that Kisoro and Kasese districts had already commenced the issuance of CCOs. In Waksio district, farmers and landlords should be sensitised about the rights and obligations of each party and the benefits of issuing or obtaining a certificate of occupancy. Alternatively, a targeted intervention should be designed to help landlords and tenants develop agreements for fair land sharing.

7. IFDC and the Netherlands Embassy, in partnership with government should, as part of the effort to improve agricultural production provide extension services including educating landlords and tenants on modern water and soil conservation measures. To make use of excess and idle land belonging to some landlords, tenants with capacity to practice commercial farming should be assisted to negotiate long-term and better tenancy agreements with landlords. Furthermore, accurate early warning information and financial literacy should be provided to farmers, mainly during food scarcity spells to provide security from distress land sales and subsequent take-over by village savings groups and SACCOS.
8. Enactment and enforcement of area specific water and soil conservation bye laws is highly recommended. This way, the land users in hilly environments such as Kabale, Kisoro and Mbale districts where soils are highly susceptible to soil erosion can effectively establish hedgerows with limited or no fear of destructive free livestock grazing, associated with collapsing of terraces, soil compaction and damage of all other soil and water conservation technologies after harvest.. This can be done by sensitisation of the District Authorities and in particular, the Councillors and line departments such as Land Boards and Production/Natural Resources Office.

8 WORKS CITED

- Barrows, R., & Kisamba-Mugerwa, W. (1989). *Land Tenure, Access to Land, and Agricultural Development in Uganda*. USAID.
- Bosworth, J. (2003). Integrating land issues into the broader development agenda. In FAO, *Land Reform: Land settlements and cooperatives*. Rome: FAO.
- Denscombe, M. (1998). *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Devereux, S. (2006). *Distinguishing between chronic and transitory food insecurity in Emergency Needs Assessments*. Rome: World Food Program.
- Douglas, G., & Rogerson, R. (2010). *Agriculture, Roads, and Economic Development in Uganda*.
- ECA. (2004). *Land Tenure Systems and their Impacts on Food Security and Sustainable Development in Africa*. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.
- FAO. (n.d.). *WTO agreement on agriculture : the implementation experience*. Retrieved from FAO Corporate Document Repository: <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/y4632e/y4632e0x.htm>
- FAO. (2002). *Land tenure and rural development*. Rome: FAO Land Tenure Studies.
- FAO. (2002). *Land Tenure and Rural Development*. . Rome: FAO Land Tenure Studies.
- FAO. (2008). *An introduction to the basic concepts of food security*. Rome: EC - FAO Food Security Programme.
- Gatsby. (2014, Sept 18). *BOOSTING UGANDAN BEAN PRODUCTION*. Retrieved from <http://www.gatsby.org.uk/uploads/africa/reports/pdf/beans-summary-2014.pdf>
- GLTN. (n.d). *Global Land Tool Network - Country Level Engagement: Uganda*. Nairobi: UN Habitat.
- Goldman, A., & Heldenbrand, K. (2002). Gender and Soil Fertility Management in Mbale District, Southeastern Uganda. *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 6(Issues 2 & 1), 46-76.
- IFDC. (2012). *CATALIST-UGANDA: Increasing Incomes by Sustainably Commercializing Smallholder Agriculture through Improved Productivity and Market Development. Project Proposal*. Alabama: IFDC.
- IFDC. (2012). *CATALIST-Uganda: Increasing Incomes by Sustainably Commercializing Smallholder Agriculture through Improved Productivity and Market Development*. Alabama: IFDC.
- IFDC. (2014). *CATALIST-Uganda: 2014 Annual Report*. Kampala: IFDC.
- Kamusime, H., Rugadya, M., & Obaikol, E. (2005). *Capital Creation, Transfer or Reversal; Assessing the Outcomes of Systematic Demarcation of Customary Tenure in Uganda*. Kampala: Associates for Development.
- KiDLG. (2008). *State of Environment Report for Kisoro District 2007/2008*. Kisoro: Kisoro District Local Government.
- Kothari, R. (2004). *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques, 2nd Edition*. Delhi: New Age International Publishers.

- Leliveld, A., Dietz, T., Foeken, D., & Klaver, W. (2013). *Agricultural dynamics and food security trends in Uganda*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Maxwel, D., & Wiebe, K. (1999). *Land tenure and food security: Exploring dynamic linkages*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- MercyCorps. (2011). *Land disputes in Acholi land: A Conflict and market assessment*. Kampala: MercyCorps.
- NAADS. (n.d.). *BANANA PRODUCTION GUIDE*. Retrieved from <http://www.naads.or.ug/files/downloads/Banana%20Production%20Guide.doc.pdf>
- Nakayi, R. (2011). *Resolving Land Disputes in Post-Conflict Northern Uganda: Role of Traditional Institutions and Local Council Courts*. Denmark: Danish Institute for Human Rights .
- Palmer, D., Fricstad, S., & Wehrmann, B. (2009). *Towards Improved Land Governance. Land Tenure Working Paper 11*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.
- Rugadya, M. (1999). *LAND REFORM: THE UGANDAN EXPERIENCE. LAND USE AND VILLAGISATION WORKSHOP*. Kigali.
- Rukundo, B., & Kirumira, D. (2014). *Reforming Land Management in Uganda: The difficult path towards harmonized institutional mechanisms and arrangements for land tenure security* . Washington DC: World Bank.
- The World Bank. (2015). *The Growth Challenge: Can Ugandan Cities get to Work - 5th Edition*. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *National Population and Housing Census 2014 - Main Report*. Kampala Uganda.
- USAID. (2008). *Moving from subsistence to commercial farming in Uganda*. Washington DC: USAID.
- WFP. (2013). *Comprehensive Food Security And Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA): Uganda*. Kampala: World Food Program.
- Winters, P., Davis, B., & Carletto, G. (2009). Assets, Activities and Rural Income Generation: Evidence from a Multicountry Analysis. *World Development*, Vol 37(No.9), 1435–1452.
- WRI. (2011). *Focus on Land in Africa: Brief*. World Resource Institute.