



EFFECTS OF MNCS ON FOOD SECURITY

**The Case of Nuemann Kaffee Group
in Mubende District, Uganda.**

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ABSTRACT

Conceptually, food insecurity is not a single binary variable, but an array of behaviours and perceptions. In assessing the state of food security among the evictees in Madudu, it was important to consider what dimension and what degree of severity of food insecurity was most relevant to the context of evictees.

As reported in findings in chapter 3 of this report, the research captured specific levels of severity associated with quantitative food deprivation – a condition that is considered the most severe manifestation of food insecurity. At the time of baseline survey (2002) evictees experienced absolute food deprivation (not eating for a whole day), and this being a biologically unsustainable event, when people began to die, charitable organisations including Action Aid came to the rescue of evictees.

This follow-up survey (2008) documented the change in impact since 2002 and majority of households suffer the less severe form of food insecurity at household level. This is manifested in the chronic compromises in dietary quality, which has affected the health and wellbeing especially of the children and the elderly, majority of whom are visibly malnourished or undernourished. This is a result of limited access to land for production, since not many food crops (and in some cases none) can be grown on the much reduced acreage controlled by the evictees.

In terms of compensation, there is no evidence adduced by the baseline survey (2002) and this follow-up survey (2008) to confirm any compensation offered to evictees in cash or land for resettlement. Majority of evictees are now squatters on forest reserve, and soon, NFA may swing into action and evict them again. This sad possibility in itself, and UWA/NFA has done it in other areas (like the Benet in Kapchorwa), further affects the psychosocial stability of the evictees with a visible feeling of social exclusion apparent between evictees and the rest of the Madudu community. This is suggested by Sub County authorities as the reason the evictees are failing to participate in popular government programs like NAADS and AAMP that would have otherwise equipped households with improved seed, animals, poultry and possibly financial assistance to restore livelihoods.

The researcher recommends pragmatic approach to restoring the livelihoods of evictees. On one hand are deliberate change strategy by the evictees (and their responsibilities), while on the other hand recommendation is made for a moderated corporate social responsibility initiative for NKG/KCP. This investor may not be absolved by the fact that land was

“procured” by government through a protracted process that overlooked the interests of evictees (squatters who were bonafide occupants on Block 99 plot 1). This case demonstrates latent failure of civic leadership from LCI to LCV, all of whom were mesmerised by the prospect of a foreign investment in Mubende District – with the overzealous adulations of big business by the government blinding them from the socio-cultural and economic consequences of evictions. Corporate social responsibility is about morality, social solidarity and ethical conduct in business.

NKG needs to jump from the fence and engage the community through moderated dialogue – by the Local Government authorities and development partners – to mend relations with the community. There seems a change for legal redress for the evictees but of course it will again require political will to effect – and there was clear lack of it when compensation for evictees was being negotiated. Considering the investment already on the plantation, the alternative (feasible) would be court to suggest alternative land, but this option is not acceptable to evictees (and they have not pleaded for it so court can’t grant it) that attach serious importance and seek return of graveyards destroyed by KCP. If district / sub county and development partners could negotiate with NKG to provide alternative land for evictees, the process of resettlement would need to be carefully planned and managed taking into consideration the anguish, the suffering and psychosocial impact this impasse has inflicted on evictees.

The researcher also recommends that NKG be engaged to reconstruct social infrastructure destroyed such completion of Kitemba Primary School to at least the level prior to being taken over by NKG, construction of water sources to all settlements and opening community access roads (besides those passing through the plantation). NKG also has a social contract with the community in which they doing business, and declassifying contents of the agreement between government and NKG would inform the community of what obligations of each party were and how far each is delivering to that commitment. Development partners may need to seek assistance of the IGG to investigate the entire transaction should UIA, government and NKG continue to hide the agreement from the people.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Madudu Evicted Household Lot Quality Assurance survey (LQAS) 2008 is a follow up household survey conducted by Action Aid to assess the social status of households evicted to give way to the Kaweri Coffee Plantation. Detailed elaboration of the origin and the process of eviction are contained in the baseline survey, 2002. This household survey measured and collected quantitative data on: food security status, Public Health, Housing, and Water and Sanitation in the settlements of Kitemba, Kyota, Nabagabe, Kijunga and Kiryamakobe that have since evolved into villages. The survey results aim to be used to identify food security status and how the impact of the Kaweri Coffee Plantation can be mitigated.

1.1 Background to Madudu Food Security study

Kaweri Coffee Plantation is one of the largest Commercial Farm in the Uganda. It measures approximately 2,512ha comprising of Buwekula Block 99 Plot No. 1, situated at Naluwondwa, Kisola and Buyana, about 20km from Bubende Town in Mubende district. The project is being promoted by the Neumann Kaffee Gruppe, registered as Kaweri Coffee Plantation Ltd., which runs 40 operating companies in 23 Nations Worldwide. The project is under implementation and has established a nucleus coffee farm to support a scheme of out growers initially throughout the district but later in other coffee growing districts countrywide. The project is of strategic importance in the commercialization of Agriculture in general and coffee in particular. This project is also inline with the Uganda National Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA).

The land acquired for this investment was previously under mailo ownership, a type of land ownership that guarantees ownership of land by private individuals. The purpose was to enable government to facilitate the issuance of leasehold title to the investor. Although this process was appropriate considering that government had to facilitate the investment, the acquisition of this land left a number of socio-economic costs to the potential beneficiaries, which is subject of this investigation.

Specific Terms of reference

The study aimed at investigating food security rights status of the displaced Madudu as one of the effects of the Kaweri coffee plantation. The Specific Terms of Reference for the Study comprised of the following;

- a. Assessing the socio-economic status of the over 400 families displaced by NMC in the last 6 years.

- b. Ascertaining the impact of the NMC project on food security of Madudu Sub County.
- c. Making specific recommendations on the most viable options for mitigating the negative impacts of the investment on food security in the area.

1.2 Research Methodology

Lot Quality Assurance Sampling (LQAS)

The LQAS method involves the division of a program area into smaller management units or 'supervision areas' and for each area assessing the level of performance compared to an established benchmark. Details of the history and statistics behind the method have been discussed elsewhere¹. **In this survey, existing lower level administrative structures such as villages or parishes are used as supervision areas.** A minimum of five supervision areas per unit is required to obtain an acceptable 95% confidence level in LQAS. Program area coverage is used as a benchmark or threshold against which supervision area coverage is performing either below or above the average. If the coverage of a supervision area is below the threshold, then it is considered a priority for a particular improved or enhanced intervention.

Literature Review

A desk review of effects of multi national companies on food security was made as well as the project documents and the national and international legislation regarding their obligations related to food security.

Personal and key informant Interviews

The research involved personal interviews of people directly or indirectly affected by company including labourers on the coffee plantation. The research also included interviewing key informants like the Sub County Chief and Production coordinator, Sub County Chairperson and other local officials.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were held in 5 communities affected by the plantation to obtain details of violations, what they considered causes and effects of their current predicament. This was later collaborated with a multi-stakeholder meeting to discuss the preliminary

¹ Lemeshow S, Taber S. Lot quality assurance sampling: single and double-sampling plans. World Health Statistics Quarterly 44, 115-132

findings, which were confirmed as representing the accurate state of affairs among the evictees.

Sampling

A two-stage sampling plan, first randomly selected 19 households per supervision area (settlement) by sampling proportional to size. Sampling proportional to size (PPS) is a sampling technique for use with surveys or mini-surveys in which the probability of selecting a sampling unit (e.g., village) is proportional to the size of its population. It is most useful when the sampling units vary considerably in size because it ensures that those in larger sites have the same probability of getting into the sample as those in smaller sites, and vice versa. Step 2 involved using the Village Local Council household listings register that is periodically updated when in- or out-migration and movement within the village takes place. This is the most up-to-date household list, and in cases where one is not available, the interviewer compiled a list together with the village leader(s).

Ethical Considerations and Privacy

Every respondent had the right to refuse the interview, or to refuse to answer specific survey questions. In this survey, the interviewers respected this right and verbally administered informed consent before conducting the interview.

For increased validity, it was important that the interview with each respondent be conducted in a manner that is comfortable for her or him, and in which she or he is able to speak openly and honestly. Therefore, all interviews were conducted in the respondent's home and in a private area. During the interview, no other adult man, woman or older child was present or able to hear details of the interview. Younger children in some instances were allowed to be present during the interview. If the respondent indicated that she or he was uncomfortable holding the interview at home, the interview was then done at another location of the interviewee's preference.

Data Sources and Analysis

The main data source of this Household Survey were households within the 6 major resettlements in Madudu sub county as a result of KCP. Overall, the survey involved a sample of 95 individual households with 95 individual index and target respondents.

The household survey explored the current levels of population knowledge, use of services and behaviors in the community. The survey used focus group discussions to seek responses from LC leaders, CBOs, service providers and government officials.

The Researcher also used the rights based approach to analyze whether the State is fulfilling its obligations in relation to peoples right to food. Case studies from affected communities were also used to capture the different perspectives about the effects of the corporation on food security.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction to Food Rights

International law recognizes the right of everyone to adequate food and the fundamental right to be free from hunger, which is of crucial importance for the enjoyment of all human rights (FAO, 2005). However, the right to adequate food and freedom from hunger is far from reality for many people around the world especially among the poor and vulnerable members of the society. The introduction of the right to adequate food concept into the various ongoing development efforts provides hope for turning this situation around. This follow up survey emphasised literature review on food security since the baseline survey (2002) explained in much detail the genesis of the conflict, the institutional and policy frame.

2.2. A global perspective of poverty and malnourishment

In the year 2005, FAO reported 852 million chronically hungry people (chronically 90% and 10% acutely undernourished) in the developing countries. This number includes some 37 million people living in industrialized countries under extreme poverty conditions. The report of the same year shows a rising trend in the total number of undernourished over the past years which raises doubt regarding achieving the proudly pronounced Millennium Development Goal No.1 to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer hunger.

This does not include the 2 billion people who suffer from hidden hunger (micronutrient deficiencies), primarily women with anaemia and iron deficiency, as well as 250 million children affected by iodine deficiency, the most common cause for mental retardation, or 250 million children suffering from sub-clinical Vitamin A deficiency, which decreases their capacity to fight disease and can lead to blindness (FAO, 2005).

This situation must be seen in the context of a world which could produce more food than required for all people worldwide; which would eliminate the above mentioned extremes.

The Right to adequate food

The term “Right to Adequate Food” is derived from the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which states that right to adequate food is a human right, inherent in all people, *“to have regular, permanent and unrestricted access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food corresponding to the cultural traditions of people to which the consumer*

belongs, and which ensures a physical and mental, individual and collective fulfilling and dignified life free of fear.”

This definition entails all normative elements explained in detail in the General Comment 12 of the ICESCR, which states that: “The right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, have the physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement.”

2.3. Indicators of the Right to Food

- **Availability of food**

The concept of food availability refers to the possibility of feeding oneself and one’s family) directly from productive land (agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, fruit growing) or other natural resources (e.g. fishing, hunting, food gathering) from fresh or processed food obtained in markets and stores coming from sites both nearby and far from its production.

- **Adequacy of food**

Appropriate dietary consumption and feeding patterns, including breastfeeding, are required to achieve good nutritional well-being. In addition, food must not contain adverse substances at higher levels than those set by international standards. Such substances are naturally occurring toxins, pathogens, contaminants from agricultural and industrial processes, including residues from veterinary drugs, growth promoters and hormones.

Food, in the context of the right to adequate food, must include values related to food preparation and consumption. These values are perceived by informed consumer concerns and include freshness, taste, appearance, cooking features and palatability as well as cultural acceptability, e.g. the respect of religious concerns.

- **Food accessibility**

Economic accessibility implies personal or household financial means to buy food for an adequate diet. It must be at a level to satisfy the dietary needs of the individual and the household all year round.

The food must be accessible to everyone, including vulnerable individuals and groups such as infants, small children, elderly people, the physically disabled, people terminally ill or with persistent medical – including mental - problems, and prisoners. The food must also be accessible everywhere to people in remote areas. Food must also be accessible to victims of

natural or human-made disasters, armed conflicts and wars, as well as to indigenous peoples and ethnic groups.

- **Stability of Supply**

Both availability and accessibility of food must be guaranteed in a stable manner. This means adequate food must be available and accessible all year round. To overcome for instance a seasonal gap in the supply of rice, it would be necessary to improve storage and transport and perhaps, diversify consumption towards other staples.

Why the Right to Adequate Food is a concern for development partners

Vulnerable groups need to be protected following the human dignity principle.		Human Dignity
Many countries, including Uganda have ratified the ICESCR		Legal Obligations
Human rights and the right to adequate food are necessary to achieve the Millennium Development Goals		International commitments
Hunger, malnutrition and poverty have economic and social costs		Economic Reasons
Politicians who implement the right to food are more popular among voters		Political Reasons
Since we have knowledge and resources, it would be unethical not to act		Ethical reasons

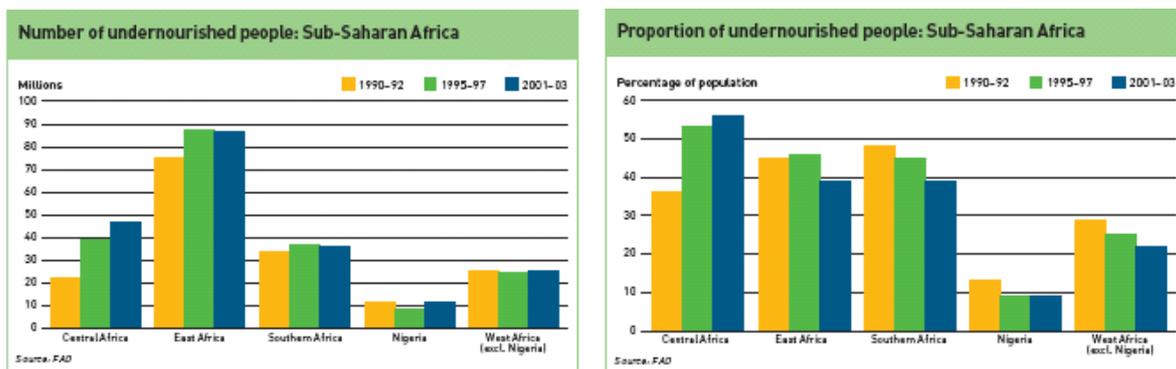
Economic reasons

The reduction of hunger actually can be viewed as a good investment with high returns to be expected. This is called the economic argument to realize the right to food or the cost of hunger. The latter doesn't refer to the actual cost of implementing an anti-hunger policy but to the opportunity-costs of not doing it, i.e. the productivity losses.

Too little calorie intake obviously has a negative impact on the productivity of a worker and even more so if she or he conducts physical labour. Given that most undernourished people live in the rural areas and perform agricultural labour, this is clearly the case. Higher calorie intake would certainly boost production up to a certain point. But the main limitation of productivity of adults is a consequence of their undernourishment suffered during childhood.

Protein-energy malnutrition before the age of two results in irreversible stunting by adulthood. Other effects include reduced cognitive ability, increased susceptibility to infectious diseases, and increased susceptibility to adult onset chronic diseases later in life. The latter burdens public health budgets and services. Stunted adults suffer from impaired physical work capacity. Therefore they cannot earn as much as their non-stunted counterparts. It is also argued that hungry individuals are risk averse.

Calculation in some 40 countries revealed that the productivity losses (accruing to the cohort of 2 year olds in the year 2000 over their lifetimes) presented as a percentage of GDP in 2000 varies between 0.5 and 5.9. The average was measured as a loss of 1.85% of GDP in 2000 due to Protein-Energy Malnutrition. Similar calculations can be made for iron deficiency, iodine deficiency and obesity. This would of course darken an already gloom situation.



International commitments

In the past ten years the international community, joining with national governments and the civic society groups have set goals in order, once and for all, effectively and time bound, to reduce hunger and poverty in all forms. The most prominent are the Millennium Development Goals of the year 2000. In solemn declarations these goals were pronounced and now call for commitment and responsibility in programmes aiming to contribute to achieve these goals. Human rights and right to adequate food concepts are already declared integral part of some programmes.

Legal obligations

To date, 153 States have ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and thus have an obligation to progressively realize the right to adequate food. This obligation is legally binding for the state, and calls on the responsibility of all members of society. This reason alone should suffice for giving the realisation of the

right to adequate food priority in the multiple tasks of the work of all members of society, including work in development and poverty reduction.

2.4. Human Rights-Based Approach to Food Deprivation.

According to various UN documents, a human rights-based approach to the problems related to food deprivation bears the following characteristics:

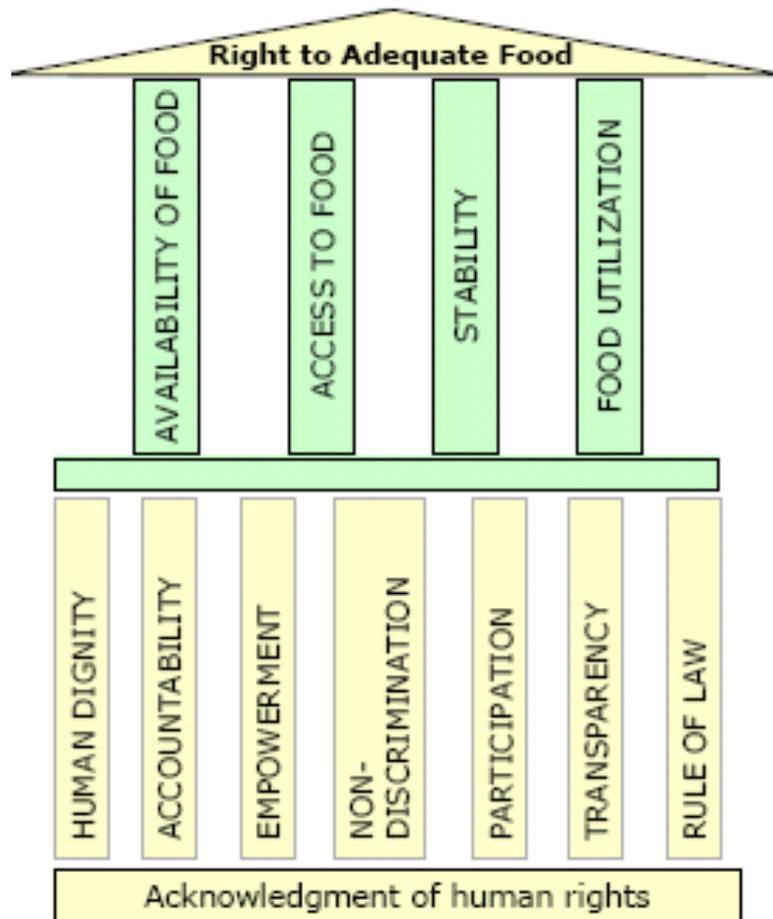
- Recognizes access to food as a **human right**.
- Puts **people** at the centre of development.
- Recognizes that all individuals are **rights holders**, not mere beneficiaries.
- Makes the progressive realization of the right to food a **duty**, not a matter of choice.
- Makes states aware of their **obligations** and draws attention to responsibilities of other stakeholders.
- Supports avoiding harmful **policies and actions** in violation of the obligation to respect and protect the right to food.
- Prioritizes the **fight against hunger** at national levels.
- Applies the **human rights principles**.
- Introduces complaint and redress **mechanisms** to deal with alleged violations of the right to food.

2.5. Comparing the Right to Adequate Food to Food Security and Food Sovereignty

FOOD SECURITY	It is a technical concept based on needs of vulnerable groups, through programmes and policies.
RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD	It is a legal concept based on principles of human rights, which focuses on individuals as rights holders, primarily the hungry.
FOOD SOVEREIGNTY	It is a concept used in political struggle which focuses on needs of small food producers and their right to produce.

Source: FAO, 2005

A right based approach to a food security programme makes the acknowledgement of human rights and right to adequate food a prime objective. The individual will not remain the beneficiary of projects determined by policy goals, but will become an empowered partner of the programme. He or she will participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of the programme and claim his or her rights.



A right to adequate food approach makes the vulnerable groups the centre of concern and focuses on their human dignity. It calls for responsible action from all members of society, including the private sector, which has so far been more on the periphery of social development programmes. The private sector includes Transnational Corporations like NKG, which have not only contributed to economic benefits but also caused negative effects to social development. Civil society calls for change and redirection of the above mentioned forces towards equitable social benefits.

2.6. The three levels of State obligations

To facilitate the understanding and implementation of the States obligations, the CESCR has applied, as an analytical framework, a typology of three levels of obligations: obligation to respect; obligation to protect; and obligation to fulfil (facilitate and provide).

- **Obligation to Respect:** A State cannot take any measures which may result in preventing the capacity of individuals or groups to provide food for themselves. For example, a State cannot: Confiscate land or water resources; prevent or limit access of individuals or groups to plant or animal resources necessary for ensuring their food

security; or destroy people's food resources (agricultural areas for food production, crops and livestock) without a valid reason and adequate compensation.

- **Obligation to Protect:** The State must act to prevent third parties (individuals, groups, enterprises and other entities) from interfering or violating the right to food that people do have. For example, The State should prevent private parties (enterprises or other entities) from destroying people's food sources by their activities, such as: clearance of the forest for transport purposes; building sport facilities on small farmers' land; polluting lakes or rivers by dumping of hazardous or dangerous agricultural or industrial products; and waste (wrong use and storage of fertilizers and pesticides polluting land, water and air) etc.

The obligation to protect also includes ensuring that food put on the market is safe and nutritious. States must therefore establish and enforce food quality and safety standards, and ensure fair and equal market practices. States should take legislative and other measures needed to protect people from advertising and promotions of unhealthy food especially children, so as to support the efforts of parents and health professionals to encourage healthier patterns of eating and physical exercise.

- **Obligation to Fulfill:** The State must create conditions allowing for the effective realisation of the right to food, and provide food directly to individuals or groups who are not able to procure food on their own.

In all therefore all states including the Uganda Government have obligations to respect, facilitate and to provide food security to all its citizens. This obligation to provide relates more particularly to the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger. All members of society (such as individuals, local communities, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations, as well as MNCs) have responsibilities with respect to the right to food.

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

The contribution of Kaweri Coffee Plantation (KCP) to the socioeconomic welfare of the Madudu Community was one of the areas of interest in the baseline survey. This follow up survey has reviewed the socioeconomic status of the local community 6 years after the 2002 baseline study.

3.2 Employment Status

The provision of employment to the local population is usually claimed to be the major outputs of MNCs. In the baseline survey, employment of the local population was found to be one of the controversial aspects of KCP. The project planned to create 6000 (direct and indirect) jobs within a period of 4-5 years. KCP employed a total 750 people (both males and females) in Mubende District by the time of baseline survey (KCP, 2002). Because of the on going conflict in court the Plantation Administrator was reluctant to give information in the follow-up survey (2008). This was compensated with detailed household survey to gauge proportion of households employed by KCP. Table 2.2 shows the number of respondents who are employed on the farm at the time of baseline (2002) and follow up (2008). The 2008 survey focused only on the displaced people.

Table 2.2: Percentage distribution of the number of people employed on the Plantation

Employment status	2002		2008	
	No	%	No	%
Working on the Plantation	38	29.5	11	11.4
Not working on the Plantation ²	85	65.9	82	86.4
Not Stated	6	4.6	2	2.2
Total	129	100.00	95	100

The follow up survey shows that 11.4% of displaced people compared to 29.5% during baseline survey were working on the plantation. This clearly shows that the majority of the people in the community do not work on the plantation. The findings show a continuously diminishing and very low level of involvement in plantation work by the displaced people.

² Those who are not working on the plantation are self employed as traders, casual labour in other people's gardens or housewives by choice.

This sentiment was further analysed during FGD, and the following reasons were forwarded by community members:

- The local population was dispossessed and is still very angry with KCP. Most of the evicted people do not value working on the project, which is responsible for their current suffering and destitution. They revealed that working on the plantation would drive them to memories of lost homesteads, lost property and ancestral grounds.
- The payment for the day's work has remained stagnant at Ush. 2,000 (\$1) for casual workers since 2002 baseline survey. The payment is too little compared to the amount of work done on the plantation. Yet, without land, the workers have to use the Ush. 2,000 to purchase food as well as meeting other household needs such as school fees, health costs and other consumables.

In the baseline survey, just as in the follow up survey, FGD participants reported that most of the people working on the plantation come from areas outside the area where the displaced persons live. There is a very negative attitude of the displaced people towards the plantation. This anger and friction is touted as the reason people have declined employment on the plantation which has enabled outsiders to access employment opportunities on the plantation.

3.3 Income Levels

Another common perception on MNC is their capacity to boost the income levels of local communities and the countries they operate in. This is possible when such investments increase on the employment opportunities to the local communities. It is also possible when they stimulate economic activities as well as socio-economic infrastructure in the local community where they are located. This follow-up study (2008) and the baseline study (2002) assessed the effects of KCP on the income levels of the Madudu Community.

In the baseline study, 71.2% of those who were working on the plantation were earning less than 50,000/= per month while 18.8% were earning 50,000/= and more. Among those earning more than 50,000 were the technicians and security guards.

Table 2.4: Average Monthly Income

	Monthly Income (%) per Settlement					
Survey Period	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Follow-Up	51,525/=	54,727/=	72,894/=	52,316/=	65,526/=	59,400/=

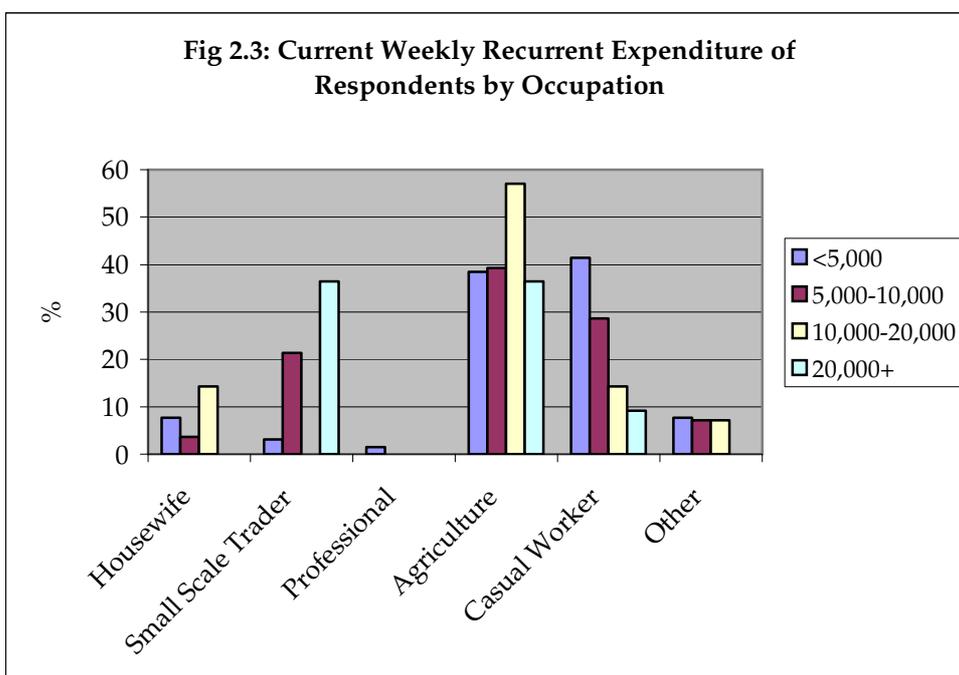
(2008)						
Baseline (2002)	--	--	--	--	--	44,405 /=

Where as there is supposedly an improvement in average monthly incomes, it must be noticed that, of the people surveyed at the time baseline only 29.5% (2002) compared to 11.4 %(2008) worked on the plantation. In fact at the daily rate of 2000, a casual labourer would earn 60,000/= per month, which has a variation of 600/= from the average for all displaced households sampled in 2008. The implication is that the plantation has not bettered incomes of the local community through employment since plantation workers and those working elsewhere have same income. On clarification with a male trader who withdrew from working on the plantation, he had this to say:

The investor does not care about workers. I worked there (Plantation) for sometime but the pay was poor and we were working long hours digging holes and planting seedlings at that time. I decided to quit and got a loan from my relative. Now I have a small business here, selling groceries in this trading centre (initially resettlement camp). My small shop gives credit to most of the workers who stay here because they are not paid on time. I am better than most of the workers but they have nothing to do since their land was taken away and their relatives are in the same situation.

3.4 Expenditure Pattern

In the baseline survey (2002) respondents were asked to estimate their weekly expenditure, and the findings are detailed in figure 2.3.

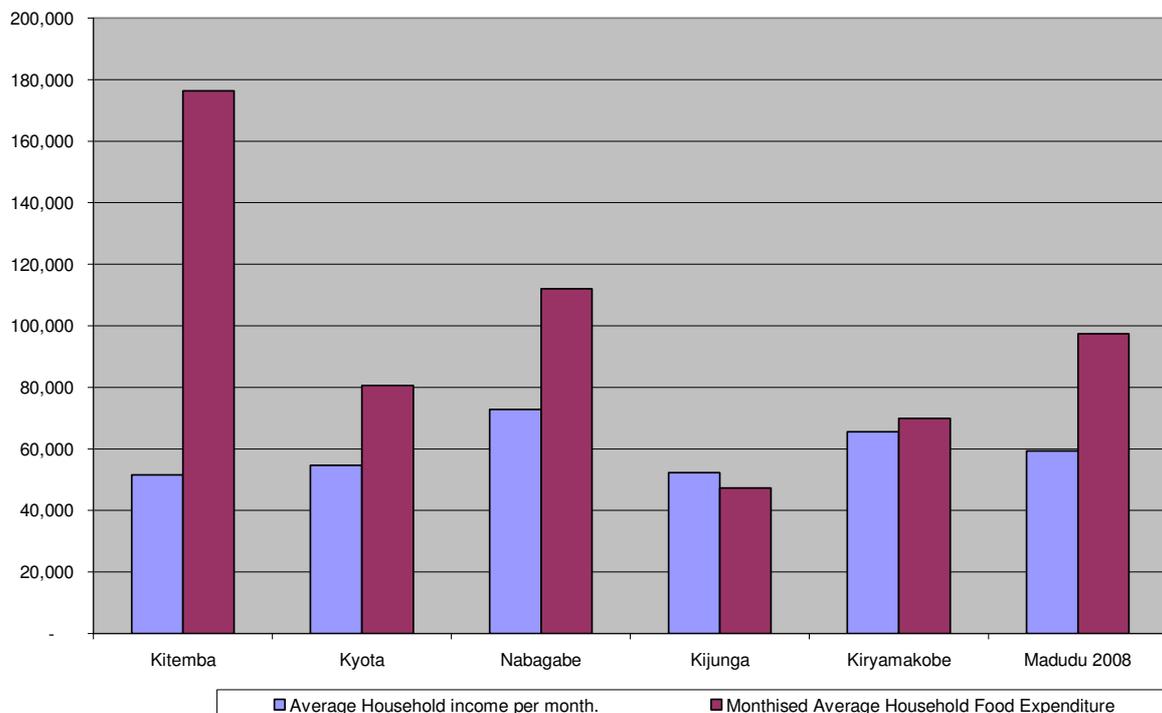


Overall, during baseline survey out of the total number of respondents who reported to spend less than 5,000/= a week, 7.7% were housewives, 3.1% small scale traders, 1.5% professional, 38.5% agriculturalists and 7.7% others. The expenditure of 20,000/ and above was dominated by people engaged in small scale business (36.4%) and agriculture (36.4%) and casual workers who comprised 9.1%. This expenditure is explained by the fact that the local community's income sources were destabilized by the displacement process. Food and healthcare accounted for much of the expenditure in 2002 despite the area being an agricultural community. This resulted from the fact that households lost land (means of livelihood) leading to household food insecurity.

In the follow up survey (2008), emphasis was put on food and healthcare costs as elements of food security. The baseline survey (2002) concluded that the displaced community was leaving "hand to mouth" implying that the possibility of investing in whatever small-scale business by the households is greatly constrained. This follow-up survey endeavoured to capture the food security gap.

The chart below shows comparative monthly income and monetised (extracted from food expenditure during the complete week preceding the survey) income during the follow-up survey.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND FOOD EXPENDITURE



The chart above shows a high gap (64%) across the settlements between what household would require to purchase food for the month and their monthly income. The gap is highest in Kitemba (242%) followed by Nabagabe (54%), Kyota (47%) and Kiryamakobe (7%). Only Kijuga households have income sufficient to meet their food expenditure. Indeed, this is a glaring humanitarian disaster that has cost lives besides the obvious starvation and malnutrition that the baseline survey had predicted. It is prudent that efforts be made to address this food security disaster in the area. And of course, people without food have no savings to spend on other household needs such as education and health is limited.

3.5 Land Ownership and compensation

It has already been emphasized that land is a key factor of production. To the local population, land is an important asset as it determines the wealth and the status of the person in society. The baseline survey reported that prior to the acquisition of land for the coffee plantation; all tenants on this land were evicted. Even those who were purportedly compensated were found to have much less land than they used to have.

The baseline survey (2002) reviewed land ownership by all local (both evicted and none evicted) households. The follow-up survey focused only on evicted households because of the unique issues affecting livelihood of these households. The baseline survey reported that the displaced and non-displaced had a reduction in their land because the non-displaced had to give or sell part of their land to the displaced. The implication of this being the subsequent loss of income as people no longer had enough land for production. The baseline survey also warned that the situation would accelerate the level of poverty in the district and the country in general.

The findings relating to land acquisition is shown in figure 2.4.

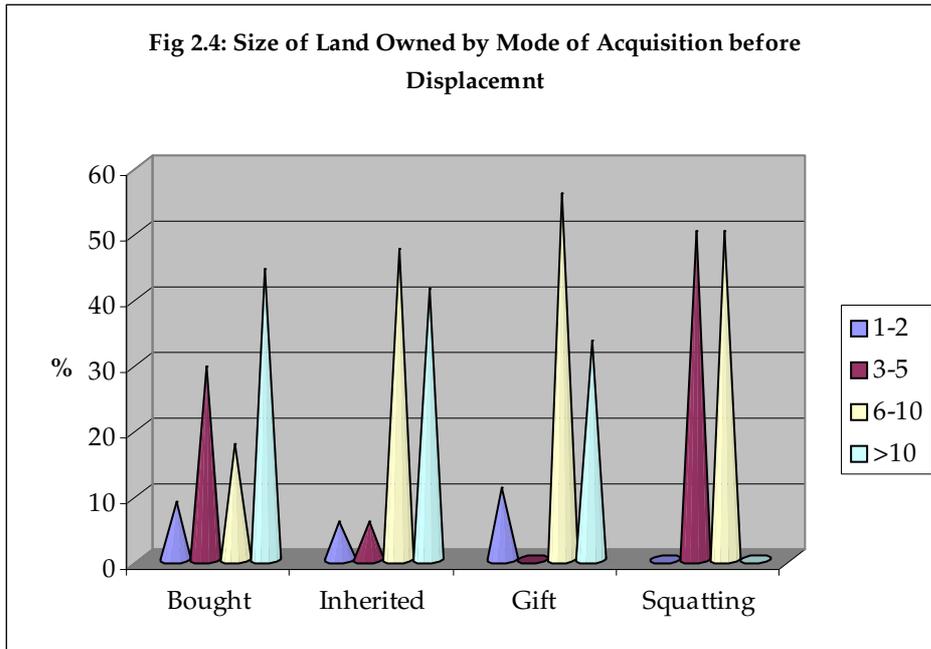


Figure 2.6, shows the size of land owned (acres) before displacement by mode of land acquisition. It shows that those who had big pieces of land had either received it as a gift or were squatters. This is represented by 54 and 48% respectively. However it is interesting to note that a significant proportion of 42% and 28% of those who owned over 10 acres and 3-5 acres respectively had actually bought the land. The table below shows ownership types across different types of tenure between 2002 and 2008 follow up survey.

	Kitemba		Kyota		Nabagabe		Kijunga		Kiryamakobe		Madudu	
	2002	2008	2002	2008	2002	2008	2002	2008	2002	2008	2002	2008
Private Mailo	26.3	15.8	10.5	5.3	0	5.3	0	0	0	0	7.4	4.2
Squatter	73.7	84.2	89.5	89.4	100	94.7	100	79	100	100	92.6	94.7
Other	-	0	-	5.3	-	0	-	21	-	0	-	1.1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Overall, at the time of this follow up survey (2008) full land ownership (private mailo) had reduced from 7.4% in 2002 to 4.2% in 2008. In retrospect, squatter had increased from 92.6% to 94.7%. However, more appalling is the reduction in the overall size of land controlled/owned prior and after the evictions, as shown in later sections.

CASE 1: ANNA NANDYOSE OWNER NOT COMPENSATED:

Background

I am called Anna Nandyose Katende. Our home was located at Kigoloba near the KCP-Kyoto Section offices. The Muzungu and his people chased us from that place to Kasambya, where we live presently.

I inherited part of the land from my late father, Mr. Katende after his death, and the title was subsequently transferred to my names. This was 50 acres contained in Block 103 plot 1 Buwekura (Naluwondwa, Kisola and Buyana) later converted to 20 ha at the time of transfer to my names. My father had bought the land from Mr. Sebowa, the original owner of Block 103, who also was husband to my late Senga, Mrs. Seforoza Tizikyabiri Sebowa. I also personally bought another piece of land of 50 acres from Mr. Sebowa and later inherited 5 acres from my Auntie (wife to Mr. Sebowa) after her death. This therefore entitled me to 105 acres from Block 103 combining 50 acres inherited from my late father Mr. Katende, 50 acres I personally bought from Mr. Sebowa for which I have an agreement and 5 acres I inherited from my Auntie Seforoza Sebowa. I was processing land title for the 55 acres when we were chased from our land.

The Eviction

As I said, we were living in Kigoloba until August 18, 2001. On the day preceding the evictions, I had gone to Mubende town with Peter Kayiira to see some officials when he was hijacked by soldiers and disappeared from me. I just looked around the offices and was told they had taken him to Luwunga. I could not go there because I felt scared and decided to return home. In the wee hours of August 18, 2001 soldiers came to our homes and ordered us to leave immediately. It was chaotic because we had resisted the DC's threats and ultimatums. We tried to move out our belongings and iron sheets from the house but most property disappeared in the process. My cows disappeared also and my gardens were to be destroyed later also. We settled here and my elder sons constructed a makeshift dwelling for us but conditions were very bad. We had no food, no sanitation facilities and soldiers kept in our villages until the President (of Uganda) commissioned the plantation on August 24, 2001. I lost 3 children because of the conditions we were living in and had no money for medication. The house we are in was constructed by village mates; my son cut the timber while the iron sheets were rescued from our former house.

Attempts at Compensation

We had a series of meetings with the DC – Mr. Katamba, but he would come to give us new orders and threats. He told us we had to vacate the land by August 15, 2001 to allow the investor to begin his operations. After the 15th deadline he came back and abused and insulted us in a meeting and went away. He came back with soldiers on 18th who forcefully evicted us.

Claims Sought

This land belongs to me and my late father and auntie but the Muzungu took it away. They never paid me anything at all. We want the Muzungu to return our land and compensation for the property destroyed, the lives lost and the inconvenience we have endured. I am in my old age and my husband is more frail than myself. We are now suffering yet we had our property which we would be leasing out. Other families have similar stories like ours or worse.



Anna Nandyose (in Gomesi) during interviews at her “new” home (2008) after eviction.

3.6 Housing

Housing relates not only to shelter, but it comprises a number of facilities, services and utilities that link an individual and his family to the community. Housing (as annexed to land) is the single most important investment for any household (Habitat). However, the baseline survey (2002) documented forced eviction of households and subsequent destruction of property. Table 5.2 (from 2000 survey) shows the nature of housing of the displaced families before and after displacement.

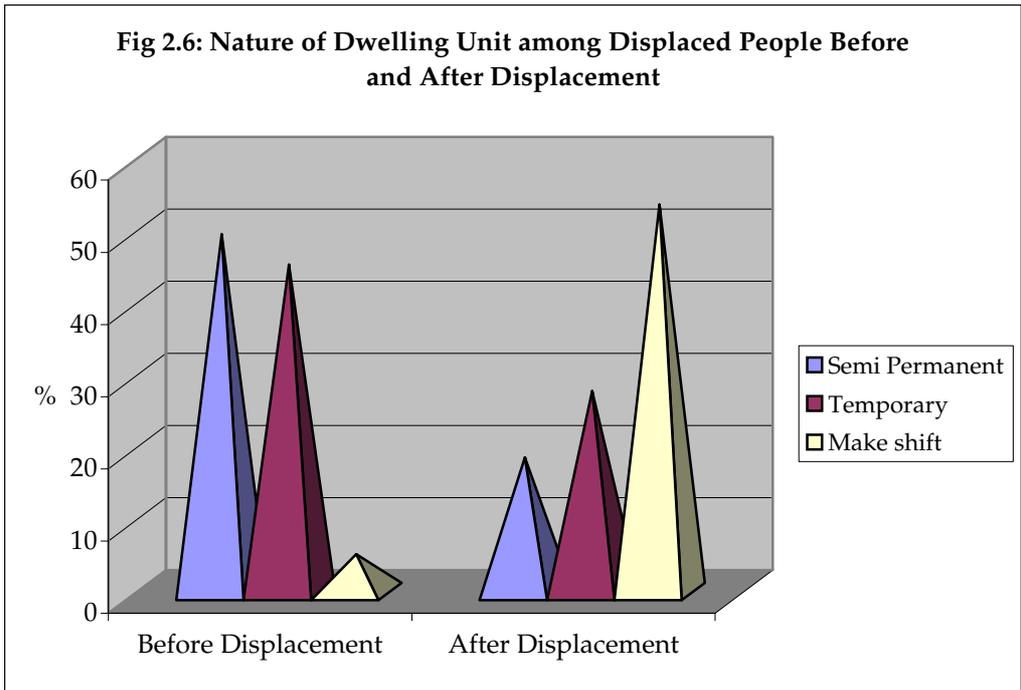
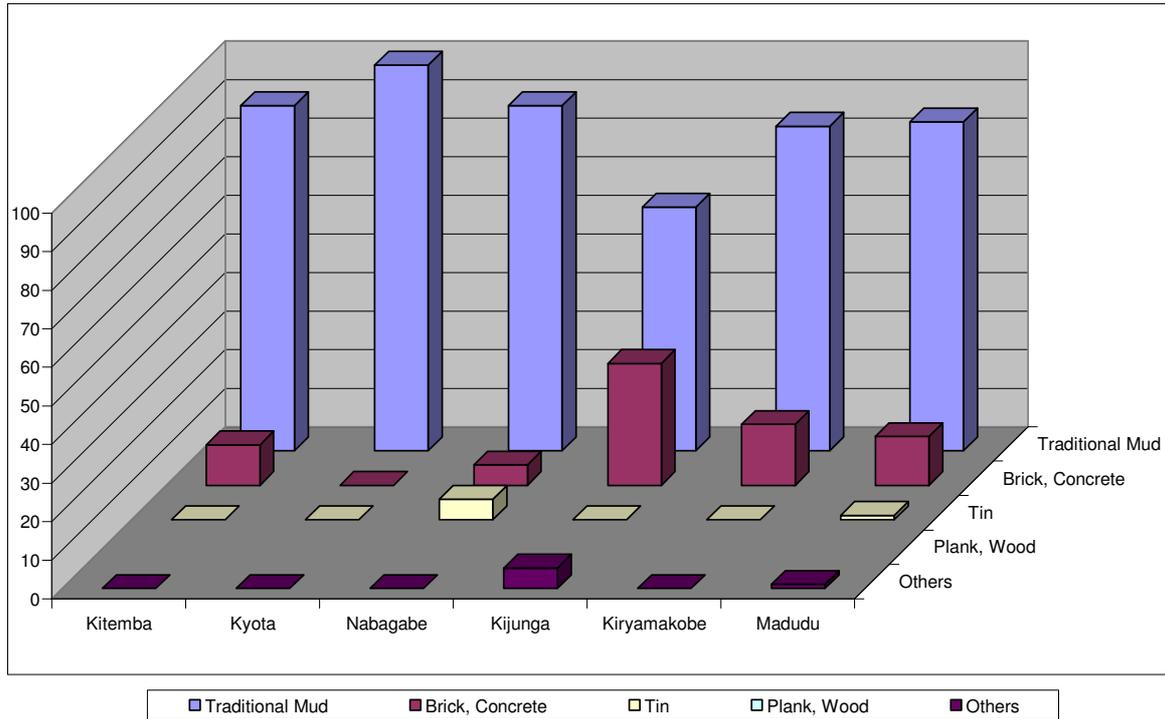


Figure 2.6 shows that half of the respondents had constructed semi-permanent houses before eviction, while 45.3% had temporary houses and only 5.2% had makeshifts prior to being evicted. The baseline survey reported that this status of housing was similar to the not displaced families where the common types of houses built were temporary in nature. The survey further attributed construction of temporary houses to the level of poverty among the local communities, which affected their capacity to construct permanent houses (quality shelter).

Notably, while MNCs like the NKG – the Kaweri Coffee Plantation Investors are expected to increase incomes of households which would improve on the level of affordability of good housing, this has not happened in Madudu so far. As the baseline reported, during the eviction of people in Mubende, property such as houses and other household items were destroyed and no attempts were made to provide shelter to the displaced population.

PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE OF DWELLING



From the fig 2.6 above (baseline) and the chart above, the number of people with semi permanent houses decreased to 18.6% while those with makeshifts increased to 53.6% by 2002. This follow up survey has found that the housing situation is indeed further deteriorating. Overall, traditional mud houses have increased to (85.3%) followed by permanent houses of brick and motor (12.4%), the rest being shared tin and plank wood. The chart below shows the types of dwelling across the settlements.

Further analysis, revealed that 4.2% households owned the dwellings they occupied and had land titles to the land. 85.3% owned the dwelling but had no title to the land. 10% were renting the dwellings, with 5.3% having tenancy agreements and 5.3% having no agreements.

The implication of this trend is that the implementation of KCP and more so the eviction of people worsened the already deteriorated housing conditions of the local population. It was also observed that most of the houses were not only small but also overcrowded. This is because some of the families housed their relatives and friends who did not have capacity to construct houses of their own. The table below shows the average number of adults per living/sleeping room during the follow up survey (2008).

Number of people (adults) per living/sleeping room	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
One	10.5	0.0	10.5	15.8	0.0	7.4
Two	31.6	36.8	15.8	42.1	26.3	30.5
Three	42.1	26.3	42.1	21.1	21.1	30.5
Four or more	15.8	36.8	31.6	21.1	47.4	30.5

Just as the baseline survey (2002) had predicted, the impact of eviction without deliberate efforts to provide adequate shelter has led to a number of problems including; increase in the average density in each dwelling unit and diseases. The table above shows that majority of households have more than 2 people (61%) sleeping in the same room compared with 30.5% who sleep 2 per room and 7.4 who indicated they sleep 1 per room. This further confirms the temporary nature and inadequacy of the housing facilities available to the evicted people.

Notably the evicted population has encroached on the nearby forest surrounding the Kaweri Plantation. This makes them vulnerable to a number of disease infestations particularly malaria and snakebites resulting into high levels of morbidity and mortality, as shall be seen under the section of healthcare. This is affirmed by the case study below;

Case 2: An Old Lady left helpless by the forceful evictions

I was staying with son near where the plantation offices are located. My husband had died earlier before the evictions, so I had to stay with my son who had a wife and 5 children. We had lived there ever since I got married before independence (1962) but suddenly in 2001 we were told that land had been sold to an investor. That we were occupying the land illegally.

My son was part of the group that attempted to resist the evictions. Incidentally, there was so much force used by "police" who had guns unlike the community members. He was beaten thoroughly and after the evictions he died from here. There was too much chaos and confusion. We had no money to take him to hospital. I used to get herbs from the forest over there to treat his wound but it did not help at all.

After the death of my son, we remained here with my daughter (in law) but the situation was getting worse. She went back to their home in 2003 with the youngest of the children and I hear she got married to another man. One of the children died in 2003 but the mother did not come for burier. In 2004 there was so much rain and wind and the temporary “house” we were living in collapsed. The neighbours helped me put up this house but it has only 2 rooms which I share with 4 children since their mother recently came and dumped here the young one. None is going to school because I have no money for books and pens and the school is very far they would need to pack food for lunch yet I have no garden as you can see.

I appeal to government to get me some land for these children and organisations that can help me give these children an education.

The above is one of the many cases across the resettlement areas. Most evicted families have either encroached on the forest land or are renting from the unevicted who also provide them with foodstuffs like this old lady above. However, just like at the baseline survey, the result has been persistent lack of enough food for even the undisplaced population since both land and the available foodstuffs have had to be shared.

3.7 Water Supply and Sanitation

Water supply and sanitation are among the key issues emphasized under the national Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which is the key government framework for ensuring poverty eradication through creation of an enabling environment for rapid economic development and social transformation.

Water is a key strategic resource, vital for sustaining life, promoting development and maintaining the environment. Access to clean and safe water and improved sanitation facilities and practices are pre-requisites to a health population and therefore have a direct impact on the quality of life and productivity of the population. In most rural areas water supply is based on use of surface water, i.e., open streams, rivers, lakes and ponds, or unprotected water holes.

The baseline study (2002) assessed the effect of displacement on access to safe water among the displaced families after implementation of the KCP. Displaced respondents who were interviewed were asked to indicate their sources of domestic water supply before and after displacement and the findings are shown in Table 2.7 below;

Table2.7: Source of Domestic Water Supply before and after Displacement (2002)

Water Source	Before Displacement		After Displacement (baseline 2002)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Springs	10	9.1	14	11.1
Boreholes	68	61.8	22	17.5
Unprotected Wells	29	26.4	76	60.3
Protected wells	0	0	3	2.4
Ponds	3	2.7	7	5.6
Stagnant water	0	0	4	3.2
	129	100.0	129	100

Table2.8: Current Source of Domestic Water Supply (2008)

	Kitemba		Kyota		Nabagabe		Kijunga		Kiryamakobe		Madudu	
	D	Other	D	Other	D	Other	D	Other	D	Other	D	Other
Main water source												
Piped	42.1	15.8	0.0	0.0	10.5	5.3	21.1	10.5	0.0	0.0	14.7	6.3
Borehole	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.8	15.8	57.9	36.8	15.8	10.5
Protected well/spring	0.0	5.3	0.0	15.8	0.0	0.0	26.3	21.1	5.3	5.3	6.3	9.5
Unprotected well/spring	52.6	78.9	100.0	84.2	79.0	94.7	36.8	52.6	36.8	57.9	61.1	73.7
Av. Daily water(l) used	100		100		80		60		80		80	
Av. Time to Fetch water (minutes)	73		72		80		71		80		75	
D = Drinking water; Other = Other water uses e.g. cooking, washing, etc												

The baseline survey table 2.7 indicate that the most common source of water in Madudu before eviction was boreholes. This is indicated by 61.8% of respondents who reported to

have been using boreholes as a source of domestic water before displacement. However after displacement, the boreholes were taken over by the plantation, forcing the displaced population to resort to unprotected wells as the major source of water. This is indicated by 60.3% of the respondents who reported to be using unprotected wells in 2002 and 61.1% and 73.7% in 2008 for drinking and other water uses respectively as shown in table 2.8 above. When the issue of water was further investigated during baseline survey it was found out that the settlements of the displaced persons were devoid of natural springs. Before displacement, the population had been promised as revealed from the respondents interviewed that they would be provided with safe water and health facilities. These promises are yet to be honoured 6 years after the evictions.



LHS: An Unprotected well for the Evictees living in Luwunga Settlement

RHS: A queue at a protected water source in Kitemba Settlement, which relies on water pumped into the reservoir.

Below: An unprotected spring used by Kitembe settlement residents when water dries out at the Tap (above)



The LHS picture shows one of the unprotected wells used by the displaced people. The well is covered with algae and by mere observation this water was too dirty to be drunk by normal human beings. Worse still, most school children were found to use this well for drinking water, as it is the only source of water in the area. It ought to be recalled that this population had access to boreholes and protected springs in the areas where from where they were evicted.

Sanitation

The baseline survey did not capture quantitative data on sanitation facilities used by households in 2002. The table below analyses the type of toilet facilities used by evictees as well as toilet facility sharing across the settlements during the follow-up survey 2008.

Toilet facility used	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) Latrine	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Pit latrine with slab	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	1.1
Open pit	94.7	100.0	94.7	89.5	100.0	95.8
No facilities or bush or field	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	1.1
Proportion of Households Sharing toilet facilities	26.3	15.8	15.8	42.1	15.8	23.2
Average number of households per Toilet	3	2	3	4	3	3

Across the settlements on average 3 households share one toilet facility at the minimum indicating a gap of 2 toilets. This practice breeds poor hygiene as there is reluctance to clean communally used toilets. Even then over 95% of the residents across the sampled villages used open pits as latrines.

3.8 Health Care and Disease Burden

Good health of the population leads to increased production in the economy. The abrupt and haphazard eviction led to destruction of the social infrastructure found in place such as health facilities. The baseline study (2002) established that during the process of eviction private clinics and drug shops were destroyed and no attempt had been made to provide health facilities in the place where the displaced families currently live. This resulted into increases in the levels of morbidity among evicted households who have had no where

nearby to seek medical care. The baseline study analysed the nature of health seeking behaviour as a vital component of the quality of life of the local community and the findings are shown in Table 2.9:

Table 2.9: Source of Health Care (2002)

Source	2002 (N=129)	2008 (N=95)
Government Dispensary	56.6	19.4
Private Clinics	26.4	43.3
Self Medication	5.4	16.4
Traditional medicine	4.7	1.5
Community health worker	- -	19.4
Others	6.2	
Total	100	100

Table 2.8 summarizes the health seeking behaviour of the local community. 56.6% of the respondents sought medical care from the government dispensary which has reduced to 19.4% in 2008, 26.4% from the private clinics which has increased to 43.3% and 4.7% used traditional medicine in 2002. In the baseline survey, the respondents were asked whether this was the source of health care before displacement and 36.4% said they had been using other means. 63.8% said they had been going to private clinics while 34 percent had initially been going to government dispensaries but had now changed to other sources. This clearly indicates that the number of people who had been getting medical attention from private clinics was so high. It is evident that the local community utilized private clinics whenever they got sick because of the following during baseline survey;

- Distance was sighted as a significant influence in making a decision to go to seek medical attention. There is only one government-aided dispensary – Madudu Health Centre, which is 10km away from the plantation. Therefore who ever had the capacity to pay usually finds it easier to pay for health care in the private clinics, which are nearer to them. However with a decline in their incomes, they have had to either go to the government dispensary, which is too far, or use traditional medicine and self-medication. The follow up survey indeed indicates that most household seek treatment after 24 hours from on set of sickness, which may relate to the reluctance to travel long distances to the health facility as shown in table below.

Time treatment is sought from the onset of illness	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Same day/within 24 hours	23.1	12.5	0.0	13.3	18.2	13.4
After 24 hours	69.2	87.5	100.0	86.7	81.8	85.1
Households in which a child under five years died in the <i>last 12 months</i>	5.3	15.8	5.3	15.8	5.3	9.5
Households in which any member was sick in the last 2 weeks before the survey	68.4	84.2	63.2	79.0	57.9	70.5

Disease burden

The follow-up survey also found that fever (68.3%) was the most common illness among the evictees followed by cough (31.7%) and diarrhoea (12.2%). The fever prevalence may be a result of evictees staying at the edges of the forest, which they encroached on after being evicted. The surrounding shrubs, forest and of course the coffee trees themselves seem to be the prime breeding places for mosquitoes.

Disease burden (2008)	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Other	50.0	9.1	0.0	50.0	50.0	29.3
Vomiting	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	2.4
Joint pains	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Worm Infection	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Headache	0.0	0.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	4.9
Swelling of body parts	0.0	9.1	25.0	0.0	0.0	7.3
Stomach Pain	0.0	0.0	12.5	25.0	25.0	9.8
Diarrhoea	10.0	27.3	12.5	0.0	0.0	12.2
Cough	20.0	27.3	12.5	50.0	75.0	31.7
Fever	60.0	72.7	75.0	50.0	100.0	68.3

3.9 Education

The most significant impact on education documented in the baseline survey (2002) was the closure of Kitemba Primary School which was the best primary school in the area. The school was constructed by the Uganda Government and expanded with assistance from

Action Aid (Uganda). The picture below shows the original school infrastructure and new school.



Left: Former Kitemba Primary School which currently houses offices for KCP

Right: New structures at Kitemba – see quality of wall finishes, roofing iron sheets and makeshift staff room.

A New Primary School constructed to replace Kitembe Primary School

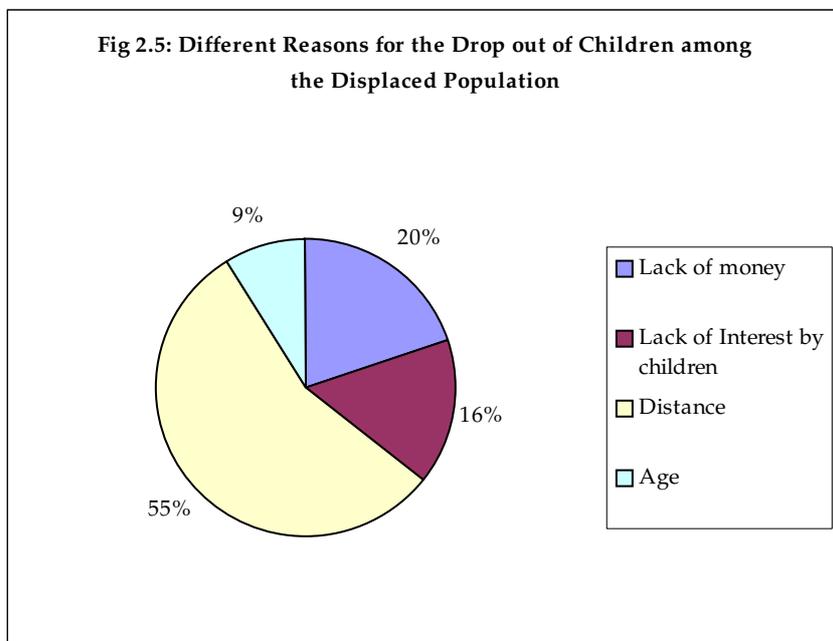
Even from outside appearance, it is clear that the new school is of a poorer quality as compared to the old school. The iron sheets of the original school were pre-painted while the iron sheets of the current school are just galvanized. Similarly, the finishing of the original school was painted roughcast while the walls of the current school are just plastered. In terms of size, the original school was much bigger in size than the current one.

This primary school was located on block 99. However, it had been initially thought that the land on which the school stands was outside block 99. After reopening of the boundaries of block 99, the land on which the school stands was incorporated as part of block 99. After the acquisition of block 99, the school was closed. The closure of the school created three major problems.

- a) Immediately on closure about 260 pupils (baseline 2002) stopped schooling for one year out of school out of which a significant proportion of over 30% dropped out of school completely (Former Headmaster Kitemba Primary school September 2002). The problem emanated from the fact that no one kept the records, as the eviction was haphazardly handled.

- b) Even the pupils who resumed school were delayed for one full year before they could get another school. The pupils were demoralized due to psychological dissonance created by the abrupt closure of the original Kitemba Primary School. In the psychology of education, it should be emphatically stressed that students must be helped to cope with any change that interrupts their learning.

The baseline study further investigated the reasons for dropout from the point of view of the respondents and the findings are indicated in figure 2.5.



A number of reasons which forced both boys and girls to drop out of school were given by the respondents. The major factor as indicated by 55% of the respondents was distance from school. Similarly, 16% of those who dropped out of school indicated lack of interest as a major reason. This factor is particularly interesting given the earlier argument of psychological dissonance as a major factor that influences pupils' retention in school. Lack of money as indicated by 20% of the respondents was another reason that caused school dropout. This was probably due to the fact that households lost means of livelihood hence failure to pay fees. It is clear from the foregoing that Kaweri Coffee Plantation has disrupted the education services in the area.

As noted earlier, the quality of the new Kitemba Primary School infrastructure was found to be relatively poor as compared to the quality of infrastructure of the original Kitemba Primary School. The former had prepainted iron sheets and painted walls unlike the new one, which even after 6 years remains with cheap rough cast for walls. The new site has no play ground, the water tank at the original site was taken by KCP and the Sub County bailed out the school with another tank recently. However, the new school, located on a hill relies on a pond shared with cows, at the nearby swamp for water supply when the tank has no water.

3.10 Road Network and Electricity Facilities

The investor (NKG) constructed a Murrum Road network that criss-crosses plantation. The road is open to the community and had just been reshaped and gravelled by time of follow-up survey (2008). In the baseline survey, community members including children were reported to have been barred from utilizing this road while going to school. This follow up survey, indicates that while the local community still uses footpaths in the adjacent forest that had been constructed at the time eviction for the school going children, the gravel road is now open although vehicles have to be stopped at various checkpoints for safety (and theft mitigation) reasons.

3.10.1 Electricity Facilities

Kaweri Coffe Plantation is largely the main reason the Uganda Government extended a three grid hydro electricity Power line from Mubende Town to the plantation site in Madudu Sub County. The baseline survey (2002) reported that electric poles and lines had been constructed and were planned to reach KCP by November 2002. This follow up survey found that indeed electricity was extended to the plantation offices and factory, which are within Madudu Sub County. This development is said to have stimulated the development in the area, including the small rural towns at the periphery of the plantation. Sadly, the majority of evictees being poor have not been able to extend the electricity for either home consumption or industrial production. As asserted by one adult woman in the study area;

“I see this electricity but I think government needs to be serious. Who told them the problem here is electricity? We do not have even what to eat for supper yet government says it is giving us electricity. This is mockery”

While it is agreed that in the short run, the local population may not clearly construe the purpose of electricity in the area, it is commendable that the plantation has contributed to the infrastructure development in the area through provision of electricity. It may not directly apply to majority households but it is clearly visible aspect of potential development in the area.

3.11 Impact of the KCP on Madudu Sub County Food Security

This follow up survey sought personal views of people directly or indirectly affected by company including labourers on the coffee plantation as well as duty bearers like the District Production Coordinator (to establish the food production trends since the project began), Chairperson District Land Board, Secretary for Production and officials from other agencies

like Uganda Investment Authority. In addition, Focus Group Discussions were held with affected community in the district to ascertain details of violations, what they consider causes and effects of their current predicament. Notably, a Right-based analysis was used to analyze whether the State is fulfilling its obligations in relation to peoples right to food i.e. the precise actions and omissions on the part of the relevant authorities with regard to the problems identified. This is the crux of this section.

Food Availability to evictees

It has been noted earlier that food availability refers to the possibility of feeding oneself and one's family a) directly from productive land (agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, fruit growing) or other natural resources e.g. fishing, hunting, food gathering; or b) from fresh or processed food obtained in markets and stores coming from sites both nearby and far from its production. This follow up survey (2008) analysed food production by evictees, the land available for production and types of farming technology used by evictees, as shown in table below.

Table 4.1: Major production Activity

Major activity on the land currently occupied	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Food Crop farming	100.0	100.0	89.5	42.1	57.9	77.9
Cash crop farming	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.5	5.3	3.2
Livestock	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	5.3	3.2
Small scale trading/shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	10.5	3.2
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.1	21.1	8.4

The table above shows that, majority of evictees (77.9%) are involved in food crop farming, ranging from 100% in Kitemba and Kyota, 89.5% in Nabagabe, 57.9% in Kiryamakobe and 42.1% in Kijunga. The rest of land uses that evictees are involved in are very low at 3.2% for cash cropping farming, livestock and small scale trading.

On further analysis, evictees sampled during the follow up survey were asked about the technology they were using, which is largely promoted through the government's NAADS programme. The table below indicates that evictees have not accessed or used improved seed technology and animal breeds which would be ideal for such a rural community. Indeed, only 9.5% indicated using improved seed while a mere 1.1% indicated improved

animal breeds, with majority indicating other technologies which when asked further they could not elaborate.

Table 4.2: Type of technology used

Type of Technology used in Present Activities	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Improved seeds	5.3	15.8	0.0	15.8	10.5	9.5
Improved animal breeds	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	1.1
Other	94.7	84.2	42.1	47.4	63.2	66.3

The trend in the above has an indication of failure by sub county technocrats to reach out to evictees to offer them agricultural extension services. This was clarified during an interview with the sub county chief:

“We would like to support all people in Madudu community to improve their livelihood. But we have failed to organise farmer groups among evictees, yet that is the approach used by NAADS. They are very negative about the government that it sided with the investor. This is quite unfortunate. We would like them to also benefit from the good programmes for the government”

Land size available for production

The table below shows the average size of land evictees have now and what they controlled prior to the evictions. The table reveals drastic reduction in acreage owned from an average of 17.7 hectares per household before evictions to an average of 3.9 hectares currently. The implication for food security is that with the decreased acreage the production capacity of these households has also reduced, thus the food available has reduced with the subsequent cases of undernourishment as reported under healthcare in section 3.1 above.

Table 4.3: Size of Land available for production Controlled or Owned (Hectares)

	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Average land size controlled/ owned by a household (hectare) in 2008 (follow-up)	3.1	3.4	3.7	4.2	5.2	3.9

Average land size controlled/owned before the Kaweri Coffee Plantation started (hectare)	12.4	23.2	23.2	13.4	16.2	17.7
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Adequacy of food

In earlier sections, Food, in the context of the right to adequate food, was reported as including values related to food preparation and consumption. This follow up survey reviewed the dietary consumption and feeding patterns of evictees as good nutritional well-being for households. The table 4.4 below illustrates the perceptions of the evictees on sufficiency of the food they eat in term of dietary and nutritional needs.

Table 4.4: Adequacy of food

Adequacy of food	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Sufficiency of food for dietary and nutritional needs especially children	39.0	24.2	44.2	24.2	44.7	35.3
Average Kgs of food crops produced after a harvesting season (all crops)	4157.9	6178.9	4124.7	2013.6	2252.9	3878.0
Average Kgs of Food a household consumes in a week	100.1	78.4	78.1	34.9	55.9	70.0

Some evictees probed for clarification indicated that, though the food production seems high, most of it is sold by men to get money for drinking, while other households use it to pay rent for land since majority don't have access to cultivable land.

Table 4.5: Household Meals per day

No. of Meals of household per day	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
One meal	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	2.1
Two meals	26.3	42.1	31.6	31.6	31.6	32.6
3 or more meals	68.4	57.9	68.4	68.4	57.9	64.2

Access to Food by Evictees

Food accessibility implies personal or household financial means to buy food for an adequate diet. It must be at a level to satisfy the dietary needs of the individual and the household all year round. The food must be accessible to everyone, including vulnerable individuals and groups such as infants, small children, elderly people, the physically disabled, people terminally ill or with persistent medical – including mental - problems, and prisoners. Food must also be accessible to victims of natural or human-made disasters, armed conflicts and wars, as well as to indigenous peoples and ethnic groups.

Table 4.6: Access to food by evictees

households receiving support as a result of loss of land	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Financial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Food	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Material	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social	84.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.7	95.8
Others	15.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	4.4

From the table above, evictees reported during the follow up survey (2008) that they had not received social support (95.8%) from the time they were evicted. Despite access to food being a problem from the eviction date till now, no effort has been made to guarantee the right to food by either government or humanitarian groups. Notably, even though government has free seed available under the NAADS programme, evictees have not benefited as illustrated in table 4.6 below.

Access to Production Resources and Assets for the Current Activities	Kitemba	Kyota	Nabagabe	Kijunga	Kiryamakobe	Madudu
Improved Seeds	0.0	0.0	10.5	5.3	0.0	3.2
Improved poultry breeds	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
Improved animal breeds	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
Improved chemical fertilisers	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
Access to credit	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
Access to extension workers	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
Communal land	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	2.1

The above is a clear indicator of the neglect of evictees by government representatives at the local level and withdrawal of the evictees from participating in government programmes as, Emmanuel Kyombe, the Chairman for Kyota Village put it:

“Government supported the investor to take our land. They brought soldiers to evict us and kill us. Even if we participate in NAADS meetings which land shall we use to implement what we will have learned? Our problem is land, ...”

Stability of Supply

In order to guarantee food security to households, it has been noted that both availability and accessibility of food must be guaranteed in a stable manner. Thus, adequate food must be available and accessible all year round. In a rural setting seasonal supply fluctuations are offset storage facilities and or transporting other staples from other areas.

In the baseline survey, it was reported that food households live by the hand to mouth principle. Indeed, no evictee household has a designated food store, implying that any shortfall in season’s harvest would lead to starvation among the evictees.

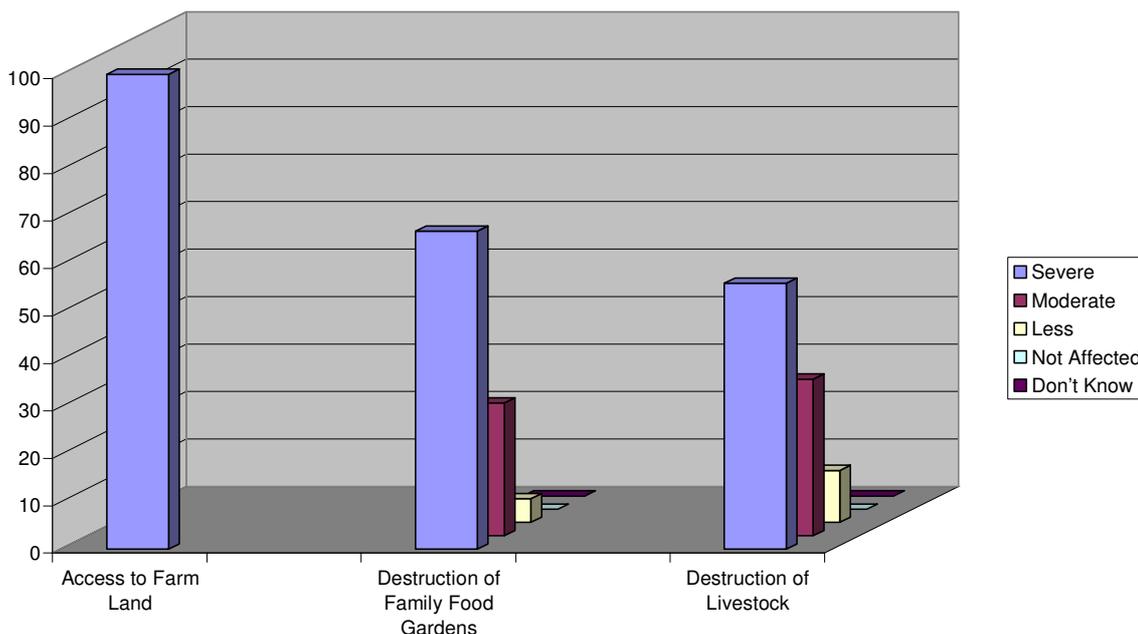
3.12 State Obligations on Food Security of Evictees and Tenant Compensation

Under the right to adequate food state, represented by the government and its representatives has 3 canon obligations. The follow up survey (2008) analysed the performance of the government and local duty bearers on 3 obligations.

Obligation to Respect:

In siding with the investor against over 400 households’ priorities, indeed the state acted in a way that curtailed the capacity of evictees to provide food for themselves. It supported and facilitated the forceful annexure of their land. This follow up survey identified 3 ways in which evictees interests in the Kaweri land were not protected by the state; the denial of access to farm land thus forcing the evictees to occupy nearby forest reserves; destruction of family food gardens and seed stores as well as destruction of Livestock. The right to secure tenure as guaranteed in the Uganda Land Act 1998, to customary (bonafide) occupants was reportedly compromised as shown in figure below.

KEY PERCEPTIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS ON IMPACT OF EVICTIONS ON FOOD SECURITY

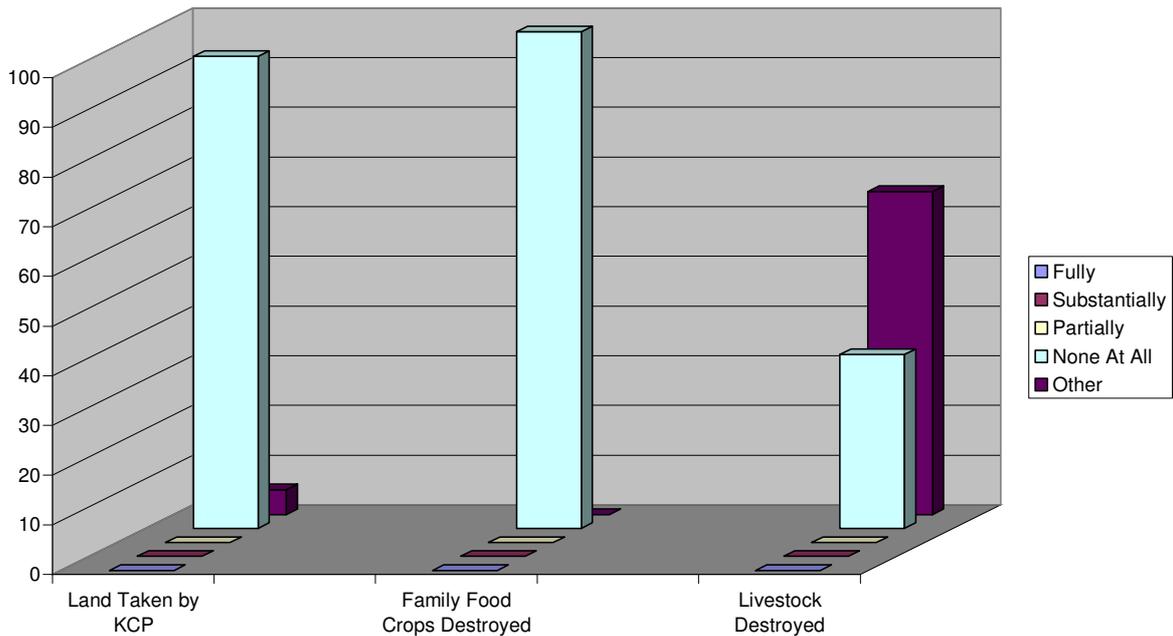


Overall, 100% of households across the settlements indicated a severe negative impact on access to farm land 67% indicated severe destruction of family food gardens and stores and 56% indicated severe destruction of livestock.

Obligation to Protect:

Under the UN Convention on Socio and economic Rights, the state is obliged to protect social and economic interests of citizens. This follow-up survey adduced evidence implicating the State’s failure to restrain (and therefore protect) the investor from destroying people’s food resources (agricultural areas for food production, crops and livestock) without adequate compensation, which altered drastically the normal livelihoods of evictees. The figure below illustrates the perceptions of households across the settlements in regard to compensation received in relation to food security.

PERCEPTIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS ON COMPENSATION RELATED TO FOOD SECURITY



Overall, 95% households indicated that they received no compensation at all for their land, while 100% and 35% respectively indicated that they received no compensation at all for family food crops destroyed and livestock destroyed. When 65% of households who indicated other form of compensation for livestock were queried on follow-up, it was discovered that some never had livestock while others (majority) transferred their herd to other places.

Obligation to Fulfill:

It has been noted in preceding sections that many lives were lost due to violence over agricultural land in Madudu. This follow up survey did not find any evidence of the state creating conditions that would allow evictees to effectively realise their right to food, and providing food directly to evictees who could not procure food on their own. The entire chronology of events leading to the eviction, with no state support to the evictees at anyone time, is illustrated in the table below.

3.13 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS LEADING TO LOSS OF TENURE BY MADUDU HOUSEHOLDS

Element NO	Date	Actor	Action	Impact on "Eviction"	Source Events	Subsequent Events(s)
1	June 2001	Tibamanya & CO. Advocates	Wrote to tenants on Block 99 Buwekura notifying them to quit land not later than 31/08/2001	Notifying tenants to vacate land	UIA/Government had bought land from Kayiwa E.B	Residents and mobilized and hired a lawyer – Mwesigwa Rukutana & CO Advocates to defend their interests in the land
2	18/06/2001	RDC Mubende, officials from UIA, Representatives of NKG/KCP	All affected tenants of Block 99 Buwekula called to a meeting to inform them of modalities of the resettlement exercise. Showed residents aerial survey maps of the intended land.	Notifying tenants to vacate land	Resistance from residents/tenants to vacate land	Residents elected a steering committee amongst themselves to lead them in the struggle to resist forced evictions
3	July 2001	Surveyors from Kampala	Made ground survey of the land in question		Tenants had disputed the Aerial map of the land designated for the plantation	Tenants planned to attack the investor
4	July 2001	RDC Mubende	Conducted meetings in villages designated for eviction	Forced tenants to sign ready made agreements at gun point	Resistance from residents/tenants to vacate land	Tenants wrote, through their lawyers, to the Attorney General and copy to lawyers of Mr. Kayiwa
5	7/8/2001	RDC Mubende	Conducted meetings at Kitemba Trading Centre. Gave tenants an ultimatum to quit land not later than		President was scheduled to launch the plantation	Tenants through their lawyers further addressed the matter with the Attorney General
6	16/8/2001	RDC Mubende	Attempted arrest of Baleke Kayira, who had been elected leader of the grup.	Intimidated the tenants	Tenants had intensified their resistance	Tenants expressed solidarity with Baleke Kiyira and bordered the police pick be arrested with him.
7	17/8/2001	DPC/RDC/LCV Mubende	Conducted meetings of elders at DPC's office asking them to convince the people to quit the land		High resistance and solidarity of tenants	Elders kept the stand not to go.

8	18/8/2001 to 22/08/2001	UPDF and RDC Mubende	Forceful eviction of more than 400 families which were tenants on land contained in Block 99 and Block 103 Buwekura	Eviction of tenants effected and many lives and property lost in the mayhem	Failure to reach agreement between government actors and the tenants	Tenants sought redress from Court in order to regain their right to tenure
9	24/9/2001	Evictees	Wrote a letter to the Speaker of Parliament seeking redress		Forceful eviction of tenants	Ask Kayiira what support was gained from speaker
10	Jan 2002	Evictees	Tenants representatives went to Minister of Lands and Deputy Director of Mass Mobilisation at the Movement Secretariat to further raise their issues		Forceful eviction of tenants	Ask Kayiira what support recieved
11	9/4/2002	Evictees	Wrote notice to the Attorney General of intention to sue		Forceful eviction of tenants	
12	15/4/2002	Government of Uganda	Sent Minister for Presidency to meet the evicted people to sweet talk them to stop them from suing the government	Evictees were not convinced by the minister's sweet talk	Notice of intention to sue issued to the Attorney General	
13	15/8/2002	Evictees	Evictees through their lawyers filed suit No. 179/2002 suing the Attorney General and KCP		Court order to file collective suit granted on 8/8/2002	KCP filed defense
14	12/2/2003	KCP	Filed application seeking security for legal costs from evictees of 401,000,000/=		Court case No 179/2002 filed by evictees	Evictees file defense
15	22/9/2003	High Court	Ruling of application 149/2002 filed by KCP		KCP application seeking security for legal costs	Evictees ordered to deposit Sh. 20,000,000/= to court as security
16	18/10/2003	Evictees	Deposited Sh. 20,000,000 to high court	Opened way for the case against KCP to continue	Court order to deposit Sh. 20,000,000	Commencement of court proceedings
17	October	Evictees	Sent representatives to WSSD in	Created negative	Invitation to attend WSSD by	Intensified social campaign

	2003		Johannesburg S.A to lobby for allies in their campaign against the forceful evictions	image of NKG in South Africa	AAIU	against evictions
18	May 2004	Evictees	Sent representatives to Germany to lobby for allies and Government of Germany to ask NKG to give-up on the land	Created negative image of NKG in Germany	Invitation from FIAN to go for the campaign and launch of the FIAN Report about the eviction	International exposure of the predicament of evictees and sustained negative publicity for NKG/KCP
19	24/8/2004	Minister of State for Investment	Wrote letter to the Germany Ambassador to Uganda asking him to cleanse the image of NKG/KCP in Germany Media and Germany Government	Created the impression that NKG had legally acquired the KCP Land	Evictees visit and campaign in Germany	
20	14/12/2004	Evictees	Wrote clarification letter to Hon. Minister of State for Investment	Confirmed irregularities in the KCP land acquisition	Copy of the letter to Germany Ambassador	
21	May 2004	Evictees' Allies in Germany	Opened a letter campaign and launched website for evictees' cause	Intensified negative image of NKG globally	Evictees' visit to Germany and confirmation of independent research findings by FIAN	Intensified negative image of NKG globally
22	June 2007	Lawyers of KCP	Filed preliminary objections		Case Filed by evictees	Response to preliminary objections by evictees lawyers
23	7/2/2008	High Court	Court ruling on preliminary objections	Ordered NKG/ KCP to stay liable for the offence until further court decisions	Response by evictee's lawyers	

Source: Madudu Household Survey, 2008 (document review and narrations by evictees).

3.14 Food Security Related coping mechanisms for evictees

This follow-up survey documented the coping mechanisms of households, after eviction from their former land. The table below illustrates a food related risk and associated coping mechanism after losing land.

Food Security Issue	Effect on Social welfare	Copying Mechanism
Food accessibility	Scarcity of food and Severe hunger.	Seeking food aid and social support from humanitarian organisations.
		Rampant food theft as a survival mechanism for evictees
Availability of food	Lack of resources to purchase food after eviction.	School children forced to dropout to pick coffee on the plantation in order for the families to get some money for food.
Adequacy of food	Severe starvation, malnourishment in children and undernourishment in adults.	Increased early marriages and prostitution to get money for food from plantation workers. Changing diet to unsuitable wild crops and animals, including wild fruits, wild pigs and other animals in the forest reserve.
Stability of Supply	Social stress including over drinking	Encroaching on forest reserves to have access to production land and renting land (and paying with a third of the harvest) from those not displaced by the plantation

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The researcher undertook a rapid evaluation of the impact of Kaweri Coffee Plantation on socioeconomic welfare of evictees, with emphasis on food security in order to inform stakeholders to design corrective interventions. Specifically, the research sought to identify positive and negative contributions of the plantation, security of tenure, access to land for food production, adequacy and steadiness of supply of food, state role and support in evicting and resettling evictees.

The previous chapter reviewed the impact of the Kaweri Coffee Plantation on food security of the evictees in Madudu Sub County with a focus of quantifiable measures. The eviction resulted from an investment agreement between the investor, Neumann Kaffe Groupe, and the Government of Uganda. From the foregoing, it is clear that food availability, access, adequacy and stability of supply, as leading indicators of food security are appalling across the settlements. The worrisome health status, education status and reliance on unprotected water sources and poor sanitation complete a rather gloom picture for the evicted households.

In their own way, evictees have tried to cope with the predicament, by supporting each other, helping the elderly get some shelter – though temporary, creating footpaths shortcuts through the forest as alternative to the long routes to the school, among others. Land remains the most significant resource needed to solve the food insecurity. But with the court case dragging, a more pragmatic approach to mitigating the food security crisis is required. Such an approach should itself involve the evictees from the beginning, the local authorities and a special endeavour be made to redress the prevailing impasse between the evictees and the plantation management. The Government is largely to blame for not respecting, protecting and fulfilling the rights of its citizens. This chapter explores deeply on conclusions from findings, suggests recommendations for action by different stakeholders.

4.2 Conclusions

Security of Tenure

The review of security of tenure of evictees shows that majority were occupying their former land as squatters on the land presently occupied by Kaweri Coffee Plantation. This is corroborated by the findings of baseline survey of 2002 as well as the interviews (2008) with evicted households across all settlements and various legal and administrative

correspondences between lawyers of the parties to the conflict and the Mubende District authorities. What is in dispute however, are the exact figures or proportion of people who were bonafide occupants as at the time of the eviction, and the extent of compensation at the time of eviction.

The Dispute on Squatters

On one hand the Lawyers for Mr. E.B. Kayiwa, the landlord who sold the land to the government, argue that in 1977 when their client bought land he found 4 squatters in Luwunga, 3 in Kitobonya, 3 in Kasambya and 3 in Kitagwetta villages³. In an August 3rd, 2001 letter by another team of lawyers for Mr. E.B. Kayiwa⁴, it's reported that in 1999, the squatters were estimated to be 50 families by the Chairman Mubende District Local Government following government's intention to purchase land for the Mubende Causality Unit of the UPDF⁵. In the letter to the Attorney General the landlord's lawyers estimated the number of households on the land at the time of eviction to have been about 80. As this letter is dated August 3rd a month in which tenants ought to have moved, it leaves a question, as to how compensation was estimated and effected without proper verification of squatters on the land.

On the other hand, in their submission to court, representatives of evictees listed 401 families who were forceful evicted from the land by the UPDF between August 18-22, 2001 prior to the ground breaking ceremony presided over by the President of Uganda on August 23, 2001. This list contains an estimate of property destroyed per household. The evictees disavowed having received any compensation be it financial or another piece of land from which to relocate.

Extent of compensation

It should be noted that, the evictees were largely squatters on Block 99 Plot 1, and the lawyers to the landlord indicated that having compensated 80 families following estimation by the Chairman LCV, with each family consenting to relocation. The researcher was not

³ Bwengye, Tibesigwa, Barugahare & Co. Advocates letter to C/M LCV Mubende dated June 22, 1999.

⁴ Tibamanya Urban Advocates letter to The Attorney General, dated August 3rd, 2001.

⁵ The UPDF had been occupying the land ever since Mr. E.B. Kayiwa bought it and negotiations to formalize the occupation in form of a lease purchase dragged on until shortly before the investor was allocated the land. There seems to have been classified transactions between Kayiwa and UPDF, the UPDF and UIA (read government purchasing land for investor) and later a lease transfer to KCP. These UPDF-UIA-KCP transactions appear complex and could not be verified on the copy of land title available with the evictees (obtained for court purposes).

able to access any of the agreements but evictees' representatives acknowledged that some people were forced to sign relocation consent (read agreements) under duress at gun point.

The lawyers purport that landlord divided a new plot of land to 80 families but in the letters reviewed, no where are the specifics of the resettlement plot (given by the landlord) mentioned, such as location, size per family, total size, etc. From the findings gathered through interviews with evictees, none of them received compensation for the land or crops destroyed yet as squatters who had stayed on the land for 12 years, whether paying Busulu or not, the Land Act 1998 bestows on the a vested interest in the land worth respecting. In fact, this interest seems to have been acknowledged by the Landlord's lawyers who wanted the government to pay for the land less the area occupied by the squatters. The involvement of the UPDF and subsequent use of military force seems to have expunged a possibility of respecting these interests in the transaction.

Evictees present access to land for production

It has been documented in the previous chapter that evictees resettled just outside the plantation. Most of them are squatters on the forest reserve which they have seriously encroached on, while others bought land from neighbours. This follow-up survey also found out that evictees have much smaller land for production than they initially had, even though they were and still squatters but on different plots of land. The access to the nearby forest reserve and generally unutilised big chunks of land in the neighbourhood have enabled the most evictees to somewhat survive but the psychosocial trauma of loss of loved ones and property (including cultural properties like graveyards and spiritual houses) and the indignant manner in which their own national army evicted them still haunts them.

Adequacy and steadiness of supply of food,

Being a rural area with neighbouring forest reserves, evictees seem to have come to terms with loss of former land and have improvised at least to have where to grow their own food. This survey found out that majority of households have at least 2 meals a day and but their dietary practices seem not to be in parity with food taken by the other people in the region (Buganda). Few families have Matoke shambas, few grow Sweet Potatoes and majority have resorted to Posho, which most people buy.

Role of the State and support in evicting and resettling evictees.

The failure of the state to guarantee evictees right to food, either through compensation or support after eviction, is testimony to how government is in adulation of big business and

“investors” and plays lip service to its poor and vulnerable sections of its population. The land was previously occupied by UPDF for a long time at sufferance (no paying money just like other squatters were doing), which later bought it from the landlord and suddenly wanted no squatters on the land, after which the land was sold to UIA which leased it to KCP. This is where everything went wrong! And it is complex and political. The agreement for the transaction is neither in the public eye nor known to the district authorities. Perhaps an investigation by the IGG regarding the transparency of this transaction could shade more light and finally the souls of the deceased evictees would finally rest in peace.

Role and contribution of NKG/KCP to Madudu Food Security

It is apparent that KCP got the land from UIA as an incentive to set up a coffee plantation on the land and bring development to the district. While KCP may not have erred in accepting to set up the plantation on this contested land, the decision implied a severe lack of corporate responsibility on behalf of NKG. Indeed, NKG did not cause the destruction, but it was the tool used to facilitate, legalise and rationalise the eviction and destruction of life and property. This has created animosity to the extent that locals have shunned employment (which investors are acclaimed to bring) on the plantation, the water sources for locals were destroyed and replaced with two taps in only 2 neighbourhoods thus confining evictees to draw water from unprotected sources.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing examination of issues related to the food insecurity and broad socioeconomic status of the Madudu, a number of actions, strategies and information gaps have been identified. What follows is a brief discussion of some issues that, in the opinion of the researcher, would be important to address if redress is to take place.

Enabling Long-Term Access to Adequate Food for the evictees

Access to Food Production Resources and Assets including lobbying the state to respect and protect the rights of individuals regarding access to natural resources, and facilitate sustainable, non-discriminatory and secure access to such resources, if need be by undertaking land reform. There is need for a public forum to share learnings with government representatives and other development partners about the impact of KCP on labour productivity, land rights, safe water access, genetic resources, and sustainability of the agricultural practice. In addition such forum would be used to contribute resources (including enabling evictees having access to land and agricultural seed, poultry and animal breeds).

Addressing Land policy implementation

The Madudu land conflict is a case in point about administrative failure and lack of political will to implement existing policies by the very government that established them. As such its not new policies that are needed but a will to implement existing ones, which may be limited by ignorance and lack of access to information. The remedy is to sensitise all parties to this conflict about the underlying policies and laws, specific aspects of land conflict resolutions and a need for pragmatic negotiation by all parties concerned. Justice delayed is justice denied and since 2001, evictees continue to starve, to suffer, to die. Constructive dialogue on issues pertinent to the conflict may be the necessary reprieve.

Revitalising agricultural productivity of evictees

A negotiated resettlement land with NKG (preferably excluding lawyers because conflict is their business) directly moderated by the district/sub county and development partners may provide a feasible reprieve for all parties. Of course development partners would need to bring their expertise to address evictees' psychosocial trauma aspects while the district would provide direct assistance through existing government programmes like NAADS.

Resettlement of Evictees

Evictees still insist on being resettled back on their former Bibanjas on Block 99. In the current circumstances, a court decision in favour of evictees may not necessary guarantee resettlement as evictees so desire. It is practical that they accept alternative and adequate resettlement to other areas if NKG is willing to provide the land.

Urge UIA to avail the agreement between KCP and UIA, which is not in the public eye so far, for the people to appreciate commitments of both parties. AAU should facilitate the community to petition the IGG in case this is not forth coming.

Sponsor a rapid technical land-survey to open boundaries of the plantation and verify interests of evictees in Block 103 which also is said to have been taken by the NKG contrary to Block 99 that was purchased by government.