

Resource Use and Sustainable Development among the Baluli in Uganda

**Report of the Field Research from March 5 to April 11,
LAGSUS, sociology component**

Reinald Döbel, May 2005



Women making a seedbed for vegetables (Foto: Samuel Fan)

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Introduction

“So you’re going to Uganda? Is that not where Idi Amin was?” The image of a crazy African dictator with a cannibalistic reputation was about all my hairdresser could connect to this country. Someone who had worked for years for an aid organization, then reminded me that Winston Churchill had called it the “Pearl of Africa.”

It is a measure for the preoccupations of the media that Idi Amin can be found on the internet very easily – rating him among the “Killers of the 20th Century” – next to figures such as Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin, Ne Win, Mohamad Suharto, Augusto Pinochet, to name a few of the 24 listed there with portraits and “kill tallies¹.” Nonetheless, the internet still allows him to propagate his lies (as the interviewing journalist himself calls the contents of the interview) via the video of an interview at his exile home in Jeddah on the BBC website². The victims are harder to find: the only personal account I could find is on the website of a center for the victims of torture³; a website dedicated to Christian ministry has a collection of newspaper reports about Amin which point to some of the horror⁴ to which the rest of the world remained blind for too long, as an insider’s account⁵ rightfully emphasizes. Written by a former minister in Amin’s cabinet with the intention of playing a role in bringing Amin down, “A State of Blood” became a major influence on the bestselling novel “The Last King of Scotland”⁶, published twenty years after Amin’s government ended in 1979. This novel, in turn, seems to be used in education often enough to warrant selling “e-notes” for teachers⁷ and is presently being turned into a film⁸. While all this is extremely interesting, it seems to me that reading Richard Oketch’s account of his own victimization⁹ – and realizing that the system which developed around Amin treated a significant proportion of its 300 000 victims in this manner – gives a better background for understanding the statements in my interviews in Kinamuanga, Junda, Ruunyo, and Nakataka in the Nakasongola County of Uganda: the main achievement of the present government of Yoweri Museveni is considered to be the “taming” of the army and of allowing the people to sleep in peace again.

This, and the conflict between the prevailing poverty and any attempts at sustainable development, which I will explain in more detail later, are the strongest impressions I carried home from the Ugandan research stay, which had been planned around testing the viability of the research approach summarized in an e-mail to the LAGSUS research team before my departure.¹⁰

For the first time in the research project, I found myself in the middle of the activities and problems of an *ongoing* development project: Samuel Diomande Fan has been working in the

¹ <http://www.moreorless.au.com/killers/amin.htm>

² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3156011.stm>

³ <http://www.johnrosengren.net/tohell.htm>

⁴ <http://www.ugandamission.net/aboutug/articles/amin.html#index>

⁵ Henry Kyema (1977/1997): *A State of Blood. The Inside Story of Idi Amin*, Kampala (Fountain Publishers),

⁶ Giles Foden (1999): *The Last King of Scotland* (Faber and Faber Ltd.)

⁷ <http://www.enotes.com/last-king/>

⁸ At http://www.themovieblog.com/archives/2005/05/gillian_anderson_in_last_king_of_scotland.html the

summary is given as: “a Scottish doctor (McAvoy) on a Ugandan medical mission becomes irreversibly entangled with one of the world’s most barbaric figures: Idi Amin (Forest Whitaker). Impressed by Dr. Garrigan’s brazen attitude in a moment of crisis, the newly self-appointed Ugandan President Amin hand picks him as his personal physician and closest confidante. Though Garrigan is at first flattered and fascinated by his new position, he soon awakens to Amin’s savagery - and his own complicity in it. Horror and betrayal ensue as Garrigan tries to right his wrongs and get out of Uganda alive.”

⁹ <http://www.johnrosengren.net/tohell.htm>

¹⁰ See Annex 1

two subcounties of Kalongo and Kalunji of the Nakasongola County, focussing on improved methods of rearing pigs and chicken on one side, and introducing the growing of vegetables on the other. Both activities are channelled exclusively through groups, in accordance with the agreements with the sponsoring organization CFI (*Christliche Fachkräfte International*). “Mr. Sam Fan” (as he is called by everyone in the area) inherited a close association with the bishop of Luwero and the parish in Kisenyi from an earlier CFI-project, which had provided hand-operated water-pumps to the district. This peculiar constellation has shaped the communication with the local *Baluli* population, as will become apparent later.

The report will begin with a brief account of the history and situation of the Nakasongola District, and then move immediately to the main results from the key informant interviews, which were complemented by a number of group interviews, the last of which took place with the participation of representatives of all of the groups Fan works with. Apart from asking participants for feedback on the preliminary main results, that meeting also aimed at introducing an action research component into the CFI development project. The development of the research methodology from the outline already distributed is described in the third section of the report. The last section relates the results from Uganda with those from Indonesia and Namibia and draws some conclusions for the field research still to be conducted, and, more importantly, attempts to present a preliminary resumé of the comparative perspective of the sociology component. The Annexes contain this outline, the schedule of questions developed from there with the assistance of Moses Sunday, a Church Elder from the area who agreed to be my assistant and interpreter, and notes from the interviews conducted on the basis of this schedule.

Some background for the Nakasongola district

The Nakasongola district (formerly called Buruli county¹¹) lies just South of Lake Kyoga and is populated by the Buruli people who originated from Congo. The district as an independent administrative unit was created only in 1997, having formed part of Luwero district before. For this reason, the district lay within the infamous “Luwero triangle” which formed the centre of the war waged by Museveni’s NRA (National Resistance Army)¹². As a consequence, this area suffered the highest rate of civilian casualties and torture during the fight against the second Obote government between 1981 and 1985. A recent series in the *Monitor*¹³ contains both Obote’s own recollection of his government, additional interviews with former Presidents of Zambia, where Obote still lives in exile, and of eye witnesses or victims. Some of the archive pictures lend credibility to one of my informant’s claims: “That time, you could cry all the way from Luwero to Kampala: there were skulls everywhere.”

The inhabitants themselves pronounce their name *Baluli* and those to whom I spoke unanimously appreciate this separation from Luwero district and the installment of a separate traditional leader, the *Ssabaruli*: the insecurity of land tenure which they see as their greatest problem is connected to the history of having been incorporated into the *Baganda* kingdom (to which Luwero belongs) in the course of British creation of the Uganda Protectorate. With

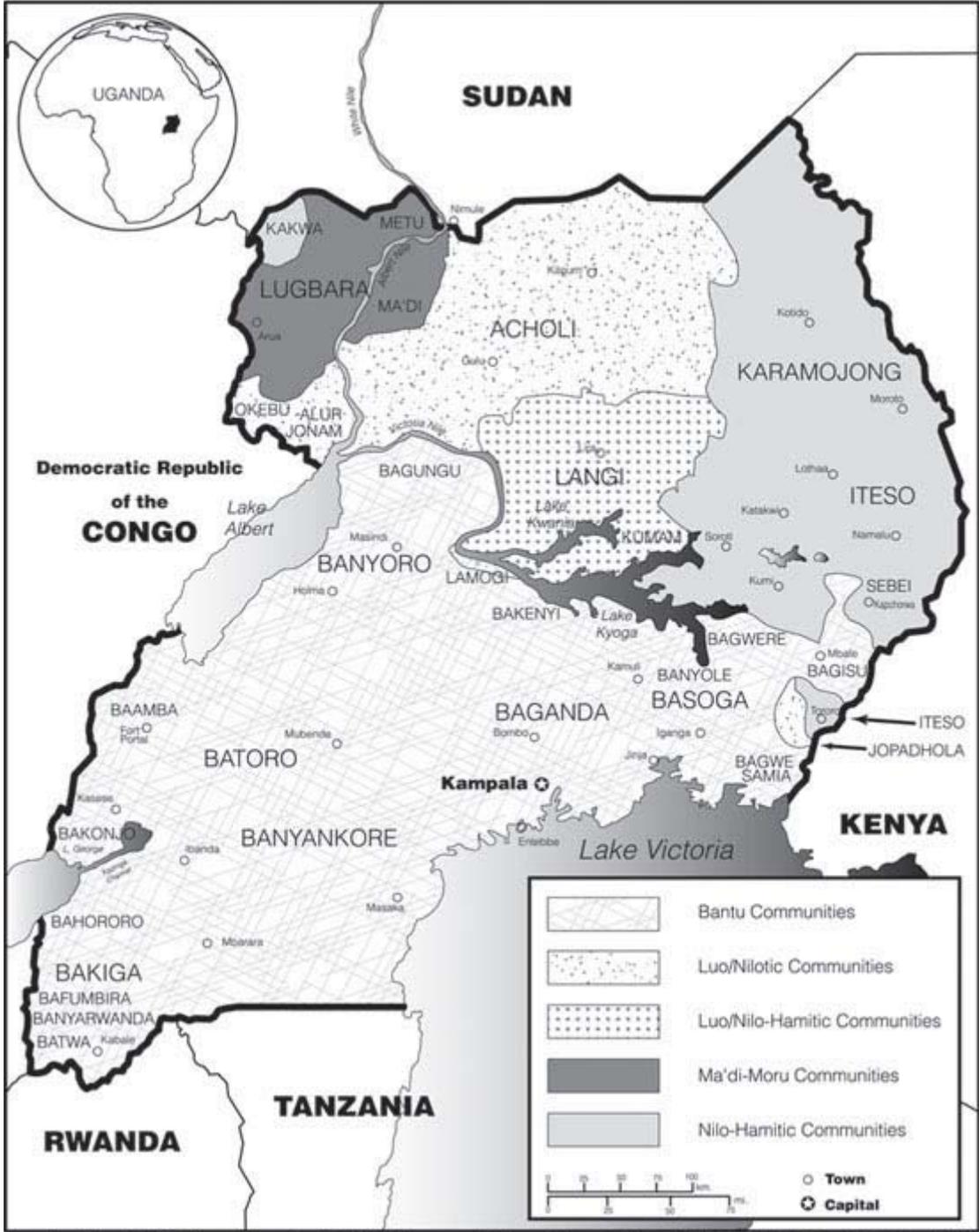
¹¹ Kakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.1

¹² For an inside account see Ondoga Ori Amaza (1998): *Museveni’s long march*. One of the appendices contains a “code of conduct” for NRA combatants which forbids insulting or harassing “members of the public”, making it mandatory instead to help them (particular with medical treatment) and to abstain from having illegitimate relationships with women. I mention this because it confirms the reports by my own informants and those quoted in the *Monitor*: killings and torture were committed by government soldiers – and not by the insurgents, as Obote still claims in the interview given to Andrew Menda in Lusaka.

¹³ The first of this 33-part story: <http://www.monitor.co.ug/specialincludes/ugprsd/obote/ob04071.php>, the pictures mentioned appear in parts 20 and 21

the help of *Baganda* troops under the *Kabaka* (King), the Baruli District was conquered and taken away from the authority of the *Kabalega* (*Kabaraga*), the *Banyoro* king, who resisted British encroachment. Thus, Nakasongola district belongs to what the *Banyoro* people in Uganda consider “lost counties.” The reward of the successful Baganda soldiers were land titles. Hence, until today, considerable portions of the land legally belong to ethnic Baganda.

ETHNOGRAPHIC UGANDA



Based on Minority Rights Group International's 'Ethnic Groups and Tribes of Uganda', Uganda: The Marginalization of Minorities (2001). Boundaries are not definitive but are intended to show traditionally inhabited areas.

(Source: Human Rights Watch – <http://www.relief.web>)

This was the local account. The literature traces the situation back to the 1900 “Uganda Agreement” through which the British Protectorate government gave *mailo* land (reckoned in

square miles) to royal and other *Baganda* families as permanent property – in *Buganda* as in other territories¹⁴

While the ethnographic map of *Human Rights Watch*¹⁵ - reproduced above – does not even list the *Baluli/Buruli* as a separate ethnic group, they themselves insist on the originality of their own culture and separateness from the *Baganda* and the *Langi*. *Lango* – the *Langi* country just North of Lake Kyoga, from where the first President of independent Uganda, Milton Obote, originated – was the area to which many *Baluli* migrated who found the incorporation into the Baganda Kingdom as second class citizens to painful: while some reported that this “second class status” was connected to the inability of the *Baluli* to trace their ancestry five generations back (which any *Baganda* is supposed to be able to do), others were opposed to the regulations concerning cultivation¹⁶.

During the 1980s, however, the *Langi* became inimical to *Baluli* settlement and they had to return to the Southern side of Lake Kyoga. As their numbers seem to have been considerable, they had to clear formerly rather extensive forest areas – which contributed to the present lack and unreliability of rainfall, as virtually all of my respondents mentioned.

According to the 2002 population census, the district’s population was 128.126 people, with the Kalongi county – where the projects’s main activities are located – being the most densely populated one¹⁷. The *Three Year Integrated Development Plan 2004/5 – 2006/7* also mentions the high fertility rate of 7 children per woman and cites early marriages, low adoption of family planning practices, polygamy, and land availability as the main reasons.

While land availability in general is mentioned among the factors contributing to the high fertility rate, the planning document supports the views of my informants about land and poverty as the major problems – along with high levels of illiteracy (around 50%), poor quality of education and an official HIV infection rate of 15%. The level of poverty is listed both as a “weakness” and a “threat” in the “SWOT-analysis of the local government¹⁸”. A more precise empirical analysis for measuring poverty and well-being is, however, still in the planning stage. The cutting down of trees for charcoal production is mentioned as an effect of poverty which “is serious and this has left most parts of the district bare, leading to a great climatic change.”

Concerning land, the plan states:

Land is still a very critical issue in Nakasongola district and this has led to daily-uncontrolled land wrangles that have even led to the death of people. The biggest problem lies few landlords who own the biggest chunk of land on the expense of the majority peasants who don’t own the land. The land issue has caused a lot of wrangles among the community.¹⁹

And

¹⁴ See, for example Ondoga Ori Amaza (1998, p. 198f.), Busingye (2002), Bazaara (2002)

¹⁵ <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900LargeMaps/SKAR-64GDCA?OpenDocument>

¹⁶ Information from various interviews, particularly from Moses Sunday who acted as my field assistant and interpreter

¹⁷ Nakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.2f.

¹⁸ Nakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.13

¹⁹ Nakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.15

The average land holding per household is about 4ha. This means that household cannot produce surplus for sale even enough to eat. Close to 90% of the peasants are squatters in the district, hoping to receive certificates of occupancy and benefit from the land under the land Act 1998 arrangement.

While not mentioned as a problem contributing either to poverty or a weakness at all, the gender imbalance is mentioned among the “Thematic Indicators” of poverty, as the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development has already conducted a Gender analysis, noting “oppression of women by men” and an imbalance in the distribution of work and the use of resources: while women do more work, they have less control over household income and other resources. Several NGOs are mentioned as engaged in “gender mainstreaming” in collaboration with local government. Group formation and loan management are the main activities carried out in support of women, while specific training for women councillors is the speciality of SDU (Strengthening Decentralization in Uganda)²⁰.

The political and administrative organization is mentioned in the District Development Plan under the term *Decentralization*, and considered one of the “Strengths” of the present set-up, along with “strong political and technical leadership.”²¹ The structure has five tiers with a *Local Council Committee* at each level running the daily affairs under the leadership of an *LC Chairman*. Beneath the district level – headed by a Chairman LCV - there are counties, subcounties, parishes, and villages, which are headed by LC IV, LC III, LC II and LCI Chairmen respectively with their Committees. These elected committees comprise a treasurer, a secretary, and secretaries for youth, women, disabilities, information, production, and security. This nationwide system was originally created through the renaming of the *Resistance Councils* which the NRA first installed in the Luwero triangle before its final victory in 1986²². Candidates have to stand for election as individuals, as Uganda has a unique “no-party system” of government, which allows parties to exist as organizations – with offices restricted to the capital city Kampala -, but does not allow them to campaign for offices in elections. First installed with the justification of wanting to avoid the bloody strifes which had accompanied the multi-party system of the early independence period after 1962, the “Movement system” of government was confirmed in a nationwide referendum on 29th June 2001²³. The debate about the re-introduction of a multi-party system is presently going on, and surrounding preparations for another referendum preceding presidential elections in March 2006. Opposition parties have already announced their boycott of the referendum which they see as a move to prolong the effective one-party rule by the “Movement”²⁴.

²⁰ Nakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.18f.

²¹ Nakasongola District Local Government: *Three Year Draft Integrated Development Plan 2004/5-2006/7*, p.13

²² Ondoga ori Amaza (1998) p. 58, and p. 159f.

²³ Nyström (undated); the same date is mentioned in the timeline given at the website of the East African Center for Constitutional Development of Makerere University. Curiously, the *Background Note* on Uganda of the Bureau of African Affairs of the US Department of State give the date of the referendum as March 2000 (see <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2963.htm>)

²⁴ Mugisa (*Vision*, May 6, 2005) at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/D/8/13/433069> and Wallis (*REUTERS*, May 6)

Main Results of Key Informant Interviews

On the basis of altogether 21 key informant and five group interviews which followed the schedule given in annex 2, plus constant discussions with Samuel Diomande Fan, his assistant Fred Bugalalio – who also acted as my assistant and interpreter for some interviews –, Moses Sunday, my main assistant and interpreter, a group discussion with the visiting professor Michael Fremerey, and a final meeting with representatives of all the groups in the CFI project to check on the validity of my findings, a sufficiently consistent picture emerged which is presented in the following paragraphs.

Designed as an exercise to throw some light on the relationship between resource use and local notions of leadership and sustainability, the interviews and observations put the relationship between poverty, land rights and gender relationships - and their combined effect on sustainability - into the foreground instead.

Local Notions of Resources

Land was the only “resource” mentioned in virtually all responses to the first question of the interview schedule which aimed at eliciting local views about the meaning of the concept of “resource”. Lacking a precise translation, the concept was paraphrased as “the things you need to develop” or “to keep alive”²⁵.

Among these things needed to develop, but also to simply keep oneself going, land was mentioned consistently by virtually all respondents – and as the first and foremost requirement. Land needed for agriculture, land needed for animal husbandry, land needed for construction, land needed for special projects such as making bricks, and land needed for beehives (the only beekeeper in the county was among the respondents). It also soon became clear that most people would have liked to have more land than they actually had, though the figures for “being comfortable” varied between five and about 20 acres.

Despite the frequent mention and the historical knowledge provided by Moses - that many people, including his own father, used to pay rent to absentee landlords –, I had not suspected the severity of the problem until people in Junda’s drinking place one afternoon shouted after Moses and me when we passed on the motorcycle. Having understood the word *muzungu* (white man), I became curious about what I interpreted as angry tones. Moses then explained that they had warned him not to help the white man buy their land. Subsequently other people confirmed these fears and substantiated cases of people being driven from the land they lived on, or currently being threatened with eviction. As chairman of the land committee – which has the powers to grant land leases for land which is still gazetted as “government land” – Moses was rightfully considered in a position to help me acquire land, had I really wanted to. Later, in Nakataka, the intention of LC2 to allow me to interview the single big land-owner there was unfortunately spoiled by that man’s absence. The attempts by the government to increase security of landholdings with the acknowledgement of customary land holding rights in the 1995 constitution did not solve the problems in the Nakasongola district: the 1995 constitution also recognizes *mailo* holdings which were thought to be peculiar to Buganda and

²⁵ In most interviews the explication of the concept took much longer than the single phrase suggests. Yet, after these explications, the responses all pointed in the same direction – giving a list of what we would also consider as “resources.”

hence not affecting other parts of Uganda²⁶. Nakasongola, however, had once been transferred to Buganda from Bunyoro and the *mailo* owners there were not the local inhabitants, but the victorious Baganda. Thus, the truly “customary” landholders in this area – the Baluli – had been deprived of their customary tenure almost one hundred years before the 1995 Constitution acknowledged Customary Tenure as a legal title to land.

Without a ranking of the importance of resources, it is difficult what people in the area really see as the most important resources. Acknowledging this oversight, I nevertheless attempt to provide a provisional assessment of the differential importance of the various resources based on the arguments and issues surrounding the mention of resources. The overriding importance of land has been mentioned and is supported by the official assessment of the administration as documented in the District Development Plan.

Second in acknowledged importance, if one goes by the frequency of mention and the order in which resources were mentioned, is water. The increasing shortage of rain as well as its unreliability is reflected here: frequently enough, a crop already germinated after the first rains still withers away completely due to a longer dry spell after the first rains in April. The problem is not new, though: a local adage which refers to activities already started says: “Like seed germinated seed, it cannot return if the sun is too much.” Water is of course also an important resource for animal husbandry, where death of animals due to a prolonged dry season is frequent enough. This sharp awareness of the importance of water – and particularly of the reliability of sufficient rainfall – is reflected in the widespread acknowledgement of the relationship between cutting trees and decreasing rainfall. Curiously enough, trees – both for timber and for fuel – did not figure prominently in the list of resources.

Somewhat surprising to me – but not to Samuel Fan, who had become familiar with the local situation in the past year -, most respondents mentioned *capital* as a resource. Without capital only small portions of land can be cultivated, and no proper care can be taken of these crops: without capital you can buy neither certified seed, nor fertilizer (which is used very rarely anyway) or pesticides to protect your crops against damage²⁷ (which is used frequently for vegetables and also for cotton). At the same time, most people complain of a *lack* of capital. While the introduction of markets is mentioned as one of the achievements of the present government – as compared to the previous ones of Obote and Amin – most people simply do not have enough to sell. Without capital they are not in a position to expand their areas - and lacking land titles, the formal banking system does not provide them with credit. This – and the simple absence of banks in the area²⁸ - may explain the popularity of credit groups.

These follow different systems, some – like that of which one of my respondents was a member - are completely independent from outside support, while others are organized to ensure repayment of loans disbursed by micro-credit institutions such as SOMED (Support Organization for Micro-Enterprises Development)²⁹ and FINCA (Foundation for International

²⁶ Busingye (2002)

²⁷ Because Fan had early on mentioned that the *Baluli* consistently confuse fertilizer and pesticides, believing that without the spraying of pesticides crops will not grow, I asked for the purpose of spraying several times. I consistently got the reply that they are needed to fight insects which damage the crops, particularly cotton. I did not, however, enter into more detailed discussions about alternative options of crop protections, as recommended by supporters of organic cotton growing, for example (see Malins and Nelson, for example)

²⁸ The closest branch of a bank is to be found in Luwero, about 80 km away – where the local credit groups in fact keep accounts once they have collected sufficient amounts of money from their members.

²⁹ Which is part of the Uganda Grameen Network. See

<http://asp.grameen.com/dialogue/dialogue37/bulletin.html#BODY8>

Community Assistance)³⁰. Still others follow a peculiar model intended to assist its members to access some bigger lump sum of start-up capital: its members organize “parties” to which the invited guests who want to belong to the group bring whatever they can part with – which could be household items or animals as well. The receiver of these “gifts” is obliged to return at least the same item when it is the giver’s turn to organize his or her party. Despite the suspicion towards this model exhibited by what felt like the majority of my respondents, one such party still took place during my sojourn there – and provided the woman organizer with enough capital to start a business.

According to the local councillor³¹, there are altogether 48 specifically women CBO (community based organization) in the district. Nobody mentioned “organization” as a resource however. The only “intangible” which was mentioned, and quite frequently, was “knowledge” – as concrete knowledge about how to perform certain tasks in agriculture or animal husbandry, but also as education in general.

Other important resources include certified seeds, implements - with ox-ploughs mentioned only by a few, while hoes and *panga* (long cutting knives) were prevalent -, fertilizer, and pesticides. All the things which one can buy with “*senti*” (money, from “cent”) and which are useful in performing agricultural tasks. Remarkable was only that a number of people specifically mentioned *certified* seeds. When questioned, they added that local seeds, i.e. seeds taken from one’s own field, do not produce the same harvest. Without further inquiry one cannot say whether this difference in yield is a difference between high yielding and local varieties. It could also be the drop in yield which is to be expected when people use second generation hybrid seeds³². Both for cotton and for maize – which are the main cash crops in the area – hybrid seeds are available and sold on the market, while particularly for cotton it is difficult to imagine there could be any non-hybrid seeds for sale. Difficult because the African center of maize lies further in the South, in what is now Mozambique, where local varieties developed independently after the first plants had been imported from South America by the Portuguese and spread quickly into neighbouring areas such as what is now Malawi and Zambia.

Finally, many people mentioned labour as a resource – just like any economist would do. More remarkable than this is the fact that “labour” specifically referred to *family* labour: hired labour needs cash. Therefore the need to pay labourers for agricultural tasks was mentioned in the context of the resource *capital*. Labour as a resource refers to family members, more particularly wives and children, as some of the respondents stated clearly. Concerning children, long-term plans may conflict with short-term plans: while it costs labour to send children to school, their education may contribute to enlarging the farm – if they contribute to buying land with salaries earned as a result of that education³³. Concerning wives, a curious detail which struck Fan in his conversations with *Baluli* men supports the view that women are important mainly for producing children and as a labour supply: the inability of many men to conceive of time spent between a man and a woman else than time used for sex, is expressed in the curious statement: “What can you talk about with a woman? – Nothing!”

³⁰ See <http://www.microcreditsummit.org/press/FINCA.htm>

³¹ In a private discussion during the group meeting with the visiting professor Fremerey; the *Three Year Draft Development Plan* mentions a figure of altogether 264 CBOs, of which 62 are to be found in the two subcounties of Kalongu and Kalungi (p. 176)

³² The high yield of hybrids occurs only in the the first generation of the crossing of specific lines. It is lost when the genes of the two distinct lines mix freely in succeeding generations as a result of open pollination in the field.

³³ This is particularly true for secondary education, which is not free.

This is, however, an interpretation stemming from weaving information about the number of wives and children as an indicator of the wealth – and importance - of a man into the information coming from the interviews directly. As both assistants were strongly involved in the church – Moses as a church elder, Fred as the chairman of the group of men married in church, i.e. having only one wife – and most group discussions were with church members, combined with the fact that virtually all *Baluli* claim adherence to the Christian faith, respondents were probably reluctant to talk about this aspect of their “traditional culture” openly. Yet, a number of men have in fact two or three wives, and some up to twenty children. And all of these are considered important people – such as the head of one of the 129 clans³⁴ who was among the respondents and whose two wives operate different farms in different places to avoid jealousies.

In fact, jealousies between wives, but also between the children of different wives were mentioned again and again, as sources of conflict and obstacles to development. While a considerable number of people seem to reflect on the causes of the widespread jealousy as an obstacle to the cooperation necessary for development, only in one single interview the conversation got to the point of identifying the lack of trust between men and women as a source – and hence trust in the relationship between a man and his wife as a resource for development.

Local notions of sustainability

Virtually all respondents agreed that there is environmental degradation, and also that the rainfall has both decreased and become more erratic. They also all agreed that their own practices in agriculture are contributing to this state of affairs. While at first glance the land looks rather sparsely populated – and it is considered as such in official planning documents – it also soon becomes apparent that there is virtually no “free” land: every bit of bush belongs to somebody as a fallow and a reserve for either cropping or for grazing animals.

Formerly, there were still abundant forests, which were cleared, however, when the migrant population returned from *Lango* on the other side of the lake. They had migrated there to avoid the consequences of the parcelling out of *mailo* land in their own area, following the agreement between the British and the Baganda, presumably taking advantage of the communal system of ownership maintained by the *Langi* tribe. While the precise reasons remained obscure to me, a repeated story insisted on their being driven away in the seventies by angry *Langi*, returning to their former homeland, and cutting down forests – consisting of *big* trees as some mentioned -for settlement and cultivation.

Respondents expressed a high and consistent awareness of the relationship between the cutting down of trees and the reduction in quantity and reliability of rain – which is recognized as a major resource for agriculture -, and they were equally aware that a reduction in cutting trees and the planting of new trees is a solution. And yet, they noted with some kind of resignation that this known solution was not put in practice, because of government inactivity as much as because of poverty - and their own inertia.

Poverty can be considered as the most important reason: people have to farm just to survive – which claims land. For many, their own (or rented) land does not even provide enough for

³⁴ During my stay, the figure mentioned was 128, while above I have quoted the figure from the *Draft Development Plan* (p.183)

survival – and one of the options for poor people is charcoal burning, which was explicitly mentioned again and again. Charcoal not only a major source of income for poor rural people, it is also the main – if not the only – fuel for cooking for the urban poor: it is the cheapest fuel on the market and there is a high demand for it. So a prohibition of charcoal burning is out of the question in the minds of virtually all respondents. Yet many are aware that there is actually a legal obligation to plant at least one tree for every tree cut down. That this does not happen, can be attributed to the government’s failure to implement its own stated policies (such as the lack of policing as much as the lack of provision of seedlings³⁵) and to their own inertia. The latter was expressed explicitly only in a single interview by a cotton grower in Nakataka: “When we come home from a workshop, we relax - and do not implement what we have learnt.” In a group discussion at a drinking place, the blame was put on the delegation of responsibilities³⁶: “While the obligation exists, the owner of the tree sells it to the charcoal burner and thinks that this man should do the planting. The charcoal burner, in turn, thinks that this is not his land and that the owner should take care of it – and therefore the planting does not get done.”

Another way to earn some cash income is parttime fishing - for those people who experience lack of land but can muster some start-up capital for a boat and fishing gear. This is one of the areas where the provision of micro-credit through SOMED and others is important despite their otherwise disliked practice of insisting on a very early commencement of the repayment schedule – as early as two weeks after disbursing the credit. The increase in the numbers of people engaged in fishing as much as the technical improvement of fishing gear has, however, also led to a degradation of the fish population. One elderly respondent attributed this decline in the number of fish catches to the fact that these “improvement” are unsustainable: “Nowadays they use the *kokota* nets which also catch the small fish – as if they wanted to clean the lake.” These nets are in fact forbidden, but the fisheries officers have a reputation for allowing these nets with small mesh sizes for the payment of bribes. One of the reactions of fishermen from the other side of the lake – who feel disadvantaged because they do not have access to markets for these more efficient nets – have formed a kind of militia, which occasionally attacks owners of *kokota* nets and destroys their boats. At least one such case was reported to us during the few weeks of my stay. This can serve as an example for the mechanism which links poverty to environmental degradation which in turn aggravates poverty – thus fuelling increasing competition for resource use to the point of open conflict: poverty leads to increased catches. These lead to a decline of the fish population which, in turn, decreases fish yields and hence income. Competition for the decreasing resource then incites people to rely even more on the *kokota* nets to catch at least *something* – if they can. Those who cannot then sometimes – and in this case partially successfully – organize themselves to fight against the competition with other means – using the fight against unequal and unfair access as a justification.

Poverty again was mentioned with respect to another acknowledged reason for environmental degradation: overgrazing. The dilemma is between the understandable wish to attain to at least a small herd of cattle as the only way – in people’s minds – to get out of poverty, and the

³⁵ The *Draft Development Plan* (p. 171) specifically wants to increase the woody biomass by 7% in Nakasongola by 2005 – by increasing tree biomass by 500,000 trees (also by 2005), by promoting the use of fuel saving devices, and by promoting efficient charcoal production. These are the objectives of the Department of Environment, Game and Vermin Control concerning “deforestation”, while control of “vermin”, “termites” and “bush burning” constitute the other main areas of responsibility of this department.

³⁶ For Fan as the external development specialist, the inertia and the shifting of responsibilities is clearly expressed in the failure to take care of the hundreds of seedlings he provided for free to a number of schools: despite the availability of water the seedlings withered over the dry season in most of the schools concerned – because teachers failed to organize students to take care of watering over the school holidays.

lack of land available for grazing. With the carrying capacity being around five heads of cattle per acre, the few available communal grazing areas are already overstocked, and the only people in possession of sufficient private land are the few *mailo* owners – who have in some cases, as the stories go, already started evicting tenant farmers from their lands for the purpose of ranching.

As far as the sustainability of agriculture itself is concerned, the respondents were divided into one group which emphasized the use of “modern methods” and inputs for farming and animal husbandry, while another group stressed the use of crop rotation and “biological farming” to maintain soil fertility. Whichever method they advocated, a minority explicitly felt that “paying attention” or “caring”, and “skill” were necessary for maintaining successful farming operations in the long run.

One might call it two additional dimensions which were brought in by the subquestion of the sustainability of “culture.” While most were content to refer to “the elders” as a source of knowledge for the maintenance of the culture of the *Baluli*, some ventured to mention specific cultural traits. The mention of the spiritual dimension of culture in the form of spirits which assist those who venerate them only came up in the last interviews which were conducted with the assistance of the LC2 of Nakataka – whose father still works as a herbalist, and who is not noted for his engagement with the Church³⁷. In the presence of the Church Elder Moses Sunday, only his own father mentioned the abandoning of rainmaking rituals as a source for failing rains. In the presence of church members, the spiritual dimension took the form of “having the word of God at heart” for both leaders and followers, disregarding the specifically *Baluli* content of culture.

The social dimension of *Baluli* culture surfaced, surprisingly enough, mainly in the form of prescriptions for male versus female behaviour – from a dress code of decency³⁸ to certain eating taboos³⁹, but mainly prescribing behaviour towards men. Decency was still an important concern, while most of the eating taboos were referred to as characteristic of a bygone age, some behavioural rules immediately strike the outsider’s attention, such as the kneeling down of women in front of men whenever they greet or serve food. The subservient position of women is thus striking in everyday interaction, but also in the interviews, where men did most of the talking. It is a measure of change that women did, however, interfere without apologetic looks whenever they felt they had something to contribute. This aspect of culture, while referred to as characteristic of *Baluli* culture particularly by men, was at the same time explicitly excluded from the items which should be preserved by allowing the knowledge of the elders to be gathered and written down for reference by the younger generation – which a substantial proportion of respondents recommended.

The differences in opinion about which items are considered important for maintaining an identity distinct from that of other tribes⁴⁰, or which items are of practical value – such as

³⁷ For a Church Elder even healing by use of witchcraft can be viewed as “the devil’s work” – and this can be a serious impediment to taking office despite popular wishes for him to stand: one of the duties of a Chairman LC3 is to sign documents certifying that the work of the witchdoctor named therein is purely of the healing kind and therefore to be commended.

³⁸ Thus, in an interview with an older couple, both spouses seriously asked Moses why the police did not apprehend women to wear indecent dresses, such as mini-skirts, in public in Kampala – to the extent of even going to parliament with these kinds of dresses!

³⁹ In older times, women – and children – were not allowed to eat eggs or chicken meat, because of supposed negative consequences.

⁴⁰ The recent concern about the colonial origin of the concept of “tribe” was not shared by the people I talked to – and hence I refrain from signalling the problematique behind the term by the use of quotation marks

herbal medicine – run between the generations, but also between more traditionally oriented people and more church oriented people. As the head of the *Muburo* clan claimed: “It was you white people who have destroyed our culture by bringing your religion and by introducing schools.”

Another aspect of culture was identified as typically *Baluli: bwiya* (“jealousy”). With very few notable exceptions – all of whom were only in their twenties⁴¹ – this was seen as one of the main obstacles to development: whenever a person notices someone else’s good fortune, s/he will wish that person to have bad luck, rather than finding out how to attain similar benefits. And because of this, most people prefer to keep knowledge about such benefits to themselves. Most respondents found this state of affairs virtually “natural”: a group of women even cited the biblical case of Cain slaying Abel as proof that there is no way to avoid this general “lack of love”. Yet all agreed that it prevents the spread of innovations and thus is an obstacle to development.

What appeared curious to me as an outsider, was the acknowledgement that other tribes – particularly the *Banyankole*, the herdsmen from which President Museveni originates – do not have this trait. In fact, some of the improvements brought about by the present government were implicitly attributed to this fact: the government’s restocking distributes cattle to individuals for free, provided they agree to pass on at least one of the offspring to a needy person for free also.

In spite of this knowledge, most people insisted that this trait of “jealousy” is so deeply ingrained that even government education programmes – which some still found useful – or church work could do no more than *reduce* this trait: it was considered “natural” to the extent of being ineradicable. Yet, this did not apply to groups: a group’s success is something to be emulated. In fact, very few of my respondents did not mention at least in interest to participate in groups, but often direct – and positively experienced – involvement. Following the group meeting organized early during my stay for the visiting professor Fremerey, I had expected a repetition of the claims that women find it easier to organize groups, are less “jealous” and more trustworthy – and more successful. This appeared logical in the light of general observations and considerations concerning the solidarity and mutual empathy of dominated groups – and the *Baluli* women clearly belong to this category. Therefore, I was surprised to find within my rather small sample three claims of successful groups with male members only⁴². It is only in retrospect and in the light of these success stories that I am inclined to interpret the claim that the *Baluli* need to learn more about co-operating as a false modesty toward the white visitor – who might bring external resources, just as his black host working for CFI had done. Fan – as the representatives of most other NGOs - insists on working with groups only. Painting themselves as less capable than they actually are, makes them appear more needy to donors. I do not mention this to suggest that they are following a conscious or unconscious strategy of false self-representation, a suspicion which is behind the attempts to avoid the “dependency syndrome” ever since development has been equated with the transfer of resources through projects – i.e. ever since “international development aid” existed. Rather,

⁴¹ One young man claimed that he would certainly help others by forwarding useful information: “I want to develop, and I know they also want to develop. And it may be that later, my son will benefit from his son.”

⁴² In the meeting just mentioned, the only such example was the group of men who met to frequent drinking places together. And while even the male participants in that meeting agreed that women were somehow better in organizing groups, they also held up the drinking group as an example of successful male organizing. The man who related the story, also claimed that mutual trust was present in this group – backed up by rather harsh sanctions: should the treasurer fail to be “trustworthy”, the other members would simply go to his house and sell whatever they found to make up for the loss.

I want to suggest that people have learnt by experience that it “pays” to underline one’s neediness by downplaying one’s abilities.

On the whole, the relationship between poverty as a *cause* of (environmental) non-sustainability which particularly the literature following Hardin’s famous essay “Tragedy of the Commons”⁴³ stressed, is borne out by the *Baluli*’s own conscious considerations of their situation – which they themselves would probably prefer to call *plight*. The additional dimension which their reflections bring in, is the aspect of the gender relationships – which have *begun* to change radically as a result of government policies, but also as a result of the involvement of the Church. This change was brought forward by both men and women in group discussions with participants from both sexes.

Local notions of leadership

This was the area where the greatest uniformity existed between respondents: the image of the *good* leader always asked of him to be respectful towards others, to have good social relationships, to listen to other people’s views and problems, and to represent “his” people at higher levels of the administration, attempting to satisfy the needs expressed to him.

While virtually everybody mentioned “manners” or “good behaviour” as important, intelligence, good speaking abilities, and creativity were mentioned less frequently. Only church members – at the church meeting as well as during the final meeting – said that a good leader has to be “god fearing”. I would expect that this includes the “trustworthiness” (*bwesigwa*) asked by many of a good leader. The example given throws a light on what must be common practice among leaders: “It means that if the community agrees to buy office furniture for say 140 000, and the leader goes and manages to buy for only 120 000, he will come back with the balance.” I see this example in relation to the many complaints about increasing corruption and the story of one particularly creative leader, who had suggested a very good scheme to his community – namely to buy plates and let the treasurer rent them out to individuals for occasions such as funerals or weddings against a flat fee -, and then ran away with a considerable amount of money collected from youth for a programme to supply them with motorbikes. I cannot help but link both the insistence on “trustworthiness” in this peculiar financial meaning to the prevailing poverty. As one of the respondents said: “It is poverty which is at the root of corruption: people who are poor try to get as much out of their term of office as they can.”

The expectation towards a good leader is, on the contrary, that s/he will *bring* “development” to the village and show “leadership” in mobilizing local inhabitants for government or NGO programmes for adult literacy⁴⁴, health education, agriculture etc. S/he is expected to be a “bridge” between village people and higher levels of government and administration. Some saw it as the task of a good leader to hear what people’s problems are, communicate with these “higher levels” and then bring back the solution to the people.

Impressed by the consistency with which “listening” was mentioned as a characteristic of a good leader, I sometimes related a story about leadership from Western Africa⁴⁵ which shows

⁴³ For the original article see Hardin (1968 – online at: <http://www.constitution.org/cmt/tragcomm.htm>), for a more recent review see Ostrom et. al (2002 – online at)

⁴⁴ 51% of the adult population are illiterate, according to the *Draft Development Plan*

⁴⁵ See footnote 52

a collaborative style of leadership as superior to an educated, “problem-solving” style. Whenever this story was told, people agreed to the truth of its core message.

While there was a rather uniform image of a *good* leader, people’s opinion were more diverse with respect to the quality of actual leadership – as shown in the following chapter.

The relationship between sustainability (of resource use) and leadership

This question had been intended to elicit information about those types of locally known leadership which have a positive effect on development and sustainability – or even on sustainable development, which is mentioned as an explicit goal in the *Draft Development Plan* for the district⁴⁶. Instead, it became a focus for comparing the present leadership – mostly at the national level – with previous governments. Remembering the general insecurity and fear of those years, the present government appeared - in the responses people gave - as the kind of “saviour” as which members of the “Movement” like to portray it⁴⁷.

Rather than an obstacle to true democracy, the present “movement” type of government is viewed by the majority as a way to balance diverse interests and thus to guarantee a measure of stability – which, in turn, is seen as a precondition for development. “If you have peace, you can have development.” It seems to me that the frequency of statements such as “now we can at least sleep in peace at night” point to the deeply traumatizing experience of the first roughly twenty-five years of Ugandan Independence. Two additional details – which came not from the interviews but appeared in the more casual conversations with my interpreter – support this view: 1) soldiers were generally feared before the present government, because they would claim the right to anything they desired, at any time, and without finding it necessary to pay for it. This explains why some people listed the “civilizing of the army” as one of the great achievements of the present government, adding that now you could even “eat with them as friends”. 2) At least during Amin’s time, there was the additional fear that any car which approached might carry members of the “State Research Bureau” – and that they would order any of the people present to enter the boot of the car, without further explanation. Later people would hear a shot and still later that person’s corpse would be found somewhere in the swam nearby. In the early times of the “Movement” government, newspapers published photographs of the members of the State Research Bureau, taken from their own files – 100 pictures every day for about 30 days.⁴⁸

The – for Africa – exceptional growth rates of Uganda are reflected in the local perceptions that the increased peace and stability, democracy and freedom of speech had created conditions for economic development previously not present. At the same time, they had also become sharply aware of their poverty and seem to become increasingly dissatisfied with the lack of support for *developmental* initiatives. For them, *development* has a primarily economic and infrastructural meaning: schools, roads, markets, transport, electricity, communication. It seems to be an indication of the prevalent level of poverty that the call for general provision of electricity was almost absent – in contrast to the already rather poor rural areas in Indonesia and Namibia where our project is investigating.

⁴⁶ At least the “Directorate for community based services” also sees “empowerment” as a necessary ingredient. Hence, the directorate’s “mission” is said to be to “*empower communities particularly the marginalized groups and harness their potentials for sustainable and gender responsive development*”.

⁴⁷ See, for example Amaza (1998)

⁴⁸ As Moses said: “It showed that during those times you were really afraid to say *anything*: I found three of my classmates among those published pictures – and *anything* could serve as a justification for taking you away.”

Other achievements consistently listed by the respondents - without any further questioning – were:

- The provision of universal free primary education (“UPE”), in contrast to the previous practice of having people construct their own school building in the village and request some kind of contribution to the teacher’s salary – or even the full salary.
- The provision of infrastructure such as health centers, roads, markets – although none of this was considered sufficient as yet.
- The introduction of a system of local government which gave local people a voice in the choice of their leaders, in contrast to previous times, when leaders could be posted here who did not even speak the local language because they came from different and far away tribes. This obviously refers to the system of LC1 up to LC5 described earlier. Some, however, had preferred the more direct access to higher levels of government when the administrative division only knew “parish chiefs” and their assistants, the “sub-parish chiefs”. Another contested item was local budget control: according to legislative rules a certain portion of taxes collected in the previous year should come back to the local level to serve locally determined purposes. One such item was the purchase of plates to be kept by the treasurer to be used – against a fixed fee – for private funerals and weddings, where the provision of enough furniture and dishes is always a problem. In another group discussion, however, people claimed that they had not seen any such money for years. Overall, and despite frequent complaints about corruption, people appreciated the “freedom to say what is in our minds and on our hearts”. That this is a genuine achievement which corresponds with intentions at the highest level is, in my view, supported by the astonishment of some respondents that Museveni does not prevent the publication even of defamatory articles in the media – things some local people feel he *should* not allow.
- The change in the gender balance was clearly attributed to the present government. “Now, women can even become leaders,” or “Women can now even be chairwomen”, while in former times “women were not even allowed to speak up in the presence of men” – and much less be involved in decisions about the use of resources, other than their own labour and possibly of seeds for her own gardening. The strongest plea for the recognition of this achievement came from the groups Samuel fan works with – in both meetings. As this change had not been emphasized in the interviews in which the main respondents were mostly men, the feedback meeting with these groups shortly before my departure rightly insisted on correcting this oversight. While one of the men in the first group discussion emphasized that in the overall picture only a small fraction of women (he talked about 1 per cent) were involved in household (or group) decision-making at an equal footing with men, not a single man complained about the increasing recognition of women at all these levels. Nobody argued that women should be “put into their natural place” (to take a well-known *German* “argument”) in the name of “true *Baluli* culture”. I believe this indicates that this change finds the support of at least some men – while others continue to beat their wives, seek for second and third wives or simply have affairs⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ One particular story told about a man we met on the road by chance, selling jackfruit from his bike, gives an clear indication of the division of opinion in this respect: that man had for a long time been reputed to beat his wife. At one point, she got so fed up with it that she enlisted the help of friends and family members to tie the man to his bed once he came back from the drinking place. Once they were alone and he had woken up, the wife then proceeded to give a sound beating to the tied man. This led to a court case in which some supported the man’s wish to be divorced, while others found that she had been right in “teaching him a lesson.” The ruling of the court was against divorce and included the advice to the man to stop beating his wife. The marriage still continues.

Two points did not surface in the group discussions or the interviews, but are important to mention in this context: population growth and the high incidence of AIDS.

The only local informant who saw a connection between population growth and the increasing scarcity of land was my assistant Moses Sunday. During one of the interviews he took the initiative to ask the respondents – who had talked about the need to sustain the family by producing many children – if, by having many children, they did not also – as an automatic and unavoidable consequence - decrease the land available for them and their future families.

The response to this direct intervention was as vague as the response to my taking up of this topic for discussion later, particularly in the group situations in the church and in the final meeting. While it appears a simple question of logic to connect population growth, land scarcity, and land degradation as *problems* to programmes of population control as *remedies*, this conclusion was not drawn by those people I had a chance to talk to. This despite the occasional mention of government educational programmes for family planning as desirable for future development.

The second point not touched explicitly in the interviews, but present in daily life was HIV/AIDS. Present through the frequent burials, and the many stories told by the main contact persons Fred Bugalalio and Moses Sunday, stories about this or that man having died – possibly from AIDS -, or stories about children orphaned by AIDS, or stories about people afraid of having contracted “the disease” from a partner suspected or know to be infected. While this also obviously affects the “security of planning” for future activities, and hence the sustainability of families and groups, and the labour available to families, and also the competition for resources, the topic was curiously absent in the interviews. Also obviously, the topic is connected to the gender relationships, because the most common cause for a woman’s infection is to have unguarded sex with a husband who had unguarded sex with another wife or another woman. Education programmes by other NGOs, coupled with free distribution of condoms, does not seem to have increased condom use, and women do not seem to be in a position to ask condom use from men who insist on the pleasure of the “real thing”.

Official awareness of the problem exists⁵⁰ and has led to some of the internationally more successful HIV/AIDS awareness programmes in other parts of Uganda, but fear, a general embarrassment to talk about anything related to sex, and constant preoccupation with solving immediate survival problems seem to prevent the needed *local* discourse about the problem and its relation to development and sustainability.

The research methodology in practice

Logistics

The selection of the research areas within the project area had more to do with transport logistics than with selection criteria developed from the research agenda: the project area is located some 80 km away from Luwero, where Fan’s residence is located and where I was

⁵⁰ The *Draft Development Report* for the District mentions an infection rate of roughly one fifth

offered to occupy a guest house. I simply accepted the suggestion not to hire an additional car, and instead to move together for most of the time. Apart from saving the LAGSUS project a considerable amount of funds⁵¹, this would allow me to get a more intimate knowledge of the area by profiting from existing contact: I would always be introduced as his collaborator. The intention was to firmly establish the research as a support to the development project. Following this strategy, I extended my stay to participate in a group meeting scheduled for the introduction of an action research component into the development project. During this meeting, I had a chance to present the preliminary findings described in the previous chapter and to ask for comments and additions.

Accepting this arrangement also meant that the actual time in the research area was limited to Tuesday afternoon. This schedule was owed to the Ugandan peculiarity of organizing market days only on Monday everywhere, meaning that some of the major contacts would be busy with the local market in Kaswama. The day was also needed for purchases in Luwero for the project. On the other hand, the arrangement had the advantage of clarifying the close relationship between the CFI development project and the bishop in Luwero, and also provided for reading and reflection times which proved valuable for the actual field research: David Reid's *Sustainable Development – An Introductory Guide* clarified once again the relevance of this stream of thinking for the situation in Nakasongola District, and Augsburg's *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures* provided a West African story about leadership which confirmed some of the *Baluli* views on leadership, as their appreciation of the story indicated⁵².

In the project area itself, I stayed into the house which had been built by the development project, situated next to Kisenyi church, and a few miles away from the main research and project assistants, i.e. Fred Bugalalio in Kinamwanga and Moses Sunday in Ruunyu. These two had been suggested as allies with sufficient knowledge of English. Moses owned a motorcycle, while Fred owned more than one bicycle for transport. It was therefore decided to

⁵¹ As I did not have any additional costs for transport, this arrangement also made it possible to cover – for the first time – the costs for both research assistants (at 40 000 and 100 000 UGS) from the daily allowances of the research project, as expected when the budget was written.

⁵² Once there were two good friends, Anikandagbon (or He-Who-Meets-Problems-Alone) and Aafogbonlogbon (or He-Who-Seeks-Good-Advice). The first was well educated, literate, and widely read. The second was a man of the village, widely trusted, and much consulted.

When the old *oba* died, the son who was next in line was looking for men to appoint as chiefs. Should he choose independent, educated men, or traditional men of the people?

So he held a feast. He killed an ox, and had it roasted, except for the two hind-quarter legs. When the feast was ended, he called the two friends, and gave them each a leg of beef.

“Take this with you and bring it back in one week in perfect condition,” he commanded.

When he got home, He-Who-Seeks-Good-Advice called all his people and presented them with his problem. They deliberated long, then arrived at a solution. The butcher was called, and the leg of beef given to him. He promised to return one week later with an indential fresh quarter.

He-Who-Faces-Problems-Alone discussed the matter with no one. He cut a tree, built a fire, placed the meat on a drying rack, and roasted it for a day. But meat must be cut in ribbons to dry, and he could not do that to the quarter. In a few days, flies had come, and the meat was full of maggots, and the bone kept slipping out of the spoiling mess.

When the day had come, the one man brought a fresh quarter carried by friends and family. The other carried his leg alone for the stench was so great no one would come near him.

The *oba* looked at each man, then demanded an explanation from the man with the putrid offering. “I attempted to roast it, to dry it, to preserve it the best I could, but it was impossible,” he explained. The second man said, “I accepted the advice of my friends and the help of my community. Here is the beef.”

The *oba* said, “This man shall be the chief, for he solves his problems collectively. He other man is a selfish person, an evil person, a blight, a scourge on the town,” and they drove him from the village, for why should he be in the village if he is not of the village? To seek good advice is best; to try to solve problems by oneself is not good. (after Dorson, 1975, pp. 356-59, quoted from Augsburg, 1992, p.189f.)

take these two villages (Kinamwanga and Ruunyu) as a starting point and to add on Junda (which, being next to Kinamwanga, was reasonably well known to both Moses and Fred), and Nakataka, where the local LC2 knew enough English to serve as an interpreter. In both Junda and Nakataka there existed project groups.

Because of the time limitations and the opportunity to attend both a local ceremony of baptizing and to also get the views of church goers on the research questions, I stayed on for the weekend of April 2nd / 3rd. If my impression is not mistaken, this additional stay without the presence of “Mr. Sam” sort of “proved” to my local contacts my seriousness in being interested in their *real* situation. It changed both the relationship with people and with the environment as a whole, making me feel “at home” to some extent, which, in turn, boosted my confidence in the research and in the communication processes involved. In retrospect, it seems justified to talk about an increased level of trust. More concretely, the additional interviews both in the church (where people discussed the research questions in groups and delivered written group responses) and with additional individual respondents in Junda and Kinamwanga were as valuable as the opportunity to spend an afternoon in local market in Kaswama, where Fred Bugalio is regularly among the sellers.

Experiences with the methodology – 1: The village maps

In all the villages concerned, the work started with asking a knowledgeable person (Moses for Ruunyu, Fred for Kinamwanga and Junda, and the LC2 for Nakataka) to draw a rough map with the roads and paths, and to add on *all* houses. The next step was to name the owners of the houses, based on which the most important people could be identified. Depending on the knowledge of the first resource person and the time available, additional information for the household could also be collected, particularly concerning possession of land and livestock, and marriage and family relationships. As noted before, the number of wives and children already gave an indication of the position of a man, as both are considered important indicators of wealth by the local people – together with land and animals.

Apart from making it a point to see the local Chairman of LC1 (which failed in Kinamwanga, and which I did not insist on in Nakataka, because that man was involved in a small disagreement with the research project at the time), I accepted the judgement of my first resource persons about the suitability of individuals as key informants. After a number of interviews, I asked the respondents themselves whom they considered important in the village, thus receiving feedback on the choice of my main contact persons. This supported the choice for the village of Junda, where this strategy worked out well. Ruunyu had already been completed without this addition, while the use of drinking places for group interviews in Kinamwanga made it unsuitable. In Nakataka one respondent refused to answer this question, and the group of traders interviewed in the marketplace pretended not to know the “important people” in person, saying that an important man would be “he who will sacrifice the most for a community project – but such a person does not exist.”

Overall, the maps and the list of inhabitants proved of comparatively little value in the course of this field research. As in Indonesia, however, it is expected that it will become more useful during the following – and last – sojourn in the area. Then, the existing record can become the basis for discussing the importance of people with other respondents – and the linkage between the importance and decisions concerning resource use in the village. Both in Indonesia and in Uganda, the experiences are similar: contrary to expectations, the drawing of village

maps and the listing of inhabitants by name does not raise suspicions and can be completed rather quickly, thanks to the often amazing memory of key people about everyone else in the village. If they – occasionally – do not remember the name of a particular person, this in itself is an indication that that person occupies a rather marginal position in the village.

Experiences with the methodology – 2: The schedule of questions about resource use and leadership

Even before the interviews started, it became clear in the discussion with my main assistant and interpreter, that some of the main concepts of the research schedule cannot be translated directly into the local language. While “leadership” and “leader” (*obukulembeze* and *omukulembeze*, respectively) did not present a problem, *Lululi* does not have a one-to-one translation for the words “resources” and “sustainability”. For “resources” Moses therefore suggested to use “the things you need to develop” or “the things you need to live or to do something”, while for “sustainability” he used “how to keep (=sustain) things / activities” (*okwemeryawo* = “you keep”; see Annex 3 with the research questions).

While I had been satisfied after a long a apparently mutually satisfactory discussion that my intended and the translated – and written – questions coincided, I found that each question took a considerable time of explanation in the interviews conducted together with Moses. I regretted that we had agreed that a running minidisk recorder might detract people’s attention and cause them to change their answers: it would certainly be rather interesting for linguists to assess the implications of the formulation of the questions – both in their written form and in their oral presentation.

This became even clearer when I conducted interviews with Fred Bugagalalio and the LC2 of Nakataka⁵³: despite an intensive explanation of the meaning of the questions by their author at least to Fred, simply reading the written formulations hardly ever produced a satisfying answer. In Nakataka, what was intended to be a question for “resources”, produced answers advancing *obstacles* to personal progress – until I intervened and explained the meaning of the question according to my own understanding. To which LC2 responded by saying: “Now I understand the meaning of the question.” It is even more remarkable that despite these problems (at least after the clarification), the responses fit together to allow an interpretation as one more or less coherent system – an interpretation which corresponds to the views expressed in recent literature about sustainable development both within and without the “development establishment”⁵⁴.

Two unplanned changes significantly contributed to this outcome. One was the addition of a question on “communication gaps” suggested by professor Fremerey during his visit, and the second was the peculiar interpretation to the original question about the relationship between leadership and resource use. The addition of the question about communication gaps had been phrased as “who does not talk to whom about what?” In the discussions with Moses he immediately agreed that *Baluli* in general are stingy about alerting others to good

⁵³ I regret this impersonal use of a title, but in the situation I simply followed everyone else’s language use – and even in direct conversation he was addressed by his title, not by his name.

⁵⁴ This was brought home to me on occasion of reading David Reid’s “Sustainable Development – An Introductory Guide” – and comparing it with a recent (March 30, 2005) article from M2 Presswire: *WORLD BANK: Experts warn ecosystem changes will continue to worsen, putting global Development Goals at risk(C)1994-2005*

opportunities⁵⁵. *Bwiya* or “jealousy” was quickly identified as a major cultural trait among the *Baluli* as a *culture* – and this influenced the wording of this question, leading virtually all respondents – with one or two notable exception - immediately into the direction of trying to find the underlying reasons for this psychological trait they accepted as “natural.” The side-effect of this was, of course, to avoid looking for other instances of communication gaps and *their* reasons.

The second unintended change came probably through failing to make my own understanding of the links between leadership and resource use clear to Moses, which is reflected in the wording of the respective question: *Ati okubona obukulembeze obuluwo ati bwemeirere butyai okusonga ezo zetubazireku?*⁵⁶ The question refers to the relation between “present leadership” and “all that we have discussed together”, not specifically to the relation between *leadership* and *resource use*. I suspected something was wrong with the question when the answers started coming in: they all referred to the relief people experienced with the “present leadership” as compared to the previous times of dictatorship and civil war. I understood this a bit better after getting a second person to translate the question schedule word for word (see annex 3). I did not change anything in this respect, however: one reason was to retain at least a small measure of methodological consistency, and the second was that the altered understanding seemed to touch an essential element of people’s experience, which was indispensable as a background for understanding their present relationships to each other and to the environment.

What I found remarkable was the fact that only one single farmer at first expressed some suspicion concerning the intention of the research: a rather “modern” and comparatively well-to-do farmer in Nakataka whom I saw with the local LC2 and who was obviously completely unconnected to Fan’s development project and also to the church. He was, however, quickly convinced that there was no harm in responding, although he still refused to tell who he considered important persons in his village.

This question had been added later to provide a measure of control for the choice of key informants suggested by my initial contacts. The same is true for the question about the role of the church in countering the negative effects of the widespread “jealousy”: it was intended particularly for the groups of church goers who agreed to stay on after the Sunday service of 3rd April on the bidding of the preacher and of the Church Elder Moses Sunday, who acted as my interpreter. I also mention this to emphasize the good luck of being able to work with a respected authority in the area⁵⁷. Wherever we went, my questions were answered also because Moses posed them, allowing me, however, to add additional questions for clarification whenever I felt the need.

Moses involvement as a church elder in the development project – from which his wife also benefits as a member of one of the groups – also helped in the organization of the final meeting: having understood the purpose and knowing “his” people well, he actually guided

⁵⁵ It may be of interest that one of the ingredients to this understanding was the story about a particular Zambian group of people where the fear of witchcraft prevented the mutual visits so important for participatory research approaches and the spreading of innovations: whoever visited someone else’s field without being accompanied by the owner would be suspected of attempting to “steal” part of the harvest by means of witchcraft. As it turned out, this type of witchcraft is known among the *Baluli* as *musyooli*.

⁵⁶ *Ati* (“Now”) *okubona* (“we see”) *obukulembeze* (“the leaders”) *obuluwo* (“we have”) *ati* (“now”) *bwemeirere* (“how can they”) *butyai* (“us”) *okusonga* (“what we talk”) *ezo* (those) *zetubazireku* (“we have discussed together”)

⁵⁷ In addition to being a Church Elder, Moses was also the main resource person for repairing the local wells, and he was the chairman of the land committee of LC3.

the participants (divided into groups) discuss their feedback to my explanation of the preliminary research results by repeating each one of the essential points (see part B. of the Annex *The feedback meeting with the groups*). In sum: the research greatly benefitted from the trust established between Samuel Diomande Fan and Moses Sunday on one side, and the trust established between Moses Sunday and his “constituency” (of water users and of church members) on the other.

Conclusions for the Comparative Perspective

The third period of field research, and the second with the methodology combining the drawing of village cards with key informant interviews, has confirmed the central importance of an explicit focus on the triangular relationship between poverty, resource use, and the local social structure. The main point of convergence seems to be the competition for scarce resources under conditions of poverty – which appears to be exacerbated if local people have unequal access to *external* resources, whether these are financial, material, or informational.

The link between the local and the regional or global level appears to introduce an additional element of competition: the competition for inclusion in institutions which have access to external resources. In the case of the TKFA this is obvious, because the urban members themselves bring (knowledge and other) resources to the process of institution building observed. In the case of Toro, the activities of the village elite provide access to at least some resources from NGOs (such as the winning of the Equator Prize in 2004). In the case of the Nakasongola District, various NGOs supply assistance to “communities” – mainly in the form of providing credit, seminars, and material inputs to groups. Here, the formation of groups has become a central aspect for all kinds of development assistance and also for local development efforts. As concrete experiences during my sojourn showed, however, the literature is correct in denouncing the concept of “community” as misleading in the direction of assuming internal equity or at least democracy: there were clear attempts by wealthier members of the community to remain among themselves – to the exclusion of poorer members. Similar processes are reported for the villages surrounding the Lore Lindu National Park. And the deliberations within the TKFA at least hint at similar struggles.

The topic of “jealousy” and its presumed “naturalness” as an obstacle to collaborative and mutually supportive relations *outside* of established groups (which were still sometimes thrown back by treasurers disappearing with collected funds) demonstrates how processes of institution building do not simply provide a climate for a more collaborative communitation, but are in turn shaped by the existing surrounding “climate” of habitual ways of communication. Thus, the direction of influence is in both directions: habitual ways of feeling and conversing shape the – written and particularly the unwritten – rules of the group / institution *and* the relationships in the institution influence the habits of its members. This, in my mind, is the exact place where *power* in the form of conscious *leadership* of such institutions plays a crucial role: if leadership is clearly and transparently used for the advancement of the “whole” (whether this is the institution or the wider community), the group / institution contributes to a developmental change in the personal habits of its members – and by extension to the wider social context via their relationships with other people. What I have heard so far both in Indonesia and in Uganda confirms what I have read in recent texts about managing business organizations: trust contributes to the effective functioning of the organization because individual contributions are both more attuned to realities and given more freely. In this sense, trust depends on transparency. In this sense, a good leader *inspires* trust – and s/he cannot do so if s/he is not trusted him/herself, which in turn is not possible *in*

the long run – i.e. sustainably – unless the leader demonstrates his/her trustworthiness by “walking the talk” (as modern managers say).

Related to our initial hypothesis: *Communicative sustainability requires not only a “fit” between the concepts discussed and the local “communicative universe”, but also sustainable institutions, which, in turn, require trustworthy leadership.*

This is clearly a question of the individual orientation of that particular leader – and suits the concern about the *necessity* to include personal orientations into global considerations of sustainability expressed in the sustainability literature⁵⁸ or the literature about participation, but, as far as I can see, only in pockets of the “mainstream” development discourse.

This focus thus comes as a *result* of empirical observations gained through more traditional methods of observation and interviewing, rather than the explicit focus on recorded conversations conducted in the local language. Methodically, it could therefore serve to assist the choice of conversational fragments for in-depth analysis: is there a fragment of “natural discourse” which reflects the concern about the *quality* of leadership? Does this include reflections about the relationship between leadership, and the functioning of organizations / institutions? Does it include reflections about the relationship between “rules” and “personal attitudes” for both members and leaders? Do at least some of these reflections also refer to a deliberate calculus about the balancing of “trust” and “power” and what does this calculus look like? Do these reflections show a local potential and a local knowledge about organizations?

The background for these questions is an observable trend in the giving of development aid in the direction of a) direct support to government programmes, rather than short-term projects, and b) support to NGOs working in “partnership” with governments and the business sector. The focus indicated by the above questions introduces the quality of leadership as an important variable in the decisions about which particular government programme or NGO to fund. The important point would be to provide evidence for a basic congruence of views about this *quality of leadership* between “modern” – scientific and management – discourse – and “indigenous” discourse. Should this congruence turn out to be likely, the “measurement” of the quality of leadership should at least *include* some direct information “from the grassroots” – straight to the global or at least international level of decision-making. This type of information is in part already envisaged with the institution of “Participatory Poverty Assessments” (PPA) institutionalized by the World Bank as one of the preparatory steps of the “Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers” (PRSP) which at least those governments have to prepare who want to qualify for debt relief. Both of these new instruments have already been criticized from an NGO perspective – a perspective which at least claims to be closer to the grassroots reality than high-level officers at national or international levels⁵⁹.

If the congruence between “local knowledge” about issues of leadership and institutional sustainability could be shown as congruent with “modern knowledge” about the same issues, then the NGO views cited would gain in credibility. It would be more difficult to brush them aside as expressions of dissatisfactions – dissatisfactions which are grounded more in a “world view” than in an objective analysis of social, economic, and political realities. It would

⁵⁸ I refer in particular to the last chapter in Reid (1995)

⁵⁹ As part of this process, the World Bank invited NGO comments in the context of the SAPRIN initiative. Available on the web are both the final report and an NGO letter to then World Bank President Wolfensohn, complaining about the lack of response to the report by World Bank officials.

be more difficult because the dissatisfaction could then be shown to be grounded *also* in a realistic assessment of leadership qualities *across cultures* and *across levels of hierarchies*.

Such an approach could aim at a rehabilitation of ordinary human perception with respect to relationships of power and the role of trust played in them. It would, also, probably lead into supporting the present trend towards “more trust”. A considerable part of this – sociological and economic – discussion argues for or against a positive link between democracy and a “generalized system trust” which, in turn, leads to a more efficient economy, i.e. economic growth and therefore increasing wealth, and therefore reduced levels of poverty. LAGSUS would rather focus on the role of trust in the interactions between players at various and between various levels. In particular, it might lead to the conclusion that a trustworthy leader (*bwesigwa* in *Baluli* terms) can *ask* his followers to do certain things even if they do not presently understand their usefulness and even if that requires an extra effort. I am intrigued by the fact that some of my Herero respondents last year agreed that this is what a trusted leader can request. There is, then, a positive relationship between the trust invested in a leader and the power s/he actually has at her/his disposal.

This is supported by the information of my Herero respondents that people will not be willing to follow the leader as soon as s/he is out of favour. As far as I can see, this corresponds to at least some of the leadership literature in modern management – the topic of “walking the talk”.

While the adage of “walking the talk” suggests that “actions speak louder than words” I believe it can be shown that language is still necessary: in the preparation of actions, as well as in their interpretation. Thus, attention to *local* notions expressed in the *local* language and – possibly – encoding *local* rules of dealing with power and trust may turn out to have a similar transcultural relevance and validity as the rules about “politeness” studied by Brown and Levinson⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson (1987): *Politeness. Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge and New York (Cambridge University Press)

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Annexes

Annex 1: Outline of Activities

First week: observe Sam's work and get to know area, Saturday group discussion with professor Fremerey

Second week:

Wednesday, March 16, making map with Moses
Interviews begin Thursday, March 17 (Moses father Nkiumirwa, Winfred & Patrick Katende, Seinkula Mukombe),
Friday, March 18 (Newcastle problem with chicken and hospital problem Katumba);
continued Wednesday, March 23 (Vice-Chairman, Kasirye (=no.44), Bagire = no.24 – and video of Ruunyo vegetable group);
Thursday, March 24 (Jenny; two groups at drinking places), Friday early return to Luwero: health problems (my fever, Sam's teeth);

Third week

Tuesday, March 29 (Discussion in Nakataka about second chicken group);
Wednesday, March 30 (Map of Junda with Moses I and Moses II, interviews with three wives of Alfred Kunobere =no50 and Bwatumbia George =no59; another meeting with woman group in Ruunyo);
Thursday, March 31 (interviews in Junda with Fred: John Mutesasira (LC1 = No.1 Junda), Bagadia no 43, Bugalio Yekosofat(i) no.75);
Friday, April 1 (interviews in Junda: James Semiyalo No.37 and B(w)esisira Ronald no. 86);
Sunday, April 3, with Moses: (Jameson Sebunwaji, no. 82, Kinamuanga; and Fred Singoma, no. 34 in Junda);

Fourth Week

Tuesday, April 5, with Fred in Kinamuanga (Steven Kinuge, No. 16);
Wednesday, April 6 (Nakataka, with LC2: Father of LC2, Honeymaker, "Modern Farmer",
Friday, April 8 (Nakataka, with LC2: cotton grower, "chicken group")

Group Interviews:

With group members to meet professor Fremerey
With church members (April 3)
At drinking place (Thursday, March 24)
with traders in Nakata (April 6)
With group members (feedback on preliminary results – Saturday, April 9)

Annex 2: The approach to field research for the sociology component of LAGSUS - a summary

This brief note sums up the practical consequences for the sociology component of previous discussions in Windhoek, Esslingen, and Frankfurt. I submit what I believe to be an approach which is complementary to the focus on a conversation analysis approach (*Gesprächsforschung* as described by Deppermann) of the three socio-linguistic components in the respective countries: The common focus of all project components being the use of resources (material resources as well as knowledge resources, local as well as “externally imported” resources) for purposes of development and personal welfare, the sociology component looks at institutions as well as local networks and relationships of power as determinants for the distribution of access to whatever these resources are.

The key questions are:

- how and by whom are decisions made concerning access to resources; and
- who gives which reasons for these decisions (keeping in mind the possibility of the presence of different interest groups)

The field research of subproject sociology therefore has two components:

- determining the local decision-making structure; and
- elucidating local notions about how this structure is enacted by the individuals in positions of leadership or following – focusing on the relationship between how key informants see the present situation and how they think the situation should be (the aspect of accepted rules or legitimacy)

Data for these two components will be gathered with the following methods:

1) ***Mapping relationships of resource use and decision-making.***

This takes the form of *sociograms* of the localities which would allow to grasp the sociological importance of the conversation data collected by the other subprojects. This will yield answers to the question “Who says what”: the positioning of the speakers in the sociogram will allow hypotheses concerning the *strategic* meaning of the “what,” i.e. which interests will be served if the statement or decision is accepted. Concretely, this involves a map of households and who lives there – starting with those in obvious leadership positions, and attempting to trace links to “subordinate” households.

2) ***Interviews with key informants about local notions of resource use and leadership.***

These interviews focus on three aspects:

- * local notions of sustainability, both with respect to institutions and with respect to natural resources;
- * local notions of “good leadership;” and
- * the relationship between leadership and resource use as it actually *is*.

The *complementarity* of these to the data gathered by the socio-linguistic components is this: they will *contribute* to formulate hypotheses on the basis of the conversation data by drawing attention to (Deppermann: *Sensibilisierung*) “positional (=power) effects”. These hypotheses can be fed back into the linguistic research process for *local* validation – or rejection.

This complementarity depends on the co-operation of the long-term researchers: the identification of and introduction to key informants with respect to social networks and local notions.

Annex 3: Question schedule for interviews

- (1) *Ebintu ebikwetagisya okukula-kulana?*
- What are the things we need for development? *Meaning:* what, for you, are resources for your activities?
- (2) *Ngeriki gyoyinza okwemeryawo ebintu byoba otandikerewo.* - How you can keep/sustain the things you have started? *Era oba okwendya kubikuma kasera kidoli oba eibanga erikukuanyaku.* – How can you sustain the following
 1. *Enubyabuwangwa* - Culture
 2. *Omukulembeze* - Leadership
 3. *Endimiro-nokulisia* – Agriculture (cultivation of crops and rearing of animals)
 4. *Ebyabutonde* - Environment*Eriyo nebindi byetuyinza okwenji Okukuma* – Is there anything else that should be kept?
- (3) *Obukulembeze obusai* – Good leaders
Omukulembeze omusai yandisanaine atyai? – What should a good leader be like?
- (4) *Ati okubona obukulembeze obuluwo ati bwemeirere butyai okusonga ezo zetubazireku*
– If you look at the present leaders – how do they compare with what had been discussed?
- (5) *Ebintu ebimwei twetwendya kubikobera barabaiswe? Naddala mbiba nga bikufuna. Etyo kirowo ani kandabbe. Waluwo ensonga?* – Why do we have this problem of not wanting to tell our friends about certain good things?
- (6) *Ebirowozo oku groups za Mr. Sam* – How do you see the groups started by Mr. Sam?
- (7) *Bantu ki bonaite obamugalo omurai lundukiri?* Who are important people in your village?
- (8) *Nga euquisa erowozaaki kwebyo?*- What can the church do about the problems of jealousy?

The last three questions were added after the word-by-word translation on the following page. No. 8 was only for the group discussions with church members on Sunday, 3rd of April

Word-by-word translation provided by a second resource person (the preacher coming to Kisenyi):

1) *Ebintu ebikwetagisya okukula-kulana?* – What are the things we need for development?

Ebintu "The thing" – *ebikwetagisya* "we need" – *okukula-kulana* "development"

2) *Ngeriki* ("how") *gyoyinza* ("can") *okwemeryawo* ("You keep") *ebintu* ("the thing") *byoba* ("which") *otandikerewo* ("you have started"). – "How you can keep/sustain the things you have started"

Era ("If") *oba* ("you") *okwendya* ("want") *kubikuma* ("to keep") *kasera* ("long time") *kidoli* ("short time") *oba* ("you") *eibanga* ("many") *erikukuanyaku* ("days").

1. *Enubyabuwangwa* – "in culture"

2. *Omukulembeze* – "in leaders"

3. *Endimiro-nokulisia* – "digging garden and keep animals"

4. *Ebyabutonde* – "to keep without cutting the trees / forest – Katumba looks at dictionary: "environment"

Eriyo ("There") *nebindi* ("another") *byetuyinza* ("we can't") *okwenji* ("love/like") *Okukuma* ("we can't keep")

3) *Obukulembeze* ("the leaders") *obusai* ("good")

Omukulembeze omusai yandisanaine (=yandisaine?) *atyai* ("how can he be")?

4) *Ati* ("Now") *okubona* ("we see") *obukulembeze* ("the leaders") *obuluwo* ("we have") *ati* ("now") *bwemeirere* ("how can they") *butyai* ("us") *okusonga* ("what we talk") *ezo* (those") *zetubazireku* ("we have discussed together")

5) *Ebintu* ("The things") *ebimwei* ("another") *turetweidya* ("we don't like") *kubikobera* ("to tell") *barabaiswe* ("our friends")? *Naddala* ("Unless") *mbiba* (if) *nga bikufuna* ("we get profit"). *Etyo* ("That") *kirowo* ("is our problem") *ani* ("here") *kandabbe* (=kandowoze?) ("I think"). *Waluwo ensonga* ("There was a thing")?

Annex 4: Interview with Moses Father Nkiumirwa (=no.10 in Ruunyu, Thursday, March 17, with Moses)

What are resources?

Land

Fish: in my days we only took the big fish; nowadays they use some nets as if cleaning the lake = they even take the small fish

Yield:

a) in his young days they were higher – *Why?*

b) today the yield is higher because of fertilize etc.

Sustainability of culture: “needs to be hand in hand with higher government – otherwise it will be like with circumcision in other areas: disruption only

Leadership: parish chief and assistant only (in old days), while today there are many positions: therefore it has become long and difficult to solve cases, because a lot of consultation (between the different office-holders) is necessary

Before 1986: There was only a division into Counties and Subcounties; for the County there was the Parish Chief and his assistant(s) were responsible for the Subcounties

Decreasing rain: rainmaking rituals were abandoned

Leadership:

good behaviour

trustworthy – *How?* “reach people / talk to people / no quarrels / no criminal cases / approach people

Sustainability of initiatives: “take care”

Museveni government compared with previous government: it has assisted people:

constructed schools, given people the freedom of speaking (“Oh no, under Amin you could not talk – you were afraid”)

Passing on of knowledge: “people have jealousy; that’s why they don’t pass on knowledge”

“*Mayembe*” = “Haunts” = Witchcraft to decrease s.o. else’s wealth

Moses: The Banyankole are the only tribe who help their fellow and are not so jealous

Annex 5: Interview with Winfred and her husband Patrick Katende (= no. 13 in Ruunyu, March 17, with Moses)

Resources:

- land
- knowledge
- family (later clarification: “manpower” – good to have 10 sons to dig and plant)
- environment

Sustainability:

- When you clear land for cultivation, you have to plant trees
- Crop rotation
- Avoid overgrazing – *how?* – Less animals of good quality (cross-breeds)

Of Leadership

- sensitize people to know what to do
- leaders need to be transparent

Of Culture:

- respect advices on culture
- Hear advice from elders
- tribes need to respect each other

Good leader:

- 1) be capable
- 2) has to be creative
- 3) exemplary
- 4) respect others
- 5) be social (by sharing)

Present leadership compared with previous one:

- universal primary education
- good road maintenance
- dispensaries (health care is okay)
- freedom of speaking
- people making their own decision at village level

Why knowledge not shared?

- a) *Jealousy* (brought down through generations – part of culture)
- b) *Illiteracy* = lack of looking ahead (“vision”)
- c) trustworthiness
- d) lack of gratitude – no feedback

Discussion: *why was jealousy passed on?*

Suggestions: not even trust between husband and wife

They agree: Trust is a resource for development

Leadership:

- 1) good example (former vice-president was *not* a good example: You tell always say: “everybody should have one acre of cassava”, but yourself you don’t do it – are you a good leader?)
- 2) Transparency

**Annex 6: Interview mit Seinkula Mukombe
(= Ruuyno no. 50, treasurer LC1, with Moses, March 17))**

Resources: (what you need to develop – skeptische Gesichter)

“good behaviour”

land

lake (if you have animals, they can get water from the lake)

knowledge

having labour, tractor, ploughs

land is the main resource

Sustainability

of environment:

plant trees

Why? – Windbreakers to trap rain

“If you don’t have rainfall, there is no cultivation”

timber for furniture and constructing houses

fruit trees (for “building our bodies”)

firewood for cooking, shade for animals

after long discussion: crop rotation for sustainability of crops

Culture:

It’s better to go to elders to know about these things

Other method? – Elders should go on teaching young generation

Leadership:

people must elect leaders (because they know such and such is a good person)

Any other that should be sustained?- No response

What is a good leader?

A person who doesn’t do what he is told

Who listens to people

Must be trustworthy, must serve his people

Man of action, not of just talking (but what he is not going to do)

Big change with present regime:

before, people moved away, now they are coming back

Money to build houses

People sitting peacefully (before, that would not happen: people would run for fear of looting)

People feel free, can talk

Schools have been constructed, also health centres

Safe water coverage, but not yet enough (50%)

Roads better, but needs more maintenance

Why knowledge not shared?

Jealousy

The one who is not sharing wants to become big – and boast: “I am the only one”

Baluli history

Originally, the *Nangoma* is the representative of the King of the Bunyolo in Baluli country. Conquered by Baganda (with Lugard) and officially included under the Kabaka instead. Reason for dissatisfaction: Baganda have to state their decendancy five generations back (such house, such line, such clan, such...). “We Baluli could not do so, so they did not consider us as proper Baganda”

Annex 7: Interview mit Vice-Chairman in Kayebe (with Moses, Wednesday, March 23)

Resources:

Agriculture:

Land
Tools (Hoe etc.)
Insecticide
Rain
Seeds
Manual Labour – Family
Capital

Fishing:

Lake
Capital
Boats
Tools
Manual labour
Skills
Knowledge

Sustainability:

Farming

Follow advice given
Crop protection
Today: Agricultural Schow in Nakasongola

Environment

Planting new trees and preserving forest reserves
(10-15 sacks /100kg/ acre Maize) ((??))
Shortage of forest: charcoal burning
(bylaw for charcoal: forestry officer at subcounty level: “problem is corruption”)

Culture

we have to follow what our grands used to do. Now people can even sell everything, including food, leaving the children to starve.
The elders are there, but people make themselves busy and have no time to visit even if the elder is near

Leadership

We have to follow law and government
constitution
elect leaders for ourselves

Good leadership:

trustworthy
resident and well-settled
has land, so you can find him there
be exemplary
No dictator, has to listen what people are telling him to do
“He has to be a leader, but not a ruler”

Leadership and sustainability and resources

Agriculture

During past years extension workers were working well, they could visit, there were some tractors, animals: some dips were constructed

This present government has only helped these educated, not the poor peasants
subcounty tractors were there until about 1970 – hired cheaply

Culture:

Government has done a lot to bring back culture
every tribe's culture is respected in the constitution

Animal Husbandry

You have to buy drugs yourself

You even have to pay fuel for the government officer to come

Government

Peace prevailing

multi-party might cause chaos and division

Why is knowledge not passed on?

Jealousy – “we are born with that thing” – “It's passing on younger generation”

Image of groups

is there a chance to have more rumours about groups?

“Good rumours”: This thing is there, people are coming: “How can we approach Mr. Sam”?

“Build s.th. with local materials maybe some other NGO is going to help you”

Annex 8: Interview with Kasirye (Ruunyu no. 44, with Moses, Wednesday, March 23)

Resources:

Land

Capital

Tools

Insecticides / spraying

Medical care – *why is this a resource?* – “If you are not healthy, you cannot work – if there is a health centre, you are okay”

Rainfall

Sustainability

replant trees

to keep swamp areas (not cultivation there)

organic manures, rather than artificial fertilizers (if you use it for long time, harvest goes down, and if you don't apply you have nothing; whereas organic fertilizer means, that even when you don't apply, you still get something)

Farming

Crop rotation to keep fertility of the soil

Bush fallowin

Intercropping

Using legumes (for nitrogen)

Groundnuts - beans

Animals

Avoid overgrazing: keep limited number of animals

cross-breeding for modified animals

keep records (know history of animals – sickness etc. “No, I have not been to a vet course: We are just giving out what we have”)

Leadership

Issue of decentralization = enough power on the ground to sustain good leadership committee to “We people elect our leaders”

Culture (Laughter)

It's better to record events to pass on to younger generation and consult elders (go and ask record)

”How could you sustain culture until now?”

One time students of the Secondary School came to visit elders and to record what they said (the respondent had seen that)

What is a good leader?

good listener to people

educated

cooperative with community

“With a heart of uniting people”

trustworthy (*bwesigwa*) – *How can you define that?* – Story: “Let's say you are a leader and there was a local decision to buy a chair; and the budget for that chair was agreed to be 50 000,-. Now you go and buy, but get the chair for 40 000,-. You are *bwesigwa* when you return the balance!”

Leadership and resources

past years: government selects leaders (even so far as from Arua – without knowledge of the area and culture and behavior of this place here, where they were posted); now, people elect leaders themselves, so they know the area, and even embezzlement is difficult because the leader has nowhere to go.

Education: the government has managed to construct schools and give free primary education (before: community had to construct buildings and pay for primary school teachers)

Peasants are not helped, there is a lot of corruption in this government – more than before (“This has gone beyond ... 1.6 billion salaries of the army ... even culprits just get transferred to another office – and the replacement is from the same tribe)

Health centre at sub-parish level, but there is little medicine

Despite corruption there is a tendency that the law is working

Why is the *jealousy* passing from one generation to the next?

“It’s our nature”

Example: “If you are in the same office and your neighbour gets promoted, you feel something. You wish that something bad happens to him”

What would be good help for peasants?

Tractors at cheap price or hiring with the principle: “Plough now – pay after harvest”

Animals: restocking needs to be improved: only few benefitted from artificial insemination

Restocking local cattle: in the whole parish only four cattle were provided –and the distribution was not fair: “are you a movement man?” – if not: not cattle; and if he is a movement man: maybe he does not know how to take care of the cattle

Interest in forming or joining chicken group is there. Chicken must be safeguarded against wild animals and are better to control in a chicken run.

Annex 9: Interview with Bagire (no. 34 in Ruunyu, with Moses, Wednesday, March 23)

Resources

- Land (for animal rearing and cultivation, for settlement, for projects, e.g. bricklaying)
- Water (agriculture, watering crops, animals, home use)
- Forest (building materials, fuel, charcoal, firewood)
- Sun (drying clothes and fish)
- Man (labour, planning)
- Animals (goats, pigs, cows, fowl)
- Wind (winnowing)
- Mountains
- Lakes (fishing)

Sustainability

- avoid use of chemicals (organic farming, even for cotton)
- reforest
- plant new trees
- avoid bush burning
- control overgrazing to keep land cover
- above all: “family planning” (there are good and bad methods – and abortion is bad)
- sustain gardens: selecting best breed, extension services to promote knowledge
- “it needs love towards what you are doing”
- commercializing
- use of modern methods of farming/production (artificial insemination)
- Alley planting (“our education is theoretical only, we get that from school, but later we lack the money to implement it – like to pay for insemination you have to go to Nakasongola and then pay for their petrol)

Leadership

- “the leaders should fear god” (that one can help them not to kill, not to be dictators, not to mistreat, not to be corrupt)
- leaders should be democratic, elected by majority and liked
- avoid money-hunger

Good leader

- trustworthy
- “slow in taking decisions” (over serious issues)
- kind
- committed (to leadership responsibility)
- very intelligent and highly educated (“there are very few like this”)
- eloquent (very good speaker)
- upright

Maintain culture

- “Ah – it’s necessary”
- culture lessons in primary school (and earlier)

- organize culture festivals / competitions; avoid different cultures, pornography and bad films
- write down and put in books your own culture
- encouragement from government
- some customs abandoned “because they are going satanic” (twins, burial rites)
- build cultural centres and shows

Leadership and other topics

- Today there is democracy: people are choosing their leaders up from LC1, unlike in the 70s and 80s, when they used guns to become leaders; leaders did not promote peace then; even now there is no peace in the North
- Today’s leaders are honouring demands, we have UPE (Universal Primary Education); even roads “somehow”
- “development”: 10 taxis instead of just one
- Leadership is brought near people (decentralization: “We used to go to Luwero”)
- Leaders have helped to market produce (used to sell on credit, now there is cash down)

Jealousy (*Bwiya*)

- One thing is jealousy, another is the extended family system
- Our families are too big.
- Polygamy: children of one wife hate children of others.
- Shortage of resources, such as land: “To be okay, you need more than 20 acres; now there are only 3 – 5 acres – and 10 children
- Some people are believed to be sources of misfortune (nightdancing, sorcery, bewitching)
- **Lack of ways of getting richer, one has to just struggle and suffer**
- **Struggle between classes: those who are rich are making the others suffer**

Annex 10: Interview with Jenny (daughter of Charles Bakwana -with Fred – at his place, Thursday, March 24)

Resources

- “Things which can make you survive – develop
- Look after cows / breed
- cultivation

Sustainability

- *of agriculture*
consult agricultural officers and veterinary officers
look after planting etc.
harvest, see always how it is growing “You have to look after them”
- Land and health are also needed, but the concept is not well understood
- *Environment*
- ”I can also develop myself by educating my children; I can get money for educating my children by breeding and cultivating. That is what I can also do develop myself.”

Leadership

- *How can you choose a good leader? – What do you think about?*
 - his behaviour and relationships with people
 - educated
- *The standard of leadership that is taking place?*
 - “They don’t mind about us. They don’t care. If there is money, they run, if not, they don’t care. At the county level. For the whole of Uganda it’s better: Museveni

Transmission of knowledge (which does not take place)

- “They don’t want other people to develop. They want to be the first / the only ones. Most of the people have this jealousy: they don’t like others to get good things. Only themselves.
-

Annex 11: Interview with people at drinking place (with Fred, Thursday, March 24, 2005)

Resources

- *“kulima”*
To be a human being you can make cultivation
- The first thing to be alive I have to have a long, to cultivate, to trade (selling leather from cows, fishmonger, *maluwa*)
- *Okalisia* = breeding
- *Sustain agriculture* (some laughter first)
”to make this one not to fail you can put more effort in it
- *Breeding*
They have no land for breeding: only close to the lake there is a place for the kraal of 3-4 people. That is government land. They fear it might be taken away by someone who wants to open a business.

(5)

- They fear - what can you do? – They go to leaders but they don't care about this

(3) Leadership – omukulembze

they see first behaviour, second how he can visit people = you; If he has money he brings it all back (“faithful” to the people he is leading – *bwesigwa* – some laughter at the mention of this word)

(4) Compare ideal with present leadership

- “it is good: now he (= speaker) has a cow at home. Which he did not have before. This is good.”
- “Leadership now is corruption leadership – from LC1 to LC5 of you have no money, they cannot consider quickly the request you have.”
- “If they are many and want more boreholes”
- “You bring a good idea – they leave it”
- Corruption: LC1 to district: they hear that road machine has been given to other district and is still there and letters of request have been disregarded”

(5) Jealousy etc:

- “*Kyitoofu*” = “It is true”
- “Yes the jealousy is here also –
- “We do not pass on information” (I have 2 sons, they can have 2 wives; if I hear there is something good to have, I can tell them and go together, but not the village. Relatives only – (“*Kotutafuna*”)
- *What can they do?* They don't want others to develop
- *How to avoid this thing?* – “Make a group – you can be [like] one person (like the kraal-group)
- The cown mentioned earlier [by Luiga = No. 84 in list of residents of Kinamuanga] is a result of a group planting and the selling of the produce: from the proceeds each member could buy a cow; the group is still going on ...
Why is it successful? – Every month they have a meeting and what they talk about, they do it. They trust each other [*amazuma* ?], they are open to each other

Environmental sustainability

- land
- cassava
- crop rotation (sweet potato – groundnuts
- to be aware = to weed

Leadership comparison:

- Obote regime there was road, so these others were lying. Election is here, but the bad thing is the candidates come and make promises – but they do not keep them.
- They hear there is money coming back – but it stops at the sub-county level
- *Example saucepans*: about six years ago there was that money, but now for four years there was nothing

Less rain:

- Yes, it's true – *Why?*
- Trees cut
- “*ndo*” (= “not true”) for the non-performance of rituals [mentioned by Moses' father]: “We believe in God”

Make the Baluli culture live longer:

- They have a culture!
- But for the making of rain: these people are not around any more – “it cannot manage”

Annex 12: Interview at Drinking Place 2 (with Fred, Thursday, March 24, 2005)

1 Resources

“to be alive” we have to:

- have land
- breed
- do cultivation
- The land / the plot they have is public land (*omukulisia...*)
- To dig – think about *panga*, plough, axe, seeds, capital (“even the seeds we are lacking” – “the seeds they are there but we don’t have money”)
- Breeding: dam for cows, borholes

2 Breeding:

- medicine for cows and to fence
- cultivation: plant cassava and maize together (“No – we have a season cassava and groundnuts, then the other season maize ...”) (millet, cotton, sweet potatoes)
-

(3) Leadership

- Behaviour
- Relationships with others, how he can face the villagers (“and to develop”)
- And this man can have a latrine and kitchen and pit and rack
- Manners
- If there is a meeting, he can attend and to give the respect to those who elected him

(4) Compare leadership

- The leadership is good now
- Now we’ve got schools, clinics, boreholes – but it is not enough

(5) “Okuberaangana”

- Jealousy they have (*bwalubenzonga ... (?)*)
- Reason: they don’t want me to develop – they want to get rich alone
- “We want to be together to add / heard the issues – how can we do?”
- To avoid this thing we can make a group [young man with T-Shirt “Nakasongola Mission School” – who is not from the area, as it turns out afterwards, see diary]
- Many groups? – *Tusindika ... (?)*
- What prevents people from groups is the lack of money – they write up to district of NGO but get nothing so the group fails
- Cotton growers’ group: 25 people, group is well (no treasurer – the plan together)
- Group for fishing: marketing
- Lack of rain: trees cut down (see: short discussion about possibility to stop charcoal burning: no chance! People will not respect. People need it. Even poor people in town need it...)

Annex 13: Interview with 3 wives of Alfred Kunobere (with Moses, Wednesday, March 30)

(1) Resources

- *Nsego* (seeds)
- *Senti* (=Capital: “if I don’t have money, I can’t do anything”)
- *What to buy with senti?*
- Hire oxplough / tractor for cultivation
[Moses: “You are talking about rain, yet you don’t give it our as a resource”]
- Land

(2) Sustainability of

Environment (→ trees)

- Afforestation, planting more trees
- Include fruit trees

Cultivation and rearing animals

- Spraying crops
- Animals: when selling, replace stock

Leadership

- You have to follow law & order
- The leader listens to people

“to sustain” – as a provocation: “people listen to leader in Germany”

response: “That is good, if the leader is good; if he’s not good, that is not good”

(3) Good leadership

- someone who ca listen to people
- s.o. who is social
- s.o. who can look into their problems [*kirebe na kirebe* = “this and that”]

(4) Compare leadership

- langes Schweigen
- New leadeship: during first years you cold go to leaders and file your case; but now: you have to pay LC1 5000,- and LC3 20 000,- just to register; this is since 1989, when the LC system was started
- “the previous one is better” – if you are very poor you cannot register your case, unless you kill a cock to get the money
- Agriculture is now okay, because of availability of market

(5) Why don’t we want some others to get it

- There is no love between each other
- It’s a sort of nature in our tribe
- Jealousy: I don’t want others to have access
- Passing from one generation to the next: “you’re born with it” = “sort of nature”
- *On request*: laughter: “No, it cannot be changed”
- Other tribes (like the Banyankole) are okay: they help someone who is poor (also: the Banyarwanda – many of whom also live in Uganda)

(4d) Sustain culture:

- old people should teach culture to young generation (“When young children leave home, they adopt other forms of behaviour, from school etc.: - they aks themselves where children get bad behaviour

- *Christian love as the solution?* – “Even in the Bible you have Kain. It all started from the Bible also” [ergo: kann nicht abgeschafft werden]

Annex 14: Interview with Bwatumbi(y)a George (= No. 59, Junda; with Moses, Wednesday March 30)

(1) Resources

- Tools for agriculture (hoe etc.)
- Insecticide of spraying (“when you don’t have, you can’t spray – if you don’t spray, they don’t do well”)
- Seeds
- Rain (“there has to be enough rainfall so that plants can grow well”)
- Land (“You must be with enough land” – *How much is enough?* – For their (advanced) age and labour supply, five acres can be okay)

(2) Sustainability

Of Agriculture:

- after harvesting: sell crops, save money and send children to school
- save money and buy animals
- using fertilizer (- organic manure, mulching instead of burning grass – *why?* – there are people of different minds: some don’t care. Although burning is illegal: “you can be taken to court”)

Environment

- plant more trees and don’t cut
- by the time he settled, there was a big forest here (that was in 1979, when he came back from Lango together with other Baluli – who had migrated there in the 1950s. After Amin was overthrown, they were driven away by the Langi – the tribe of Milton Obote, who had become president again. Sometimes they were even threatened with spears. They came back, cleared the forest – and the rains started getting less

Leadership

- We should avoid wars
- “What should we do to avoid them”
- [There is a problem with voting: promises not kept (laughter) – but voting should not be abolished
- *How can that problem be avoided?* – No answer

Culture

- Having cultural leaders, like heads of clans, to guide people in cultural things
- *Have they [cultural leaders] decreased in importance?* – The problem is the young generation, because they have adopted norms from different tribes.
- *Why do they do it?* – They go outside and learn different things – like girls putting on short shirts or trousers

(3) Leadership

- must be social
- good listener to people’s problems and respond to them
- the person who can guide the community to development
- the person who does not support / want chaos because chaos hinders development [a hint to “law & order”?]
- the person who carries communities’ problems to higher authorities and brings back a response
- [the lady:] a person who brings peace
- *what is development for community?* – [lady:] “when leaders talker about restocking – such as the neighbours got”

(4) Comparing leadership

- Today peace prevailing everywhere “You can sleep through the night without being afraid – and you can leave things at home
- New buildings, transport (In the past: only one vehicle to Kampala)
- Bikes are many not (“now many have even two bikes”)
- “Many changes compared to past regime”
- “Though there are some who are corrupt but on the side of peace it’s okay”
- But he himself is not okay – “*How much do you need to be okay?*” – “I need iron roofed house – if I have that I am okay”: Now, even the strength to find grass for the roof is leaving
- *Land and cattle?* – five cattle and six acres of lan are enough

(5) Why are some informations not passed on?

- Jealousy again

Annex 15: Interview with Chairman (John Mutesasira = No. 1, Inhabitans of Junda)

(1) Resources

- Capital (large area needs capital; some NGOs promise, but don't fulfil . CDRA; concern: sensitized people form group, but the proposals are not satisfying)
- Seeds
- Sun
- Market ("Sometimes you have crops, but the price is low" – like cotton last year: instead of the expected / wanted 600,- per kg the price was only 350,- per kg)
- Insecticide for spraying (*why spray?* – "to kill insects")
- Tools (hoe, panga/kyiso)
- Land (30 acres he considers "reasonable – but only has nine acres himself)

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- Better we plant trees
- When(ever) you cut, plant one or more new trees – but nobody does it: the owner sells a tree to the cutter, saying: "This one should plant" ... but that one cuts the tree and goes away: it is not his own (home) area
- Function of LC1: needs to join up with higher authorities, but that is presently not possible
- [More detailed story about the unequal burying of the forbidden *Kokota* nets: die "Miliz" ist entstanden unter Bewohnern des gegenüberliegenden Seeufers – und als Reaktion fo die ungerechte Konzentration der (ertragreicheren) verbotenen Netze auf diese Seite des Sees: „those people come noe to fish our waters“]

Agriculture

- Because we have to acquire more land
- Moses: but boundaries are constant, while the population is increasing: what can he do in these limits?
- Using fertilizer (both artificial and organic works for him – for different parts of the field)
- *What is the difference between artificial and organic fertlizer?* – Artificial fertlizer kills pests the soil and on the plant

Leadership

- Voting leaders
- Drop those who fail to perform / fulfill expectations

Culture (kuberiza)

- The problems is with the young generation who refuse to follow.
- Elders: better to consult them and record so that young generation can learn.
- *What is "culture"?* – " e.g. women cannot eat chicken" – Not the girls coming back refuse to follow and say: "We can't lose that protein". Before, women were supposed not to talk and sit with the men, just stay in the kitcen and cook.
- "There is a sort of negligence in the parish: people are not told while still in childhood stage" – *Is the effect serious?* – Sometimes it causes division in the family: young generation believes in modernization, the elders believe in culture
- Danger that culture will be lost totally – young people refuse to attend ritual ceremonies

(3) Characteristics of a good leader

- Has to be educated / intelligent / resident (with land and home), but not necessarily married
- Has to be a creative man
- Active
- Social (i.e. the one who take his people equally – *timusosoze* = does not make differences)

(4) Compare present leadership with past

- Agriculture: until recently, extension workers have just stayed in the offices – unlike in the 1960s and 1970s: nowadays they only stay in the offices
- [“ graduate or degree-holder does not go to the ground” – formerly: extension officers were only certificate holders⁹
- Veterinary officers and fish guards are only there “to eat money” (take money to let small fish pass; distribution of trees is written in the law, but not executed)
- This government has tried its level best to control the army men – unlike before, when they could just come and loot
- This government assisted a lot on the side of education (buildings and free primary education)

(5) (“Akuendeziya”)

- A form of just jealousy
- Some people go to the witchdoctor etc.
- “because of this jealousy in the heart”

(6) View of Groups?

- People are showing interest
- Nobody ever said anything bad
- People saw positive things like vegetablesgrowing quickly to get money

(7) Job of LC1?

- Lead his people
- Guide where necessary
- Go to workshops and seminars and bring back the knowledge
- Supervise other offices [treasurer; secretary (minutes of meetings); secretary for youth; secretary for women; secretary for production; secretary for information (pass on info about meetings to population); office of security = defense; secretary for disabilities]
- Uniting people
- Settling disputes
- Food security

Annex 16: Interview with Bagadia (= No. 43, Junda; with Moses, March 30)

The sun is hot, we sit in the little shade under the grass roof of the house, and have a view of the lake during the conversation; his young wife is washing clothes, and there are children peeling maize and another wife also.

(1) Resources

- *Kulima:*
- Oxplough
- Tools
- Enough land (10 acres, so that five can be fallowed for three years)
- Water
- Transport to the market
- Good roads

(2) Sustainability

Agriculture

- you have to make ridges to avoid soil erosion
- plant trees for wind breakers and for rain

Environment

- replace cut trees
- limit charcoal burning – *how?* – “Negligence of office people: extension officers should sensitize people to shift from charcoal burning to agriculture” [what he does not say – or may be not even know: the charcoal burners – according to other statements in other interviews - often those who do not have land and therefore *cannot* shift to agriculture ...]
- Before (when he was still in Lango) extension officers could even come to your garden; i.e.: extension officers have not done their job

Leadership (measures to sustain good leadership)

- We should elect; but if they have done nothing, we better remove them and elect another one
- Leaders need to be taken to be educated about leadership (by this time people take up office without knowledge of what is leadership)

Culture

- “Seems as if it is lost – and you white people brought education and disturbance.”
- “It is impossible to turn it back – to tell a woman not to take chicken etc. you white people have killed this culture.”
- He cannot refuse his children to go to school – but it is there that they lose culture.

(3) Leadership

- Leaders should listen to people’s problems, take them to the office and bring back feedback
- Somebody who is trustworthy (bring back whatever has been entrusted to him “in bulk” without losing something)
- Somebody who is interested in the development of the area
- M.P. who uses funds to develop the area (buildings, roads)

(4) Compare with past

- During this regime they selected people to go to workshops to learn about modern farming etc, but there is no follow-up/monitoring – the people relax when they come

home and do not pass on the knowledge. Therefore: with this government there is a decline in agriculture

- During Amin's regime the extension workers were doing their work efficiently (in Lango)
- At this time you can sleep in your house well (even if you sold big things)
- There is peace (before: you sell a cow, someone follows up and gets that money by force)
- This government managed to discipline the army men (before, from 1966 – 1986 there was no control of army men: "he can even kill you for your motorbike, bicycle, cow ...; this time even for a lift he will request politely")
- This government has brought a system of reconciliation and unity;
- In Museveni's government there are all tribes represented, he has done a lot to unite people (example: being driven from Lango, people used to say Langi people are bad, but in reality, they were only misdirected by Obote)
- Museveni: he should continue – "*Muno!*" (=very much)

(5) Why people doesn't want others to have things

- A) We did not know God enough. Now we understand we should have love: "this thing is decreasing" (there is education and understanding of development and this knowing of God)
- B) By now three of ten people have learnt to love, the others still remain – with education it might be over in the future

(6) View of groups

- People of his area appreciate NGOs: free food for children who are underweight – World Vision boreholes; SOMED (although repayment schedule is not good); Mr. Sam: goes to the ground and gives free vegetables

Annex 17: Interview with Yeko(sofar) (= No. 75, Junda; with Moses, March 31)

(1) Resources

- Have tools (hoe)
- Rain
- Land (sometimes it loses fertility and the harvest is decreasing)
- Insecticide for spraying (because of disturbance by insects and pests: they need to be killed)
- Animal husbandry also needs enough land (shortage of land; Moses: population increase, but not increase in land surface)

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- “We should not cut trees to high rate
- replant: need for supply of seedlings by the government or an NGO (failure of government to supply)
- [another young man joins the discussion:] there is a problem with the trees: you may find that the trees can take up a lot of area which you want to use for cultivation
- When planting trees, we better plant *around* the plot: then we have both windbreakers and space for cultivation / garden.

Agriculture

- [The discussion veers off to cassava mosaic: the government distributes virus-free plants but there is insufficient coverage]
- [Second discussion: recently the MP demonstrated against DDT-spraying – successfully. I tell them that DDT is banned in Germany and the US]

Leadership

- they want leaders to be elected by the community
- they do not support multiparty; the leaders should come from within one *movement*
- last time there was multiparty, there was chaos; there was shedding of blood in multipartyism (even the destruction of crops after defeat: the winner has to show his power. Therefore: directly after Independence, multiparty caused a lot of trouble)

Culture

- To teach the young generation: you have to put in respect when greeting (be polite)
- Put cultural by-laws in action
- Observation: leader use short skirts and bare shoulders etc. They want to refuse. [Moses advises them to initiate a proposal for a law for discussion in parliament; the old lady: “why does the police in Kampala not arrest girls who are dressed like this?” – Moses: “There is no law to forbid it”]

(3) Characteristics of good leader

- Leader must be trustworthy, because if he is given bulk to deliver from the government or from an NGO and brings it all, that is a good leader
- The one who supports development (like the President’s restocking programme)
- Who cares about the health of the people (after discussion; Moses notes three points with fingers)
- Must be a hardworking man

(4) Comparison past – present

- (shaking his head) now there is a lot of corruption which was not there before (“You hear people running with billions”)

- [Moses brings *Kabaka* and *Sabaruli* into the discussion ... then: “democracy”⁹
- During this regime, people are given high democracy, so that someone can even say insulting words to the President on the phone (on TV / Radio live shows). That is not good
- But they don’t want to call back Amin or Obote: they have not changed their behaviours (like a man whose wife leaves him because of his bad behaviour: he will not change, even if she comes back)

(5) Okufuna

- “It seems it is our nature, we are born with it”
- “There are some who have changed their habit” (but they cannot tell who: “this is private”)
- E.g. people can assist with funeral (some can even give a cow) or in the case of marriage, some can assist with dowry

(6) View of Sam’s and other groups

- They have interest – but the problem is the capital to start a group. It needs support
- [Me: “but there was at least one group which just started with planting – and then the members could even buy cows” – the case of man from discussion at drinking place]

Annex 18: Interview with James Semiyalo (= no 37, with Moses, Friday, April 1)

First interview this afternoon. On the way Moses and I pass the drinking place in Junda – and people shout to him: “Don’t help the white man buy our land” – Only much later I make the connection to Moses’ function in the land committee: because of this people thought I could be interested in their land and use Moses to get it: many people are afraid to lose their land to Baganda with titles or other outsiders. Some have already been chased away.

Semialo is a young man whose wife continues washing clothes. He is friendly, but appears a bit slow. He is still living in a grass house, but the brick house is in the making

(1) Resources

Kulima – Agriculture

- Capital “If you don’t have money, you can only cultivate a small part of the land – *why?*- Problem: health care and looking after children
- Sun. Problem: destroys crops when too hot.
- Tools (hoe, oxplough yes, he has, but needs to hire cattle)
- Seeds (try to keep your own, but buy when the first crop is destroyed by pests)
- If there are loans, he can pay byk – that would be better – presently there are no loans

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- Where you cut one tree, plant two or three, also to control soil erosion
- Helps us as windbreakers to get rain
- *Why is it not happening?* Problem is poverty: everywhere people are after money. Once they get money, they forget about next year – “does not care about future”

Agriculture

- How to keep land for child? He does not know: he has to dig every year (food and cash crops - no space for fallow – just enough to keep family going)
- No cash to acquire more land
- Has to pay rent to owner (1000,- per year) according to government law, but owner refuses to take it, because it is too little
- In old days: **1/00 [??] produce** – that stopped during Amin’s time

Leadership

- We need to have first of all unity and to avoid socialism For instance you can vote a leader but you should know there are those who did not vote for you: you should forget and lead all (to take care only for your own voters is “socialism” in his view)
- Multipartyism is not back but in the past Multipartyism was bad. If Multipartyism is not like before, if it is like in the developed world, it is good. But he doubts that people have learnt: “Let us go with the Movement – which has brought peace.”

Culture

- ere, if you have a son and he marries a wife, she has to cover his legs and not to pass in the compound of the father-in-law ...
- *What should we do to maintain this?* –Noe even educated people come back and wear trousers
- This is mostly caused by people who are educated in different places and married to outsiders. We should teach children while they are still young

- Music and rituals are included in culture

(3) Kyitundu (?) – What is a good leader?

- He who likes development
- He who can go out and look out for knowledge and bring it back to people in the area, who can contact NGOs
- He who can listen to his people's problems
- *Save the Children* – road: it is appreciated because it is wide. “That is what could be done by hand. Now it needs *matas* and grading.

(4) Compare present and past leadership

- with current regime there is a very big change:
- Whatever you plant, you can sell somewhere, so people have money: “This government has really worked” – has done a lot
- There is a lot of development – “people have built houses”
- For himself, he is still young. He has been told stories but does not know from own experience: he has matured under the present government
- He sees some NGOs come to the ground – such as SOMED, FINKA [both for microfinance: immediate repayment is a problem, but good for fishermen who get immediate income]

(5) Why is knowledge not passed on?

- It seems a sort of jealousy
- It seems that we are born with it
- It seems to be caused by illiteracy (there is a need to teach to form cooperatives and working together. That may cause to forget the jealousy)
- *Can men and women work together?* – “It’s a good idea”
- “You sometimes find that women are giving good contributions – leaving them out means you are missing something”

(6) View of groups

- He also has interest
- He has never heard anything bad
- Those who are in a group have interest and are selling and it has brought togetherness among them

(7) Who is important in this village?

- George Bwatumbiya (he is a good elder)
- Bagadia
- Chairman LC1 (Mutesasira)
- *Is it easier to be in group for important people?* – Bagadiya (?)

Annex 19: Interview B(w)esisira Ronald (= No. 86 - son 63 of Bagadiya, with Moses, Friday, April 1) [identity needs to be confirmed!]

Young man and young woman, both good-looking, six children and two youths also rund around. There is a brick house, but with thatched roof

(1) Resources

- Seeds
- Skills (knowledge after planting)
- Land [long time: the question is difficult to cover]
- They can't really estimate their own land, but roughly about 10 acres
- Only part is cultivated and they have no cattle

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- planting more trees, including fruit trees for consumption
- but they need to be provided with seedlings / young trees

Agriculture

- We should use oxploughs, because then the soil remains more fertile (according to experience) because it is lifted up

Leadership

- We should go with this system (i.e. the "movement") – otherwise bloodshed is possible
- A third term should be granted to Museveni

Culture

- Educate each other and teach our young children (tell importance of those cultures)
- "It seems all cultures are good – that's why people could have a long life and be healthy (by boiling herbs in saucepans, for example)
- "But that women should not eat chicken should be thrown (laughter and the response: "otherwise you kill a chicken and you need to buy another sauce for the woman")

(3) Characteristics of good leader

- good behaviour (example: when you meet someone, get off your bicycle and greet / give respect)
- well-settled with a home
- listen to community ideas being given to him

(4) Compare present and past leadership

- Now there is enough peace
- Someone can say "This is mine"
- Liberty to say things
- Chance of voting our own leaders
- Good leader could support modern agriculture and on environment: he could supply seedlings (for tree planting)
- Children and land: to himself, land had become small but he can try to get another plot
- The government has to provide peace so people can work and get the fruits of their work. **"Where there is peace, there will be development."**

(5) Why are things not passed on?

- The cause is jealousy
- (The woman:) this happens at a high rate here in Baluli

(6) View of groups

- They have gained interest in groups and never heard anything bad.
- They have their own group: microfinance. They collect money every month and give it to one of them to solve problems. They also collect money to buy pigs etc. As yet there is not response to call for assistance. The group was founded by women, but three men are also joined. The name of the group is *Ataambulempola*, meaning: "Somebody who moves slowly can go far because even the chameleon can reach Kampala"

(7) Who is important in this village?

- Bagadia
- Mbangire
- Mutesasira

Annex 20: Interview with Jameson Sebunwaji (= No. 82 Kinamuanga; with Moses, Sunday, April 3)

(1) Resources

- Rain
- Seeds (*segon*) – “We lack fast maturing types”
- Tools like hoe
- Roads (infrastructure)
- “communications” (= infrastructure)
- access to markets

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- not to cut trees [because they are windbreakers and windbreakers are needed to bring down the rain: “stopping the wind means we are going to get rain – example: by the time they settled here in 1979, there was heavy forest and no rain could pass – but now the forest was cut for timber” – all this is told laughing as and as an example]
- [“*okulika*”... = “losing fertility”]

Farming

- because of little land we have used it all: now there is a need for the government to bring artificial fertilizer [what about animal droppings? – They have not tried as yet – they don’t know how to do it. Maybe if someone can give them the knowledge]

Leadership

- Unity: coming together = one way to sustain good leadership. Once there is unity, there is also good leadership – “that is all”

Culture

- long story: some rituals in detail
- new religion (Christianity / Islam) is cause of destruction: the new religion should be demolished
- birth to twins is occasion for a long ritual
- rain rituals: the spirits lived in the big trees in the forest: as these places are destroyed now, and the “spirit cannot stay in bare places or gardens”, the rituals *cannot* be conducted any more.

(3) Good leaders

- “*mazuma*” = trustworthy
- very active person
- must not be corrupt

(4) Compare now and then

- Before: store for cotton could be as far as 10 miles away; transport was a problem
- Big difference now: vehicles are moving now despite the rough roads
- and people are sleeping in their homes properly without being disturbed
- An old man who arrives, agrees

(5) “Jealousy”

- “*kyirobo*” – [laughter]

- “It seems that it’s natural (if one sees someone else succeed, one thinks “I wish he dies”)

(6) The perception of groups

- he got the news about them and is interested and wants to apply
- never heard anything bad about groups
- *Q: If broups succeeds, you want to join – if one person succeeds, you wish him dead. Why?* – There is no jealousy for a group: how can you kill the whole group? And if you kill one, the others are going to revenge

(7) Important people

- Chairman LC1
- Semialo
- Charles Muranzi
- Fred Bugalalio (still young but developing)
- Kyinoge Mwirunda

Annex 21: Interview with Fred Singoma (= No. 34 in Junda; with Moses, Sunday, April 3)

His wife and another young woman are there, also five chicken and five cattle; next door another woman is pounding

(1) Resources

- Lake
- Boat
- Land
- Tools (hoe)
- Land for animal husbandry
- Digging needs an oxplough or tractor: otherwise only a small portion can be used
- Sun
- Rain

(2) Sustainability

- If a tree is cut, a new one must be planted
- Don't clear swamps – *Why?* – Because the water will be silted then: the swamp cleans the water from the gardens)
- Shortage of land makes bushfallow difficult – therefore one needs to at least make ridges to avoid erosion

Leadership

- Term of office for President should be respected – Constitution should be kept as it is (“let it be two terms” – “some people want to hold on to power”)
- Corruption is a big problem – without corruption people would get better services = better leadership

(3) A Good leader?

- Somebody who likes development (*Kulaakulana*) and who is not corrupt
- Someone who solves the problems the community brings to the leader (*Nga akukola okubizibu byabantu byeba muwaire* – written by Moses)
- One who can unite people

(4) Comparison

- Kingdom in Buganda: no gain from there, all development for the center
- Obote I: Only a few health centers
- Obote II: Dying of people
- This government: Peace despite big corruption; money to districts does not arrive; fault of leaders: not monitoring of money to see whether it has reached people; sort of development: schools and health structures
- Laughter at mention of Amin who was forgotten: “Although people said he was bad, he changed the economy to be black and helped the black understand trade and work” – “there is always something good and something bad about every government”

(5) Jealousy

- The thing is natural
- What caused it to develop is also lack of staying in one place and lack of education
- Now that people have seen other things elsewhere, it may end in the future

(6) View of groups

- He has interest in groups, but members have not yet sensitized each other
- Others lack skills but are interested
- Members did not spread it actively

(7) Important people

- George Bwatumbia
- Bagadia
- Museigi (=Alfred) Kunobere
- Fred Singoma (=himself)

Annex 22: Interview with Steven Kinuge (= No. 16, Kinamuanga, with Fred, Tuesday, April 5)

Small farm, we find the man and three children. When the rain sets in, we go into one of the small houses – where the roof leaks heavily and we sit between several pots which catch the rain coming through the roof (to keep the floor dry, which would otherwise simply get muddy, as I can see from one small place where the pots fail to do their job)

(1) Resources

- on the side of development
- “before you look another thing, you look for land
- next, you look for money
- After getting the land he can make cultivation (*kulima* – to dig) but: if you no money, you can only dig enough to eat only – but no produce for sale; the money is needed for hiring a plough and oxen, or other people to cultivate
- Breeding: “*what do you need to develop*”? – if you have little money, you cannot develop: i.e. you cannot afford more than maybe one cow
- Money is absolutely essential for breeding

(2) Sustainability

Breeding (okwemeeriau = to continue increasing)

- if you have money, you can increase, if you have land
- if you have enough cows and enough land, you can fence and then look for someone to help you look after them
- watch the animal to see if they are eating well and to call the veterinary officer when animals are sick

Cultivation

- with enough money you can plant a big land: maize, groundnuts, sweet potato, cotton, cassava
- you can do a rotation with maize – cotton – g’nuts or: cassava and groundnuts; after this: sweet potatoes (grown separately)
- “After planting the same thing (like maize) again and again, the land can become tired (after three years no more harvest)” – i.e. there is a need to change between maize – cotton – and groundnut
- “To continue well and to stay with these crops, you can change them, that is the way to stay with crops for a long time
- breeding and cultivating: what is disturbing people a lot is sunshine and no rain
- *what prevents rain to come?* – The cutting of trees (especially the forest): “rain is not raining in the proper season [While rain is making noise on the tin roof and dripping into pots through holes]
- maybe in the future (“this modern period which is coming”) we need spraying (which we did not know before)

(3) Good leadership

- good manner
- cannot have jealousy
- can build people, how they can develop
- leader can show people what the government tells people to have to be a good citizen: good house, latrine, bathing place, drying racks, chicken etc.

- people can have problems: good leaders can take them “up” and write letters (act as communicators with higher level)
- the problems of people – one by one – are:
 - * water
 - * health service
 - * schools
 - * roads
 - * hunger
 - * sickness
 - * seeds (can be finished by drought after first rain. Solution: loan for new seeds)
 - * wild animals (lion, monkeys, birds: but they are not an “issue” like the monkeys)

(4) Compare leadership

- Leadership is now okay
- Good thing: if you have something bad in your home / on your heart, you can speak. But before, you could not speak. You can speak what is on your heart to the people concerned without fearing.
- Now some people they are gaining farming education and breeding – some, but not all
- *How are they getting that?* – They can choose them according to their behaviour: through recommendation from the chairman, people are called for trainings/workshops in farming/breeding.
- *“Can I go to the chairman and ask to go?”* – Difficult: “Good” seminars provide lunch, which means there is a limited number of places. This means that LC can only bring a fixed number of people, but not more – except to replace someone who dropped out. But: I can tell the chairman that I am interested and next time I want to be among that limited number
- The difference between modern government and the late government: under the late government commands “came down” – now, directions/commands are made at the village level (e.g. the rules for conflict mediation: if a neighbor’s pig/goat destroys my crop): i.e. commands go up
- People can decide about good leaders themselves – before they could even bring someone like you from Germany; now they ask: “where is your home?” and all sorts of questions
- The good leader now – what he knows – after sitting with villagers, he can go and get from the center what you need (like a borehole or a health service or anything they need). But before, this cannot happen: leaders came from far and did not care.

(5) Jealousy

- For his side (he is a trader), he says he does not have that – he is even willing (when asked by Fred) to tell him about a good opportunity to buy pigs at a cheap price (at some far place no-one else knows) [Comment: it fits the extremely “sweet” / gentle impression I get from this man – Fred: “How can we put this in a sentence?” – Me: “He does not have it, it’s true”]
- *Why is he willing to tell?* – He is looking to develop himself, and his friend is also doing the same thing – so he can help his friend
- *Does he also think about getting help in return from the other (some form of mutuality)?* – “If I help him, may his son will help my son”

(6) Views about groups

- For him it’s like drinking: some can like it, while others cannot like it

- There are two types:
 - Some can need you
 - Some are already established and have requirements (conditions for you before you can join)
- He is a member of the cooperative saving group: there are 12 members; they pay 1000,- every week; members can borrow (in fact: they *must* borrow) and the money is divided at the end of the year; everyone takes a minimum credit of 10 000,- per year – and the repayment for that credit is 2000 per month or 24 000,- in one go; The group was started by Sergio Steven and is now in its second year – it started with seven people and until now five have been added

(7) Important people?

- Fred Ziwa
- Charles (*Kyalis* in my first mis-spelling) Bawana
- Biyampora Edward
- Fred Bugalalio
- Magino Steven
- Eriakes Semialo

Annex 23: Interview with Father of LC2 (Nakataka, with LC2, Wednesday, April 6)

He is suggested also, because he is a herbalist.

(1) Resources

- According to his age, it is good to have animals like pigs to contribute to living
- Because of age (he is between 80 and 90), cultivation is becoming difficult
- Lacking health services (apart from herbalist)
- Crop production: it could be wise to increase crop production to also have something to sell – “for future use”
- The weather is disturbing – not reliable, especially the rain (because of rampant cutting down of trees)

(2) Sustainability

Environment

- highly affecting the weather is the cutting down of trees: there is a longer dry season now and overall less rain

Culture

- is quite vital, because it makes them different from other tribes and for him he inherited the job and knowledge of a herbalist from Daudi (=David) Bwitaliyo. He accompanied the man (=his father) for cutting herbs and then was chosen to carry on (LC2: “He had courage to move along with father” and he was the elder son)
- *Is it more difficult to find herbs nowadays?* – Many of the needed plants (the smaller ones) were destroyed with the cutting down of trees: no more germination (unlike some bigger trees which can sprout again after cutting) – but only the quantity is decreased, the herbs are still available. That means: all health problems can still be treated.
- If he fails, he has to refer to somebody stronger (either a herbalist or health center / dispensary / hospital)

Leadership

- He cannot predict but presently it is good (the movement system – other than earlier influence of multiparty on wars)

(3) Characteristics of a good leader (Good leadership according to freedom to talk and debate – as of now)

- according to how leader treats people
- decentralized power down to village – very good leadership
- doesn't harass people whom he is ruling (democratic, not dictator) – if you can exchange views, leader encourages expression of opinion (and embraces many points)

(4) Comparison with past

- Despite being a very good government, they are experiencing land problem: people are being displaced and becoming squatters.
- This is a national problem: people are becoming refugees

- Opinion: “the government has failed to stabilize us” (how people can stay on the land)
- Some of the land remained government land – the land commission can give titles (for 5, 49, or 99 years)

(5) “Jealousy”

- Somebody who is selfish (who does not like others to have something good)
- It is true that the highest percentage is like that, but for those who are in groups it is different (those who are cooperative)
- (the greatest majority is selfish / jealous)
- [*Can this be changed?* – If the government could intensify training to join groups it could be minimized – not abolished; the churches also]

(6) Influence of groups (positive / negative):

- very very very good: groups are developing (like the group with pigs at LC2’s house in the morning: they sell them to buy a bull – bigger part played towards unity and development)

(7) Who is important in the village

- LCs are needed to develop the area
- Health personnel (herbalist and dispensaries)
- Security people (police, local defense force: they fight instability and promote development)
- **Most urgent problem: government or other organizations to cater for weak / old / poor ones (government: to make them feel part of Uganda)**

Annex 24: Interview with the HoneyMaker (with LC2, Nakataka, Wednesday, April 6)

(1) Resources

- Looking after bees and doing agriculture, then you can have a better life
- [Due to lack of money he does not have as many beehives as he would like
- *what about a loan?* – No access; the way is very long (through cooperatives)
- reluctance of higher authorities to assist beekeeper association
- workshop of three days promised to come back but never came (district entomologist is not responding to needs: loan and visit);

(2) Sustainability

Agriculture

- He has 30 (?) hives and is the only keeper in the parish. If he could access loan, then he could extend and also branch out to other activities like beans, (bees give only seasonal income), and maize to diversify income

Culture

- ghost / spirit that enters and gives flower and is very good for some families (for those who have a spirit: the spirit can be asked – and it can make you sick if his needs are not fulfilled)
- Spirit and loan (Question was: could a spirit help?): it is not 100 % sure, maybe it works slowly, maybe not at all

Leadership

- the President has been in office for a long time, maybe he cannot perform well any more, maybe a new one can be fresh and also cater for people who are neglected until now (of you are in office for a long time you may get used to just ordering, but some compromise is also needed)

Agriculture

- weather is not reliable here (animals and crops die during the dry season – scarcity of water for crops and animals – “environment is not at all that favourable”)
- agriculture and reliable income: lack of land for big gardens and more than five animals (“land also can limit” – “lack of land is keeping us back”)

Sustainability: what can interfere is: Leadership: insecurity (keeps people from thinking about the future)

- shallow education for most is also limiting – leader’s time should be limited: staying too long creates habits and insecurity

(3) Good leadership

- Term of office should be given / limited (“respecting term”)
- Good leader is the one who thinks of his fellow men and assists them in all possible ways
- [*“What should I be like to be elected?”* – the qualities: they way he socializes (“social – patriotic / favouring others – democratic)]

(4) Compare leadership

- change in leadership: if Museveni steps down, maybe there could an end to the war in the North;

- No trust in offer of amnesty (to leader in the North)
- [*Would there be more trust if Museveni stepped down?* – No: Kony wants to become President;
R: “*But nobody wants Kony*” -
Beekeeper: “There maybe a chance of Kony believing in a new President and coming out of the bush]

(5) [“zigobere” ...]

- It needs enough time to reason about a thing – it is just inborn (selfishness / jealousy)
- [He can advise someone who asks about beekeeping – but they cannot work together.
- *Why? Could be possible association* – Problem: the place for additional hives (again the problem of lack of land)
- There is no reserved land (bees need a quiet place to remain calm)

(6) View of groups – are they beneficial or not? Promoting unity or not?

- Beneficial for those who have area (and can grow crops);
- It is good to make groups and you can develop through them
- Many people have shallow knowledge and overall effect is not very deep on society: there is little interaction

(7) Who is important in the village?

- Potmaker Takamazire Livingstone
- Hatima (Herbalist)
- Kyualabwi
- Mwanga
- LC2 (Sekwere George)
- Kabwesa
- Senku
- Bemuka
- Nalwaiso
- Segawa
- Waswa

Annex 25: Interview with “Modern Farmer” in Nakataka (with LC2, Wednesday, April 6)

We meet the farmer on the path – on the bike with yellow jerrycans at the back. He goes back to his house (a red house with a new roof) with us. There we also find his wife and two young girls, all quite well-dressed (as he is also). Before the interview begins we meet with some curiosity / suspicion: What does this white man want.

(1) Resources

- Agriculture –but limited by too much sunshine;
- if the weather is good, there is a problem of market (at times there is a lower price: no competition in buying crops)
- He does not sell according to what he expects. Of time (pest attack in storage)
- [Only now LC2 understands “resources” properly – renewed question: what goes into agriculture – “inputs”]
- Poverty: you may lack input
- [“No any other factor that can affect his activity?”]
- land (lack of land for many people – “crucial issue”)
- problem of pests
- lack of “scientific knowledge”
- [after some explanation on my part:
- lacking technical advice
- improved seeds (not affected by pests)
- lack of pesticides
- some problems with animal husbandry
- diseases
- technical advice [veterinary officer is not as active: you need to give him fuel to see your animals]

(2) Sustainability

- Due to reasons given (and also due to lack of market): **lack of advice and lack of money hinder sustainability [eikyo kyitoofo – “is it true?”]**
- He is not recognizing culture as a value (i.e.: *culture* in the sense of *ghosts*) [me: what about ways of greeting? What is proper for women? Language?]
- Culture has promoted good / moral behaviour
- People of long ago could do it without schools (culture: what makes us different other tribes)
- [What about young generation going to school? Kampala and short skirts?] We have lost culture due to education. We have gone astray. Education has minimized culture, yet it could be good for identity

Leadership

- Gender balance has highly affected homes. “During those days women could not be involved in politics.” – “Women could be unruly”
- “This regime is not sensitive to those who are getting displaced (referring to the land issue)
- *Why is the environment not as it was?*
- Highly destroyed due to agriculture: you have to clear trees and old vegetation;
- Herbalists also cut down trees
- Charcoal burning
- On the side of agriculture, more good than harm

- But bad: big trees perish – take time to grow “We are not planting fruit trees (negligence – the time it takes hinders their courage)

(3) Good leadership

- someone who can listen to his subjects
- attends to those views
- somebody who responds to “the cry of the subjects” (e.g. “We are lacking a road”)
- [“who listens and reacts”]
- He should be social (interact with people: don’t just operate from the office)
- Should hold meetings with freedom of expression
- Seeks assistance for his people / subjects

(4) Comparison with past

- When taking comparison, the government is still lagging behind in supplying tested seeds, tools, advice – you are just struggling on your own
- Positive: no harassing of people
- Decentralized power
- Freedom of speech

(5)

- The point of jealousy and selfishness: it needs education, even seminars and the intervention of the churches
- Majority *is* jealous (in response to example of man who is willingly passing on good advice on cheap pigs)
- This government does not respond

(6) The question of groups is referred to his wife:

- groups could be good, but leaders don’t give feedback about workshops attended
- man: no benefit from groups – better to work alone / individually

(7) Who is important? – No response

- Promote games and sports among youth
- *When prodded*: “Leaders don’t want to get out of power. When another term comes, they stand again” (example: Obote wants to come back from Zambia for a third term)
- **Leaders are generally not “clean**

(4) Compared to recent regimes, this one is a bit fair

(5) Jealousy – “*kyitofu*”

- “Even birds are jealous – not selfish” = “It’s natural”
- It cannot be possible to get rid of jealousy and selfishness
- Maybe churches can try – to a certain extent
- They do not have a story with a “good example” (i.e. someone who *shares*)

(6) View about groups

- These groups are good, but not developmental, because they lack financial support
- Some members are not trusted

(7) Important people?

- Great hesitation
- Important man is someone who can sacrifice – but there is nobody like this at present
- Later (after “interview” has ended: people who have education and can give advice – discussion goes on for a while; on the way back: LC2 thinks that they simply did not want to disclose whom they felt really important ...)

Annex 27: Interview with cotton grower (Nakataka, with LC2, Friday, April 8)

Grass-thatched house – about eight children and two women; after some time we have to enter house because of rain

(1) Resources

- Roads (give access to markets – there is a lack of market)
- Basing on agriculture
- Reliable rain – sunshine (*kasana*) makes him fail to achieve targets
- Tested seeds (resistant to sunshine; higher yield than other seeds)
- Tools
- Lack of land (for animals: want for 10 animals, but land enough only for two or three)

(2) Sustainability

- After harvesting – he can keep or sell to buy animals
- Weather: for many years they make a loss because of unreliable weather (for many years the struggl to divest into animals has failed)
- Irrigation could be good – to sustain projects

Culture

- We are struggling to have our language in scripture (and the Baganda are arrogant because they already have this)
- Spirits benefit some of the people (asking the ones who are worshipped may help achieve one's wishes)
- Maybe lack of worship affects the lack of rain

Leadership

- With present one: if is good for him
- Freedom of speech / participation / movement / business
- [*how to maintain stability?*]
- Due to high competition in education, many get into politics (new parties fighting for influence)
- This is causing trouble / instability (because of the struggle for power, expecially among the learned – this may even geth them to go to the bush and start fighting)
- “For us, the electorate, they just want our vote and promise and afterwards I feel cheated and may go to the bush” – but: Kony never fought for anything like this

Agriculture

- could be sustained if there was enough land.
- Now: land for maybe 1000 people sold to one person who starts displacing people
- *Is this happening in Nakataka?* – It is due to come: there is one landowner who tells people to buy land from him, but many fail to pay
- **All of Nakataka belong to one Baganda – since the times when *Kabalega* (=king of Bunyoro) was defeated: successful soldiers were rewarded with land by the *Kabaka*.**

Environment

- The environment is getting highly degraded
- *Why?* – Rampant cutting of trees and forests

- *How about the influence of agriculture?*- agriculture is also degrading: you have to clear and cut and plough – which degrades
- **It is impossible to live without agriculture**
- Degradation has induced high sunshine and wind can blow away clouds which could bring rain; bigger trees cause cool weather which can also help bring rain
- *Anything that can be done?* – Government policy of supplying seedlings: maybe we could plant
- *Planting local trees?* – **Possible, but charcoal burners will respect different species more than local trees**
- *Government ban on using local trees?* – could be good – but needs alternative power supply to cities: people there depend on charcoal for cheap energy and it is also business for village people.
- Due to limited land the vegetation gets degraded because of overgrazing

(3) Good leadership

- Gives free time, free participation, free movement
- Listens to people
- There is interaction between leaders and people: if all those are in place, that is good leadership
- *How can you detect a good leader?* – he is one who mobilizes villagers to go and work together on projects like roads, health center etc.
- He is one who interacts with people and looks for development; sits down and negotiates
- *What is development?* – Leader calls a meeting and hears the views of his subjects and finds ways to implement them. No individual can do that, but they need to be together.
- *Is there an example?* – On the side of schools: good leader has to struggle to mobilize people for it
- Safe water / boreholes: collect money as contribution [to prevent misuse: if you contributed you feel something if someone else misuses and maybe you will do something about it]

(4) Comparison

How is government responding to all the issues discussed?

- Environment: District environmental officers could come and teach seminars; but there is no implementation (“When you come back from the seminar, you just relax”)
- Same with animals and agriculture: come back from seminars and forget: “We are not good implementers”
- Government has positively responded to school building – replacing grass roofs and building roads:
- also: NGOs are brought in by government
- struggled to put boreholes in place (contribution 300 000 of govt. / population, against overall cost of 15 Mio.) [**Government has allowed NGOs to come in**]
- Government is ready for those who are ready: there are seminars but we don’t implement and should not blame the leaders
- [Sprayers given to leaders of groups – but he bought his own one on installments – LC2: “You know he is a very good farmer”]
- *Why used for cotton?* – Control pests (some at an early stage, some later: “cotton stainers” are important: cotton is not white, which is what buyers want)
- In potatoes: caterpillars; also for beans and groundnuts

- *Preventive or on observation?* – Thinning and spraying according to schedule – before an invasion of pests comes (and some, like the cotton stainer, cannot be seen because they are inside)
- This avoids having to sort out the yellow cotton at harvest time (and therefore saves labour)
- It is true that sometimes you have pain in the eyes and on the skin after mixing the pesticide solution with bare hands (done despite recommendation to wear gloves and face guards – because they are not available locally; **If they were here, he would definitely use them**)

(5) It is true that there is jealousy and selfishness

- It is because some people make plans to cripple success – after failing themselves
- But if you know something good, you also tell the others “It is not good to keep it to yourself”
- *How can you minimize jealousy?*
- Currently he has no advice: it is inborn
- “It is easy to council someone, but difficult to reform him”
- He as a good cultivator advises many others and he feels happy if other people take up his advice
- When there is close interaction (“you cannot just give advice to anybody: he may feel criticized”)

(6) View of groups

- Groups has played a bigger part in working together and sharing ideas and also teaches people to work harder than before
- They have done more good than harm / doing positively
- Himself: he is treasurer for a group of men – the *Nakataka growers* – their decision was to deal in cotton only
- Cotton growers group helps to have wider gardens: they work as a group in individual gardens (planting, weeding, etc. even harvesting)
- Until now there were not quarrels or misunderstandings
- *How to decide whose turn it is?* – They have to agree, and there are changes every year
- *Opinion about other groups?* – They also add and mobilize; they urge to put in more effort: “Groups advise according to their goals”

(7) Who is important?

- Labourers who can help you extend your works
- Traders
- Chairman LC1 – so interactive and gives advice

Annex 28: Interview younger people (private chicken project; Nakataka, with LC2, Friday, April 6)

There is one young man and two young women; remarkable are the white ibis on the grass all around: to eat termites

(1) Resources

- Food
- Crop agriculture [*kuluma* = cultivation / digging]
- Animal agriculture / poultry
- Lack of market / poor roads (“negative effects”)
- Lack of ox plough
- Pesticide (when you plant, pests are destroying crops)
- Storage for harvest (Save the children)
- Limited land is hindering crops and animals
- Tested seed is important [*nsigo ezirongose*]
- Technical advice

(2) Sustainability

- Storage can affect
- Same with unreliable rainfall, pests and diseases
- Insecurity / instability can affect their sustainability
- Poor market can also hinder them

Culture

- positive: promotion in culture
- negativew: they were limiting women (such as “no chicken” and “no leadership position”)
- the highest percentage is on the negative side

Culture and development

- highly negative effect
- “in those days a woman could not even ride a bicycle, now she can become a trader

Leadership

- **“Movement”**
- The leadership now is not democratic
- High rigging of elections (no fair elections)
- Creating hatred between who has gone through and who has failed – i.e. not promoting unity [in elections]
- “Who has gone through starts punishing those who have not supported him”

Agriculture

- **We are lacking land**
- Limitation of agricultural practices and the number of animals – **land is limiting development**

Environment

- There is degradation [*siskalaande*]
- *What is degradation?* – Due to lack of jobs people resort to brick making and charcoal burning (for which trees are also burnt for the baking of the bricks)

- **“the land is not enough”** – overstocking and overgrazing: “The land is now bare” and there is soil erosion [invitation to look at local small dam: land all around totally degraded]
- crop growing: poor agricultural methods and clearing for agriculture
- *Stop it?* – Planting trees – but new species better: local trees are not respected by charcoal burners etc.

(3) Good leadership

- caters for all villagers down from grassroots
- there is segregation in leadership: if you have an educated child but are not related to someone in office, he cannot get a job: nepotism (“this leadership is not good”)
- [“Corruption” – should be fought]
- *How do you get rid of it?* – If the space between rich and poor is narrowed, corruption can be rid of if there is no poverty: poor people want to “mine” their office.

(4) Comparison

- Present one, compared to past is a bit okay: there is freedom of speech and expression
- They are respecting human rights

(5) Jealousy

- It is true that people are selfish and jealous
- *how can we fight it?* – Churches can assist
- *jealousy and development?* – it is hindering development
- ***poverty and jealousy?* – the rich ones do not want the poor ones to develop: they want them as labourers**
- the rich ones are jealous – they want to “keep them in a cocoon”

(6) Groups?

- Groups are good – because they played a higher part in development, especially of women
- Policy of government: not ready to help individuals, only groups
- *Why women?* – groups have promoted unity among themselves
- They don’t know men’s groups, so they cannot judge
- But according to men there is less unity

(7) Important people?

- The leaders – political leaders – church leaders – teachers

-

Annex 29: Responses by Church Groups

Group A (original in English):

Resources:

- 1) Farming / Agriculture:
 - Land
 - Rain
 - Agricultural tools
 - Machineries (machines)
 - Money
 - Seeds
- 2) Cattle Keeping
 - Land (pasture)
 - Money
 - Drugs and pesticides
 - Water
- 3) Fishing
 - Nets
 - Money (capital)
 - Boats
 - Labour (workers)
- 4) Health (Social Resources)
 - Hospitals
 - Schools
 - Safe water
 - Drugs / medicines

2. Sustainability

- 1) Environment
 - Avoid bush burning
 - Ensure planting of trees
 - Avoid cutting down trees
 - Ensure good methods of farming
 - Ensure good methods of fishing
- 2) Farming
 - Avoid growing the same type of crop on the same piece of land
 - Sensitization (farming seminars)
 - Avoid overgrazing
 - Avoid bush burning
 - Ensure good methods of farming e.g. covering the top soils with grasses
- 3) Sustainability of Leadership
 - Putting law in place
 - Sensitization of people
 - Electing good leaders
- 4) Culture
 - Teaching young people origins of their clans
 - Good discipline

3. A Good Leader must have:

- Discipline
- Love (like) other people
- God (Lord) fearing
- Should be approachable
- Should be confident
- Willing to serve
- Education – he should be educated
- Should be faithful

4. Comparing present leadership with the previous

(i) Present Leadership

(a) Culture

- Recognition of Kingdom
- Recognition of democracy
- Ensuring the conservation of norms
- Ensuring good discipline

(b) Farming

- Ensuring good methods of farming
- Sensitization of farmers
- Buying of farming equipments
- Giving seeds to farmers
- Finding markets
- Giving loans to farmers

(c) Fishing

- Removing water weeds from the lakes
- Importing of fishing material e.g. nets
- Sensitization of fishermen
- Putting laws in place

(d) Health

- Buying drugs / medicine
- immunisation of the six killer diseases
- giving cheap materials for AIDS victims

5. Jealousy is common – Why?

- Natural factor
- Illiteracy
- Witch Craftism

6. The Role which the Church must play

- Teaching people about the religion (Bible)
- Organising prayers for the people
- Telling people to repent for their sins
- Telling people to work hard for survival

Group B:

Okwekulakulanya (Development)

1. Okulima (Agriculture)

Resources

1. Obulamu (Health)
2. Sente (Money / Capital)
3. Enkumbi (Hoe)
4. Ekiso (Panga)
5. Ekibanja (Land)
6. Embazi (Axe)
7. Enkuba (Rain)
8. Omusana (Sun)

Sustainability

A. Okukuma Ebyatitonde (Sustaining Environment)

1. Okusimba emiti (Tree planting)
2. Okutema (make) ensatosalo (ridges)
3. okwewala ebyonyanona etaka (to avoid s.th. which can spoil the soil) e.g. obuvera (polythene bags), nokwokya (burning) ebisubi (bush)
4. Okusakyusa (rotation) ebirime (crops) mukibanja (on the land)

B. Okukuma ebyokulima (sustaining farming)

Ne byokulunda (rearing animals)

1. Oyina okuba netaka (you have to be with land)
2. Oyana okuba necante (you have to be with money)
3. oyina okuba naamaanzi (you have to be with water)
4. okusimba emiti (planting trees)

C. Obukulembeze (Leadership)

1. Empiisa (good behaviour)
2. Okutya katonda (God fearing)
3. Okuwewala engambo (To avoid rumouring)
4. Enkolagana (When you have connection with so.o) eyobwesimbu (trustworthy)

D. Okukuma ebyobuwangwa (sustaining culture)

1. Okusamira (witchcraft)
2. Okutya bakade baffe (to fear / respect parents)

(No 3.) Omukulembeze okulungi yalizanange alya? (Characteristics of a good leader)

1. Yago (that one) akulakulanya (who develops) ebitundu (the area/village)
2. Atenga wampiisa nungi (of good behaviour) atya (fearing) Katonda (God)
3. Atekwa okuba (you must be) omuyigirize (educated) omulungi (well)

(No. 4) Okugerageranya (comparing) obufuzi (leadership) obuliso (obuliwo?) (current) kati nobwemabega obwayita (with that of the past)

1. Tewakwali (There is no) bulungi (communal) bwasi (work)

2. Abafuzi (Leaders) bangi (many) naya (but) tebakora (they are not working) ate (and) tebayamba (they are not helping) nanuntu (the person) wawansi (who is on the ground)
3. Gov't ero (this) etukulankulanyiza (has developed us) mubino (in the following) ebyenjigiriza (education) nebyobulamu (and health)

(No. 5) Aberaluli (Baluli) tebagaliza (does not want) banabwe (their friends) kufuna (to have things)

1. Obutaba (Not having) nachiiini (religion of might God) munutima (in their heart)
2. Obutamanya (Illiteracy)

(No. 6) Ekanisa (Church) egina (it has) kukola etya (to do what)

1. Egina okulungamya (It has to join) oluda neluda (both sides = the religious and the non-religious)
2. Nokusaba (pray)

Group C:

Resources

Ebintu (things) **ebikulu** (important) **enyo** (very) **mukwekulakunya** (in development)

1. Life (English in Original)
2. Water
3. Land
4. Money
5. Power
6. Hoe
7. Panga
8. Axe

2 Okukuma Ebyobtonde

1. Obutatema (not cutting) miti (trees)
2. Okusimba (to plant)
3. Okuzimba (construction)
4. Okulunda (rear animals)

3 Okukuma Obyokulima (agriculture). **Ne** (and) **Oyokulunda** (animal rearing)

1. Okulima (to dig) buli (every) seasons (English in original)
2. Okubikola (to make them) Obunji (at large scale)

Oyinza otya okumba obulembeze (How can you keep leadership)

1. Okuloda (to elect) omuntu (a person) nya mwesigwa (who is trustworthy)
2. Omuntu (person) omuyigize (who is educated)

Ebwobuwangwa (Culture)

1. Tuyina (We have) okwombula (to put on) obunji (= "obulonji" = properly) netuyambula (not to put on) mini (min skirts)
2. Abana (children) abedda (of the past) tebasomanga (were not going to school)

Omuklembeze (a leader) **ze omulungi** (a good one) **yalifanyetya** (characteristics)

1. Empisa (good behaviour)

2. Obuyigiriza (educated)
3. Okuba noguminkuriza (be patient)
4. Obuyonjo (be smart)

Okugeranya (comparing) **obukulembeze** (leadership) **obweda** (of past) **ne** (and) **kakati** (the current)

1. Emilembe (peace)
2. Okusoma (education)
3. amarwaliro (Health Centers)

Ife (?) Abaluli twaga banafe kufuna (we don't want our friends to have things)

1. Fitina (jealousy)
2. Obutakola (Not working)
3. Obutateragangwa (misunderstandings)
4. Obutamanya (ignorance)

Ekanisa ekoleki kubintu bwo ebiri awo

1. okubulira engili mukanisa (to minister word of God)
2. okutambulira mudini (to walk in the word of God)

Group D:

Ressocess (sic!) – ebintu (things) ebikulu (which are important) mukwekulakulanya (in development)

- okweygata (unity)

mu kulima (in agriculture):

- enkubi (rain)
- enkumbi (hoe)
- ekiso (panga)
- embazi (axe)

Okukuma ebyabutonde (sustaining environment)

1. okusimba (planting) emiti (trees)
2. okukuma (to keep) ensiko (the bush)
3. okutema (to make) ensalosalalo (ridges) ezikuma (to keep) amayzi (water) etaaka (to avoid) obutakulukuta (soil erosion)
4. obutyakya (not burning) bisubi (bush)

Tukumya tutya ebyokulima nakulunda (How can we sustain agriculture and animal rearing)

1. okwawulamu (to divide) ekibanja (the land)
2. okusiba sengenge (fencing with barbed wire)
3. okusiimba (to plant) ebibala (fruits) ngg (e.g.) emiyembe (mangoes), jene (jackfruit), emikungwa (oranges) no (and) kuzimba (constructing) ebizimbe (buildings)

Tukumya (sustain) *tutya* (how) *obukulembeze* (leadership) *nga* (when) *bulunji* (good)

1. okutya (fear) katanda (God)
2. omukulembeze (a leader) omulunji (good) afayo (cares) kumuntu (people) owawansi (on the ground) asakerwako (the first person) owamukyalo (in the village)

Tukumye tutya (how to sustain) *ebyobuwangwa* (culture)

1. okubulirira (to teach) abaana (children) bafe (our)
2. wamu (also) nokutya (to fear) katanda (god)

3. Omukulembeze omulungi afaanana (characteristics) atya

1. Atya (fear) Katanda (God)
2. Alumirwa (to care) omuntu (the person) owawansi (on the ground)
3. Awuliriza (to listen) omuntu (the person) kyayogera (says)
4. Alya nabantu (to eat with people) era (and) abasembeza (welcomes them)

4. Okugerageranya (to compare) obukulembeze obuliwo (the current) kati (one) nobwalimo (that was there) emabega (in the past) nabino bye (with what we) twogeddeko (have talked about) kati (now)

1. Bono (this) bwebusinga (is the best) lwansonga (because) emirembe (peace) tugirina (we have) era (and) twebaaka (we sleep)
2. Abaana (children) basoma (are studying)
3. Amasomero (schools) gazimbidwa (are constructed)
4. Abamaje (army men) tulya (we eat) nabo (with them) nga (as) banafe (our friends) naye (but) tuli tuli (that time) mu (you) duka-duka (were in running) buli (very) kaseera (time) nga masasi (bullets)

5. Fee abaluli (We Baluli) lwaki (why) tetwagaliza (we don't want) banafe (our friends) kufuna (to have) kiva kuki (what is the cause)

1. Obutamanya (not knowing) Katanda (God) – Fitina (jealousy)
2. Butayagala (not loving) munno (your friend)
3. Obutegata (lacking unity)

6. Nga (As) ekanisa (a church) kiki (what) kyesanidde okukola (it has to do)

1. Okukubiriza (mobilization)
2. N'okubabulirira (to minister) – wamu (also) no kubayingiza mu (to put in them a) omutima (heart) ogwagala (which loves) Katanda (God) wamu N'okwagala (to love) banawe (each other)

Annex 30: The Feedback-Meeting with the Groups (Kinamuanga, Saturday April 9)

A. Meeting Plan

Fred: Introduction

Reinald: A) Project and Research
B) Method (Questions) + (Group Work)
C) Results of Interviews

Group Work: What Needs to be added or changed?

D) Results – Group + Sam
1) Group: Internal
2) Group: Externals

Group Work: What Needs to be added or changed?

DD) My view of Sam's work:
1) Vegetables
2) Poultry
3) Ox-ploughs

F) Sam

Group Work:

1) How did you see my work in the past?
2) What do you want for the future?

G) Sam: These are some of the issues I find important
1) General Goals (Project Work [realistic knowledge of what is there]
and Research Work [to assist in finding out what is really there])
2) Understanding / Misunderstanding / Hope for future

H) Agreement for the Future
1) List of Members
2) Rules for Members
3) Sanctions for those who do not keep the rules

I) Goodbye

B. Summary of Results of Questions = Presentation of research results to participants

1) Resources:

Water – Tools – Seed – Knowledge – Labour (Family!) – Health

Land – is a crucial issue and scarce because:

- 1) Owners live elsewhere
- 2) Can only be had on *leasehold* from government
- 3) There is a contradiction between agriculture and keeping animals
- 4) There is a contradiction between agriculture and environment

2) Sustainability:

Overall: Degradation and its link to treecutting / (over)grazing / charcoal burning

- 1) Trees and Rain
- 2) Land and Tree Planting
- 3) Land and many children

3) Qualities of Good Leadership:

- 1) Listening – “social” – take decisions *together*
- 2) Trustworthy (*bwesigwa*)
- 3) Bring development from above – according to determined needs

Stability: Unity and bringing people together

4) This has come with Decentralization and Democracy:

- “Now we can sleep peacefully”
- “Now we can say what is in our heart”

But:

- Money & corruption & favouring the rich is a problem (little concern for farmers)

5) Why is information not passed on?

- 1) *Bwiya* = jealousy
 - 2) Selfishness
- Why* are these traits so prevalent? – “It is natural = Inborn”
What can be done? (to minimize)

- seminars (by the government)
- Church (by preaching and spreading Christian message of love)
- Groups (by teaching people to work together: no jealousy for groups)

C. Schedule of Actual Meeting

Arrival around 10.30, with only a few members already present. The Meeting finally gets going around 12.00, with all groups at least represented by one or two members.

Introduction by Fred and prayer: as planned – not recorded

Presentation of Research Results by Reinald:

longer than planned and with points added in the course of presentation – main points see above. In the actual presentation there was more emphasis on the central difficulty: everywhere land degradation and lack of rain are already observed – but the measures to reverse this trend are not taken because of poverty (which was not named as clearly as here); because of poverty, neither charcoal burning, nor overgrazing, nor overutilization of land (no fallow) can be avoided. All this aggravated by the trend of land-owners to reclaim their land, and by the increase in population. The latter is not only a result of many people coming back to the region in the late 1970s because of expulsion from Lango, but also because of the trend of men to have as many wives, and the desire of almost all to have as many children as possible: the already scarce resource *land* will in the future clearly be even more scarce.

Group work on results

This is followed by group work. The original intention had been to simply let people respond to the whole presentation and leave them to discuss “1) What strikes you as relevant / correct; 2) What strikes you as wrong? (What needs to be corrected?) And 3) What needs to be added? (What did the research overlook?).

But it turned out that the participants could not discern the main points of results as presented in the summary – and therefore group work would not have been possible without the intervention of Moses, who asked the groups (four groups altogether) to respond to the points of the presentation one by one, leaving between 15 to 25 minutes for each point.

Also, the dividing into groups did not follow the original intention to let participants simply count “one – two – three – four”; instead, Sam put people in groups in a manner as to ensure maximum mixing of members from different villages and groups.

The groups afterwards presented their results – but no real discussion followed. As time was advancing, neither myself nor Sam nor Moses pushed too much. Because of the advanced time, the overall meeting plan was shortened by going immediately to the two points concerning the collaboration with Sam: 1) How did you experience this cooperation in the past, and 2) What would you like to see in the future.

These points were not dealt with one after the other and followed by discussion, but rather both questions were put at the same time and people went back into their groups.

All the results are to be found in the Annex about the group work. They confirm in the main points the results from other interviews and also from the group work at the church. The only point noted as substantially different was the emphasis placed by participants on the importance and changing role of women. While this had also been noted in many of the

interviews – most of which were conducted with men -, it had not been stressed in the presentation. The second remarkable point is the accolade which Sam's work received. I may be wrong, but I suspect it is in part an investment into good relationships in the future.

D. Feedback from Group Members about Research Results and Co-operation with Samuel Fan

1. Feedback (

Group 1: Added issues:

- you need to have a budget or work plan
- you have to look for knowledge
- have to develop desire to achieve what you see somewhere else ((“ambition” in Group 2))

Resources

Group 1:

- you have to know god’s plan (i.e. accept failure without being discouraged)
- patience as a resource
- unity as a resource (even at home / in the family)

Group 2:

- tools: gumboots
- caring about what you are doing
- education
- ambition ((see group 1!))
- patience

Group 3:

- capital
- insecticides

Group 4:

- insecticides
- the plan
- market
- transport

Sustainability

Group 1:

- Planting trees around the plot (boundaries)
- To be sensitized about environment

Group 2:

- Planting fruit trees
- Those trees not for fruit to be planted on boundaries + “sensitization”

Group 3:

- plant trees around plot
- planting fruit trees

- when clearing forest for farming, leave some trees

Leadership

Group 1:

- has to be creative
- has to put in action ideas from community
- he should put himself in the shoes of the community
- to be exemplary in development
- God-fearing / religion in his heart

Group 2:

- active in convening village councils
- has to be active in community work
- well settled / resident in the area
- married
- who does not decide things easily (“thing before you act”)
- who does not betray his people
- not rumour mongering
- who is social

Group 3:

- has to be polite
- has to be a smart man / woman
- speaks with people
- good behaviour
- no drunkard

Group 4:

- Has to be a resident
- Has to be educated
- Someone who cares for his area and the community

Current leadership

Group 1:

- Now women are also participating in leadership
- Support for education (free primary education = UPE = universal primary education)
- Not correctly: less concern about farmer
- A lot of corruption
- So many jobless people
- Animal keepers are also left out

Group 2:

- school structures being constructed + health centers
- free primary education
- infrastructures

Group 3:

- UPE (universal primary education)
- Adult literacy

- “Even women not have liberty, they can talk”

Group 4:

- Given chance to everybody to participate in politics
- UPE (current education better than the past) + adult literacy
- Development + uplifting of women (“they have just noticed that women are also people”)
- Improved infrastructure – but failed to uplift sports

(5) – “Jealousy” and lack of passing on of information

- Basically true, but literacy
- Way out: seminars

Group 1:

- to tour different parts and see what is done there
- working in groups
- have religion in your heart

Group 2:

- have god-loving heart
- to avoid this: everybody should do something different (joking)

Group 3:

- illiteracy / ignorance [butamanya]
- solution: make tours to different parts of the country

Group 4:

- marrying different wives leads to jealousy between children of different wives
- way out: lesson in schools and at home: “you should not be jealous”
- we should take tribes who don’t have that as an example ((as Moses used to say: the Banyankole))

2. Co-operation with Samuel Fan:

Group 1:

- The things discussed here will help us if we follow Mr. Sam’s advice
- When we have learnt good leadership with unity
- When that leadership is started in our groups which we have formed
- *What they need:*
- More seminars or sensitization
- We need to tour different places
- Grow crops with high demand
- We need to be taught more about caring for we are looking after
- They than to also include health education – “if possible to include in project”
- Thanking Mr. Sam who has helped a lot taking people to hospitals

Group 2:

What they have got from the time with Mr. Sam:

- unity – most of the groups were formed after his coming

- a lot of assistance: seeds, contributed to different groups, helped them get out of ignorance by buying Bibles to spread the word of God

What they would like in the future:

- Still thanking him on side of environment: he gave 9 schools 100 tree seedlings free of charge and also gave to some individuals
- On the side of leadership, he is a good leader, very active, exemplary, not tired of coming every time, does not get angry
- On the side of some assistance in agriculture: he allows everyone to select what he wants
- Vegetables: we are okay on the side of consumption
- Thanks for assistance to orphans by giving pigs to look after
- They thank him also for lifts he provides free of charge (to Luwero)

Future:

- to go on calling visitors to give us advice: people here think they can learn more from visitors
- more seminars in animal rearing and agriculture
- some groups with different activities, like singing – they need drums, others need oxploughs
- some more pigs and chicken
- some groups question to be provided with tree seedling: they would care
- we also need family planning seminars
- “Let him stay here forever and ever”

Group 3:

- Thanking for assistance on side of agriculture and religion (Bibles); providing vegetable seeds, in their homes they are now okay; Knowledge – unity – encouragement to be trustworthy
- Medicine for animals, buildings for pigs and chicken, seminars given, different visitors brought to give lectures (?)
- Environment: thank you for planting trees at schools

This is what we want in the future:

- more seminars on development
- loans
- more assistance to orphans
- “the women have so many problems, so it is better to also bring your wife for seminars”
- thank you for transport / lifts
- “May the God bless you”

Group 4:

- “You stay for so long” ...
- They have learnt the loving heart you have shown: to come from so far
- Some have said by the other groups: agriculture and pigs
- Some have done a little bit with agriculture, some not (in his group); assistance with knowledge and insecticides

For the future:

- They are waiting for fertilizer and different seeds (*obutunda*), potatoes, groundnuts, vanilla (Sam: “cannot grow here”), vegetable seeds, oxploughs
- If possible: search for marketes for animals
- Structure for houses (stables for pigs and chicken)
- Animal feeds
- Seminars and insecticides

Sam: “about the ploughs: before getting it, it is better to get oxen first”

“We shall make a meeting again, tell all members to come. We shall start something like SOMED, but not SOMED (i.e. pay back will start after five months only) – “small bank for the groups only”. Groups have to sign and send members in need. In the beginning not more than 100 000,-, after 1 year we shall see.”

Question about hoes: Not yet distributed. There are seven which need to still be distributed.

Ending: “Try to think about new idea of bank”