

MAKERERE
INSTITUTE OF
SOCIAL RESEARCH

(831)

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

RURAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT
Faculty of Agriculture

R.D.R. 38

HALF AN AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN UGANDA

By

David Hougham

INSTITUTE
OF
DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES
LIBRARY

Half an Agricultural Revolution in Buganda

by

David Hougham

SUMMARY

The author regrets that he has been unable to fiddle his statistics in time to issue the full paper in advance of the seminar. However he feels that it may be useful to give a brief summary of the main points with which his paper will be concerned, and the items likely to attract discussion.

During 1966 the author interviewed three groups of farmers in three gombololas in the main coffee-banana zone of Buganda. The three groups were:

- (a) All farms with cultivated acreages in excess of 20 acres.
- (b) All farms with fenced pasture, for either local or exotic cattle.
- (c) A selection of farms with between 10 and 20 cultivated acres.

The author emphasises that he was concerned with large farmers, not with large land-owners.

The author will discuss correlations between dates of occupation farm size, untenanted area of farm land, cultivated and pasture areas, non-farm income and the possession of land other than the sample farm by the farmers interviewed.

Five main "types" of larger farm will be delineated.

1. The farm with 10-25 acres under crops or fenced pasture, and a least one other major cash enterprise than coffee. The majority of these farmers have begun small fenced pasture enterprises with the help of loans, and with, on their own part, little, if any, income from non-farming occupations. Often additional small plots of land havently recently been purchased or rented in order to develop the cattle enterprise.
2. The farms with 10-25 acres under crops, with coffee as the only important cash crop. Non-farming income is again small, the farms have been occupied by the present owners for longer than those in 1. There often appears to be a lack of land, capital, loans or initiative for the development of new enterprises.
3. Medium size farms with 30-50 acres under cultivation or fenced pasture, and again an important cash enterprise other than coffee. Non-farm income is higher than in 1, and investment on the farm considerable. This group often owns untenanted holdings other than the sample (usually main) farm. Much of this additional land has not been developed.

4. The medium size as in 3., but with only coffee as the main enterprise.
5. The very large cattle farms. These farmers have received very large non-farm income, and seem to be remarkable for having purchased square miles rather than acres of land, most of which is unused. Further their actual farms indicate a misuse of their capital.

The author feels that farms of the first and third type are particularly important as regards development of agriculture in the coffee-banana zone. If these farms are to be expanded, land must become available, as well as capital. Although farm consolidation and the rationalisation of the tenancies might be one form, the author believes a less socially abrupt solution may lie in using the apparently large acreages owned by large landowners, and yet neither developed nor occupied by tenants. On all the sample farms studied by the author, 57% of the untenanted acreage was under crops or fenced pasture. However, if all their owned land was included (i.e. land other than the sample farm), this figure falls to 14%. More strikingly, only 5% of the untenanted land additional to the main farm is under crops or fenced pasture. If the author's sample is extended to the whole of the main coffee-banana zone of Buganda, he estimates that 150 square miles of untenanted Mailo land is not under agriculture use. If half this land is agriculturally useable, it would provide 1,600 farms of 30 acres. There must be more such blocks of unused, untenanted land owned by persons who, unlike the author's sample, have not themselves also large farms.

The author will argue that the establishment of farms of around 30 acres agricultural use is beneficial. He also believes that this process will be very slow unless present Buganda land tenure is changed. He will therefore suggest the following reforms.

- A. That the Government takes over compulsorily all land holdings which are in excess of 50 acres, of agricultural potential, and at neither at present under farming use, nor tenanted. The present owners would be given three years notice in order that they may, if they wish, develop the land themselves.
- B. That selected presently busulu tenants of approved agricultural ability be offered 30 acre leasehold plots on the land made available Under A
- C. That if any farmer wishes to develop an enterprise which involves the requesting of a tenant to change the location of his holding, and if that tenant refuses to move, the farmer may request local authorities to order that tenant to move. The removal of the tenant would occur only upon agricultural approval of the farmer's development plans. Compensation costs would be born by the farmer and by the Government.
- D. That any person with a busulu tenancy of 20 acres or more, and wishing to develop any major cash enterprise other than coffee, may request a Government order by which he may purchase his tenancy, thereby giving him sufficient

thereby giving him sufficient security of tenure for the development of the new enterprise.

- E. That any person purchasing 20 acres or more untenanted land must develop that land within 3 years.
- F. That the system of busulu rents be abandoned, and a rent system based upon acreage be introduced, rents being fixed by the Government, probably with local or district differences. Not only would this bring income to farmers wishing to develop owned land, but also perhaps, with the earlier proposals, encourage some development of land outside the coffee-banana zone.

Although some of the above proposals slightly overlap, the main objectives - namely the discouraging of excessive land ownership and the development of larger farms in the 20-30 acreage range, could be achieved. The author realises, however, the enormity of the social and political obstacles, and will discuss them. His plans may be described as only half an agricultural revolution in Buganda, but he does not believe the Uganda economy is sufficiently developed to absorb the large numbers of landless that would result from any more drastic reforms which were valid in agricultural economic terms.

February 7th, 1967

THE LARGE FARMER IN UGANDA: HISTORICAL RELIC OR ENTREPRENEUR
(including plans for halting an agricultural revolution in Uganda).

by David Hougham.

Introduction

The author has for the last year been interviewing larger African commercial farmers in certain areas of the main coffee-banana zone. The project was initiated by the African Studies Centre of the University of Cambridge, financed by the Ministry of Overseas Development, and locally supervised by the Faculty of Agriculture and the Department of Sociology of Makerere University College.

This paper is not a written report upon the project. Rather in initial treatment of material so far obtained, the author feels that certain conclusions can be arrived at, and that from these he wishes to put before his audience a series of suggestions in regard to the future planning of agriculture in Uganda. These ideas are his own, and not those of his sponsors.

Methodology

A full discussion of the methods of research used may be found in an earlier paper (RDR 21). Suffice here to say that in selected gombololas three groups of farmers were interviewed.

1. All farmers with a farm whose cultivated acreage was 20 acres or more.
2. All farmers with fenced pasture, whether enclosing exotic or local cattle.
3. A random sample of farmers with 10-20 cultivated acres.

Single interviews were generally undertaken, except in exceptional cases. The author had the assistance of a Uganda interpreter. The subjects covered were:-

- a. General description of the farm.
- b. Data concerning possession of the sample farm.
- c. Data concerning possession of other land.
- d. The farmer's receipt of income from other sources than farming.
- e. A rough G.S. estimate for the main cash enterprises.
- f. A description of the development of such enterprises.
- g. The extent of extension services advice.

Warning

"A question was included asking 'What size does the holder consider the holding to be?' ... and when a positive answer was given it was nearly always inaccurate."
Report on Uganda Census of Agriculture Vol. 1, 1965:15.

Unhappily the author of this paper could not, within the defined methods of field-work, measure holdings. This fact must underlie all data in this paper, making such data, and conclusions, suggestive of possible trends rather than a precise analysis of such trends.

Terminology

Appendix A includes an explanation of certain partially self-invented terms.

Gombololas

Below is a short background upon the three gombololas with which this paper is concerned.

a. Mutuba I, Kyagwe

To the east of Kampala, this gombolola lies astride the main murrum road from Mukono (on the Kampala-Jinja road) to Kibanga Port and Kokonjeru. It is crossed in the north by the Kampala-Jinja railway. Settlement is densest in the northern areas, whilst the larger farms are found largely in the centre and south. Although most of the gombolola is of typical coffee zone relief and soils in the south, adjacent to Lake Victoria, ridges rather than hills are apparent and more extensive rocky outcrops occur. Economically, the gombolola is in the "sugar" zone of southern Kyagwe, with a few small estates and factories, as well as being near Lugazi.

b. Sabagabo, Mawokota

This gombolola is to the west of Kampala, lying between the Kampala-Masaka and the Kampala-Mityana roads, and crossed in the north by the railway to the Western Region. Considerable areas of swamp are found around the boundaries of the gombolola, whilst parts of the centre are very hilly and only marginally accessible to vehicles. Although there is a sugar factory, it does not process anything other than cane from its own estate. The larger farms are not concentrated in a few areas as are those of Mutuba I, Kyagwe.

c. Mutuba IV, Bulemezi

Immediately to the west of Fombo, this gombolola had only two farms with a cultivated acreage of over 20 acres. It is also less closely connected socially with Kampala, as will be evidenced in the non-farming occupations of the interviewees. The better murrum roads form a triangle around the extremities of the gombolola, but the whole area is less markedly hillier than either of the other two gombololas, and inter-village tracks are easily accessible to vehicles. There are no estates in the gombolola.

During the paper, these three gombololas will be called by the ssazas of which they are part, i.e. Kyagwe, Mawokota and Bulemezi. The author is a lazy writer, and anyway such a nomenclature is easier in the tables.

The sample farms

In Table I the sample farms are broken down into total sample farm acreages by gombololas.

Total acreage ranges - Sample farms										
	0-9	10-19	20-39	40-59	60-99	100-199	200-499	500-999	1000 plus	Total
Kyagwe	0	2	6	3	1	2	0	0	0	14
Mawokota	2	3	8	2	1	1	3	0	1	21
Bulemezi	0	4	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	12
Totals	2	9	20	6	3	3	3	0	1	47

TABLE I Number of farms within defined acreage ranges

It will be noted that Bulemezi is remarkable compared to the other two for its lack of farms with large commercial farming.

In Table 2 the total sample farm acreages have been broken down by farm enterprise types. The figure for coffee farms is distorted by the inclusion of farms with under 20 acres of cultivation. However, for the other three groups the list includes all such farms in the three gombololas, and there would appear to be an obvious increase in total sample farm acreages as one progresses from local cattle to sugar to exotic cattle, a fact reflected not only in the easily distorted average acreages, but also in the distribution of acreage ranges. It would appear that, in regard to cattle farming, fenced pasture is used almost certainly for exotic rather than local cattle wherever owned acreages are in the higher ranges.

Acreage ranges - sample farms										
	0-9	10-19	20-39	40-59	60-99	100-199	200-499	500-999	1000 plus	Total*
Coffee only	2	4	9	3	1	0	1	0	0	20
Fenced pasture	0	5	9	2	2	1	3	0	1	23
Sugar	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	5

* Grand total is greater than in Table I since some farms qualify under two definitions.

TABLE 2

Other land owned

So far description has been limited to the sample farms. However, the extent to which a farmer owns land other than the farm sampled is also of importance. Of the farmers interviewed by the author, exactly two thirds owned such additional land. The figures are broken down in Table 3.

	Kyagwe	Mawokota	Bulemezi	Totals
Number of farmers with other land	11	11	9	31
Above as % of sample farms	79	52	75	66
Number with 1 other holding	7	8	9	24
2	2	8	0	3
3	1	0	0	1
4	1	1	0	2
5	0	1	0	1
Total acreage of other holdings as % of sample farm acreage	210	123	73	134
Number of sites in Kampala owned by sample farmers	16	10	0	26

TABLE 3 Occurrence of ownership of more than one farm

In Kyagwe and Mawokota the acreage of these other holdings surpassed that of the sample farms, but in economically less advanced Bulemezi, the other holdings acreage was only 73% of the sample farm acreage, although the number of farms with other holdings was the same as Kyagwe. No farmer in Bulemezi, however, had more than one other holding.

The ownership of sites in Kampala was separated since they are not usually potentially agricultural.

A farmer, as is shown in Table 4, will, the larger his main farm, tend to own proportionately more other land. At some point when his main farm is around 40 acres in total acreage, he will have other land about equal in acreage to his main farm. A larger farmer is likely to have a main farm whose total area will be less than half of the total land owned by that farmer.

If the rich get relatively richer in Uganda, despite the breakdown of a relationship between large estates and official positions in the Uganda government, one might suggest that the large landowners become, even today, proportionately larger land owners over the years.

Acreage ranges	% of farmers with other land in excess of sample land	Other land as a % of sample land
8 - 19	9.0	24.7
20 - 29	15.0	47.1
30 - 49	36.0	113.8
50 - 99	50.0	373.0
100 - 499	50.0	157.0
500+	100.0	175.0

TABLE 4

Tenanted land as area of land possessed

Table 5 records the percentage of farms with tenants, and the percentage land areas covered by tenanted land, for both the sample farms and for all the land. With minor qualifications the results are as would be expected - as acreages increase, the number of farms with tenants increases, as does also the relative area occupied by those tenants. Evidently there is not a large increase in tenanted occupation of the other land, - in fact, totally 16% of the total sample farm area of the 46 sample farms is under tenants, whilst of the other land, 35% is under tenants.

Nor is there a marked tendency for inherited farms to be more heavily tenanted - they appear, in this sample, to have less of their land area under tenants than those farms purchased.

Two implications should, perhaps, be noted. Firstly, where, on other land tenants occupy part of an otherwise unopened area, they probably occupy the most favourable agricultural sections. Secondly, the above tenancy percentages are somewhat distorted since at least two of the very large landowners have, on their main farms, removed tenants with, of course, payment of compensation. Both farmers have not, however, succeeded in getting as many tenants to accept their terms as they would wish.

Data of land possessions

A "possession" does not mean the purchase, renting or inheritance of a complete farm but rather of any unit of land possessed at the same moment in time. Thus, amongst the sample farms, 46 farms were obtained by 70 possessions, indicating that a farm may often be formed by the purchase of land over a period of time. Sometimes this may result in a fragmented farm in which the holdings (or blocks) are considered by the farmer to be one farm, yet are not necessarily contiguous. In fact, 13 (28.5%) of the sample farms studied were of this type, 6 of them comprising new blocks recently purchased for the development of fenced pasture.

If large farms can only be established on land which has not suffered from fragmentation, it would be expected that the larger farms would have been obtained earlier, probably by inheritance rather than purchase. However, there is very little evidence of this. Graph I, indicating possessions amongst sample farms, does seem to suggest that the smaller possessions are more likely to have been purchased than inherited. Whilst 37% of the sample possessions of 10 acres or more

were inherited, only 17% of the smaller acreage sample possessions were inherited. Graph 2 - the possession by year and acreage of other land - also lacks any very definite trend, although the apparent decrease in the size of inherited land over the years may indicate a slow breaking up of some of the largest "family" estates.

Further there is no indication that there is a drastic shortage of very large lands for purchase at present compared with the past. Although all the sample farm possessions in excess of 100 acres were obtained before 1950, over 45% of the other land possessions over 100 acres have been obtained since that year.

In Table 6 are listed the % of possessions made during certain periods, and the average acreage. The less consistent other land possession average acreages may be caused by possessions of large, mainly tenanted land, whilst the average acreages for sample farms - as stated, usually main farms - has decreased with an increase in price for unopened, potentially cultivable land. However, the ranges, as indicated by the Graphs, are so large as to make averages of doubtful relevance.

There is also some evidence that land upon which some major cash enterprises other than coffee have been established tends to have been possessed more recently. 40% of those sample farm possessions with coffee only have been obtained since 1940, whilst 67% of the sugar areas and 56% of the fenced cattle areas have been obtained since then. 33% of the sugar areas and 26% of the pasture areas were obtained after 1950, compared to 9% of the coffee possessions. One might suggest that this implies that many farmers, perhaps through unwillingness to cut down their coffee, cannot begin new enterprises without firstly obtaining extra land.

	SAMPLE FARMS		OTHER LAND	
	% of possessions	Average Acreage	% of possessions	Average acreage
1960+	18.5	15.9	18.0	152.1
1955 - 59	17.1	19.0	14.0	49.9
1950 - 54	14.3	24.5	14.0	42.6
1945 - 49	18.6	68.3	24.0	91.8
1940 - 44	15.7	198.9	10.0	536.0
1930 - 39	12.9	32.3	10.0	127.4
pre 1930	2.9	322.0	10.0	314.0

TABLE 6

NON-FARMING OCCUPATIONS AND LAND OWNED

Large scale farming requires capital, and larger farms require more capital. This obvious truth is readily seen in regard to those farmers interviewed by the author. Totally, as seen in Table 7, 78% of the holders had income from non-farming sources (none admitted to unearned income), with the higher percentages in Kyagwe and Mawokota,

where the greater number of large farms were found. In contrast, the Uganda Census of Agriculture has a figure for Buganda of only 14.6% of the holders having occupations other than agriculture. Even amongst their largest defined holding (24.8+ acres) only 15.2% of the holders are stated to have other occupations than agriculture.

	Kyaꝛwe	Mawokota	Bulemezi	Totals
Number of farmers with non-farm income	11	20	7	38
Above as percentage of all sampled farmers ²¹	79	89	58	78
Total weighted units of income	6216	11028	1882	19126
Average weighted units of income	565	552	269	500
Number of farmers with				
1 - 99 units	0	4	3	7
100 - 249 units	1	8	2	11
250 - 499 units	5	1	0	6
500 - 999 units	4	4	2	10
1000 -1999 units	1	2	0	3
above 2000	0		0	1

TABLE 7 Distribution of non-farm incomes

The actual non-farming occupations of the 38 farmers so alternatively employed is listed in Table 8. The total number (76) of occupations is much higher than the number of farmers since past occupations have been included. From very sparse government data, and from rates of pay given to the interviewer by farmers, the author has attempted, riskily perhaps, to construct a weighted value to each occupation. The weighted income of each farmer would then be the sum total of the weighted value of each occupation held, past or present, multiplied by the number of years during which it was held.

Excluding Government agricultural officials, half of the farmers with non-farming occupations had jobs ancillary to agriculture, trading being the most obvious. Mr. A. Mafeje, a fellow research officer on the same project, has suggested, from his sociological work, that large farmers are remarkable for the lack of education - and cannot, therefore, use their initiative in administrative posts, but are forced to remain within farming. The present author accepts that this is largely true, although some of the occupations listed obviously require at least secondary education. What is apparent is that amongst the larger farmers interviewed who did not have occupations requiring such education, there was a pattern of trading, land investment, further trading, investment in farm development and perhaps even including the purchase or construction of a private agricultural processing factory.

Whilst it is possible that most of their children, receiving a better education than their fathers, will leave such large scale farming, it must be expected that one son at least will take over the complexes of farm and businesses.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of farmers</u>	<u>Weighted value</u>
Kampala muluku chief	1	240
District Vet. Officer	1	90
Asst. Estates Officer	1	90
Owner L. Katwe Fish Company	1	70
Coffee factory owner	2	70
Engineer - qualified	1	70
Industrial factory owner	1	70
Coffee factory manager	2	60
Ginnery manager	1	60
Asst. Manager Coffee Co.	1	60
Chief Engineering Asst.	1	60
Industrial factory manager	1	48
Chief clerk and supervisor	1	48
Tenant manager Kampala petrol station	1	48
Deputy ssaza chief	1	48
Fish trader	1	48
Veterinary Officer	1	40
Cattle trader	4	36
Unqualified "doctor"	1	36
Coffee trader	16	5-30
Agricultural officer - co-op.	1	30
Ginnery buyer	1	30
Police force - sergeant	1	30
Veterinary assistant	1	30
Primary school teacher	3	26
Local garage mechanic	1	24
Vice-President Co-op.	1	18
Taxi driver	4	18
Duka owner	4	12
Butcher	2	12
Medical Assistant	2	12
Clerk	1	12
Station master	1	12
Gombolola cashier	1	12
Printing Assistant	1	12
Army	1	12
Carpenter	1	12
Local odd jobs	2	6
Tenant manager local petrol station	1	6
Store keeper	1	6
Muluku chief	4	6
Shamba boy	1	2
	76	

TABLE 8 Non-farming occupations past and present.

N.B. To gain an idea of total income from these sources to any one farmer, the weighted value of each occupation is multiplied by the number of years during which he was so occupied.

There appears to be more correlation between untenanted sample acreage and income (Graph 3) than between total land owned and income (Graph 4). It is obvious, however, that most of the farmers with sample farms with 30 or less untenanted acres are less able to call upon large non-farm incomes for development of their land. For reasons which will be discussed later, the greater differences when income is related to total land owned may reflect a series of conflicting capital investment decisions.

It has not been possible to find out to what extent capital from non-farm sources is invested back into that source, into other businesses, into farm development or into the purchase of further land. This information would be of use in that it might indicate the likely impact upon farming of Government aid in setting up Africans in business. Since non-Africans are virtually forbidden to farm in Buganda as individuals, and yet operate a considerable section of the secondary agricultural economy, any development of greater African participation in marketing, etc., should result in greater investment of capital on the farms.

However, with increased numbers of Africans with non-farm incomes, there is a danger that they will invest such income in the purchase of land, without developing it, or, as is more apparent from the present research, developing only a small section of the total land owned.

Land-use in respect to untenanted land

"Untenanted" land is that land owned by the sample farmer and not occupied by tenants. In this section the author will discuss correlations between this untenanted land and its agricultural use for either crops or fenced pasture. The author would have preferred to discuss correlations between agricultural use and land of agricultural potential, since "untenanted land" must include much land which could never be put to agricultural use. However, he was not able to measure the farms.

8,016 acres of sample and other land is untenanted - 3300 acres of sample land and 4716 acres of other land. In Table 9 the percentages of this untenanted land under crops or fenced pasture is presented.

	% untenanted land under crops or fenced pasture		
	Sample farms	Other land	All land
Kyagwe	54.0	5.8	27.0
Mawokota	25.0	1.8	10.0
Rulemezi	95.0	12.5	50.0
Totals	37.0	2.9	15.0

TABLE 9

In those gombololas with a greater number of larger farms, the amount of untenanted land under crops or fenced pasture obviously declines, since very large landholders are less likely to have restricted their land possessions to such a high percentage of potentially agricultural land as would the smaller farmers.

Perhaps of greatest import from this table is the figure of 2.9% for other land. It has already been noted that the actual other land acreage exceeds the sample farm acreage, yet only about 3% of this other land is under crops or fenced pasture. The important implications of this fact will be discussed more fully later in the paper. Suffice now only to remark upon the distribution of this large amount of unopened land. Nearly 80% of the total untenanted, unopened land is owned by three farmers in Mkwokota. Another 10% is owned by the three largest farmer-landowners in the sample in Kyagwe.

Graphs 5 and 6 reinforce this impression. Within the acreage range of 10-50 acres untenanted sample land, the vast majority of the farms have over 70% of their land under agricultural use as earlier defined. After this group, the percentage of untenanted sample land under crops or fenced pasture declines dramatically with increase in acreage. When all untenanted land is considered, there is, as would be expected from the above Table, a shift throughout the Graph towards less percentage agricultural use, the higher acreages - lower agricultural use percentages being more marked than in the Graph for the untenanted sample land alone.

Only 70% of all the untenanted other land is in the main coffee-banana zone of Buranda, the other 30% being distributed between northern Fugerere, Buruli, and the lost counties. The lack of development of this untenanted land can be more easily excused than can the holding of large areas of untenanted, unopened land in the main coffee-banana zone.

FARM TYPES

The previous discussion has tended to concentrate upon features amongst large farmers regardless of the type of farming practised. It is now the author's intention to attempt to disentangle from this some of the characteristics of different types of farms, the types been placed in categories according to main cash enterprises and the size of those enterprises. The six groups defined are:-

1. The medium coffee farm. This comprises those farms with a cultivated acreage between 8 and 19 acres, with no other major enterprise but coffee.
2. The large coffee farm. As above, but with cultivated acreages in excess of 19 acres.
3. The sugar farm. Self-explanatory
4. The local cattle farm. This category includes all farms with only, or very predominantly, local cattle grazed in fenced pasture.
5. The small exotic cattle farm. These farms possess exotic cattle, with a total fenced pasture and cultivated acreage below 25 acres.
6. The large exotic cattle farm, on which the combined fenced pasture and cultivated acreage is in excess of 40 acres. (there is no sampled cattle farm with between 25 and 39 acres under cultivation or fenced pasture).

Occasionally during this section of the paper, gross margins per acre will be mentioned. The gross margins were obtained by interview, and only 10% of the farmers had any genuinely helpful financial documents. Further, as warned at the beginning of the paper, acreages were taken at the farmer's estimate. Coffee G.M.s were accounted on a receipts against variable costs for the last 12 months. Cattle G.M.s combined primary and secondary receipts against variable costs, whilst sugar, which is a crop with around 5 years of productive capacity, was accounted for on a discount basis.

The medium coffee farmer

12 such farms were studied, with an average sample farm total acreage of 17 acres, and an average untenanted sample farm acreage of 16 acres. Coffee acreages ranged from 4 to 16 acres.

Land use in relation to untenanted land was, as would be expected, high, being surpassed for both sample farms and all land only by the small exotic cattle farms. With all untenanted land as 142% of the sample untenanted acreage, both sugar and local cattle farms had lower relative possessions of other land. Non-farm incomes were less again only on the small exotic cattle farms. Coffee G.M.s per acre of coffee picked were, for what a dubious figure is worth, higher than the G.M. per acre for the large coffee farms, but were surpassed, on average, by all the other farm types. If this were true, it would imply that where non-coffee major enterprises are opened up, even the coffee income is likely to become more favourable, although in several cases this may be the result of the poorer trees removed for the new enterprise, leaving only those with higher yields.

The large coffee farm

There were 10 farms in this group, with total sample acreage ranging between 28 and 340 acres, on untenanted sample range of 28-295 acres. Coffee acreage were between 12 and 40 acres.

Since it is the better of these farms which, one would expect to be utilized first for new enterprises, it may not be surprising that the author has a general impression, backed to some extent by the data obtained, that those remaining belong predominantly to farmers without the capital or initiative to develop them advantageously. With an average untenanted sample acreage of 76.3 acres (and an average sample farm total acreage of 95.3 acres), they are larger than the average local or small exotic cattle farm, and about equal to the sugar farms. With 61% of the untenanted sample acreage, and 46.5% of

the total untenanted acreage under crops, they cannot be said to have notably failed, areally, to develop their land. Yet on average income they are surpassed by only sugar and large exotic cattle farms. The ratio of other land to sample land (both untenanted acreages) is only slightly higher than the small coffee farms,

Sugar farms

5 such farms have an average total sample acreage of 82 acres (range 30-200), and an untenanted sample farm average of 74 acres (30-160). All the farmers were in receipt of non-farm income, and two had also begun fenced pasture enterprises, whilst another was definitely about to develop a cattle farm in Bugerere. The range of weighted incomes was between 477 and 912, whilst the average was surpassed only by the large exotic cattle farmers. Whilst these farms are not remarkable for the amount of untenanted land under crops or fenced pasture, they are noticeable for the speed at which they are developing enterprises. Anybody who has accompanied the author to these farms, all in Kyagwe, will have observed large areas recently opened, which were not opened at the time of the main interview. Two of the five only still pick any coffee, those both these two are getting high gross margins per acre for their coffee. Associated with the five sugar farms are other cash enterprises - exotic cattle, local cattle, tea, cocoa, mbidde, groundnuts. Little can be suggested concerning likely sugar profits, since generally only the first crop has been cut. On general figures a gross margin of around 500/- per acre per 12 months would not be exceptional, a figure about the same as that found for the small exotic cattle enterprises, although a very few cattle farmers were within this G.M. per acre of land under the crop.

There is amongst the sugar farms relatively less ownership of other land than amongst other farm groups, indicating possibly a more concentrated investment upon the main farm.

Local cattle farms

In many ways the local cattle farms may perhaps best be compared to the small coffee farms. With slightly more income, though only about 60% of the large coffee farms, and more land (an average, over 12 farms, of 29 untenanted sample acres), per acreage performances would appear fairly similar, though the overall farm profit would of course, be higher. The local cattle farm has for some time been almost obligatory for the poorer farmer wanting to begin an exotic cattle enterprise, and thus the local cattle farmer with fenced pasture is avoiding the problems that appear to exist when acreage is expended without new enterprises being developed, whilst also awaiting the riches of the exotic cattle. The average G.M.s per acre for coffee are about the same for both the small coffee farmer and the local cattle farmer (who averagely have about the same coffee acreage), and the average G.M. per fenced acre for the local cattle enterprises was the same almost as the above gross margins. In most other respects the attributes of the two farm types were similar.

Small exotic cattle farms

7 of these were studied, and the general impression was that the performance of the cattle enterprise was about similar, though smaller on scale, as that of the sugar growing enterprises. However, with this smaller acreage (averagely 24 untenanted sample farm acres), with the lowest number of farmers receiving non-farm income in any of the groups (50%), with those receiving such income averagely receiving less than any other group, and with only relatively slightly more other land than the sugar farmers (though less in actual quantity) the author cannot see those small exotic cattle farms expanding rapidly without very good profits or government aid. Like the sugar farmers, several of this group have ceased picking their coffee (67%) whilst those who have continued are getting good apparent profits, these still not being greatly different to the 500/- per acre gained from the cattle on the fenced pasture. Counting calves as 0.5, these farms have about the same head of cattle (8.0) as the local cattle fenced pasture farms, although average acreages of fenced pasture are twice as much.

Large exotic cattle farms

In the words of one commentator - "I don't see how they can miss". The author will readily concede the problems he confronted in gaining even approximate income and expenditure data, but he wonders what to do with G.M. per fenced pasture acre of 9, 0, 13 and 520 shillings. Given the amount of original capital investment (imported cattle, fencing, water pumps, underground water piping to paddocks, dairy buildings, etc.), and even allowing for the subsidies which these attract, there seems likely to be a long, elapse of time before the farmer feels the return upon his investment - that's excepting the Veterinary Officer! Between them the four farmers in this very rare group owned 2,493 acres of untenanted sample farm land, a further 2,516 acres of untenanted otherland received very high incomes. Averagely, again counting calves as 0.5 head, these large farms grazed 138 head on 242 fenced acres, although this varied from 11 head on 40 acres to 83 head on 80 acres. The author would suggest that for most of these farmers, who have begun such large enterprises suddenly, using large trading and business profits, losses are made through inexperience which would not occur amongst the small, more money conscious small exotic farmers. On these large farms, fenced grazing often means little more than the surrounding with fences or uncleared coffee trees, calving mortality is high, thefts of cattle more frequent, and protection from non-fenced cattle less strict. Yet every one of these has an "experimental" few acres of sown pasture.

Discussion

The author has indicated already the great reservations that must be attached to his statistics. However, he does believe that some of his findings indicate possible facts and trends which pose considerable problems for farming in the coffee areas of Buganda.

In his summary of farm types, the author stressed the importance in terms of returns to inputs, of the small fenced cattle and sugar farms, these farms lying mainly in the 20 - 35 acre cultivated and/or fenced pasture range. It is probable that recent tea and cocoa farms will also give better returns than the pure coffee farms. Yet it is unlikely that any of these more recent enterprises will become very popular amongst those farmers with very small holdings. If the production of these crops is to be expanded, it is most likely that, as has occurred with sugar, it will be those farms with 20 acres or more available cultivable land who will undertake their cultivation. Any changes in agricultural policy in Buganda, or even the implementation of present plans, must, therefore, consider to what extent land is available within this acreage range, and how to encourage the use of such land for expanding new alternative cash enterprises to coffee.

The author has also emphasised the fact that a few large farmers are owning much unopened, untenanted land. Considering only blocks of such land in excess of 30 acres, the sample farmers in this study own a total of 6,288 untenanted acres, 70% of which are in the 44 gom-bololas of the main coffee-banana zone. Considering for a moment only the untenanted land in this zone, it must be assumed that part of this is not potentially agricultural. However, since it is all mailo land, and since the mailo land was initially selected by the chiefs as the agriculturally preferable land, it is doubtful if all the untenanted land is useless. Assuming for the moment that only 50% of it can be used agriculturally, this means that the sample farmers have failed to develop nearly 4,000 acres of untenanted usable land. If this figure is related to the entire coffee-banana zone, it would seem that large farmers are responsible for over 50,000 acres of such land, sufficient for the setting up of over 900 30 acre farms, given that those farms will be over 90% in cultivation or fenced pasture. Yet the author is here only considering those persons who not only own such unused land, but also have a large farm of their own. There must be many landowners who also own large blocks of unopened, untenanted land, but who are not themselves large farmers.

There is also evidence that those farmers with very large acreages are also capable of developing any farms that are set up to their best. The result is the tying up of capital in relatively unproductive enterprises or unused land.

The author believes, therefore, that agricultural policy in Buganda should, especially in the coffee zone, have five main objectives.

1. To increase the number of non-coffee farms in the 20 - 40 acre cultivated/pasture range.
2. To encourage consolidation of holdings within the above acreage range.
3. To provide capital for the farmers who both possess such acreages, and wish to diversify their enterprises.
4. To prevent the use of capital for accumulating large blocks of untenanted land.
5. To encourage movement out of the main coffee zone into the surrounding areas of Buganda.

The author proposes that the Government be given certain powers.

A. That it be empowered to take over compulsorily all land holdings which are in excess of 30 acres, and which are both potentially of agricultural use, and unoccupied by tenants. A three year notice would have to be given to the owner, during which time he might, if he wished, develop the land himself, but would not be permitted to let it to tenants.

B. That any person buying a block of 20 acres or more untenanted land must develop the land within 3 years.

The object of A and B is to prevent the accumulation of unopened agricultural land by those with capital and to provide such land for government allocated leaseholdings.

C. That it settle busulu tenants of approved farming ability on this land, each person receiving a leasehold plot of between 20 and 30 acres. The actual acreage would depend upon the proposed enterprises. In some of the largest areas a group of farmers might all be devoted to the same main cash enterprise.

D. That any person with a busulu tenancy of 20 acres or more, and wishing to develop an approved enterprise other than coffee, may request a government order by which he may purchase his land at a fixed price.

There are very few busulu tenants with such land (these mainly in Buddu). However, this provision would enable those that have the land to develop to feel greater security of tenure.

E. That any farmer wishing to develop an approved enterprise which involves the removal of certain tenant holdings, may, if that tenant refuses to move, obtain an order against that tenant. The compensation would be paid by the farmer, although for certain approved enterprises a government loan might be made available.

The problem of tenant holdings preventing the development of a block of fenced pasture or "plantation" has been met by the author amongst his sample, and present busulu law makes it extremely difficult for a landlord to legally remove a tenant.

F. That the system of busulu rents be abandoned, and a government fixed rent per acre be introduced.

Not only would this provide extra income for landlords, which it is hoped would partly be directed to the development of their own farms, but might also be of use in attracting farmers to the non-coffee areas of Uganda, since the acreage rents could be varied in different areas.

The author has called this plan "half a revolution" because it has rejected the breaking up of all large farms and blocks of land, and the nationalisation of the land - rather more, he feels, revolutionary solutions to certain problems. He does not believe that "land for all" is a suitable development policy in a fairly rich area attempting to escape from a monoculture. On the other, capitalist perhaps, side there has been some agitation to make land rents the subject of "natural" economic forces. The net result would probably be an exodus from the land by small, poor tenants, and there is not the non-agricultural development to absorb such landless.

The proposed policy is, therefore, in a sense, gradualist, and it is hoped, reasonably flexible in that it gives the government control of the speed at which the changes are initiated (and the author does not mean giving the government the power of inertia). Yet even within a gradualist plan certain interests will object.

Since large landholdings are seemingly purchased mainly by those in commercial, political or administrative positions of power, there is the problem of asking the controlling group to enact legislation which they might feel is against their own interests. Likewise, at the other extreme, the Baganda tenants are unlikely to become less KY minded by a central government which increases rents. However, the planner's job should not be deflected by lobbies, although obviously he should not forward suggestions beyond the political social possibilities of achievement.

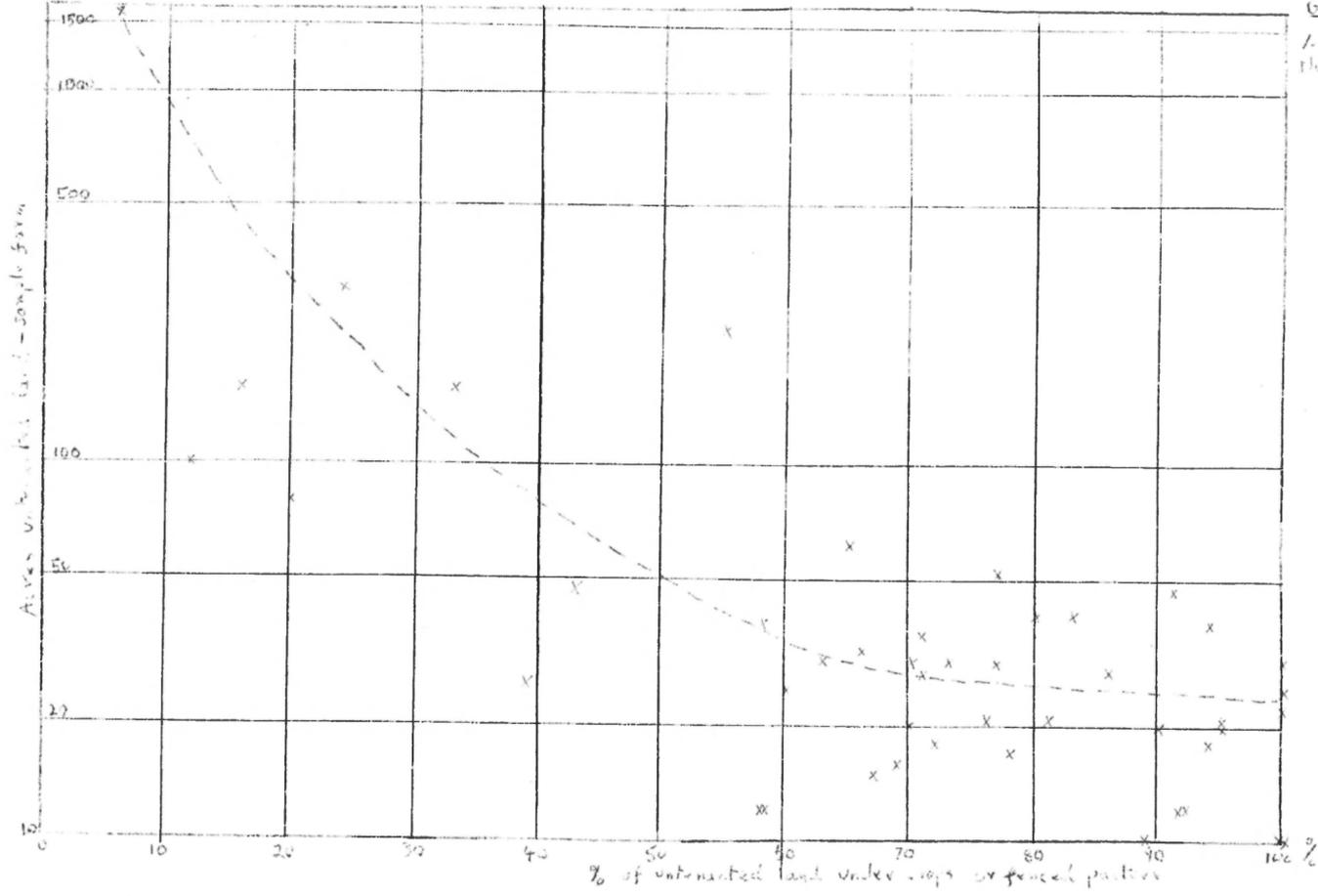
More important than the social and political problems to the planner are the practical problems of implementation. The obtaining of advisory and supervisory personnel for the above plans would not, the author believes, be beyond the ability of the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments. The author would prefer to see staff diverted away from general "gombolola" work to work more rationally dictated by its economic returns.

The largest problem exists in mapping and locating the usable unopened, untenanted land. Despite many of its known deficiencies, the present Mailo Land Registry gives some indication of area of ownership, but none on extent of cultivation. This can only be done in the field, although such techniques as air photography might be used in order to define the "areas of search". Certainly it is doubtful if muluka and gombolola chiefs should be used. In regard to the mapping it is felt that initially more than two surveying teams would be needed.

A greater problem exists in the evaluation of the potential of the land for agriculture, and perhaps the selection of preferred enterprises. This is a problem frequently discussed at RDR papers whenever government decisions in agriculture are the subject of a paper. Unless the correct decisions are made, any increased income from the reforms will be more than met by administrative expenses. The author can only indicate that several developing nations have initiated agricultural reforms of social as well as economic import without possessing sufficiently trained staffs - and that some have succeeded (not usually without a certain amount of chaos) and others apparently failed miserably.

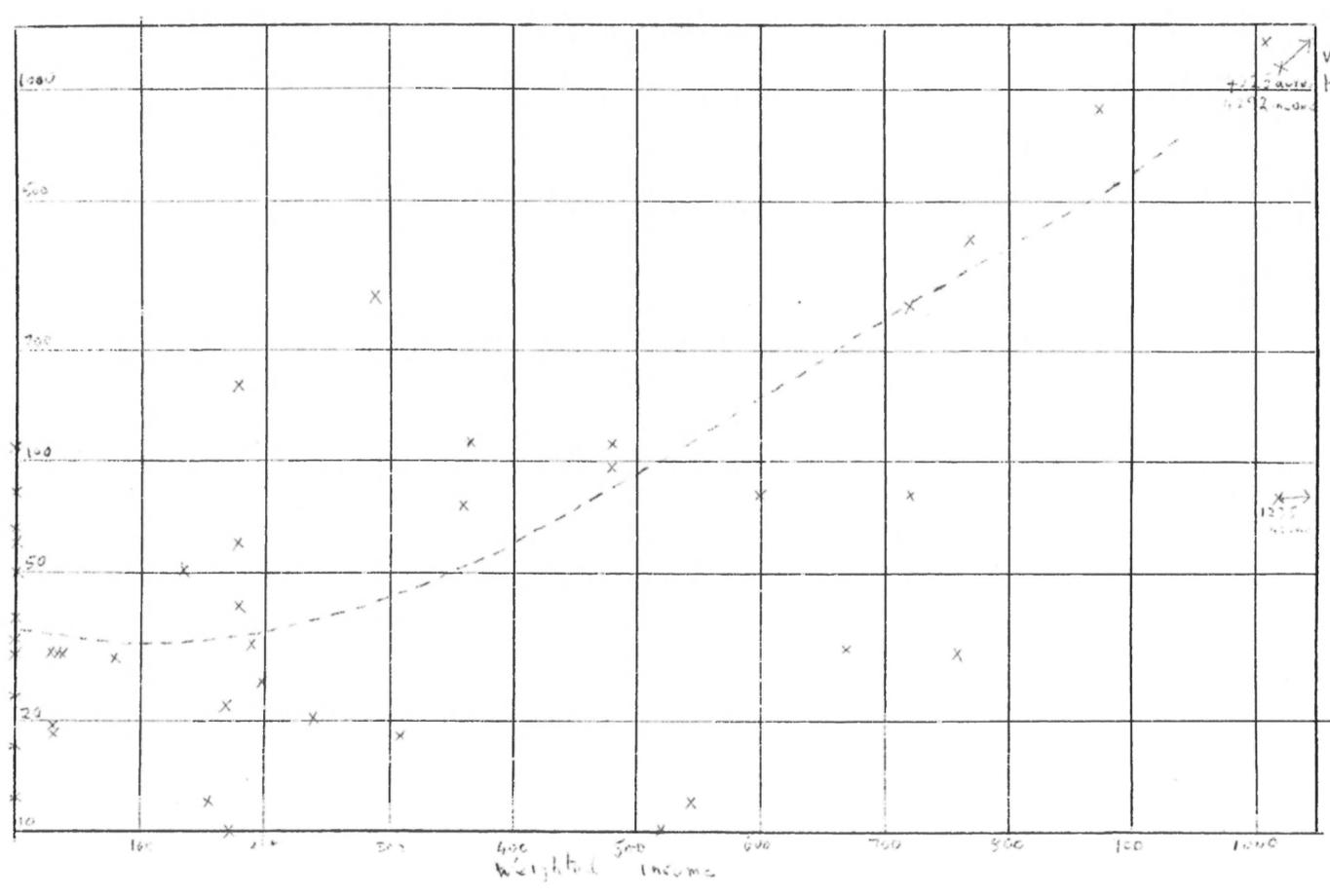
The author, in ending, wishes to re-emphasise that the above ideas are not based upon definite research results. Rather, within the restrictions imposed upon his own work, and if certain possible trends have been observed correctly, he has attempted to define in what way these trends might indicate new policies in agricultural planning in Uganda. Obviously he would emphatically not ask for such policies to be initiated, based upon his own work!

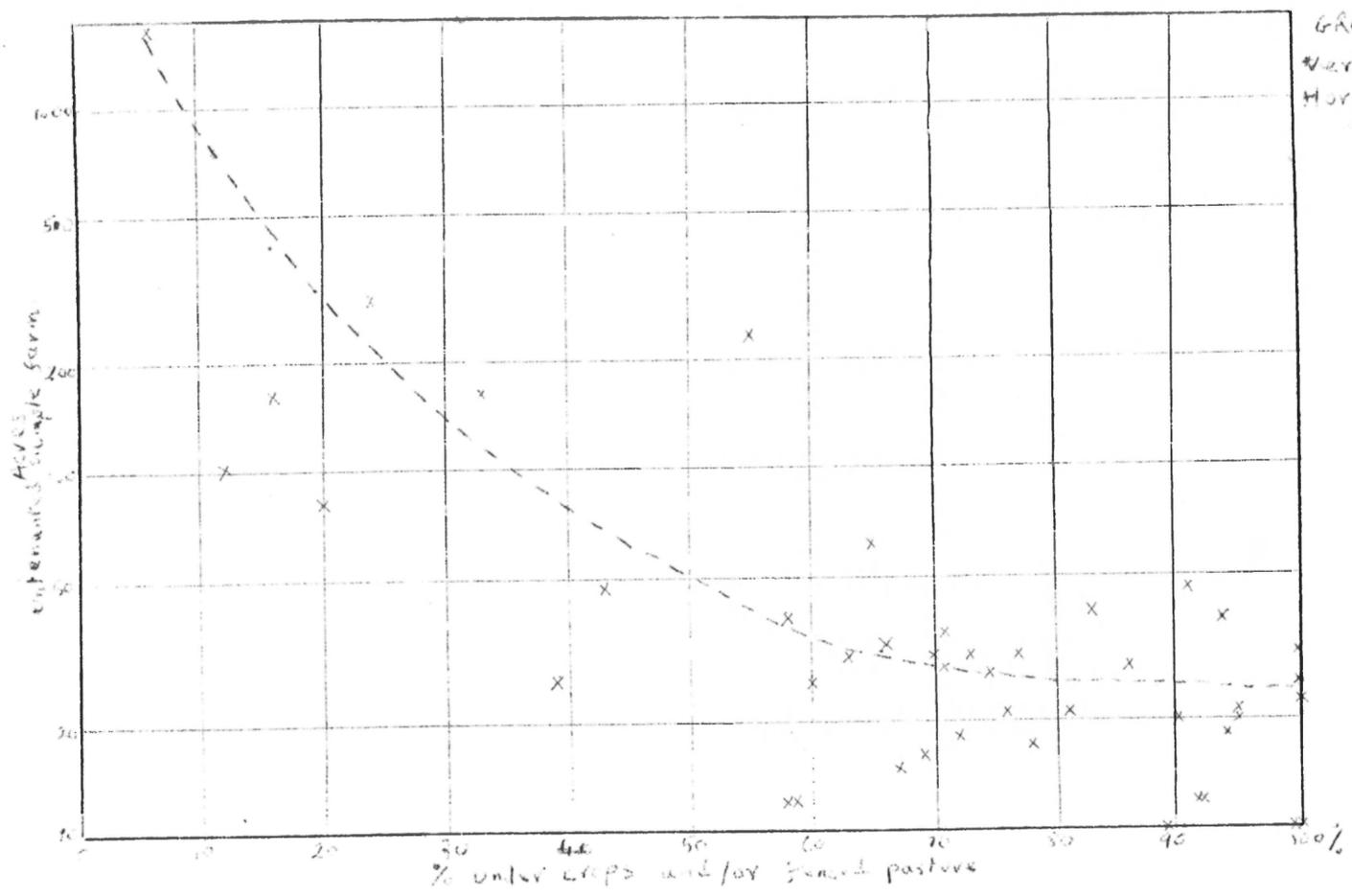
Notes



Graph 3
Acres Under Crops or Fenced Pasture

Total all kinds (sample + others)





Acres unimproved all land (sample tables)

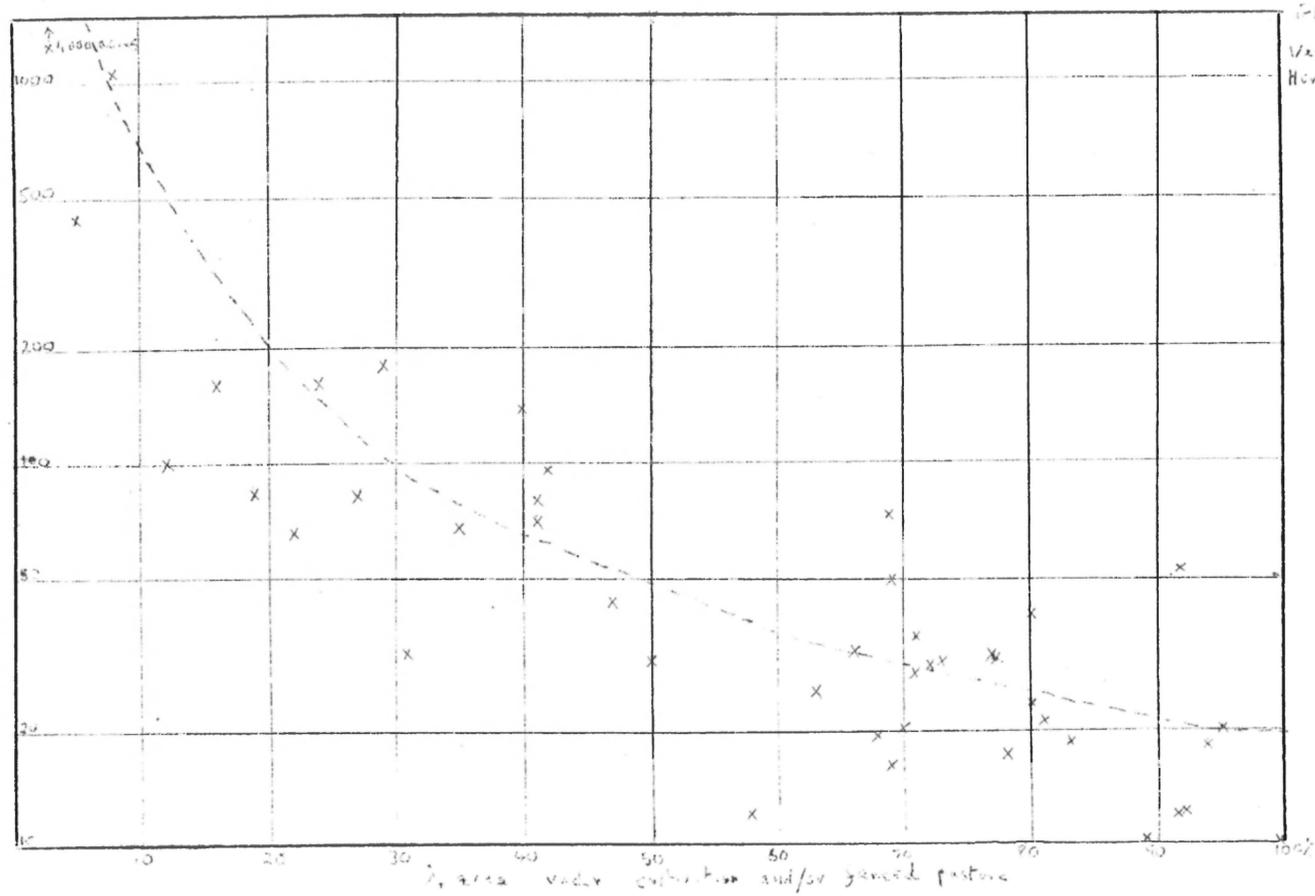


TABLE V

Tenanted Land as Percentage of Sample and Total Land

Acreage ranges	SAMPLE FARMS ONLY			SAMPLE FARMS + OTHER LAND		
	% with tenants	Average % under tenants for all farms in acreage range	Average % under tenants for those farms with tenants	% with tenants	Average % under tenants for all farms in acreage range	Average % under tenants for those farms with tenants
9 - 19	9	1.0	11.0	0	0	0
20 - 49	21	3.25	15.6	20	7.2	36.0
50 - 99	100	12.75	12.75	50	13.9	27.8
100 +	71	21.7	30.4	92	30.3	33.0

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>