

**THE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE IN KIGEZI, WESTERN UGANDA,
1500 - 2001**

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND
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DECLARATION

I, Muyambi Vicent, hereby declare that this dissertation titled “The Transformation of Agriculture in Kigezi, Western Uganda, 1500-2001” is my original work and has never been submitted to this university or any other institution of higher learning for the award of any academic qualification.

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APPROVAL

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Date.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Ayebare Winfred, my daughters Asimwe Isabel and Amumpeire Abigail and my parents Mr. Kayonga Francis and Mrs. Terezia Tindeitumire. I also dedicate this work to my aunt, Sr. Gratia, and all my brothers and sisters.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

DAO	District Agriculture Officer
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
KDAR	Kabale District Archives
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
NAADs	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NARO	National Agriculture Research Organization
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority
PMA	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture

ABSTRACT

This study investigated how agriculture in Kigezi region of south-western Uganda transformed between the years 1500 and 2001. The study was guided by three objectives: to discuss the nature of agriculture in the pre-colonial Kigezi region (1500-1911), to examine the ways in which the British colonial administration transformed agriculture in Kigezi region (1911-1961) and to assess how the transformation of agriculture impacted the economy and lives of people of Kigezi region from 1962 to 2011. The Modernisation Theory of Development as developed by Smith was used to analyse the transformation of Agriculture in Kigezi, 1500-2001. Qualitative data; both primary and secondary, was collected. Primary data was collected by use of oral interviews and archives, while secondary data was gathered from written sources. Public and private libraries with agricultural information were consulted for secondary data. Data collection tools used were interview guides and content analysis forms. In summary, the study found that the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi was gradual. In the pre-colonial period, traditional indigenous farming practices and crops dominated. Tools were rudimentary and made from iron and wood. Crops grown included millet, sorghum and potatoes, and were produced by use of family labour, on communally owned land. A shift from the use of rudimentary technology and tools to a more modernized agricultural sector backed by increasing mechanisation and industrialisation was realised in the colonial era (1911-1961). A number of new crops were introduced at the inception of alien rule in 1891 and continued up to 1908, although some of the crops which existed in pre-colonial times were maintained and improved through research in colonial and post-colonial period. Soil conservation practices and market trends significantly changed following the introduction of a monetary economy. The study concluded that the new monetary economy, together with supportive policies and continued investment by the post-colonial government of the Republic of Uganda tremendously increased agricultural production in Kigezi region from 1962 to 2001. The study adds to earlier arguments on transformation of agriculture in Uganda by highlighting the inter play between indigenous practices and external interventions over time. It under scores how the resilience and adaptability of local communities laid the foundation for agricultural advancements introduced during colonial and post-colonial periods. From this study, areas for further research would include examining gendered impacts on agricultural practices, comparative analyses with other regions, and exploring the environmental consequences of modernization policies to close the gaps that would have been left by this study.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study is about the transformation of agriculture in the Kigezi region of Uganda from 1500 to 2001. Agriculture, often referred to as the backbone of human civilisation, encompasses the cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals to sustain human life and drive economic development. The concept is further elaborated, as farming in all its forms, including the cultivation of plants, breeding and management of animals and integration of these activities within eco-systems for sustainable production.¹ Transformation of agriculture refers to a fundamental shift in agricultural systems characterized by increased productivity, technological innovation, market integration, diversification, and social-economic changes. Pingali, highlights the move from subsistence farming to market-oriented production, driven by the adoption of improved seeds, fertilizers, and modern tools.² This study addressed the types of pre-colonial agricultural practices in the Kigezi region as well as the transitions from colonial to post-colonial agriculture. This study was specifically interested in the contribution of colonial as well as post-colonial governments of Uganda to this transformation. This chapter highlighted the research processes and puts emphasis on the historical background of Kigezi region, its people and their earliest economy.

¹ Food and Agriculture Organisation, Agriculture, Food and Water: A contribution to the World Water Development Report (Rome:FAO 2003)

² Abraham, Mathew, and Prabhu Pingali. "Transforming smallholder agriculture to achieve the SDGs." *The role of smallholder farms in food and nutrition security* (2020): 173.

1.1 Background To The Study

Kigezi is a region in western Uganda. The entire region was made a single district by the British colonial government in 1912 and named “Kigezi District”. But in order to provide services closer to the people, Kigezi District was divided into North Kigezi and South Kigezi in 1974.³ Later, in 1980, the districts of Kabale, Kanungu, Kisoro, and Rukungiri all named after their respective principal towns were created by the Obote II government through the division of North and South Kigezi. This region, which in this dissertation is also referred to as simply ‘Kigezi’ shares borders with the republics of Congo to the west, Rwanda to the south, the Ugandan district of Ankole to the East, and Lake Edward to the North. Kigezi occupies a land area of 1900 square miles. It is located about 400 kilometers from Kampala, Uganda’s capital city.

Topographically, Kigezi region is a highland area with steep slopes, and intensely cropped hillsides.⁴ The region is home to a number of lakes such as Lake Bunyonyi, Lake Mutanda, Lake Murehe, Lake Kayumbu, Lake Kyahafi and Lake Edward. There were also mountains like Muhavura.

Many ethnic groups, including the Bakiga, Banyarwanda, Bahororo, Batwa, make up the population of Kigezi. It is believed that these groups of people mostly originated from Rwanda. While it is not clear when these people settled in this region, Paulo Ngologoza.⁵ argues that there were already some people in Kigezi by 1500. It also noted that long before Europeans came, it was called Kigezi. The area was inhabited by different communities who lived in four different

³ Evarist Ngabirano, “*Beyond Ethnic Patriotism: A Comparative Study of Toro and Kigezi Districts in Uganda.*” PhD Diss., Makerere University,” (2020), 20.

⁴ Fortunate Twagiramaria and Casim Umba Tolo, “*Climate Variability and Soil Nutrients Status along Altitudinal Gradient in Kigezi Highlands, South western Uganda.*” *Natural Resources* 7, No. 1 (2016): 1.

⁵ Paul Ngologoza, *Kigezi and Its People* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1998): 10.

chiefdoms, which were, upon the coming of the Europeans, amalgamated and called Kigezi.⁶ As a summary, by 2001, the people of Kigezi were Bakiga, Banyarwanda and Bahororo, although there were also minor tribes of the Banyabutumbi, Bahunde and Batwa. Both Banyarwanda and Bahororo were caste societies made up of pastoralists (Tutsi and Bahima, respectively) and agriculturalists (Hutu and Bairu). Banyarwanda were primarily located in Bufumbira in the south. Bahororo were primarily found in Kinkizi and Rujumbura in the north. Southern Kigezi has a higher population density compared to the rest of the regions. This appears to be the product of both long-term in-migration and rapid natural growth.⁷

The concern of this study, however, is the economic way of life of the people who make up Kigezi region, with a focus on agriculture. Although little has been written about economic activities in Kigezi since the earliest times, research reveals that the people of Kigezi have practiced different economic activities over time. From the 16th century through the 17th century, and the 18th and 19th centuries, iron working was practiced by people in Kigezi.⁸ They made tools such as small and large knives, hoes, sickles, spear heads, axe heads, arrow heads, spear-shaped needles for basket weaving and bells tied to the dogs used by hunters.⁹ Other than iron working, handcraft industry also played a fundamental role in the everyday lives of the people of Kigezi. Basketry and carpentry were particularly skilled arts. Basketry involved the making of baskets for harvesting crops, granaries for storage of harvest, and bowls for eating and drinking purposes. These items were made from local materials such as fibers, canes, reeds, creepers,

⁶ Baxter, P. T. W. May M. Edel, "The Chiga of Western Uganda" (Book Review). *Africa*, 69 (3), 1999: 450.

⁷ Paul Ngologoza, *Kigezi and Its People* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1998): 21.

⁸ Interview With Gubazire Vanansio, *At Kabale Town*, 15/08/2022.

⁹ Ibid

vines, swamp grasses and other types of grasses. For carpentry, wood was also obtained from local forests.¹⁰

Pottery - the practice of pot-making was also commonly practiced by the people in Kigezi as part of their well-diversified economy. Pots were usually molded according to the functions they were expected to perform in the household. Therefore, there were pots for carrying water or beets, brewing beer as well as storing it, and pots for general cooking, vegetable pots, and also for cooking maize. Also, tobacco smoking pipes were molded. Other pots made included a bride's water pot and clay milk pots.¹¹

To complement the above activities, people of Kigezi also practiced long-distance trade, often moving long distances to engage in barter trade; exchanging iron tools, handicrafts and iron tools for other goods such as meat, milk and ghee for other things like foodstuffs, salt, arrowheads and spears.¹²

In addition to the above economic activities, the people of Kigezi also adopted agriculture, which in turn became their major economic activity. Initially, their agricultural practices, just like their industries and trade, were rudimentary and local, relying on simple technologies and obtaining all the necessary materials from the local environment. Certainly, some of these agricultural and industrial practices died while others transformed following the coming of colonialists to Africa. For this reason, this study investigated the transformations that took place in the agricultural sector from 1500 to 2001.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ An interview with Lillian Kobwangu, "At Bwanga in Nyarushanje-Rukungiri; June, 11/05/2022.

¹² An interview with Kateera Eric, at Kabashuri-Nyarushanje, Rukungiri; 11/05/2022.

1.2 Statement Of The Problem

Agriculture has been central to the socio-economic and environmental landscape of Kigezi, Western Uganda, for centuries. However, the region's challenging terrain, population pressures, and changing socio-political dynamics have shaped agricultural practices in complex ways over time. While numerous studies have examined agricultural transformation in Kigezi, most have been conducted from a scientific perspective, focusing on soil conservation, agronomy, and environmental sustainability. As a result, there is a significant gap in historical scholarship that traces the long-term transformation of agriculture in the region. This study sought to address this gap by exploring the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi from 1500 to 2001 through a historical lens. It examined the evolution of agricultural practices from the pre-colonial period, through the colonial era's agrarian policies, to post-independence modernization efforts. The study investigated how environmental constraints, population growth, market integration, and policy shifts influenced agricultural change over time. By adopting a historical approach, this research provided a deeper understanding of the long-term patterns, continuities, and disruptions in Kigezi's agricultural development.

1.3 Purpose Of The Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the trend of the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi region of south western Uganda from 1500 to 2001.

1.4 Objectives Of The Study

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i) To explore the nature of agriculture in the pre-colonial period in Kigezi region, 1500-1911.

- ii) To examine the ways in which the British colonial administration transformed agriculture in Kigezi region, 1911-1961.
- iii) To assess the level of the transformation of agriculture and how it impacted the economy and lives of people of Kigezi region in the post-colonial period, 1962- 2001.

1.5 Research Questions

The study answered the following research questions:

- i) What was the nature of agriculture in the pre-colonial period in Kigezi region, 1500-1911?
- ii) In what ways did the British colonial administration transform agriculture in Kigezi region, 1911-1962?
- iii) What was the status of the transformation of agriculture and how did it impact the lives of people of Kigezi region in the post-colonial period, 1962-2001?

1.6 Scope Of The Study

Geographically, this study focused on Kigezi Region which is located in south western Uganda as shown in Figure 1 and 2. The region is currently composed of six districts namely Kabale, Rukiga, Rubanda, Kisoro, Kanungu and Rukungiri. This is an area known for its rugged terrain and rich cultural history. The region's unique environmental challenges, such as steep slopes and a high population density, have historically shaped agricultural practices, making it an ideal setting for understanding the complexities of agricultural transformation.. The content scope of this study focuses on examining the historical transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, south western Uganda, through a detailed historical analysis of pre-colonial farming practices, colonial agricultural policies, and the socio-economic changes brought about by post-independence reforms in agriculture.

The time scope of the study involved the period 1500 - 2001. The choice of 1500 as the starting point is rooted in the pre-colonial societal development of the Bakiga and the continuity of their agricultural practices such as terrace farming and inter cropping to adapt to Kigezi's steep terrain. This period highlights how these techniques evolved organically within a self-sufficient system, forming the basis for later agricultural transformations. The choice of 1500 as a starting point is supported by scholars like Baxter and Morris, who highlight the Bakiga's innovative terrace farming and soil conservation techniques in pre-colonial Kigezi. These practices reflect a well-developed agrarian society and provide a foundation for understanding agricultural continuity before external influences.¹³ The year 2001 was considered as the end point of the study because 2001 was marked by globalization, liberalization of Uganda's economy, and the introduction of more modern agricultural technologies and policies. For example it is when poverty eradication programmes based on modernisation of agriculture such as National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) and Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) were introduced, aimed to evaluate and review how agriculture had been practiced in Uganda across history.

1.7 Rationale And Justification Of The Study

This study is important because it explored the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, south western Uganda. Agriculture is the backbone of many economies in Africa. It is a way of life and source of income for many households in Uganda¹⁴. Therefore, taking time to study how this important sector has transformed overtime time in Uganda is rational and justifiable. The study takes us away from the political history that is quite popular among students of history in many higher institutions of learning in Uganda. It leads us into one of the areas less studied from a historical view yet very crucial to human existence.

¹³ Baxter, P. T. W. May M. Edel, "The Chiga of Western Uganda" (Book Review). *Africa*, 69(3), 1999: 220.

¹⁴ World journal of Agriculture and soil science, (2024), 14.

As stated in the statement of the problem (section 1.2), despite the fact that the economic way of life of all societies have evolved and many of these evolutions documented by scholars, agricultural evolutions in Kigezi have received limited scholarly attention. Thus, the study is important to the field of History, which has the onerous task of reconstructing the past, using it to understand the present, and predicting the future. This study is important as far as it tries to add to the existing historical knowledge about agricultural transformations in Kigezi since the earliest times of 1500.

The findings of the study are useful not only to policy makers on agricultural matters in Kigezi, but also students and researchers of history. The study provides information vital for understanding the patterns of agricultural development in Kigezi. This information can be used to come up with appropriate agricultural policies useful for the present and the future. To the students of history and related researchers, the study adds to the reservoir of knowledge regarding the subject matter of the study. The study, is therefore, an important library or reference point for those who want to understand the nexus between agriculture and History. Furthermore, since very little has been written about the agricultural development in Kigezi, it is hoped that this study will inspire other students of history to find out more and fill in the gaps that were left by this study and others.

This study holds significant scholarly and historical value, as it situates agricultural transformation within the broader historical context of Kigezi, South western Uganda, from 1500 to 2001. By focusing on this time line, the research not only traces the evolution of agricultural practices but also examines their interaction with social, economic, and environmental changes over centuries. This provides a comprehensive understanding of how indigenous knowledge systems, colonial interventions, and post-colonial policies have shaped the agricultural

landscape. The study, therefore, bridges a critical gap in historiography by highlighting agriculture as a dynamic and integral part of societal transformation, rather than a static backdrop to political and social events. Moreover, it contributes to the field of environmental history by shedding light on human-environment interactions, the adaptation to climatic and ecological challenges, and the sustainability of agricultural practices in a resource-constrained region. This inter disciplinary approach enhances its value to historians, anthropologists, and agricultural economists alike, offering a nuanced perspective on the inter connectedness of history, culture, and livelihoods.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the Modernisation Theory of Development. This theory was propounded by Smith in the 1950s and in the early 1960s.¹⁵ This was applied in different disciplines and spheres of study by different scholars. In History, the theory was applied to both political history, social history and economic history.

The Modernization Theory of Development posited that the process of modernization encompassed the comprehensive range of transitions and transformations that a traditional society must under go. Central to this theory is the notion that economic growth occurs in progressive stages. When applied to developing societies, the theory suggested that to comprehend the development or transformation of a society, one must analyze the stages it has passed through from earlier periods to the present or the period of interest. In this study, this concept of 'transitions/stages' was utilized to divide the research into three phases: pre-colonial,

¹⁵ Jephias Matunhu, "A Critique of Modernisation and Dependency Theories: A Critical Assessment." *African Journal of History and Culture* 3(5), 2011: 66.

colonial, and post-colonial. The study then examined the transformations or changes in various aspects of the Agriculture in Kigezi region from 1500 – 2001.

Apart from looking at the stages that the society has gone through, the theory puts emphasis on the role of technology in transformation of traditional societies. Modernisation Theory asserts that technological change is the key driver of economic development or transformation of any society. This was applied mainly in the colonial and post-colonial transformations in Agriculture in Kigezi as analysed in Chapter Three and Chapter Four of this dissertation.

In addition, the Modernisation Theory of Development emphasises on the effect of modernisation/transformation to society and lives of those whose society experiences the transformation. Whereas critics of the theory see modernisation as destructive to traditional societies, the proponents of the theory argue that transformation in society lead to improvements in living standards of the people, improved physical infrastructure and avails other economic opportunities to help the people. Chapter Three of this dissertation is based on this tenet. It not only looked at transformations in Agriculture in Kigezi between 1962 and 2001, but also, examined the impact of these transformations on the Kigezi society.

Modernisation theory, drawing foundational ideas from Adam Smith and later theorists, posited that societies progress through distinct stages of development. Central to Smith's perspective is the emphasis on economic growth, specialisation, and market expansion as drivers of societal transformation. Such ideas best explained the same trend the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi took. This provided an analytical framework to interpret historical and socio-economic data about the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi south western Uganda, 1500-2001.

The transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, South western Uganda, from 1500 to 2001 reflects a complex inter play of historical, social, and economic factors that align with the principles of modernisation theory. Initially, agriculture in Kigezi was predominantly subsistence-based, characterised by indigenous techniques such as terrace farming and inter cropping to cope with the region's hilly terrain and dense population. Historical records and oral accounts highlight how the community relied on traditional crops like sorghum, millet, and beans, cultivated primarily for household consumption. This stage of development aligns with the early stages of modernisation, where local economies were self-sustaining but isolated from broader markets.

The introduction of colonial agricultural policies in the early 20th century marked a turning point, fostering the integration of Kigezi's economy into broader regional and international markets. Archival data reveals that cash crops such as coffee and tea were introduced, accompanied by the establishment of co-operatives and agricultural extension services to promote modern farming techniques. Census and trade records from this period indicate a steady increase in agricultural productivity and market participation. This shift under scores Adam Smith's emphasis on the division of labor and specialisation, as farmers began to adopt cash crop farming while relying on trade for other goods and services. However, the uneven adoption of these innovations often due to socio-economic disparities and environmental challenges like soil erosion illustrates the limitations of modernisation in addressing structural constraints.

In general, basing on the Modernisation Theory of Development, the study assumed that indigenous Agriculture in Kigezi evolved from the traditional way of farming to a new shape characterised by technological advancements in machinery and industrialisation, and the introduction of new crops in the colonial period, and these changes persisted into the post-colonial period. Positive receptions of some of these changes led to agricultural growth and other

associated improvements such as transport infrastructure, modern markets, financial stability and food security.

1.9 Literature Review

This section focuses on what other scholars have written in journals articles, books, dissertations, websites, reports and other forms of written materials pertaining to transformations of agriculture in Kigezi region. The review is structured in three sections following the order of research objectives and research questions: pre-colonial agriculture (1500-1911), colonial agricultural developments (1911-1961), and agricultural development in the post-colonial period (1962-2001).

1.9.1 Agriculture In The Pre-colonial Kigezi, 1500-1911

Before 1500 almost the whole of Kigezi was full of natural forests, but from 1500 onwards, people used the iron working tools they had to clear bushes before carrying out primary tillage.¹⁶ Therefore, it is clear that by 1500, agriculture existed in Kigezi although it was on a small scale. It is indicated that over 70% of the agricultural production was consumed by the producers in the pre-colonial times as there were no technological advancements to facilitate modern marketing and food preservation and processing. But people continued clearing land for agriculture throughout the 1600, 1700 and 1800, and by 1900 only ten percent (10%) of the natural forests were left. The clearing of forests was due to high demand for land for agriculture and forestry products for construction of houses.

Those who carried out agricultural activities more included the Bakiga. They lived in highlands where they established terraces on the beautiful conical hills, cultivated millet, corn, sorghum,

¹⁶ Ngologoza, *Kigezi and Its People* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1998): 50.

beans, sweet potatoes and peas. They also tended sheep and goats, practicing pastoralism in the open grass area of the low plains. Most of the first inhabitants of Kigezi district except Batwa who lived on wild food like honey, hunting and fruit gathering, were minimally agriculturalists. The continued love for agriculture in this region could partly be associated with migrations and settlement of people into the larger Kigezi region. Thus, as pointed out earlier, in order to understand the history agriculture transformation in pre-colonial Kigezi fully, one has to take a keen look at the process of the migrations and occupation, as well as the institutional set up and patterns of economic existence.

As already indicated, the Bakiga of Rukiga, the Bahororo of Rujumbura, the Bufumbira and Batwa were the first inhabitants. The Bakiga, Bafumbira, Batwa, and Bahororo were Bantu speaking people who occupied a further zone in south western Uganda perhaps as early as by the 13th century BC. The Bantu were known to be farmers and at the same time were well versed with the skillful art of iron working and therefore made iron hoes, iron pangas, spears, arrows, but the skill was a monopoly of a few clans, hence the farming tools like hoes and pangas were not widely circulated all over Kigezi.¹⁷

Other than iron working, each Bantu household in Kigezi had at least a farming equipment for own home use that was made from local wood. The wood for making the popular 'Enkonzo' (wooden farming stick) was obtained locally in the surrounding forests.¹⁸ This Enkonzo and the other tools mentioned above was used for planting beans, pumpkin seeds, millet, corn, sorghum, beans and peas among other crops.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ngologoza, *Kigezi and Its People* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1998): 60.

¹⁸ Ibid, 61

¹⁹ Ibid, 66

The historical account of the Bakiga, Bafumbira, Batwa, and Bahororo as the early inhabitants of Kigezi, South western Uganda, provides valuable insights into their agricultural practices and technological innovations, such as the use of iron tools. However, the narrative highlights a critical gap in understanding the extent and impact of technological diffusion within and among these communities. While it is noted that the skill of iron working was a monopoly of a few clans, there is limited exploration of how this uneven distribution of technology influenced agricultural productivity, social stratification, and interactions between different groups. Additionally, the broader socio-economic implications of limited access to farming tools on the transformation of agriculture over time remain unexplored. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap by analyzing how the unequal distribution of agricultural technology and related socio-political dynamics shaped the evolution of farming practices and economic systems in Kigezi from 1500 to 2001.

Apart from growing of crops, people in Kigezi tended sheep and goats and practiced pastoralism in the open grass area of the low plains. People like Bafumbira and Bahororo were known as both agriculturalists and also herders.

It should be acknowledged that the majority of people in Kigezi's pre-colonial economy were involved in agriculture, which helps to understand the situation of agriculture in that economy. Because there were so few people in the community who had farms or herds, there were large areas of undeveloped ground on which people could engage in various types of agriculture, including fallowing and shifting cropping. Agriculture of the time heavily relied on the traditional methods of farming with the hoe and the farming stick. As time went by, a large

supply of labour was needed for clearing the fields and forests, and weeding the crops because weeds grew back as rapidly as they were removed.²⁰

Specifically, there is limited exploration of how increasing population pressure, soil fertility dynamics, or access to improved farming tools influenced the sustainability and productivity of these systems. This study aimed at addressing this gap by examining the inter play between traditional farming methods, environmental challenges, and socio-economic transformations in Kigezi from 1500 to 2001, shedding light on how these factors collectively shaped the region's agricultural evolution.

Agriculture in the pre-colonial era among the people of Kigezi relied heavily on the seasonal patterns of rain and drought, as well as the characteristics of the soil.²¹ Agriculture remained reliant on soil quality until it was depleted through excessive cultivation due to a growing population. Soil exhaustion became prevalent around the early 1750s, prompting people, without access to chemical fertilizers, to migrate to less densely populated areas in Western Uganda²². Those who chose not to migrate began practicing terrace farming on the slopes of the ridges and hills in Kigezi. These terraces, which remain visible today in artistic depictions of Kigezi hills, were a significant innovation. Residents living on the lower slopes of the hills would often leave their homes to work in the fields until late evening²³.

During the early 18th century, agriculture in Kigezi thrived, characterized by widespread adoption of traditional soil and water conservation methods. These practices included using animal manure, practicing mixed cropping, and employing crop rotations that incorporated

²⁰ Ibid, 68

²¹ Turyahikayo Ruyyema Benoni, *The History of the Bakiga in South Western Uganda and Northern Rwanda*. CA.1500-1930. University of Michigan, 1974: 31.

²² Ibid, 34

²³ Ibid 38

legumes, all of which played a crucial role in maintaining soil fertility.²⁴ From the late pre-colonial era, approximately 1804, there was a practice of producing surplus food that was stored in granaries. Wealthier households exchanged this surplus food for labour, such as offering bowls of beans in exchange for assistance in the fields. Alternatively, surplus food was bartered for various goods like livestock, skins (known as empu), hoes, machetes (pangas), or even salt obtained from Katwe.²⁵

There is little exploration of the long-term impacts of terrace farming and other conservation methods on the sustainability of agriculture, as well as the role of barter and surplus food production in shaping social hierarchies, labor dynamics, and trade networks. This study therefore sought to address this gap by investigating how these practices and innovations contributed to the transformation of agriculture and socio-economic systems in Kigezi from 1500 to 2001, providing a deeper understanding of their historical significance and legacy.

Arable land was prepared in the early nineteenth century by harrowing and plowing it, adding fertilizer of some kind—typically animal manure—sowing the seed, protecting it from weeds and pests (usually with the help of scare crows), harvesting it, and preparing it for human consumption.²⁶ Farmers in Kigezi initially performed basic arable husbandry operations, but with the advent of increased iron working activities, these practices began to evolve. Later, agricultural methods were revolutionized further with the introduction of new implements,

²⁴ Carswell, Grace. *African farmers in colonial Kigezi, Uganda, 1930-1962: opportunity, constraint and sustainability*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom), 1996. 124.

²⁵ Ibid, 128

²⁶ Carswell, Grace “*Food Crops as Cash Crops’ The Case of Colonial Kigezi, Uganda*. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 3 No. 4, (October 2003)": 521.

foreign machines, new sources of power, and the use of chemicals, brought about by the influence of some Europeans.²⁷

In summary, from 1500 to 1911, agriculture in the Kigezi region was primarily small-scale, focusing on traditional food crops for domestic consumption. Farmers used rudimentary tools for agricultural activities. This study and the reviewed literature highlight the transformation of these small-scale practices and tools over time, and examine the impact these transformations had on the economy of Kigezi in the post-colonial period.

1.9.2 Agriculture In The Colonial Period, 1911-1961

It is indicated that in early colonial days, subsistence farming continued as was in the pre-colonial era.²⁸ The low wages earned by most people in Kigezi would not allow them to engage in commercial farming. Therefore, most of agricultural food produce was meant for home consumption and little surplus for market.²⁹

Emphasis on commercial agriculture in colonial Kigezi started with a White Commissioner, Captain J.E.T Philips in 1929 giving orders to the people of Kigezi to dig terraces starting with Bugongi wetland in the neighbourhood of Makanga which by that time was called Kabaare (Kabale) which reduced water and made land available for agriculture and tree planting.³⁰ There is further mention of the various crops that the people grew at the advent of colonialism like Irish potatoes though more others in form of cash crops such as coffee, flax and nicotine tobacco were

²⁷ Overton Mark, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850*. No. 23. Cambridge University Press, 1996: 30.

²⁸ De Haas, Michiel “*Measuring Rural Welfare in Colonial Uganda. Why Farmers Would Not Work for Wages.2010*” (African Economic History Working Paper Series, 2014): 44.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 45.

³⁰ Ngologozo, *Kigezi and Its People* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1998): 71.

introduced. Some of these crops persistently failed thus leaving the people with their food crops which at the same time acted as cash crops.³¹

However, soon after in 1946, it was realized that due to population increase and over cultivation, soil was losing fertility and thus introduction of (*plani ensya*) which literally meant new plan to restore and conserve soil fertility in Kigezi and this included mandatory system of alternate strip cropping, building fallows, controlled grazing, tree planting and terracing. This was enforced by leaders and educational campaigns, innovative soil conservation competitions and considerable coercion through fines and imprisonment.³² However, this practice of enforcing soil conservation ended with the end of colonial rule. This study, therefore, intended to establish whether some of the soil conservation practices persisted even after the departure of the colonialists.

While it is mentioned that the study seeks to investigate whether these practices persisted post-colonialism, there is no detailed analysis of the factors that influenced their continuity or abandonment, such as changes in governance, socio-economic conditions, or the local communities' attitudes toward these interventions. Therefore this study addressed this gap by examining the legacy of colonial soil conservation practices in post-colonial Kigezi, focusing on their adoption, adaptation, or decline, and assessing their impact on agricultural productivity and environmental management up to 2001.

In Kigezi, especially in the southern part, around 1940s, as a result of dense population, relatively small areas of land were available for farming, and the system of inheritance resulted in fragmentation of land holdings and widely scattered plots. It was estimated that by the mid-1940s the average area under cultivation was under 1.2 ha per taxpayer, which was equal to

³¹ Ibid, 77.

³² Carswell, Grace. "Soil conservation policies in colonial Kigezi, Uganda: successful implementation and an absence of resistance." (2002) 10.

under 0.2 ha per resident person.³³ There was also more acreage higher up the hill in the past, prior to the current strain of population, but today agriculture has reached the summits of the majority of the hills, and most of the grazing land on the shallower soils has come from beneath the hoe.³⁴ This study was intended to establish how this land uphill was put in use after the population hit climax forcing them (locals) to shift to formerly rejected land.

1.9.3 Agricultural Development In Kigezi In The Post-colonial Period, 1962-2001

Farmers in Kigezi have tried to manage their crops in a way that will keep productivity up while seriously conserving the environment.³⁵ Farmers have found other ways of increasing production through both commercialization using increased inter-cropping and the use of manure and household wastes. It did not lay emphasis on other current farming technologies different from commercialization which this study did.

In the post-colonial era, the government especially from 1986, tried to put in place necessary measures to improve agriculture. The government of Uganda under Yoweri Museveni in a bid to enhance economic transformation among the citizens, a number of programmes were introduced. These included, for example, Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) with its aim of counteracting the declining agricultural productivity with a long-term plan of eradicating poverty among the citizens by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture. In an attempt to achieve this, National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) was effected in the year 2000 with a mission that targeted increased farmers access to information, knowledge

³³ Purseglove, J. W. "Kigezi resettlement." *Uganda Journal* 14, no. 2 (1950): 145.

³⁴ Purseglove, J. W. "Land use in the over-populated areas of Kabale, Kigezi District, Uganda." *The East African Agricultural Journal* 12, no. 1 (1946): 3.

³⁵ Grisley, W., and David Mwesigwa. "Socio-economic determinant of seasonal cropland fallowing decisions: Smallholders in South-western Uganda." *Journal of Environmental Management* 42, no. 1 (1994): 81.

and technology through effective, efficient, sustainable and de-centralised extension with increasing private sector involvement in line with Government policy. This was to enable farmers adopt agricultural innovations aimed at transforming agriculture from being predominantly subsistence to commercial through dissemination and adoption of productivity enhancing technologies relevant to the farmers. This assumed that once technologies were made available, they would be adopted hence a pre-requisite in modernisation of Agriculture in Uganda.³⁶ However, from a general perspective view, these technological advance practices some of them didn't take root either due to the people's negative attitude towards them in favour of the traditional ones, or the technicalities that were involved. Therefore, this study, intended to find out whether later such methods of increasing agricultural productivity were adopted which is itself agricultural transformation.

1.10 Research Methodology

This section gives details of the research methodology used in the study. Important aspects of the methodology were discussed. They include: research approach, research design, research population and sample size, sampling techniques and procedure, data collection methods, research instruments, ethical considerations and data collection methods.

1.10.1 Research Approach

The study used the qualitative research approach. This is so because the study was interested in understanding agricultural transformations in the Kigezi region as understood and told by the participants who happen to be inhabitants of Kigezi region, and who have, at one point or another interacted closely with those transformations. Therefore, the data that the study was

³⁶ Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), "PMA (Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture), PMA Progress Report, June 2003."

interested in was in form of personal and group opinions and value judgements about the subject matter of the study. The primary focus of qualitative research is the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions, and behavioural judgments³⁷. Such personal judgements helped the researcher to appreciate and make meaning of participants' understanding of the historical context of agricultural transformations in Kigezi region during the stated period of time.

1.10.2 Research Design

The research adopted a historical research design to analyze the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, South western Uganda. This design enabled the researcher to examine agricultural practices, policies, and socio-economic factors over different historical periods, including the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence eras. By utilizing primary sources such as archival records, government reports, and oral histories, alongside secondary sources like scholarly articles and books, the study reconstructed the historical trajectory of agricultural developments in the region. This approach facilitated a chronological analysis of key events and trends, providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors that have driven agricultural transformation in Kigezi. The historical design also allowed the researcher to identify patterns of continuity and change, offering insights into how past practices and policies continue to influence present-day agricultural systems.

1.10.3 Research Population And Sample Size

A total of 50 respondents was selected for this study to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, South western Uganda. The use of 50 respondents ensured a manageable yet diverse sample that allowed for in-depth analysis of the key themes.

³⁷ Kothari, C. R. "Research methodology: Methods and techniques." New Age International (2004).

The respondents included 41 farmers, 8 agricultural extension officers, and 1 museum attendant. The study did not have a definite sample size, however as mentioned the sample of 50 participants was arrived at a point of saturation where information collected started repeating itself from interviewees since numbers do not matter so much in qualitative research sample size was thus determined during data collection. Farmers were the primary focus, as they represent the largest stakeholder group directly involved in agricultural practices and their transformation over time. Agricultural extension officers were included due to their expertise and involvement in disseminating agricultural knowledge and implementing policies in the region. The museum attendant was selected for their role in preserving and interpreting historical artifacts and records, which provided insights into the historical context of agricultural practices in Kigezi. The selection of these respondents was purposive, aiming to capture diverse perspectives and expertise to address the study's objectives. Information from farmers focused on traditional and current practices, challenges, and adaptations over time. Agricultural extension officers provided technical and policy-related insights, while the museum attendant contributed historical documentation and contextual understanding. The list of interviewees, the place where the interview took place and the occupation/place of work of each interviewee is provided in appendices.

1.10.4 Sampling Techniques And Procedure

The study deployed purposive sampling to select respondents who were most knowledgeable and directly involved in the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi, South western Uganda. This technique was chosen because it allowed the researcher to focus on specific categories of participants; farmers, agricultural extension officers, and a museum attendant, whose experiences and expertise were critical for addressing the study's objectives. This is because farmers selected

for this purpose were those who had been engaged in agriculture for fifteen years and above. Farmers were selected to provide first hand insights into traditional and modern agricultural practices, challenges faced, and adaptations made over time. Agricultural extension officers were included to offer technical and policy-related perspectives, while the museum attendant contributed historical context and archival information on agricultural practices in the region. Respondents were identified based on their roles, accessibility, and relevance to the research questions, ensuring that the data collected was rich and directly applicable. The purposive sampling approach enabled the researcher to gather detailed, context-specific information that captured the historical, technical, and experiential dimensions of agricultural transformation in Kigezi.

1.10.5 Data And Methods Of Data Collection

Qualitative data, both primary and secondary was collected. Primary data was collected from archival records and secondary data was collected from written document. These were obtained from public universities' libraries like Kabale University campus library, and from centres of research like African Highlands Initiative, Kabale Benchmark site – Kabale. Various visits were also arranged by the researcher to relevant government ministries and departments such as the Ministry of Agriculture offices at Kabale District Headquarters, the national Archives at Wandegaya-Kampala, and the Kabale District Headquarters, which provided historical records, including colonial era policies on land use, agricultural development reports, and demographic shifts affecting farming practices over time. Together, these sources provided a rich blend of historical, technical, and contemporary insights essential for understanding the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi.

In order to learn more about the arts and crafts created and employed during pre-colonial and colonial periods, it was also necessary to visit the Kacwekano Agricultural Research Centre in Kabale, where, valuable data was obtained on agricultural innovations, particularly the introduction of improved crop varieties, soil conservation practices such as terracing, and strategies to address climate change impacts in the region, the International Centre for Research in Agro-forestry (ICRAF) where information was collected on agro-forestry systems, including the integration of trees into farming practices, their benefits to soil fertility and erosion control, and their role in sustainable agriculture. The researcher also visited a museum i.e. Satellite Museum in Rwahi which was selected due to its focus on preserving and showcasing the cultural and historical heritage of South western Uganda, including traditional agricultural practices in Kigezi. The choice of this specific museum was informed by its proximity to the study area and its specialized collection of artifacts, tools, and oral histories directly relevant to the agricultural evolution of the region. The attendant was purposively chosen based on his or her expertise in curating exhibits and his or her deep knowledge of local agricultural history. To ensure the validity of the information obtained, cross-referencing was conducted with other sources, including oral histories from farmers and archival records where available. Additionally, the authenticity of the exhibits and records was verified through consultations with local historians and agricultural experts. This approach ensured that the historical insights provided by the museum were accurate, contextually relevant, and aligned with the objectives of the study. Annual Reports obtained from Kabale district were crucial. The archival material was useful and worked as a background material for oral information.

The interview method was deployed to collect in-depth and context-specific information from key stakeholders involved in agriculture in Kigezi, South western Uganda. This method was

chosen for its ability to provide rich qualitative data and capture personal experiences, perceptions, and historical narratives that could not be obtained through other means. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with farmers, agricultural extension officers, and the museum attendant, allowing for flexibility in exploring various aspects of agricultural transformation. From farmers, insights were gathered on traditional farming practices, challenges faced over the years, and adaptations to modern agricultural techniques. Agricultural extension officers provided information on policy implementation, agricultural innovations, and their impact on farming communities. The museum attendant offered historical perspectives and archival details about the evolution of agriculture in the region. The interview method enabled the researcher to triangulate information from different perspectives, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the topic.

1.10.6 Research Instruments

Interview Guide was used to collect data from interviewees. The questions were open-ended (semi-structured), and acted as guides to conducting the interviews. This means that the questions were not followed strictly in the order in which they were listed, rather, they were open to modifications during the interview. The questions did not target particular answers but they were flexible enough to allow the researcher to interrogate the participants in depth, often making adjustments to the questions as when and if necessary. In addition to the Contents Analysis form and Interview Guide, a digital camera was used to collect photographic information while in the field.

A note book was used during the process of collection of data from archival written materials. The guide provided useful tips to the researcher on the kind of information to collect from those sources, which was then recorded in a note book. The guide included questions and statements

relevant to the topic of agricultural transformations in Kigezi region. The questions and statements were based on the research questions and objectives for this study.

1.10.7 Ethical Considerations

In order to observe universal ethical considerations for research involving human beings, authorization to conduct the study was sought from the Head of history department, of Kyambogo University. The researcher used this letter to introduce himself to research participants and seek their participation in the study. Additionally, the researcher prepared a consent form which was used to obtain the consent of participants to voluntarily participate in the study. Prior to conducting interviews, the researcher clarified to participants the study's objectives and assured them that their information would be used solely for academic purposes. Participants were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time if they felt uncomfortable. However, no participants chose to withdraw, suggesting that they did not feel threatened at any point during their participation. In addition, the participants willingly allowed the researcher to use their names in presentation of data collected from them.

1.10.8 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed to analyze the data in the study. Thematic analysis is a qualitative approach where researchers examine data to identify recurring patterns and meanings, which are then organized into themes. These themes were categorized based on the study's three objectives and corresponding research questions. Content analysis forms were used to extract themes from archival materials and fieldwork notes. Through this method, the researcher systematically reviewed documents and interview notes to gather relevant data, organizing them into coherent themes. The findings were presented in a descriptive manner, incorporating the

researcher's insights and observations. To mitigate personal bias, the researcher cross-checked opinions across multiple participants, ensuring a balanced interpretation of the data.

1.11 Research Limitations And De-limitations

One of the major challenges encountered during the study was the limited archival information or written records especially on the pre-colonial period (before 1911). This was because by 1500 people in Kigezi had not started recording events as they took place. This was because of the low technological advancements at the time. Some of the respondents that were elderly people and could not go back in memory other than just re-constructing a few agricultural events that had taken place in Kigezi region in the past years. However, the researcher managed to corroborate the views of one participant against the other in addition to relying heavily on publications of other scholars. Therefore, the researcher could not under rate the contribution of other publishers of the Kigezi economic History.

Another issue is that Kigezi has different groups of people with language variations hence different names were given to the crops grown in Kigezi, tools used in agriculture, and the methods used in crop farming. This means that the researcher spent more time and effort in trying to grasp some of the information on such matter as provided by participants. Apart from language problems, different ethnic groups in Kigezi have different approaches to the way agriculture is done and therefore, this became a challenge to the researcher in establishing how each ethnic group carries it out.

Last but not least, there was limited resources for the study. Fieldwork in an area with a terrain such as that of Kigezi as highlighted in section 1.1 of this Chapter requires good resources. This is so because most areas were remote and mountainous and required a personal means of

transport in order to access all the areas targeted by the study. Other than limited funds for transport to move around the area of study, other costs that accompany data collection such as cost of printing and photocopying, accommodation and meals. To mitigate this challenge, the researcher had to keep requesting for assistance from friends and family members, and in the end, managed to accomplish the data collection phase although with an extension of duration.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that Kigezi region of Western Uganda has been inhabited by people of different ethnicities and language groups since the year 1500. The chapter has shown that these people migrated into the region from several neighbouring places, and established their economies as craftsmen, iron workers, potters, traders and subsistence farmers. Farming of indigenous crops such as millet, sorghum and pumpkin were by use of rudimentary tools made out of sticks and iron. Pottery and craftsmanship allowed the people of Kigezi to make pots and baskets which supported processing food crops. Apart from food crops, the chapter has shown that people in Kigezi domesticated animals such as cattle and goats. However, from the literature review, it is evident that agriculture in Kigezi transformed over time. The problem identified in the chapter is that this transformation has not received scholarly attention from scholars of History in Uganda, and therefore there exists a gap in knowledge about these transformations. Therefore, the chapter emphasised the importance of under taking this research for scholars, policy makers, and government officials and for future generations. The elaborate methodology used in the study, which falls within the realm of the historical case study design has also been discussed in the chapter. The next chapter presents and analyses data relating to objective number one of this study, which is, to explore the nature of pre-colonial agriculture in Kigezi region (1500-1911).

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL KIGEZI, 1500-1911

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of agriculture in pre-colonial Kigezi between 1500 and 1911, focusing on the first objective of the study. It explores the agricultural systems and practices that defined the livelihoods of the people of Kigezi during this period, emphasizing their adaptation to the region's unique environmental and social conditions. The chapter is organized around five key themes: land ownership, dominant crops, agricultural tools, labor and gender roles, and soil conservation practices. By analyzing these themes, the chapter provides a detailed understanding of how land was accessed and utilized, the types of crops cultivated for sustenance and trade, the tools and technologies employed, the division of labour along gender lines, and the methods used to preserve soil fertility. This exploration offers valuable insights into the socio-economic and environmental factors that shaped agricultural practices in pre-colonial Kigezi, laying a foundation for understanding the transformations that occurred in subsequent periods.

2.1 Land Ownership In Relation To Agriculture In Pre-colonial Kigezi.

Land is an important factor in agriculture. It is also the number one factor of production. Understanding how land was owned and controlled is essential to understanding how agriculture was valued and practiced. The first inhabitants of Kigezi region were believed to have arrived in the region around the year 1500. It is noted that during this time, land was still plenty and most of the area was under forest cover. Thus, the first inhabitants moved freely in search of fertile land to support their activities. when they arrived, every group acquired all the land necessary to accommodate them, their animals and crops, except the Batwa who discarded farming and

animal grazing and resorted to forested zones to continue with their culture of hunting and fruit gathering.³⁸

As population continued to rise, land shortages began to be significantly felt in the late 19th century and became more pronounced in the early 20th century due to rapid population growth. By the early 20th century, the average land holding per household had drastically decreased. Historical records indicate that prior to this period, households in Kigezi had access to relatively expansive tracts of land, often exceeding five acres per household. However, by the early 1900s, this had diminished to two acres or less per household in some densely populated areas. The growing population, coupled with limited arable land due to the region's mountainous terrain, led to increasing pressure on available land. This situation forced many residents to adopt innovative practices like terrace farming to maximize productivity on smaller plots and, in some cases, migrate to less densely populated areas in search of more fertile land.³⁹

Before 1780s, parents could freely allocate land to their children – a practice that was locally called '*okugaba*'. The practice of parents giving land to their children freely dominated among the Bakiga, Bahororo and Bafumbira. The Batwa never allocated land to their children because they were hunters and gatherers who did not depend on permanent land occupation. By then, the forests were at times abandoned, as there were not enough tools to clear them and put them under use, including agriculture. But the practice of gift-giving including land at the time stood out as significant, as this was in some cases a 'moral transaction', bringing about and maintaining human, personal relationships between individuals, families and groups. During the interviews,

³⁸ Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF).

³⁹ Carswell, Grace. *Cultivating Success in Uganda: Kigezi farmers and colonial policies*. University of Sussex, 2007: 514.

one of the participants said ‘we were also informed that there were other kinds of gift-exchange, but the most typical were pure gifts, which were rewards for goods or services, and customary gifts, which were payments made to a young man upon finding a wife. If a young man wanted to get married but discovered that he couldn't meet his financial and land commitments on his own for some reason, it was so important that the father would grant him a piece of land to help him reach his goal. In this case, the young man would get presents from his father, uncles, and grandfathers in the form of land, cows, sheep, and goats to help him start a family and have enough land to support him and his family.

Sometimes a friend or relative might do the same for a different family friend or relative to help him get enough land. The same lay in the free donation of land pieces so called “okwatira itaka”- a phenomenon that was widely used in most areas of Kigezi in the late 1840s. In this context, a person who owned too much land, would at a time offer a plot to a friend, neighbour or relative, who would in turn use it to grow some crops. Although this did not permit the one offered land complete rights of owning such a plot, he or she was obliged to give out a portion of his harvest to the owner of the land though this was not a fixed condition, as in some cases the owner of the land would not demand anything from the user.

Later on, close to the end of the 19th century, it is noted that the system changed and clan heads of the area brought up an issue of communal ownership of land. At this point, the land had to be controlled by the clan heads, who in turn demarcated land for individual families, although this system later changed at the inception of alien rule.⁴⁰ That is why one could easily find such communally gazzeted plots for cattle grazing in Mpororo. Although this did not largely happen

⁴⁰ Carswell, Grace. African farmers in colonial Kigezi, Uganda, 1930-1962: opportunity, constraint and sustainability. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom), 1996. 134.

in Rukiga, Bufumbira and Mpororo remained unrivaled in communal systems of land ownership. Similarly, agricultural land was gazzeted the same way, and in order to use communally owned land for gardening, a farmer had to seek permission from the king through the local chiefs, who in turn allocated a single season for the user. But what is clear is that the Bakiga, Bahororo and Bafumbira societies unlike the Batwa were permeated by a spirit of constant give-and-take. Kigezi was characterised by material gifts, until the colonialists created “a man-eat-man” society of its own among the Bakiga.⁴¹

By 1910, land was individually owned and was regarded as personal property controlled entirely by the male head of the household. When he died, the fields were distributed proportionally among his sons, and daughters were less considered. The eldest son took the largest portion. Most often, this was done in the presence of local administrators especially chiefs in order to ensure equity for all the descendants.⁴²

The point that emerges from the fore going paragraphs is that even ownership of land, the foremost factor of agricultural production transformed in the pre-colonial period in Kigezi. Land was first free and people occupied wherever they desired. Then family ownership followed, then land became a communal property and eventually, an individual property. These transformations in land ownership reflected in agricultural practices as well. Whereas people could initially cultivate anywhere, they now needed permission from their parents, and community to use the land.⁴³

⁴¹ Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF). 8.

⁴² Ibid.10.

⁴³ Ibid.12.

In general terms, as population density increased during the late pre-colonial period, the availability of arable land per household began to shrink, leading to intensified land use and greater emphasis on soil fertility management. Practices such as fallowing, crop rotation, and terrace farming became increasingly important in response to the challenges posed by limited land and environmental degradation. The communal land ownership system supported these innovations by fostering collective responsibility for land management and enabling community-driven solutions to agricultural challenges. This dynamic between communal land ownership and evolving agricultural practices underscores the adaptive strategies employed by the people of Kigezi to sustain their livelihoods, laying a foundation for the agricultural transformation that would continue in the colonial era.

2.2 Crops Grown That Dominated Pre-colonial Agriculture In Kigezi

According to earlier researchers, Kigezi people grew a variety of crops including sorghum, millet, peas, beans, and sweet potatoes. Southern Kigezi concentrated mainly on growing sorghum. Sorghum grew well in Southern Kigezi due to its cool and wet conditions for example in Rukiga, Rubanda, Ndorwa, and Bufumbira. After it had been harvested and processed, it was used to make porridge, and local beer called '*Enturire and Omuramba*'. But the area of northern Kigezi concentrated on growing millet, peas, maize and beans. Millet did well in the drier conditions and that is why it was mostly grown in northern parts of Kigezi that is in Kinkiizi and Rujumbura in present-day districts of Kanungu and Rukungiri respectively.⁴⁴

Millet in northern Kigezi was highly valued by the Bahororo and Banyankole. One could easily recognize a Muhororo man claim the tasty and delicious ghee paste (*eshabwe*) consumed at parties and ceremonies together with mingled millet (*akaro*), a practice known as '*okukoza/*

⁴⁴ Interview with Moses Ssebarusha, in Kisoro, 22/06/2022.

okuteera enogo'.⁴⁵ After harvest, the millet was dried and stored in granaries. It was the responsibility of men to erect granaries and roof them adequately with thatch such that no water could interfere with the items stored there in and also ensure they were well protected against rats. However, millet growing seemed a laborious activity, especially weeding and harvesting, therefore, usually attracted group farming.⁴⁶ Harvesting was done using iron knives and large baskets (*ebitukuru*). The harvest was kept for a long time to ensure food security.

Other crops grown during pre-colonial times were beans and sweet potatoes.⁴⁷ Bean leaves (Ebishoma), and other leafy plants namely '*Eshogye*', '*Ekituruguma*' '*Eshaaga*', '*Ekicuragenyi*' (a hairy and stingy type of green that makes one's hands swollen and feel pain on touching it) were used as vegetables.⁴⁸ Other than for family consumption and food security in general, some of the leafy vegetables such as *Ekicuragenyi* were believed to have medicinal value, and therefore, good for fighting given body diseases and weaknesses. Other crops were used for trade (barter trade); often exchanged for traditional industrial tools.

2.3 Food Storage

In pre-colonial Kigezi, food security was highly valued. Preservation of harvest was not a challenge. After harvesting, crops like millet, maize, beans and sorghum were dried on direct sunshine and thereafter stored in granaries. A granary constituted a significant form of wealth among the Bakiga (figure of sample granaries shown in appendices). As earlier noted, the harvests were stored in a granary, usually made of cane, reeds and this was obtained locally in

⁴⁵ Interview with Nuuru Elidard, at his home in Kabashuri-Burora, Nyarushanje sub-county, Rukungiri , 11/05/2022.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Interview With Gubazire Vanansio, At Kabale Town, 15/08/2022.

⁴⁸ Interview with John Ndyomugenyi, at Kabale Town; 22/08/ 2022.

the bushes around the homesteads. In an enclosure, the number of granaries a Mukiga possessed containing millet or sorghum signified a family's wealth.⁴⁹

2.4 Tools Used In Pre-colonial Agriculture

In Chapter One, it was discussed that iron working was a key industry in Kigezi. Black smiths used the skillful art to make iron tools such as sharp-edged hoes as early as 1545.⁵⁰ Prior to this, we saw that a wooden equipment called "*Enkonzo*" was also used in farming, although it is hard to get the true picture of this equipment for it phased out rapidly with increase in iron working ideas all over Kigezi.⁵¹ We were told this was a stick with a sharp edge that was employed in tilling the land as well as planting. There was no person who monopolized the skill of making this digging stick perhaps it was because of the industrial nature of the first inhabitants, thus the latter was easy to obtain and would be used inter-changeably with the iron hoe. The figure 4 (in appendices) shows the ancient hoe of the black smiths used in about 1545.⁵²

From figure 4, one could possibly postulate that hoes were being widely used interchangeably with *Enkonzo* as the latter was in existence with the first Bantu intrusion who were believed to have come possibly by the thirteenth century BC.⁵³

I was further told, a new type of hoes emerged among the black smiths in about 1670s. The skillful art as earlier mentioned was mainly practiced at Kayonza in Kinkiizi County, Kyamakanda in Rujumbura, Nyabwishenya in Bufumbira by the Basyaba, Barihira, Bazigaaba, Bayonga and Bakimbiri and others were traced in Muko in Rubanda. The Basingola from

⁴⁹ Interview with Drake Kamisha Niwagira, at Satelite Museum Rwahi near Muhanga Town- Kabale; 13/07/2022.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Interview With Gubazire Vanansio, *At Kabale Town*, 15/08/2022.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Interview with Drake Kamisha Niwagira, at Satelite Museum Rwahi near Muhanga Town- Kabale; 13/07/2022.

Bwindi, the Barunga and Baheesi from Bukora near Lake Bunyonyi also participated in this lavish business, thus supplied iron hoes in the neighbouring areas.

Hoes as the one illustrated in figure 5 (shown in appendices) were made with one sharp edge and the other also with a sharp point for easy fixing of the handle. The handle was usually a wooden handle, scooped on top using sharp iron knives and spears, and the tool was for use while clearing the bush and also for tilling the land. The Bakiga and Bafumbira also used these hoes in cultivation of sorghum, maize and peas. See figure 6 (shown in appendices)

The above figure shows samples of hoes made by Kigezi blacksmiths around 1856. These small hoes were made by blacksmiths to facilitate weeding. The smaller hoe was also good for planting and transplanting, as there was always more need to domesticate more crops from the bushes and forests.⁵⁴

2.5 Labour And Gender Roles In Agriculture During The Pre-colonial Times

As already noted above, the value of having many children was linked to provision of enough labour in production of food, therefore labour was provided by the family members. In the pre-colonial Kigezi, individual families tended to be self-reliant in terms of manpower for cultivation because co-operation between neighbouring families and relatives was un common. More work was undertaken before heavy rains arrived to prepare for that very season.

Division of labour was not distinguished in Kigezi as both men and women participated in gardening, weeding, and harvesting. However, men and grown up boys tended to perform such heavy tasks like clearing the bush. This was mostly done in dry season to facilitate their disposal before the rainy season could set in.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Around 1800s, individual families were largely self-sufficient in terms of manpower for cultivation. However, co-operation between neighboring families and relatives was also common, particularly for tasks that needed to be completed before the onset of heavy rains. For example, it was not unusual to see large groups of family members, neighbours, friends, and especially women and girls, working together to harvest crops such as millet, beans, and sorghum. This practice of collective labour began to decline with the introduction of the colonial system of government. Division of labour was not very distinct among the Bakiga, Bahororo and Bafumbira, except for Batwa who concentrated deep in the forested areas and relied heavily on hunting, fruit gathering and wild food like honey and mushrooms. Both men and women participated in gardening, weeding, and harvesting, although the men tended to perform such heavy tasks like clearing the bush and forests with large knives, usually during the dry season to facilitate their disposal before the rainy season set in.⁵⁵

The men sought to acquire many wives so as to be able to reciprocate with lavish entertainment for their neighbours, relatives and friends, bearing in mind that the more wives and children a Mukiga had, the more the food he could grow and re-fill his granaries, although of course it also meant more mouths to feed.

No wonder, the more the wives could also mean the more the homes a man could have, through which he acquired a lot of respect. It remained the work of a man to build these homes, by erecting private houses for each wife, although some men tended to accommodate the many wives in the same house with ease, a factor which can be rarely achieved today. In cases where a man secured many wives, labour for setting up new homes was usually sought from friends and

⁵⁵ *Turyahikayo-Rugyema, Benoni. The History Of The Bakiga In South western Uganda And Northern Rwanda Ca. 1500-1930. University of Michigan, 1974, 70.*

relatives. Fellow men would thus assist in electing the house, together with collecting the thatch and roofing. However, women tended to be restricted from roofing the houses as it was always seen as a taboo and was thus abominable for them to climb on the roof of a house.⁵⁶

2.6 Soil Conservation Practices In Pre-colonial Kigezi

This section presents the different soil conservation strategies that the Kigezi people employed to prevent soil erosion and soil fatigue on the hillside regions. Before European colonialists arrived, the Kigezi region was using these local tactics. The Kigezi people were knowledgeable about soil conservation. One of the conservation techniques employed was burying rubbish and weeds. Many farmers prepped their fields for primary agriculture by using this technique. The practice was particularly prevalent in valley bottoms, where farmers would add rubbish and weeds to the soil to create ridges for growing vegetables and sweet potatoes.

Crop rotation was a common practice among farmers, who cultivated crops on small, scattered plots following specific cropping sequences. They adhered to a systematic schedule for planting crops on these plots at designated times throughout the year.⁵⁷ According to the study, farmers commonly followed a specific planting sequence: sorghum was followed by sweet potato, and then a mixture of maize, field peas, and beans. The subsequent crop could either be sorghum or Irish potato, depending on the plot's location on the slope. In valley plots, Irish potatoes followed the mixture, while on lower or middle slopes, sorghum followed the mixture. Ridging was primarily done for sweet potato and Irish potato crops. Depending on the location lower, middle,

⁵⁶ Ibid 72.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 76.

upper slopes, or hilltops ridges varied in length from 1.5metres to 2metres, running across the slope. In valley bottoms where water was more abundant, ridges were longer and wider.⁵⁸

Soil conservation strategies were identified as crucial for preventing soil erosion and mitigating associated environmental and ecological degradation. These strategies aimed to improve the physical, chemical, and biological qualities of the soil to reduce the adverse impacts of drought on crop and livestock production.⁵⁹

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter detailed some of the key aspects of agriculture in pre-colonial Kigezi. Issues discussed relate to land ownership, popular crops, tools used, labour systems, and soil conservation measures. The chapter argued that land was an important agricultural factor of production in Kigezi. Land was valued and the value increased with time, and so ownership of land also changed with time from free occupation to communal ownership to individual ownership. Crops grown were mainly indigenous, and included millet, sorghum, potatoes, beans and other leafy vegetables. Farming tools were mainly made from iron, but also wood. Labour used on the farms was a co-operation of family members and relatives. There was division of labour on the basis of gender and age. The chapter has also established that traditional soil conservation measures were used in Kigezi region in order to avoid degradation and maintain soil fertility. Measures and practices used included making of ridges and crop rotation. Having established the nature of pre-colonial agriculture of Kigezi region, the next chapter examines the ways in which these practices were transformed during the colonial period.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 80.

⁵⁹ Zake, J. Y. K., and M. Magunda. "Soil conservation in the highlands of Uganda." *Strategies for poverty alleviation and sustainable resource management in the fragile lands of Sub-Saharan Africa* (1999): 40.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

1911-1961

3.0 Introduction

This chapter builds upon the previous one, which explored pre-colonial agriculture in Kigezi from 1500 to 1911. It focuses on objective number 2 of the study, which examines how the British colonial administration in Uganda transformed agriculture in the Kigezi region from 1911 up to 1961. Drawing from the Modernization Theory of Development, which posits that societal transformation occurs through gradual stages for societal benefit, the chapter delves into the incremental changes that occurred and their impact on agricultural practices in Kigezi. Key topics discussed include the introduction of new crops during the colonial period, colonial government policies on agriculture, the implementation of these policies, and the responses of the Kigezi people to these initiatives.

3.1 Introduction Of Alien Crops

There was a deeply ingrained colonial view that ‘agricultural development’ inevitably meant the development of non-food crops suitable for export. Therefore, much of the interest in colonial African agricultural history focused on the so-called ‘cash crop revolution’, with relatively little attention to the production and marketing of local foodstuffs. The British colonialists failed to appreciate that traditional food crops in Kigezi commanded good prices in the region as they were sold across borders for example in Zaire and Rwanda. The markets that existed across the border was the reason why Bakiga for example in the South of Kigezi were reluctant to adopt the

alien cash crops. Specifically, they refused to accept the growing of cotton and coffee, and their production persistently failed despite the efforts put in by the colonial government.⁶⁰

However, in Northern Kigezi, especially in the districts of Rukungiri and Kinkiizi (Kanungu) alien crops, especially coffee did well. The soils in these regions were rich, and there was plenty of rain there all year round. The majority of people's needs were met by high-yielding perennial banana gardens, which were mixed with rotating food crops like beans, ground nuts, and maize. Farmers began substituting more and more of their food crops over time for coffee, which could easily be inter planted with bananas.⁶¹ Section 3.1.1 – 3.1.3 gives details of three main crops that became widespread in Kigezi during colonial period; which were coffee, pyrethrum and tobacco.

3.1.1. Coffee

The initial and most prominent cash crop introduced by the colonial government in the Kigezi region was coffee.⁶² Coffee cultivation was introduced in the region as early as 1921.⁶³ Due to its high altitude and abundant rainfall, the southern part of Kigezi was deemed suitable for coffee cultivation, especially the high-quality Arabica variety. There were optimistic expectations for several years that Kigezi would emerge as a highly productive coffee region.⁶⁴ In 1921, coffee instructors were dispatched to the district, highlighting coffee as the primary crop of significance for Kigezi. Initially, coffee seedlings were distributed to all chiefs between 1921 and 1925, and

⁶⁰ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

⁶¹ De Haas, Michiel. "Rural livelihoods and agricultural commercialization in colonial Uganda: conjunctures of external influences and local realities." *European Review of Economic History* 24, no. 3 (2020): 631.

⁶² An interview with Kateera Eric, "At Kabashuri-Nyarushanje, Rukungiri; 11/05/2022."

⁶³ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

⁶⁴ Bunker, Stephen G. *Peasants against the state: the politics of market control in Bugisu, Uganda, 1900-1983*. University of Chicago Press, 1991, 20.

subsequently to the peasants.⁶⁵ The expansion of coffee cultivation continued, with 54,000 coffee trees planted in Kigezi district in 1929 alone. There was notable enthusiasm for coffee growing among the people of Kigezi in 1930 and 1931, marked by the region's first sales of Kigezi coffee. According to proponents of the Modernization Theory of Development, such transformations aimed to enhance living standards by increasing income. By 1934, the demand for coffee seedlings was so high that the policy of distributing an equal number to all who requested them was discontinued. Instead, more capable individuals, particularly men adapted to maintaining coffee plantations, received additional plants. Chiefs received even more seedlings under this revised policy.⁶⁶

The failure of coffee production in Kigezi between 1935 and 1945, as detailed by Carswell, highlights how agricultural transformation during the colonial period did not necessarily lead to improved livelihoods but instead brought significant challenges and disruptions. The introduction of Arabica coffee by colonial administrators aimed to integrate Kigezi into the global cash crop economy, a hallmark of modernization theory that assumes development follows a linear trajectory toward progress and improved living standards. However, the anthesis pest infestation, which caused coffee berries to drop prematurely, undermined these efforts, and the shift to Robusta coffee failed to address the core issues. By 1942, the colonial government officially declared the coffee project a failure, with devastating consequences for farmers who had invested their labor and resources into its cultivation.

⁶⁵ Meeting of 8 November 1923, "At Kabale to Discuss 'Kigezi District Agricultural Development'."

⁶⁶ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

This agricultural transformation disrupted traditional farming systems without offering sustainable alternatives. Critics of modernization theory argue that such disruptions can cause more harm than good. In Kigezi, the failure of coffee production not only destroyed farmers' livelihoods but also exposed deeper systemic issues, including inadequate farmer education, high labor demands, and challenges in marketing crops. These factors, combined with the inherent risks of mono-culture cash crop farming, left many farmers worse off than before. Rather than fostering economic growth and resilience, this form of transformation introduced vulnerability, demonstrating that agricultural changes under colonial systems often prioritized external economic goals over the well-being of local communities.⁶⁷

Therefore, between 1945 and 1962, farmers in Kigezi region reverted to growing of the crops which they thought would give them quick money, such as peas, beans and Irish potatoes, which were planted mostly by women because most males opted to try other cash crops which were introduced by the colonial government in the 1940s as substitutes for coffee.⁶⁸ This action, in the context of the Modernisation Theory, can be viewed as another stage of development. In other words, transformation is continuous and should be viewed in its entirety.

3.1.2. Pyrethrum

Pyrethrum was introduced in Kigezi in late 1930s by two Europeans (Stafford and Moses) who raised pyrethrum as a plantation crop on land that was leased to them by the colonial government for that purpose. By this time, leasing of land was unheard in the densely populated Kigezi, but

⁶⁷ Ibid, 528.

⁶⁸ Ibid 532.

this new practice was introduced following the demands of the war economy, in which pyrethrum was designated a priority crop.⁶⁹

The Agricultural Department of the colonial government also started experimenting with pyrethrum planting in the late 1930s. They did this in close collaboration with Stafford and Moses, whom they allocated all the pyrethrum seeds in excess of the department's requirements in 1940. Additionally, they acquired temporary occupation licenses to initiate pyrethrum cultivation in the same year. Moses secured a five-year leasehold for 400 acres under the entity "H.M. Syndicate," with an annual rent of Shs. 400/-, subject to adjustment. The lease was renewable annually thereafter. As per the agreement, for every four acres of pyrethrum planted, one acre of trees for firewood had to be grown. The lease also committed to adhering to all soil conservation regulations.⁷⁰

Pyrethrum production began on a small scale and under went experimentation until 1946 when it was expanded and extensively tried at Karengyeri. However, it wasn't until 1950, four years later, that the release of the American wartime stockpile caused prices to plummet. With the end of artificially high wartime prices, pyrethrum production in Kigezi ceased to be profitable. By late 1952, HM Syndicate relinquished part of the Kalengyere estate, leaving around 300 acres undeveloped. By 1953, significant population growth in the vicinity of Karengyeri made the continued alienation of the estate a political issue in the district. In response, the Land Officer served HM Syndicate with a Notice to quit by the end of 1954, as Moses acknowledged his inability to meet the development conditions imposed on him. This marked the conclusion of pyrethrum production in Kigezi.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibid, 534.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 543.

⁷¹ Meeting of 8 November 1923, "At Kabale to Discuss 'Kigezi District Agricultural Development'."

Pyrethrum, just like coffee, had failed to improve lives of Kigezi people. Again, the critics of the Modernisation Theory of Development often see such failures as a weakness of the theory, and use the failures to argue that transformation does not necessarily improve lives, and that, in fact, transformation is destructive to traditional societies' economies.

In an interview, Rugwiza, a retired agricultural extension officer said,

Pyrethrum was introduced in Kigezi and was also tried in the hills of Rwampara where it was believed that the climatic conditions were identical to those of Kigezi. However, the crop failed to grow both in Kigezi and Rwampara.⁷²

Rugwiza's observation highlights the experimental nature of colonial and post-colonial agricultural policies in Kigezi. Attempts to incorporate the area into the global cash crop economy were shown in the introduction of pyrethrum; nevertheless, its failure points to environmental and maybe socioeconomic limitations. This highlights the difficulties in implementing externally promoted crops in the particular agro-ecological conditions of Kigezi, influencing the course of the region's agricultural development. Its failure made the crop to be dropped in favour of others cash crops such as coffee specifically in the north Kigezi.

3.1.3. Nicotine Tobacco

In addition to pyrethrum, colonial agricultural officers experimented with nicotine tobacco after the failure of coffee in 1942. Unlike coffee, which was initially embraced by local communities, tobacco faced a more complicated reception. Initially, it was not well-received. Consequently, acreage targets for planting were enforced, often obliging farmers to comply. However, once

⁷² Interview with Rugwiza, at Mwanjari Kabale, 10/03/ 2020.

planted, tobacco was frequently neglected by farmers, leading to poor leaf quality⁷³ Regarding marketing, a trader named Stafford had initially agreed to buy all the tobacco produced in the area. However, he incurred significant losses when the nicotine content of the tobacco was lower than anticipated. Stafford attributed this issue to inadequate supervision by the District Agriculture Officer (DAO). In response, the DAO defended that most farmers had planted nicotine tobacco not out of voluntary choice but due to gentle persuasion.⁷⁴ The District Agriculture Officer (DAO) of Toro, de Courcy Ireland, was called upon to assess and report on the challenges associated with tobacco cultivation in Kigezi. He identified several issues, including rapid expansion without adequate supervision, insufficient time for growers to learn about the crop, and pressure from chiefs that led people to grow tobacco unwillingly. Various degrees of compulsion were also noted, with acreage targets expected to be met before payment was received for the previous crop. Following de Courcy Ireland's findings, changes were implemented. These included shifting to voluntary cultivation and ensuring payment for the harvest before farmers planted the next season's crop. These adjustments led to increased popularity of tobacco, and by 1946, demand for seedlings exceeded supply. The acreage under tobacco cultivation expanded significantly from 250 acres in 1942 to 484 acres in 1944, 998 acres in 1946, and over 2,100 acres by 1948.⁷⁵ In light of this, critics would argue that the Modernisation Theory of Development need not be general on transformation by apportioning it blanket success. The fact that transformation needs care and good planning to be successful should be emphasised in the theory.

⁷³ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 529.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 530.

Two crops were grown annually, leading to a significant increase in leaf production. However, production remained predominantly on a very small scale. By 1947, the average acreage per grower was only one-tenth of an acre. Despite the small scale, the quality of the tobacco leaf improved. Stafford set up his factory near Kabale, which contributed to a rapid production increase of 58% from 1946 to 1947 and a further 63% from 1947 to 1948.⁷⁶ The initial success of nicotine tobacco in Kigezi was short-lived. By 1950, production had declined. Carswell (2003) notes that colonial records do not provide a clear analysis of the reasons for the tobacco's failure in Kigezi, but suggests that challenges with marketing control and stabilization might have played a role. Additionally, the price of nicotine extract dropped, and declining tobacco sales made the operation of the nicotine extraction plant financially unsustainable. In 1953, state support for nicotine tobacco was discontinued. Subsequently, nicotine tobacco is not mentioned, although other types of tobacco gained significance.

3.2 Other Crops

More crops which were introduced in Kigezi during the colonial period in addition to coffee, pyrethrum and tobacco were flax and serials. These two were presented and discussed in sub sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Flax

As stated above, the introduction of flax in the colonial Kigezi in early 1940s happened as experimentation after the failure of coffee. People in Kigezi welcomed its introduction with great optimism. The Kigezi and Ankole regions in particular saw a quick increase in popularity for the crop. The capacity of the government factory at Kisizi had been exceeded by the mid-1940s in terms of supply. Rather than giving tickets that could be redeemed after two or three months, the

⁷⁶ Ibid, 533.

produce was, starting in 1947, purchased directly from the growers for cash. A Flax Officer named Mr. Fennell was appointed in 1948 with the primary purpose of boosting the flax sector, highlighting the importance attached to the development of flax as a cash crop.⁷⁷

Although earlier predictions of flax's potential success were hopeful, by 1948, the output's quality and quantity had been labeled as "disappointing." Despite increased prices in 1951, sales of flax as well as the amount of land used for its production had decreased, which resulted in operational expenses for the plant.⁷⁸ This failure is often attributed to poor training for farmers, and in some instances, no training at all, and hence, inability by the farmers to manage the crop. While poor or lack of training for farmers has been cited as the main reason for failure of flax, other authors have argued that cash crops like flax were not immediately valued by farmers in Africa because they did not appeal to them as stable source of food security. Other reasons often cited were ecological conditions and poor production systems (infrastructure) (Frankema, Erik and Ellen, 2014).⁷⁹ That said, the failure of flax added to the failure of the other cash crops already discussed, and this forced the British colonial administration to re-think in order to redeem its dismal performance in the agricultural transformation of Kigezi. In the context of the Modernisation Theory of Development, re-thinking and improving the processes and approaches is considered as useful step in the gradual process that characterise development and transformation.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 25.

⁷⁹ Frankema, Ewout, Erik Green, and Ellen Hillbom. "Success and failure of European settler farming in colonial Africa." (2014) 56.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 67.

3.2.2 Cereals

A number of food crops, particularly wheat and maize, were considered as potential crops for income generation for Kigezi people. The two crops were introduced in anticipation of large demand for flour in the neighbouring Congo. Experimentation in wheat, which started as early as 1945/46 continued on small scale because there was no ready market yet. Also, there was no wheat milling plant in the region. However, following the setting up of Patel of Maziba Industries' Milling in the area in 1950, wheat was mentioned as one of the crops marketed to earn money in 1951 and was becoming more popular for local consumption.⁸¹

Nicholas, an Agricultural officer in Rubanda, noted in an interview that,

Despite this uprising trajectory in its initial years, wheat never had much success in Kigezi, eventually. This is so because of competition and growing popularity and liking for other cereal crops like maize, and the high transportation expenses which limited exportation. Given that it was a cash crop that was quickly embraced for local consumption and had the potential to flourish, the absence of government encouragement and support for the establishment of processing facilities demonstrates a lack of fore sight.⁸²

This makes us to question the determination of the British colonial government to improve lives in Kigezi by transforming agriculture. Critics would easily argue that colonial transformation accrued minimal or no benefits to the people in Kigezi region.

Despite the challenges faced, the colonial administration brought significant positive transformations to agriculture in Kigezi through the introduction of new crops and farming techniques. Alien crops such as tea, pyrethrum, flax, and tobacco were introduced, diversifying agricultural production and creating opportunities for farmers to engage in the cash economy. Tea and pyrethrum, in particular, thrived in Kigezi's cool climate and became reliable sources of income for many households. These crops provided a foundation for commercial agriculture in

⁸¹ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

⁸² Interview with Nicholas, Agriculture officer, Rubanda, 25/08/2022.

the region, introducing farmers to market-oriented farming practices and fostering integration into global trade networks. This diversification also helped mitigate risks associated with reliance on a few staple crops, enhancing economic resilience.

3.3 Colonial Government Policy On Agriculture

The colonial government came up with different policies towards Agriculture in Kigezi and some of these rotated around soil conservation practices as farmers were forced to adopt a more advanced way of conserving their soils to meet production quantities set targets.

3.3.1 New Soil Conservation Practices

As discussed in section 2.5 of Chapter Two, the people of Kigezi had knowledge of soil conservation practices since the pre-colonial period, dating back to as early as 1643. These practices included burying weeds and trash, particularly common in valley bottoms where farmers integrated them into the soil to create ridges for sweet potatoes and vegetables. Crop rotation was also practiced, with farmers cultivating crops on small scattered plots according to specific seasonal schedules and cropping sequences observed in the region.⁸³

The colonialists upheld indigenous soil conservation practices they deemed significant while introducing new methods. These included terracing, mulching, trash lines, contour cultivation, boundary planting, and agro-forestry.⁸⁴ A popular method of soil conservation was the creation of terraces on the hilly farms of Kigezi. (See figure 7 shown in appendices).

⁸³ Mugisha, J., and S. Aloba. "Determinants of land management practices in the agricultural highlands of Uganda: A case of Kabale highlands in Western Uganda." In Ruforum third biennial conference, Entebbe, Uganda, 2012, 24.

⁸⁴ Abesiga, N. K. C., and K. P. Musali. "An investigation of soil and water conservation related problems in the Kigezi highlands of Uganda." In 12th ISCO conference. Beijing. 2002, 33.

Soil conservation strategies were considered essential for preventing soil erosion and addressing related environmental and ecological degradation. They aimed at mitigating the negative impacts of drought on crop and livestock production by enhancing the physical, chemical, and biological qualities of the soil.⁸⁵

Bariyanga Robert – an extension worker, in an interview noted,

The colonial government emphasised conservation of soils to increase productivity. He said that sometimes the colonial government did enforce the practice by use of force (brutal means). Soil conservation was not left to the owner of the land because the land was not a private property. Be as it may, Bariyanga acknowledged that soil conservation in colonial period helped supported agriculture and increased production of some crops.⁸⁶

In his testimony, Bariyanga Robert emphasizes how the colonial government influenced Kigezi agriculture, especially by enforcing soil protection laws. Even though these initiatives were frequently coercive, they helped boost agricultural output, particularly for certain crops. This is indicative of a larger trend of colonial agricultural policies that put profit ahead of local sovereignty. This increased production is an affirmation of the Modernisation Theory of Development that transformation efforts improve the economy and the lives of those who depend on it.

3.3.2 Swamp Reclamation

In Kigezi, swamps had several uses prior to reclamation efforts, but their primary use was as a source of papyrus and grasses for making thatch, ropes, baskets, and mats. Swamp edges served as significant "reserve" areas since they were particularly important for farming during dry seasons. Swamps were also used to provide water for livestock, and on rare occasions, as grazing fields. Discussions regarding restoration of swamp lands in Kigezi date back to the colonial era.

⁸⁵ Zake, J. Y. K., and M. Magunda. "Soil conservation in the highlands of Uganda." *Strategies for poverty alleviation and sustainable resource management in the fragile lands of Sub-Saharan Africa* (1999).40.

⁸⁶ Interview with Bariyanga Robert, at Nyabikoni, Kabale, 24/08/2022.

However, despite the opportunity provided by the Colonial Development Fund, the District Commissioner's proposal to drain portions of Kigezi's marshes from 1930 never came to fruition.

In 1935, Wickham stressed the need of reclaiming marsh area that was easily accessible to every householder owing to worries about the loss of cultivable land that was available to people. He noted that growing sweet potatoes along the edges of the marshes had been one attempt at drainage, for instance, in the Kabale area. Alarms were raised by the increasing population density throughout the 1930s, which prompted suggestions for marsh reclamation as a solution. But it wasn't until after the 1943 famine that it became clear that growing potatoes in marshes had significantly reduced the number of deaths on a big scale.⁸⁷

Food shortages were prevented in large part by the cultivation of sweet potatoes in shared plots along the swamp's margins. Therefore, during the colonial era, calls were made for planting of sweet potatoes, whether communally or privately, whenever it was predicted that there was likely to be food scarcity. Starting around 1942, small swampy patches were expertly cleared in Maziba and Kashambya in response to local demands for land. Beginning in mid-1940s, official government-sponsored reclamation projects were launched. Purseglove traveled to Kashambya Swamp in March 1945 to co-ordinate additional drainage initiatives. When marshes were being drained in 1947, Huxley noticed that equal amounts were being left un-drained to protect springs and other natural features. Purseglove wrote in October 1951 that a drained wetland in Rukiga had been continuously farmed for ten years. During 1940s and 50s, swamp draining was being done by a number of organizations, including the central government, district administration, and

⁸⁷ Carswell, Grace. African farmers in colonial Kigezi, Uganda, 1930-1962: opportunity, constraint and sustainability. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom), 1996, 50.

the local populace, as a result of the growing land pressure.⁸⁸ The Kashambya Swamp, which served as the subject of a lot of experimental work, was the focus of the earliest largest efforts.⁸⁹

Swamp reclamation received a wide range of view points. Some regions (and people) favoured reclamation before other regions and people. Those who lacked land, but had plenty of labour saw the benefits of restoration the most because swamp farming required a lot of labour. They submitted requests to have marshes reclaimed through the Sub-County councils. Their desire was to increase their access to land. Among them were chiefs (who had financial revenues with which to pay labourers). The chiefs also supported reclamation because they were losing their general control over land, and as a result, they began to demand control over areas of it that they had previously disregarded. The general populace also began focusing on the benefits that would be difficult for them personally once they realized that the community resource will be lost once some people began cultivating the marshes. It is essential to understand the challenges underlying the distribution of swamp land after it has been reclaimed in order to understand the range of attitudes toward swamp reclamation that these circumstances produced.⁹⁰

Swamp reclamation was a significant aspect of agricultural transformation in Kigezi during the colonial period. The colonial government encouraged the drainage and reclamation of swamplands to increase arable land and support food and cash crop production. Reclaimed swamps were converted into fertile fields suitable for growing crops like rice, vegetables, and other high-demand agricultural products. This effort addressed land scarcity in the densely populated region and provided farmers with additional opportunities to diversify their

⁸⁸ KDAR, Kabale District Archives, 1925.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid

agricultural activities. The reclaimed areas also supported irrigation, which helped stabilize crop yields, particularly during dry seasons. By converting previously unused wetland areas into productive agricultural land, swamp reclamation contributed to the overall expansion of cultivated land and enhanced food security in Kigezi.

3.3.3 Farm Tools, Mechanisation, Modern Transport Facilities And Linking Up To Markets

The colonial government introduced modern methods of farming using improved farm tools. For example, the iron hoe that dominated pre-colonial farming in Kigezi was phased out significantly and was replaced with the modern industry-made hoes and tractors.

However, tractors were limited to the gently sloping areas of Kigezi. In addition, modern storage facilities were introduced, one can find a speedy decrease in granaries which were replaced with modern sacks to keep the little harvests left after selling. This partly came as a result of the introduction of a monetary economy since farmers preferred selling to keeping their produce.⁹¹ Bariyanga Robert re-echoed on this same mechanisation and use of modern farm tools i.e., modern hoes and tractors. He noted that, the modern hoes became the commonest and widely used in Kigezi since the use of tractors was only limited to gently sloping relief and flat valleys.⁹²

The introduction of modern tools, mechanization, and transport facilities during the colonial period significantly transformed agriculture in Kigezi. Simple tractors and plowing equipment were introduced to improve efficiency, enabling farmers to cultivate larger areas of land and reduce the labour-intensive nature of traditional farming. These tools facilitated the adoption of

⁹¹ Interview with Uzatunga Innocent, at Kacwekano farm Kabale, 12/08/ 2022.

⁹² Interview with Bariyanga Robert, at Nyabikoni, Kabale, 24/08/2022.

more intensive agricultural practices, such as soil conservation measures like terracing, which were labour-intensive but essential for managing Kigezi's steep terrain. Additionally, the development of transport facilities, including roads and vehicles, revolutionized the movement of goods, making it easier for farmers to access markets and sell their produce. This improved connectivity allowed for the integration of Kigezi's agricultural products, such as tea and pyrethrum, into national and international trade networks, enhancing economic opportunities and boosting the region's agricultural productivity.

3.3.4 Colonial Land Policies In Kigezi

In Chapter Two, it was noted that land is an important factor of agricultural production. It was further noted that land ownership was transformed in the pre-colonial period in Kigezi in that land was first free and people occupied wherever they desired. Then family ownership of land followed, then land seized to be a communal property and eventually, an individual property that was inheritable from parents, though without land titles. This was the status quo up to the advent of colonialism in Kigezi when land reforms were instituted.

Grace, asserts that land reform was the central focus of the colonial interaction with Kigezi, with the British colonial government implementing extensive and ambitious land policies, the effects of which continue to resonate today. Carsewell points out that during the early years of British rule in Kigezi, land ownership was governed by the 1902 Order in Council and the 1903 Crown Land Ordinance, along with subsequent amendments. These regulations stipulated that all land in Uganda not held under private title was designated as Crown Land.⁹³ Thus, according to these agreements signed by the leaders of the four Kingdoms of Buganda, Toro, Ankole, and Bunyoro

⁹³ Carswell, Grace. "Soil conservation policies in colonial Kigezi, Uganda: successful implementation and an absence of resistance." (2002), 10.

existing in Uganda at the time, all land in Uganda (except for that allocated to chiefs and granted to non-Africans previously) was essentially considered Crown land. This legal arrangement meant that ownership of the land was formally held by the Crown.⁹⁴

Carswell further elaborates that within the broader framework of British colonial land policies, two additional forms of land tenure were implemented: namely, *mailo* land and the titling and registration of land. Under the *mailo* land system, the colonial government granted individual ownership rights to chiefs and other prominent figures over large tracts of land, known as *mailo* estates. This system was also applied in Kigezi. Peasants settled on these *mailo* lands as tenants under private landlords. Individuals seeking to settle on *mailo* land had to seek permission from the *mailo* owner to occupy a specific plot. Initially, many tenants paid minimal or no rent and provided labour services, especially on larger estates. *Mailo* owners held significant authority over their domains, with tenants viewed as their servants and subject to potential eviction at any time.⁹⁵

Subsequent legislation aimed to acknowledge the rights of tenants, making it significantly challenging to evict them. This led to confusion regarding land rights. While land owners legally held private ownership rights to the land, tenants often felt they had permanent rights to the land they occupied, despite paying rent. When *mailo* owners sold land, it was generally understood that the tenants would remain on the land.

It is argued that the commercialization of agriculture and the emergence of a market economy prompted some *mailo* land owners to start demanding high cash rents from their tenants, viewing land as a valuable asset. As a result, legislation was introduced in the late 1920s to safe guard

⁹⁴ Ibid, 32.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 42.

tenants from arbitrary eviction. This legislation specified the types and amounts of rent to be paid and outlined the rights and obligations of both tenants and land owners. According to the law, eviction could only occur if a tenant failed to pay rent for three years and only through a court order.

As previously mentioned, the second land tenure system was the "Titling and Registration" of land, aimed at privatizing land rights. This initiative began in the mid-1950s, with a significant development in 1955 when the East Africa Royal Commission issued Land Tenure Proposals. These proposals recommended the privatization and individualization of land ownership, as well as facilitation of land market transactions. In response, Uganda launched a pilot programme for land titling and registration in Kigezi District in 1958, which later expanded to other districts.

The British colonial policies regarding Crown land, mailo land, and titling and registration of land remained in place until the late 1950s. However, during this period, amendments were occasionally introduced to these policies when deemed necessary for the interests of the British colonial government. These amendments were typically phased out once they had fulfilled their intended purpose.⁹⁶

During the colonial period, changes in land ownership fundamentally transformed agriculture in Kigezi. Traditional communal and lineage-based land tenure systems were disrupted, leading to the fragmentation of land holdings. As land became individualized and population pressure increased, subsistence farming practices gave way to more intensive methods to maximize yields on smaller plots. Additionally, colonial policies promoted the cultivation of cash crops like coffee and tea for export, shifting the focus away from traditional staple crops. This reorientation

⁹⁶ Carswell, Grace. "Soil conservation policies in colonial Kigezi, Uganda: successful implementation and an absence of resistance." (2002), 10.

not only altered the types of crops grown but also introduced new farming techniques, such as terracing, to combat soil erosion in Kigezi's hilly terrain.

3.4 Implementation Of Government Policy On Agriculture

From 1902 to 1961, various colonial agricultural policies were implemented in Kigezi. These policies included ordinances passed by the Legislative Council and enacted by the Governor. Before World War II, administrative orders were issued by colonial governors and provincial commissioners. Following events such as the 1924 Rinderpest epidemic and the 1930 famine, many orders were issued by district councils. Between 1920 and 1956, the colonial government in Kigezi aimed to establish formal regulatory measures. Notably, soil erosion was recognized as a significant threat to agricultural productivity, leading to the implementation of a rigorous soil and water conservation policy.⁹⁷

Under colonial rule, agriculture in Kigezi was overseen by chiefs who collaborated with appointed extension workers at the sub-county level. Initially, chiefs held all authority, despite often lacking agricultural training. Later, colonial authorities appointed agriculture extension workers and introduced by-laws with strict regulations and penalties.⁹⁸ According to Musabiro (2022), the colonial government implemented several agricultural policies that primarily focused on soil conservation, a departure from previous times when agricultural practices were less regulated. The formulation of these by-laws involved technical officers preparing drafts that were then debated by Kigezi district councils on behalf of the local constituents.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 18.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 25.

The colonial policies on soil conservation were outlined in the Soil and Water Conservation By-law, which mandated that anyone clearing land for cultivation on steep slopes must construct bunds or barriers parallel to the contour. These barriers were to be planted with appropriate grasses or agro-forestry trees as determined by agriculture extension officers. When demarcating plots, individuals were prohibited from using furrows or gullies, and instead required to use marked stones, live hedges, or shrubs. Community leaders were responsible for closing paths or tracks to prevent erosion and provide alternative routes. Violating this law constituted an offense, punishable by a fine not exceeding 3000/= or imprisonment for 15 days on first conviction, and a fine not exceeding 5000/= or imprisonment thereafter.⁹⁹

Innocent Uzatunga contends that,

During colonial times in Kigezi, there were additional policies regarding animal grazing. Livestock owners were required to ensure that their animals grazed under supervision and on their own land or with the landowner's consent. Animals were prohibited from drinking water from sources used for domestic purposes by people. All watering points were to be clearly marked, and pigs were not allowed to graze in areas used by other animals. Additionally, all animals were mandated to be vaccinated against preventable diseases according to a programme established by district veterinary staff. Regular use of acaricides was also required to control tick infestations. During disease outbreaks, movement of livestock and livestock products was halted. Livestock were not permitted to graze in crop fields, and farmers whose crops were damaged by such livestock were entitled to appropriate compensation.¹⁰⁰

The colonial government implemented guidelines to ensure food security, including requirements for households to maintain food reserves. Every household was mandated to have food stores or granaries that were water proof and protected against rodents. It was prohibited to sell all harvested food without ensuring sufficient reserves. After communal food reserves at sub-county headquarters were discontinued, a new administrative order stipulated that each family of seven people must maintain at least ¼ acre of sweet potatoes, store 50 kilogrammes of beans or

⁹⁹ KDAR, "Kabale District Archives, 1925."

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Uzatunga Innocent, at Kacwekano farm Kabale, 12/08/ 2022.

peas, and store 100 kilogrammes of sorghum or maize. These quantities were to be recorded in a book regularly monitored by a chief. Additionally, adults were not permitted to be idle, disorderly, or unproductive regularly. Gathering in bars or trading centers with intent to consume alcoholic drinks before 2pm or after 10pm was also prohibited. Violating these regulations could result in a fine not exceeding 500/=, imprisonment for up to 60 days, or both, with the requirement to purchase grain and other foods to replenish one's granaries.¹⁰¹

3.5 Kigezi Peoples' Response To Government Policy On Agriculture

In an interview with Uzatunga innocent, it was revealed that most of the agriculture policies that were enforced by the colonialists were not readily welcomed by the people of Kigezi due to the fact that they were brutally implemented. A case in point is the Food Security Policy introduced in 1950s which required people to report their food stock to the Sub- County and failure to do so was fined. Further, in some parts of Kigezi, cotton was introduced as a cash crop and as a reaction people of Kigezi decided to first roast the seeds so that they do not germinate. This clearly shows that at first people did not like colonial agricultural policies because of how they were initiated.¹⁰²

However, after realizing the benefits of some of the agricultural policies and change of the laws, people started appreciating the policies and voluntarily participated, for example, the formation of terraces (Kati-ka-nkingo) was appreciated after the stoppage of erosion that used to affect

¹⁰¹ Pascal Musabiro C, Geoffrey Muhanguzi, and Sanginga Kamugisha Rick, *A Review of the Agriculture Bi- Laws in Colonial Kigezi* (2022), 16.

¹⁰² Interview with Uzatunga Innocent, at Kacwekano farm Kabale, 12/08/ 2022.

many Kigezi people.¹⁰³ This serves as a good example of how transformation can improve people's way of life.

From 1908 to 1930, the British appointed some Baganda agents to assist them extend their rule over Kigezi district and enforcing some of the policies on agriculture.¹⁰⁴ The two decades saw a growing teething anger of the Bakiga against foreign rule. Overwhelmed by the new order, the Bakiga had to devise means of adapting themselves to the new situation. They at first appeared calm and subdued.¹⁰⁵ This is to mean that the Bakiga had to unwillingly collaborate with the colonial administration and accept their agriculture practices. This 'co-operation' was made possible by the fact that the colonialists and their Baganda agents used brutal force to enforce co-operation. Oral tradition asserts that the rule of the Baganda (on behalf of colonialists) was tyrannical. *Kiboko* (caning) was used to speed up certain activities such as road construction and provision of labour on farms. The introduction of taxation in the form of "Ruharo" whereby people were required to work for fifteen days at Butobere near Kabale, clearing the swamps under unfavourable conditions, brought about constant grievances from the people.

In an interview, Uzatunga noted that,

Some locals resisted the strict rules on the farms which were being implemented by the Baganda agents like Ganafa, and Dirani. This notion was experienced at Ndorwa in Kabale, where the locals were forced to grow cotton which they never welcomed. When they were provided with cotton seeds, they boiled them first so that when planted they would not germinate. The 1915 (poll tax) introduced among the Bakiga was also resisted because most of the proceeds realized entered the pockets of the Baganda agents.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Musabiro, Muhanguzi, and Kamugisha, "'A Review of the Agriculture Bi- Laws in Colonial Kigezi' (2022), PP. 16."

¹⁰⁴ KDAR, "Kabale District Archives, 1925."

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Uzatunga Innocent, at Kacwekano farm Kabale, 12/08/ 2022.

But we cannot over look the positive side of their achievements in Kigezi. The Baganda agents and their colonial ‘friends’ also introduced new crops such as bananas, coffee, and Irish potatoes although prior to this, there was some Irish potato indigenous to the people of Kigezi.¹⁰⁷ The first coffee in Kigezi were a result of the achievement of Ssebalijja and this was a great agricultural achievement, although the positive results were to the local people, always shadowed by the negative aspects.¹⁰⁸

Further, field findings revealed that a number of cash crops were grown during colonial times. Some of them were both cash and food crops. They included Cotton, Pyrethrum, Cabbages, Carrots, Beetroot, and Rice. Most of these crops were distributed through the local chiefs and at times the Baganda agents.

Pyrethrum was mainly grown at Karengyeri hills, Rwamucucu, Rubaya, Ndorwa and Kamuganguzi. In the year 1955, coffee was also being grown but it was allowed to only licensed farmers.¹⁰⁹ Generally, coffee was doing well in Northern Kigezi as many nursery beds were prepared in these areas especially at Kambuga, Kirima, Rugyeyo, Nyarushanje, Kayonza and Rujumbura but in Southern Kigezi it failed.

3.6 Conclusion

It can therefore be concluded that during the colonial period, agricultural practices in the Kigezi region changed compared to pre-colonial period. This is evident from the crops grown, the way people practiced agricultural activities, the introduction of conservation methods, the use of improved tools, and the introduction of agriculture policies and guide lines. In particular, soil

¹⁰⁷ Carswell, Grace. "Food crops as cash crops: the case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 3, no. 4 (2003): 521.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

conservation practices such as terracing, mulching, contour cultivation, boundary planting and agro-forestry were introduced. Swamp reclamation was also done to increase land for cultivation. It has also been revealed that the use of rudimentary tools slightly changed to modernized hoes and tractors. Although people in Kigezi benefited from these measures, it has been observed that most of them did not receive them gladly because of the brutal force with which the Baganda agents and their colonial counter-parts used to force compliance.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE POST-COLONIAL
PERIOD, 1962- 2001

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and analysed data on the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi region during the British colonial period from 1911 up to 1962. Key issues discussed included introduction of new crops, colonial government policies on land and agriculture, soil conservation practices and the response of people in Kigezi to these interventions. This chapter is about agriculture in Kigezi region since the attainment of independence of Uganda in 1962. The chapter relates to objective number three which sought to assess how agricultural transformations impacted the economy and lives of the people of Kigezi region from 1962 up to 2011. In line with thematic analysis, the chapter is structured in four major themes: reinforcement of cash crop production and introduction of temperate climate fruits, post-colonial government policy on agriculture, forms of agricultural labour, and government advisory services and agricultural research.

4.1 Advancement Of Cash Crop Production And Introduction Of Temperate Climate Fruits

The post-colonial government of Uganda intended to regain its market shares in colonial export crops such as coffee, tea, and cotton and diversify into new export crops. In Kigezi, coffee and tea were maintained and continued to dominate areas of northern Kigezi (Kinkiizi and Rujumbura), though tea was more dominant in the years 2000s as per information obtained from offices of agriculture at Kabale and Kanungu districts. In the post - colonial era, the task of growing coffee was majorly left in the hands of ordinary farmers (peasants). Initially, in 1921

when coffee was first introduced in Kigezi, the colonial government took charge. Coffee seedlings were distributed mostly to chiefs and ‘capable’ or large-scale farmers, who then received all kinds of support from the colonial government. But in the post-colonial Kigezi, coffee growing was for anyone willing. A photograph showing coffee plant is provided in figure 8 (shown in appendices)

However, the formation of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries backed up by The Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture envisaged a shift from subsistence to more of commercial agriculture. It also envisaged moving from low to high yielding technologies in addition to subsistence utilization of soils and other natural resources.

However, according to Samuel Sejjaka¹¹⁰ Uganda registered impressive production of cash crops in the first eight years of independence (1962-1971). He notes that this growth was catalysed by the formation of the East African Community which promised to provide ready market through the anticipated formation of the East African Common Market. As a result, growing of cash crops in regions such as Kigezi was boosted. However, things took a downtrend under President Amin (1971-99). The economy, including agricultural production deteriorated as Amin used ‘nationalist and military rhetoric’ to eliminate foreign economic interests in Uganda. Relations with the world and East African countries deteriorated and affected cash crop growing in Kigezi. Many farmers resorted to traditional and subsistence economy in order to survive. This status quo continued even after the departure of Amin in 1979 as the successive governments tried to restore the economy. During this period, the primary challenges included foreign exchange

¹¹⁰ Sejjaka, Samuel. "A political and economic history of Uganda, 1962–2002." In *International businesses and the challenges of poverty in the developing world: case studies on global responsibilities and practices*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2004. 98.

shortages and civil wars between 1983 and 1985. Consequently, Kigezi in particular and Uganda at large experienced what can be described as an "agrarian crisis" from 1971 up to 1986.

Upon assuming power in 1986, the Museveni government prioritized economic recovery and development, particularly emphasizing the role of agriculture. This included diversifying agricultural exports and fostering industries that utilized local raw materials to manufacture essential products crucial for development.¹¹¹ As a result, agricultural diversification in Kigezi evolved throughout the 1990s with the introduction of non-traditional fruits. For instance, temperate climate fruit cultivation was introduced in Kabale District in 1999, attracting over 100,000 families. This initiative focused on growing apples, pears, plums, peaches, and grapes. Due to favourable temperatures, the government designated the highlands of Kigezi sub-region as a zone for temperate fruit production. "We aim to establish the highlands of Kigezi as a temperate fruit production hub to supply the Great Lakes region, reducing reliance on imports from South Africa and Kenya," stated Mr. James Katsimbazi, the district co-ordinator for the National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS).¹¹²

Keith Rwamahe, shared his success stories about apple cultivation transforming his life. Mr. Rwamahe expressed satisfaction that he has been able to pay school fees for his children at prestigious schools in Kampala through his apple orchard. He reported earning approximately

¹¹¹ Rita M Byrnes and Library of Congress Washington DC Federal Research Div, "*Area Handbook Series. Uganda: A Country Study*," 1992.

¹¹² Daily Monitor, "Wednesday November 30 2011,"

400,000 Uganda Shillings (UGX) from each apple tree, harvesting around 700 apples that sell for about UGX 600 each.¹¹³ See figure 9 (shown in appendices).

In an interview, Rwamahe a farmer highlighted that,

Advancements in NAADS technologies such as grafting and defoliation have significantly increased his apple yields. He mentioned that his orchard has now become a model for prospective apple farmers across the country. The district NAADS office, he noted, provides training to local farmers in seed multiplication, particularly using stem cuttings, which helps reduce costs. He further explained that imported apple seedlings were costly, approximately UGX 8,000 each, making it challenging for local farmers to afford many trees. He emphasized that seed multiplication techniques enable farmers to access seeds at a more affordable price.¹¹⁴

William Byamugasha, expressed his interest in transitioning to apple fruit production but cited the high cost of seedlings as a deterrent. He noted that between 1999, when temperate fruit growing began in the district, and 2005, when apple harvests became common, the price of apple seedlings had doubled from UGX 4,000 to UGX 8,000. Byamugasha expressed discouragement, stating that he cannot afford the eight million Ugandan shillings required to purchase 1,000 apple seedlings for his planned one-acre orchard.¹¹⁵

But for Rwamahe, modernisation of agriculture under the NAADS changed his life. He had managed to not only pay school fees for his children as noted earlier, but was also able to build a house of his desire after getting harvests from his apple farm. He also reported that he grafts apple seedlings which he supplies to farmers on government requests. This was revealed to me in

¹¹³ Interview With Rwamahe John Keith, A respondent interviewed at his apples farm in Kyanamira- Kabale, 20/08/2022.

¹¹⁴ Interview With Rwamahe John Keith,.

¹¹⁵ Daily Monitor, “Wednesday November 30 2011.”

a face-to-face interaction through an interview at his home in Kyanamira, Kabale on 20th August 2022.¹¹⁶

As noted earlier, a number of crops introduced by the colonialists continued to be grown in Kigezi, and new ones were introduced in the post-colonial era. By 2001, crops grown included, apples, berries, grapes, cabbages, soya beans, and sugar cane. Other crops included irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, cowpeas, pigeon peas, field peas, millet, rice, wheat, sorghum, maize, bananas, coffee (Robusta, Arabica and Clonal) and sun flower.

Also grown were ground nuts, pineapples, mangoes, jackfruit, passion fruit, beetroot, carrots, cauliflower, spinach, amaranthus, yams, pawpaw, lemon, oranges, tobacco, egg plants, cucumber, pepper, tomatoes, onions, pumpkins and cassava.¹¹⁷

Sorghum, shown in figure 10 (shown in appendices), has been grown in Kigezi region since the pre-colonial period. It was grown along side peas, beans, and others. The crop is among those which were re-introduced upon the failure of cash crops in the colonial period, and it was still grown up to 2001.

Crops that were tried by the post-colonial governemnt but failed included cotton. Soon after independence, farmers initiated several campaigns to grow cotton, which were accepted by 1973. However, the major problems that eventually stopped cotton growing in Kigezi were, prevalence of variegated grasshoppers, and invasion of desert locusts which ate all the cotton leaves.¹¹⁸ The authorities in the agriculture sector provided farmers with insecticides like Sumithion and Rogor in order to control pests but all was in vain, as they failed.

¹¹⁶ Interview With Rwamahe John Keith, A respondent interviewed at his apples farm in Kyanamira- Kabale, 20/08/2022.

¹¹⁷ Interview With Rwamahe John Keith,.

¹¹⁸ KDAR, "Kabale District Archives, 1925."

Another crop that was encouraged in Kigezi by the post-colonial government was wheat. Although the crop had been introduced in Kigezi in the colonial period, it had persistently failed. Therefore, the post-colonial governments made efforts to re-introduce it. A number of people from Kigezi were sent to Sebei region to learn how wheat was grown there. These would be in position to help farmers on how best they could grow it. As a result, fifty bags of wheat seeds were brought with them to Kigezi to be distributed to farmers.¹¹⁹ Distribution was done and Ndorwa, Rukiga, Rubanda and Bufumbira counties received ten bags each while Kinkiizi got seven bags and Rujumbura received three bags. The farmers to be selected were supposed to be in one area to ease supervision and to protect the crop from birds' attack. Additionally, the farmers who received the seeds were to bring back the same amount taken and remain with the balance after harvest. The market for wheat was rare and because of this the District Agriculture Officer advised farmers to market it through co-operative societies.¹²⁰

Again, another crop which the people of Kigezi were encouraged to grow during the post-colonial days was rice. The crop was first tried in Kihiihi where farmers were selected to grow crops which had declined in the district. Just like wheat, the rice farmers were expected to bring back the same amount taken after harvest. The agricultural officers at all levels were to record the farmers' details like names, sub-county, village and amount of rice given. The officers who had not taken the rice seeds were told to do so quickly as possible but the then Assistant Agriculture Officer of Ndorwa, Rwajekare told other farmers in a meeting which was held at the district that the rice he had taken and grown, had been attacked and affected by fungal diseases.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

But the District Agriculture Officer urged the field staff to give farmers all the possible technical assistance and advice on rice growing.¹²¹

All these crops and others that succeeded were valued among the people of Kigezi because they were a source of income and food. In the post-colonial era, the distinction between cash and food crops became no longer valid as some food crops were in fact sold for cash and indeed many were exported. They, therefore, double as cash crops and food crops.

4.2 Post-colonial Government Policy On Agriculture

For many years after Uganda gained her independence in 1962, most fundamental aspects of colonial agricultural policies in Kigezi remained largely unchanged. This indicates a failure to establish locally tailored policies and laws to govern the utilization of natural resources. However, from 1962 until around 1972, efforts were made to professionalize agricultural extension services through farmers' groups and a few nucleus farmers who were expected to serve as models for others. The concept of nucleus farmers tended to promote a capitalist approach to agricultural development, often neglecting the majority of peasant farmers. The period between 1972 and 1986 was marked by political leadership changes and government mismanagement. The economic challenges of the 1970s led to a survival-focused environment that affected most government structures. Policies were implemented through decrees and directives from the government to farmers via local chiefs. Consequently, there was widespread demoralization among government employees and policy administrators responsible for enforcing agricultural regulations.¹²²

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Musabiro, Muhanguzi, and Kamugisha, “‘A Review of the Agriculture Bi- Laws in Colonial Kigezi’ (2022), 16.”

After 1986, with the National Resistance Movement assuming power, there were significant shifts in natural resources management policies. Initially, a Ministry of Environment Protection was established, which later evolved into the larger Ministry of Natural Resources. This period, often referred to as the 'recovery phase,' marked the introduction of various policies and numerous changes in agriculture and natural resource management. The primary objectives of agricultural sector development were to stimulate growth to meet the country's food needs, generate foreign exchange, and improve the living standards of rural communities. The government also aimed at reclaiming its market share in traditional export crops like coffee, tea, and cotton, while diversifying into new export crops. Consequently, the policy focused on re-introducing and supporting profitable cash crops, as well as introducing and promoting new cash and food crops to achieve economic self-sufficiency for Uganda.¹²³

The Ugandan government introduced the National Agricultural Soil Management Policy around 1993 and implemented it in 2001. This policy aimed at standardising soil management practices, enhance soil quality, and sustainably improve soil productivity across the country.¹²⁴ Over time, the policy aimed to restore and sustain agricultural soils, thereby boosting productivity, enhancing food security, reducing poverty, and conserving soil and water resources for future generations. This approach was implemented nationwide, including in Kigezi, where district agricultural officers assisted with soil testing and training farmers in effective soil management techniques. However, critics have pointed out short comings in the execution of these policies, suggesting that those responsible for soil conservation and management have not always fulfilled

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Frank Warnock and Patrick Conway, “*Post-Conflict Recovery in Uganda* No.37152 Washington D C. 1999,” <https://doi.org/Stock No. 37152>.

their roles effectively. For instance, Egulu and Ebanyat¹²⁵ argue that improving soil fertility management has been given little consideration in agricultural policies and planning, largely because it is commonly believed that Ugandan soils were very fertile.

4.3 Forms Of Labour In Post-colonial Agriculture In Kigezi

The key source of labour force to work on farms in the post-colonial Kigezi was the individual members and relatives to a family. A man, his wife and children provided all the labour required to produce enough food that could support their family. But in some cases, hired labour was also used to work on large farms like coffee, tea and banana plantations. People hired were paid unlike previously when some people had to work for clothes and food, implying a steady flow of income. Whereas some of the large scale/plantation farms were owned by individuals, others were owned by companies. But the point is, these farms were a big source of jobs opportunities to the locals.¹²⁶

One of the of the prominent plantation farms in Kigezi was the Kigezi Highland Tea mainly based in Kanungu district by 2000s. According to the Monitor newspaper¹²⁷, the tea farm which is at the helm of tea growing initiative in Kigezi employs more than 300 workers, with an average income of about 3 million per week. Some were employed on different tea gardens and some workers had their own tea gardens and supply produce to the company. Chama.¹²⁸ noted that Kigezi Highland Tea had signed a memorandum of understanding with government agencies and several land owners, the church and local governments in regard to establishing nurseries

¹²⁵ Egulu, Beatrice, and Peter Ebanyat. "Policy processes in Uganda and their impact on soil fertility." (2000): 23.

¹²⁶ Rutanga, Murindwa. Conditions of Labour on Commercial Dairy Farms in Kabale District. No. 1. Centre for Basic Research, 1989, 2.

¹²⁷ Daily Monitor, "Tea Growing Spurs Economy in Kigezi, Tuesday February 23, 2016.,"

¹²⁸ Chama, Julius. "Perennial crop farming and food security in Kigezi: a case study of Kigezi highland tea." Kabale University Interdisciplinary Research Journal 1, no. 4 (2022): 87.

opening up farms and mobilising farmers to embrace tea growing in the Kigezi region. This means that employment provided by the company was both direct and indirect, widening opportunities for employment and generation of income. While it has been reported that the company had improved lives of people (farmers and workers), it is however noted that sometimes the workers have sometimes downed their tools because of delayed payment. The workers have had to stage strikes and demonstrations. On 27th June 2016, more than 180 workers of the Kigezi Highland Tea downed their tools claiming that they had not been paid for six months. Initially, the workers had been promised payment every two weeks, but the promise was not kept. The management blamed the delayed payment on government's failure to remit funds.¹²⁹

Mechanised farming has also been introduced in Kigezi large-scale farms. Some farmers use modern equipment like tractors and harvesters among others as a source of labour on the farms. This means a continuation of machinery and tools introduced during the colonial period, and therefore, the long-term effect of colonial agricultural transformations in Kigezi.

4.4 Enhancement Of Government Advisory Service And Agricultural Research

Since 1962, the government of the republic of Uganda embarked on putting up several reforms towards agriculture modernisation and also instituted several agricultural agencies. Key among the agencies is the National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS), and National Agriculture Research Organization (NARO) which work under the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF). Such agencies were established to co-ordinate government projects and

¹²⁹ CHIMPREPORTS, "Tycoon Garuga's Employees Unpaid for 6 Months, June 27, 2016.,"

facilitate implementation of the newly established agricultural policies.¹³⁰ Agriculture extension has largely been prioritized by incorporating these activities on school curriculum and by 2001, several schools in Kigezi and Uganda as a whole were already teaching agriculture both in primary and post primary schools. In 2000 Uganda also launched a Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) and this led to improvements in agriculture activities.¹³¹

Through these agencies, several modern agricultural practices were put in place. For example, the government introduced use of fertilizers to boost soil fertility and increase output. In addition to improved seed varieties and livestock breeds, and transport facilities were also considered and improved.

Uzatunga reveals during an interview that,

Government tried to strengthen and intensify research into value addition so as to widen the market base; Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) for example sweet potato production, cattle, goats, pigs and poultry as well as disease and pest control measures. Much emphasis was also put in training of agriculture extension workers and coming up with modern methods of farming such as urban farming, agro-forestry and mixed farming.¹³²

Post-harvest handling and storage facilities were also improved. A number of community grain stores were constructed in various districts in the region. This support was in line with the governments' initiative to reduce post-harvest losses and improve the quality of grain production in Kigezi in particular and the country at large. Some of these storage facilities were constructed in conjunction with World Food Programme. A lot of priority was also put on market development both local and international trade. There was also a shift from use of rudimentary tools to more of mechanised agriculture, involving use of tractors (tractorisatation) and modern

¹³⁰ Interview With Rwamahe John Keith, A respondent interviewed at his apples farm in Kyanamira- Kabale, 20/08/ 2022.

¹³¹ Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), "PMA (Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture), PMA Progress Report, June 2003." 8.

¹³² Interview with Uzatunga Innocent, at Kacwekano farm Kabale,12/08/ 2022.

industrial made hoes.¹³³ A photograph of change of tools from hand hoes to mechanization is shown in figure 11 (in appendices)

Several agencies play a crucial role in enforcing existing soil conservation measures. For instance, the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) introduced a National Environmental Management Policy in 1995. This policy aimed to achieve sustainable socio-economic development while maintaining or enhancing environmental quality and resource productivity over the long term. It emphasized meeting the current generation's needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own.¹³⁴

4.5 Conclusion

At the time of independence in 1962, agriculture was still important to the economies of Uganda as it contributed almost 70% of the total household's income.¹³⁵ Agricultural transformation remained a key priority for Uganda, with more efforts on mechanisation and industrialization together with more emphasis on marketing and product quality development. The expectation was that agriculture would play a pivotal role in alleviating rural poverty, ensuring food security, and fostering economic growth. The government of Uganda aimed at successfully transitioning many farmers from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture in a sustainable manner. Over the last twenty years, Uganda has implemented a variety of agricultural initiatives aimed at promoting the commercialization of smallholder agriculture. The main purpose to rejuvenate cash crop production through research and advisory services was to cause an increase in people's incomes and eradicate poverty among the people of Kigezi.

¹³³ Interview with Emily, Agricultural officer, Kashambya, 09/05/2022.

¹³⁴ National Environment Management Authority, "The National Environmental Act, Cap 153."

¹³⁵ UBOS, "House Hold Income Survey Report (1996)."

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the transformation of agriculture in the Kigezi region of South western Uganda over the period 1500 to 2001. The research focused on three key objectives namely: exploring the nature of pre-colonial agriculture (1500-1911), examining the transformations introduced during British colonial rule (1911-1961), and assessing the extent and impacts of agricultural transformation in the post-colonial era (1962-2001). By deploying a multi-disciplinary approach that incorporated historical records, oral traditions, and secondary literature, the study offered a comprehensive analysis of agricultural evolution in this unique and challenging region.

In the pre-colonial period, agriculture in Kigezi was primarily subsistence-oriented, designed to meet the food needs of local communities. Farmers cultivated crops such as millet, sorghum, and bananas while also keeping livestock, especially cattle, which held cultural and economic significance. Given the region's steep terrain and limited arable land, innovative farming techniques like terracing were developed to mitigate soil erosion and make efficient use of available land. These practices reflected the adaptability and resourcefulness of Kigezi's communities, with agricultural activities being closely tied to kinship systems and collective labour arrangements. These systems provided a foundation for the community's resilience and sustainability.

During the colonial era, the British administration introduced significant changes that aimed to integrate Kigezi's agricultural economy into global markets. The introduction of cash crops such as coffee, nicotine tobacco, pyrethrum and tea marked a shift from subsistence to market-oriented farming. Additionally, colonial authorities implemented soil conservation measures like

terracing and afforestation, but these were often enforced through coercive methods, causing resistance among the local population. Institutions such as co-operatives and marketing boards were established to facilitate the export of agricultural produce, yet small holder farmers reaped limited benefits due to exploitative pricing and restrictive policies. This period highlighted the dual impact of colonial policies while promoting certain agricultural advancements, they often disregarded local priorities and exacerbated inequalities.

In the post-colonial period, Uganda's government introduced policies aimed at modernizing agriculture. These included promoting mechanization, providing extension services, and encouraging crop diversification. However, despite these efforts, challenges such as land fragmentation, declining soil fertility, limited access to credit, and inadequate market infrastructure hindered progress. The outcomes of agricultural transformation during this time were mixed. On one hand, there were improvements in income and food security for some communities; on the other, environmental degradation and persistent socio-economic inequalities left many farmers vulnerable. This era underscored the complexities of achieving sustainable agricultural development in a region with significant structural constraints.

The study contributes to existing knowledge by highlighting the adaptive strategies employed by pre-colonial communities to navigate environmental challenges, shedding light on the complexities of colonial agricultural policies, and revealing the enduring structural challenges in post-colonial agriculture. These findings provide valuable insights into the broader agricultural history of Uganda, emphasizing the inter play between local practices and external interventions. They also underscore the importance of tailoring agricultural policies to the specific socio-economic and environmental contexts of a region.

Despite its contributions, the study faced certain limitations. Reliance on oral traditions and historical records posed challenges related to the accuracy and consistency of information. Additionally, the broad temporal scope, while comprehensive, limited a more detailed focus on specific transformative periods. The lack of extensive quantitative data further constrained a deeper economic analysis of agricultural impacts. These limitations suggest the need for further research to fill gaps and build upon the study's findings.

Future research could explore comparative analyses of agricultural transformation across different regions of Uganda, investigate the role of gender in shaping agricultural practices, and assess the long-term environmental impacts of both colonial and post-colonial policies. Additionally, examining the interactions between agriculture and other economic sectors in Kigezi could provide a more holistic understanding of the region's development trajectory.

In conclusion, the transformation of agriculture in Kigezi reflects a dynamic inter play of environmental, social, and political factors over centuries. While the region has seen significant progress in adapting agricultural practices and integrating into broader economic networks, persistent challenges highlight the need for sustainable and inclusive approaches to agricultural development.

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INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Interview with Bariyanga Robert. at Nyabikoni, Kabale, 24/08/2022,

Interview with Drake Kamisha Niwagira. at Satelite Museum Rwahi near Muhanga Town-
Kabale; 13/07/2022.

Interview with Emily. Agricultural officer, Kashambya, 09/05/2022.

Interview With Gubazire Vanansio. *At Kabale Town, 15/08/2022.*

Interview with John Ndyomugenyi. at Kabale Town; 22/08/ 2022.

Interview with Kateera Eric. “At Kabashuri-Nyarushanje, Rukungiri; 11/05/2022.”

Interview with Lillian Kobwangu. “At Bwanga in Nyarushanje- Rukungiri; June, 11/05/2022,

Interview with Moses Ssebarusha. in Kisoro, July 2022.

Interview with Nicholas. Agriculture officer, Rubanda, 25/08/2022.

Interview with Nuuru Elidard. at his home in Kabashuri-Burora, Nyarushanje sub-county,
Rukungiri , 11/05/2022.

Interview with Rugwiza. at Mwanjari Kabale, 10/03/ 2020.

Interview With Rwamahe John Keith,. A respondent interviewed at his apples farm in
Kyanamira- Kabale, 20/08/ 2022.

Interview with Uzatunga Innocent. at Kacwekano farm Kabale,12/08/ 2022.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: KEY INFORMANTS' GUIDE

Dear Respondent,

My name is **Muyambi Vicent**, a student of Kyambogo University pursuing a Master's degree in History. I am currently undertaking research so as to fulfil the requirements for the award. My research topic is titled: The Transformation of Agriculture in Kigezi, Western Uganda, 1500-2001. I therefore request you to respond to these questions to the best of your knowledge. All information will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Name.....

Village (LC1)

Sub-county.....

County.....

Sex.....

Age.....

Occupation.....

Telephone contact.....

A). PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

01. Were there any agricultural activities in the pre-colonial Kigezi? If yes briefly explain the nature of this agriculture

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.....

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.....
.....
02. Briefly explain the crops that dominated the pre-colonial agriculture in Kigezi

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.....
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.....

03. Mention and explain various soil conservation practices used in pre-colonial

Kigezi.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

04. Apart from agriculture, Kigezi people involved in other activities like trade, iron industry, salt industry, pottery industry and craft industry, briefly explain how each of these were conducted

i) Trade.....
.....
.....
.....

ii) Iron industry.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

- iii) Salt industry.....
- iv) Pottery industry.....
- v) Craft industry.....

05. Briefly explain the marketing and exchange among the Kigezi people in pre-colonial era
.....

**B). ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIAL RULE
IN KIGEZI**

06. Was there use of Baganda agents to extend British rule over Kigezi? If yes Mention some of them and explain why you think they were used by the British
.....

07. How was the use of Baganda agents perceived in Kigezi and how did the people react to such Baganda agents? Explain.....

08. Is there when the indigenous people were involved in their affairs/rule? If yes mention some of these Locals who were later involved in leadership and explain how and why they were involved.....
.....
.....
.....

09. Was there representation on the Legco? If yes mention some locals who represented Kigezi on Legco and show the requirements one had to be on Legco.

.....
.....
.....

C) COLONIAL AGRICULTURE AMONG THE BAKIGA

10. Did the people of Kigezi grow cash crops during the British colonial rule? If yes mention them.....

.....

11. Were there cash crops introduced by the colonialists in Kigezi during colonial rule? If yes mention them and briefly explain how

.....

12. Were there any colonial policies regarding agriculture? If yes explain these colonial policies.....

.....

.....

13. Were there new soil conservation practices introduced during colonial rule? If yes mention and explain how they were used

.....

14. How was colonial policies on agriculture implemented and how did the people react to this?

.....

D: POST-COLONIAL AGRICULTURE AMONG THE BAKIGA

15. Briefly explain the nature of agriculture in post-independence Uganda up to 2001

.....
.....
.....
16. What were some of the crops grown in Kigezi in the post-colonial era and how did the people of Kigezi value these crops?

.....
.....
.....

17. What was the source of labour force to work in Agricultural farms in Kigezi?

.....
.....
.....

18. Were there efforts to modernize agriculture in the post-independence era in Uganda? If yes how was this done?

.....

19. Briefly describe the modern practices put in place by the government to modernise Agriculture after the departure of the Europeans?

.....
.....
.....

20. Was there any enforcing authority to ensure adoption of the existing soil conservation measures? If yes what was that?

Thank you

APPENDIX II: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

S/N	Name	Location	Date of Interview	Place of work /occupation
1	Drake Niwagira	Satellite museum-Rwahi	13/7/2022	Museum Attendant
2	Rick Kamugisha	Kabale Town	12/7/2022	Farmer
3	John Keith Rwamahe	Kyanamira-Kabale	20/8/2022	Farmer
4	Namara Gift	Nyiramuronzi- Kamuganguzi	18/8/2022	Farmer
5	Uzitunga Innocent	NARO-Kabale	12/8/2022	Agricultural officer
6	Vanansio Gubazire	Kitumba-Kabale	15/8/2022	Farmer.
7	Mpiriirwe J	Rubaya	15/8/2022	Farmer
8	Ndyareeba Monica	Ndorwa –Kabale	19/8/2022	Farmer
9	Sebarusha Moses	Kisoro	22/6/2022	Farmer
10	Kateera Eric	Nyarushanje- Rukungiri	11/5/2022	Farmer
11	Jalia Bikangiso,	Nyarushanje- Rukungiri	11/5/2022	Farmer
12	Lillian Kobwangu	Nyarushanje- Rukungiri	11/5/2022	Farmer
13	Nuru Elidard	Nyarushanje- Rukungiri	11/5/2022	Farmer
14	Kapri Esau	Nyarushanje- Rukungiri	11/5/2022	Farmer
15	Ensinikweri Thomas	Bugangari- Rukungiri	16/6/2022	Farmer
16	Otafiire Bernarido	Kisiizi- Rukungiri	10/5/2022	Farmer
17	Twinomujuni Jane	Nyakagyeme –Rukungiri	15/6/2022	Farmer
18	Eserida Kyabarongo	Nyakishenyi-Rukungiri	10/5/2022	Farmer

19	Bitaraho Fred- Mayoyo	Kebisoni- Rukungiri	15/6/2022	Farmer
20	Karugaba Nathan	Rujumbura – Rukungiri	15/6/2022	Farmer
21	Nabaasa Stidia	Kagunga- Rukungiri	17/6/2022	Farmer
22	Bikwasizehi Andereya	Ruhinda- Rukungiri	17/6/2022	Farmer
23	Turyahumura vanansio	Karukara-Rubanda	03/5/2022	Farmer
24	Kwikiriza Alex	Bufundi- Rubanda	03/5/2022	Farmer
25	Musabiro Dinnah	Ikumba-Kabale	03/5/2022	Farmer
26	Byamugisha Levi	Muko-Rubanda	03/5/2022	Farmer
27	Manige Habert Kasibante	Kashambya-Rukiga	09/5/2022	Farmer
28	Kanyangi Plaxeda	Kashambya –Rukiga	09/5/2022	Farmer
29	Turyagyenda Zabrone	Kamwezi –Rukiga	5/5/2022	Farmer
30	Bashaba Peter	Rwamucucu-Rukiga	5/5/2022	Farmer
31	Kemigisha Jenina	Rugyeyo-Kanungu	17/6/2022	Farmer
32	Tibihika Mathias	Kanyantorogo-Kihiihi	17/6/2022	Farmer
33	Ainebyoona Brave	Kayonza-Kanungu	17/6/2022	Farmer
34	Nabaasa Lauben	Kambuga-Kanungu	18/6/2022	Farmer
35	Karusigarira Dezi	Rutenga – Kanungu	18/6/2022	Farmer
36	Bizimana Aggrey	Nyarusiza-Kisoro	21/6/2022	Farmer

37	Hafashimana Alan	Nyakabande- Kisoro	21/6/2022	Farmer
38	Niyigaba Fosca	Busanza-Kisoro	21/6/2022	Farmer
39	Byiringiro Joy	Chahi-Kisoro	22/6/2022	Farmer
40	Niyonzima Bernard	Bukimbiri-Kisoro	22/6/2022	Farmer
41	Bariyanga Robert	Nyabikoni-Kabale	24/8/2022	Agricultural officer
42	Nkazarwanazo Fred	Nyakagyeme, Rukungiri	15/6/2022	Farmer
43	Kyomugisha Emilly	Kashambya, Rukiga	09/5/2022	Agricultural officer
44	Rugwiza	Mwanjari, Kabale,	10/3/2022	Agricultural officer
45	Masiko Nicholas	Rubanda, District	25/8/2022	Agricultural officer
46	Aharimpisya Jersey	Kitumba, Kabale	25/8/2022	Agricultural officer
47	Musinguzi Martin	Kyanamira, Kabale	25/8/2022	Agricultural officer
48	Agaba Boniface	Buhara, Kabale	25/8/2022	Agricultural officer
49	Eric Mbarara	Katuna, Kabale	22/08/2022	Farmer
50	Ndyomugyenyi Joab	Kitumba, Kabale	22/08/2022	Farmer

APPENDIX III: MAPS AND PICTURES

Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing the location of Kigezi region



Source: Adopted and modified from Carswell (2003).

Figure 2: Map showing the boundaries of Kigezi region



Source: Adopted and modified from Carswell (2003).

Figure 3: Sample Granaries used to store food in Kigezi during the pre-colonial period



Source; field at Satelite Museum, 13/72022.

1. Figure 4: A Museum attendant holds a traditional hoe as he explains to the researcher how it was made by blacksmiths in 1945



Source: Taken by the researcher at Satelite Museum on 13/7/2022

2. Figure 5: Illustration of a hoe made by blacksmiths in 1674



Source; field at Satelite Museum, 13/7/2022

3. Figure 6: Illustration of hoes made and used in Kigezi around 1856



Source: Taken by the researcher at Satelite Museum, 13/7/2022

4. Figure 7: Terraces on Kigezi hill as encouraged by colonial administration



Source: [TERRACES OF KIGEZI - Google Search](#)

5. Figure 8: A Photo illustrating coffee grown in Kigezi



Source: *Field, 15/5/2022*

6. Figure 9: A respondent (in yellow T-shirt) briefs the researcher about apple growing in Kabale



Source; Fieldwork, 20/8/2022

7. Figure 10: Illustration of sorghum grown in Kigezi in post-colonial period



Source, fieldwork, 7/7/2022

8. Figure 11: Illustration of modern farming tools used in Kigezi in the post-colonial period



Source; Fieldwork, 15/6/2022

APPENDIX IV: INTRODUCTORY LETTER



KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY

P.O BOX 1 KYAMBOGO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES
HISTORY & POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

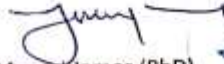
22nd August, 2019

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to introduce to you Mr. Muyambi Vicent who is an M.A (History) student. He is conducting academic research on the topic titled: "Agricultural Transformation in Kigezi Region: 1500-2001".

Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,


Magezi James (PhD)
Head of Department



APPENDIX V: ARCHIVES LETTER

KABALE UNIVERSITY
POST BOX 317
KABALE
26/11/2017

THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER
KABALE DISTRICT

Dear Sir,

RE: SEEKING PERMISSION TO BE AVAILED INFORMATION FROM ARCHIVES OFFICE.


I hereby write to seek permission from your office to allow me be availed information from Archives Office. This information is purposely for academic purpose because it is expected to help me complete my course which am pursuing at Gymbogo University.

The topic of my study is 'Agricultural Transformation in Kigezi region 1500-2001'

I hope my request will be put under your consideration.

Thank you in Advance

Yours /



MUJAMBI VICENT
(STUDENT)

0783968505 / 0703848263