

LAND, POWER AND THE PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURE
IN TANZANIA AND UGANDA

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by

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ABSTRACT

In 2007 the World Bank released the *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development* signifying a reinvigorated interest in sub-Saharan Africa's agricultural crisis (World Bank 2007). As part of the debate, frenzied calls were made for more fertilizer application, better technology and water irrigation in the agricultural sector. Within this debate, communal forms of land tenure were faulted for causing tenure insecurity, inhibiting land collateralization, and frustrating agricultural investment and ultimately agricultural productivity. Using data from Tanzania and Uganda this thesis critiques the terms of this debate and the premises upon which a link is made between communal forms of land tenure and agricultural failure. The major point of departure for this thesis arises from the ways in which historical and political dimensions of the agricultural crisis are absent within current efforts aimed at resolving the agricultural crisis, which have dissolution of communal land tenures at their center. I argue it is through the historical experience of Tanzania and Uganda that there has emerged a social and political institutional apparatus that has led to a pro-export and anti-food crop agricultural regime; an agricultural dualism that has favored export crops over food crops. This agricultural dualism, I show, is an outcome of transformation in social and political relations at national and local levels, themselves outcomes of how nation states are embedded within the larger global economy. In order to demonstrate the ways in which political and social transformation have contributed to this agricultural dualism, I will situate land use and agricultural production historically, making specific reference to how social relations and political power have shaped how land is owned and used in Tanzania and Uganda. In addition, by situating their land tenure and land use historically I will expose the institutional, political and social context that contributes to anti-domestic food crop on

one hand and pro-agricultural exports on the other. Ultimately, I transcend the simple and quick technological solutions advocated by modernists and to privilege sociological tools in understanding and resolving the crisis in the agricultural and food systems of Tanzania and Uganda.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

After his Bachelor of Social Work and Social Administration in 1992 Daniel Lumonya joined the academy as an Assistant Lecturer at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. In 2001 Daniel was a fellow at Marlboro College in Vermont, and between 2001 and 2007 he served as Academic Director for the School for International Training's *Uganda: Development Studies* Study Abroad Program. Daniel joined Cornell University to start his M.S./Ph.D. in the fall of 2007.

To Mummy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARU: Ardhi University

BoP: Balance of Payments

CCRO: Certificate of Customary Right of Occupancy

CLEP: Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor

DFID: Department for International Development

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IMF: International Monetary Fund

LALB: Local Area Land Board

NGO: Non-Government Organization

ROC: Rate of Change

SAPs: Structural Adjustment Programs

TNCs: Transnational Corporations

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

In 2007 the World Bank released the *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development* signifying a reinvigorated interest in sub-Saharan Africa's agricultural crisis (World Bank 2007). The food price spikes of 2008 also put the spotlight on Africa's agriculture and raised the rhetoric for more investment in the sector. As part of the debate, frenzied calls were made for more fertilizer application, better technology and water irrigation in the agricultural sector, especially by the World Bank. The World Bank highlighted what they perceived as neglect of the agricultural sector by national governments and the donor community, drawing attention to that fact that a mere 4% of national budgets and official overseas development assistance had gone to national agricultural sectors (Oya 2009, Akram-Lodhi 2008, World Bank 2007). Within this debate, communal forms of land tenure were faulted for causing tenure insecurity, inhibiting land collateralization, and frustrating agricultural investment and ultimately agricultural productivity. Market based solutions that will redistribute land to better and more efficient were proposed (World Bank 2007, Manji 2006). In short, it was argued that larger investments were needed in the agricultural sector and communal land tenures especially inhibited these efforts.

Using data from Tanzania and Uganda this thesis critiques the terms of this debate and the premises upon which a link is made between communal forms of land tenure and agricultural failure. The major point of departure for this thesis arises from the ways in which historical and political dimensions of the agricultural crisis are absent within current efforts aimed at resolving the agricultural crisis, which have dissolution of communal land tenures at their center. Accordingly this thesis aims to articulate and illustrate the historical and political ways in which an agricultural

regime that is inimical to production for domestic consumption was constructed and the discursive ways in which it is maintained. The main point that I aim to argue is that within the historical experience of Tanzania and Uganda there has emerged a social and political institutional apparatus that has led to a pro-export and anti-food crop agricultural regime; an agricultural dualism that has favored export crops over food crops. This agricultural dualism, I show, is an outcome of transformation in social and political relations at national and local levels, themselves outcomes of how nation states are embedded within the larger global economy. Accordingly, I argue that the current crisis in agriculture and food production must be situated within the particular institutional context that perpetuates and reproduces an agricultural dualism that is biased against food production.

In order to demonstrate the ways in which political and social transformation have contributed to this agricultural dualism, I will situate land use and agricultural production historically, making specific reference to how social relations and political power have shaped how land is owned and used in Tanzania and Uganda. In addition, by situating their land tenure and land use historically I will expose the institutional, political and social context that contributes to anti-domestic food crop on one hand and pro-agricultural exports on the other. To this end I examine the historical record of Tanzania and Uganda and show how the power relations constructed in the colonial period created possibilities of extraction from agriculture and led to a duality in the agricultural system. In addition I will show how these relations were reproduced at independence and how they are maintained in the post-colonial periods. Ultimately, my aim is to transcend the simple and quick technological solutions advocated by modernists and to privilege sociological tools in understanding and resolving the crisis in agricultural and food systems of Tanzania and Uganda.

This thesis is organized in three chapters. Chapter 1 outlines, comparatively, the contemporary land tenure reforms in Tanzania and Uganda and explores the impacts these reforms will have for land use and agricultural production. I specifically attend to the institutional frameworks that have been established for land tenure reform; land laws, and new social and political institutions arrangements for land administration and management. I show that Tanzania's land tenure reforms will consolidate state control over land while Uganda's land tenure reforms will encourage the emergence of a market in land. By comparing and contrasting the land tenure reforms in Uganda and Tanzania, chapter 1 provides the lens through which I examine the particular role of social relations and political power in informing and shaping the contemporary land tenure reform in Tanzania and Uganda. Why are Tanzania and Uganda implementing land tenure reforms that are diametrically opposed? In this moment of neo-liberal hegemony why does Tanzania implement land tenure reforms that are counter to, while Uganda implements land tenure reforms that are consistent with free market neo-liberal logic? These questions are the focus of chapter 2.

Relying on extensive content analysis of historical records of Tanzania and Uganda chapter 2 examines the ways in which social and political relations were transformed differently in Tanzania and Uganda but which converged in the extent to which they both created the possibilities for colonial extraction from their agricultural sectors and created dualism in their respective agricultural regimes. Accordingly I argue that it is these social and political relations that have led to framework that will consolidate state control over land in Tanzania and the emergence of a land market in Uganda. I argue that these social and political relations were unique in Tanzania and Uganda but were reproduced in similar ways at independence and maintained in post independence polities in both countries. In short, colonial and post-colonial moments were periods during which social and political relations were reconfigured to serve

extraction of value from agriculture at the expense of food production. It is within this social and political disposition that contemporary land tenure reforms, land use and agricultural production have been constituted. By attending to the role of social and political relations in shaping land tenure and agricultural production, chapter 2 privileges the role of social and political relations in explaining land use and, alternatively, attenuates the role of communal land tenure in contributing to the agricultural crises.

Chapter 3 employs agricultural time series data of Uganda and Tanzania to illustrate the ways in which social and political interest are articulated within the agricultural systems of Tanzania and Uganda. I argue that it is these interests that have produced a duality in agriculture: on one side of this duality are export crops and on the other domestic food crops. As I show, export crops have thrived while domestic food crops have declined. Examining the trends in export crop and domestic food crop production reveals the selectiveness and bias in the agricultural system, which in turn suggests that choices about what is produced have been attenuated by relations of political power. By attending to the role of political power in shaping structure of agricultural output I question the idea that communal land tenures are the main culprit in the food crisis and, alternatively underscore the ways in which social and power relations have shaped land use and agricultural output. Crucially also, disaggregating the trends in performance of agricultural crops helps to challenge the notion that the agricultural systems of these countries have been neglected. Instead the picture that emerges is one that demonstrates the selective and deliberate choices that have been made about which sectors, crops and regions of national agriculture systems are supported and which ones are neglected. These choices I will argue are shaped by relationships of power, which are in themselves constructs of local and global power interests.

Chapter One: Land Tenure Reform in Tanzania and Uganda: Transforming Land Relations, Land Use and Agricultural production

1.1 Introduction

Both Tanzania and Uganda recently initiated legal and administration reforms that will alter the ways in which land within their territorial boundaries will be owned (Bruce and Knox 2008, Wily 2003, Boone 2007). However if one even casually compares Tanzania and Uganda's land tenure reform policies one quickly notices that these countries are implementing land reforms that are diametrical opposites: Tanzania is consolidating state control over land while Uganda is promoting the emergence of a market in land. In this chapter I compare and contrast the land tenure processes of Tanzania and Uganda. Carefully comparing and contrasting their land tenure regimes reveals the uniqueness and similarities of their land related laws and institutions, and provides insights into changing configuration of state, land market and land access and how these changing configurations will impact land use and agricultural production. Accordingly, I will critically review the aspects of land tenure and land rights that have been altered, the institutional frameworks for land administration and management and the implications of these reforms for the emergence of land markets, land use and land access in Tanzania and Uganda. A thorough understanding of what is pertaining in Tanzania and Uganda in regard to land tenure reform provides the lens which I will historicize their land tenure reforms, land use and the content and structure of agricultural production in Chapter 2.

1.2 Land tenure reform in Tanzania and Uganda: an overview

Land tenure reform is a major part of the structural reforms currently evolving in Tanzania and Uganda. In both countries the state is playing a central role in promoting land reform, with financial and technical support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), United States Agency

for International Development (USAID) and other multilateral institutions, especially the World Bank (Manji 2006). Typically, land law reform has been at the center of land tenure reform. New local and national land institutions have been created, existing ones have been transformed and new procedures of land administration and management have been initiated (Bruce and Knox 2009, Boone 2007). In some places local land tribunals and district land boards have been established, and the emergence of private cadastral firms has been supported. In Tanzania, for example, the stature of institutions such as the Ardhi University, which is intended to train land surveyors, has been elevated. However, land tenure reform is evolving in different ways at varying levels between and within Tanzania and Uganda, and hence it appears that the emergence of land markets is happening at different scales between and within these countries. It is therefore pertinent to carefully compare and contrast the land tenure reform process of these two countries in order to provide the lens through which to examine the role of political and social relations in shaping their contemporary land tenure reforms.

1.2.1 Land tenure reform and the Washington Consensus

Both Tanzania and Uganda initiated land law and tenure reforms in the wake of the Washington Consensus, and it is helpful to reflect on the tenets of this framework, in order to appropriately situate these land tenure reforms. The Washington Consensus reflects a convergence, in the 1980s of the World Bank, the IMF and the US treasury department around the neoclassical economic theory and neoliberal policy prescriptions for poor countries (Saad-Filho 2005, Oya 2005). The collapse of the Soviet bloc also discredited state-led development policies and popularized the free market ideology on a global scale. Against the backdrop of these global shifts, major multilateral development institutions promoted a coherent set of

policy prescriptions that included deregulation, privatization, economic liberalization and public sector retrenchment. In addition, governments restructured and reconstituted their roles. Public sector functions decentralized to lower level government, and to semi-state and private entities. The role of the state was re-conceptualized as one of creating an environment that facilitated the growth and operation of free markets, guaranteeing private property rights, and legislating and enforcing private contracts (Marangos 2007, Saad-Filho 2005, Oya 2005, Konadu-Agyemang 2001). These reforms, typically implemented at the instigation of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), marked the onset of the contemporary neo-liberal era. Where land rights were held in common, as is the case in much of East Africa, an effort has been made to dissolve these forms of land tenure because it was presumed that they inhibited free markets in land, and they restricted efficient allocation, collateralization, and investment in land. Ultimately, it was argued, the potential to improve agricultural productivity was undermined by communal land tenure (Manji 2006). It is in this context that land law and tenure reforms were initiated in Tanzania and in Uganda.

Although land tenure reform has evolved at different scales and in different forms in much of Africa, it has generally been characterized by privatization of land rights and formalization of land title (Sikor and Muller 2009). Essentially, privatization of land dissolves communal land ownership and encourages a land tenure regime in which land rights are consolidated in the hands of one individual or entity. By dissolving communal forms of land ownership, land privatization removes what are thought to be ambiguities inherent in communal land regimes. Land privatization essentially entails specifying and defining land ownership and access rights, and consolidating these in one individual or institution, which ultimately assumes total authority over the land. Formalization of land ownership entails formal

registration of title with the state, and this is expressed through an official document of registration. Formal documents ensure that such ownership rights are legally recognizable and are enforced usually by the state (Musembi 2007, Manji 2006). In effect land privatization reconstitutes land into an item in which ownership, access and use rights are consolidated or merged, while formalization ensures that land transactions are officially recognized and enforceable by the state. By merging these land rights in one individual or entity and by making land ownership legally enforceable by formal state institutions, privatization and formalization of land title ultimately reconstitute land into a commodity that can be traded in capitalist land markets.¹ Moreover, privatization and formalization of land title makes land legible by the state and other institutions such as banks, legal firms, and transnational corporations.² As the new land laws in Tanzania and Uganda have different implications for the privatization and formalization of title, land access, land use and for the emergence of capitalist land markets, it is useful to examine them in these respects.

1.2.2 Land tenure reform in Tanzania and Uganda

As noted above, dissolution of communal rights and subsequent creation of individualized and privatized land rights is a key aspect in the evolution and operation of liberal land markets. But because Tanzania and Uganda have adopted different pathways in their land tenure reform processes, different possibilities for individualization and privatization of land rights are apparent. In either country, the land reform laws have shaped the extent to which land rights can be merged in one

¹ I use liberal land markets synonymously with Polanyi's notion of a self regulating market, in which land is commodified (is privately owned, has a market price and is traded like other consumer goods using money transactions). Emergence of, or lack thereof of a liberal land market will have different implications for how land is accessed and land used by diverse actors.

² Scott (1998) uses the concept of legibility to imply the process of simplifying phenomena in order to make them susceptible to measurement and calculation by powerful institutions usually the state. Scott notes that land and cadastral maps are designed to make local situations legible to outsiders.

individual or dispersed to different levels. Crucial differences are evident in their land tenure reform processes and new land administration institutions, yielding different possibilities for the privatization and formalization of land rights, and hence for the emergence of liberal land markets. These differences become evident when the different pathways for tenure reform in Tanzania and Uganda are closely scrutinized.

Tanzania initiated its most recent land tenure reform by enacting the General Land and the Village Land Acts in 1999 and Uganda by enacting the Land Act in 1998 (Bruce and Knox 2009, Manji 2006, Wily 2003). These land law reforms created different procedures and pathways for titling land and created land management and administration regimes that are unique to either country. In Tanzania the process of formalizing and titling begins by defining and demarcating village land boundaries. Typically a Village Council will initiate the process by submitting a request to their district land office. The land office will then send a team of surveyors who, with the participation of residents in the village, will map and define the village boundaries. The district land officer then approves the village boundaries and issues a certificate in the name of the village. However, the process of delineating the village boundaries and issuing a village land certificate can be initiated by the district land office as part of an effort to resolve conflicts over land boundaries or if land is needed by the state. But only after village land has been defined and a certificate of village land has been issued will individuals or households within the village have the opportunity to request and be issued with a certificate of customary right of occupancy (CCRO).³ Hence titled village land is in part owned by the Village Council and by the individual village residents, who assume occupancy rights upon being issued with a CCRO. In effect, in Tanzania land rights are vested in both the Village Council, which holds a certificate

³ Interview with Mbeya District Land Officer, Tanzania.

of village land and the individual village resident who holds a CCRO (*see* Pallotti 2008).

Uganda's process of land titling differs. Initially an individual or household applies to the Local Area Land Board (LALB) to convert customary land into private free hold tenure. Local Area Land Boards, which should be established in all sub-counties⁴ according to the new land law, receive, consider and approve this application (The Land Act Cap 227). As part of this process the LALB investigates and determines that there are no competing claims on the land. Where competing claims or conflicts are found, the LALB attempts to adjudicate them, or it advises the feuding parties to resolve their conflicts through other official channels, before the application can proceed. If no competing claims are found, the LALB forwards the application to a District Land Board (DLB), which approves and confirms that the process of transforming customary land into freehold land tenure can proceed.⁵

A few critical differences between Tanzania's and Uganda's land tenure reforms are evident, and should be reiterated. First, in Uganda an individual can convert customary land into a *private free hold title*, whereas in Tanzania individuals can only obtain *customary occupancy rights* on village land. Second, because in Tanzania village land was instituted during the *Ujaama* (villagization) programs of the 1970s, the land law essentially legalizes what is in practice. The status quo is consolidated and entrenched by the law. In Uganda however, the new land law creates pathways for dissolving communal tenure and encourages the evolution of private individualized forms of land tenure. Consequently, a completely new form of land ownership regime is created in Uganda, while in Tanzania that prevailing land tenure regime is strengthened and consolidated. Third, in Tanzania the Village Council, as

⁴ Uganda currently has about 900 sub-counties. Area land boards are being gradually rolled out to different parts of the country and hence are not yet operational in all sub-counties. According to official estimates area land boards are operational in about sixty percent of the sub-counties.

⁵ Interview with Land Surveyor, Busia district, Uganda.

the local intermediary institution, is vested with land ownership rights, whereas in Uganda the Local Area Land Board, as the local intermediary institution, only works to clarify and resolve competing claims on land. In Tanzania, the Village Council is, in part, constituted into a landowner, whereas in Uganda the Local Area Land Board is constituted an enabler of the process of land titling and land privatization. In sum, the land law in Tanzania *clarifies* and *dispersed* land rights to different levels whereas the law in Uganda *clarifies* and *consolidates* land rights to one individual, entity or household. In Tanzania land is titled initially in the name of the Village Council, which confers *rights of occupancy* to the individual applicant, while in Uganda *all land rights* are consolidated in the hands of that entity whose application for a land title is accepted. In Tanzania land tenure reform disperses land rights (access, ownership and transfer) among the holder of CCRO, the Village Council and the state, which maintains ultimate land ownership, while in Uganda land tenure reform encourages freehold land tenure, which assigns exclusive claim to all land rights to one individual or entity.

1.3 Decentralizing land administration and management in Tanzania and Uganda

Decentralization entails transferring authority from a higher central government authority to lower level governments, to private and non-government organizations and to other autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies (Meinzen-Dick et al 2008). In order to grasp the uniqueness of land administration and management in Tanzania and Uganda, it is crucial to distinguish between de-concentration and devolution, which are the two main ways in which decentralization has evolved (Bruce and Knox 2009). De-concentration refers to a situation in which implementation of central government decisions is transferred from the central government to lower level local governments. In a de-concentrated system the authority to make decisions is not

relinquished to the local government; only implementation of government policy is surrendered and in any case it is simply delegated. Authority is maintained by the central government and lower level governments remain accountable to the central government. Central government officials, who may be posted to or recruited within the local authority, remain under the direction of central government authority. Put differently, central government is simply decongested and dispersed to different places within the territory of the nation state (Sherwin 1977). Accordingly, it may be argued that de-concentration represents a partial and semi-autonomous form of decentralization (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2008).

In contrast, devolution refers to a situation in which both decision-making authority and program implementation are transferred from a central government and vested in lower level governments and other local institutions. Accordingly, these lower level institutions are given significant power and autonomy over the decisions that they make and the programs that they implement (Kauzya 2007). In a devolved system local institutions have more authority and more autonomy than in a de-concentrated system (UNDP 1999). Moreover, in a devolved system, roles and responsibilities can be transferred to non-state actors such as NGOs, private sector entities and other civil society groups, while in a de-concentrated system implementation is delegated exclusively to lower level central government-controlled structures. Hence while de-concentration localizes staff and maintains authority at the central government level, devolution localizes both staff and authority. De-concentration keeps power within the state apparatus, while devolution may transfer power to local state institutions and to other semi-autonomous and autonomous non-state actors. Put differently, in a de-concentrated system the state retains control and authority over decision making, while in a devolved system power and authority are entrenched in local institutions (Bruce and Knox 2009). As I describe below, the

differences in the degree to which land administration and management are de-concentrated or devolved has important implications for the extent to which land can be turned into a commodity, and for the existence of a framework that facilitates land market transactions and ultimately, the emergence of land markets and access to land in Tanzania and Uganda.

Both of these countries have local councils in every village, constituted by officials who are elected periodically. In Tanzania Village Councils were instituted in the late 1960s and early 1970s as part of *Ujaama* (Omari 1986), while in Uganda Village Councils were instituted in 1986 following a five-year guerilla war, after Museveni captured state power (Golooba-Mutebi 2008). Generally in both countries Village Councils are expected to oversee and participate in implementing government programs, levy and collect local dues and fees, and plan and facilitate participatory development. However, each country has unique ways in which Village Councils are involved in land administration and management and to which land administration and management is de-concentrated or devolved. These peculiarities have unique implications for the evolution of land transactions, land ownership and access, and ultimately for the emergence of liberal land markets.

First, as I already noted, in Tanzania some land ownership rights have been vested in Village Councils while in Uganda Village Councils do not possess land rights. However, because the state in Tanzania is largely de-concentrated, most decision making power in respect to land matters remains with, or is regulated by and within, the state apparatus (*see* Pallottii 2008). Hence, Village Councils in Tanzania have ownership land rights but their decisions in respect to land matters are controlled and limited by the state. Compared to Tanzania, the state in Uganda is largely devolved (Bruce and Knox 2008). Accordingly, in Uganda, land administration and management has devolved to semi-autonomous state institutions such as local Area

Land Committees and District Land Boards (Hunt 2004). To state this differently, in Tanzania some land ownership rights are vested in Village Councils and in the state apparatus and the central government retains decision-making authority over land matters. In Uganda, however, land administration and management functions are devolved to local institutions that are generally separate from the state apparatus. In other words, in Tanzania local institutions that are charged with land matters are an appendage of the central state apparatus, while in Uganda these institutions are relatively autonomous and independent of the central government. Hence greater state control over land in Tanzania may preclude the emergence there of a land market, compared to Uganda where land matters will be conducted outside the purview of the state.

Second, in Tanzania the key local land related institution is the Village Council, while in Uganda the key local land related institutions are the Area Land Committees and District Land Boards, and it is crucial to attend to these institutions. The differences in composition, mandate and compensation of these local institutions in Tanzania and Uganda will have unique implications for the emergence of land markets in each country. In Uganda Area Land Committees and District Land Boards are appointed by their respective District Councils, while in Tanzania Village Councils are constituted by locally elected officials, although, as already noted in Tanzania they tend to act for and to represent the state.⁶ In Uganda respective District Councils appoint members of Area Land Committees and District Land Boards. According to the Ugandan law, members appointed to these committees and boards must be citizens of “high moral standing.” In practice most individuals who meet these criteria will be of relatively elite background, have recently returned to the village from the city, are

⁶ Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) is the ruling party in Tanzania and has dominated politics there since independence in 1962. The Village Councils are generally an appendage of the ruling party, and implement party programs.

relatively well educated and have served the government in some previous capacity. In addition, Uganda's Village Councils, Area Land Committees and District Land Boards are primarily charged with adjudicating, witnessing and approving land transactions (Hunt 2004). In Tanzania, Village Councils, are vested with land ownership rights and must also approve all land transactions. Hence, in Uganda land transactions are *witnessed* by the Area Land Committees and District Land Boards, while in Tanzania land transactions must be *approved and accepted* by the Village Council. Put differently, in Tanzania Village Councils have a *substantive role and interest* in land transactions while in Uganda Area Land Committees and Boards have a *procedural and facilitative role* in these transactions. As an institution that must oversee land transactions, Tanzania's Village Council will place an additional barrier in the operation of a liberal land market, compared to Uganda where the Local Area Land Board will support and supervise the emergence of a land market.

Finally, it is crucial to note that in Tanzania members of Village Councils work on a voluntary basis or will receive financial compensation from the state. While in Uganda, Local Area Land Boards are compensated from fees, usually about 10%, that are levied on the total land sale price. Therefore, in practice Tanzania's Village Council may become loyal and accountable to the state apparatus while Uganda's Area Land Boards may work in the interest of land buyers because they often wield financial and political power. These differences are summarized in Table I below. In the following discussion I attempt to derive implications from these differences for the emergence of land markets and for access to land and land use by the state, national elites and transnational corporations in both countries.

Table I: Summary of similarities and differences between
Tanzania's and Uganda's contemporary land reforms

Aspect	Tanzania	Uganda
Time period	1999, ongoing	1998, ongoing
Aspects of reform	Land law & administration reform	Land law & administration reform
Ownership	Collective ownership	Individual ownership
Type of title	Certificate of Registered Occupancy	Free hold title
Land rights	Dispersed at different levels	Merged in one individual or entity
Decentralization or state control	De-concentration	Devolution
Level of commoditization	Limited commoditization of land	Full commoditization of land
Markets	Limited land market in place	An active land market in place
Main driver	State led	Market led, state assisted
Access to land	Via the state	Via land markets

*1.4 State land vs. land markets: Implications for land use, land access and
agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda*

How have, and how will, the different pathways taken by Tanzania and Uganda in their land tenure reform processes impact land tenure relations? What will be the implications of these different pathways for access to land, land use and agricultural production? As I have shown, Uganda will consolidate land rights in one

entity while Tanzania will disperse ownership of land rights to multiple levels. Accordingly, land may become much more legible⁷ in Uganda than in Tanzania. Given the individualization and localization of tenure and transaction costs may be considerably lower and better facilitated in Uganda than in Tanzania. This may create a pathway for complete commoditization and commercialization of land, and for the emergence of a liberal land market in Uganda, as opposed to Tanzania. In Tanzania the state will allocate, redistribute land and determine how land is used while in Uganda land markets will allocate, redistribute and determine how land is used. In Tanzania the state will continuously play a prominent role in determining what is produced and by whom and in Uganda this role will be assumed by land markets. In either case access to land, land use and agricultural production will be shaped via seemingly diametrically opposed processes. In Tanzania, foreign governments and TNCs may lease large estates or large parcels of land through land deals with the state, while in Uganda TNCs, may acquire large estates and land parcels by purchasing land via land markets, with or without assistance from the state and/or local elites. Land transactions in Tanzania are likely to capture attention because they tend to occur on a large scale, proceed abruptly and are more visible due to their formal nature. Land transactions in Uganda may pass largely unnoticed because they occur gradually, in disparate places and at different scales, sometimes through multiple transactions that enable land consolidation. In Tanzania land transactions, land use and agricultural production will be legitimated through the political processes, while in Uganda they will be legitimated via the market.

1.5 Emerging questions

As Tanzania is consolidating state control over land and Uganda is encouraging the emergence of land markets, it is pertinent to understand relations

⁷ See footnote 3.

between the state, citizenship and land in Tanzania and relations between state, citizenship, land and markets in Uganda. Accordingly, the situation in Uganda may raise questions about the politics of land markets and land sales, the coercive and consensual means through which land markets are constructed and the ways through which land sales are coerced and made inevitable. The situation in Tanzania may raise questions about relations between land access and political power and how the state coerces land access and land use. Both Uganda and Tanzania raise questions about how land access by the state and those who wield political power is constructed in different political contexts and how this may affect land access by those who wield less political power. Understanding and comparing the array of networks and frameworks that have been instituted in a state system such as Tanzania and in a market system such as Uganda may provide insights into the extent to which construction of the state and construction of markets yield disparate or similar outcomes. Similarly, understanding and comparing how changing land property regimes produce new forms of social relations, consolidate existing ones, shape social and political institutions and instigate counter reactions to the state and to the market may illuminate agrarian transitions in Uganda and Tanzania. Ultimately, careful and critical focus on these questions should inform our understanding of the colonial state on one hand and of liberal land markets on the other and the relationships, overlaps and distinctions between these institutions of land governance.

I do not to attempt to analyze these questions in this thesis, as this is beyond the scope of this project. Instead, these questions point to gaps in the literature on land tenure reform and agrarian transitions in Tanzania and Uganda and perhaps on the rest of the continent. But significant and equally pertinent questions can be raised: How and why has land tenure reform in Tanzania and Uganda taken such clearly divergent paths? Why is the Tanzanian state consolidating control over land while in Uganda the

state is facilitating the emergence of a land market? Why is Tanzania's land tenure reform dispersing land rights to multiple levels and Uganda merging these land rights in one entity? Why is Tanzania clarifying and dispersing land rights and why is Uganda clarifying and consolidating land rights? These are essentially historical questions. The historical dimensions of these questions help to unravel the continuities and discontinuities between historical and contemporary land tenure transformation and land use change and how and why they endure. They also help to understand the impacts of colonial land tenure reforms and land use changes on agriculture and food, and how, for example, their different historical trajectories account for the similarities and peculiarities in their land tenures, land use, agriculture and food production. These questions are, in part, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Two: Why Divergent Paths? Historicizing Tanzania's and Uganda's Land Tenure Reforms and Land Use

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one I compared the ways land tenure reforms are evolving in Tanzania and Uganda and showed that Tanzania will consolidate state control over land and the Uganda will encourage a liberal land market. In this chapter I examine the historical records of Tanzania and Uganda in order to understand why, in a historical conjuncture dominated by neo-liberalism, the Tanzanian state is consolidating state control over land, while the Ugandan state is facilitating the emergence of a land market. Examining the reasons for the differences in their land tenure trajectories, using a historical lens, unravels the historical, social and political content of their land tenure reforms and brings into sharp relief the ahistorical and apolitical nature of modernist remedies on transforming land tenure and improving agricultural production. Historicizing Tanzania's and Uganda's land tenure and land use also reveals how the evolution of agricultural extraction in the colonial period displaced domestic agricultural food production, and the particular social and political relations that have created and sustained this possibility. Accordingly, this chapter provides a historical context in which to situate the duality in the agricultural system that I discuss in chapter 3, and the colonial genesis of export oriented and anti-domestic food production power relations. Thus, rather than focusing on communal land tenure as the starting point for explaining the food crisis and dismal performance in the agricultural sector, I demonstrate that attention must be placed on historical processes that produced pro-export and anti-domestic food agricultural regimes.

2.2 Construction of a colonial regime of extraction in Tanzania and Uganda

That colonization of Africa by western powers was driven primarily by the need to extract raw materials to feed the burgeoning industrial revolution is uncontested (Freund 1984, James 1971). Cotton, coffee, tea, rubber, cloves, and sisal were some of the main agricultural crops that were promoted initially in Tanzania and Uganda for European industry and commerce in the first half of the 20th century. In a time span of only two decades production of these agricultural crops expanded exponentially. Uganda's cotton exports grew almost ten times from 48,000 bales in 1920 to 402,000 bales in 1938. In Buganda, the coffee acreage increased from 600 in 1922 to almost 17,000 in 1931 and to over 315,000 in 1956 (Richards and Sturrock 1973). By the time of her independence in 1962 cotton and coffee accounted close to 80% of Uganda's exports (Mamdani 1984). Between 1913 and 1938 production of sisal in Tanzania increased five times from 21,000 to 101,000 tons, cotton from 2,200 to 9,100 tons and coffee from 1,100 to 13,800 tons (Coulson 1982). How was this phenomenal surge in agricultural productivity achieved? How were peasant land and labor so fundamentally oriented toward producing commodities that generally did not contribute to their material welfare? Answers to these questions are to be found in the way social relations and political institutions were transformed by the colonial project to create various forms of coercion and consent. I maintain that it is these colonial social and political relations, discursive practices and institutional forms that have been reproduced in the present period to perpetuate forms of land use that are biased towards crop exports, at the expense of domestic food production.

The European conquest of East Africa began in the mid 19th century and was intensified by the Berlin Conference in 1884. At this conference the main European powers, Germany, England, Portugal, France and Portugal divided Africa's territory amongst themselves. Subsequently the British acquired the present day territory of

Uganda and Germany acquired Tanganyika. In parts of Tanzania and Uganda colonial frontiers were extended via peaceful treaties made with indigenous chieftaincies and Kingdoms and sometimes through violent means. The historical record suggests that peaceful treaties were generally obtained in those areas that had centralized or well established political entities, while violent means were executed in more decentralized, non-kingdom areas. The acquisition of these territories set the stage for creating and transforming social and political relations and institutions in ways that would induce and coerce colonial agriculture. How social and political relations were transformed in Uganda and Tanzania to achieve exponential expansion in colonial agriculture is the subject of the following sections.

2.2.1 Transformation of Social and Political Relations in Uganda in the Colonial Period

In 1900 the British signed a treaty with the Buganda Kingdom that is famously known simply as the Buganda Agreement of 1900. The agreement vested legal ownership of all land to the colonial power, England. By vesting control of land to England, the agreement accorded the English opportunity to induce and manipulate different political and social groups using land allotments and to retain direct control of about half of Buganda's land. For example, West (1972) notes that by 1936 17,000 individual native holdings in Buganda had been demarcated and allotted to local chiefs and other nobles. Half of Buganda's land, about 9000 square miles, was allotted and the other appropriated by colonial government and was classified as crown land⁸ (West 1972, Place and Otsuka 2002).

⁸ Crown land was owned by the Crown. The Crown was a representation the Queen of England but specifically referred to the colonial government. In the post-independence period these lands morphed into state or public land.

The Buganda agreement fundamentally transformed political relations between Buganda's chiefs and nobles on one hand and their subjects on the other. While the British accorded land ownership rights to the King and his nobles, they did not accord any land rights to common peasants. By allotting land to chiefs and nobles, the British transformed peasants into a landless squatter class, under the tenancy of chiefs and the nobility (Meek 1975). It is precisely this new social disposition that enabled the British to use the chiefs and nobles to coerce peasant agriculture. Ultimately the agreement had assigned most of Buganda's land rights to the colonial government, giving them power to manipulate and transform internal social and political relations and enabling them to reward chiefs who collaborated in constructing the colonial project of extraction (Meek 1949, Mamdani 1984).

In order to appreciate the evolution of consensual and coercive aspects of the emergent social and political relations in Buganda it is necessary to explore the nature and distribution of political power within Buganda prior to the colonial encounter. Traditionally, the *Kabaka* was regarded as the source of all legislative, executive, and economic power and his chiefs, the *Bakungu* and *Batongole*, held offices at lower levels at his discretion. Subject to the *Kabaka's* authority, the *Bakungu* and the *Batongole* had power over the common peasants, the *Bakopi* or *Basenze* (West 1972). The *Bakungu* and the *Batongole* chiefs were essentially the *Kabaka's* appointees with territorial authority over land in their areas, on behalf of the *Kabaka*. The *Kabaka's* chiefs would prescribe what peasants could grow and the dues that were due from them to the Kingdom. But neither the King nor his chiefs possessed arbitrary authority to displace or coerce peasant agriculture. Peasants retained land occupancy rights, and they could not be evicted at the pleasure of the King's chiefs. Rather a reciprocal relationship existed in which the peasants paid their dues in exchange for Buganda citizenship rights. Peasant interests were also represented and protected by another

type of chief, the *Bataka*. Therefore while the *Bakungu* and *Batongole* derived their power from the king above, the *Bataka* derived their power from the peasants below. The *Bakungu* and *Batongole* on one hand and the *Bataka* on the other checked and counter balanced one another. Complex feudal relations existed and formed the political economy of pre-colonial Buganda, and it is through these complex relations that colonialism reconstructed the coercive and consensual aspects of the colonial agricultural project in Buganda.

A careful review of The Buganda Agreement reveals how this agreement transformed Buganda's feudal relations. The agreement reconstituted land ownership and land relations in several important ways. First, it subordinated Buganda customary land tenure practice to English law and forced the *Kabaka* and his chiefs, the *Bakungu and Batongole*, and the rest of Baganda to conform to this law. Second, it redistributed Buganda's land between the British and the King (*Kabaka*) and his chiefs, completely excluding common peasant's (*Bakopi's*) land rights (West 1972, Meek 1975). As it consolidated land rights among the chiefs and nobles, the agreement undermined the political power of the *Bataka*, who represented peasant's interests. The agreement therefore dispossessed peasants of their land rights and disempowered them, politically. The peasants were ultimately transformed into squatters on land that was under the control of the colonial power via local chiefs.

On one hand a small landed aristocracy was established and on the other a large group of landless squatting cultivators with diminished land rights. The agreement therefore drastically reconstituted the political economy of pre-colonial Buganda and her relations of production. While in the prior economy land rights were distributed between the peasants, the *Bataka* and the *Batongole*, these land rights were now exclusively claimed by chiefs, giving them the leverage to coerce peasant production (Meek 1975, Jorgensen 1981), with support from colonial administrative

and military power. Accordingly, Buganda's chiefs became subjects of the colonial government in exchange for land allotments. Hence the agreement reconfigured land relations to facilitate extraction from land and peasant labor with the King and his notables as the vanguard of colonial interests. This indeed was the genesis of indirect rule exercised in Buganda by the colonial government.

After the British acquired relative control of Buganda's land, peasant labor and obtained allegiance of Buganda's chiefs, they embarked on colonizing the rest of present Uganda. Using Buganda's chiefs as their allies, the British extended the colonial frontier. In the west, Bunyoro Kingdom put up violent resistance but was subdued through a brutal war led by Captain Lugard. Two counties on the western boundary of Buganda were confiscated by the British from Bunyoro and transferred to the Buganda kingdom in appreciation for their cooperation. These counties, like the rest of Buganda, became subject to indirect rule. In the east, where a centralized state system did not exist, a Buganda prince, Semei Kakungulu, was dispatched by the British to establish a hierarchical system of rule like the one practiced in Buganda. Clan heads and other traditional leaders local to these territories were co-opted and assigned political and legislative power and the Buganda model of indirect rule was reproduced in these territories (Hanson 2003, Jorgensen 1981, Tosh 1978). By 1924 the Buganda system of rule had been established in most parts of eastern Uganda (Bunker 1987).

But while land tenure relations and land rights were drastically altered in Buganda in order to coerce peasant agricultural production, customary forms of land tenure were left intact in the rest of present Uganda. Instead forced labor, head and hut taxes, and other types of fines were employed to induce production of colonial crops. Local chiefs were assigned powers to enforce colonial agricultural production. These local chiefs were required to be exemplary, by extensively cultivating colonial crops.

They were also empowered to collect colonial head and hut taxes, some of which they could keep for themselves (Bunker 1987). Subsequently political relations these areas were altered in ways that helped to induce and coerce colonial agriculture via local chiefs. But while land tenure relations were fundamentally altered in Buganda, they were left intact in the rest of the country. It is for this historical fact that land questions in contemporary Buganda are fundamentally different from those in the rest of Uganda. In most of Uganda land tenure is still largely owned according to traditional customs, while in Buganda a form of free hold (*mailo*) introduced as a consequence of the land allotments to nobles and chiefs is the dominant land tenure system.⁹ It is this non-uniform, multiple land tenure system, and limited direct colonial control over land by the state in Uganda, I will argue, which has inspired moves to transform land tenure in ways that will facilitate the evolution of liberal land markets in Uganda. It is through these liberal land markets that tenure uniformity and land legibility will be achieved and greater control over land by the state and her elites achieved. It is through these land markets that elite power will be articulated within land tenure and land distribution.

2.2.2 Transformation of Social and Political Relations in Tanzania in the Colonial Period

The colonization of Tanzania was executed by at least three major colonial officers. Karl Peters acquired parts of northern Tanzania, Hermann von Wissmann parts of southwestern Tanzania and Emin Pasha parts of western Tanzania. After the Berlin conference in 1884 the German government issued a charter that consolidated these territories and formally constituted them within its sphere of influence, under the

⁹In 1975 the government of Idi Amin issued a decree that all land in Uganda was public/state land. Free holds tenure was abolished and vested in a semi state body, the Uganda Land Commission. This law was never implemented. It was repealed until 1995 when a new constitution was adopted. The new 1995 constitution reestablished free hold and *mailo* land tenure and recognized customary land tenure.

mandate of the German East African Company (James 1971). A major difference between the colonial trajectories of Tanzania and Uganda is that Tanzania was taken as a colony while Uganda was taken as a protectorate. In order to adequately comprehend the peculiarities and similarities in the transformation of sociopolitical relations in Tanzania, I will juxtapose Tanzania's and Uganda's land tenures, how and why land tenure and land use evolved in the two countries. It is helpful however to distinguish a colony from a protectorate, as a way to contrast their colonial trajectories.

In much of Africa colonial rule evolved through two distinct political forms: protectorates and colonies. In order to appreciate the uniqueness in the evolution of political and social relations in Uganda and Tanzania, it is crucial to understand why and how these two forms of rule evolved in different places. Protectorates were ruled indirectly, through indigenous institutional apparatuses, while colonies were ruled directly often through appointed colonial administrators. Protectorates evolved where centralized and elaborate indigenous systems of rule existed, which presented possibilities to co-opt indigenous political systems within the colonial apparatus. In these instances indigenous political systems were generally left intact. A protectorate could be defended if it conceded its sovereignty and autonomy to the colonial power. Subsequently, the indigenous political system within the protectorate was appended to the colonial power and the colonial economy of extraction could be promoted through it. Hence protectorate status was only possible where the colonizing power found a well defined and centralized form of rule. Thus the presence of an indigenous, centralized form of rule is what created the possibility for a territory to be ruled as a protectorate. This was why and how protectorates were ruled indirectly.

Colonies on the other hand were ruled directly because they lacked a centralized and elaborate system of indigenous rule through which colonial rule could

be executed. Accordingly, the colonizer constructed their own system of rule in a colony. The territory of Uganda had a centralized and well organized system of rule it was ruled indirectly, as a protectorate, while the territory of Tanzania lacked a similar system of indigenous rule and was accordingly ruled directly, as a colony. A colonial apparatus of governance was established in Tanzania, while in Uganda the centralized Buganda system was co-opted and extended to the rest of the territory. Hence Uganda was taken as a protectorate and Tanzania as a colony due to conditions that were pertaining in either country at her encounter with colonialism. These unique historical circumstances had peculiar implications for the emerging land relations and land tenures in both Tanzania and Uganda.

A colonial administrative structure, manned by officials appointed by the colonial state was established in Tanzania. As a result, native resentment of colonial rule was more intense and widespread in Tanzania where colonial rule was more visible and likely to be perceived as illegitimate. The absence of an indigenous system through which colonial rule could be executed is what led to what was often violent expropriation of land in order to promote colonial agriculture on plantation and settler farms. Massive sisal and cotton plantations were established in the southern highlands and in many parts of northern Tanzania. While coffee was grown by native farmers, European companies established cotton, rubber and sisal plantations. Hence in Tanzania settler and plantation agriculture was employed in tandem with coerced indigenous labor and small farmer agriculture. Subsequent resentment and resistance precipitated a rebellion, *The Maji Maji*, between 1905 and 1907 (Hallet 1974) in southern Tanzania. Hence the absence of an indigenous system through which colonial extraction could be established incentivized the construction of a colonial administrative system manned by colonial officials and the promotion of plantation and settler agriculture.

Because the colonial project needed to employ coercive means, colonial officers in Tanzania had to be given arbitrary powers. Colonial officers could displace natives and allocated their land to settlers (James 1971). Settlers and commercial companies could lease land from the state, while natives could secure their rights to the land by applying for a certificate customary rights of occupancy (CCRO). Leaseholds guaranteed land use to settlers for a definite period while CCROs, held by the natives could be withdrawn at the discretion of the colonial governor, in order to for them to make way European settlers.¹⁰ In order to make land alienation possible a single land tenure system, designated as crown land, was decreed for the whole territory of Tanzania through an Imperial Ordinance in 1895.¹¹ It was through such decrees that massive displacements were legitimized and through which plantations and settler farms could be established. Eventually the colonial government in Tanzania became the ultimate landlord, holding what is commonly referred to as *radical title*. All land in Tanzania became crown land, with the state holding ultimate title. Natives were reconstituted into tenants of the state whose land rights could be withdrawn at the discretion of the colonial government.

Contrast Tanzania's case with Uganda's. In Uganda an indigenous system was present in Buganda and was extended to the rest of Uganda. The colonial project of extraction could be executed indirectly through local chiefs. Hence land was generally not directly alienated by the colonial government. As a result, European settler farms and plantation agricultures were not a crucial imperative. Colonial agriculture could be

¹⁰ In 1891 Tanzania's colonial government built a railway line from Tanga in the direction of Mt. Kilimanjaro, opening up those fertile areas for settler farmers (James 1971, Coulson 1982). By the end of German rule in Tanganyika, 1.3 million acres, mainly on the coast and in the northern highlands were allocated for settlers.

¹¹ After WW I, Germany was forced to surrender all her colonial possessions. Accordingly, Britain acquired Tanganyika and subsequently issued the Tanganyika order Council, which transferred all rights in public land to the colonial governor to be held in His Majesty's trust. However, British policies in regard to land tenure did not, generally, depart from those of the Germans (Meek 1975).

promoted mainly on small peasant farms (Coulson 1982). Forced labor was unnecessary and was used only minimally.¹² Generally, because an indigenous political system was co-opted to execute the colonial project, land alienations were not employed and land tenure systems were left unaltered, except in Buganda. Accordingly, Uganda evolved multiple and diverse land tenure systems; freehold, *mailo* land and crown land in Buganda and customary tenure in the rest of the territory. In Uganda the native in Buganda was a tenant with limited land rights while the native in the rest of Uganda retained his customary land rights. The colonial state became the ultimate landlord in parts of Buganda but not in the other Kingdoms and the non-Kingdom areas where customary forms of land tenure continued to prevail. Accordingly, the Uganda state did not obtain ultimate control over all the land within its territory as in Tanzania, and multiple forms of land tenure prevailed.

Hence, each country's prevailing social relations, political institution and distribution of political power constituted, shaped and informed trajectory and strategy of colonial rule and land tenure. In Tanzania a highly centralized, colonial run state system was established while in Uganda a local, indigenous system of rule was formed. Hence, the evolution of the political systems, social relations and land tenure systems were products of the particular conditions that prevailed at the onset of colonial encounter. In the period leading up to independence Tanzania and Uganda had distinct political institutions and land tenure arrangements precisely because their colonial trajectories were shaped by the particular conditions that prevailed. In sum, expanding colonial frontiers required violence and brutal means in Tanzania, while in Uganda expanding the colonial frontier was achieved through more consensual means. Coercion, displacement and dispossession became necessary in Tanzania while

¹² In Uganda a system of forced labor that was called *Kasanvu* required that chiefs supply 1000 laborers to the colonial government. But these way mainly used for urban civil works (Hanson 2003).

collaboration, co-optation and cooperation became the means for promoting colonial agriculture in Uganda. In Tanzania colonial agriculture was organized by and within the colonial state apparatus while in Uganda colonial agriculture was organized within indigenous political systems. However, despite their unique land tenure and political configurations, Tanzania's and Uganda's systems were linked by the extent to which they both promoted expansion of colonial agriculture and by the extent to which their social and political relations promoted colonial agriculture.

2.2.3 Urbanization, social class and political power in Tanzania and Uganda

In many African countries social class and political power were reconstituted within urban spaces. All the major institutions of the nation-state are urban based. Elite groups and commercial interests are also urban based, and these groups tend to have a more powerful and visible political voice than rural based populations. Moreover, urbanization also induced profound cultural transformations and consumption patterns in Tanzania and Uganda. Consequently, land tenure and land use change must be understood from the perspective of urbanization, social class formation, and political power.

In both Tanzania and Uganda, urbanization emerged from the growth of colonial export agriculture. As settler and plantation agricultures expanded people were displaced from rural areas into urban enclaves. Rural populations were displaced to make way for plantation agriculture. Towns and cities also emerged as centers for political and administrative organization of colonial commerce and export. With these mutually reinforcing processes socioeconomic infrastructures: schools, hospitals, roads and utilities were established to serve the new urban enclaves, mollify the demands of the emerging local elite, and support colonial agriculture (Cooper 1996). Hence on one hand plantation and settler agriculture displaced people from the

countryside and led to the establishment of labor estates and on the other hand export apparatus required an institutional framework, staffed by colonial administrators and local auxiliaries to support export infrastructure and commodity transportation (Mamdani 1984, Coulson 1982). Hence, export agriculture produced urbanization and urbanization reproduced export agriculture.

Urbanization also expanded due to other parallel and complementary process. For example, schools were built mainly to train clerks, administrators, accountants, and others, who would promote colonial expansion and extraction (Mamdani 1984). As a result, a new African elite class was formed and individuals earned formal salaries relatively higher than income from agriculture. Salaries earned as mission teachers, translators or clerks of the colonial government provided a new avenue by which men could acquire wealth and status. Ultimately, these trends reshaped the criteria for defining wealth and status (Hanson 2003). The combination of political power, religion, education, occupation and income, most of which was related to export and import commerce, created new urban class elites that had profound implications for property rights, land tenure and land use.

The extent to which urbanization and social class formation differed between Uganda and Tanzania does not emerge clearly in the historical record. However, Uganda's experience with indirect rule during which land and political power was allocated to chiefs and nobles may have elevated the social status of these groups and reconstituted social relations in ways that may not have occurred in Tanzania. Accordingly a stronger political and elite class may have emerged in Uganda than in Tanzania. The establishment of Makerere University, the first University College in Eastern and Central Africa in 1922, may also have contributed to elite class formation in Uganda. In fact, most post independence leaders in the region, such as Julius Nyerere and Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, and Tom Mboya, Mwai Kibaki and

Oginga Odinga of Kenya, received their education at Makerere University in Uganda. Elite schools reserved for the children of the chiefs and nobles such as Kings College Budo were also established in Uganda. Generally, in both Uganda and Tanzania an elite class emerged that was neither founded in the agrarian economy nor as capitalist producers. Instead the elite class that emerged comprised political leaders, government employees, import and export traders and service suppliers. Essentially this elite class formed the comprador class that was nested between European manufacture and local agricultural producers. While it is difficult to trace the extent of social class differentiation in Tanzania and Uganda and its precise impact on land tenure and land use in Tanzania and Uganda, the extent of this transformation can be placed in perspective by exploring how land was used in traditional Tanzanian and Ugandan society.

2.3 Land use transitions in the colonial period

In much of traditional African society land was held as a source of food for domestic consumption and social reproduction. Land also provided a source of identity in addition to being used for various customary rituals and practices. While many wars were fought over land, these were instigated more for territorial ambition and political power than for resource extraction, commercial agriculture and wealth accumulation. With the emergence of export agriculture, most of which earned foreign currency, land as property assumed new roles. Land as property gradually transcended its ritual, customary and identity roles and acquired a role as a source of new wealth (Bates 1983, Hanson 2003, Meek 1949). Land became an important arena for wealth extraction that would support new and emerging forms of consumption and emerging middle class lifestyles. The role of land in social reproduction assumed new dimensions. People's ecological relationship to land began to change in very profound

ways. Shifts in motivations as well as in the meanings attached to land as property and its place in defining social status were underway.

Correspondingly, new forms of urban life; increasing monetization of consumption and production, dependence on the market, the emergence of formal schooling, etc, transformed people's consumption patterns and the structure of incomes that were needed to support that lifestyle (Freund 1984, Richards and Surrock 1973). These changes added to the changing importance of land ownership and land use. More people began to own land for cash cropping and commercial agriculture. In this situation, individualized land ownership, and with it cadastralization of land boundaries started to take shape. Those who sought to maximize private advantage in the emerging commercialization of agriculture also sought private rights in land. Collectivized land ownership, which characterized land tenure in traditional society, was under stress in many places. New possibilities created by cash payments from agricultural produce caused profound shifts in patterns of land ownership. For example, in Buganda chiefs began to allocate rental rights, and women began to control land independent of men (Hanson 2003). Ultimately, the success of colonial agriculture was achieved through transformations in land tenure and land use, augmented by institutional apparatuses such as transport infrastructure, schools, administrative officers and urban centers that were constituted in the colonial period, and reinforced or reincarnated in the post-colonial period. Hence, one would notice not just the land alienations on their own but also the social, economic and political apparatuses that were instituted to consolidate, promote and legitimize colonial export agriculture.

By the time they were granted independence in the early 1960s, Tanzania and Uganda had undergone profound social, economic and political transformations in ways that had important implications for land tenure and land use. For both countries,

state building and state formation became urgent and integral goals of progress. In both countries nation building implied forming and consolidating the institutions of government, many of which were formed along those of the colonial power. For example, the judiciary, the executive and the legislative branches of government were all based on English models. The form and shape of education, health, the public service, the police, prisons and the military were all inspired by English models. Development was thus perceived as a process that would improve and consolidate institutions of the 'modern state'. The modern state was seen in terms of and defined in relation to the institutions of English polity. Hence, an entire discourse of development in which the meaning and content of development, itself synonymous with westernization, emerged. As would be expected, both the software and the hardware required to establish these institutional frameworks had to be obtained from England and foreign exchange, mainly British pounds and U.S. dollars, were required to purchase them. As export agriculture was the only means through which this foreign exchange could be earned, export promotion became a key national objective for both Tanzania and Uganda. Plantation farming and other forms of mechanized agricultural production were desired and became imperative, and significant investments were made by these countries in these schemes in order to boost export production. Specialized government departments were set up and equipped to provide extension services; services: better seeds, storage facilities, pesticides and other modern farming methods to support export agriculture. The nation state became the apparatus and the framework through which production for export to European markets was organized and reinforced within a discourse of development that was synonymous with Westernization. Consequently, agricultural export growth, with land and labor at its core, became the means through which the modern state could be reproduced. In both Tanzania and Uganda, an emerging comprador elite class,

equipped with a discourse of development and modernity, produced a bias towards export agricultural in ways that transcended the prevailing land tenure type. In sum, a surge in export agriculture was achieved in both places typically because of transformations in social relations and political institutions despite maintaining different land tenure arrangements in Tanzania and Uganda.

2.4 Deepening the colonial agricultural economy: rising export volumes but falling earnings

Falling earnings from agricultural exports despite rising agricultural export volumes revealed contradiction in this agricultural export dependency model. Within the first few years of independence earnings from agricultural exports were declining even while agricultural export volumes were rising. But the path that the colonial states typically followed simply served to deepen agricultural export dependency and these contradictions. For example, between 1961 and 1971 Uganda's total agricultural exports increased from 431,000 tons to 674,000 tons and Tanzania's from 549,000 tons to 744,000 tons. Twice the amount of coffee was produced in Uganda in 1969 as in 1962 and 50% more cotton in 1969 as in 1962; and yet declining export earnings produced an economic crisis in 1969 (Mamdani 1984). Because the colonial state depended on agricultural exports for its sustenance, falling export earnings had to be matched by increasing volumes of agricultural exports. This contradiction further reinforced the philosophy of "grow more for export" at the expense of efforts to produce food for local consumption (Lofchie 1975). According to Bates (1981) colonial governments aggressively intervened in Africa's agricultural sector in order to boost primary commodity production by regulating agricultural commodity prices, market zoning, providing incentives to cotton ginneries and standardization of quality. It is these same policies that were aggressively pursued in the post-colonial period by the

post-colonial state. Hence, this policy bias, which was initiated in the colonial era, was consolidated in scope and depth in the post independence period. Henceforth, land use was increasingly reoriented towards meeting the demands of state building, modernization and development. In sum, the emergence of a developmental state converged with a modernist ideology to incentivize and prioritize land use for export agriculture at the expense of domestic food supply. Gradually, and deliberately land was increasingly used for producing commodities for distant markets.

Further elaboration of these contradictions is possible. As export earnings declined and the import bill increased simultaneously, import substitution, a new framework that was intended to save “the hard earned” foreign currency, was implemented in Tanzania and Uganda. The motivation behind this policy was that rather than relying on imports countries should, to the greatest extent possible, produce locally what they consumed in order to save on, and minimize foreign currency outflows. Import substitution initiated many industries producing goods such as soap, sugar, textiles, tires, and other consumer goods. Unfortunately, the cost of capital equipment, which they required for this local production, continued to rise and more foreign currency was required. Ultimately more export crops were required to earn more foreign exchange; more land and more labor was required to produce more export crops. This produced a self reinforcing cyclical process of more production, more exports, and hence more foreign currency earnings. An endless spiral, a bottomless pit, in which these countries were constantly sinking and investing more land and labor in export production in order to earn foreign currency, soon became apparent. This agricultural regime, as I show in chapter four, is what obtains in the contemporary period. Unfortunately, as I will show, this historical and structural dimension of the agricultural and food crisis is often ignored in modernist agricultural policy prescriptions.

2.5 Conclusions and implications for land use and agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda

In this chapter I have contrasted the evolution of Tanzania's and Uganda's colonial land tenures and land use change. As I showed in chapter one, in Tanzania state control over land is becoming strengthened and consolidated, and in Uganda emergence of a liberal land market is being instituted. In this chapter I have attempted to account for these divergent land reform trajectories by illuminating the unique circumstances, social relations and political institutions that have shaped the specific land tenure trajectories of Tanzania and Uganda. In Tanzania the colonial power found fairly dispersed and decentralized political systems, and therefore lacked a local political apparatus and institutional base through which to establish colonial rule. Accordingly, coercive strategies: land alienations, plantation estates, settler agriculture and forced labor became the means necessary for promoting colonial export agriculture in Tanzania. This required that the colonial government in Tanzania assert control over all the land, and as a result the entire territory of Tanzania was converted into crown land. The post-independence Tanzanian state inherited and maintained this system. On the other hand in Uganda the colonial power found a highly centralized political system and feudal social relations in Buganda and extended this system of socio-political relations to the present territory of Uganda. This political apparatus was then used to establish colonial export agriculture using some coercive but mostly consensual means. Accordingly, the colonial power in Uganda did not employ coercive strategies, did not alienate land and did to establish large plantation estates. Instead colonial export agriculture in Uganda was promoted mainly within small peasant farms, by local chiefs.

At independence both countries inherited and maintained these systems of agriculture and land tenure. All land within the territory of Tanzania became state or

public land and a single system of land tenure maintained for the whole country, with the state having ultimate authority over land. In Tanzania agriculture was organized by and within the state apparatus on large plantation estates. In Uganda on the other hand the colonial power established uniform colonial rule but left indigenous land systems fairly intact, in most of the country. As a result at independence Uganda had multiple systems of land tenure: public, customary and freehold land tenures. Export agriculture was generally practiced on small family farmers, outside the direct control of the state. Hence it is because of the uniform land tenure, significant state control over land rights that state is consolidating control over land in Tanzania. Thus the state in Tanzania continues to be the mechanism through which state power over land is reproduced. However, compared to Tanzania, Uganda has more diverse forms of land tenure, agriculture is generally practiced outside the formal state apparatus and the state has limited control over peasant agriculture. Land markets in Uganda therefore become an effective tool through which a uniform land tenure system can be evolved and greater control over land and agriculture by the state achieved. Land markets are especially politically viable for achieving Uganda's objectives because they operate through a willing buyer willing seller principle and thereby conceal the ways in which the inevitability of land sales is constructed by the state. Accordingly the land tenure reforms in Tanzania and Uganda constitute attempts to complete an unfinished colonial project: the subordination of peasant agriculture by the state and eventually into a colonial imperial economy. Hence Tanzania and Uganda are travelling seemingly different paths but moving to the same destination.

In Tanzania the state will continue to be the medium through which land is accessed by elites and transnational corporations or through which indigenous people's land rights are protected. In Uganda however, a land market is being promoted as a means through which multiple land tenures will be dissolved, a uniform

system will emerge and the possibilities for state and elite control over land enhanced. It could therefore be argued that it is primarily because of these differences that the state in Tanzania is implementing land tenure reforms that will strengthen and consolidate its control over land, while the state in Uganda is implementing land tenure reforms that will encourage the emergence of a land market. Ultimately, in Uganda indigenous people are likely to be displaced and their land rights dissolved through market forces while in Tanzania this may occur via the state apparatus. In sum, in order to understand their different historical and contemporary land tenure reforms they must be situated within their unique historical trajectories and unique socio-political relations.

However, although land tenure evolved along different trajectories in Tanzania and Uganda, land use and the agriculture production outcomes in the two countries were very similar. As I have shown, both countries recorded a phenomenal surge in colonial export agriculture. In both countries an agricultural system that was biased towards exports at the expense of domestic food supply emerged (see Bates 1981, Lemarchand 1986, Lofchie 1975, Msambichaka et al 1983). The explanations for this convergence, I would argue, lie in the similar social class, political power and institutions that emerged and in the ways in which both Tanzania and Uganda are embedded within the global economy. As a result identical institutional infrastructures were established in both countries to facilitate and maintain the expansion of export agriculture. The dependence of the Ugandan state on agricultural exports was similar to the dependence of the Tanzania state on export agricultural crops even though their land tenures were fundamentally different. In both countries agriculture became the main arena from which wealth would be extracted to finance the colonial state's human and material infrastructure (Bates 1981). In both countries, colonialism constructed a nation state that was dependent on extracting wealth from agriculture in

order to finance its existence and the way of life of its elite. It is in this context that Tanzania is consolidating control over land via the state apparatus and Uganda via a land market.

Finally one must note that in the colonial era land tenure and land use reform was sporadic and chaotic, often achieved through violent dispossession, land alienations, establishment of plantation agriculture or through the collaboration of local chiefs. Accordingly, questions of legitimate authority, economic and social justice were very prevalent and they informed agitation for independence. In the post independence period however, land tenure reform has been brought within the mandate of the new nation state, as part of the process of nation building that is legitimated via a development and modernist ideology. Accordingly, while extraction from agriculture in the colonial period was achieved through diverse forms of violence, in the post-colonial period this extraction became institutionalized and legitimated through the nation state, within a framework of sovereignty, development and modernity. Thus at independence both Tanzania and Uganda embraced growth in agricultural exports, land tenure reform and land use change as a legitimate and inevitable goals for promoting development and enhancing nation building (Okoth-Ogendo 1993). Ideals of economic and social justice, which inspired independence struggles, were at once replaced by nation building and development. Access to western markets became an objective that had to be pursued, the parameter against which success was to be measured and the main objective of the development project. Hence the pursuit of nation building and national development often occurred at the expense of producing food for domestic consumption. Accordingly, the food crisis and the problems in agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda should be seen as a contemporary manifestation of land use transformation towards export agriculture,

which emerges in the colonial period and is consolidated in the post colonial period by the nation state and the twin goals of modernity and development.

In the next chapter I take this last theme and examine in greater depth how a bias towards exports and against production of food for local consumption has been sustained and perpetuated, comparatively, in Tanzania and Uganda in the post independence period. In particular, I focus on how social class and relationships of power, mediated through the nation state system, and legitimated by twin ideologies of modernity and development, have produced a system of land tenure and land use that is biased towards the production of agricultural export crops at the expense of production of food for local consumption. Taken together, I argue that relationships of power and ideologies of development and modernity have converged to promote export biased agriculture and undermined domestic food production. In that sense efforts to resolve the food crisis must address these discursive relationships of power, land tenure and land use, if a sustainable and comprehensive solution to the crisis should be achieved. Rather than addressing these relationships of power, the current land tenure reforms are based on models that will reproduce the same patterns of power and extraction and will ultimately deepen the subjugation of land and labor to export agriculture, which will exacerbate the situation of food security for local people in Tanzania and Uganda, especially the poor.

Chapter Three: De-centering Communal Land Tenure in the Agricultural Crises in Tanzania and Uganda.

3.1 Introduction

Much of the literature emanating from the modernization perspective implicates communal land tenure in the agricultural and food crises that we see unfolding in much of sub-Saharan Africa. In articulating their position, modernization based policies propose that communal land tenures should be dissolved in order to enable collateralization of land, encourage investments, and ultimately improve agricultural productivity (Holden et al 2009, Place 2009, Deininger et al 2008, World Bank 2007, Binswanger 1993). In this chapter I employ data¹³ pertaining to post-colonial Tanzania and Uganda¹⁴ to unravel, and juxtapose, the political dimensions of land use and agricultural production with the modernist perspectives on the crisis. Accordingly, I will situate the agricultural and food crises within contemporary power relations and policy processes and highlight how post-independence social and political have produced export crop and anti-domestic food agricultural systems. Ultimately, I depart from perspectives that find fault with communal land tenure, or propose technical fixes such as use of artificial fertilizers, modern technology adoption, for example, and I explore the ways in which the nation-state as a unique colonial construct, its emerging power structure and conceptions of modernity and progress have created regimes that are pro-agricultural export crops and anti-domestic food biased. First it is necessary to briefly outline the assumptions and premises that inform modernist claims that communal land tenure contributes to the agricultural crisis.

¹³ For trends in agricultural production, I use FAO statistical data. This data has been faulted for being inaccurate. However I find it appropriate to use these data because comparable data is absent, because modernist policies rely on the same data and because I employ the data to reveal trends.

¹⁴ Tanzania was granted independence in 1961 and Uganda in 1962.

3.2 The premises informing the claim that communal land tenures contribute to the agricultural crises in Tanzania and Uganda

Africa's dismal agricultural output has provided the most popular purchase for land tenure reform¹⁵ (Place 2009, See Holden et al 2009, World Bank 2008, World Bank 2003). In part the solution to the crisis has been constituted within a modernist framework. Within this paradigm Western technology; improved seeds and plant varieties, chemical fertilizers and soil improvement are some of the key remedies that have been, and continue to be advocated (World Bank 2007). Because these technical solutions require substantial capital outlays, a major dilemma for the proponents of this model has been how to finance and sustain these investments (Escobar 1997). This is how, for example, Hernando de Soto's 'dead capital theory' proposes land titling, registration and formalization as a way to resuscitate this 'dead capital'. Informal and unregistered forms of property ownership constitute 'dead capital' because the value of these properties is incomprehensible. Hence communal land tenure must be replaced by individualized and privatized forms of tenure (Musembi 2007, CLEP 2008). De Soto estimates, for example, that in the global south up to 9.2 trillion US dollars is trapped in poor people's assets because their properties are informal and are unregistered. It is this logic that has motivated formalization, registration and land titling in much of sub-Saharan Africa today (Holden et al 2009, Musembi 2007, Hunt 2004, Manji 2006).

De Soto's thesis, as is the case in much of the perspectives emanating from the modernist school, implicates communal land tenure in diminished agricultural productivity. Rather than focusing on the political processes and power relations that reproduce food crises, de Soto and others in the modernist school reconstitute land

¹⁵ It is important to reaffirm that by land reform I refer to the formalization of land title, privatization and individualization of tenure that is being implemented as a way to dissolve communal land tenures.

tenures and small farmers into targets and objects of development (see for example Holden et al 2009, Deininger and Binswanger 1999). Accordingly, communal land tenures should be dissolved, privatized, and formalized. Registered titles should be instituted in their place, and then farmers will be able to reap the potential benefits of land collateralization. A closer scrutiny of the changing composition of agriculture, as I show below, reveals that within the same country and sometimes within the same geographical space some crops have thrived while others have failed. Hence attributing the agricultural crisis to the existence of communal land tenure may be inadequate and misleading, an argument which I will pursue in greater in subsequent sections of this chapter. It is crucial, initially, to outline briefly the claims that provide the basis on which communal land tenures are linked to the agricultural crisis.

Three main claims provide the basis on which modernists¹⁶ implicate communal land tenure in Africa's dismal agricultural production. The first relates to the ways in which sub-Saharan Africa's agricultural sector is depicted as a failure. By depicting Africa's agriculture as a failure, technical fixes, which will improve productivity, become the necessary and logical solutions (World Bank 2007, Lele & Adu-Nyako 1992, Conway & Toenniessen 2003). Attention is drawn, for example, to declining per capita food production. Images of emaciated children, who are close to death, complete this drama. Added to this is the ways in which Asia's recent surge in cereal yields is contrasted with Africa's declining cereal production (World Bank 2007). As I show below, this claim is reinforced by a selective and deceptive representation of the trends and patterns in Africa's agricultural story.

The second claim relates to how the link between communal land tenure and agricultural productivity has been constructed. Because land is owned communally, so

¹⁶ Modernist perspectives are mainly inspired by the capitalist world's development trajectory. Accordingly indigenous cultural, social and political institutions must be replaced by western cultural, social and political norms and practices (Escobar 2006)

goes the argument, individual persons and households are unmotivated to undertake investments that would improve land productivity. This is the classical economics argument. Land, they claim, cannot be collateralized. Financial institutions will not accept property whose ownership rights are ambiguous. Low technology application and low fertilizer use will ensue and agricultural decline precipitated (World Bank 2007, World Bank 2003, Deininger and Feder 2001). The incorrectness of this claim and its inherent assumptions has been variously disputed by among others (Musembi 2007) who showed that land titling in central Kenya did not yield greater access to credit. Place and Otsuka (2002), and Jacoby and Minten (2007) also found that land titles did not have a significant effect on investment and productivity in Madagascar and Uganda respectively. My critique here takes a different tangent. I carefully examined the trends in productivity for major crops in the same geographical space, within the same time period. As I show below, my analysis reveals that some crops have thrived while others have failed within the same geographical space and within the same time period. It therefore follows that land tenure can neither be the only nor the sources of crop failures. We would expect that crops grown on the same land parcel would fail equally if land tenure was a factor in depressing productivity.

The third claim derives from the logic of the first: Africa's agriculture has failed, and it has failed because meager investments have been made both by national governments and by donor agencies in this sector. This claim is then conveniently supported with empirical evidence: a mere 4% of national GDP and 4% of official development assistance has been spent in the agricultural sector (World Bank 2007, Lele 1992). The notion that governments and international donors are either ignorant about the crucial contribution of the agricultural sector in assuring food security is implicit in this argument; perhaps governments and donors will pledge larger outlays to the food production sector if they are educated and reminded of this fact. By

assuming lack of awareness by these international and nation-state actors, this argument fails to attend to the historical ways in which their interests have privileged some crops, particularly export crops, over food crops. The ways in which these interests are articulated within the Africa's agricultural systems disappears from the scope of intellectual inquiry as a result, and national governments and donor agencies are reconstituted as part of the solution and not part of the problem.

3.3 Situating the agricultural and food crisis in Tanzania and Uganda in a sociopolitical context

In the first part of this section, I will examine how the broad institutional framework of the nation state and an ideology of modernity converge in Tanzania and Uganda to privilege export crops as opposed to food crops. In the second part of this section I will demonstrate the irregular and divergent trends in agricultural crop production in Tanzania and Uganda since 1961 as evidence for this agricultural duality. Using this data as the basis of my argument, I will examine some political, institutional and policy processes that have shaped this trend in the agricultural system. My aim is to try and implicate a pro-agricultural export crop and an anti-domestic food crop bias in the food crisis, and to assess the role of the nation state, conceptions of development and modernity in maintaining this agricultural dualism. Accordingly, I extricate communal land tenure from the agricultural crisis, draw attention to the complexities in the performance of the agricultural sector and to how this sector has been shaped by social class relations and political power in Tanzania and Uganda.

3.3.1 The broad political and social context and its implications for agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda.

At independence in the early 1960s Tanzania and Uganda inherited three important institutional and structural forms that would shape their future social, economic and political trajectories, with very important consequences for agricultural production. The first was a bifurcated agricultural system, which Lofchie (1975) has explained as Africa's agrarian paradox: a situation in which Africa is "unable to produce sufficient food to provide the majority of its citizens with even a barely minimal diet *but* has recorded sharp increases in its annual production of agricultural commodities destined for external markets" (pp 554). The second was the political structure of the nation-state system together with elaborate social and economic infrastructures modeled along the lines of the former colonial power, while the third was an ideology of modernity in which progress was defined within the parameters of western technological and cultural evolution. In the following section I elaborate the dynamic interaction among these processes and how they have reinforced land use regimes that were initiated in the colonial period, with detrimental implications for domestic food production.

As I argued in the previous chapter, at independence both Uganda and Tanzania inherited a largely bifurcated agricultural system. On one side of this system were principal export crops such as coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, sugar and sisal that were introduced in the colonial period primarily for export to European markets (Msambichaka 1987). As I showed in the previous chapter, colonial governments intervened and coerced the production of these crops and initiated production via settler agricultures and plantations on land that was expropriated. On the other side of this agricultural system were crops that over time become indigenized such as, millet, sorghum and beans, as well as other crops like maize that were introduced primarily to supply feed plantation and mine workers (Sitko 2007). Within this colonial economy,

peasant agriculture assumed a double burden: first as a source of food for the extractive colonial enterprise and second as the locus from which cheap labor and land would be used to produce high value export crops. It is this duality in agriculture that Tanzania and Uganda inherited at independence, and which was reinforced in the post-colonial period. Export crops became constituted as crops of ‘major importance’ and food crops as crops of ‘minor importance’. Msambichaka (1987) notes, for example, that in 1964 the Tanzanian government pledged to work towards food self sufficiency, but this pledge was directed towards maize, rice and wheat, which the government defined as international crops:

A policy of “national self sufficiency” adopted by both Tanzania and Uganda at the dawn of their independence reinforced export crop dependency (Msambichaka 1987). This policy encouraged the governments in both countries to recoup expenditures that were needed to manage the export apparatus from the nation state territory even when the benefits and profits were accrued outside it. Subsequently, export crops like coffee, tea, tobacco, sisal, cotton, were constituted as the major source of this revenue stream and were fervently supported at the expense of food crops for domestic consumption (Msambichaka 1987, Bates 1981), ultimately intensifying the duality within the agricultural sector.

Essentially, the governments in Tanzania and Uganda needed to promote export crops in order to earn foreign currency, which they needed to finance development projects. Accordingly, they established policies that induced, encouraged and coerced either quietly or openly production of export crops. The government also deliberately invested mainly in those areas that produced export crops and at the same time neglected those areas that grew traditional food crops. Export crops were supported through credit schemes, extension services, pesticides and other farm inputs and roads were built in those areas that were thought to have the biggest potential for

export crop production (Msambichaka 1987). For example the Uganda government established District Farming Institutes in eighteen rural districts through which ‘modern’ agricultural knowledge was imparted to local farmers. In addition they established institutions, departments and enterprises that were specialized to promote export crops. Uganda established the Coffee Marketing Board (CMB) and the Lint Marketing Board (LMB) in 1959 and 1969 respectively. A law establishing CMB explicitly stated its principal mandate as “to buy all Ugandan processed coffee from local licensed coffee processors and then arrange for its sale in the international market”. Similarly the law that established LMB mandated this agency to “purchase all lint cotton in Uganda and to arrange for its auction to exporters in Kampala or directly to buyers abroad”. In effect Uganda’s CMB and LMB became intermediary agencies, linking indigenous growers to European merchants. Similarly, the Tanganyika Tea Board that was established in the colonial period was renamed the Tea Board of Tanzania at independence, and in the mid 1980s the Tanzania Tea Authority was established to “assume all responsibilities for all aspects of smaller holder tea development and the functions previously exercised by the Tea Board of Tanzania”. Accordingly, Tanzania Tea Authority was empowered to “promote, supervise and implement programs for the development of the tea industry” (Tanzania Tea Authority 1989). Alongside these agencies Tanzania and Uganda established elaborate sociopolitical and economic apparatuses for exporting agricultural produce. Apparently Tanzania and Uganda aimed to earn money from agricultural exports in order to invest in local development projects. Ultimately, the rural farmer became the nexus of the development project. The rural farmer became both the major source of financial capital needed for development projects and a target of development efforts primarily intended to boost their production agricultural export crops. Inevitably,

development became synonymous with quantitative and qualitative improvements in the production of agricultural export crops.

Given the political and ethnic diversity that was brought within the nation-state system of Tanzania and Uganda by the colonial project, an extensive array of human and material resources were needed to maintain internal coherence and allegiance to the nation-state. Accordingly, enormous financial and material resources were required to sustain the new nation state especially as internal social and ethnic cohesion was fragile and strained. Hence the sheer number of personnel, physical infrastructure, vehicles and office equipment increasingly demanded more resources, most of which were derived from export crops. In effect increasing the resource basket via the promotion of export agriculture became both a development a process and a goal of nation building. These governments placed premiums on export crops over food crops because of the foreign currency which the export crops earned, and food crops were supported only to the extent to which they supported the export sector.

The development model that Tanzania and Uganda adopted further reinforced the place of agriculture as the main arena from which foreign exchange, needed for importing both capital and consumer goods, was to be earned. Development was in this respect conceived as a path via which third world nations would travel in order to catch up with the capitalist West. In his historicization of development discourse Makki (2004) appropriately explains the emergence of development as a global identity that was hierarchical, with the West at the top and the new nation states at the bottom, hence the emergence of the categories third world, second world and first world, which created a teleological path of progress. Accordingly, former colonies, like Tanzania and Uganda were third world or underdeveloped or backward while the colonial powers were first world or modern or developed. Within this hierarchy, the success of Tanzania and Uganda was primarily defined by volumes of their

agricultural exports especially as income from these crops financed modernization and nation building. Increasingly the problem of development was because “85% of the population was employed in agriculture”. Hence exit out of agriculture was needed in order to maintain a small but efficient group of farmers who could mechanize and derive the benefits of large scale agriculture. Consequently national development indices and poverty measurements, in keeping with international development norms, were framed in terms of how much coffee, cotton, tobacco, sisal and tea (export crops) were produced and not in how much, maize, beans, sorghum, sweet potatoes (food crops) were grown. For example, in her agricultural development policy of 1970-1975 Uganda made expansion of coffee production a key national priority while Tanzanian maintained the same commodity biases that had existed in the colonial period. In terms of every input (land, labor, credit and extension services) Tanzania’s agricultural policies favored export crops while negligible attention was given to development of food crops for domestic consumption (Msambichaka 1987). Accordingly a bifurcated agricultural sector, which emerged in the colonial period, was intensified in the post colonial period by the nation state and by the how development was conceived.

As colonialism collapsed, political elites of newly independent states embraced development as an enterprise for growth, legitimacy and revenue generation. The development project became an organized strategy for pursuing nationally managed economic growth (McMichael 2004). Ultimately agricultural policies were often informed not by the needs and aspiration of small farmers but by the needs and priorities set within the framework of national development as defined by national elites, in the context of and within the parameters of international development. Emerging consumption patterns and lifestyles of the urban middle classes, themselves products of a colonial imperial project, demanded goods and services that were inspired by the culture and consumption of the colonial culture. For example, elite and

middle class lifestyles were defined by parameters such as proficiency in English and other material possessions, which were defined by and within Western cultural norms. It is these consumption patterns that eventually reinforced demands for foreign exchange, in order to finance imports from Europe.

In the period after achieving their independence, Tanzania and Uganda pursued some similar and some dissimilar policies, with different implications for the composition, structure and trends in their agricultural production trajectories. In the next section I focus more critically on the salient similarities and differences in these policies for Uganda and Tanzania, and delineated the reasons for these differences. Using FAO agricultural data bases, I show the dynamic, contingent and diametrical trends in agricultural production for selected crops in Tanzania and Uganda and proceed to analyze the underlying sociopolitical forces that may have shaped these trends. I also intend to demonstrate the complexities in the performance of their agricultures and to transcend the narrow, selective and ahistorical representations of the state of agriculture in Tanzania and Uganda by mainstream modernist perspectives.

3.3.2 Dynamic, contingent and the diametric trends in agricultural production and implications for understanding the agricultural and food crises in Tanzania and Uganda

Conventional perspectives have a tendency to depict Africa's crisis through a selective presentation of Africa's food production data. For example the World Bank and other international agencies have always used declining per capita cereal production as a way to demonstrate the crisis in Africa's agriculture (see World Bank 2007, World Bank 2003). Using this data as their starting point, they have argued that urgent invests are needed in the sector in order to improve productivity. More fertilizer application (including chemical fertilizers), use of better seed varieties and provision

of agricultural tools could and should be scaled up. Registration and formalization of land tenure in order to realize the hidden value in land, it is argued, is one of the ways in which resources and incentives could be mobilized to make these investments (see FAO 2009, World Bank 2007). However, if communal land tenures or poor soils or poor technology or lack of water are the primary fetters on agricultural production one would expect that agricultural productivity should be similarly affected within both countries and within the same geographical zones. Communal land tenure or poor soils or lack of water would affect all crops irrespective of space and time. These physical conditions would not discriminate against some crops and not others. As the data below show, trends in agricultural productivity are not consistent across time for all crops. Some crops thrive while others fail within the same time period, even when they are produced within the same geographical zones. By examining the circumstances that shape these diametrical and inconsistent trends I aim to extricate communal land tenure from the food crisis and implicate sociopolitical and economic processes that have shaped the content and structure of agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda.

(i) *Rate of change in agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda: 1961 and 2005/8*

Tanzania and Uganda are both largely agricultural countries and are both dominated by small family farms. Seventy five percent of Tanzania's population and eighty seven percent of Uganda population are resident in rural areas and most of them are engaged in family farming. In both countries agriculture contributes close to 50% of GDP, over 80% of employment and almost all domestic food supply. Both countries are also heavily agricultural export dependent. In order to critically examine the structure of agricultural production in both countries and how the trends in

productivity have changed over time, I listed the major agricultural crops in each country since independence.¹⁷ Table II below shows rates of change (ROC) in per capita crop production and in food supply quantity between 1961 and 2005 and crop yields per hectare between 1961 and 2008 for each of these crops in Tanzania and Uganda. In the section following the Table, I examine these trends and compare them between the two countries in the same time period and over time within the same country. Hence the divergent rates of change for exports and food crops in Tanzania and Uganda must be situated within the processes that shaped the decisions about what is produced and in what crops invests and made or not made and not simply in prevailing in land tenure regimes.

The per capita production column in Table II captures the production of crops in tons per person per year; food supply quantity captures the quantity of food available to each person in a calendar year; and yields per hectare captures the quantity of production per hectare of land. I calculated the rate of change between 1961 and 2005/8 in each of these parameters for each crop using the following formula:

$$\text{Rate of Change} = \frac{(\text{Present Quantity} - \text{Past Quantity})}{\text{Past Quantity}} \times 100$$

¹⁷ In order to establish this list for each country I first browsed the literature and the web to obtain an initial sense of the major food crops and export crops in Tanzania and Uganda. I then corroborated this list with the FAO data base figures on agricultural production and selected the main crops that consistently featured on this list since 1961. This list of crops for each country is shown in appendix A.

Table II: Rate of change (ROC) in per capita production, food supply quantity (FSQ) and yields per hectare (Y/H) of key cash and food crops between 1961 and 2005/8

Note: * denotes food crops that do not contribute significantly to the rural household food basket; they are grown mainly for sale by rural households and I have accordingly categorized them as cash crops.

Tanzania				Uganda			
<i>Crops</i>	<i>ROC Per Capita</i>	<i>ROC in FSQ</i>	<i>ROC in Y/H</i>	<i>Crops</i>	<i>ROC Per Capita</i>	<i>ROC in FSQ</i>	<i>ROC in Y/H</i>
<i>Cash Crops:</i>				<i>Cash Crops:</i>			
Wheat	408.1	261	23.2	Rice*	1056.0	300	9.8
Tobacco	369.0	-	171.1	Tea	78.9	0	130.8
Potatoes*	367.1	341.7	73.3	Maize*	44.3	51.5	33.7
Rice*	174.4	165.6	64.9	Potatoes	41.4	35.3	24
Sugar cane	91.3	31	299	Sesame	14.5	11	93.9
Tea	85.6	-	125.9	Tobacco	5.2	-	168.3
Maize*	50.2	54.4	58	Sugar Cane	-57.1	-22	-6.9
Coffee	-55.9	-33.3	0.9	Coffee	-59.4	-	108.1
Cashew nuts	-61.2	-	75	<i>Food Crops:</i>			
Cloves	-71.1	0	108.4	Sweet			
<i>Food Crops:</i>				Potatoes	27.2	27.3	28.7
Sorghum	33.3	33.3	11.1	Cassava	20.4	-15.9	260.7
Sweet Potatoes	21.6	21.3	62.3	Beans	15.6	14.2	-31.3
Beans	-2.3	26.9	65.4	Bananas	-25.7	-25.9	13.9
Cassava	-32.6	-39.8	99	Plantains	-40.9	33.9	-7.1
Bananas	-53.1	-53.4	179.1	Sorghum	-60.7	-53.7	57.2
Plantains	-53.1	-53.1	-25.1	Millet	-61.3	-60.3	116
Groundnuts	-63.6	-84.2	-27.7	Groundnuts	-68.0	-60.9	41.8
Millet	-71.2	-72.1	2.6				
Soybeans	-78.2	-	46.2				

A quick scrutinization of Table II above reveals inconsistent and diametrical trends in the performance of the agricultural sectors of both Tanzania and Uganda. Table II lists nineteen key export and food crops in Tanzania and eighteen key export and food crops in Uganda and their rates of change per capita, food supply quantity and yields per hectare. As shown in Table II, some crops had positive rates of change

while others had negative rates of change. Table II suggests that the per capita production of some crops increased very rapidly while the per capita production of some crops slumped sharply. The same situation is evident in regard to the food supply quantity and yields per hectare quantities. Clearly, the table reveals trends in agricultural production that are more complex than those that are presented in modernist discourse. As the table above shows, wheat, rice, sugarcane and tea had exponential rates of growth, while groundnuts, millet and soybeans declined rather sharply in Tanzania. Although the per capita disjuncture between food crops and export crops in Uganda was not as extreme as the one in Tanzania, a similar picture is nevertheless evident there. In Uganda, rice, tea and maize are among those crops that had exponential rates of growth in per capita production while sorghum, millet and groundnuts declined.

The data in the table reveal that crops that thrived comprised mainly of those crops that were either exported or were consumed within urban areas, while those that declined consisted mainly of those crops that constituted the main food crops for rural based populations. Generally, in both countries but comparatively more so in Tanzania, indigenous rural food crops posted a negative change in per capita production while export crops and cash crops posted a positive change in per capita production. A counter argument to this thesis might claim that these crops have thrived because they were grown on commercial farms or by large plantation estates. However as evidence shows, in both countries tobacco and rice are grown mainly on small family farms in rural areas. In addition, although wheat and rice are grown for food and for cash, both crops are mostly consumed by urban based populations, who mainly depend on cash incomes. It is apparent that a clearer understanding of these trends must include how and why investments have been made in the production of some crops and not others and the processes that incentivize farmers to choose to grow

some crops over others. It is quite plausible that these processes have been shaped by the changing relations between the nation state and the small farmers, by the changing relations urban elite classes and the small farmers and by the increasing commercialization of rural household production and consumption.

However, before I look more critically at the plausibility of attributing the agricultural crisis to these processes, it is pertinent that I discount the theory of comparative advantage. It is pertinent to discount this theory because the concentration on export crops by African countries has been justified, in part, by comparative advantage. According to comparative advantage countries or regions should specialize in producing or growing what they are best suited for, and at least comparative cost. This will, ultimately, benefit all nations due to the benefits of specialization and large scale production. Accordingly, Tanzania or Uganda should earn from tobacco or tea or cotton, and import food that is produced in other countries at a comparatively lower cost. In order to discount this, logic I have included a column in Table II above for rate of change in food supply quantity (FSQ) for each crop between 1961 and 2005 for Tanzania and Uganda. The FSQ data is described by FAO as a representation of

“a comprehensive picture of the pattern of a country's food supply during a specified reference period....it shows each food item's availability for human consumption which corresponds to the sources of supply and its utilization. The total quantity of foodstuffs produced in a country [is] added to the total quantity imported and adjusted to any change in stocks that may have occurred since the beginning of the reference period gives the supply available during that period...the per capita supply of each such food item available for human consumption is then obtained by dividing the respective quantity by the related data on the population actually partaking in it” (FAOSTAT 2010).

As shown in Table II above, the FSQ is negative for almost all food crops except wheat, rice, potatoes, sorghum, sweet potatoes, maize and beans in Tanzania, and rice, maize, potatoes, sweet potatoes and beans in Uganda. As I have noted above, wheat, rice and potatoes are primarily consumed by urban based populations and may therefore be construed as crops for the urban elite, although they are mainly grown on small rural farms. The contribution of these crops to the diets of rural based populations is negligible and they are grown more for cash income than for food. On the other hand cassava is regarded as a drought resistant crop, and its rise in Uganda may in fact suggest that rural farmers anticipate food shortages, rather than indicate that food supply has improved. But more importantly food imports have not included sweet potatoes and cassava and therefore these crops could not have posted positive FSQs using revenue from exports. While crop exports have increased, a corresponding increase in commercial food imports, especially those that feed the rural poor has not occurred. Consequently, small rural farmers are not reaping from this comparative advantage, assuming indeed that such comparative advantage exists in real terms. Evidently revenue from agricultural exports is not being used to replenish the domestic food basket, especially for those foods consumed by rural based populations. Hence one could argue that wealth is extracted from the rural farms (as they grow tea, tobacco and rice) without reciprocal returns to that sector. Quite apparently the composition of agricultural production is being transformed in both countries in a direction that depletes the food basket and food choices of the rural people.

The column that shows the rate of change in yields also reveals inconsistent and divergent trends. A close scrutiny of the table reveals that in Tanzania sugarcane, bananas, tobacco and tea (cash crops) have the highest positive ROC in yields per hectare. Similarly in Uganda, tobacco and tea (cash crops) and cassava have the highest ROC in yields per hectare while beans plantains and sugarcane have negative

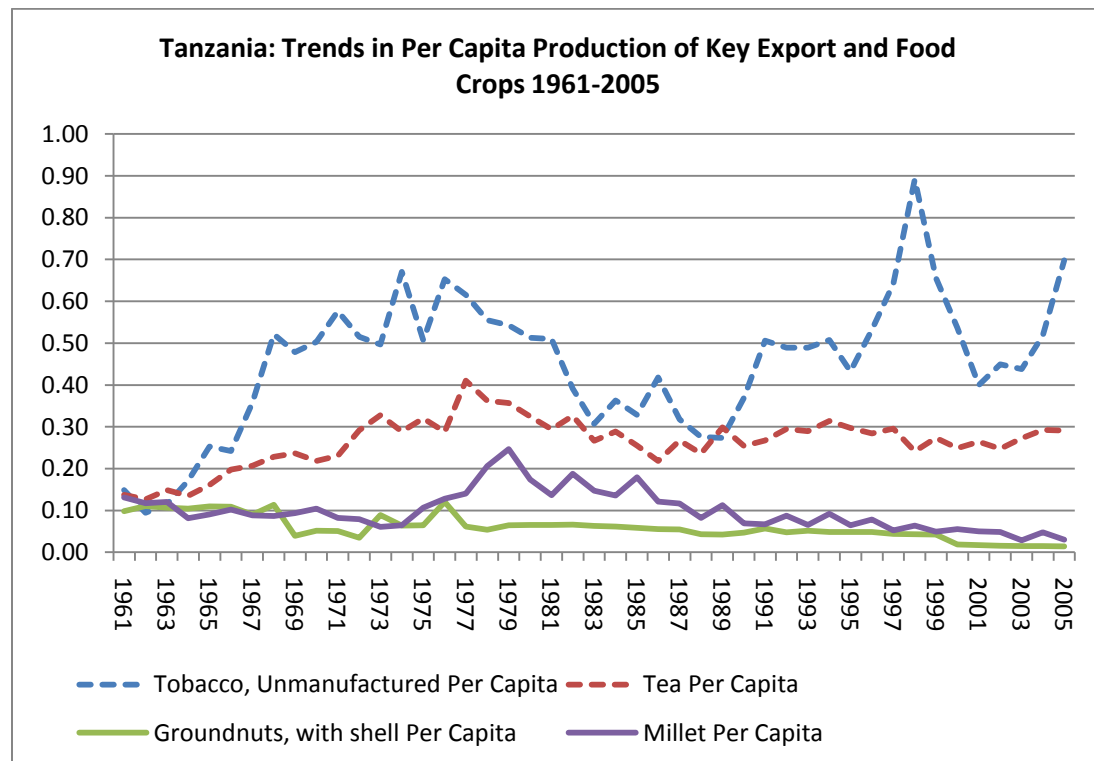
ROC in yields per hectare. Improvements in yields can, primarily, be achieved by using better technology or applying more labor input per hectare of land. The different and divergent ROC suggests that perhaps technology and labor are being applied to some crops and in some areas and not in others. Rather than the very selective and biased ways in which the performance of the agriculture sector is presented in modernist discourse, Table II above reveals the relative changes in per capita production of all major crops and identifies which crops have improving values and which one have stagnant or declining quantities. As I have already noted, these trends suggest that deliberate choices have been made about which crops to invest and not to invest. Clearly the composition of agricultural production is being transformed in both countries and it is plausible that this transformation is increasingly biased towards cash crops as small farmer's consumption is monetized. This may also occur because the composition of agricultural production is being shaped by the preferences and interests of those who wield financial and political power.

(ii) *Trends in capita production of selected crops across time*

Table II above captured only the rate of change between two time periods, 1961 and 2005/8. Accordingly, Table II conceals the trends in agricultural production during the period 1961-2005. Productivity at the opposite ends of these time period, as shown in Table II may have been untypically low or high due drought or rainfall, vermin or pests and so on. Hence Table II above is presents only a partial picture and may be skewed. In order to discount this possibility I traced per capital time series data for all the major cash and food crops in Tanzania and Uganda.¹⁸ Figure I and Figure II below show the trends for four selected crops: tea, tobacco groundnuts and millet over the period 1961 through 2005. I have limited my analysis to groundnuts

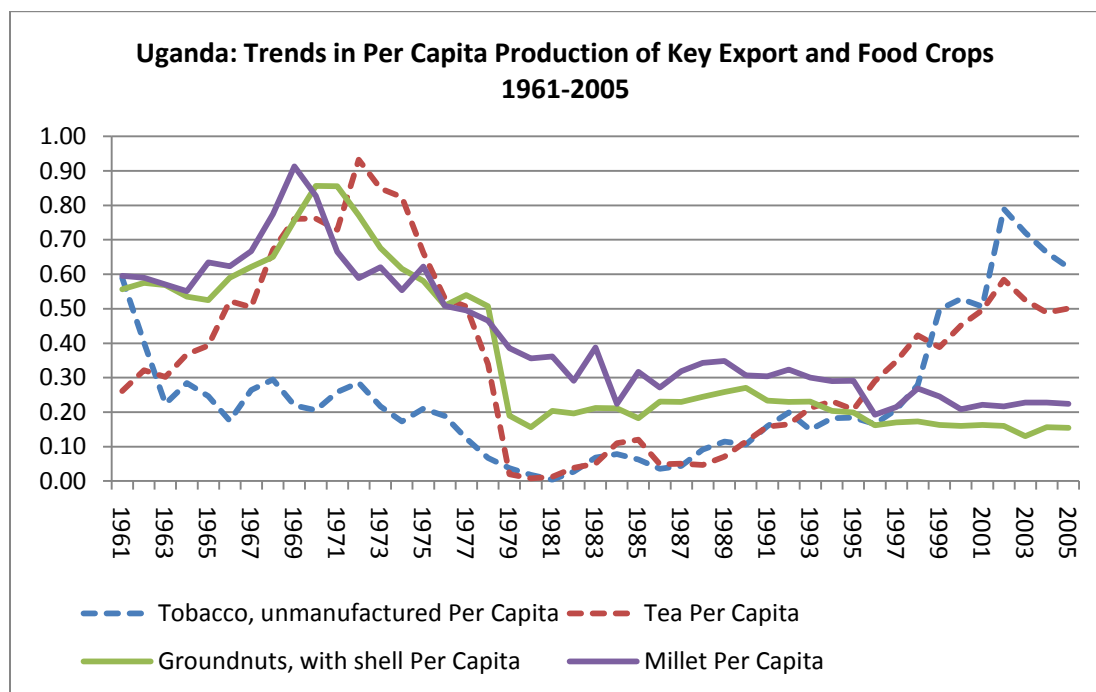
¹⁸ This data is shown more comprehensively in Appendix B (1) and (2).

and millet because they both constitute primary food crops, and on tea and tobacco because they both constitute major export crops, primarily grown for cash by small family farmers, in Tanzania and Uganda. The figures also reveal key moments at which per capita productivity increased or declined.



Note: * the dotted lines represent the export crops while the solid lines represent the food crops.

Figure I: Trends in Per Capita Production of Key Export* and Food Crops in Tanzania, 1961-2005



Note: * the dotted lines represent the export crops while the solid lines represent the food crops.

Figure II: Trends in Per Capita Production of Key Export* and Food Crops in Uganda, 1961-2005

As shown in Figure I, in the years immediately following her independence, Tanzania's per capital groundnuts and millet production (food crops) declined even while per capital tea and tobacco production (export crops) increased sharply. Conversely from the early 1970s per capita production of millet begins to rise, while both tea and tobacco decline, and from the late 1980s per capital tobacco rises sharply, tea remains steady, while both groundnuts and millet decline sharply. Similarly Figure II shows that in Uganda up to the early 1970s per capita production of tobacco was declining while per capita production of tea, groundnuts and millet was rising. All four crops declined sharply between the early 1970s and early 1980s. Tea and tobacco (cash crops) begin a steady and sharp increase in the mid 1980s, but groundnuts and millet (food crops) continue the downward spiral, and for the first time in Uganda

since 1961 the per capita production of tea and tobacco surpasses the per capita production of groundnuts and millet. These trends validate the results shown in Table II, and show a changing composition in of agricultural production in both Tanzania and Uganda.

Apparently Figures I and II suggest three fairly distinct periods: from independence to early 1970s, early 1970s to mid 1980s, and mid 1980s to 2005 in the agricultural regimes in Tanzania and Uganda. Similarities in the trends between the two countries and, correspondingly inconsistencies over time in export and food crop per capita production trends are clearly evident. On the whole, since independence in both Tanzania and Uganda, the per capita production of tea and tobacco (export crops) has risen while the per capita production of millet and groundnuts (food crops) has declined. Therefore, critically looking at the trends in the per capita production of export crops in relation to the trends in the per capita production of food crops underscores the dual and diametrical performance of Tanzania's and Uganda's agricultures, and suggests that the factors influencing productivity are neither shaped by neither shaped by natural factors nor by land tenure. Communal land tenure, which tends to be enduring, at least in the midterm and on which all these crops are grown, cannot be the main culprit in the declining food production in Tanzania and Uganda. Accordingly an approach that does not disaggregate by type of crop conceals the dynamic and changing composition of agricultural productivity and obscures other probable explanations for the contemporary failure of Africa's food production.

3.3.3 The state, power and agricultural production in Tanzania and Uganda.

Considering that agricultural output derives predominantly from land and labor, some pertinent questions can be posed: What accounts for the diametric per capita output for food crops and export crops? What are the implications of these

trends (in which comparatively export crops are increasing while food crops are declining both of which are derived from the same land and labor) for the modernist discourse, which vilifies communal land tenures and small scale rural farming? Answers to these questions, I argue, could lie in part in the changing structure and role of the state in agricultural production, in the role of social class and political power in shaping agricultural productivity, and in how the interests of TNCs are articulated within nation state territory. Because these questions are essentially about power, political and social institutions and their relations, a sociological tool kit is inevitable for unraveling them. In the rest of this section, however, I attempt to situate the trends in the performance of Tanzania and Uganda's agriculture within specific policy choices and processes. In addition to directly impacting the performance of their agricultural sectors, these policy shifts transformed the relations between the state and peasant agriculture and the relations between small farmers and their land, ultimately reshaping the composition of agricultural production in different ways in both countries. Ultimately, my aim is to reinsert the nation state form, its structure and political power in reproducing a duality in agriculture within Tanzania and Uganda, which is biased against domestic food production. I have separately examined three time periods: early 1960s to early 1970s, early 1970s to mid 1980s, and mid 1980s to mid 2000s, because the trends shown in the figures above suggest these three junctures in the per capita production trends of these key crops.

(i) *The first decade of independence: early 1960s to early 1970s*

Apparently there is limited scholarly work on the policies and specific state interventions that shaped the trajectory of Tanzania's and Uganda's agriculture in the first decade of their independence. However it has been generally stated that Tanzania and Uganda continued with the colonial policies that favored export crops over food

crops (Essak 1971, Bates 1981). The colonial political and economic apparatus of extraction remained intact in both countries. According to Essak, in 1966 the form and ownership of banks, insurance companies, food processing and industries, whole sale trade imports and exports was still the same in Tanzania as that which existed prior to independence. The economic superstructure inherited from the colonial powers was still the same and the pattern of agricultural property relations were not altered by independence. Essak adds that in the first years of independence Tanzania's masses were getting restless about the slow pace of change in the orientation of Tanzania's economy. In addition Lele (1984) indicates that by the late 1940s Tanzania's subsistence peasant agriculture had begun to commercialize and production of export crops, mostly grown by peasants increased from by about 3.5% from 1930's to 6% in the late 1960s. According to Kamata (2009) Tanzania's small producers remained in the same relations of exploitation that were imposed in the colonial period. Similarly in 1962, on the advice of the World Bank, the Uganda government committed to increasing yields in the primary commodity producing sectors, to rely on foreign capital to finance her development plan and to encourage the growth of local private sector (Mamdani 1984). For example Uganda's agricultural exports grew by 5% between 1960 and 1970, suggesting a continued emphasis on export crops by the government. These were also the formative years of nation state formation in both countries, which entailed extending state infrastructure and ultimately a greater need for foreign exchange. How and why the state evolved in the early years of independence and the particular social and political relations that shaped the agricultural economies of Tanzania and Uganda is an open question.

(ii) *The next fifteen years: early 1970s to mid 1980s*

As shown in Figures I and II above, between the early 1970s and the mid 1980s, per capital production of tea and tobacco (exports) in Tanzania declined while per capital production of millet and groundnuts (food crops) increased. Conversely in Uganda both export crops and food crops declined rather sharply in this period. In Tanzania, a fundamental policy shift started to unravel there in 1967, when the Tanzanian state adopted *The Arusha Declaration*. The main tenets of *The Arusha* declaration were the following: (1) promotion of national self reliance, which the Tanzanian government pursued aggressively in tandem with her African socialism framework; (2) disengagement from or redefinition of the terms with which the Tanzanian state traded internationally; and (3) emphasis on equal opportunity for participating in the affairs of the state by every citizen (Biersteker 1980, Gondwe 1980). Accordingly, the *Arusha Declaration* set in motion policies that would fundamentally transform the relationships between the state and the peasantry on one hand and the state and her international trade partners on the other (Biersteker 1980). The preamble to the *Arusha Declaration* specifically stated that “all human beings are equal” and that “every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has a right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national levels”. These policy shifts probably provide the most plausible explanations for the differences in trends in per capita food crop production between Tanzania and Uganda starting in the early 1970s, as shown in the Figures I and II above.

Although the *Arusha Declaration* has been faulted for initiating a bloated public sector and for failing to deliver on some of its objectives, the emergent policy framework was exceptional in its emphasis on food crop production for domestic consumption and in promoting health and nutrition (Biersteker 1980). In articulating

the food self sufficiency goal, President Nyerere stated in his introduction of Tanzania's second five year 1969-1974 development plan that "our plan aims at more food, more education, and better health, and in order to achieve these things we shall spend £250,000,000" In addition the Tanzanian government made deliberate steps to reduce export dependency by limiting importation of non-essential goods. For example Nyerere announced that "we are trying gradually to transform our economy so that it is no longer export dominated but is directed to the creation and service of a rising local market" (Tanzania 1969:). Consequently the contribution of exports to GDP declined from an average 24.4% in the first six years of independence to an average of 18.4% in the years after the *Arusha Declaration*. Accordingly more national and household level efforts were devoted to the production of food crops for domestic consumption as opposed to production for export. As a result the production of domestic food crops surged and correspondingly the rate of undernourishment in Tanzania dropped sharply from 65% in 1970 to 29% in 1980 (United Nations 2009).

Both countries also embarked on fundamental policy shifts in the late 1960s, articulated in *The Common Man's Charter* in Uganda and in the *Arusha Declaration* in Tanzania. Both Uganda's *The Common Man's Charter* and Tanzania *Arusha Declaration* signaled a policy shift towards more socialist state run national economies. However Uganda's *The Common Man's Charter* was comparatively watered down, did not emerge from an ideological framework that was as coherent as Tanzania's *Arusha Declaration*, and therefore did not articulate policy prescriptions that were as clear and as focused as those that were articulated in Tanzania's *Arusha Declaration*. Moreover the implementation of *The Common Man's Charter* in Uganda was stopped by the military coup of Idi Amin in 1972, while the *Arusha Declaration* was implemented in Tanzania through the mid 1980s. It is generally that the performance of the agricultural sector in Uganda was mainly affected by economic

and political turmoil during the rule of Idi Amin. The improvement in food crop and decline in export crop production and subsequently the phenomenal improvement in undernourishment in Tanzania is generally attributed to the state policies ushered in by the *Arusha Declaration*.

(iii) The next two decades and structural adjustment: late 1980s to 2006

Figures I and II show that the per capita production of tobacco surged in both Tanzania and Uganda starting in the mid 1980s. This period marked a significant shift in per capita tobacco production in both countries. In addition the per capita production of tea also increased sharply in Uganda. Indeed as I show in Appendix B (2) the per capita production of major crops declined and the per capita production of major export crops increased in this period. Accordingly this period marks a critical juncture in agricultural production trends in both countries. This was also the period when structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were initiated. These SAPs initiated very important economic, social and political reforms that had profound implications for social class, the role of the state and the place of agriculture in the economic and social development in both Tanzania and Uganda. Evidently the composition and orientation of agricultural production coincides with the implementation of structural adjustment, and this period should therefore be examined carefully.

The structural adjustment programs, imposed on these countries by the World Bank and IMF, were initiated to address the adverse balance of payments (BoP) deficits that peaked in this period. SAPs were meant to rectify the BoP deficits by retrenching public sector expenditures and increasing cash receipts from agricultural exports. Reduction in public expenditures essentially entailed retrenching public expenditure across the board. Education, health care and agricultural sectors were hit

hardest because they traditionally consumed the biggest share of public expenditure and because priority was accorded to economic infrastructure. Cash receipts would be increased by expanding agricultural crop exports, mainly of traditional export crops: coffee, tea and tobacco. Structural adjustment programs were especially conceptualized within an ideology of economic liberalism: agricultural commodity markets were liberalized, private for profit providers were facilitated with World Bank financing to occupy the gap vacated by the state in education, agriculture and health care services, agricultural extension would be 'demand driven' and farmers would have to purchase seeds, vaccines and veterinary services on the open market. Accordingly, agricultural commodity state run parastatal entities that were set up in the colonial period and maintained in the post-colonial period were disbanded and private, commercial local and foreign corporations were facilitated to occupy their space. Ultimately, the role of the state was reconstituted from a service provider to umpire; from a manager of rural consumption and production to an arbitrator of rural farmers and private commercial entities in a market place of production and consumption.

Evidently SAPs altered the relations between the state and small rural farmers in very profound ways. Prior to SAPs the state had been a beneficent provider of goods and services. Now the state worked to promote an environment that facilitated private sector participation in education, health care agricultural extension and commodity export markets. Accordingly, comprehensive legal, administrative and regulatory reforms were initiated to facilitate the growth of the private sector and the emergence of new markets. New state institutions like the Coffee Development Organization, Cotton Development Organization and Uganda Tea Authority were established to oversee their respective sectors in Uganda. At the same time education and health both of which constituted major consumer goods for rural households were

privatized and commercialized. Thus in order to sustain their consumption rural households increasingly relied on cash cropping. Rural household production increasingly shifted from food for domestic consumption to production for cash. But as agricultural commodity prices declined and the cost of health care and education increased, a role of cash cropping in household consumption was enhanced. Since the onset of SAPs, undernourishment in Tanzania was exacerbated climbing from 28% in 1980 to 44% in 2003 (United Nations 2009).

Ultimately, private sector participation in the agricultural commodity markets in Tanzania and Uganda increased substantially. For example tobacco contract farming by a transnational corporation, the British American Tobacco, intensified in West Nile and Bunyoro regions in Uganda. The Uganda Tea Association was also formed in this period to cater for the interests of major multinational tea companies like Toro Mityana Tea and James Finlay. In Tanzania the Tea Authority promoted tea production among small holders, and a Tanzania Smallholder Tea Farmers Development Agency was formed in 1989 (Baffes 2003). The Tea Research Institute of Tanzania (TRIT) was established in 1996 and in 1998 Cranfield University at Silsoe based in the UK was appointed to manage TRIT. By 2003 smallholders accounted for almost half of the land under tea production in Tanzania. Tanzania's 2006 Agricultural Sector Development Plan focused specifically on the development of coffee, cotton and tea (each of these crops was mentioned at least 20 times in the report) and no mention was made of indigenous food crops such as sorghum and millet. More than in any other period since independence small indigenous farmers were left to contend with private for profit actors in all aspects of their consumption and production. In the period prior to structural adjustment the state was the apparatus via which value from agriculture was extracted. In the period during and after structural adjustment local and transnational private actors occupied the role vacated by the state, and continued

this extraction in more aggressive forms. As rural consumption was commercialized farmers were increasingly compelled to resort to cash cropping to finance their consumption and to divert their land and labor for this purpose.

3.4 Some emerging insights and sociological questions

In the foregoing account I have shown how policies that were initiated in the colonial period were reproduced and perpetuated in the colonial period. I have also shown how the agricultural export crop bias was reproduced and the implications this may have had for domestic food production. And yet this account also reveals an uneven temporal and spatial terrain. In the initial period, in the first decade after independence, the prerogative for export crops appears to have been intensified in both countries. But ten years later, in both Tanzania and Uganda this prerogative appears to have waned, but was again escalated beginning in the early 1980s. Accordingly, a framework that implicates land tenure, which tends to be stable over a long term, in the agricultural crisis, must be questioned. But to attribute these agricultural trends and to focus attention exclusively on policy choices may serve to conceal the power relations and social class interests that these policy choices represented. Accordingly our attention must transcend the particular policy choices, as limiting ourselves to these policies would reify these policies. Our attention must, ultimately, be place on power relations, social class and political power. This is the argument that I have attempted to illuminate in this thesis. And yet the Tanzanian case presents another dilemma. If class and powerful interest were articulated within policy choices, how and why was Tanzania, starting in the 1970s, able to deemphasize agriculture exports and reduce luxury imports, a choice that appears to have been inimical to the interests of its urban elite? It is possible that during this period the Tanzania state was extricated from comprador class interests or that these comprador class interests were

not yet well developed, and the state represented more closely the interests and aspirations of the rural peasantry. Uganda's case in the same period is less contestable because it seems clear that the collapse of economic and social policies during the tyranny of Idi Amin may have impacted agricultural production across the board. Accordingly in Uganda, in this period, both agricultural exports and food crops declined. Similarly, how and why do we see a profound turn around in agricultural production in both countries in the mid 1980s? What do these trends say about the evolution of the Tanzania and Ugandan state and the articulation of power and class and transnational corporate interest within the structures and policies of the state? Did the structural adjustment programs produce a re-articulation of transnational interests within the nation state? If this is the case, how was this done, and what implications did this have for the livelihoods of small rural farmers? If the colonial legacy is enduring as I have argued, how precisely does this legacy endure? Who are the actors and what are the policies that have reproduced this legacy? Finally, if we should pay attention to Polanyi's double movement, and Gramsci's analytical hegemony framework, how are these policy processes, which are driven by powerful interests, negotiated, contested and adapted in various forms at the local level? In particular, understanding these policies are negotiated, contested and adapted may provide a window into how policies are translated and reproduced in practice at micro levels.

Lofchie (1975) noted that "African governments continue to exhibit more interest in the satisfaction of European coffee and tea drinkers than they do in the food consumption of their own populations". In this chapter I have endeavored to explore the specific policies choices and actions by the post independence governments of Tanzania and Uganda that have reproduced the paradox that Lofchie highlights. I have tried to explore the particular historical and structural conditions that have created the inevitability of these policy choices and actions. After all policy choices are neither

devoid of history content, nor are they free of specific social and economic interests. In fact policy making is itself a political process, and policy processes are infused with contestations around choices by actors and policy positions will represent who has prevailed in this contest. I argue that political elites, the class structure and transnational corporate interests have instituted policies that have stripped rural farmers of the possibilities for growing their own food.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The food price hikes of 2008 illuminated Africa's agricultural crisis and revived calls for larger investments in the agricultural sector, unfortunately, in ways that have obfuscated its historical dimensions and the sociopolitical relations that reproduce it. As I have shown the crisis in agriculture must be situated historically in order to unravel particular social and political relations that have produced a form of agriculture that does not serve the food needs of the rural majority. However, current efforts to improve agricultural productivity, framed in a paradigm of modernity, propose technical fixes that negate political and social dimensions. In particular, the colonial records of both Tanzania and Uganda show that in both countries a social and political institutional framework intended to support the growth agricultural exports emerged, at the expense of domestic food production. This institutional framework evolved in the colonial period and was reproduced and perpetuated through the independence period. In the colonial period both countries were set on a path that supported export crops often at the expense of domestic food supply.

While the evolution of each country's socio-political economy is unique, both Tanzania and Uganda are linked by the extent to which both their systems became oriented towards agricultural export crops. In particular, each country's agricultural evolution was shaped by its unique set of social and political relations that existed at the moment of colonial encounter. By constructing their trajectories, the ways in which their agricultures were shaped by their sociopolitical relations come to the fore. Thus Uganda was ruled indirectly because the colonial empire adapted the tenuous relations between the nobility and the peasantry, while a system of direct rule was adopted for Tanzania because of the absence of an indigenous system through which colonial rule could be extended. It is precisely because of these distinct socio-political

contexts that Uganda had, during the colonial period and beyond, multiple systems of land tenure, while Tanzania had a single unified system of land tenure. The multiple systems of land tenure in Uganda were maintained because a socio-political apparatus existed and transforming the land tenure system in order to promote export crops was not imperative. In Tanzania however it was necessary to transform the system of land tenure in order for the colonial government to gain direct control over land, given the absence there of an indigenous system of rule upon which the export agriculture would be built. Ultimately, in Tanzania the colonial and post-colonial state assumed full ownership over all the land while in Uganda customary land tenures continued to prevail and the natives retained significant land rights. In Tanzania state owned land created the possibility of the promotion of plantation agriculture, while the existence of feudal relation in Uganda facilitated the promotion of colonial agriculture on peasant farms and negated transformation of indigenous land rights. In both Tanzania and Uganda the colonial systems that evolved were embedded within the particular social and political context that prevailed.

The important insight that one derives from the foregoing account points to the continuities of political power within the historical evolution of both Tanzania and Uganda, despite the uniqueness between the two countries. The extent to which prevailing social and political relations shaped the form of political power, land relations and land use that emerged is a thread that links both countries in the evolution of their agricultural systems. The colonial government in Tanzania constructed a direct system of rule, because of the absence of an indigenous political apparatus through which colonial rule could be extended, and a single uniform system of land tenure had to be implemented. The colonial government in Uganda implemented an indirect system of land tenure because of the existence of a feudal system of rule, leaving land tenure relations generally intact, and as a consequence a

non-uniform land tenure system evolved. In both places therefore, it is the prevailing social and political relations that shaped the system of land tenure that evolved, and not the land tenure per se. In effect therefore, any attempt to link land tenure, land use and agricultural productivity must be situated within the historical evolution of social and political relations and how they impacted land use and agricultural production. More succinctly, land tenure reforms in both countries must be placed against this historical process of export crop orientation often at the expense of food crops. Given that both the Tanzanian and Ugandan state have a historical interest in increasing export revenues, the extent to which their land tenure reforms will support the promotion of food for domestic consumption is a question that is open to empirical scrutiny.

In order to jump start agricultural production modernists direct attention to land tenures and farming systems, rather than at the structural relationships that reproduce and perpetuate it. By focusing exclusively on production, modernists treat the agricultural crisis as if it were primarily a natural calamity, arising from a Malthusian population trap; declining soil fertility, poor technology and high population growth. In effect modernists constitute the farmer as the object and target of development, rather than its subject through whom historical relations of oppression and exploitation can be contested and transformed. Essentially, modernists reconstitute small farmers as the culprits in the agricultural crisis, rather than as victims of historical and contemporary relations of extraction and dispossession. Accordingly, it is likely that the land tenure reforms currently unfolding in Tanzania and Uganda will simply manifest and reproduce the prevailing relations of power, and eventually exacerbate the problems that are inherent in how agricultural systems have been reorganized.

As I have endeavored to show, the agricultural and food crises in Tanzania in Uganda essentially have profound power dimensions, which also have profound

historical roots. Emergent social relations and political power in Tanzania and Uganda have essentially constructed an agricultural system that serves the interest of those who wield power, and who conceptualize modernity and progress via a Western lens. And yet contemporary modernist remedies are devoid of any political and historical content. While the crises in their agricultures have a profound historical and political context, the proposed modernist remedies are primarily ahistorical and apolitical. The very naked amnesia that characterizes modernist policy perspectives is certainly shocking. Why in the face of political and social dimensions in the agricultural crisis are remedies that exclude the political dimensions, social and power relations continuously rehearsed? Why are remedies that reify the state, and which as a result, will likely exacerbate the situation constantly pursued? One explanation is that this is the easy and quicker way to proceed. Another plausible explanation is the pervasive dominance of methodological individualism and its institutional apparatus and how it is resisted. Gramsci would probably provide the most appropriate way in which to situate and accommodate this hegemony: “hegemony is moral and intellectual leadership which treats the aspirations and views of subaltern people as an active element within the political and cultural hegemony of the hegemonizing bloc...hegemony as an ongoing negotiation represents an advance on conceptions of power which see it as the static possession of a particular social group the concept of hegemony understood in contrast to domination acknowledges the active role of subordinate groups in perpetuating and resisting the operation of power (Jones 2006: 55, 41). Perhaps we are at the moment at which civil society and institutional apparatuses have internalized and reproduce this methodological individualism. At the same time, as Gramsci suggests, possibilities for discerning resistance and contestations to this hegemony exist if we strip ourselves of blinders that serve the

interests of the hegemonic bloc and wear those that serve the interests of subaltern groups.

This study has attempted to illuminate how political power gets translated or manifested within policy choices that have implications for what gets produced and the incentives and disincentives that shape agricultural production. Ultimately, the starting point for explaining the agricultural crisis does not therefore lie in any perceived links between communal forms of land tenure and degenerative agriculture or in technical fixes such as access to credit or modern technology but in how power has been constructed, how it wielded and how it shapes how land is used and what is produced on that land. These are, invariably, historical and sociological questions, which call for an epistemological shift from one that conceives of society in ahistorical terms or as one that is comprised of individuals that are interacting in an empty social space to one that conceives of society as consisting of social class, political power, social relations and how these permeate and constitute political institutions and social policies, which are in turn translated into choices about agricultural production.

Mkandawire's concept of a merchant state appropriately provides an entry point through which to further clarify the evolution of social and political relations between the state bureaucracy the peasantry and agriculture in both Tanzania and Uganda (Mkandawire 1987). According to Mkandawire a merchant state is one in which the state is heavily dependent on extracting agricultural surpluses for its reproduction. Accordingly, in both Tanzania and Uganda state extraction of economic rents from the peasantry commenced in the colonial period. In both countries dependence of the merchant state on agricultural output was itself an outcome of a colonial processes and this dependence was reproduced in the post independence period by the ways in which progress and modernity were conceived. But the symbiotic relationship between an agricultural export dependent state and the

conceptions of modernity and progress was contradictory, and this situation was therefore unsustainable. Structural adjustment programs were instituted in order to rectify the massive balance of payments deficits that ensued from these contradictions. But structural adjustment programs also reconstituted the state from a paternalistic, commanding and coercive institution to one that was essentially an umpire, mediating in transactions between the peasantry and transnational corporations. And this is the point at which Tanzania and Uganda both diverged and converged. Structural adjustment transformed the Tanzanian state into an umpire who retained significant command over the social and political space. But in Uganda the state fundamentally abdicated its commanding powers and instituted deep political and economic liberalism. While in the period prior to structural adjustment the Ugandan state had been a conduit that linked peasants and TNCs, in the period after structural adjustment TNCs began to link directly with the peasant farmers and the Ugandan state became an arbiter in transactions between the peasantry and the TNCs. The state would create an environment that enabled TNCs and other local private actors to emerge and participate in local and global markets. Structural adjustment programs removed protections on local markets and fetters on the links between local and global markets. In Tanzania a commanding state maintained but pursued agricultural export growth. At this moment we see that global economic interests get intensified in both Tanzania and Uganda and a surge in export crops occurs via the state in Tanzania and via the market in Uganda.

As I have shown the orientation and duality of the agricultural systems, the surge in cash cropping in the early phase of the colonial period, the emphasis on export agriculture in Tanzania and Uganda, the waning of export agriculture in the 1970s and the re-intensification of export agriculture starting in the 1980s generally reveals very similar patterns and trends in Tanzania and Uganda. What this would

suggest, quite obviously, is that a framework that starts with communal land tenure in explaining the agricultural crisis is wholly inadequate. Focusing on land tenure, and excluding social and political relations that coerce, induce and encourage particular forms of land tenure obscures these relations and provides the space for national elites and transnational corporations to shape land tenure and reproduce forms of land use that benefit them. A network of national elites and transnational corporations, and collaboration between them, may institute land tenure and land use in ways that suit their interests, at the expense of the rural folks who have been oppressed and brutalized initially by the colonial project and contemporarily by the post independence social and political order.

The post-independence Tanzanian and Ugandan merchant states have instituted land tenure reform measures that are mutually conditioned by goals of extraction and the social and political conditions that prevail in their contemporary contexts. Like the colonial powers before, both post-independence states in the two countries have instituted land tenure reform measure that are conditioned by and which are products of their own unique histories. But both countries are inextricably linked by a goal of extraction from peasant agriculture that was initiated in colonial and was reproduced in the post colonial periods. In both cases relations of power and extraction were maintained, and remained largely intact through the independence period. Accordingly, it is these relations of power that have reproduced, in more aggressive ways, state control over land in Tanzania and have instituted a liberal land market in Uganda. This is why Tanzania and Uganda appear to have diametrically opposed land tenure reform processes, and yet reveal similar patterns of agricultural extraction. In addition, and just as crucial, in Tanzania the contestations and tensions over resources are expressed within state-peasant relations and in Uganda among the state, market and peasant relations. But the dichotomy between state-led and market-

led approaches is blurred to the extent that, as Polanyi (2001) would suggest, the state and the market are both sites of dispossession and contestation, conjoined by relations of power. In both Tanzania and Uganda it is the prevailing similar social relations and forms of political power that have reproduced the merchant state, and intensified agricultural dualism that is biased against food production for domestic consumption. As Marx would have it, in Tanzania these relations constitute *visible* processes of primitive accumulation and in Uganda they constitute *fetishized* process of primitive accumulation. It is against this background that the crisis in their agricultures must be understood.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Top exports for Tanzania and Uganda since 1961 listed in approximate order of importance

Tanzania:		Uganda:	
<i>Main export crops</i>	<i>Main food crops</i>	<i>Main export crops</i>	<i>Main food crops</i>
Coffee, Green	Cassava	Coffee, Green	Plantains
Cotton Lint	Vegetables, Fresh Nes	Cotton Lint	Cassava
Cashew Nuts	Maize	Tea	Sweet Potatoes
Tobacco Leaves	Cashew Nuts	Tobacco Leaves	Beans, dry
Tea	Plantains	Sugar	Maize
Beans, Dry	Beans, Dry	Beans, Dry	Millet
Maize	Rice, Paddy	Sesame Seed	Sesame Seed
Sugar	Sweet Potatoes	Maize	Bananas
Beef & Veal	Sorghum		Potatoes
Cloves, Whole Stems	Millet		Vegetables, Fresh Nes
	Ground Nuts in Shell		Sorghum

I compiled this list through a 2-step process:

(1) I did a simple web search and identified the major food crops and export crops for each country. For example for Tanzania this info is available at <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/agriculture.html> and for Uganda at <http://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/uhome.htm>.

(2) I corroborated this list with the FAO data bases, looking carefully for the top 10-12 food crops and export crops produced in each country since 1961. I then came up with 10-12 crops that consistently appear, on the FAO data base, among the top 12 food crops and export crops for each country since 1961.

Notice that maize and beans appear on the export and food crop columns in both Uganda and Tanzania. But as I computed the total export data, as a way to arrive at the total per capita export crop production, I excluded these two crops. In retrospect I realize that perhaps I should also exclude these two crops as I compute the total per capita food crops.

**Appendix B (1): Export and Food Crop production (thousand tons) for
Tanzania, 1961-2006**

Tanzania Export Crops	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2006	Rate of Increase
Coffee	33000	49700	66441	46210	58100	52000	1.58
Cotton	30140	55018	44099	38670	30841	46512	1.54
Cashew N	50000	126409	64000	29850	98600	90400	1.81
Tobacco	2701	14154	17200	23322	24270	53000	19.62
Tea	4459	9182	15537	19530	25500	31000	6.95
Sugar	387370	1190700	1370000	1420000	1500000	2750000	7.10
Sisal	201100	181104	73956	35662	25200	23500	0.12
Sesame	12193	10526	20000	30000	41000	48000	3.94
Maize	590000	719000	1839000	2331800	2579000	3400000	5.76
Rice	94000	171000	200000	624615	868000	1206000	12.83
Food Crops							
Beans	80000	133584	250000	270000	270000	290000	3.63
Cassava	2800000	3192172	5824000	7460000	6884000	6600000	2.36
Fresh Veg	612860	763000	910000	1010000	940000	955000	1.56
Plantains	344800	359000	600000	600000	623531	600000	0.98
S Potatoes	215000	228824	400000	290800	950100	960000	4.47
Sorghum	180000	150335	425000	612000	735700	900000	5.00
Millet	145000	128846	280000	200000	206500	185000	1.28
G Nuts	40000	34756	56000	70000	52000	54000	1.35

**Appendix B (2): Export and Food Crop Production (thousands of tons) for
Uganda, 1961-2006**

Uganda Exp	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2006	Rate of Increase
Coffee	94100	175500	97500	147366	197410	168000	1.79
Cotton							
Tobacco	7217	4400	100	5140	22572	33000	4.5
Tea	5100	18000	1700	8877	32857	35000	6.86
Rice	3200	22000	15000	61000	114000	154000	48.12
Sugar	1211000	1720000	360000	845000	1542599	2000000	1.65
Food Crops							
Sesame	34000	31000	25000	61000	102000	166000	4.88
Maize	196000	421000	342000	567000	1174000	1262000	6.43
Beans	100000	222000	240000	383000	511000	435000	4.35
Cassava	1120000	2417000	3034000	3229000	5265000	4926000	4.4
Fresh Veg	160000	200000	280000	370000	395000	395000	2.47
Plantains	3700000	7557000	5900000	8080000	9732000	9054000	2.45
S Potatoes	495000	1425000	1300000	1785000	2515000	2628000	5.31
Sorghum	276000	348000	320000	363000	423000	440000	1.59
Millet	420000	650000	480000	576000	584000	687000	1.64
G Nuts	120000	251000	90000	144000	146000	154000	1.28

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