while others are in transition. Squatters on mailo land are tenants on sufferance and could be evicted and sometimes are. These are people who fall within the land that was given to the Kabaka and his chiefs according to the 1900 agreement. "Many of these have already been evicted after bitter struggle and sometimes fatal confrontations." (ActionAid Uganda L, p6) They often live in very poor housing as they have no incentive to build good houses. The government does not provide services eg health etc. The practice of borrowing or renting land leads to exploitation by the rich while small amounts of land lead to over-cultivation and soil degradation.

Projected into the future the UN Human Settlements Study says that given the population size and the projected growth rates there is not enough land available in large enough units to provide most farmers with the opportunity to increase production if productivity is not raised. The current amount of land available for cultivation per person is 1.07 hectares. If the population reaches 23 million by the year 2000 the available amount of land will be 0.79 hectares per person (ActionAid, 1994 (UNICEF, 1994, P4)).

New settlers have usually moved out of areas of extreme land pressure and fragmentation and are very vulnerable. They face a number of problems. They have to search for new places of settlement, acquire new property, and gain acceptability among the people already in the place where they settle. There are two categories of new settler: the voluntary and involuntary. The latter usually move in a group usually to a designated place. Voluntary movement has long history in Uganda. In Bacili County Mubende district it is estimated that 80% of population are recent settlers or children of recent settlers. The Women Needs Assessment Survey of 1992 found that 58% of women in district were born outside it. The reasons include a search for land, avoidance of social conflicts, a search for employment opportunities, family ties, accessibility to social services, and getting away from gazetted areas. The majority move as a result of land pressure. (ActionAid, 1994)

The existence of large areas of unused land is no guarantee that people moving will be able to secure it, especially where it is communally owned, eg in the North and Northeast. In Buganda it is easy to buy and acquire land though there may be problems with insecurity of tenure. People tend to move to areas with similar climates and cultures. Some places are now habitable after tsetse control; in parts of Kibale, Hoima, Masindi, Kamuli, and Tororo.

Historically new settlers migrating from Kisoro, Kabale, Mbarara, Bushenyi and Bugisu have mostly become worse off at their destinations. They have tended to settle in areas where labour is in great demand; especially in Buganda or on the plantations. They have also moved to districts with vacant land (eg Kibale, Kabarole) even though the new areas may not be particularly productive. During the first years of settlement new settlers face food shortage, poor health, inadequate housing, and limited access to productive land. Sometimes they are not readily accepted in community and for this reason one tends to find one ethnic group concentrated in a given area. Over time they acquire enough land to improve the situation but often not enough to enable them to meet basic family requirements. They cope by getting food from relatives or selling labour.

The poor ones, coming with little or no money, cannot buy land and often settle on marginal land which maybe gazetted. Production is low and they are unable to improve soil. They work for rich landlords, becoming vulnerable to eviction and exploitation. They are not denied access to the social and economic facilities in the community.

Because of large numbers communities affected by the arrival of non-voluntary groups of settlers are thrown into a panic as no-one seems to prepared to take responsibility for them creating an atmosphere of insecurity. There is often sympathy but local communities do not have much to offer. ActionAid quote the example of Kibuye village in Luwero District where about 3000 people are just settling after being evicted from Kiguli village because it had been set aside for the development of government projects. The arrivals usually had 1 meal a day provided by a relief agency. Sanitary conditions and infrastructure were poor. the people had low income or no income, and little land was available for them.
The incomers have a longer-term impact on the residents often involving intermarriage, the use of a new language mixture, changes in cultural attitudes, practices and beliefs. The increase in population leads to increased pressure on inadequate resources, and often soil degradation and indiscriminate bushclearing. However because more land is cleared there may be a decrease in vermin, and new trading centres, markets, and crops may develop.

**Pastoralists:** The total number of pastoralist holdings in Uganda (excluding Karimoja, Kumi and Soroti) was estimated in 1990 to be 150,000 with over 3 million head of cattle. ActionAid estimates that Karimoja, Kumi and Soroti contain at least the same number of households and more cattle. Pastoralists used to be concentrated in the southwest and north east, but there has been movement to central areas, particularly Mubende, Kiboga and Luwero (ActionAid, 1994 p17). A poor pastoralist has been described as one who owns less than 50 head of cattle, squats, grazes communally, cultivates less than 1 acre of land, does not own a water source, and has no farm structures (ActionAid, 1994 p17). Cattle rearing is part of the culture; income opportunities are limited, marketing facilities for livestock and livestock products are poor and climatic and cultural conditions impair consistent production. Imposition of quarantine against contagious diseases disrupts market outlets. Low animal productivity is the result of diseases and pests. Veterinary extension services are available but inadequate, particularly where mobile pastoralists are hard to find. Pastoralists have particular problems deriving from poor communications and resources, mobility, lack of security of tenure, and lack of access to services. Even if they are wealthy they are always vulnerable to losing everything as a result of drought or raiding.

**Hunter-gatherers:** There are a small number of hunter-gatherers in the south-west of Uganda. In Bundibugyo, ADRA (an NGO) has settled some at Burondo, in Kasitu sub-county. They gave them goats (New Vision claims this is the first time for a Bundibugyo pygmy to own an animal) hoes, pangas, seeds, and clothes.

**The labour-scarce** are those with high dependency ratios and few adults or children of working age. The groups includes households headed by old people, women, and PWAs who are considered below.

**The urban poor** are less numerous but the rate of urbanization (estimates range from 4.8% to above 9% with the rate in Kampala being higher) is growing steadily and their poverty problems are likely to grow in scale and severity. They live in squalor with poor housing conditions and a lack of sanitary and water facilities. Education levels are low, health and nutritional standards are poor, and income opportunities limited. Urban planning and provision of services has not kept pace with growth. Slum housing is particularly bad as most structures are unplanned and temporary; they are usually made of mud and wattle and roofed with papyrus mats or scrap tin sheets. They are built very close together with no space for compounds or latrines; most lack safe water, have poor drainage systems, are surrounded by stagnant ponds, flood during the rainy season, and have no electricity. The urban poor are often located in swampy areas, eg around Kampala. There are a large number of slums in Kampala including Katanga, Nakulabye, Kivulu, Bwaise, Blueroom, and Ndeeba.

The construction industry is booming but thousands still lack accommodation and "apparently sleep either in front of shops, at the railway station, in car garages or in goods containers (which are often used as shops during the day). The increase of city rents and lack of sufficient accommodation has led to the expansion of slums with houses being built in swamps." The most popular slum is Katanga where construction is increasing with or without permission. Most of these houses are not fit for habitation and are resulting in ecological and health problems.

The majority of the very poor are tenants often paying high rents. Government planning leads to insecurity. Land conflicts between government, local authorities, mailo owners and would be
Case study: urban household in Katwe

This was a concrete house with tin roof near the Entebbe Road. There was a latrine near. There were 4 people in the one-roomed house - man, woman and 2 biological children. The room was very small and you went down some steps into it. Only the household head makes a living - he is self-employed and reluctant to tell us exactly how he made a living - sometimes here - sometimes there. He has nowhere to turn in times of crisis. He has assets in Mbarara though these are based on his father's acceptance - eg land. In times of crisis he would turn to relatives and friends otherwise he must cope on his own. He eats 1 meal a day at 5 o'clock.

Water is fetched from 1 mile away; sanitation is poor - there are too many people using the same latrine (about 5 families). A rubbish pit disposal is available but far away. Drainage is poor - the area including his house gets flooded in the rainy season. Both his children go to school now - he pays 50,000 a term. He pays the school fees. He went to school up to S2 when he dropped out because of the fees. One child dropped out of school in the past year. There is a new health clinic where only immunization is free but government clinics are in Nsamba and Rubaga. He uses government clinics. They charge 3,000 - 4,000 for malaria treatment. Non-governmental hospitals have drugs but Mulago does not. He uses private pharmacists for backache, fever, headache and cough. They use traditional practitioners - herbal clays and for pregnancies.

He pays graduated tax of 10,500 which he feels is to high for his income - he should pay about 3,000 shillings. He pays 20,000 for rent which is too high (it should be about 4,000). He has dependents outside the household - his brothers' orphans. He came here 10 years ago from Mbarara. He only gets help from the rural area when he goes there. He is rarely visited by rural people. He is poorer than he was 2 years ago because his income is very low. The Government should reduce tax and reduce school fees and other requirements for children's education.

Interview: A Ssewaya and P Bevan

developers increases this insecurity. A large proportion of urban population live in 1-roomed dwellings with households sized between 4 and 5 (68% of houses in Kampala are 1-roomed) and most urban houses are shared and rented. Only 2% have water and electricity; 92% have neither. ActionAid pinpoints a number of constraints on the provision of urban services including lack of consultations with the poor, uncoordinated policies and implementation, and the unclear status of most poor communities which are often illegal.

The majority of the urban poor are unemployed, casual workers, or in petty trade. Many urban poor work in the informal sector where employment is irregular and unstable and earnings are often below subsistence. ActionAid gives the causes of urban poverty as unemployment, temporary employment, unpredictable employment, unstable employment, low educational levels, and exploitation by employers including underpayment and unregulated conditions of work. There are no policies governing casual and unskilled labour.

Slumdwellers often apathetically accept the situation, do what they can with what they have and experience little or no control over their surroundings (Bagonza, 1987). Water and sanitation coordination are poor, infectious diseases are rampant and the Infant Mortality rate is high. Unemployment is a widespread problem so slum dwellers resort to illicit businesses, for instance prostitution, selling stolen goods, and beer selling. The health services are inadequate. Paradoxically, most of the unemployed slum dwellers seem to think that if social services are improved, their
expenditures will increase, especially on taxes or through repairs and maintenance of the amenities. They also think that if the place remains in its current condition it will continue to provide a ready market for stolen things. Also, if the houses are poor they will not attract more important people to the area who are a threat to the slumdwellers, while if the houses are improved they will have nowhere to go during the construction period and the new improved houses would be too expensive for them.

**Case study: Poor Urban household**

Members of this household were sitting outside eating a meal of matooke and meat; their clothes and shoes looked respectable. Their one-roomed house was concrete with a tin roof; ditches between houses flowed with unpleasant looking water. There were 4 latrines nearby, 2 of which were padlocked. There was a toddler eating matooke only, with fair-tipped hair (sign of malnutrition?) and a child of about 5 with a pot belly (who was eating a large portion of matooke and meat). There were 8 biological children and 1 relative who was an orphan. The man was the only earner in the family. They have no-one to turn to in times of crisis - everyone has their own problems - there is widespread poverty. Their only strategy in times of crisis is to sell household goods. His parents, relatives, and brothers turn to him in times of crisis. The number of meals a day varies but usually it is only one.

The area has electricity but hardly any bathrooms, drainage or sewers. Mosquitoes live in the water ditches. There are no rubbish disposal pits and very little living space - no sleeping rooms. 4 children go to school out of 9 - the rest dropped out of school last year because of school fees. One of the others is still young - the others are learning about metal works. The husband pays all the school fees and does not pay school fees for anyone not in the household. He went to school to P5. He pays 66,650 school fees for one and 20,000 for the rest per term. He pays 50,000 for the children to learn metalworking (in total).

There is no Government health clinic; he goes to Mulago hospital. He uses private pharmacists because the hospital is far and yet services are paid for also. Some drugs have to be prescribed. Because transport is costly and then you have to pay it is better to go to a private clinic. He does not use traditional practitioners. He used to have a shop. He paid 50,000 shillings deposit for his tax but later he was sent a bill of 517,000 shillings. The stock in the shop was worth less than 100,000 shillings. He doesn’t know how the URA assessed this amount but the URA says it is because of poor book-keeping. They didn’t come to the shop - the bill just arrived through the Post. If you don’t have proper book-keeping they can tax anyhow. He couldn’t pay the tax and closed down the shop. He now is in the market selling bits of food.

He has lived in Kyagwe for 23 years. His mother and aunts are dependents outside the household. He is steadily getting poorer because originally he had a shop but now he has nothing to earn his income. He pays 30,000 rent and electricity is on top of that. He can’t manage. Electricity prices are increasing but there is a campaign against deforestation. Electricity should be cheaper - it is a dilemma for the ordinary man.

Government should reduce tax and reduce school fees. They should build low cost housing for the poor and vulnerable. There is widespread poverty because service charges are steadily increasing - eg UPTC charges for telephones so no-one can afford them (there was a pole near his house but no connections) so they have no help from the police or hospitals in times of burglary or sudden illness. Graduated tax is too high for a growing nation. The maximum is 80,000. He is supposed to pay 35,000 but is failing. There is corruption in Government and no law governing this. Taxes are collected but where do they go? It looks as if there is no-one that can tame corruption.

Interview: A Ssewa and P Bevan

September 1994
Case Study: Informal sector: large firm

This man’s business makes large maize hullers (the most expensive would cost 1.5m shillings), truck bodies, children’s beds, roadblocks, KCC dustbins, gates etc. He didn’t go to school, was orphaned at a young age and learned how to work metal as an apprentice. He got where he is today through hard work and entrepreneurship, with no help from the government. He is now manufacturing things that were previously imported from Kenya by the Government and currently has a contract to make numbers for lampstands, and for a KCC bridge. He trains people of all kinds of education - even S6 leavers.

Prices have decreased since the Svalue has depreciated (6 months ago). He sells his products in many parts of Uganda but Zaireans and Rwandese also come to buy from them. The price of his output depends on design and labour and metal requirements. He has increased the prices of his outputs due to UEB (?) charges, UPTC bills and the Uganda Revenue Authority. There are changes within the business: money is scarce, tax is high, and sales have gone down since 2 years ago. Obote’s era was one of economic boom; now tax sweeps away all profits generated. Over the last few years there has been an increase in skills technologically but profits are low. Over the last few years there has been an increase in skills technologically but profits are low.

Licenses on cars have increased from 60,000sh to 90,000sh. He was paying 500,000 on license for his business premises and was accused of not keeping the book-keeping protocol of taxation and is being fined 17,000,000sh, although he is appealing to the law. There are also the costs of PAYE, licenses (KCC - 120,000) and sales tax (new) to cover. He doesn’t pay rent since he owns the land. Despite the fact that this seems to be a lucrative business the income is not enough.

The Government does not help them at the moment but they should: with orientation courses, skill-development, credit facilities, and modern machines. Also he gets no benefit from the KCC apart from winning tenders from them but he pays tax to them. He is a member of the Uganda Manufacturers’ Association: benefits include displays at shows, advertising which leads to business boost.

It is difficult to get credit from suppliers because they want cash. It is difficult to give credit to customers because they don’t pay. He doesn’t share with any others in business now but he used to share with relatives who disappointed him. Although he is eligible for a loan since he has collateral in land he would not borrow from a bank since interest is too high and the procedure is very difficult. He would have to visit the bank manager and pay him 10,000,000 personally before the loan could be agreed. Then the interest would be 45%. He can get credit for machinery or inputs from suppliers if he has won a contract and shows it to them.

He interacts with big private companies like Sembule which can distribute minor components of big contracts awarded to them - eg streetlights (numbers). Sembule imports lots of foreign technology. He would like to jump into the formal sector but feels he needs a little support at this stage. The Government is not concerned at all. He needs help in acquiring modern technology, for example, machines to do things they can’t do by hand - like bending metal and learning how to use and maintain it.

Women as a category suffer from a range of deprivations the most basic of which are social and cultural. Women suffer from asymmetry in the legal system and customary practices (under customary law and practice women are minors without adult legal status or rights) and de facto discrimination. These social and cultural deprivations are related to political, economic and personal deprivations; all five dimensions of deprivation interact with and compound each other. There are also particularly
vulnerable groups of women: the disabled (estimated to be about 10% of all women); widows (no estimates); illiterates (66% of women); female-headed households (approx 1.8million) and HIV+ women (estimated to be 10-20% of women). Women fulfil multiple roles as home managers and clothes-washers (88% of activity), cooks (86%); child bearers and rearers (62%); carers (62%); food producers; water collectors (70%); and firewood collectors (73%) (Growing Out of Poverty, 1992).

More than half the population (8.6m) are women and they are responsible for more than 75% of agricultural production. They are disproportionately found in the other poor and vulnerable categories. Two thirds of women are illiterate. They work an estimated average of 15 hours a day and are subject to social and physical violence and nutritional vulnerability due to food taboos and food insecurity (ActionAid Uganda, p16). The most vulnerable are female heads of households, widows and single mothers. Female headed households are often stigmatized because men resent their economic independence and the prevailing culture requires women to be married and subordinate. Women have been given little chance to control the major factors of production except for their labour and even that is not fully in their control. Bridewealth payment is still upheld by most cultures subjecting girls to early marriage and lack of access to higher education. It is defended by some cultures as a useful institution that promotes family cohesion, but it has tended to give women the status of a commodity.

**Personal and physical deprivations:** Women suffer a range of what might be described as personal deprivations. Multiple child-bearing and heavy labour leads to backache and other disabilities. Lack of investment in their human capital means they are more likely to be illiterate and uneducated than men. (Education for women is well-known to have beneficial effects in postponing marriage and the first child, and on children's welfare). They are also brought up to believe they are inferior to men which leads to lack of confidence. This makes it more likely that they will do badly at school, and makes them afraid to approach credit institutions for assistance because they lack technical knowledge and fear the repayment process (ActionAid Uganda, 1994, p8).

**Economic deprivation:** Under most customary succession and inheritance laws land properties are mainly acquired by men through inheritance. Without land women do not have collateral for credit restricting new income activities. Of the 97% of women who have access to land only 7% actually own it (ibid, p7). A survey conducted in Masaka district found that about 90% of the men own land, while 92% of the women own no land (Lubega, 1993). Landed properties are mainly acquired through inheritance from parents (usually fathers) and women do not usually fall into this bracket. If a daughter remarries the land may get into the hands of someone foreign to the clan so Ganda and Nyoro inheritance of land is strictly for boys. Sons get a greater share of the more valuable properties like land, coffee plantations, cows, roofed houses. Children of "illegal" wives often don't inherit anything. In Kigezi husbands distribute land to their wives and children which causes smaller holdings and land fragmentation.

Although the national law establishes that widows should inherit 15% of the property of a dead husband in practice customary law usually prevails and widows often inherit nothing; rather they are inherited by the husband's male relatives. Men will fight to inherit a widow whose husband has left property while women may be abandoned with her children if the man dies poor.

The written law is not much better. If the husband dies intestate the widow is only entitled to 15% of deceased's estate: 75% goes to the heir and children, 9% to relatives and 1% to the customary heir (Uganda Succession Amendment Decree 1972). Section 2 of the Succession Amendment Decree is clearly discriminatory. When someone dies without a will the following conditions apply:

(a) between kindred of the same degree, a lineal descendant shall be preferred to a lineal ancestor and a lineal ancestor shall be preferred to a collateral relative and a paternal ancestor shall be preferred to a maternal ancestor.

(b) where there is equality under the foregoing paragraph, a male shall be preferred to a female.

Men predominantly make the decisions about food crops to be grown, including the amount