

Land Matters II

Results from the Preliminary Impact Study of the ILGU Project's work in Central Uganda

April 2021



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA
Ministry of Lands, Housing
& Urban Development



EUROPEAN UNION



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Published by

giz

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
ALC	Area Land Committee
BMZ	German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development
CoO	Certificate of Occupancy
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DLO	District Land Office
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
GNSS	Global Navigation Satellite System
ILGU	Improvement of Land Governance in Uganda
LC	Local Council
LIP	Land Inventory Protocol
MLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
NIN	National Identification Number
RELAPU	Responsible Land Policy in Uganda



ILGU is currently implemented in over 20 sub-counties in the districts of Mubende, Mityana, Kassanda and Gomba and works on land-use rights documentation of tenants on private Mailo. The project has started in January 2017 and is expected to end in December 2021.



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1. Improve the institutional framework and procedures to secure tenure rights in Central Uganda.
2. Increase the engagement of the civil society in the formalization and implementation of a responsible land policy.
3. Raise awareness of private agriculture investors and financial institutions about responsible land policy along internationally agreed guidelines and the National Land Policy of Uganda.

GIZ ILGU has been implemented in partnership with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) at national level, District Land Offices at district level, and Area Land Committees at sub-county level. It facilitates land mapping, land documentation and land conflict mediation as well as continuous awareness raising and capacity building for key stakeholders and the rural population on land rights and responsibilities. The project has further partnered with various Civil Society Organizations such as: Uganda Community Based Association for Women and Children Welfare (UCOBAC), Partners for Community Transformation (PaCT), Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE), Uganda Agribusiness Alliance (UAA), Makerere University Kampala, private survey firms: KOM Consult Ltd., Spot Surveyors Ltd, and the financial sector: Uganda Bankers Association (UBA).

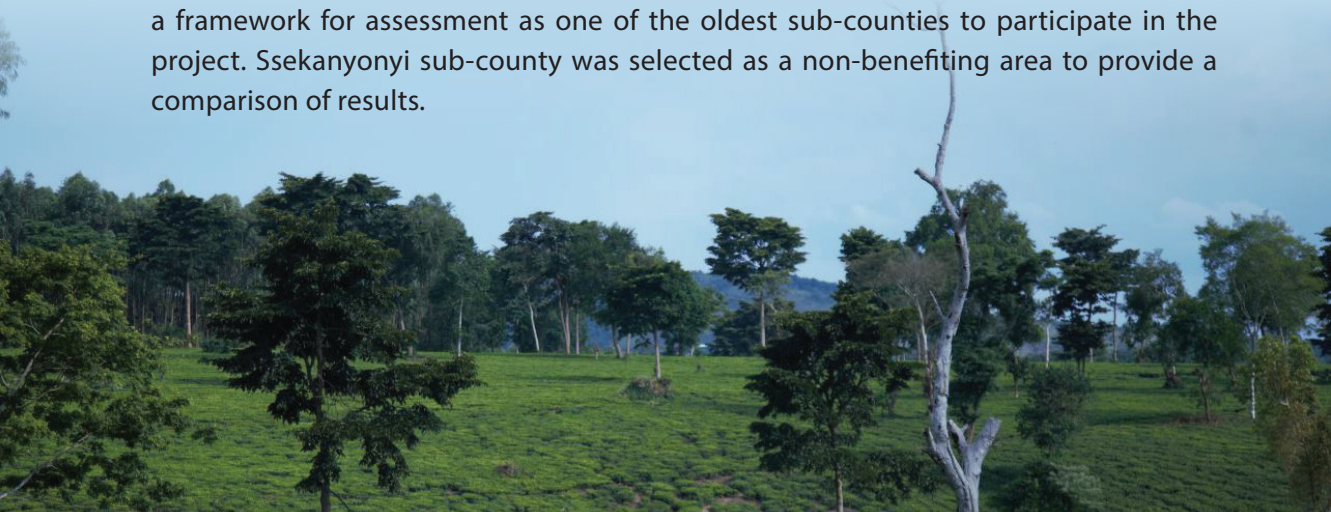
Study Objectives and Methodology

The overall objective of this preliminary impact assessment, conducted in August 2020, was to document the current impact of the ILGU project after three years of project implementation. The evaluation has addressed five key outputs of the project with findings expected to support the scaling-up of the project to other districts and regions of Uganda.

This field assessment was conducted in the districts of Mityana (Bulera, Busimbi), Kassanda (Kiganda, Myanzi, Kassanda) and Mubende (Kiyuni) and was purely qualitative, using key informants and focus group approaches. The study focused on the emerging preliminary impacts of the ILGU intervention among landlords and tenants. The study took special interest in assessing benefits at the household level on private Mailo land.

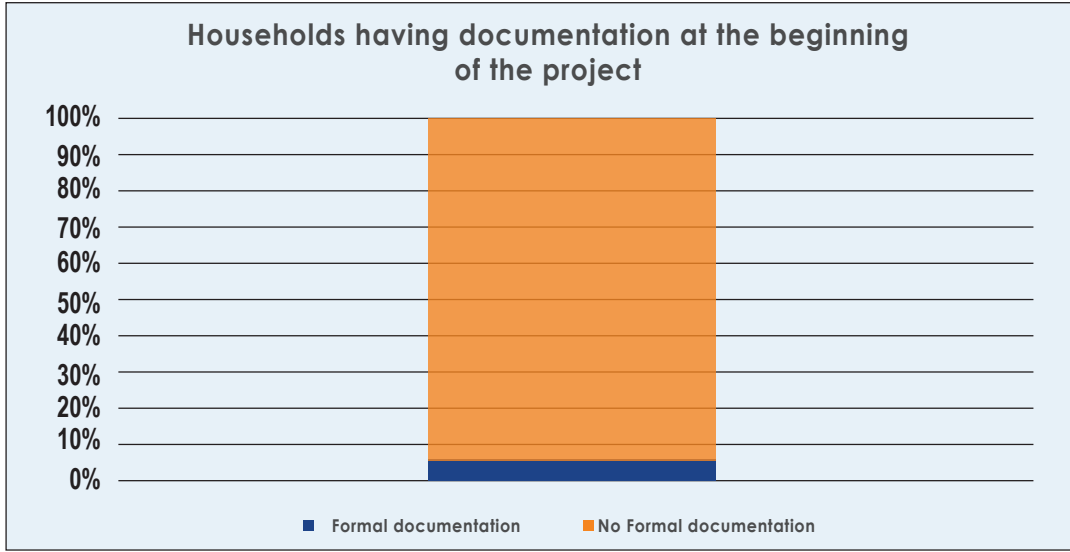
Key informant interviews were extensively conducted at national and local government levels, with CSO partners, technical personnel, tenants and landlords. Three to four focus group discussions were facilitated per district with 10 to 12 persons. Snowball sampling technique was used to identify participants at household level who were visited by data collectors. From each of the districts, one sub-county was selected for the impact evaluation.

Kiganda sub-county provided insights and experiences of a government entity as an implementing partner while Bulera sub-county brought on board insights of the academia as implementing partner. Kiyuni sub-county was selected to provide a framework for assessment as one of the oldest sub-counties to participate in the project. Ssekanyonyi sub-county was selected as a non-benefiting area to provide a comparison of results.



Key Findings

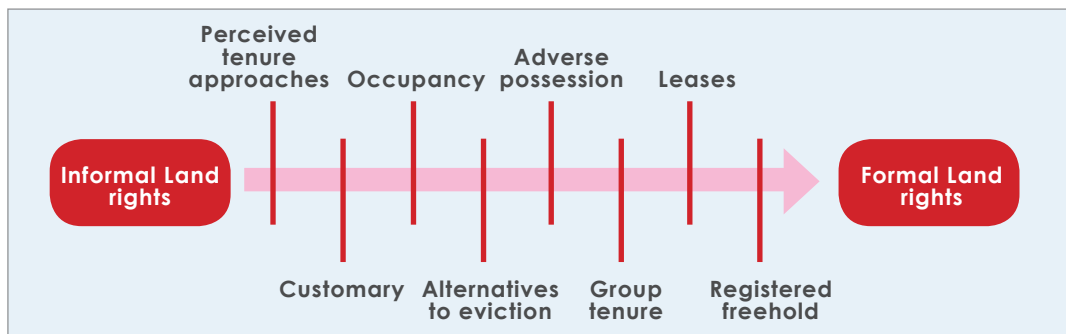
1.1 Reduced land tensions - strengthened land use rights



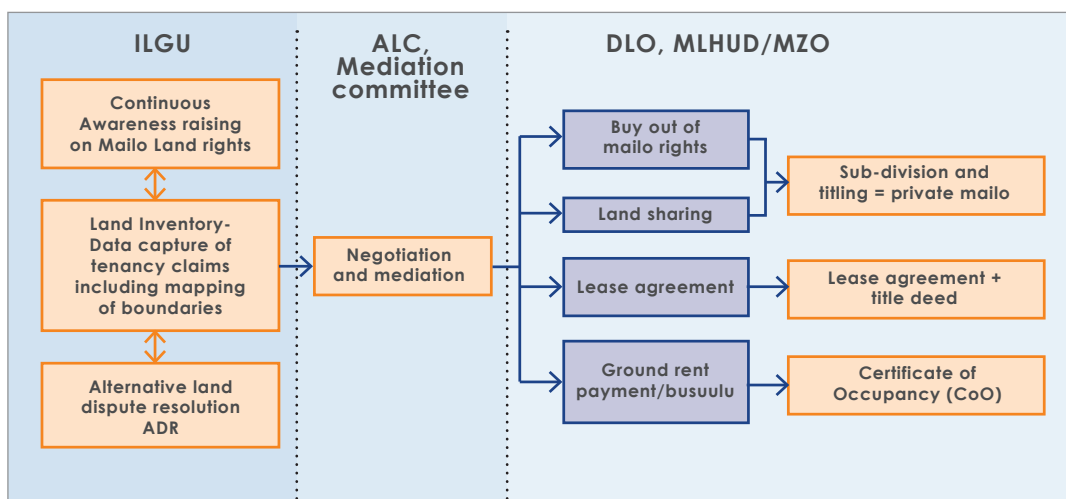
A empirical baseline assessment was conducted in 2016 and early 2017 by the World Bank Research Group in collaboration with the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). The baseline report indicated that despite 87% of the sampled households owning a dwelling on their Kibanja, only 6% of them had any formal documentation in the form of a title deed or certificate¹ as legal evidence of ownership of that right.

Through the land user rights documentation approach, the ILGU project is using a rights continuum to owning land, starting from being an unlawful squatter, to being bona fide occupant, to being a lawful occupant, to a certified occupant (CoO), to acquiring leasehold title, and becoming titled land owner through either sub division or buy-out of rights from the land lord.

¹ Households referred to certificates despite the fact that to date no formal certificates have been issued to tenants. It is likely that tenants refer to informal sales agreements only.



Continuum of land rights



ILGU procedure for securing land use rights of tenants on private Mailo land

The acquisition of the legal knowledge through the ILGU project, related to land administration in Uganda, private Mailo land tenure, tenant and landlord rights, roles and responsibilities and understanding the value of land, immensely benefited the peasant farmers.

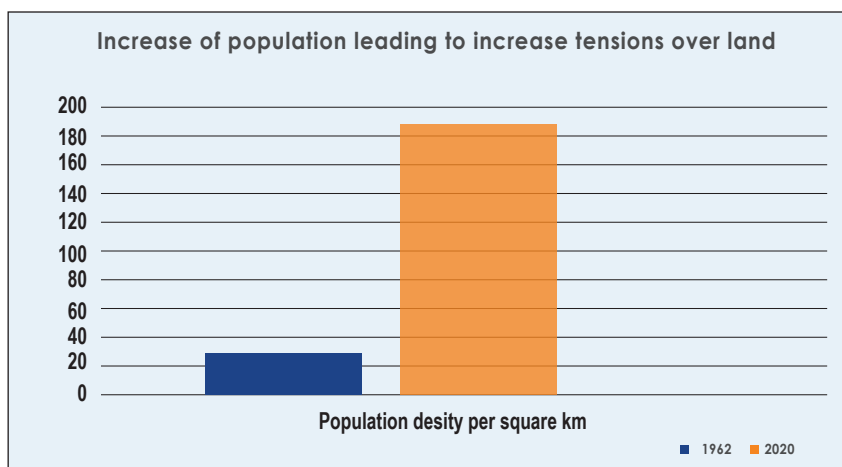
The findings from the preliminary impact assessment show reduced land tensions across the districts where ILGU activities are being conducted. Observational evidence of participants during interviews showed no instincts of animosity or bottled anger over Mailo land relationships between tenants and landlords, disharmony over Bibanja boundary limits, or disputed landmark stones between landlords.

This is remarkable as the current population density of

229 

people per km² (average increase of 3.32% from 2019) shows the major problem the land sector is facing in Uganda: Growing population trends lead to scarcity of land – fuelling conflicts all over Uganda.





“

“There is increased appreciation of stakeholder’s roles and responsibilities in owning and utilizing land in the three districts of Mityana, Kassanda, and Mubende. Landlords have accepted the tenants and the tenants have understood that their Bibanjas (land parcels) legally belong to the landlords since they own registered land titles”

CSO respondent in Mityana

“

“We had reached a situation where communities were witch-hunting the LCI, LCII, LCIII, and LCV leaders accusing them of conniving with absentee landlords to sell their land. Today the community trusts their leaders”

Focal Group Discussion (FDG) Member district official in Mubende

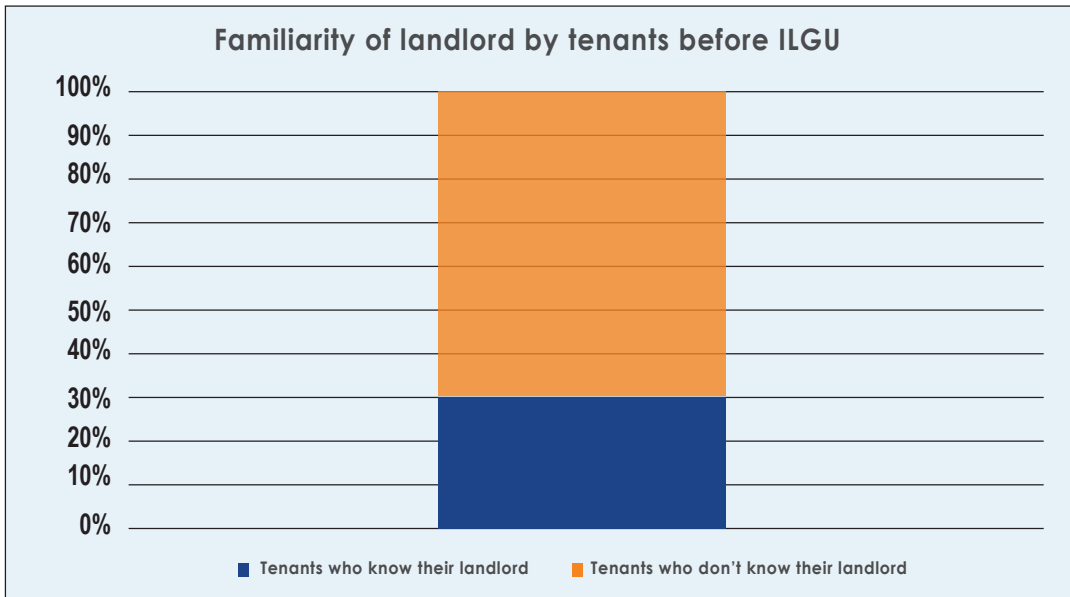
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“With a settled mind on my Kibanja, I have established a banana plantation, started a factory for distilling Waragi, put up a piggery project, and reconstructed my house”

FDG participant, Kinyerela LC, Kayunga Parish, Kassanda district

1.2 Improved tenant-landlord relationships

Almost 95% of the respondents reported about the acrimonious relationships between landlords and tenants existent prior to the ILGU project. Despite using the Bibanja for decades, 70% of the tenants reported not knowing the true landlord. In several sub-counties tenants were chasing away landlords and landlords had resorted to sell of their land to new owners who often evicted the tenants without remorse.



Through the project's efforts, the tenant – landlord relationships improved after linking the tenants to the rightful owners.

Negotiations which led to landlords recognizing tenants on their private Mailo lands, and the process of paying and receiving ground rents (Busuulu) were established. Consent for the mapping and delimiting of Bibanja boundaries and acquisition of Land Inventory Protocols (LIP) to the eventual acquisition of Certificates of Occupancy (CoO) was equally realized. The mapping of 59,667 households (April 2021) indicates a significant improvement in the landlord – tenant relationship, ending often illegal land evictions and violent reprisals and securing land use rights for vulnerable peasants.



“One thing that ILGU did for us in this community is to create a platform that brought together tenants and landlords. We could not see eye to eye with landlords, we could even chase them away with sticks and machetes, but now we voluntarily look for them and pay”

FGD Member, Lusanja Village, Bulera sub-county



“Am so impressed with the approach ILGU used to bring together the two furious stakeholders, the landlords on one hand and the tenants on the other, at one table for negotiations. This has enhanced my popularity in the sub-county to the extent that there is nobody standing against me in the next elections”.

Chairperson LCIII, Kiyuni sub-county

1.3 Strengthened land administration structures

The ILGU action is an iterative action research process, where a reflective process of progressive problem solving that integrates research, action, and analysis. Based on this methodology training, application of knowledge and practice are simultaneously undertaken. This has involved various leaders from national to village level. The success of ILGU is hinged on the popular acceptance and ownership which role was performed by both political and opinion leaders in the community right from the Minister of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, the district (LC 5), sub-county (LC 3), parishes (LC 2) and villages (LC 1).



“The process of implementing the project required building the capacity of actors in land management and administration and for this to happen information education and communication materials (IEC) had to be developed. The Ministry took lead in providing technical guidance during the development of IEC materials and to date, the local governments and partner CSOs in the project districts of Mityana, Kassanda, and Mubende have what it takes to facilitate land management and administration.”

“All Area Land Committees in the three project districts have had their capacities built in terms of knowledge on land administration and use of modern equipment. They used to take land parcel measures using traditional tape measure, but they now use modern equipment and are able to keep records in computers provided by the project.

**Naome Kabanda, Acting
Director Land Administration,
Commissioner of Land
Administration, Ministry of
Lands, Housing and Urban
Development**





“The other thing is that we were given office equipment like a computer, a receiver, a safe, furniture for safety and storage of our property; we now have solar panels on our building which provides us with electricity.”

ALC member, Kiganda sub-county



“We used to locally develop maps of Bibanja holders but now we use machines and scientifically establish actual Bibanja sizes with corresponding coordinates”

Member ALC FGD, Kiganda sub-county

A dissenting view from Ssekanyonyi sub-county, respondents confirmed that the ALC is constrained in its operations due to limited funds at the sub-county. As such the sub-county chief observed that:



“We have a challenge of facilitating the activities of the ALC because of limited local revenues. They can’t conduct field visits during processing of land transactions in the sub-county, they can’t hold statutory meetings, and they also lack office materials like furniture, stationery, together with field requirements like gadgets to use during land field transactions”.

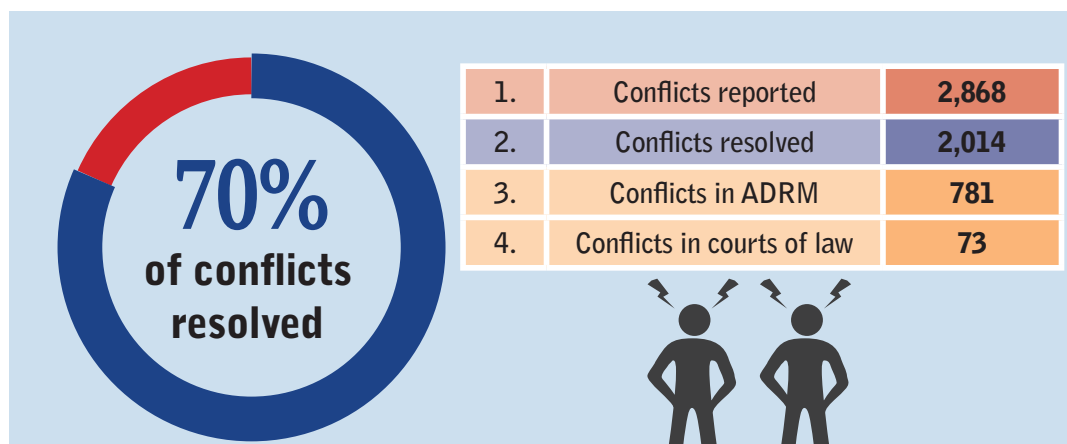
Sub-county chief, Ssekannyonyi sub-county

In the project areas where ALCs have been supported, sub-counties are able to generate revenue which will subsequently sustain the ALC transactions, a recipe for solving land conflicts.

Sub-counties without functioning ALCs have poor land administration and land management in areas with a dominance of the Mailo land tenure system, especially since ALCs had earlier perceived that they were only responsible for public and not Mailo land.

The LIP has helped to ignite interest in land matters

Knowledge of actual acreage covered by the Kibanja boundaries and consequent planned use for short- and long-term agriculture projects led to an improvement in land management practices. Realization of the available acreage by tenants has instilled a sense of proper use of available land to meet short term subsistence food requirements and long-term economic needs, by committing portions to cereal cropping, dairy farming and perennial cash crops including agroforestry.



Interviewees in Kitemu parish, Bulera sub-county asserted how tenants demarcated their parcels of Bibanjas and diversified farm production into dairy farming, coffee and tree farming and seasonal cropping system.

With improved tenure and better land use practices discussants and interviewees reported an increase in production levels and an increase in productivity through application of better technologies and farm inputs.



“I got a deep understanding of the concept of land. I used not to fathom how the same piece of land can be owned by more than one person”

FGD discussant, Kakigando, Kiyuuni sub-county, Mubende district

1.4 Evidence of reduced land related disputes in the project sub-counties



“People had lost hope in the legal process and had resorted to violence. The LC 3 court used to adjudicate up to 30 cases in 2017, 27 in 2018, 8 in 2019 and 2 in 2020. Much violence used to be in Kijjumba and Katente parishes between 2017 -2018. Four murders related to land were committed.”

Chairperson LC 3 land court, Kiyuuni sub-county

The proliferation and prevalence of land related disputes on private Mailo is related to the century old tenant-landlord impasse with dual land rights on the same piece of land. Land is a limited resource. High population growth increases the pressure on land which in turn leads to more conflicts and disputes. Today, land related disputes constitute about 80% of all cases reported to the formal courts in Uganda, overwhelming the juridical system. As a consequence, most cases take between 6 and 10 years to be solved. The Ugandan Government therefore supports out of court mediation for non-criminal cases to lower the pressure on the formal court system.

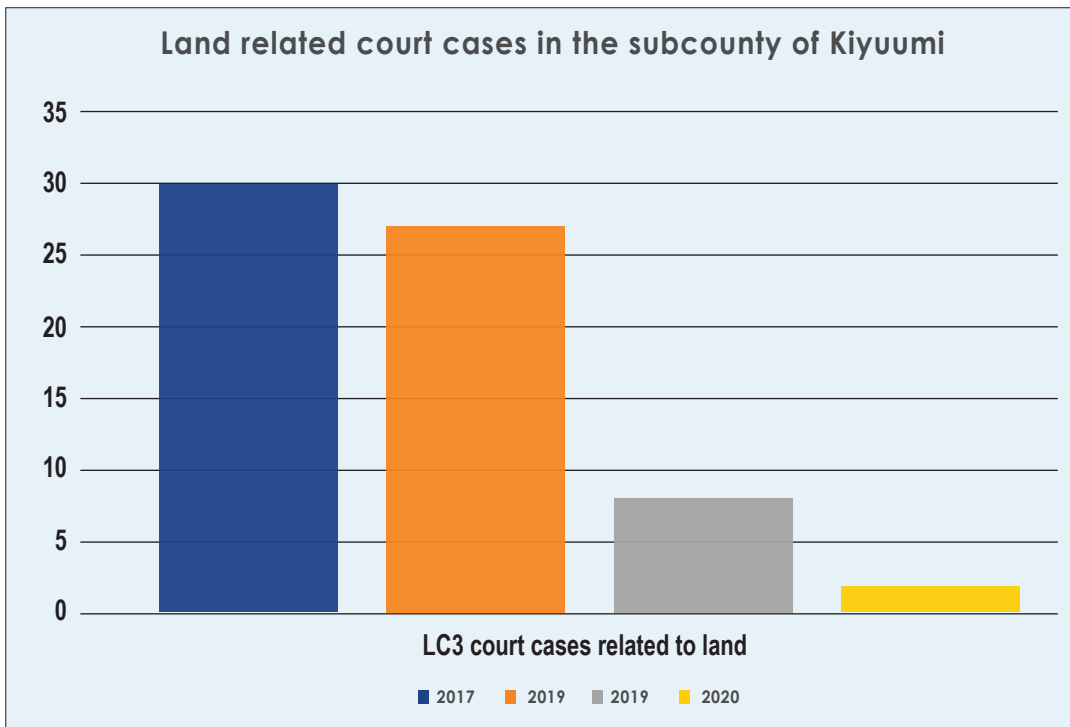
Transforming the fugitive image of landlords into respected and honored persons is a great achievement for ILGU.

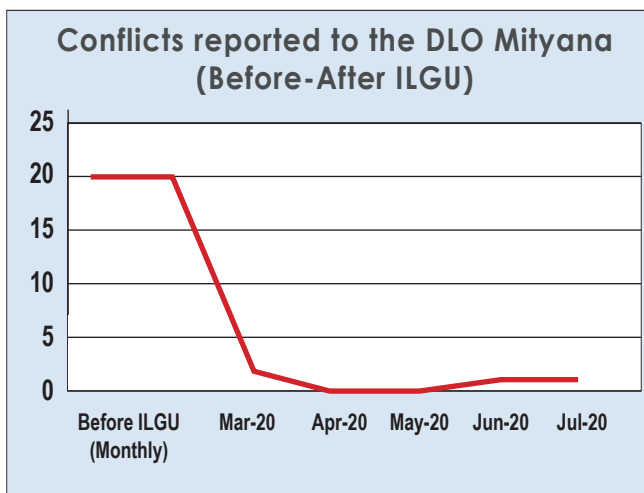
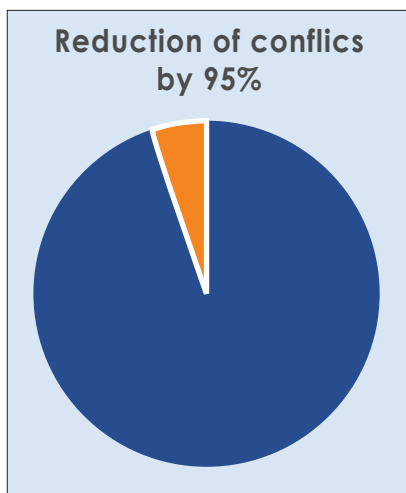
Landlords are exposed to increased respect from their tenants. Before ILGU, in Madudu and Butoologo sub-counties in Mubende districts, once epicenters of fierce hostilities, tenants had declared landlord’s *persona non grata* on their lands.

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The work of ILGU's awareness raising, sensitizations and trainings on land laws and conflict resolutions approaches are appropriate and conform to local norms, culture and values, gives the much-needed credibility to the project and ensures all stakeholders cooperate in realizing its shared objectives.

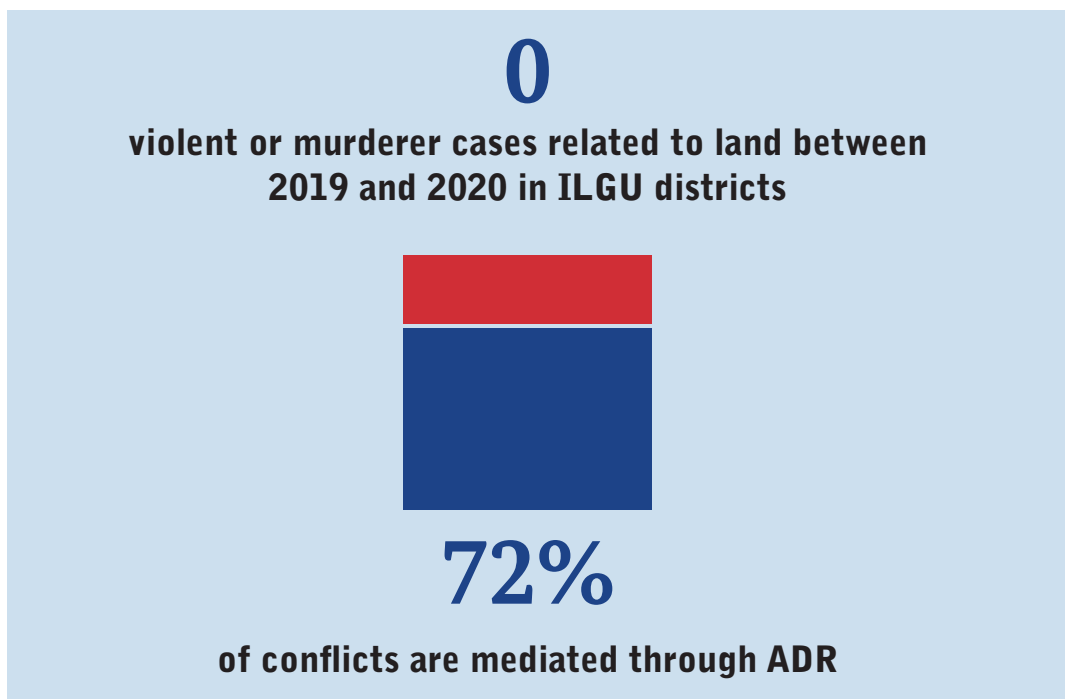
Having a good understanding of the private Mailo land tenure system, use rights, obligations and responsibilities communicated by impartial CSOs and the onerous legal pathways available to the communities, the conflicting parties are empowered to choose among alternatives and are able to make the most efficient, effective and informed decisions, leading to a win-win pathway for both tenants and landlords. During the focus group discussions as part of this study, participants narrated the effect awareness raising of tenants has and how it has transformed them into willing tenants, seeking to negotiate with their landlords to pay ground rent or to gradually buy-out the interest of the landlord. This has resulted into significant reduction of land-related disputes in the sub-counties.





The ALC and sub-county chiefs reported a 95% reduction of occurrences of conflicts to near zero occurrence in some parishes.

The District Land Officer of Mityana reported that before the ILGU project, the monthly reported cases of land conflicts were 20 of aggravated nature. A review of press reports revealed no reported case of violent or murder cases related to land which has occurred within a period of twelve months (August 2019-August 2020) in the areas of Mubende, Kassanda and Mityana.



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An analysis of land disputes handled by CSOs in Mubende depicts that the Alternative Dispute Handling (ADR) method is a highly effective approach in handling land disputes, as 72% of reported disputes were resolved amicably.

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“We have cases where people present themselves as landlords from statehouse, yet we know the real rightful landlords. In this case the statehouse man has even started taking peoples Bibanja and we highly suspect that he is using a forged title from Nasser road in Kampala (editor’s note: Ugandan referral to an area where documents can be forged easily)”

Respondent from Ssekanyonyi sub-county

“

“Land wrangles were many in Mubende, every village had a land wrangle in every corner of the district. There were seven deaths in Madudu sub-county. We can celebrate now, the ILGU dream has come true.”

**Former LC 5 Chairman
Francis B. Amooti, Mubende**





“Before ILGU came I did not know how to meet my tenants, I feared. After an Alternative Dispute Resolution Ccommittee (ADRC) mediation meeting at Kyabayanja village for the first time, I was able to meet my tenants face to face for a peaceful dialogue at the LC1 offices. I thank the ADRC and all those who enabled this to happen. I can now freely interact with my people. Tenants started paying Busuulu. I am happy that people know the size of their Bibanja, and this will help to reduce land boundary conflicts”.

Absent landlord



“I did not know that, one day, we shall reach a proper agreement with the landlords. I own a 10-acre piece of land. Many times, the landlords wanted to open-up boundaries (editor’s note: re-survey the land and set mark stones), but we stopped them because we were not sure that the land was theirs. We eventually got a letter from the RDC allowing them to open the boundaries; they did so in 2017. However, they asked us to register with UGX 200,000 (approx. 55 USD) which we tenants did not agree with. We stayed for some time without meeting them until ILGU was asking us to get in touch with the landlords. Last year we held a mediation meeting here at Butumi village and the landlords allowed us to pay UGX 150,000 (approx. 27 USD) as introductory fees (Ekanzu) to become legal tenants and we were mapped. We all saw the sizes of our Bibanjias and we invited the landlord for a buy-out process. I hope to increase production by getting a bank loan, plant tree, rear cows so I can take care of my family and improve on our wellbeing”.

Ssebulime Achileo, Ngoowa Village, Kiyuuni sub-county



“We had conflicts arising from a Kibanja we bought from N. T. who later sold the same Kibanja to another person. When the project started our Kibanja was mapped and we regained our original Kibanja and we were even introduced to the landlord in the names of Nampewo of Kamusu Lubona Parish. Our Kibanja is now fenced with barbed wires and we have started planting bananas and coffee.”

Female FGD Member, Kinyerela Village, Kayunga Parish

The change of mindset gets even clearer **if one compares the preliminary impact assessment results to areas where ILGU has not yet reached (control areas):**

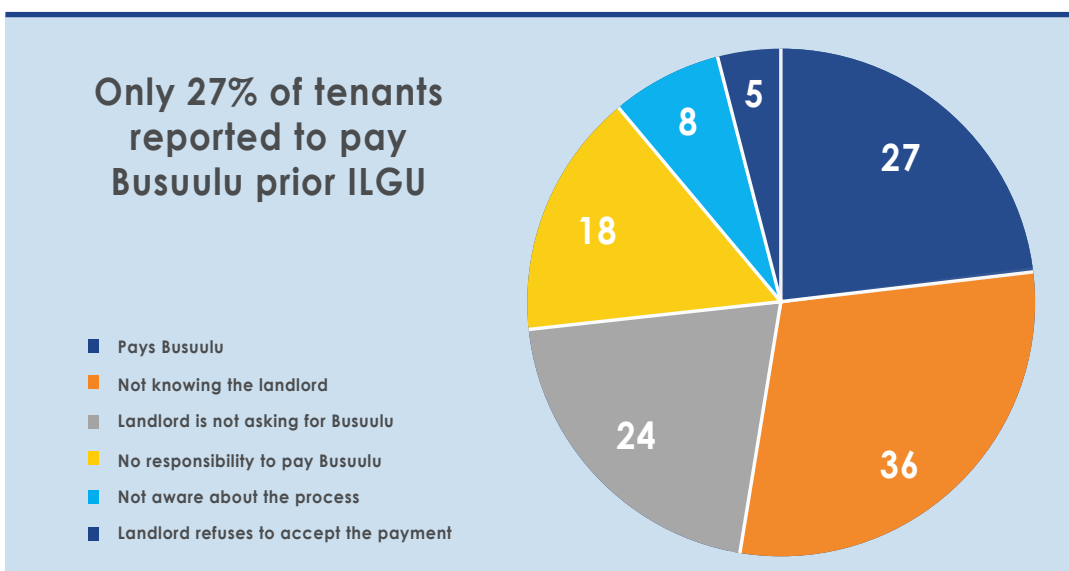
Participants in the FGD held at Ssekanyonyi sub-county confirmed that there is a high number of land conflicts between the landlords and the tenants, including:

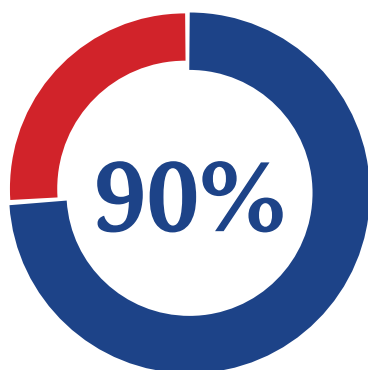
- Entering in neighbors' boundaries
- Increasing cases of double selling
- Constant shifting boundary marks
- Self-imposed tenants on Mailo land
- Selling of Mailo land without notifying tenants

Analysis of the above findings reveal several challenges affecting land administration and management in areas where the ILGU project has not reached. Key among them is the continuing existence of land conflicts between the tenants and landlords, rampant (illegal) land evictions due to absence of a mechanism that would make the tenants and landlords discuss modalities of coexistence.

1.5 Regular payment of ground rent leads to improved economic wellbeing

Despite the fact that paying ground rent (Busuulu) is one of the conditions for legal recognition of Mailo tenants, ensuring protection from eviction, in the baseline report only 27% of the respondents in the target sub-counties indicated ever paying ground rent.





of landlords reported Busuulu payments from their tenants, with the same number attributing it to sensitization under the ILGU project

The ground rent issue has been the major intensifier of land conflicts and evictions in central Buganda on private Mailo land. The ILGU project is facilitating and establishing a mechanism which guides the direction on the future policy formulation regarding ground rent. The ILGU intervention created an environment for free market forces which enabled willing parties to amicably determine fair ground rates.

Landlords have begun to benefit economically through earning a yearly ground rent - to which they are legally entitled. The preliminary impact assessment found that even though some landlords own expansive acreages of land their economic wellbeing was below the poverty levels. However, with the re-assumption of the ground rent system their social and economic welfare is beginning to improve and enabling them to invest in agricultural production. The ground rate is not the legally prescribed amount, but each landlord and his tenants have amicably agreed to pay a nominal rate. The nominal rate is normally determined at district level.



“I am the “Ssabalijja” (editor’s note: official ground rent agent of the landlord) on Paul’s land. I am responsible for collecting Busuulu on the land of my boss. For tenants with small pieces of land “ebibanja” I collect UGX 20, 000/= and then for those with bigger ones, I collect from between 20,000 – 40,000 UGX from about 5,000 tenants.”

Ssabalijja, Namagongolo parish, Kiganda sub-county



“One other thing I need to request the government is to think more about the landlords instead of suffocating them. Because if you hear that the rate is only UGX 10,000 to 20,000, it is irrelevant to the landlords but rather forces them to sell their land on which there are sitting tenants. For us we agreed with the landlord and pay at least UGX 30,000 per annum and he is very happy with it. We are very many tenants on his land - over 160. We all agreed to give Busuulu and we make it then he comes and gathers his UGX 5,000,000”

Tenant in Kiganda sub-county

1.6 Land Inventory Protocol proves to be successful

At the onset of the project only 6% of the sampled tenants in the baseline report indicated formal documentation on land and close to half reported having informal documents such as gift exchange letters, sales receipts etc. There has been a strong need to move from informal to formal land ownership scale.

With the uniqueness of Mailo, ILGU explored the land inventory approach serving two purposes: Securing land use rights issuing Land Inventory Protocols (LIP) and building a relationship between landlords and tenants. LIPs depict the acreage, an aerial imagery of the land parcel, georeferenced boundary coordinates including the NIN, picture of the owners and witnesses. The LIP document has become the basic evidence to prove claims of ownership of Bibanjas. The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development fully supports the model approach of LIPs as basis for improved transparency on land rights and increased harmony between landlords and tenants.

According to the tenants, the LIP has proved to be a far better document compared to the previous handwritten agreements which were seldom stamped by LC 1s as proof of ownership of Kibanjas.

Because the LIP is only issued after the authorization of the landlord it provides secure land use rights on private Mailo land.



Mapping of parcels of land has cemented the security of use rights tenure. Although not perpetual it is good enough to barricade against arbitrary evictions. The LIP has become an integral document required in facilitating acquisition of the Certificate of Occupancy (CoO). Tenants are eagerly waiting for the LIPs to proceed to the next step of applying for the CoO.

ILGU's use of the Global Navigation Satellite System (GNSS) has greatly impressed the communities in Mityana, Kassanda and Mubende with all its in-built advantages of providing permanent coordinate delimitations of Bibanja boundary lines. It has greatly reduced family and neighbourhood tensions and has introduced planned farming. Validating the power of mapping the Bibanja, stakeholders emphasized that:



"We used to be Bibanja holders without knowing the size, the sub-county didn't know too and solving land related conflicts was a nightmare. Right now, we know our boundaries even if one removes a physical feature marking the boundaries (editor's note: empanyi plants are traditionally used as boundary markers), it does not affect the boundary marks established using GNSS with the participation of neighbours, LC representatives, the representative of the ALC, and the representatives of the landlords"

FGD participant, Lusanja parish

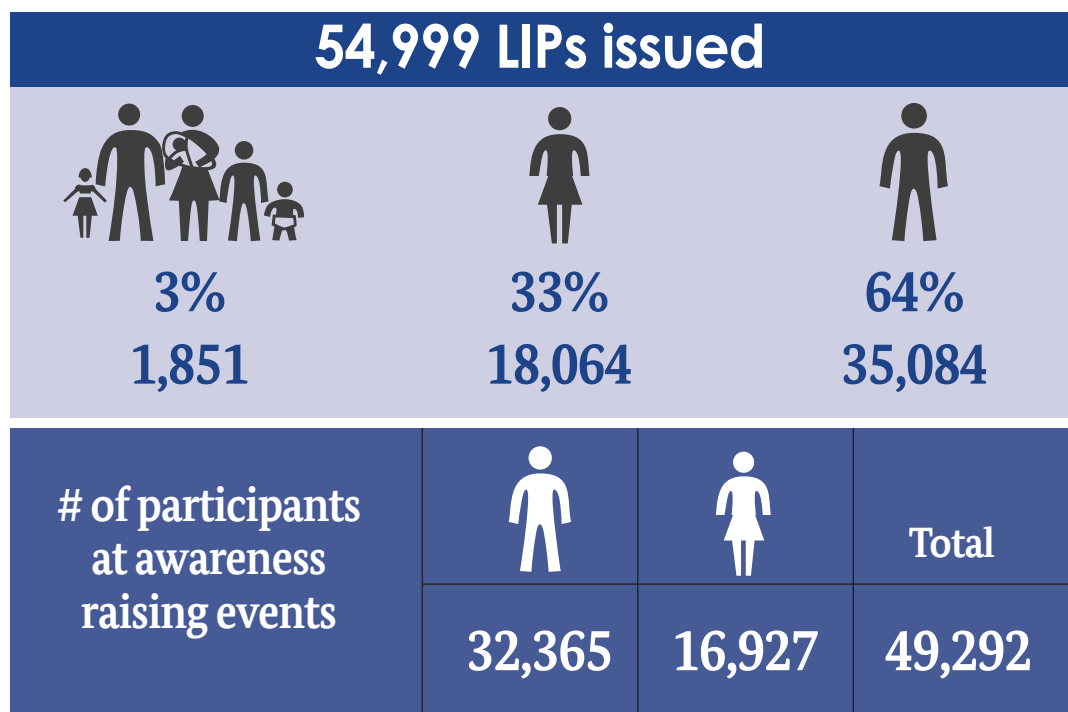


"Following the mapping of Bibanja tenants, our court now begins by establishing whether the Kibanja in question was mapped. If yes we ask for the copy of the LIP. These now serve as evidence in deciding bibanja related cases."

LCIII Court member, Bulera sub-county

1.7 Strengthening women and marginalized groups

In Uganda land is traditionally a patrilineal asset, managed and owned by men. The idea of conductive land mapping and land documentation with a special focus on women land rights and land rights of other disadvantaged groups has been one of the most significant milestones of ILGU. The ILGU land documentation process involves women of male owners, culminating into joint ownership of Bibanjas and parcels of lands. Ultimately this did not only improve security of women’s land use rights but also ownership rights were granted instantly through mapping and documentation on the LIP. As a good practice, the increased stability of women with land and Bibanja ownership, substantively reduces gender-based violence within households since the documentation process yielded decision making powers and partial ownership to women. The ILGU approach is integrated with elements of women’s advocacy tools for land rights.



“I received 10 acres of land during mapping from my husband”

Kunira Namugenyi, Kijunjubire village, Kijumba parish, Kiyuuni sub-county

Conclusion

ILGU awareness raising and land documentation has transformed the understanding of the concept of private Mailo land among smallholder farmers in project areas. It created the understanding of tenants that settling and living on private Mailo land without a legal document does not guarantee the security of use rights, or passing on or inheritance of these possession.

ILGU's impartiality during the implementation process, upholding property rights of both tenants and landlords, following a non-aligned meditative approach and integrating it with communalism **creates strong credibility to the entire exercise.**

The ILGU action has supported and been able to resolve thousands of land disputes between tenants & landlords, tenants & tenants, inter-family impasses on land and improved land use and ownership rights in Mubende, Kassanda, and Mityana districts. **It has opened opportunities for increasing production and productivity for small holder farmers.** A panoramic observation shows expansive acreages have been put under cultivation of cereals, perennials and animal farming.

The ILGU project was able to operationalize the Land Act and its amendment acts. **Towards the rights of women, the project had been crucial** since they had not documented land use and ownership rights. The mapping and documentation exercise harnessed these rights for the women. Through operationalizing legal and institutional frameworks on private Mailo land it has also ignited the land administration structures to start implementing a responsible land policy in Uganda. **The rights of women, girls, widows and persons with disabilities are recorded into the data system for producing LIPs, thus guaranteeing their use and ownership rights on land.**

The institutional framework on land and infrastructure has been capacitated and improved through policy and institutional support, by raising awareness on land tenure laws, skilling in Alternative Dispute Resolution techniques, mapping and equipping District Land Offices and Area Land Committee Offices.

Annex: Nature and types of land disputes in Mubende district

Type of conflict	Community versus ILGU	Family members conflicting	Landlord versus landlord	Landlord versus tenants	Tenant versus tenant	Grand Total
Absence of legal documents				2		2
Absentee landlord				52		52
Delay to give consent for mapping because of landlord family issues	1			3		4
Delay to give consent for mapping because of LL family issues		2		26		28
Deliberate land grabbing		53	2	93	78	226
Deprivation of land rights		67		73	11	151
Deprivation of land rights		5		2		7
Disagreement on the amount of Busuulu/kanzu/ introduction fees		1		62	1	64
Easement conflict					11	11
Failure to provide the National ID	1					1
Forced buy out or / and forced land sharing				2		2
Forced buy out or/and forced land sharing		1		53	2	56
Fraudulent/wrongful sale		4	2	25	21	52
Fraudulent/wrongful sale					1	1
Illegal tenant on mailo land				99	2	101
Inheritance/succession conflict		113	2	3	9	127
Inheritance/succession conflict		8				8

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Type of conflict	Community versus ILGU	Family members conflicting	Landlord versus landlord	Landlord versus tenants	Tenant versus tenant	Grand Total
Land boundary dispute		19	4	48	365	436
Land eviction case		2		12		14
Land lord or tenants not yet convinced	43	1		52	2	98
Land or Kibanja ownership/ purchase conflict		5	5	14	22	46
Landlord or Tenants not yet convinced	7			7	2	16
Landlord refused Busuulu		1		73		74
Landlord/tenants not yet convinced	3					3
Mapping error	8			2	3	13
No consent to mapping because of a court case		1		2	1	4
No consent to mapping because of a court or related case				1		1
Nonpayment of Busuulu by Tenants	2	1		282	2	287
Political interference				1		1
Sale of land without Landlord consent				9		9
Tenant refusal to come for dialogue				1		1
Tenants or landlord threatening violence				4		4
True landlord not clear			1	53		54
True landlord not clear				2		2
Grand Total	65	284	16	1058	533	1956



Land Matters II

Results from the Preliminary Impact Study of the ILGU Project's work in Central Uganda

April 2021



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA
Ministry of Lands, Housing
& Urban Development



EUROPEAN UNION



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Deutsche Gesellschaft für
Internationale Zusammenarbeit
(GIZ) GmbH

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GIZ is responsible
for the content of this
publication April 2021