

# Landlessness amidst Abundance?

Rosetti Nabbumba Nayenga  
Policy Analyst  
Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit  
Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development  
**UGANDA**  
[rnabbumba@pmau.co.ug](mailto:rnabbumba@pmau.co.ug); [rnabbumba@hotmail.com](mailto:rnabbumba@hotmail.com)  
*April 2003 (First Draft)*

## **Abstract**

*Developing countries like Uganda are abundantly endowed with natural resources with large chunks of land lying under-utilized. Ironically, landlessness is one of most frequently cited cause of poverty, particularly among the chronically poor. Factors that perpetuate landlessness among the poorest are not well understood. This paper provides insights into the categories of the chronically poor that are most susceptible to landlessness using Uganda as a case study. It also explores key policy processes that may promote or act as a disincentive to land access for the chronically poor. The analysis shows that once landless, the chronically poor are exposed to several interlocking factors that push them further into poverty. Some of these factors are both causes and consequences of poverty and landlessness, thus bringing in the aspect of multidimensionality. The analysis draws from data in the 1991/1992 and 1999/2000 Uganda National Household Surveys, the 1998/99 and 2001/2002 Uganda*

*participatory poverty assessments and other secondary data sources on land issues in the country.*

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

DLB	District Land Board
DLO	District Land Officer
DLT	District Land Tribunal
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSSP	Health Sector Strategic Plan
JLOS	Justice, Law and Order Sector
LSSP	Land Sector Strategic Plan
MFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MWLE	Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment
PAF	Poverty Action Fund
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPA1	First Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPA2	Second Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPEA	Participatory Poverty Environment Assessment
PSR	Poverty Status Report
ULC	Uganda Land Commission
UNHS	Uganda National Household Surveys
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UPPAP	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process

## 1.0 Introduction

Land is the main asset from which the poor are able to derive a livelihood. Land is viewed in Uganda as a major determinant of individual, household and community poverty. Poor people in a number of communities in Uganda have affirmed in several studies<sup>1</sup> that land is an asset of the family that can be sold to solve big family problems such as paying bride price or dowry, constructing better homes, capital for business. It is also the main asset used as collateral in accessing credit from formal banks. Without land, poor people are doomed to a life of perpetual poverty.

Some 18 million hectares of arable land is available for cultivation in Uganda. It is estimated that only a third of this is under arable cultivation and about 700,000 hectares is under large-scale agriculture (DFID, 2002). Urban development is less than 1 percent of the country. Hence, the striking feature that is often highlighted in Ugandan literature is that the majority of the land is underutilized. This is particularly true for northern Uganda, which is composed of a large land mass but sparse populations compared to the eastern, western and central parts of the country that are more densely populated.

### 1.1 Why the interest in this study?

This study begins by disagreeing with the many studies that have been conducted on land matters in Uganda that conclude that landlessness is not a serious problem in Uganda and therefore should not warrant any special attention. Land is considered to be abundant and hence available to all people, poor and non-poor. What is obviously true however, which has been pointed out by a number of authors (Nakanyike-Musisi, 2002; LSSP, 2001; MFPED, 2003) is that there is no definite statistics on the proportion of landless people in Uganda, an issue that needs to be addressed urgently.

Patchy information that is available indicates a strong link between chronic poverty and landlessness. Many chronically poor people in Uganda are also landless. In addition, evidence is also emerging that a significant but unsubstantiated proportion of people who are considered to be well off (non-poor) have become chronically poor due to the loss of key assets, particularly land. Using panel data for the 1992 and 1999 Uganda Household Surveys, Lawson et al. (2003) confirm that asset depletion is particularly prevalent in households who are chronically poor and those that are moving into poverty. And once they are landless, poor people are faced with several factors that perpetuate their poverty making it difficult to move out of the vicious cycle of poverty. It is the interest of this study to bring concrete evidence on key causes of landlessness amongst the chronically poor, the situation that results once this category of poor are landless and highlight actions to deal with this challenge.

Of interest also is the fact that some policies that have been designed primarily to reduce poverty and are being implemented seem to precipitate landlessness and poverty among the poorest people, an issue that warrants further investigation. In this analysis, cognizance is given to the fact that sometimes, the link between land and poverty is complex, intertwined and remains contested. Two key issues illustrate this point drawing from evidence in the

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<sup>1</sup> MFPED; 2003; MFPED, 2001; Ellis et al, 2001.

second participatory poverty assessment (PPA2) conducted in 60 villages in 12 districts of Uganda:

?? some people have massive land tracts but they are still categorized among the chronically poor. An example in Bundimulombi, Bundibugyo, was of a man cited as having 20 acres but had failed to put it to productive use due to poor planning and lack of money and advice for developing it. He is one of the poorest people in the village. His children are not going to school because he cannot afford to clothe them and buy scholaristic material (MFPED, 2003). A key message is that the lack of economic resources such as land does not sufficiently explain why some people continue to be chronically poor.

?? land was said to be only useful in as far as people can derive a livelihood from it either by growing crops, rearing animals, constructing businesses that fetch income, renting it out, etc. Even if a farmer has land but it is infertile and cannot be used productively, then he or she also categories him/herself as landless.

But first we need to put a meaning to the two key concepts in this study: **chronic poverty** and **landlessness**, particularly in the Ugandan context.

## 1.2 Chronic poverty: definitions and concepts

There is universal agreement among the poor and policy makers in Uganda that poverty is the **lack of basic needs and services** such as: food, clothing, beddings, shelter, health care, land, roads, markets, education and information. Poverty is also defined as **powerlessness, social exclusion, ignorance and lack of knowledge and being surrounded by poor people** who cannot buy your goods and services (MFPED, 2003; MFPED; 2000).

### ?? International experience

Hulme et al. (2001) note that the defining feature of chronic poverty is its extended duration<sup>2</sup> with some people being poor since birth. These are the most disadvantaged for whom emergence from poverty is most difficult given that they cannot take advantage of and they are not easily reached by development interventions. Chronic poverty is also defined by the multi-dimensionality and severity characteristics. The chronically poor always or usually have their mean expenditures or incomes over all periods below the poverty line and usually require strong poverty ‘interrupters’ to emerge from poverty. In addition, deprivations are experienced in a number of dimensions that are in many cases more than income poverty.

Both Moore (2001) and Hulme et al. (2001) highlight the inter-generational transmission of poverty as a key defining characteristic of chronic poverty. This means the transmission of poverty from older to younger generations, especially parents to children (transfers can also be made to older generations) through the transfer or withdraw of resources or capitals<sup>3</sup>. Note is made of the fact that socio-cultural and legal norms of entitlement that determine access to

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<sup>2</sup> How this is defined depends on available data but the authors suggest that a period of five years is considered to be long enough for one to be identified as a chronically poor person.

<sup>3</sup> Capitals that are being transferred may include financial, human, natural or environmental, socio-cultural or socio-political assets.

and control over various economic, political and social resources are also important determinants of the nature, extent, source and direction of transfers.

## ?? Ugandan context

The definition of chronic poverty does not greatly differ from what we know from international literature. In their paper, Okidi and Kempeka (2002) identify the chronically poor in Uganda as those who experience poverty intensely over an extended duration. They identify people who most likely to fall within chronic poverty as including people affected by emergency (internally displaced persons, refugees, abducted children, people affected by drought); and the extremely vulnerable groups such as women, children, elderly, isolated communities, the disabled, people living in northern or eastern Uganda, those involved in subsistence farming and the unemployed.

In the participatory poverty assessments conducted in Uganda that are used extensively in this study, wealth rankings show that between 20 – 40 percent of populations in the sampled households are ranked as the poorest category. Movement into poverty was noted to be more frequent than movement out of poverty. Possibilities of the chronically poor to move out of poverty diminish when they are faced with landlessness.

By definition, chronic poverty is described in *'perpetually living from hand to mouth'* and *'surviving on the mercy of communities for food and shelter'* (Communities in Ruwe, Arua district). It was described in many PPA2 communities as *'becoming homeless with no source of livelihood'*. The following four dimensions of chronic poverty unfold in this analysis:

~~☞~~ It was mentioned in many instances that poverty is **inter-generational**. That once one is born in a poor household, he is likely to remain poor for part or the rest of his life *'As a heir to my fathers household, I inherited poverty; not anything more than that'* a man in Ruwe, Arua district, Uganda.

~~☞~~ On duration, it was noted that a sizeable number of extremely poor Ugandans particularly in Northern Uganda have experienced **extended periods** of poverty due to insecurity and internal displacement. Such people, including women and children have been living in camps for the internally displaced people that lack basic services and means of livelihood. People are forced to live on handouts and have been living in such conditions for close to 16 years.

~~☞~~ Among the chronically poor, poverty is most severe during certain periods of the year relating to climatic changes, food availability, crop failure, prevalence of human diseases, taxation and the payment of school fees. In most parts of the country, poverty is most severe during the heavy rain seasons when natural catastrophes like landslides and floods occur causing a surge in human disease and a reduction in food availability as crops are destroyed. But even during dry seasons, other parts of the country are experiencing long dry spells that negatively affect agricultural production especially for small poor farmers. It is also the time when payments for school fees and taxes are made sparking off distress land sales that perpetuate poverty among the most vulnerable. Thus chronic poverty has a **seasonality** component to it.

~~☞~~ The chronically poor people find themselves in a vicious cycle of poverty once they are landless. As the landless poor people move into further poverty, it becomes difficult to

clearly distinguish what pushed them into this situation and the consequences thereafter. Several factors are linked to one another showing the **multidimensionality** of chronic poverty.

### **1.3 The concept of landlessness**

Landlessness in Uganda can be conceptualized from two dimensions namely; ‘ownership’ and ‘access to land. If landless ness is conceptualized in the context of completely having no ownership rights at all, then the majority of the women folk in Uganda are landless because they rarely own land. If landlessness is understood in the other context of having access or not, then the women and other vulnerable groups are not landlessness because they have access rights to land especially through marriage.

In this paper however, landlessness or near landlessness is described as having no land, very small non-variable pieces of land (less than 1 acre) usually supporting over large families of 10 people.

### **1.4 Objectives and key questions**

The central theme of much of the discussions in literature on chronic poverty comprises the following key questions: which people, under what circumstances are they unable to escape poverty and why? These are considered relevant to this study and hence are part of the core questions that are being asked about the links between chronic poverty and landlessness.

This paper seeks to understand why people who are in chronic poverty are landlessness, how this affects their livelihood and suggest possible areas of action to address this challenge. The following are some of the key questions that have been answered in the analysis:

- i) What are the main land issues in Uganda and how are they related to poverty?
- ii) Key policy, institutional and legal reforms affecting access to land
- iii) How is landlessness defined in the Ugandan context?
- iv) Which groups of the chronically poor are most susceptible to landlessness?
- v) What are the factors that have acted as drivers or maintainers of extremely poor people in landlessness?
- vi) Effects and consequences of landlessness on the chronically poor?
- vii) What short to long-term measures are likely to facilitate increased access to land by the chronically poor?

### **1.5 Methodological approach and limitations**

The analysis in this report mainly relied on secondary data sources. Care was taken to balance the use of both qualitative and quantitative data and analytical tools. Four key data sources were used in this analysis:

- i) Survey data in the 1991/99 and 1999/2000 National Household Surveys
- ii) Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) during 1998/99 and 2001/2002
- iii) Village Census 2001/2002
- iv) Selected land sector studies



## **?? Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS)**

Reference is made to data collected in the two households surveys of 1992 and 1999/2000. In the 1992 *Integrated Household Survey (IHS)* data was collected on all socio-economic aspects of the household covering a large sample of 10,000 households. The 1999/2000 *Ugandan National household Survey (UNHS)* had a crop survey as the core module along with continuing socio-economic and community surveys. Both surveys had a panel component of 1300 households. Both surveys were conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS).

## **?? Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs)**

Two participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) have been conducted in Uganda with an overall objective of bringing the perspective of poor people into national and district planning for poverty reduction. The first participatory assessment (PPA1) was carried out in 1998/99 in 9 districts of Uganda in 36 research sites. In 2001/02 a second participatory assessment was implemented in 60 sites in 12 districts of Uganda during November 2001 and May 2002. Both PPAs were conducted by the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process (UPPAP), an initiative of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) of the Government of Uganda. The research was implemented by partners in NGOs, research institutions, local governments and other civil society organizations.

This study has used data and information from both PPAs. In particular, further analytical work on the causes of poverty was done for 40 of the 60<sup>4</sup> sites (covered in PPA2). Thirty of these sites were rural based while 10 are urban/peri-urban. To ensure diversity, the analysis covered villages that were selected based on multiple criteria: pastoral villages, plantation agriculture, fishing communities, internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps, environmentally degraded sites and a border community. Annex 1 gives the detailed list of sites covered in the analysis in this study.

## **?? The Village Census**

In order to complement information gathered in PPA2 and to establish whether participatory and questionnaire based research approaches yield similar results, a Village Census was conducted in 36 of the 60 PPA2 research sites in early 2002. The questionnaire was designed to yield information broadly comparable to that collected by PPA2 and to the previously conducted household surveys in Uganda and was administered to all household heads. A separate questionnaire was used to interview village (LC1) and sub-county (LC3) officials.

A small proportion of information from the Village Census was used in this study to strengthen the analysis.

## **?? Main Limitations**

1. The household surveys and participatory assessments that are used as the main data sources were not designed intentionally to seek data specifically from the chronically poor but the poor in general. However, using participatory methodologies and

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<sup>4</sup> PPA2 covered 60 sites of which 47 were rural and 13 urban.

particularly the wealth ranking technique, the PPAs were able to seek out the chronically poor.

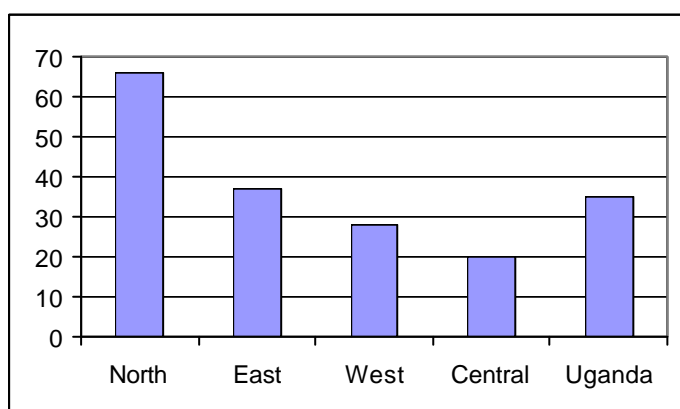
2. Arising from above, the use of primary data that is collected specifically to address the links between landlessness and poverty could have enriched the analysis but was not possible due to time and resource constraints.
3. Clearly defining landlessness, given that literature is silent on this issue and data has not been collected on the key indicators, presented a major challenge.

## 2.0 Macro-poverty trends and poverty reduction policies

### 2.1 Who are the poor people and where do they live?

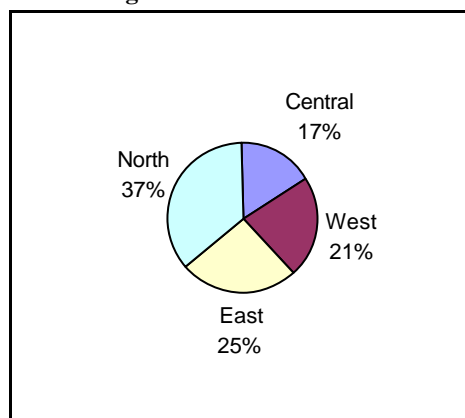
Based on the 1999/2000 household survey, the proportion of the population living below the poverty line in Uganda declined from 56 percent in 1992 to 44 percent in 1997 and eventually 35 percent in 2000 (Appleton, 2001; MFPED, 2001). A very small component of this fall in poverty was due to redistribution hence the observed widening inequalities between rural and urban areas and inter-regionally. Poverty in Uganda continues to be geographically concentrated, with the North and East, respectively having the largest proportions of poor people. About 37 percent of the poor Ugandans live in the Northern Region. Another quarter live in the East, while the rest live in the Central and the Western region (Fig 1).

**Fig 1: Incidence of poverty in Uganda 1999/2000**



Source: 1999/2000 UNHS.

**Fig 2: Regional distribution of poverty in Uganda 1999/2000**



Source: 1999/2000 UNHS.

In the Northern region, 66 percent of the population is below the poverty line indicating that 2 out of 3 persons are poor. In the Central region, 'only' 1 person out of 5 is poor. Further, statistical analysis of the UNHS datasets and decomposition of the poverty statistics (Okidi and Mijumbi, 2001) therefore conclude that at the end of 2000, national poverty was significantly associated with:

- i) Residence in rural areas;
- ii) Residence in Northern region of Uganda; and
- iii) Children (child poverty)

Past monitoring efforts<sup>5</sup> have shown that poor people live in large families with a higher proportion of children and elderly than the rest of the population. Within the households the women are typically even worse-off than the men. A majority of the people in this group are illiterate, especially the women. The poor are often subsistence farmers or casual labourers, who are poorly endowed with capital and physical assets. The poor also count the women (especially widows and divorcees), the youth, orphans, people with disabilities and the sick. Poor people have low quality dwellings and lack access to safe water<sup>6</sup>.

## 2.2 Key poverty reduction policies in Uganda

Uganda is one of the least developed highly indebted countries in sub-Saharan Africa that have taken bold but prudent steps to fight massive poverty within its population. Major policy reforms, summarized in Box 1, have been undertaken since the late 1980s to meet this objective. Key among these were prudent fiscal and monetary policies aimed at enhancement of expenditure control and prioritization of public expenditure; debt reduction strategies; exchange rate liberalization that resulted into foreign exchange being made available at market rates and the Uganda Shilling becoming a completely convertible currency; and trade liberalization which involved removal of the negative effective protection faced by the agricultural sector. In 1992 all explicit export taxes were removed to encourage a positive export supply response.

After achieving economic stabilisation and sustained growth, government focused itself on the eradication of poverty. Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) also known as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was formulated as early as 1997 and has been under implementation since then. It is the national policy framework that spells out Government intentions and actions for poverty reduction for the 1997-2017 period. The main development objective is to reduce absolute poverty to less than 10% by 2017 from the current 35%. This also encompasses the policy measures towards the attainment of most of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The PRSP is implemented through sector-wide and local government development and investment plans. For example, already in place are: a 10 year Road Sector Plan, a 5 year Health Sector Plan, a 3 year Education Sector Investment Plan, a Plan for Modernization of Agriculture, a Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy for Private Sector Development, the Justice, Law and Order Investment Plan and many others. These are operationalized through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), the Poverty Action Fund, annual budget and district Budget Framework Papers (BFPs).

### Box 1: Key Government Policy Reforms 1987-2002

- /// Fiscal and Monetary Policies
- /// Exchange Rate Liberalisation
- /// Trade Liberalization
- /// Financial Sector Reforms
- /// External Debt Policy
- /// Privatization
- /// Decentralization
- /// Public Sector Management Reforms
- /// Poverty Eradication Strategy
- /// Poverty Action Fund
- /// Medium Term Expenditure Framework
- /// Sector wide planning – PMA, UPE, HSSP, JLOS, etc
- /// Land sector reforms

<sup>5</sup> MFPED, 2001; MFPED Discussion Paper No. 3 on 'Who are the Poor?', 2000.

<sup>6</sup> See 'Uganda Poverty Profile' for more information. Can be found at the Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development.

Policy implementation is done within a decentralized framework with the private sector playing a key role in service delivery. It is within this framework that land sector reforms have been undertaken to address the key challenges affecting the poor. The extent to which these land reforms and other related policies (especially those dealing with the environment and natural resource) have addressed or perpetuated landlessness among the extremely poor are discussed in the subsequent sections of this report.

### **3.0 The Bigger Picture: land reforms and policy processes**

In the past century, almost all countries in the sub-Saharan Africa have undertaken programs of policy development, legislative reform, administrative restructuring and conflict management on issues relating to land, land rights and land issues, (Mwebaza, 1999). The primary aim behind most of the land reforms is the promotion of economic growth and the reduction of poverty. Despite differences in colonial experiences, culture, language and environment, the land policy reforms through the sub-continent have focused on remarkably similar issues and problems like distribution, ownership and the use of land.

However, for Uganda, the major thrust has been mainly to right the historical imbalance in ownership and control of land created by the colonial administration. Specifically, the most important concerns have been the following: *the extent to which a market in land may be encouraged, the extent to which land regulations should be democratized, land use, and the role of the state in land ownership and control* (Alden, 1997).

#### **3.1 Key land reforms in Uganda and relevant policies**

In general, Uganda's rural settlement patterns are considered to be wasteful of land. The majority of settlements consist of dispersed rural homesteads and nucleated urban centers where local administrative and trading centers are allocated. The national pattern shows a concentration of settlements in areas with better natural resources like fertile land and good climate. These are areas in the Lake Victoria crescent, the slopes of Mount Elgon and the Rwenzori and the highlands of southwestern Uganda. On the other hand, one observes a more spatial distribution of growth centers in Northern Uganda and the Karamoja region. (MWLE, 2001).

The most important land reforms (including relevant policies) that have had and are likely to have significant impact on land relations and rights in Uganda are the:

- i) 1975 Land Reform Decree
- ii) Uganda Constitution of 1995
- iii) 1998 Land Act
- iv) 2001 Land Sector Strategic Plan
- v) Poverty Eradication Action Plan (discussed in previous section)
- vi) Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA).

The Uganda Land Policy and Land Use Policy are just being formulated and these are likely to have significant influences on land rights and access for the poor.

#### **i) 1975 Land Reform Decree**

Before 1975, land relations in Uganda were based on the system created by the British colonial administrators. Through a series of agreements concluded between the British authorities and traditional rulers and their functionaries, the British were able to grant a number of private estates in some parts of the country to people who assisted them in administration. The most popular is the thousands of square miles granted to the loyals and clan leaders of Buganda under the mailo system. This gave exclusive rights to a few individuals to own large tracts of land. It is important to point out that although the historical nature of land tenure and its management has considerably changed since the colonial period, its impact still manifests in the country's land problems.

In 1975, the Land Reform Decree was passed which declared all land in Uganda public. The Decree among other things sought to address the issue of land fragmentation and prevention of large chunks of land being left underdeveloped. It converted Mailo Land and Freehold into state land on which individuals or organizations could acquire lease for 99 or 199 years. Customary land users in the rest of the country become tenants at sufferance of the state as the laws governing the landlords and tenants were abolished. Unfortunately, the Decree was never fully implemented and remained on statute books for 16 years and was widely criticized.

## **ii) 1995 Uganda Constitution**

In 1995, the government through a protracted process of debate in parliament enacted a new constitution. This constitution abolished the 1975 land law and re-stated the four systems of land tenure namely: Mailo Land, leasehold, freehold and customary tenure. The constitution practically ushered in very fundamental changes in the relationship between the state and land in Uganda. For instance, Article 237 declares that land in Uganda belongs to the people. It went further to provide for the devolution of authority over land boards at district levels throughout the country. Among other duties, these boards are charged with the responsibility to hold and allocate land in the district that is not owned by any person or authority. Secondly, they are meant to facilitate the registration and transfer of interest in land.

The constitution also provides for the establishment of an institutional framework for dispute resolution. Setting up land tribunal at both the district level and sub-country level are meant to determine disputes relating to grant, lease, repossession, and transfer of acquisition of land by individuals. The provisions on gender found in the Constitution are the most progressive globally as these entrench principles of gender equality and affirmative action. However, it does not clearly resolve linkages between the principles on gender equality and its implications for domestic land tenure relations.

While the written law does not discriminate between land rights of men and women, there are practices that do, which are largely based on custom. These customary practices relate to patrilineal inheritance, male ownership of land and other productive property and male control of authority structures and decision-making at household, community and other levels. Land is inherited patrilineally, father to son or nephew with women accessing land mainly through marriage. They also include patriarchal marriage practices such as bride price. As a result the formal legal structures are often not resorted to. (Ovonji-Odida et al., 2000). This may explain why many chronically poor people, particularly women, are faced with unresolved disputes that leave them landless as the analysis in this report shows.

### iii) The 1998 Land Act.

In 1998, the Uganda parliament passed a Land Act to provide for the tenured, ownership and management of land; to amend and consolidate the law relating to tenure, ownership and management of land (1998 Land Act). The legislative reforms under the 1998 Land Act were aimed at operationalising the land reform process. The objectives of the Land Act are to provide security of tenure to all land users the majority of whom are customary tenants, lawful or bonafide occupants on registered land; and provide an institutional framework for settling disputed over land.

The progress of the land reforms enshrined in 1995 constitution and 1998 Land Act has been rather slow than what was anticipated at its enactment. Up to date, a few reform proposals that it provided for have been implemented, the main challenge being the enormous cost of implementing the land reforms. Modifications have been made to quicken the implementation process and already some reforms have commenced. The Land Tribunals at district level have been established and funds have been provided to districts to support the activities of the District Land Boards. Work has commenced on formulating the national land policy and land use policy. Some of the key challenges that will have to be addressed include:

- i) Weak capacity within local governments to handle land matters;
- ii) An affordable structure for resolution of land dispute.
- iii) For consistency, the Land Policy and tenure reform process needs to be set within the broader objective and programmes pursued by government and properly coordinated. Different components of the Land policy and aspects that affect land use in the country are handled by different sectors that tend to work independently (See Box 1 for other challenges).

### iv) Land Sector Strategic Plan (LSSP)

Completed in 2001, the LSSP provides an operational framework for the implementation of the provisions in the Uganda Constitution and the 1998 Land Act. A key strategic objective of the LSSP is to improve livelihoods of poor people through a more equitable distribution of land access and ownership, and greater tenure security for vulnerable groups.

**Box 1: Key policy challenges to land reform in Uganda**

- ~~///~~ Poor harmonization of land policies
- ~~///~~ Limited land use planning
- ~~///~~ Weak institutional capacity
- ~~///~~ Inadequate financial resources
- ~~///~~ Inadequate public awareness and community participation
- ~~///~~ Need to reduce gender inequalities

It is expected that this will be achieved by increasing security of access and ownership of land through certification and use of a land fund; improving access to justice in land cases and rising awareness of land rights (MWLE, 2001a). Studies have been undertaken, including one on options for strengthening land rights of women and orphans to operationalise the LSSP that is in early stages of implementation for the next 10 years.

### v) Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA)

The Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) of 2000 is a strategic framework for eradicating poverty through multi-sectoral interventions enabling the people to improve their

livelihoods in a sustainable manner by transforming agriculture from subsistence to commercial orientation. Among the seven priority interventions of the PMA<sup>7</sup>, is one on Sustainable Natural Resource Utilisation and Management with land being one of the main focus areas among other resources (forests, wetlands, wildlife, water).

It is noted that land is an essential factor of production and therefore land reform and improved management would contribute to the realization of PMA objectives by:

- ~~///~~ Enhancing food security through redistributing land to the landless and land poor;
- ~~///~~ Facilitating investment and enhancing efficiency in the use of factors of production; and
- ~~///~~ Contributing to resource conservation

The PMA further provides that in land constrained areas, poor farmers will access land through rental and land lease markets. The Land Fund which is yet to be operationalised, will provide opportunity for tenants to buy out the interests of land lords, assist poor farmers acquire land titles and enable government to pay compensation to people disposed of land for public use (MAAIF, MFPED, 2000). This analysis throws light in key emerging issues relating to the implementation of some of the provisions of the PMA. Evidently, although the PMA is sensitive to poor people, provisions that seek for efficiency in land use inevitably lead to creation of a landless class that is mainly composed of the chronically. This is further explored in later sections.

## 4.0 Evidence of landlessness among the chronically poor

### 4.1 Landlessness: a myth or reality?

This study finds that landlessness is not a myth but a reality particularly among the chronically poor. The general trend is that people who settled first in rural villages in Uganda have large pieces of land (3 acres up to over 20 acres) and are the richest while those who have migrated later into these villages are often unable to get access to land and if they do they get extremely small pieces.

The PPA2 and the Village Census indicate that access to land is increasingly becoming a problem for poor people. In PPA2, shortage of land was the second most frequently cited cause of poverty.<sup>8</sup> Information collected in the Village Census sheds light on why land shortage was one of the most frequently mentioned causes of poverty in PPA2. The Village Census found that households are not accumulating land; rather this asset is diminishing in size. Figure 3 shows the overall trends in land ownership by wealth category.<sup>9</sup> The

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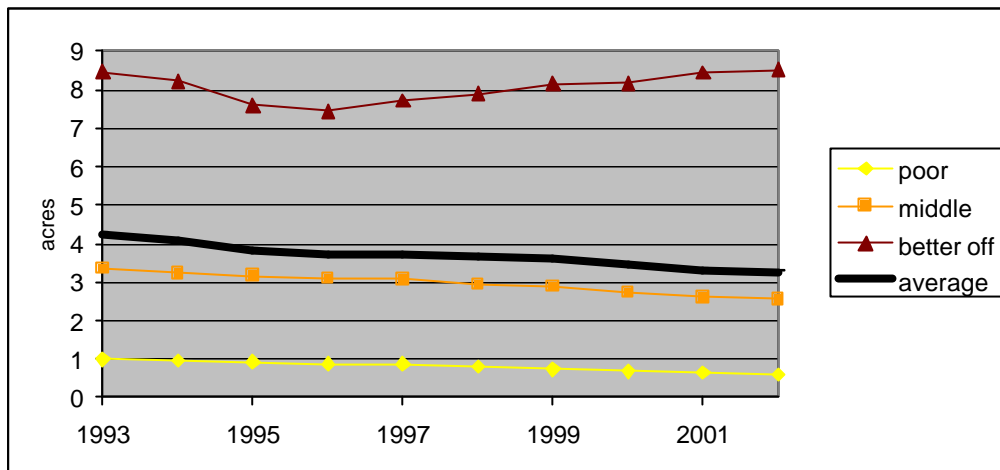
<sup>7</sup> Research and Technology Development, National Agricultural Advisory Service, Agricultural Education, Rural Finance, Agro processing and Marketing and Physical Infrastructure.

<sup>8</sup> Shortage of land was listed as a cause of poverty in 21 of the 47 PPA2 rural sites and 7 of the 13 urban / peri-urban areas where research took place.

<sup>9</sup> The three wealth categories, 'poor', 'middle' and 'better off,' used when reporting the Village Census findings, are based on an estimation of the value of the assets households own. The assets considered were: cattle, pigs, goats, chickens, ploughs, enterprise equipment, buildings for agricultural and business purposes, boats, motorbikes, bicycles, sofas, radios and corrugated iron roofs of domestic dwellings. Households were ranked in order of the value of their assets, after which the first 20% in each village was named: 'better off', the middle 60%: 'middle' and the last 20%: "poor"

households owning most land in 2002 find themselves owning the same acreage as in 1993 having recovered from a dip in 1996. The middle and poorest categories on the other hand have seen their landownership decreasing significantly. In other words, land seems to be concentrating in the hands of the rich.

**Figure 3: Changes in land ownership over the last 10 years among households**



Source: Village Census

Some households in the poorest wealth category confirmed that they have no access to land especially for farming and live as squatters on other people's land<sup>10</sup>. For example, in Ihuriro Ntungamo, it was explained that total land acreage owned in the village had declined considerably from about 4 acres in 1992 to between 1.5-2.3 acres presently on average and the situation was worse off for poorer categories. Most poor people had sold their land to the few wealthy individuals or exchanged it with other material needs in order to absorb financial and household shocks.

In Kisarabwire Masindi, the poorest people in the village said that they do not own land but live on borrowed land. Even if they own land, they are still poor because it is inadequate (less than half an acre), it is infertile and too exhausted for any meaningful activity.

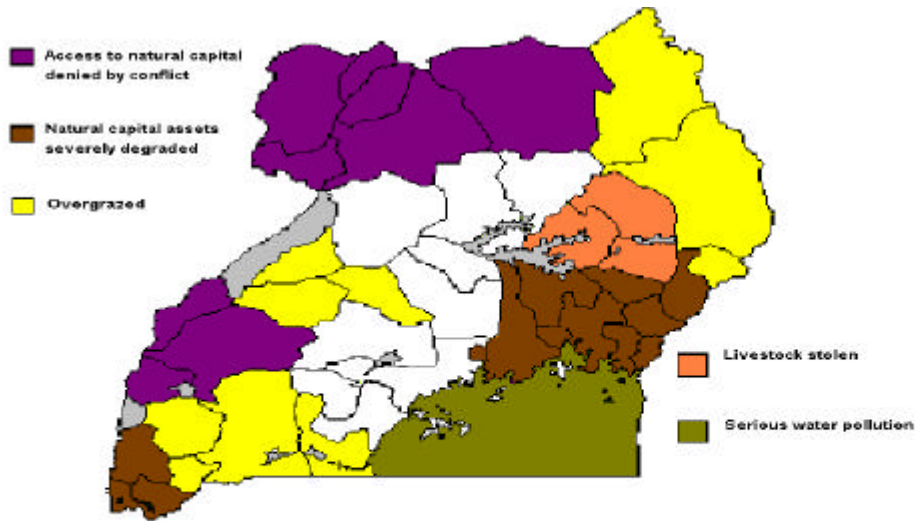
Acute land shortages among the poor people are also prevalent in areas that are experiencing declining environmental quality. Evidence from the PPA2 and Participatory Poverty and Environment Assessment (PPEA, 2002) show that regional inequalities exist in access and utilization of natural resources across Uganda due to a number of factors. Key among these are insecurity, high population density, natural resource degradation, loss of soil fertility and overgrazing in pastoral areas.

Poor households in large parts of northern Uganda are unable to access land and natural resources due to conflict and mass displacement. Areas with high population densities such as in southwestern and parts of central and eastern Uganda are experiencing intense natural resource degradation which has resulted into land fragmentation and migration to places that have less population pressure. The overgrazed areas in the pastoral areas of Karamoja and southwestern Uganda necessitated that rich pastoralists buy or lease land from the poor

<sup>10</sup> Ihuriro, Ntungamo.



pastoralists to increase the land holding capacity, which has left the latter virtually landless. The state of environmental quality is shown in the Map (DFID, 2002).



The next sections explore in-depth the key causes of landlessness among the chronically poor and how this further perpetuates poverty.

## 4.2 Main drivers and consequences of landlessness among the chronically poor

The causes and consequences of landlessness among the chronically poor, which further perpetuate poverty, are so intertwined that it makes it difficult to find the right point to intervene. In this section, the major causes of landlessness among the chronically poor are discussed. A linkage is then drawn to show that once poor people are landless, they live in a vicious cycle of poverty due to the multi-dimensionality of the key factors that push them further into poverty.

### 4.2.1 Key drivers of landlessness

Analysis was taken to look at what drives poor people into landlessness using PPA2 data. Overall 28 of the 60 communities (or 47 percent) identified land shortage as the second most important cause of poverty, after poor health (MFPED, 2003). Interestingly, in the communities where land shortage was not identified as a priority cause of poverty, the poorest people identified landlessness as a key factor that enhances poverty among their group. In other words, in a village that was considered to have sufficient land for the majority of the people, the poorest people were the exceptional cases who had very little land or none at all.

The main drivers to landlessness amongst the poorest people are summarized in Table 1 and 2 and details are in Annex 2. For ease of analysis, the main causes were grouped in a sizable number of categories. Clearly many of the causes are closely linked which made the analysis difficult. But what follows is indicative of the most important issues that link chronic poverty and landlessness.

**Table 1: Main causes of landlessness amongst the poor (overall)**

Key Cause	%Communities affected	Rank*
Demographic characteristics	53%	1
Sale of land	50%	2
Land grabbing and disputes	43%	3
Gender inequalities	38%	4
Natural Hazards	38%	4
Negative impacts of Government policies	33%	5
Insecurity and displacement	23%	6

\*Rank 1 is most important cause.

**Table 2: Main causes of landlessness amongst poor by rural/urban**

Key cause	Rural communities		Urban communities	
	% of communities affected	Rank	% of communities affected	Rank*
Sale of land	50%	1	50%	2
Demographic	47%	2	70%	1
Natural Hazards	47%	2	10%	6
Land grabbing and disputes	43%	3	40%	3
Gender inequalities	37%	4	40%	3
Negative impacts of Government policies	30%	5	40%	3
Insecurity and displacement	23%	6	20%	5
Urban expansion	0%	-	40%	3
Unaffordable high rental value	10%	7	30%	4
Being street children	0%	-	20%	5

\*Rank 1 is most important cause.

Overall demographic characteristics were identified as the most important cause of landlessness among poor people affecting more than half (53 percent) of the sampled communities. Sale of land by poor people is the second most important cause of landlessness in half of the sampled communities followed by land grabbing and disputes and gender inequalities.

Further disaggregation of the statistics shows a variation in the order of importance of these key causes of landlessness in the rural and urban areas. While in urban areas, demographic pressures are the number one cause of landlessness among the chronically poor (affecting 70 percent of the communities), it comes second in rural areas where sale of land is the most important driving factor. Also natural hazards are a significant factor in explaining

landlessness in rural areas unlike in urban areas. Land grabbing and disputes and gender inequalities are equally important in driving poor people into landlessness and abject poverty. The next section discusses these driving factors in more detail.

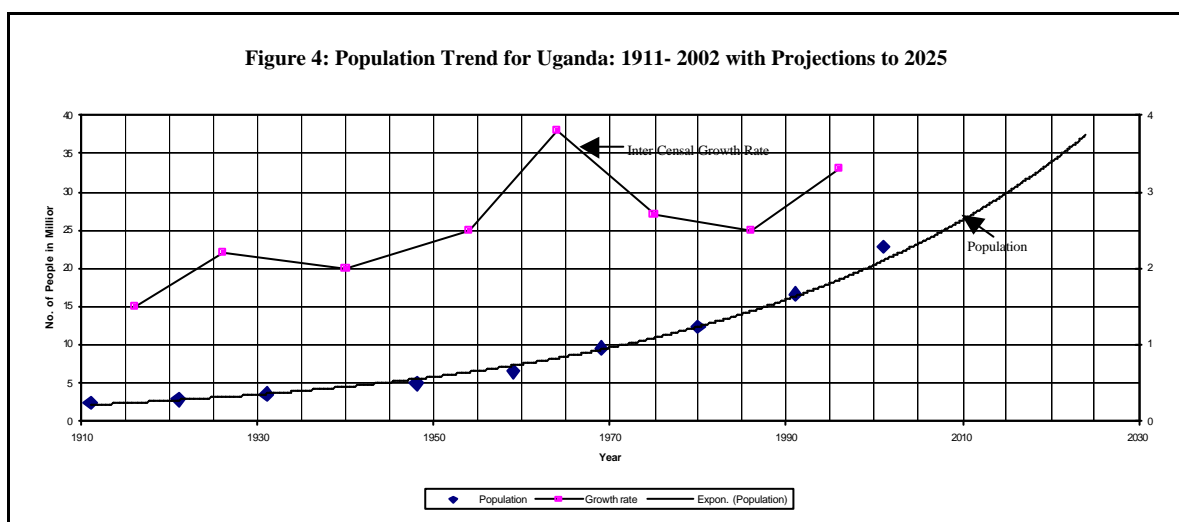
#### 4.2.2 How these drivers into landlessness and chronic poverty work

The multidimensionality of the factors that lead to landlessness and chronic poverty is illustrated in Fig 6 below.

##### a) Demographic characteristics

The most important demographic factors that lead to landlessness and further poverty relate to increasing population pressure arising from rural-rural and rural-urban migrations and large families that lead to excessive land fragmentation and in some cases complete loss of land. Small plots of land divided among many members was said to lead to over-use of the soils leading to soil exhaustion and reduced productivity. As a result, many of these families are faced with food insecurity, low incomes and enhanced poverty. The analysis (Annex 2) shows that population pressures are evident in all parts of the country with the exception of Northern Uganda where this problem is mainly in urban areas.

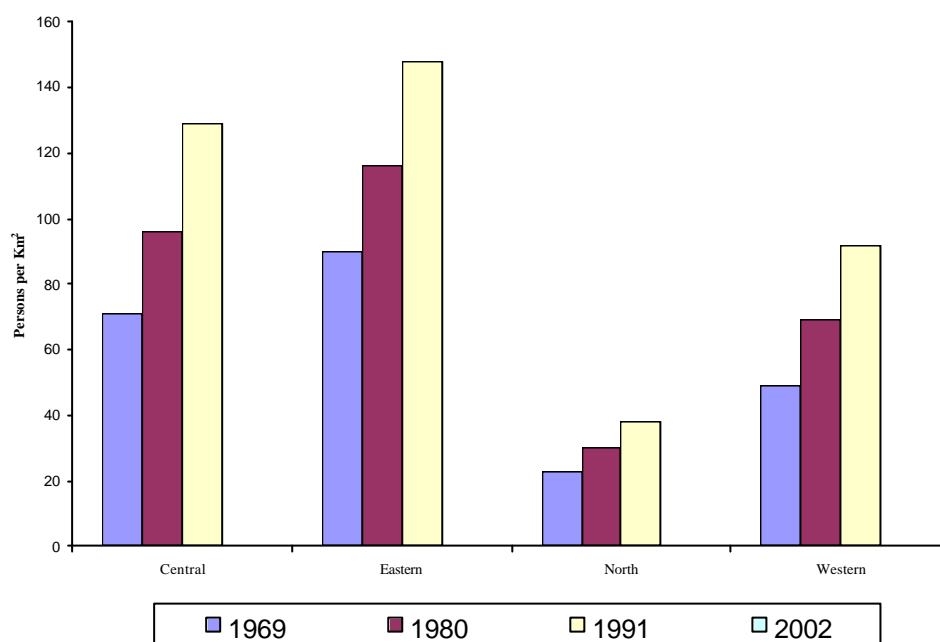
It is not surprising that demographic factors play such a key role in perpetuating landlessness and chronic poverty given the high population growth rates experienced in Uganda in the recent decades. Overall, Uganda's population growth trends have tended to be exponential which explains the pressures on the natural resource base (Fig 4). The population of Uganda increased from a mere 2.5 million in 1911 to slightly over 24 million as of 2002 (UBOS, 2002).



Source: Derived from UBOS Statistics; State of Uganda Population Report 2001.

But there are regional variations in the growth rates and population densities. The central and Western regions maintained relatively constant growth rates where significant increased have been registered for the eastern (3.5 percent) and northern regions (4.6 percent). But despite the high population growth rates, northern Uganda has the lowest population densities as shown in Figure 5.

**Figure 5: Regional Population Density Trends 1969 - 2002**



Other studies<sup>11</sup> have shown that the problem of large families is most felt amongst the poorest category that includes most of the chronically poor. Unfortunately, most of the population growth is happening in the poorer segments of society – poor households have more children than better-off households. Table 3 illustrates that the average number of children is twice as high for the poorest 20 percent as for the richest 20 percent. It is also well established that those in the lower range of income distribution have less education, fewer assets (MFPED, 2000; MFPED, 2001a).

**Table 3: Mean number of children and fertility by quintile, Uganda**

Income/Wealth Quintile	Children below 15	Children below 5	Tot Fertility Rate
Poorest 20%	3.49	1.06	8.5
2 <sup>nd</sup> Quintile	3.30	1.07	8.2
3 <sup>rd</sup> Quintile	2.81	0.98	7.5
4 <sup>th</sup> Quintile	2.33	0.80	6.3
Richest 20%	1.72	0.56	4.1

Sources: MFPED calculations based on UNHS (1999/2000); UDHS (2000/01).

Although they have an idea about the dangers and disadvantages of having large families, poor women are unable to take any redressive measures such as family planning because they have little or no control of their reproductive role.

<sup>11</sup> MFPED, 2002: Uganda PRSP Progress Report 2002.

*'According to Acholi culture, women are supposed to deliver until they finish their intestines (implying that women have to bear children until they reach their menopause). When you go for family planning, he (husband) beats you up saying that you are killing his children.'*

**Poor woman, West Zone, Kitgum district.**

*'I am really in a desperate situation. I have very little land yet I have 15 children. I find it so hard to feed my children because there is no land to grow food. I have even failed to take my children to school.'*

**A disabled man, Lwitamakoli Jinja.**

## **b) Land sales**

Sale of land was identified as the most important cause of landlessness overall occurring in both the rural and urban areas. In particular distress sales to meet taxes, school fees, debts, medical and food requirements were most pronounced. Some of the poorest men in parts of the country explained that their parents sold off their land, thinking that they (these men) would buy their own when they are grown up. Thereafter, the parents migrated to other places and this has left their off-springs landless and in extreme poverty as they have no means of livelihood.

Households that have people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS have been forced to sell off their land to be able to pay for drugs and treatment and also care for the orphans which has left them landless and extreme poverty conditions.

It was mentioned in some of the sampled communities that men sell off whatever they have, including land and the use the proceeds in buying booze<sup>12</sup>. Some men have sold off household property in order to pay debts incurred during boozing. A case study to illustrate this comes from Rwamutunga Ntungamo in Western Uganda:

*'A man in the village was very but he liked alcohol. He had two wives and many children. He sold his land in pieces and drunk all the money. He became poor and his wives abandoned him. He later left the village and nobody knows where he is'.*

**Old man in poorest wellbeing category, Rwamutunga Ntungamo.**

When poor people sell off their land for whatever reason, this leads to loss of control of a vital asset, which increases the household's vulnerability. Without an income source, some households have been forced to depend on hand outs from their neighbours while others resort to stealing.

## **c) Land grabbing and disputes**

Upon the demise of the husbands, widows loss land due to land grabbing by the relatives of the deceased. Widows fall into chronic poverty when they lose property upon death of their

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<sup>12</sup> Kakabagyo, Rakai; Acomia, Soroti; Rwamutunga, Ntungamo.

husbands. Clan members usually retain land and livestock and ask the widow to return to her parents' home. In many cases, these poor women who by then have many dependents are not accepted back in their parents homes as they are considered to be a disgrace to society. They and the orphans and dependents live on meagre resources obtained through child labour, hand outs and other means. The orphans are forced to drop out of school in order to earn a living to feed the family. This diminishes their chances of ever getting out of poverty as they do not have education to enable them seek gainfull employment.

In PPA2, it was noted that there are more land disputes today than before. The female headed households are the main victims to land grabbing as explained:

*'Hardly a day goes by without me receiving a land dispute. Widowed women are the main complainants as clan members try to grab their land'* said the LC1 Chairman, Awoja Soroti.

Land disputes arise due to a number of factors including large families, people are generally unaware of land policy and its application and territorial conflict. Because most maps are outdated, it is not clear to districts where their boundaries lie and this results in territorial conflicts that lead to eviction of poor people. Land disputes have also been reported when institutions such as the police and army establish themselves on people's land.

#### **d) Gender inequalities**

Due to the inter-relatedness of issues, it was difficult to separate out gender issues from the rest of the other causal factors. For example it is clear that some of the factors that lead to land grabbing and disputes are gender related. Gender inequalities in this section were limited to the issue of the inability by widows, young girls and youth to inherit land the main source of livelihood which results in their staying in poverty for extended periods.

In the majority of communities land was said to be belong to the man and they are the ones who can inherit. Full control is by the man unless he dies *'it is a gift of power given by God because he created man first and later made a woman to assist him'* stressed a middle-aged man, Oluodria village, Arua. The community in Oluodria Arua said that utensils belong to the woman and they control use but land, radios and bicycles are controlled by men, although women can access them. This has aggravated women's poverty since they are unable to make investment decisions for the long term and lose the land upon death of their spouse.

*'If one cannot inherit land from the family then he or she is doomed to be poor for all his or her life'*.

**said an elder, Awoja village Soroti**

Due to cultural barriers, girls as well are equally affected as they also do not inherit land and in the event of failure of their marriages, they are left landless. Upon failure of their marriages or death of their spouses, they lose land and yet they may have no where to go and hence remain landless and in absolute poverty. Asked why girls cannot inherit land, an explanation given was that:

*'We give land only to boys and not to girls because they will be married by men. If you give land to a girl, she may not even respect her husband because she has land back home. She may even abandon the man and return home'.*

**Elderly man, Lwitamakoli, Jinja.**

Such behaviour in a girl is considered to be disgraceful to the family and is condemned. Women can access land through marriage or purchase.

#### **e) Negative impacts of Government policies**

There is a category of extremely poor people who have become landless as a result of eviction from the Gazetted Forest Reserves, wetlands and other public places without compensation.

##### *Wetland Protection Act*

This prohibits use of swamps for cultivation. Many extremely poor who had no land migrated into areas bordering swamps which they use for farming. Enforcement of the Wetland Act and policies has led to these people being evicted from swamps by local leaders which has led to a situation of landlessness and lack of a livelihood. Without land where to grow food, poor people are food insecure and lack means to access the basic necessities of life.

##### *Forestry policy*

Gazetting land as forest reserves has created a situation of landlessness among the extremely poor who had resorted to encroaching on forests as a source of livelihood.

##### *Socio-economic infrastructure development*

One migrant who had remained in poverty since 1998 explained that the Government took his land in that year and built a school on it but he was never compensated. He is now a fisherman and among the poorest in his community *'I have no home. Most times I move from place to place looking for food. At times, food is thrown to me like a dog'* Man from Acomia Village Soroti.

##### *Commercialisation*

Plantation agriculture: poor people staying on the outskirts of commercial plantations have been forced by circumstances to rent out their land for long periods (over 10 years) to these plantations for a small fee and to richer outgrowers which has left them landless.

*Investment:* Eviction by investors

#### **f) Insecurity and displacement**

Insecurity experienced in Northern Uganda in the last 16 years has led to internal displacement of people into camps thus abandoning their property. Access to assets, particularly land is denied. Insurgency was also noted to result in some people becoming disabled and unable to make use of the resources available to them. Those who are affected,

especially women, move from their villages to go nearer to towns to beg for a living. For example, one disabled woman in Soroti copes by begging food from a school and sleeping in classrooms after the children have left.

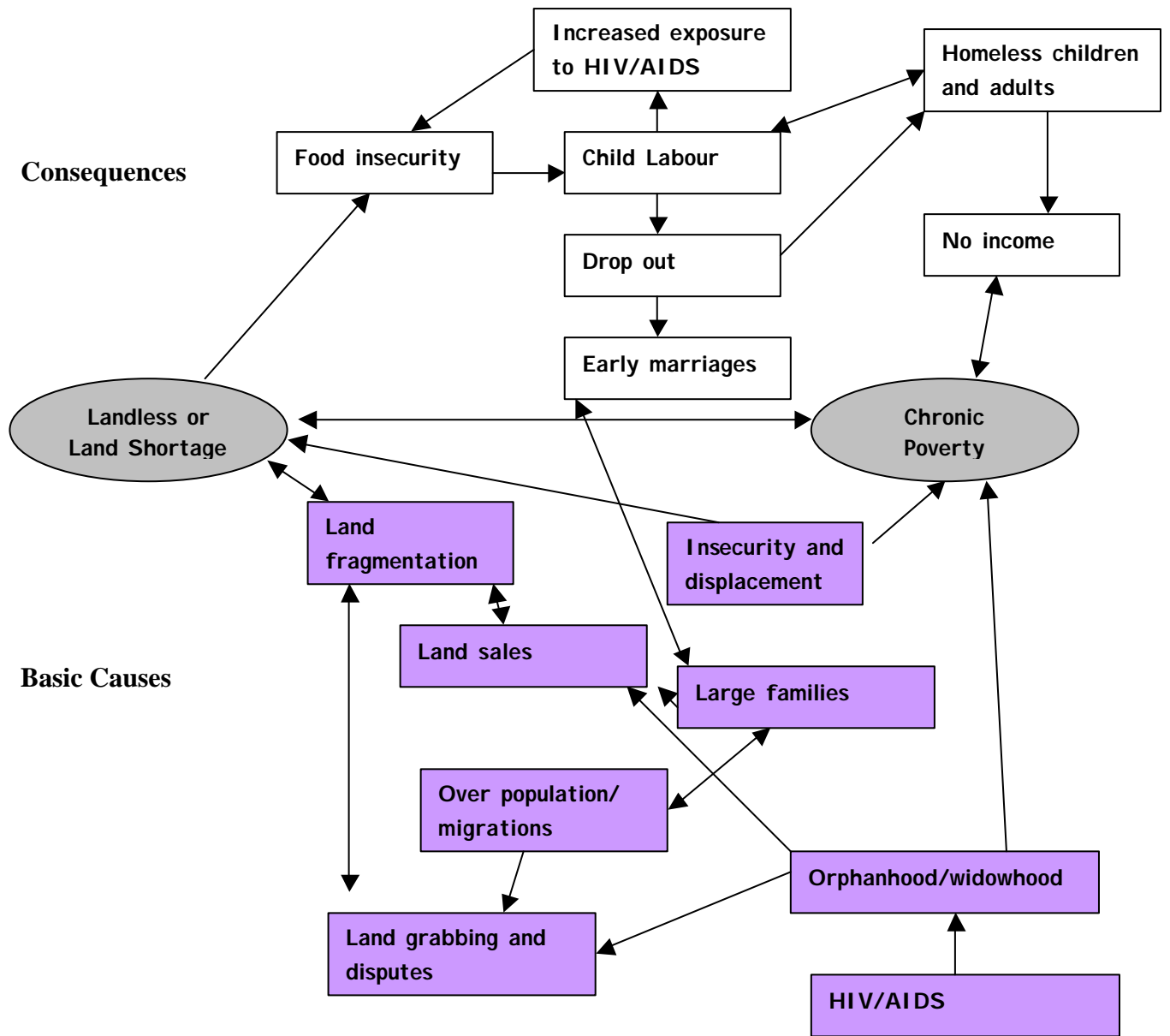
Children whose parents died due to rebel activities are left with no assets from which they can derive a livelihood as their relatives also lack support mechanisms. They are thus condemned to a life of perpetual poverty.

**g) Natural disasters**

Natural calamities such as floods and land slides have been identified by the most marginalized sections of the population as a key cause of landlessness and poverty. Landslides and floods have been noted to lead to mass displacement and migration and deaths.



**Figure 6: Multi-dimensionality of poverty among the landless poor (to be improved)**



### 4.2.3 Consequences of landlessness

All groups (men, women, youth, elderly) indicated that having no or little land for cultivation exposes households to food insecurity as they sell the little food they have in distress. Little land means inability to expand production to feed the family and sell the surplus. Land less people can't secure education for their children given that they do not possess the vital resource which brings in income from sale of both cash and food crops. They fail to construct relatively permanent residential structures for shelter, which increases their vulnerability to disease, as they remain homeless.

In households where land is rented or borrowed but located in far places, women leave young children unattended to for a long time as they spend long hours walking to and from their gardens. This results into child neglect with consequences of malnutrition and increased vulnerability to disease. Some women opt not to go for long hours and instead abandon farming which results in food shortages in the home.

Landlessness or acute land shortage also affects the rate of adoption of recommended technologies as hereby explained:

*'Sometime back, we received agricultural extension services from CARE (an NGO). The agricultural extension worker was recommending leaving a lot of space for the bananas. We could not adopt what he was recommending the spacing 10 by 10 feet because we have small portions of land. In fact, if you are to go by his recommendation, you can only fit 10 plants!'*

**Man in FGD, Rwamutunga Ntungamo.**

Migration to other areas especially by poor youth who are unable to access land. Many poor people however are unable to move to other places due to age (being elderly), disability, fear to lose social networks and family ties and facing the unknown. In addition, the very small pieces they own when sold cannot fetch enough money to enable them start off elsewhere.

### 4.2.4 Who suffers landlessness most?

Most affected are widows, widowers with many children, women, youth, children especially girls, PWDs, orphans and elderly with large families of orphans. Also affected are youth and child headed households.

Poor widows who are unable to purchase their own land are extremely vulnerable to landlessness due a combination of factors relating to inability to inherit, land grabbing and disputes as explained above. This situation also applies to the young girls from these families. One widow narrates what many like her are forced to endure:

*'Before my husband died, he allocated plots of land to his sons, leaving me and the female children with no property. Now the sons have matured and are trying to force me out of their property. I am left with nowhere to grow the food crops and I have nowhere to go'.*

**Widow in poorest category, Rwamutunga Ntungamo.**

Child headed household specifically cited landlessness as a major cause of poverty as after death of the parents, land is either grabbed or they are left with very small plots of land that are unproductive. Children in conflict are forced to move into camps for internally displaced persons as they lack land and other resources to derive a livelihood.

Few youths are able to access land from their parents. The majority either rent small pieces or remain landless thus migrating to townships to look for off-farm employment. Most youth reported that they are born in polygamous families with so many children competing for the limited resources.

Some elders are displaced by their sons from their land thus rendering them homeless.

#### **4.2.5 How is landlessness managed? Key coping strategies**

The chronically poor have little room to manoeuvre when they are faced with acute land shortages. Only a handful are able to take one or more of the following measures, depending on the circumstances they find themselves.

Some resort to drastic alternatives like begging for food and money to meet their basic requirements from well-wishers. Cases were mentioned of the landless cohabiting with friends or staying with relatives especially in the urban areas.

Renting land is an alternative although landlords tend to put restrictions on the nature of investments made. Long-term investments such as growing perennial crops are discouraged as this may lead to the tenants overstaying. A key policy issue is that renting land without confidence of tenure undermines production decisions for the long-term. The internally displaced rent land from landlords near the camps at 10,000/= per season or borrow from friends.

In the majority of cases, those who rent are not allowed to grow perennial crops, which would increase control and legitimacy to own the land overtime. The growing of perennial crops would be beneficial in raising incomes, better utilisation of labour and renting larger pieces of land to produce for the market. The PMA should consider the problem of people with small acreage who resort to renting land and yet cannot grow perennial crops.

Some families have been forced to migrate to neighbouring villages thus breaking the family ties and social networks.

Youth in particular engage in casual labour to earn a living. Many have tended to migrate to the urban areas in search of employment. This is likely to have subsequent negative effects on food production if the able bodied continuously leave their communities to settle elsewhere.

Over population leads to land shortage – this in turn causes for insecurity. As the children struggle look for living, they engage in child labour, which forces them out of school. Lack of education results in chronic poverty, as they cannot easily access good paying jobs.

Conflict over family assets particularly land heightens when people are chronically poor.

In pastoral areas, landlessness forces people into migrations to look for pasture for their cows, which affect the schooling of children as they drop out to tend the animals. It also increases exposure to diseases particularly HIV/AIDS.

## **5.0 Implications for policy**

*(To be completed)*

## **6.0 Conclusion**

*(To be completed)*

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**Annex 1: Description of PPA2 Villages that have been analysed (Total 40 Communities – 30 rural and 10 urban)**

<b>Region</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Village</b>	<b>Selection Criteria</b>
Central	Mubende	1.	Bubanda	Pastoral
		2.	Mwera Tea Estate	Plantation, casual labour
		3.	Nakiryia	Rural panel
		4.	Katogo	Urban
	Wakiso	5.	Kiddugala	Rural panel
		6.	Kimwanyi	Rural panel
		7.	Kiwafu West	Peri-urban
	Rakai	8.	Kasensero	Fishing
		9.	Cell 12, Kyotera Town Council	Urban
		10.	Kakabagyo	Rural panel
Eastern	Bugiri	11.	Golofa, Sigulu Island	Fishing
		12.	Buwoya	Rural
		13.	Kigusa	Rural
		14.	Busanzi 'B' Cell	Urban
	Jinja	15.	Kagoma Gate	Migrant plantation labour
		16.	Masese III Site	Slum conditions (urban)
		17.	Lwitamakoli	Rural
	Soroti	18.	Kabola	Child neglect (rural)
		19.	Acomia	Fishing
		20.	Awoja	Women's access to land
21.		Okungoro	Agric change and livelihood	
Western	Masindi	22.	Kigungu	Fishing
		23.	Kisarabwire	Peri-urban
		Ntungamo	24.	Kabanda
	25.		Ihuriro	Rural panel
	26.		Rwamutungu	Environmental degradation
	27.		Kicece	Rural panel
	28.		Cell 1 Ntungamo Town	Urban
	Bundibugyo	29.	Kyamukube Camp	Internally Displaced Persons
		30.	Bundimulombi Camp	Internally Displaced Persons
		31.	Butungama	Pastoralist
Northern	Moroto	32.	Nakapelimen	Urban
		33.	Lorukumo	Pastoral
		34.	Alekilek	Rural
		35.	Lokileth	Agro-pastoral
	Arua	36.	Ruwe	Border community
		37.	Oluodria, Arua Town	Peri-urban
	Kitgum	38.	Bura Central	Rural panel
		39.	Atango	Typical rural site
		40.	West Zone, Kitgum Town	Urban

Annex 2: Causes of Landlessness amongst the poorest people in Uganda in PPA2														
	Rural Communities						Urban Communities						Total Communities	
No. of Rural / Urban and Total Communities	30		Region where mentioned				10		Region where mentioned				40	
Cause	No. where cause mentioned	%	North	East	West	Central	No. where cause mentioned	%	North	East	West	Central	No. where cause mentioned	%
<b>Demographic</b>	14	47%	2	5	5	5	7	70%	4	1	3	3	21	53%
Increasing population pressure/ migration	10	33%	2	2	4	2	5	50%	2	1	1	1	15	38%
Large family size	8	27%		3	5		4	40%	1	1	1	1	12	30%
Child headed household/orphans	8	27%		2	3	3	3	30%	1		1	1	11	28%
Polygamous families (many sons to give land upon marriage)	4	13%		1	1	2	1	10%		1			5	13%
<b>Gender inequalities</b>	11	37%	1	4	3	3	4	40%	1		1	2	15	38%
Inability to inherit or own land especially women & youth	11	37%	1	4	3	3	4	40%	1		1	2	15	38%
<b>Land grabbing &amp; disputes</b>	13	43%	1	5	6	2	4	40%	1	1	1	2	17	43%
Land grabbing from widows and divorced women	10	33%		4	5	1	3	30%		1	1	1	13	33%
Land grabbing by rich people	3	10%		1	1	1		0%					3	8%
Land disputes	5	17%	1	2	2		2	20%	1			1	7	18%
<b>Insecurity and displacement</b>	7	23%	2	3	2		2	20%	2				9	23%



Displacement of elderly		0%						0%					0	0%
	<b>Rural Communities</b>						<b>Urban Communities</b>						<b>Total Communities</b>	
<b>No. of rural/urban communities</b>	<b>30</b>		<b>Region where mentioned</b>				<b>10</b>		<b>Region where mentioned</b>				<b>40</b>	
<b>Cause</b>	<b>No. mentioned</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>East</b>	<b>West</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>No. mentioned</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>East</b>	<b>West</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>No. where mentioned</b>	
Disability leading to seeking refuge elsewhere	1	3%		1				0%						0%
<b>Government policies</b>	9	30%		4	1	2	4	40%	1			3	13	33%
Wetland Protection Act leading to displacement	1	3%		1			1	10%				1	2	5%
Gazetting forest reserves	2	7%		1	1			0%					2	5%
Devt infrastructure without compensation (schools, roads)	1	3%		1			3	30%	1			2	4	10%
Leasing land to investors	2			1		1		0%						0%
Lack of land rights/security of tenure	3	10%		1		2		0%					3	8%
Renting out land to plantation outgrowers	2	7%		2				0%					2	5%
Individualizing land (constitution)/ absentee landlords	2	7%				2		0%					2	5%
<b>Natural Hazards</b>	14	47%	2	3	6	3	1	10%			1		15	38%
Land slides	2	7%			2			0%					2	5%
Floods	5	17%		1	3	1		0%					5	13%
Infertile land (usually inherited)	8	27%	1	2	3	2	1	10%			1		9	23%
Drought	2	7%	2					0%					2	5%
Mountainous/hilly terrain	1	3%			1			0%					1	3%
<b>Sale of land</b>	15	50%		8	4	3	5	50%		1	2	3	20	50%
Due to HIV/AIDS to meet expenses	4	13%		1	2	1	2	20%			1	1		0%
Distress sales (taxes, fees, etc)	8	27%		4	2	2	4	40%		1		3	12	30%

Payment of loans	1	3%		1				0%					1	3%
	<b>Rural Communities</b>				<b>Urban Communities</b>				<b>Total Communities</b>					
<b>No. of rural/urban communities</b>	<b>30</b>		<b>Region where mentioned</b>				<b>10</b>		<b>Region where mentioned</b>				<b>40</b>	
	<b>No. mentioned</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>East</b>	<b>West</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>No. mentioned</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>East</b>	<b>West</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>No. mentioned</b>	<b>%</b>
Payment of dowry/bride price	5	17%		5	1	1	1	10%			1		6	15%
Alcoholism	7	23%		3	2	2	1	10%		1			8	20%
Pay land as penalty for defilement	1	3%		1				0%					1	3%
Parents sale off land (children expected to buy their own) and migrate to cities	2	7%		2			1	10%				1	3	8%
<b>Others</b>														
Urban expansion		0%					4	40%	1		1	2	4	10%
Unaffordable high rental value	3	10%			2	1	3	30%	2			1	6	15%
Being street children		0%					2	20%			1	1	2	5%
Being disabled	2	7%	1			1	1	10%				1	3	8%
Coming from a poor family with no assets	1	3%			1			0%					1	3%
Child mothers later abandoned		0%					1	10%	1				1	3%