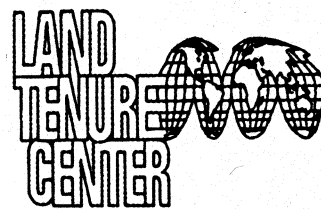




**MAKERERE INSTITUTE  
OF SOCIAL RESEARCH**  
Makerere University  
Kampala, Uganda



**LAND TENURE CENTER**  
College of Agricultural  
and Life Sciences  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

**RANGELAND TENURE AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:  
AN OVERVIEW OF PASTORALISM IN UGANDA**

by

**W. Kisamba-Mugerwa**

**ACCESS TO LAND AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES IN UGANDA:  
RESEARCH AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

**Research Paper 1**

**Prepared for Makerere Institute of Social Research and the Land Tenure Center**

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and  
The Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

- APC** Agricultural Policy Committee
- CPR** Common Property Regime
- IDA** International Development Agency
- KDA** Karamoja Development Agency
- LTC** Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin
- LRD** Land Reform Decree (1975)
- MISR** Makerere Institute of Social Research at Makerere University
- NDA** Nyabushozi Development Association
- RRA** Rapid Rural Appraisal



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The report is one in a series of studies undertaken in phase one of the Access to Land and Other Natural Resources Project undertaken by MISR in close collaboration with the Land Tenure Center (LTC) at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Priorities were agreed upon by the research institutions and the Agricultural Secretariat of Bank of Uganda, in consultation with the Ministry of Lands, Water and Environment Protection, USAID, and the World Bank. The project was intended to strengthen the capabilities of MISR as a source of relevant policy issues for the Government of Uganda, and to strengthen the ability of MISR to conduct analyses of large data sets.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Owing to a persistent decline in agricultural production and environmental degradation, a World Bank Mission in 1983 identified land tenure, among others, as a factor to examine in formulating a sound agricultural policy. Consequently, a series of studies were conducted to establish to what extent land tenure affected agricultural development and to what extent natural resources, including forests, game, and national parks, were affected by human activity. Finally, in 1989, proposals to repeal the 1975 Land Reform Decree (LRD) and to introduce a freehold land tenure system permitting the operation of a land market were submitted to the government for consideration. Regarding natural resources under state reserves, a case by case approach was recommended in order to stop and reverse encroachment and to establish up to date management plans.

Since the land tenure studies and resulting recommendations were based on a crop farming system, it was deemed important to examine the state of pastoral areas in light of the recommendation to introduce a freehold system on communal grazing land. This report is an overview of pastoralism in Uganda; it covers the preliminary investigations on rangeland tenure and resource management that examine, in historical perspective, the changes legal and policy interventions related to rangeland tenure and resource use have made in pastoralism. This study was conducted amidst increasing rangeland resource use conflicts, persistent famine among pastoralists, management crises, and pastoral resource degradation. The area of the study was the cattle corridor, stretching from the Ugandan border with Tanzania, through the Lake Kyoga area in central Uganda, to Karamoja in the northeast (see map 1 in the appendix). The findings are based mainly on literature review, discussions with key informants, and spot observations, but are supplemented with secondary data collected while undertaking the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA).

An attempt was made to categorise rangeland tenure systems theoretically, according to their rights structures. Three property regimes were identified: common property, state property, and private property. In addition, rangeland management may degenerate into a non-property regime or open access. This theoretical background was used as a basis for establishing the management strategies of rangeland resources in Uganda.

Uganda has never had a uniform land tenure pattern; even customary land tenure, in practice throughout Uganda before colonial administration, varied from one ethnic group to another. However, those customary tenure systems shared something in common: customary rights in land use were always strictly observed by members of any one ethnic group. Land use conflicts were almost non-existent. When they did arise, they were always settled within the same family lineage or at the clan level.

Nonetheless, colonial authorities regarded the customary system as prone to tenure insecurity. Clan and community, they believed, had no incentive to invest in the land, while individuals with initiative and means lacked incentives to make improvements because of inadequate tenure security. Though it is said the colonial government in Uganda was a protectorate and ruled indirectly, rather than as a colony or territory, its policies towards the indigenous tenure system were far from indirect.

The introduction of the native freehold in the Toro and Ankole areas in 1900 and 1901, the *mailo* land in Buganda in 1900, and, to a certain extent, the LRD, all drove towards individualising land ownership. This has been intensified by the view that, under private ownership of land, the producer attains incentives to undertake long term agricultural investments and permanent improvements on land, thus increasing agricultural productivity. Customary tenure and communal rangeland management are never considered capable of bestowing such incentives. On the other hand, due to pressure on grazing land by immigrants and various government development projects, the insecurity of tenure felt by the pastoralists has accelerated the process of individualisation in the pastoral areas, especially among the Bahima. The 1955 recommendation by the East African Royal Commission, that Uganda should pursue a land tenure policy that seeks the individualisation of land ownership, has had far reaching effects on pastoralism and the pattern of rangeland management. Land tenure policies in Uganda have been following the individual owner model, especially in the area of crop cultivation where the impact of investment is easily noticed; this is because of the state's view that rangeland has no economic benefit and that pastoralism is unproductive.

Uganda lacks a consolidated national land use policy. The forest reserves and national parks do not have updated, sound management plans. Each department has independently focused development projects on rangeland. Additionally, forest reserves, game reserves, and national parks have rigid regulations that exclude activity by communities that were traditionally using these areas or who had customary use rights of them.

The state of rangeland tenure in Uganda has been influenced both directly and indirectly by multiple factors, such as:

- ♦ colonial government policies that focused on cash cropping for purposes of taxation to make the colonial administration in Uganda self financing;
- ♦ the view that pastoral areas were idle and unproductive, leading to the establishment of state ranches and eventually, after the eradication of tsetse flies, private commercial ranches, all of which displaced pastoralists;
- ♦ the conservation policy that restricted forest reserves, game reserves, and national parks and prevented the indigenous people from using rangeland resources;
- ♦ utilising rangeland resources for national projects such as military barracks and refugee settlement schemes without due regard to pastoralism;
- ♦ the encroachment on pastoral areas by immigrants with a background in cultivation, as is the case in Mbarara, Bushenyi, and Kasese Districts; in some cases, sedentary practices have emerged among the pastoralists themselves on a rather fragile ecosystem;
- ♦ the breakdown of traditional institutions among the pastoralists themselves that is reflected by the inter-ethnic cattle raiding of the Karimojong and by the drive towards individualised grazing land tenure among the Bahima;
- ♦ the cultural changes in pastoralist eating habits coupled with the exposure to commercial undertakings and products; and
- ♦ the political instability resulting in pastoral rangeland being used as battlefields, thereby displacing pastoralists as was the case in Ngoma subcounty, in Luwero District.

The above factors have put pressure on pastoral areas resulting in rangeland use conflicts and serious social tension. Finding lasting solutions to these conflicts requires systematic studies that assess the development management strategies of pastoral resources. Future plans for sustainable rangeland utilisation should be based on these studies. Each of the above factors requires in-depth analysis.

Poor resource management is evident in all types of rangeland management strategies in Uganda. On state property, as on private and communally grazed areas, overgrazing is noticed. It is, therefore, necessary to establish the shortcomings in each type of management strategy in order to evolve appropriate resource management policies.

To supplement livestock products, pastoralists have resorted to cultivation, thereby pushing cropping to marginal land. This has caused additional environmental degradation, the extent of which needs to be determined, and a resource management that would facilitate sustainable resource use must be applied.

The customary rights and social institutions of pastoralists in their traditional grazing land are generally no longer recognised by law. Their grazing land was leased by well placed individuals. This is one of the profound weaknesses of the LRD, and it is, therefore, recommended that the LRD be revised.

In introducing development projects, the values of the indigenous pastoralists must be taken into account. The issue of integrating pastoralists into the conservation and economic development schemes in their grazing land remains very crucial. The Game Preservation and National Park acts of 1964 are very rigid regarding human activities in the national reserves, and should be revised with a view to harmonising community participation and integration in the management of these resources. Case studies are needed: to explore the state of rangeland resources; to investigate the management of these resources; and to discover how surrounding communities are affected, particularly those claiming customary rights in the grazing lands.

There are no data on how different types of property regimes affect Ugandan pastoral resources with respect to conservation practices, agricultural productivity, economic efficiency, and equity. Furthermore, the conflict resolution mechanism has changed over time and needs to be examined. Similarly, the position of women in livestock ownership and resource management should be assessed, especially with respect to their access to pastoral resources. The experience of pastoralists, in light of the changing market economy and how they have adjusted, is another area for research. Equally important is the need to examine the root causes of overgrazing and resource degradation under different regimes.

Given today's hostile rangeland environment, with its external pressures and influences, it is increasingly difficult to assume that pastoralism in its traditional form will persist merely on the basis of its own intrinsic ability to respond to changes in its internal structure and dynamics. For this reason, it is necessary to undertake to identify appropriate policy and technological interventions for sustainable development.

Pastoralists are easily displaced, which in effect marginalises them in any country. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the means that may empower pastoralists to assert themselves and claim their rights effectively. This overview of pastoralism in Uganda provides the comprehensive background information on which a series of studies, such as outlined above, could be formulated.

# I. BACKGROUND

## A. INTRODUCTION

In Uganda, the management of rangeland resources for sustainable development remains one of the unresolved issues facing policy analysts and development agencies. Degradation of resources, low productivity, lack of food security, increasing social tension from more frequent rangeland resource use conflicts, a declining grazing land area, and relatively low levels of social welfare are persistent concerns for the pastoralists. Colonial and post-independence governments, together with development agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs), have invested substantial monetary resources in efforts to improve rangeland productivity—without commensurate success in sustainable development. Moreover, development interventions disrupt social institutions and the efficiency of traditional rangeland management. With population growth and increasing levels of environmental awareness, the issues of sustainable resource use, food security, and social stability have become central to Ugandan national development programmes.

Chapter two of this overview of pastoralism in Uganda examines rangeland tenure and pastoralism in historical perspective. Chapter three categorises rangeland regimes according to their characteristics and examines management strategies and the concept of 'carrying capacity'. Chapter four covers the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) findings, identifying the main areas of pasture land alienation and the management strategies that have developed in Uganda. The findings cover common property regimes, resource management issues, environmental implications, the extent of environmental degradation, socioeconomic relations, and conflict resolution machinery among pastoralists. This study attempts to clearly conceptualise rangeland resource management regimes, articulate various management models, and identify environmental issues for policy makers and development planners. Conclusions and recommendations are made in chapter five, and research issues are identified for subsequent in-depth investigations and analysis; it is hoped that these will facilitate the formulation of appropriate policy interventions for sustainable rangeland resource development.

## B. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Until 1983, Uganda experienced a substantial decline in agricultural production. In an effort to reverse the trend, a World Bank team of experts identified the constraints to agricultural development. Land tenure was one of those constraints according to the Agricultural Policy Committee report of 1983. As a result, a series of studies on how land tenure affected agricultural development were undertaken with a view of identifying an appropriate land tenure system for Uganda (see Kisamba-Mugerwa, Muwanga-Zake, and Khiddu-Makubuya 1989; MISR/LTC 1989). After a number of workshops and seminars, a set of recommendations was presented to the government of Uganda for consideration (see Agricultural Secretariat, Bank of Uganda 1989, 1990).

Since earlier studies had been conducted with a focus on agricultural development and farm land tenure in predominantly crop farming system areas, it became pertinent to examine the pattern of rangeland tenure and resource management. The overall objective of this review was to establish the general state of pastoralism in Uganda. Specifically, it aimed at the following objectives:

- ♦ Synthesise a theoretical framework relevant to the understanding of rangeland resource management.
- ♦ Collate in historical perspective changes in pastoralism with the legal and policy interventions related to rangeland tenure and resource use sustainability;
- ♦ Identify pastoral areas of alienation and areas of rangeland use conflicts.
- ♦ Identify areas of stress on pastoral resources and likely causes.
- ♦ Establish types of rangeland management regimes and their environmental implications.
- ♦ Assess distribution of socioeconomic benefits among pastoralists; in particular how women are affected.
- ♦ Identify areas that may need investigations to promote knowledge about pastoralism in Uganda, particularly for appropriate technological and policy interventions for sustainable resource management and integrated resource conservation.

### **C. METHODOLOGY**

A review of literature on the types of models explaining rangeland tenure and case materials on pastoralism, wildlife, and forestry in Uganda featured prominently in generating background information. Visits to pastoral areas were undertaken, and spot observations were made. Discussions were held with pastoralists (both in groups and individually) and with experts in various disciplines related to pastoralism, including pasture and livestock improvement, veterinary medicine, resource conservation, and animal husbandry.

A semi-structured check-list was designed and used in collecting systematised data, especially in conducting interviews with key informants. Spontaneous and focused group discussions were held with local chiefs, resistance council officials, women and men. The information gathered was supplemented by organised statistical information from government departments and some NGOs.

Districts visited in the cattle corridor included Bushenyi (particularly Rushenyi county); Mbarara (with particular emphasis on the counties of Bukanga, Isingiro, Kashari, Nyabushozi, and Kazo); Kabarole (particularly the refugee camps Kyaka I and Kyaka II); Kasese (particularly Busongora county); Mubende; Kiboga; Luwero (particularly the pastoral areas). In Kamuli, Kumi, and Soroti some visits were made but much more concentration was made in Moroto and Kotido in the Karamoja region.

Information collected through the RRA varied in quality depending on the atmosphere under which the interviews were conducted. At the time of the study, districts like Kumi and Soroti proved insecure. Though incidents of cattle rustling were rampant in the Karamoja area and had turned into armed conflicts, we found the people responsive and friendly. It was always risky to drive to the towns of Moroto or Kotido due to highway robberies, which resulted in many killings. It is

surprising to note, however, that it was always easy to reach other areas within any region once we had managed to reach the region's headquarters. Within regions, information given informally by the residents of the towns helped the research team to know when and where to go safely.

Nonetheless, the RRA provides a strong background for understanding pastoralism in Uganda and the management of common property resources in general.

#### **D. PASTORAL AREAS OF UGANDA**

The pastoral areas of Uganda cover the 'cattle corridor' (shown on map 1 in the appendix) stretching from Uganda's border with Tanzania to the Kotido and Moroto Districts in northeast Uganda. The area covers parts of Mbarara, Rakai, Masaka, and Kasese Districts, Kyaka County of Kabarole District, parts of Kibale and Mubende Districts, Ngoma Sub-county and Nakasongola County in Luwero District, Baale County in the northern part of Mukono District, the eastern parts of Masindi District, the northern parts of Kamuli District, and finally extends through parts of Apac, Lira, Soroti, Kotido, and Moroto districts. These areas are generally semi-arid or arid. The main cattle keepers are the Bahima in the Mbarara District, the Basongora near Rwenzori mountain in Kasese District, and the Karimojong in the northeast. Other cattle keepers in the area include the Itesot of Soroti District, the Baruli of Nakasongola County in Luwero District, the Basongora in Kasese District, and those of mixed ethnic background in Mubende, Luwero, Masaka, and Masindi Districts. They have similar political economies, though the Itesots and the Baruli practice sedentary cattle keeping, and the Basongora and Karamojong practice transhumance.

The pastoral areas generally experience bimodal and unreliable rainfall with a long dry spell from October to March. The mean annual rainfall varies from approximately 500 mm to approximately 1,000 mm with high levels of fluctuation between years and among sites. The temperatures average between 18 and 20 degrees centigrade with a maximum of 28 to 30 degrees. Warm temperatures and unreliable rainfall combine with desiccating winds during dry spells. In some areas, particularly the southwest part of the corridor, the climate tends to improve and rainfall may reach as much as 1,125 mm a year. Temperatures vary daily from 2 to 7 degrees. This type of climate is usual in wooded savannahs.

The cattle corridor has diverse but ethnically-related people. The inhabitants of Moroto district belong primarily to the semi-nomadic group of central Nilo-hamitic tribes. In Moroto District these include the Bokora in Bokora County, the Matheniko in Matheniko County and the Pian in Pian County. All share a common language and are known, collectively, as the Karimojong. There is also a small but related tribe of the Pokot (Suk) who are semi-nomadic and occupy Upe County in Moroto District. They are closely allied to the Tapeth who are on both sides of the Kenya-Uganda border. The Jie and Dodoth are the main tribes of Kotido District.

Cattle provide a major source of food and a means of livelihood. In Karamoja, cattle herds are built through raids. The zebu type of cattle—a local breed with short horns—predominate. Recently, cattle raids have become an integral feature of life in Karamoja with cattle passing among different groups and clans, providing the ascendant group(s) of the moment with a means of livelihood and resulting in the marginalisation of the defeated group(s). The widespread acquisition by Karimojong

raiders of automatic weapons has increased the violent nature of cattle rustling, creating deadly cattle raiding among neighbouring tribes and among different ethnic groupings.

With some ethnic groups being marginalised, the Karimojong economy is increasingly characterised by semi-nomadic or transhumance pastoralism, supplemented with some agricultural monocropping. In the southern and western parts of the Karamoja region that border other districts in Uganda, the population is more sedentary, and agriculture plays a major role in the economy. In this study, it was estimated that more than 50 per cent of the population in Karamoja is settled, and about 30 percent depend more on cultivation than livestock. The shift from livestock is partially attributed to the inter-ethnic raids, and 50 to 60 per cent of the households in Karamoja do not have any cattle. Among the ethnic groups that have abandoned cattle keeping are the Pokoth, Chekwe, Labwor, and Dodoth. The Jie, Matheniko, Bokora, and the Pian still depend heavily on a pastoral economy. In March 1991, estimates listed the number of cattle at about one million. Goats and sheep are generally not raided and outnumber cattle.

In southwest Uganda, the Bahima live in an area formerly known as Ankole and which now covers the districts of Mbarara, Bushenyi, and Ntungamo. It is among the lower levels of the African interior high plateau, and it is a landscape of plains and a few isolated hills. The area is divided into three distinct topographical regions: the northwest highlands, the southern highlands, and the central lowlands.

The Bahima traditionally herd the long-horned Ankole cattle which account for about 20 per cent of the cattle in Uganda. Milk is the main product, and the number of cows is deliberately kept high to ensure a consistent supply. Pasture land is traditionally the communal property of the tribe, and members of the tribe can graze as many animals as they like. There is a tendency to breed cattle of one particular colour, usually brown. The Bahima are proud of the size of the herd and even more so if the majority are of a single colour. Some crossed cattle are stocked, particularly on paddocked farms. Exotic cattle are mainly common in Kashari and Nyabushozi counties in Mbarara District. Livestock remains the property of the family, and the head of the family bequeaths the animals to his sons at his own discretion.

In general, several families used to live and migrate together. During our visits we met families on the trek with large herds of cattle. Temporary kraals and huts are built at seasonal watering points. It was also reported that the Bahima are traditionally in search of water. They used to be always on the move to escape from disease and to comply with the custom of abandoning a place where one adult had died and been buried. Through discussions with those who were migrating, it was established that they were moving to other areas for better grazing land and to search for water for the animals.

Due to increasing difficulties caused by sole dependence on livestock by some pastoral communities in Uganda, especially the Karimojong, cultivation by the pastoralist themselves is becoming widespread. Open cultivated parcels of land around the towns of Kotido and Moroto have become a permanent feature. Continuous cultivation is a clear manifestation of an individual's claim of ownership. Natural enclosures are planted and at times supported with barbed wire fencing. In some instances, particularly in western Uganda, surveying and registering of the land might follow as

individualisation evolves further, depending on the level of development of the community. Enclosures is a common feature in the Ankole area. This is a reflection of livestock policies in Uganda that were biased towards ranch development for commercial purposes.

Conservation strategies have mainly focused on forests and wildlife, taking into account catchment areas, conservation of biodiversity, and areas with a high concentration of rare wildlife species. There is no systematic programme to integrate the pastoralist and range resources into such general resource conservation schemes.



## II. RANGELAND TENURE AND PASTORALISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### A. INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to identify a single land tenure pattern for Uganda. Customary land tenure in the pre-colonial period varied from one ethnic group to another. What was common, however, was that access to land came basically through inheritance, and settlement on any unclaimed land came through the approval of the head of the ethnic group in the area and other members. Even after the 1900 Uganda Agreement through which land was allocated to the king, chiefs, and the notables in Buganda, and after subsequent similar agreements in Toro (1900) and Ankole (1901), no uniform land tenure system was established throughout Uganda. Gaining access to land, however, was not difficult.

### B. COLONIAL PERIOD (1894-1962)

Though the colonial government in Uganda was built as a protectorate and ruled indirectly rather than as a colony or territory, its policies toward the indigenous tenure system were far from indirect. The introduction of *mailo* land tenure in Buganda was accompanied by the introduction of native freehold tenure in Toro and Ankole. The 1903 Crown Lands Ordinance gave the British colonial authorities power to alienate land in freehold; though very few freeholds or leaseholds were introduced under the Crown Lands Ordinance, they implicitly sought a radical transformation of the customary tenure system.

Colonial authorities believed the customary system was prone to tenure insecurity. The clan and community had no incentive or initiative to invest in the land, while those individuals with initiative and means lacked incentives to make improvements because of inadequate tenure security. The main policy concerns about Ugandan development during the colonial period centred on making Uganda self-reliant in terms of administrative costs while also ensuring a supply of raw materials for the growing industries in Britain. Main attention, therefore, was given to encouraging investment in cultivation in order to boost agricultural exports. In this respect, traditional pastoralism at subsistence level could not meet the objectives of the colonial administrators.

The colonial government created native freeholds which were peculiar to the kingdoms of Ankole and Toro (Morris and Read 1966, pp. 340-2), pursuant to the Ankole and Toro Agreements. These agreements carried a land settlement provision which set out a distribution scheme for the land in the kingdoms. Though restricted freeholds, these land policies transformed the pastoral rangeland tenure in that they promoted settlement or semi-transhumance instead of nomadism or a transhumant system of production. This gradually encouraged those with a background in cultivation to acquire the best parcels of grazing land.

A general concern of the colonial administration of African societies throughout East Africa was how to encourage agricultural development. This led to the appointment of the East African Royal Commission in 1953. (For details see the East Africa Royal Commission 1953-1955 Report on Land Issues. GOU 1958.) The following recommendations were made:

- ♦ Land tenure policy should seek the individualisation of land ownership.
- ♦ Transactions of land should be so facilitated to enable easier access to land for economic use.
- ♦ Land tenure should not be allowed to develop spontaneously, rather government should guide its development to meet the needs of a modern economy.
- ♦ Existing property rights in land should be maintained and customary land rights must be ascertained and accommodated before exclusive individual rights are sanctioned.
- ♦ Registration should not promote subdivision and fragmentation.
- ♦ Land tenure reform should accommodate local circumstances and be pursued only with local support.

The recommendations by the African Royal Commission were officially accepted by the Ugandan government, in particular that land tenure thenceforth be based on individualised freehold title (Uganda Government 1958). Though those recommendations were further subjected to veto by each local administration in Uganda, they enhanced the process of individualisation. Some pilot schemes were undertaken in Rujumbura County in Kigezi (now Rukungiri) District and in Bugishu (now Mbale) District. In Ankole, the pilot scheme was situated in the densely populated areas of Kagango and Shuku sub-counties in what is now part of Bushenyi District (Uganda Protectorate Government Printer 1962). What is important for this report, however, is that the pilot schemes sparked off a series of sporadic surveys of individual parcels of land (Kisamba-Mugerwa, Muwanga-Zake, and Khiddu-Makubuya 1989). Land not registered either under *mailo* land or freehold was classified as public land under the colonial system.

### C. POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

After independence in 1962, provisions for protection of customary land rights were provided for under the Public Land Act of 1969. A person could legally occupy in customary tenure any rural land not alienated in leasehold or freehold. The controlling authority could only grant a freehold/leasehold on any land occupied by customary tenure with consent of the customary holder.

Before this, the Envujjo and Busuulu law of 1927 in Buganda and the Ankole Landlord and Tenant Law of 1937 had regulated the landlord-tenant relationship, minimising the tenant obligation to the landlords and strengthening the position of peasants who were shouldering the cropping sector.

In 1975 came the Land Reform Decree (LRD) and what Khiddu-Makubuya (1981) described as a fundamental legal change in Ugandan land tenure. The LRD declared all land in Uganda to be public land vested in the Uganda Land Commission and abolished freehold interests in land except where such interests are vested in the Commission. As a result of the LRD, all freehold land, including *mailo* ownership, was converted into leaseholds. Whoever may be using any parcel of land does so on a lease basis issued on conditions specifying the purpose for which a parcel of land may be developed and a period of time which is limited to 49 years. In other words, the state offers only

usufructuary rights to individuals or groups. Those who have settled on the land through customary occupancy, and these are the majority, are deemed to be holding those parcels of land in sufferance. The majority of traditional pastoral areas fall under this category. In Karamoja, for instance, there are just a couple of individuals who had applied for leases of farm land. In the Ankole area, especially in the cattle corridor, the majority of Bahima had never acquired leases.

The conversion of freeholds into leaseholds accelerated individual acquisition of land. Worse still, the LRD lifted the basic legal protection which had been enjoyed by customary tenants on public land. The original legal protections set out in the Public Lands Act of 1969, under which the controlling land authority could not alienate in freehold or leasehold any public land occupied by customary tenants without their consent, was lifted.

Pastoral land had been mainly under customary land tenure. The LRD was, therefore, a fundamental change. For example, section 3 (2) states:

For avoidance of doubt, a customary occupation of public land shall not, withstanding anything contained in any of the written law, be only at sufferance and a lease of any such land may be granted to any person, including the holder of such a tenure, in accordance with this decree.

A tenancy at sufferance can be ended at any time and there is no legal requirement that notice be given before its termination. In other words, the LRD leaves the customary tenant on public land in a very precarious situation. Before the Decree, anyone could occupy public land by customary tenure without the express permission of the prescribed authority. Under the Decree, no person may occupy public land by customary tenure except with the written permission of the prescribed authority (LRD Section 5 (i)). This change affected pastoralists who traditionally are always on the move for pasture and water for their animals.

A customary tenant on public land does not have a transferable interest in land. He may, however, transfer his interests in the improvements on that land after giving three months notice to the prescribed authority (Section 4 (i)). This, obviously, does not support pastoralism which, unlike cultivation, does not produce discernible improvements on land. It is even an offence to enter into an agreement purporting to transfer any interests in any land occupied by customary tenure (Section 4 (ii)). The LRD sparked grabbing of grazing land by speculators, especially in the pastoral areas of western Uganda.

It is important to note that, from the state's perspective, the legislative mechanisms and the policy formulation process have been influenced by the need to introduce individualisation of land deemed suitable for productivity. Among pastoralists, however, the degree of individualisation has varied from one ethnic group to another. Among the Bahima in Ankole it is almost certain that common property rangeland tenure is being phased out. In Nyabushozi county, Mbarara district, land registration was undertaken as a development project by the local Nyabushozi Development Association (NDA). The rush for leasing grazing land is attributed to a couple of factors: (1) the insecurity felt due to the pastoralists' experience with the commercial ranching schemes which displaced them; (2) the area has immigrants who lease large parcels of land and have increased resource use conflicts in the area. Nor can we rule out the influence of the elite Bahima (politicians,

professionals, and businessmen) who have also grabbed extensive parcels of communal grazing land without 'adequate' compensation to the displaced customary pastoralists.

In Kasese District, the minority group of Basongora pastoralists is being marginalised by the re-activation of the cotton industry: growers of cotton, mainly the Bakonjo, are moving into the area. Various government institutions, game reserves, and national parks were allocated large parcels of land on the plains which also has put pressure on grazing land. As a result, there is a rush by both the cultivators and the elite of the Basongora to lease large parcels of rangeland.

Rather similar to the NDA, the Karamoja Development Agency (KDA) was established to supervise the general transformation of the Karamoja region and to bring about its rapid economic and social development. It has to ensure that the Karimojong acquire the necessary skills to enable them to participate in the solution of the socioeconomic problems of the region. One specifically stated goal is the provision of sufficient water for developing agriculture and the animal industry and to promote, diversify, and increase the productive capacity of the region. The scheme has yet to be assessed to establish the extent to which it has avoided past mistakes of alienating pastoral grazing land.

However, there is no widespread leasing of land in Karamoja. While a few isolated stretches of communal grazing land have been reduced to open access (especially among the Jie, Matheniko, and Upe), private ownership of land has been resisted. A branch of the Department of Lands and Survey was opened in Moroto in April 1991, but, by the time of finalising this report, it was not operational. The officials reported and then left; hence, the office is not functioning. A District Land Committee, however, had been formed, and this committee deals with allocation of plots in the urban areas but has hardly any business in rural areas except where NGOs have acquired land for their projects.

Examining rangeland tenure and pastoralism in historical perspective reveals that the laws and development policies that govern the administration of land in Uganda have gradually, but significantly, transformed customary tenure. Cultivators have been encroaching on communal grazing land. According to local respondents opposed to individualisation of grazing land in the Ankole area, communal grazing areas have been taken by chiefs and reallocated to cultivators. Cattle owners were, therefore, squeezed out, and the communal grazing land is shrinking.

The introduction of the native freehold in Toro and Ankole, the *mailo* land in Buganda, and the LRD all drove towards private ownership of land. This has been intensified by the state's view that, under private ownership of land, the producer attains incentives to undertake long term investments and permanent improvements on land and thus will increase productivity. In the view of the state, communal grazing and customary tenure are never appropriate for bestowing incentives for this purpose.

Land reform proposals arising from studies by MISR/LTC and submitted to the government for consideration, recommended private land ownership in the form of freehold throughout the country. The proposed land reform however recognises customary claims on any parcel of land not already

alienated in freehold or leasehold. This may permit pastoralists under different groupings to use a parcel of land under customary tenure status. They may eventually register parcels of grazing land.

#### **D. FACTORS THAT HAVE AFFECTED PASTORALISM IN UGANDA**

The state of rangeland tenure in Uganda has been shaped directly and indirectly by multiple factors. The main factors include the following:

- ◆ colonial government policies which focused on making colonial administration in Uganda self-financing through production of cash crops in a modernisation process for purposes of both taxation and raw material supply;
- ◆ state land tenure policies aimed at introducing individualisation as a means to promote investment incentives among agricultural producers;
- ◆ the post-independence view by the state that pastoral areas were idle and unproductive, and the consequent focus on the establishment of commercial ranches as a cheap source of beef for urban dwellers and for export purposes;
- ◆ conservation strategies for wildlife, forests, and other natural resources that disregard pastoralists and alienate the grazing land from the people;
- ◆ other competing development projects on land resources, such as irrigation schemes, refugee settlement camps, prison farms, and military barracks, which have nothing to do with pastoralism; all can be found punctuating the grazing land along the cattle corridor;
- ◆ encroachment on pastoral areas by immigrants with a background of cultivation, for example, the Bairu of Ankole (mainly of Bushenyi District), the Bakiga of Kabale District, the Bahororo of Rukungiri District, the Baganda from Masaka and Rakai Districts, and the Bakonjo of Kasese District;
- ◆ an influx of exiled Rwandese, of whom some are Tutsi pastoralists who also own herds of cattle; this adds greater land use pressure and increases competition for scarce resources (see map 2 in the appendix for the trend of immigrants to pastoral areas and the movement of pastoralists to marginal grazing areas);
- ◆ breakdown of the traditional institutions among the pastoralist themselves, where even land is grabbed by fellow pastoralists, also reflected in inter ethnic conflicts;
- ◆ political instability during the 1980-86 protracted war which dislodged the Bahima who had settled in Ngoma Sub-county in Luwero District; at the same time, lack of discipline among the state soldiers and lack of effective protection from the Turkana of Kenya encouraged the Karimojong to arm themselves with machine guns, which in turn intensified cattle raiding in the area; and
- ◆ international boundaries that limit the pastoralists' crossing of the state boundaries.



### III. SYNTHESIS OF CONCEPTS AND MODELS

#### A. INTRODUCTION

Nothing has marred the understanding of pastoralism as much as the misconception of concepts and theories applied to explain the performance of pastoralism. This chapter clarifies some of the basic concepts of pastoralism and also sets a theoretical background that facilitates an understanding of pastoralism.

**Pastoralism** is defined generally as an extensive production system which depends on more than 50 percent of income from livestock. It includes **nomadism**, **transhumance**, and **agropastoralism**. **Nomadism** is a highly mobile production system that does not undertake any cultivation and does not have any base on the rangeland. **Transhumance** is a production system that is highly mobile yet that moves between definite seasonal bases every year. Some pastoralists practice a form of semi-transhumance, whereby part of the family and/or livestock seasonally move and part remain sedentary and are involved in cultivation. **Agropastoralism** is a production system whereby crops are grown in a particular season but the same parcel of land is grazed during the dry season when the crops have been harvested.

#### B. TYPES OF PROPERTY REGIMES

Property is not an object such as land, but is rather a right or a benefit stream that is only as secure as the respect others give to the conditions that protect that stream (Bromley 1989). When one has a right, one has the expectation both legally and in practice that one's claims will be respected. In other words, these are social, political, economic, and, of course, 'legal' arrangements through which individuals and communities gain access to the use of the resources. Property rights therefore may be defined as a set of rights and obligations governing the access of an individual or group of people to the stream of benefits which can be derived from a resource.

Most of the literature on pastoralism refers to four types of rangeland property regimes: **state property**, **private property**, **common property**, and the non-property rangeland tenure referred to as **open access** (Bromley 1989; Swallow 1990). Each approach to rangeland management is related to a bundle of rights an individual or group has over the resources and how the rest of the community recognises those rights.

According to Bromley (1989), a resource regime derives its meaning from the structure of rights that characterises the relationship of individuals to one another. It is noted that a regime may be referred to as 'common property resources' or 'private property resources'. These merely refer to management styles rather than types of resources; what has been managed as common property can be changed and run as private property by changing the rights' structure over the resource.

The concept of a 'bundle of rights' is a yardstick or an indicator of the management style of the regime. If the bundle of rights is comprehensive, the occupant, whether an individual or a corporate body, may have exclusive rights to manage the regime as a **private property**. If the state has some controlling interest in the property, the resource is called a **state property**, or government property;

in some countries it may be regarded a 'public' property and the occupant would not have exclusive rights. A management style in which the occupants or individuals who have access to the property manage it in consultation and pursue or follow an agreed code of conduct among themselves is referred to as common property. To the contrary, open access reflects complete lack of ownership, where there is no property element since it is open to anyone who gains access by physical presence.

### **C. CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPERTY REGIMES**

Most literature on pastoralism identifies one non-property regime and three property regimes. What follows are the characteristics of each type of tenure; the descriptions closely follow Swallow (1990, p. 3).

#### **1. NON-PROPERTY REGIME, OR OPEN ACCESS**

(a) Each livestock owner achieves access to the water and forage available on an area of rangeland by the physical presence of his or her animals on the rangeland.

(b) Each livestock owner who achieves access ignores the consequences of his or her behaviour for other rangeland users.

It therefore follows that, under open access, there are no restrictions on grazing. Land is used freely with no controls limiting an individual or group's entry to or use of a rangeland resource. One gains access through physical presence on the resource. While livestock are owned by individuals or groups of individuals, the resources necessary for livestock, such as water and grazing land, are free for all. There is no element of ownership or exclusion of others from the range resource. In such a situation, the tendency is for each individual livestock owner to maximise his or her private use of the available pastoral resources. The individual owner cannot decrease the pressure on the grazing land by reducing the size of his or her herd as he or she would have no guarantee that other livestock owners having access to the same land would do the same (Windstrad 1975, p. 149). In such a situation there is no management of the resource and there is no source of authority among those who gain access to the resource.

According to Swallow, however:

a distinction is drawn between non-property regimes in which agents achieve open access and regimes in which they achieve coordination access to particular resources. In each open access regime, each agent who achieves access ignores the consequences of his behaviour on other agents who access the resource. In a coordination-access regime each agent who achieves access follows a strategy that is contingent upon others' expected reactions to that strategy (Ibid, p. 4).

#### **2. PROPERTY REGIMES**

##### **(i) State property regime**

(a) The state or some state organisation has legal title to the income generated by the resource.

- (b) The state has the ability to exercise control over use of the resource and income generated by the resource.

One of the property regimes that has an element of ownership is state property in which the state has controlling interest. Common forms of state property are forest reserves, game reserves, national parks, departmental farms, and government sponsored ranches. In Uganda, however, though all the land is vested in the state and leased on specified conditions, a title is issued and land may be mortgaged in a financing institution to obtain funds, on loan, for further developments.

**(ii) Private property regime**

- (a) Individual legal entities have exclusive rights to some income generated by the resource.
- (b) Individual owners have secure expectations that they can gain access to future income generated by the resource.

In other words, rights accrue to an individual owner or group owner in the form of a corporal property. Under private property arrangements, individual herders or a group of herders under a corporate body have exclusive rights to specifically defined areas of grazing land. Any decision taken is accordingly implemented, as there is no need of consultation.

**(iii) Common property regime**

- (a) No single individual has exclusive rights to the income generated by the resource.
- (b) Group members have secure expectations that they can gain access to future income generated by the resource.
- (c) There are functioning membership criteria.
- (d) There is an enforcement mechanism for punishing deviant behaviour.

Under a common property arrangement, the rangeland is utilised collectively but regulations exist which establish qualifications for gaining access to the grazing areas. Qualifications may be based on ethnic affiliation or residence in a specific area which uses the commons. Individuals generally group together along tribal, clan, or sub-clan lines. In most pastoral areas in sub-Saharan Africa, access to grazing is minimally restricted by members in the community or ethnic group which claims territorial rights over the area. Bennett, Lawry, and Riddell (1986, p. 5) observed that producers (pastoralists) move with herds at intervals and in varying patterns and combinations of semi-permanent residence or encampments, maximising the availability of pasture in a droughty or seasonally variable climate.

The main theoretical thrust in coordinated access of rangeland tenure is that each user follows a strategy that assumes cooperative behaviour and punishes non-cooperative behaviour. This is in contrast to the open access regime where individuals or groups using the resources are assumed to ignore the consequences of their behaviour on other rangeland users. It derives from the theory of repeated games, and, according to Swallow, it extends the analysis of Runge (1981) on the basis

that each livestock owner depends upon the strategies of all other livestock owners sharing the same rangeland.

Coordinated access performance relies on users' cooperation in respecting the expectation of the norms of the other members in the community. This is common in African communities. The norms are not written down but generally are observed.

With reference to the attributes outlined above, the characteristic distinguishing open access rangeland tenure from common property is the set of restrictions limiting access and use. That is the conscious governance of the grazing resource through self-enforcing or internally enforced social contracts in property. Since the behaviour of pastoralists and the performance of rangeland management institutions are generally associated with common property regimes, the subject is given detailed attention with particular reference to Uganda.

#### **D. RANGELAND MANAGEMENT AND CARRYING CAPACITY**

Any parcel of land has a carrying capacity equal to the number of livestock it can sustain while maintaining biologically optimal levels of forage production. Long term maintenance of optimum levels of forage requires that livestock numbers be maintained at (or below) carrying capacity. When stock levels exceed the range's carrying capacity, forage is reduced below the biological optimum. Degradation will result when natural forage productivity is reduced more or less permanently because of soil erosion caused by chronic overgrazing, or the vegetation composition will change to less desirable forage species (Jarvis 1984). Long term maintenance of forage production requires that livestock holders who wish to maximise production of forage and livestock make their short term stocking decisions consistent with long term maximisation criteria.

However, as Ian Scoones (1989) puts it, the issue of carrying capacity remains debatable and has led to misleading environmental policies which may not be in line with local economic objectives. It is argued that the issue embraces both ecological and economic aspects: ecological carrying capacity is determined by environmental factors; economic carrying capacity is the stocking rate that offers maximum economic returns and is determined largely by the economic objectives of the producers.

According to the literature, the relationship between rangeland management and its effects on rangeland conservation depends on the management regime under consideration. Open access rangeland tenure causes concern among analysts.

According to the theory of the "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968), over-exploitation of common resources will occur because each herdsman, as a rational decision-maker, seeks to maximise his private gain. The individual herdsman weighing costs and benefits in a personal perspective finds gain in adding another animal to his herd. It is beneficial to the individual to add one more animal, but it is costly to the society as a whole due to the resulting over-exploitation of the resource in the form of over-grazing. In Hardin's words:

As a rational being each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain. Explicitly or implicitly, more or less consciously he asks—What is the utility to me of adding one more animal to my herd?

This utility has one negative and one positive component. (1) The positive component is a function of the increment of one animal. Since the herdsman receives all the proceeds from the sale of the additional animal, the positive utility is nearly +1. (2) The negative component is a function of the increment of one animal. Since however, the effects of overgrazing are shared by all herdsmen, the negative utility for any particular decision-making herdsman is only a fraction of -1. Adding together the components of partial utilities, the rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd (1968, p. 20).

Hardin's discussion of the tragedy of the commons generated much debate. Some analysts (Bromley 1989; Sandford 1983; and Bruce 1986) argue that the model of the tragedy of the commons is of limited relevance and open to question. They assert that commons are not equivalent to open access situations and that the very notion of a commons implies a community which controls access to it, though the extent and effectiveness of the control may vary greatly. Galaty and Johnson (1990) introduced the concept of 'pastoral continuum' and argued that in East Africa pastoral groups occupy distinct expanses of rangeland over which they exercise sovereignty. Common rangeland management assumes some internal enforcement of rules and limits on behaviour. By definition, under common property tenure, land is used collectively but conscious internal governance exists within the community and explicitly or implicitly regulates access to the resources.

For purposes of this report, "open access" means grazing practices in which there is no control in determining where, when, or who utilises grazing resources. "Communal property" will be applied to grazing practices in which there is some degree of internal control of grazing, including rules governing who grazes where, when, what number of animals, and the time limit; in other words, there are limits to both group membership and resource use, and there is a source of authority and a pattern of conduct. In this report we use the term 'common property' as an intellectual shorthand for communal resource tenure.



## IV. FINDINGS

### A. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, an attempt is made to identify the main areas of rangeland resource alienation and the resource management strategies that have developed over time in Uganda in light of the tenure regulations and development policies outlined in the previous chapters. Much was derived from spot observations and discussions with the people in the cattle corridor when conducting the RRA. Bearing in mind the characteristics attributed to the different types of property regimes, an attempt was made to identify the pastoral areas in Uganda managed under each type. With common property resources, the discussion is carried further to cover other tenure and pastoral resource management issues.

### B. OPEN ACCESS RANGELAND TENURE

Open access regimes allow individuals or groups to make use of scarce resources without regard for the interests of others who may seek to make use of the same resources. Since there is no ownership, there are no rules to govern the use of the resources. Access is determined by one's physical presence. In other words, the first to capture or gain access to the resource becomes the beneficiary of the benefit stream arising from the resource.

In practice, it is difficult to find open access rangeland tenure. In Uganda, there are no explicitly open access areas. However, on visiting the refugee camps, we observed the grazing practice that may be equated with open access rangeland tenure. Examples of such areas are Nakivale in Bukanga County, Oruchinga in Isingiro County in Mbarara District, Kyaka I and Kyaka II settlement camps in Kabarole District, and Katonga Game Reserve just south of Kyaka I and II. Grazing in these areas is, to a certain extent, open access. It was noted that no refugee had exclusive right over the grazing land, and each livestock owner among the refugees achieved access to the water and available forage through the physical presence of the animals, ignoring the interests of other users. The indigenous pastoralists around these refugee settlement camps also graze their cattle within the camps without any restrictions. It is the complete absence of recognised regulations and source of authority that defines refugee settlement camps as under an open access resource regime.

Open access was only sighted in areas where the management in an area had broken down, as was the case in the refugee camps. Other areas considered to be under open access were around rural administration centres, particularly the parish headquarters in Mbarara District. Such areas are grazed by whoever gains access to them without any restrictions. In the western areas (particularly Ankole), they are referred to as *kalandalanda*.

### C. STATE PROPERTY

State property in the pastoral areas of Uganda includes government sponsored ranches, departmental farms, forest reserves, game reserves, and national parks, together with prison farms, military barracks, and any other project run by the state.

## 1. GOVERNMENT SPONSORED RANCHES

Government sponsored ranches in the country were developed in phases by both the central government and local authorities and were eventually allocated on signed contracts to applicants for further development and utilisation. The state has an interest in the way these resources are managed, may charge a fee for their use, and can reallocate them, although the ranchers own the livestock and the income that accrues from livestock products.

A case study by Doornbos and Lofchie (1967) recognised that government-sponsored ranches, such as the Masaka/Ankole Ranching Scheme, were established for developmental purposes as a result of efforts to eradicate the tsetse fly (*Glossina Morsitans*) from southwestern Uganda, where the fly had spread from neighbouring Tanzania as early as 1908. The situation became worse in 1950 when over 2,000 square miles of open grassland suitable for grazing had become affected, and there was an increasing incidence of trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness).

The tsetse fly was eradicated, and commercial ranches were established to introduce a model of modern practices. It was hoped this would be the stimulus for a cultural and social transformation if the largely semi-nomadic Bahima cattle keepers of Ankole could be induced to abandon their traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. It was assumed they would adopt more up-to-date methods of animal husbandry and become integrated into the developing sector of the Ugandan economy.

The ranches include those of the Ankole Ranching Scheme, where ranches were developed between 1962 and 1968 (phase one) and 10 more ranches developed in the 1970s (phase two), and the Masaka Ranching Scheme, which had 59 ranches, 17 of those having been developed in phase one, and 42 in phase two. Other ranching schemes developed by local governments in the 1960s included Singo Ranching Scheme, with 34 ranches, and Buruli Ranching Scheme, with 27 ranches. The Bunyoro ranching scheme, with 37 ranches, was developed in the 1970s. Additional ranching schemes had been proposed in agriculturally marginal, tsetse fly- infested, and virtually unoccupied areas. These are shown in table 1.

**Table 1: Proposed ranching schemes**

Ranching scheme	District	Number of ranches	Ranch unit
1. Buyende	Kamuli	16	600
2. West Madi county	Moyo	16	1200
3. Zoka county	Moyo	20	1200
4. East Madi	Moyo	39	1200
5. Jonam county	Nebbi	40	1200
6. Palabek	Gulu	30	1200
7. Bokora county	Moroto	20	1200
8. Pian county	Moroto	10	1200
9. Singo county	Mubende	20	1200
10. Kyaka county	Kabarole	20	1200

Source: Adopted from the Report to the Government of Uganda by the Commission of Inquiry into Government Ranching Schemes (Dec 1988, p. 23).

According to the Gregory Report, which formed the technical guidance in implementing the ranching schemes, introduction of some type of individual land tenure—to ensure that the ranchers would actually reside on the ranches—was necessary. However, this was not adopted in allocating the ranches and remains a source of conflict in these pastoral areas.

Besides clearing the land of tsetse flies, the government constructed perimeter fencing and installed two valley tanks in each of the ranches in the Ankole and Masaka Ranching Schemes. Additional valley tanks and paddocks were constructed by the ranchers themselves (Commission of Inquiry 1988, p. 28). Especially during phase one in the 1960s, government-provided services included designing and planning the layout of ranches and establishing and maintaining feeder roads and fire breaks. Ranchers also benefited from the subsidy scheme which covered cattle dip construction materials, fencing materials, water tanks, and pipes. Additional services included veterinary services, market services, and research services. Though these services deteriorated in the 1970s, the government had fulfilled its commitment. The ranchers received free land and a variety of ranch-related services at virtually no cost. It is significant to note that the stocking and management of ranches were entirely the responsibility of individual ranchers.

The main objective of setting up the ranching schemes had been to obtain, by rapid and radical development of land and animal husbandry practices, production of beef and milk that would satisfy internal demand; the surplus would be exported. The government, with the assistance of USAID, cleared areas of tsetse flies and demarcated them into blocks 5 square miles (1,200 hectares) each, and allocated the government-sponsored ranches to promote the beef industry. Unfortunately, the resident pastoralist population was not educated in the skills necessary to establish such ranching schemes on their traditional grounds. Even the selection criteria for ranch allocation was unclear to them. The procedures for application were also too elaborate for an illiterate population to follow. The advertisement in national newspapers, published in English, remained largely inaccessible to the pastoralists, and the terms and conditions of occupancy of the ranches were not made clear to them.

Thus, the ranching schemes marginalised the pastoralists, leaving them without alternative grazing land. Many pastoralists were made landless and yet held huge numbers of livestock. These displaced landless pastoralists struggled to settle with their herds as squatters in Lake Mburo National Park, on forest reserves, private ranches, game reserves, and government-sponsored ranching schemes, at times on terms dictated by individual ranchers or ranch managers. The ranches remain one of the areas of serious rangeland tenure conflict between displaced pastoralists and commercial ranchers.

It was after much conflict between pastoralists and commercial ranchers that a Ranch Restructuring Board was constituted to accommodate landless pastoralists. The resettling of squatters by the board was a political move apt to offer only a short-lived solution unless backed with rigorous investigations that examine the root cause of the land use conflicts and with the adoption of long-term, systematic policies.

Owing to the increasing shortage of grazing land in pastoral areas, some pastoralists have been pushed out of cattle-keeping and resort instead to a subsistence agriculture. This has brought about increasing socioeconomic differentiation in pastoral societies. A situation noted in West Africa and

in Kenya, whereby pastoralists are being transformed from independent rural producers into cowboys herding other peoples' animals, is becoming common in Uganda. Furthermore, established and proposed government sponsored ranching schemes seal off the remaining pastoral areas and curtail the traditional movement pattern of pastoralists in search of water and pasture for their livestock.

## 2. GAME RESERVES AND NATIONAL PARKS

Uganda is endowed with a great diversity of wildlife. Traditionally, pastoralists and wildlife have co-existed. The whole of Karamoja is a controlled hunting area. It is also the home of Kidepo Valley National Park, Matheniko Game Reserve, Bokora Corridor Game Reserve, and Pain-Upe Game Reserve. The game reserves in Karamoja alone cover 6,908 square kilometres. National parks and game reserves are used exclusively for wildlife; all human activities other than those connected with the management or utilisation of wildlife resources are strictly prohibited. Animal sanctuaries have very often been promoted to game reserves and game reserves promoted to national parks (as is the case, for example, with Lake Mburo National Park). Obviously, this has direct consequences for pastoralism.

The creation of national parks and reserves used exclusively for game is an issue that needs closer examination. The National Park Act is very strict and rigid. It adopts a "hands off" approach and does not allow any form of local utilisation, upsetting the traditional spirit of co-existence between wildlife and the pastoralist, and creating negative attitudes and antipathy to wildlife. Wildlife conservation measures increasingly exclude the pastoralist, and we must explore means of achieving community empowerment and participation in conservation. A realistic approach would reduce conflicts between competing land use interests and equitably distribute benefits among interested parties, including pastoralists.

A case to consider is Lake Mburo National Park, which was formerly a game reserve stretching over 250 square miles (approximately 648 square kilometres). It was a strategic area for livestock grazing due to its vegetative pasture in the valley and the availability of water from the lakes and rivers. In 1983, Lake Mburo Game Reserve was declared a national park. In 1987/88, it was reduced to its present size of 100 square miles (259 square kilometres) as shown on map 2 in the appendix. Of the remaining 150 square miles (389 square kilometres), 120 (311 square kilometres) were allocated to pastoralists around the national park, and the rest were allocated to Kanyaryeru resettlement scheme. Of the area allocated to pastoralists, that which is adjacent to the park falls under government-sponsored ranching schemes and private ranches.

To make matters worse, the 30 square miles (78 square kilometres) under the Kanyaryeru resettlement scheme accommodates 600 families who had been displaced from the war-ravaged district of Luwero. These people lost most of their cattle as they trekked through cross-firing in Luwero district during the 1981-86 war. These families are now expected to survive on cultivation, under a climatic and ecological environment hostile to crop cultivation. Each family is strictly limited to 40 heads of cattle and subject to eviction from the camp if they exceed this. This does not take into account the size of the family and the structure of the herd. Furthermore, the area is adjacent to the park with similar terrain and vegetation, and, in their routine grazing, settlers are likely to graze

their cattle in the park. In the long run, they are bound to accumulate livestock and gradually intensify the land use conflict with the authorities of the park.

Following the declaration of the park, all fishing villages were prohibited except for one on Lake Mburo. There were about 200 families with 200,000 heads of cattle within the park (New Vision: May 6, 1991). The government registered them with the intention of resettling them elsewhere. The people were also trying to consolidate their occupancy by cultivating bananas. These families included those who customarily occupied the area even before the creation of the game reserve and more recent arrivals to the area, such as immigrants from other parts of Nyabushozi and neighbouring counties, and Rwandese refugees who infiltrated the area from the refugee settlement schemes not far from the park. Efforts to demarcate the boundaries of the national park were reportedly frustrated by local authorities despite the willingness by some donor agencies to finance the project.

There are such varied land use interests in the area—Lake Mburo National Park, the fishing villages, the government sponsored ranching schemes, the private ranches, the Kanyaryeru resettlement scheme, the pastoralists on their customary grazing area, and the refugees from different camps—that the area deserves serious investigation, with particular emphasis on a community participatory approach and on the possibilities of promoting the co-existence of pastoralists and wildlife.

#### **D. PRIVATE PROPERTY**

The concept of the individualisation of grazing land is used here to refer to a situation whereby the local community recognises exclusive rights of an individual or group of individuals over a parcel of rangeland in a more or less private capacity. Individualisation has all the attributes of private property except legal recognition, such as in the form of titles. All along, policies regarding land tenure in Uganda, were focused on developing a land tenure system that encourages individualisation, such as the recommendations of the African Royal Commission (1958). It is common practice in Uganda for an individual or group, through continuous use of a parcel of land for purposes of cultivation or grazing, to attain exclusive use. The method of acquisition varies from occupation, to inheritance, to purchase.

Because of pressure on rangeland resources and because movement of livestock in a traditional pastoral pattern is no longer feasible, a strong sense of individualisation of land rights has evolved among pastoralists, especially in Mbarara District. Individualisation has not emerged by accident. It is a step towards settling. The KDA and NDA, for instance, are charged with facilitating pastoralists in acquiring and leasing parcels of grazing land.

According to the Commission of Inquiry Report, the establishment of ranching schemes in areas cleared of the tsetse fly had the immediate effect of increasing the number of private ranching entrepreneurs in western Uganda. (Henceforth, in this report, private enclosures refers to both fenced farms and farms where animals graze on confined parcels, whether fenced or not.)

**Table 2: Grazing access of cattle in Mbarara district**

County	Open access % total	Communal % total	Private % total	Total cattle
Kashari	1	20	70	80,047
Rwampara	29	49	22	33,066
Ruhaama	34	61	5	53,570
Isingiro	35	40	25	49,786
Bukanga	63	34	3	87,600
Ibanda	28	30	42	32,084
Kazo	12	15	73	131,972
Nyabushozi	3	10	83	226,678

Source: Mbarara District Veterinary Office, March 1991.

Table 2 reveals that Nyabushozi and Kazo counties have the highest number of cattle and the highest percentage of private farms. Though the area is historically known to have the greatest number of pastoralists, there is hardly any rangeland left that has not been claimed by individuals in a private capacity. In Nyabushozi and Kazo counties respectively, communal grazing property accounts for only 10 and 15 percent of the land area, while individualised parcels for grazing account for 83 and 73 percent.

Even where game reserves have been de-gazetted, as is the case in Nishenyi valley in the former Nishenyi Game Reserve, all that was traditional Bahima grazing land was divided into private ranches. Some of the Bahima are 'squatters' or tenants of absentee landlords on so called "telephone ranches". Pastoral issues remain very pressing in this area. Unless easy movement is created, and displaced pastoralists gain access to grazing land, pastoralism based on transhumance in these areas will be phased out. The welfare of displaced pastoralists is bound to continue deteriorating, as they do not have access to range resources and have no alternative at their disposal.

Private ranches vary in size. Some are as small as 30 acres while others exceed five square miles. All have attributes of a private property regime in the sense that individuals have exclusive rights to income generated by the resource and have secure expectations that they can gain access to future income generated by the resource. There is a rush to fence grazing land, and, in Nyabushozi, the only development association (a local NGO) had acquired titles as one of its development projects, and then assisted residents in submitting their lease applications and having them processed collectively.

Most of the examples of Uganda's land tenure types cited to this point occur in the Bahima pastoral area of Nyabushozi and Kazo counties in Mbarara District. This reflects how dynamic the evolution of rangeland tenure is among the Bahima in western Uganda.

## **E. COMMON PROPERTY REGIMES**

### **1. CHARACTERISTICS**

As noted earlier, the characteristics of a common property regime (CPR) as a resource tenure are not the same as an open access situation where property relationships do not exist. In essence, a CPR has similar characteristics as private property.

In one important sense then, common property has something very much in common with private property's exclusion of non-owners; common property is a corporate group property. The property-owning groups vary in nature, size and internal structure across a broad spectrum, but they are social units with definite membership and boundaries, with certain common interests, with at least some interaction among members with some cultural norms, and often their own indigenous authority systems. (Bromley and Cernea 1989, p. 15).

Access to communal resources can occur in different ways. In most cases, access is determined by membership to a given corporate unit owning those resources, such as a clan or community, or by permission of the unit. Access also can be had through inheritance. Moreover, there exist rules concerning who may use the resource, who is excluded from the resource, and how the resource should be used. So, there are rules on access to or exclusion from proprietorship of communal natural resources.

### **2. PASTORAL AREAS UNDER CPRs**

CPRs were the only typical African pastoral resource management until they were disrupted and transformed by factors that have weakened the indigenous pastoral institutions. Communal grazing by ethnic grouping is still widely practised in Karamoja. The Karimojong economy is characterised by a semi-nomadic pastoralism combined with agricultural mono-cropping. At the onset of the dry season, Karimojong herders move with a proportion of their stock to the wetter grassland plains in the west. Traditionally, the Bokora-Matheniko make a broad southwestward trek to the seasonal swamps and dry season grazing along Soroti/Karamoja boundary. The Pian traditionally move their herds west between the mountain massifs of Elgon and Kadam. The Jie wander to the west towards the Gulu District along traditional transhumant routes. At the beginning of the wet season, the movements reverse to the settled homesteads, and the concentration around a limited watering point is relieved.

It may be possible to relate grazing practices in Karamoja to the strategy of common property which, by definition, specifies and enforces regulations on rangeland access and rangeland use. Each livestock owner who uses a common property rangeland is bound to observe the agreed-upon pattern of grazing. It was observed that the Karimojong graze within ethnic groupings, and the code of conduct on the pattern of grazing is assumed to be known by individuals in any specific locality.

Yet, in Uganda, communal resources are shrinking, and for other pastoral communities communal grazing is limited. The trend is towards individualisation of communal grazing land. Some isolated cases of communal grazing could be sighted in Kasese District and on tips of hilly areas and in some dry areas in Mbarara District. The Basongora in Kasese District also practice communal grazing, though with many constraints due to the fast growing cotton industry and the institutional projects

to which land has been allocated for cultivation and other purposes. The Nakasongora area in Luwero District is generally covered with large institutional and private ranches. In Soroti District, communal grazing is also on the decline.

### **3. CPRs AT HOUSEHOLD LEVEL**

A household is generally defined as a group of people who live and dine together. In Uganda, the members of a household are members of a family—an extended family that includes other members besides those of the nuclear or elementary family, even friends. The interest of a household in the management of natural resources under CPRs is essentially in the benefit stream of the resource.

Members of the household gain access to resources by virtue of their household being part of the social group governing the resources. In the case of pastoral areas, herds of cattle are collectively owned by the members of the household under the overall supervision of the head of the household. Pastures under CPRs are collectively utilised by a larger group than one household. The household is a component of the group and shares similar interests for sustainable utilisation of the rangeland. In case of pastoralists practising nomadism or transhumance, as is still the case among the Karamojong, several households live and migrate together for the security of both themselves and animals. The loss of any animal is a matter that directly affects the household. (In a strict sense, however, nowhere in Uganda is nomadism being practised; even the Karamojong, who seem to be very mobile, essentially practice transhumance.)

### **4. THE ROLE OF A LINEAGE, CLAN, AND COMMUNITY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CPRs**

A lineage is a corporate group recruited by descent, and a clan is composed of persons claiming common descent. Except for increasing pressure on land and the dynamics of the society, members of a lineage used to live quite close and could collectively manage a productive resource under a CPR like grazing land. Clans and lineages, just like any other form of a community, are distinct social units with all the qualities needed to manage the natural resources under CPRs. They have a sense of shared membership resource and purpose. According to the *Mitch Ducan Dictionary of Sociology*, “a community is a collectivity of people who occupy a geographical area and engage in an economic activity and constitute a self-governing social unit with the same values and experiencing feelings of belonging to another”. This is typical of range management in African societies. It is with that background that CPRs are considered indigenous to African societies. The notion that traditional African style or range management made no allowance for collective management or individual exclusion is not valid. We know now that indigenous range managements were CPRs.

### **5. SUSTAINABILITY**

The land reform policies outlined in chapter 2, conservation policies related to wildlife and forests, commercial ranching, various government interventions under development policies, and population growth have all mounted pressure on natural resources managed under CPRs, particularly pastoral resources. This has disrupted the traditional social structure pattern of CPRs, leading to environmental degradation, impoverishment, vulnerability, and, in many cases, famine.

It was observed that under common property regimes all members of the household fully participate for their survival, and work is divided on the basis of sex and age, thus ensuring full employment in the community. This is, however, disrupted by demographic growth, and internal cohesion is distorted. For the common property regime to survive and create employment for the growing population, the institutional arrangement and production per unit area must keep pace with the changing process. The solution will depend on a combination of institutional arrangements and the application of the type of resource management that fits best. This requires in-depth studies in order to understand the pastoral institutions.

## 6. THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Under common property, the issue is not who controls the natural resource but how access is made possible. In only very rare cases in Ugandan pastoralism may women own cattle, and they have little control over the livestock; yet they still have access to livestock products, especially milk, to enable them to feed the members of the household. It was noted that women are entirely responsible for milking and for churning milk, which adds value to it.

Where women may own cattle, women with livestock are generally overlooked in land allocation. Women rely on common property resources either for home consumption or for generating income for the household. Unlike in a private property regime, access to a resource under a CPR is determined by one's membership to the community rather than by the individual's capacity to purchase or control the resource.

## 7. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

Examining rangeland management in Uganda, in light of different types of rangeland tenure, reveals environmental hazards related to natural resource degradation. Pastoral areas, since they are in arid and variable climates, require balanced land use. Increasing pressure on grazing land creates environmental complications.

The practice of settling and cultivating areas traditionally used for grazing has profound effects. In the first place, it increases pressure on the remaining grazing area. The effects of this are exemplified by Rushenyi County of Bushenyi District, which has experienced an influx of immigrants from densely populated areas of Kabale, Kisoro, and Rukungiri Districts. Some of the arid areas have been settled and cultivated, and, as a result, the remaining grazing areas of Rubaare and Ngoma Sub-counties have become overgrazed.

Overgrazing manifests itself in two fashions. A mild manifestation of overgrazing is the grazing land's loss of the most nutritious species, giving way to less nutritious but robust species. This is the case in most pastoral areas of Mbarara and Moroto Districts that are dominated by acacia. A more drastic effect is the reduction of the vegetation cover of any species: the pasture becomes too short to be picked up by livestock. In some cases, the land is left bare of pasture of any sort. This has been the case in the surrounding areas of the Lake Mburo National Park along Rwizi River. With the removal of pasture cover, an area becomes extremely susceptible to soil erosion, and this erosion has been very severe in some parts of Nyabushozi County in Mbarara District where gullies have formed.

In areas where settlements and cultivation are newly established in less favourable arid conditions, vegetation cover in the form of crops can fail to occur because of the very unreliable rainfall pattern. In such circumstances, the soil remains unprotected against wind erosion. Worse still, soil erosion destroys water dams through silting. This has been seen around the towns of Moroto and Kotido in Karamoja. It gets very hot in Karamoja during the rainy season, and, combined with desiccating winds during dry spells, the result is persistent drought which leads to approximately four serious crop failures every ten years. Most of the dams constructed in the 1960s in Ankole and Karamoja have silted.

The effectively open access practices on grazing land in settlement camps has clearly adversely affected natural resources there. Due to uncertainty of tenure, the refugees in settlement camps have never made an attempt to curb overgrazing. The detrimental effect of overgrazing on range resources can be seen in these areas, as indicated in table 3.

**Table 3: The state of refugee settlement camps in 1991**

Camp	Extent	District	Population	Comments
Nakivale	218 sq kms	Mbarara	14,000	Excessively overgrazed
Oruchinga	34 sq kms	Mbarara	4,949	Showing bare ground/gullies
Kyaka I	75 sq kms	Kabarole	5,020	Not overgrazed, relieved by Katonga Game Reserve
Kyaka II	220 sq kms	Kabarole	6,432	Southern part quite overgrazed

Around the Lake Mburo area, and along the Rwizi River, overgrazing is clearly noticeable. Those areas have been heavily overgrazed because herders, with large numbers of cattle, are attracted to the permanent source of water. It had been estimated, before the park was reduced from 250 to 100 square miles (648 to 259 square kilometres), that one-eighth of it had been overgrazed. Nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle keepers who run to the park from neighbouring Gayaza Sub-county in search of water were held responsible for overgrazing the park. Some cattle keepers have grazing land both in Gayaza Sub-county and in the park. It was, however, noted that many of the cattle in the park are owned by absentee herders, some of whom are military officers or bureaucrats in towns. In these overgrazed areas, bare ground and gullies are easily noticeable. A similar situation can be observed in the Katonga Game Reserve.

As a measure against overgrazing, Lake Mbuoro National Park authorities restricted squatters' settlements to two kilometres away from the park. The attempt to demarcate the boundaries of the Lake Mbuoro National Park could not easily take place, as local politicians and administrators interfered. The claim for a cattle corridor through the park to Lake Mbuoro had been deemed unjustified by the park authorities since ranchers had fair access to Lake Kakyera on the eastern side of the park and the Rwizi River on the western side of the park. The Ranch Restructuring Board, however, facilitated the movement of squatters' cattle to Lake Mbuoro, Lake Kakyera, and to large dams north to the ranching scheme (New Vision: July 13 1991).

On the other hand, it is possible that Ankole cattle in the park may eventually turn out to be one the great attractions in the Lake Mbuoro area. Similarly, it has been noticed that ungulates migrate out of the park and onto the ranches, preferring to graze where cattle graze.

Overgrazing in the government-sponsored ranches has occurred because, due to lack of grazing land elsewhere, squatters encroach on the ranches. The Commission of Inquiry into Government Ranching Schemes noted that, although land degradation was not alarming because of controlled stocking levels in some schemes, there was evidence of deterioration in others, and it was worsening due to the invasion of squatters with large numbers of cattle, leading to overstocking. The commission further observed that soil erosion caused by overgrazing is occurring in nearly all communally grazed areas outside the ranches (Government of Uganda 1988).

Overgrazing and its accompanying environmental degradation are found across all types of rangeland tenure in Uganda. Overgrazing is extreme in some of the essentially open access refugee settlement camps. Overgrazing is also advanced in Ngoma and Rubare Sub-counties, where there are numerous immigrants, and in Lake Mbuoro National Park, especially along the Rwizi River. Resource degradation is equally noticeable on rangelands governed by more individualised tenure systems. In areas outside government-sponsored and private ranches (especially in Nyabushozi and Kazo Counties, where individualisation is emerging), overgrazing is prominent and is having detrimental effects on the resource base. Thus, overgrazing and environmental degradation are found at both extremes of the property rights spectrum.

## 8. CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Over time, conflicts over land involving pastoralists have become very acute. This has been due to various factors: the alienation of communal pastoral resources to other activities; population pressure from both immigrants, pastoralists themselves, and livestock; and a strong sense of individualisation emerging.

The government approach to land use conflicts varies from one case to another. The most recent conflict in Uganda was centred on government-sponsored commercial ranching schemes in western Uganda. The government responded by appointing a nine-man commission of inquiry to look into the set-up of the ranches and their management.

In its report, the Commission of Inquiry into Government Ranching Schemes recommends developing some of the ranches on the same pattern as they were and using others to accommodate squatters. Squatters include, among others, indigenous displaced landless pastoralists. Though the

government could not endorse all that was contained in the report, it established a Ranch Restructuring Board to scale down the ranches to 3, 2, and 1 square miles, while at the same time identifying and then resettling the squatters. The board was also charged with providing a long term policy regarding the management and development of pastoral resources in Uganda (General Notice No. 182 of 1990).

At the time of compiling this paper, the Ranch Restructuring Board had completed the modalities of subdividing the ranches and was about to resettle the squatters. This will need monitoring and evaluation on its effectiveness in managing pastoral resources and eliminating land use conflicts.

As noted by Nsibambi (1989), the government has often intervened to reverse cases where evictions, within the mechanism of the 1975 LRD, should occur. During land problems in Ankole (Mbarara and Bushenyi Districts), President Amin, in whose regime the LRD was introduced, appealed to the land owners who had bought a lot of land not to evict their tenants on short notice (Uganda News 1972 No. 4220). The government also intervenes, for example, by appointing committees to listen to the involved parties, making the administration of the LRD very difficult. Nevertheless, the government interventions and decisions are intended to avert instability that would have resulted in mass evictions.

In Uganda, pastoralists do not have any organisation that would assist them to pursue the law even if they would win a case. They have to use the conventional judicial systems which themselves are very complicated and expensive. As indicated earlier, the LRD encourages leasing land without consent. It does not recognise customary occupancy of land and is thus not in favour of pastoralists who normally graze their livestock communally on customary land tenure. This has, to a certain extent, intensified conflict between settled pastoralists and commercial ranchers interested in leasing the same land.

Conflicts emanating from crossing international borders have been recorded and at times have resulted in armed struggle. Pastoralists turn to the government to intervene in case of conflicts. There is no organisation that has ever intervened and/or taken government to court due to conflicts and crises involving pastoralists. The major problem arises out of misconceptions about pastoralism which is usually seen as unproductive. Under such circumstances, misleading policies are undertaken, creating areas of tension and leaving socioeconomic issues still unsolved.

In the case of pastoralism in Karamoja, the situation is worsened by cattle raiding practices which create insecurity in the area and in neighbouring districts. Since conflicts in such circumstances are militarised, the government very often intervenes militarily where administrative measures fail. There is a need to recognise the traditional conflict resolution machinery under CPRs. Unless special advocacy is arranged to protect pastoral interests, it may take time before pastoralists have full access to conventional legal machinery.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Apparently, in Uganda, the factors that contribute to human suffering for the pastoralists emanate from the cumulative effects of ad hoc policies and developmental strategies envisaged by the state and by development agencies. Particularly, government agents and NGOs have failed to understand pastoralism and differentiate the basic goals of pastoralists from the goals of the development agencies. The results of this are resource tenure problems, management policies, and breakdown of traditional institutions and administrative capabilities under CPRs.

All development policies and programmes have been initiated with a view to commercialising pastoralism and rapidly increasing productivity in pastoral areas for purposes of providing a cheap source of beef to the urban dwellers and for export purposes. This is a departure from the goal of pastoralists, which is basic survival. Pastoralism, in the traditional form, is an efficient system of rangeland management at subsistence level, and the pastoral institutions and values must be recognised as a basis of any development strategy in pastoralism communities.

Development policies related to the transformation of pastoralism from the subsistence to the commercial level in a market economy must involve the pastoralists themselves as the forces of change. Otherwise, pastoralists are faced with increasing resource use conflicts, total displacement, and impoverishment.

They should be given a decisive voice in the formulation of policies about resource management in their areas, policies that emphasise advantages and limitations related to the ecosystem in practising pastoralism. In this respect, human resource development among pastoralists is a crucial requirement not only in building up technical knowledge and capabilities, but also in creating new values to help individuals and communities to cope with rapidly changing socioeconomic, political, and environmental development in their respective areas. As noted by Cees de Haan (1983), technical answers are available to many of the specific problems facing livestock development in Africa, but the major constraint lies in introducing change into existing socioeconomic systems, exacerbated by inexperience in adapting technology to suit local conditions (Nestel et al. 1973).

It is, therefore, recommended that in introducing any development project in pastoral areas, it is important not only that the local community be involved but also that the project be designed and located to fit within the framework of their values and traditional technological knowledge.

Another area of concern is the stress on pastoral resources by various policies and programmes which do not take pastoralism into account. Pastoral areas and institutions have been disrupted and the pastoralists displaced to an extent that, in some instances, it is impossible to reverse the trend. It is even difficult to establish the costs involved. Marginalising of pastoralists in terms of social services, level of education, involvement in the political decision-making machinery is a major cause of failure of developmental strategies in pastoral areas. Formulating realistic policies that will establish a sustainable resource use system is needed. It is therefore recommended that projects designed for pastoral areas should take caution in displacing the local communities because, unlike in the cases of cultivators, it is not possible to find a suitable formula to work out compensation for pastoralists.

In conserving wildlife, it is important to take into account the interests of the local community. It is pertinent to encourage community participation and to harmonise co-existence. In this regard, there is a need to amend the Parks and the Game Preservation acts of 1964, and to embark on other related constitutional and legal undertakings.

There is a need for case studies that explore the state of rangeland resources, how they are managed, and the effects to the communities in the area. What exists now is a disrupted form of pastoralism, making it difficult to perform efficiently. Various resource management models are applied, but very little is known about their actual after-effects. A number of fundamental socioeconomic management questions remain unanswered or partially answered: To what extent have pastoralists been empowered to adjust to the changing socioeconomic and political pattern related to the management of rangeland resources? What is the performance of the pastoral economy in the rapidly developing market economy? How can pastoralism best be influenced causing minimum resource degradation, human suffering in terms of displacement, impoverishment, constant hunger and yet still attain a sustainable use of resources? What type of educational system will empower the pastoralists to defend their interests in a dynamic society? To what extent is indigenous knowledge in pastoral resource management used in programme designs? These and other questions could be answered when case studies of different pastoral societies in Uganda are undertaken.

Related to the grazing pattern on the rangeland, some issues should be examined: why do some animals, such as ungulates, migrate out of the park onto the ranches preferring to graze where cattle graze, as is the case in Lake Mburo National Park? Is there a natural symbiosis that may be exploited to promote co-existence?

Data must still be collected on how different types of resource management regimes affect pastoral resources in terms of rangeland, productivity, efficiency, and social equity; data must also be collected on conflict resolution mechanisms and issues of rangeland tenure and rangeland resource use.

The position of women in a pastoral economy faces great change. This is yet another area that needs rigorous investigation and analysis.

Most striking of all is the observation that resource degradation is common throughout different rangelands. It is necessary to examine the root cause of rangeland resource degradation and overgrazing on different property management strategies. The fact that Uganda is lacking a national land use policy intensifies resource use conflicts. Owing to alternatives among different forms of management and organisation, there is a need for serious studies to establish the kinds of choices that can be made for various levels of management strategies. Lack of a coherent national policy on pastoralism has led to the marginalisation of the pastoralists. Uganda may need to address a pastoral development policy in a coordinated manner in its national development programmes. The fact that Uganda is developing a national environmental action plan is a most welcome step.





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