

Politics and the Enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy 2001: Lessons from South Busoga Central Forest Reserve, Mayuge District, Eastern Uganda

^{1,2}Charles A. Otieno, ²Rapheal A. Kapiyo, ²Boniface O. Oindo and ³Mukadasi Buyinza

¹Department of Geography, Faculty of Education,

Arts and Vocational Studies, Busoga University, P.O. Box 154 Iganga, Uganda

²Department of Environmental Sciences, School of Environment and Earth Sciences,
Maseno University, P.O. Box 333, Maseno, Kenya

³Department of Community Forestry, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation,
Makerere University, P.O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda

Abstract: The competitiveness of multiparty political dispensation in the developing world has led well placed politicians to dish out open access natural resources in exchange for votes. This therefore has brewed conflict between the legislative and executive arms of government in the management of natural resources in these countries including Uganda. A total of 344 households, 76 local politicians inclusive and 31 environment conservationists with interest at South Busoga Central Forest Reserve (SBCFR), Mayuge district studied showed that; there was a high/strong relationship between the politicians' interference with enforcement of Forestry Policy at SBCFR at $r = 0.74$ at a 0.05 level of significance; the politicians from the communities engulfing SBCFR did not maximally endeavour to either protect or make strategies which could conserve the forest reserve in their proximity hence, the immense non-compliance with the Forestry Policy manifested by illegalities in SBCFR, Mayuge district and there was a conflict between NFA and politicians over management of SBCFR. It was therefore recommended that a positive political will was necessary so as to avert truncation of government regulatory mechanism with a prevalence of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, in case of any misnomers.

Key words: Compliance, de-legitimization, local communities, non-compliance, politics, illegalities

INTRODUCTION

The apparent genesis of forest policies in Uganda can be traced from the 1929 Nicholson report which recognized the anthropocentric uses of forests hence, creating the need for delimiting and defining forest boundaries (Mugenyi *et al.*, 2005). Prior to it the colonial government capitalized on exploiting the forests, establishing ornamental trees on a number of plantation and species trial projects (Olet, 1977). Hamilton (1984) and Mupada (1997) claimed that to this effect the first forest reserves in Uganda were gazetted in 1932 facilitated by policies and laws put in place by the colonial government. The boundaries of the forest estates, more or less as they are in present Uganda were established in 1940s. The boundaries barred the silent majority from freely accessing the nature's gift and lawfully placed these gifts in the hands of the powerful. This gave impetus to conflicts an avenue late exploited by elusive politicians.

Permits, fees and licenses were introduced to allow utilization of the forest resources; apart from firewood and poles for domestic use given that forest boundaries had been identified, evidenced by marks on the ground with numbered posts or some other forms of boundary mark as they are currently. Traditional systems of resource management were to this effect criminalized and a more civilized body of state law was adopted. Worse still armed foresters carefully watched over the reserves (Mugenyi *et al.*, 2005; Kantwi, 2001; Hamilton, 1984). This in essence meant that the reserves which were in the communities' ancestral land became separate entities from them. But the colonialist could use them at will, a bone of contention.

In Uganda apparently since the creation of the first legislature in 1920 up to 1985, there were no clear cases that demonstrate how legislators have championed the environmental interests of their constituencies. Environmental issues, forests inclusive were largely political through decrees, personal and other considerations rather than from constituencies' demands

(Tumushabe and Bainomugisha, 2004). Politicians play an increasingly critical role in environmental governance in general through, deciding the passing of the Acts, policies how environmental regulations are enforced, protection of vulnerable ecosystems and assistance offered to manage resources in the proximity of local users (Anderson *et al.*, 2006). Ideally, policies are proposed by the citizens to politicians who in passing them legitimize them (Ndemere, 2007). This gap was to be exploited by post independence politicians in Uganda for the decrees were not home made, especially in competitive elective posts.

The then president of Uganda Iddi Amin who called for people to double their production following the departure of the Asians in 1972 and the declaration of economic war could have been the genesis of official forest encroachment in the country by then (Hamilton, 1984). Mugenyi *et al.* (2005) had it that in 1981-86 the government also encouraged settlements in the reserves which had become good sites for guerilla warfare. Thus, much of SBCFR was cleared for settlement. The forest department failed to evict the encroachers between 2000-2001 due to lack of resources and politicization of the forest reserves encroachments. National Forestry Authority (NFA) tried in the 1st 2 years after its inception and has currently followed the suit of the then FD despite effective legislations on environment since, 1986 (Kamugisha-Ruhombe, 2007). This therefore, meant the demise of SBCFR, Mayuge district.

The enactment of the Resistance Councils and Committees Statute of 1987 established a five-tiered system of elected Local Councils (LCs), build on and mimic the administrative hierarchy of the then and present Buganda Kingdom (Banana *et al.*, 2007). Sanginga *et al.* (2004) explained the system as follows the LC-I-Butongole (village of about 50-100 households) comprising all adults residing in a particular village who elect nine member village local council executive committee.

Beyond the LC-I in ascending geographical size there are parishes headed by elected LC-II-Muluka chairperson that is composed of 3-10 villages. LC-II's composition depends on the number of villages elected from the village has at least 4 women. LC-III-Gombolola, sub-county composes of 2-10 parishes. It has members elected depending on the number of parishes, 1/3 women; 2 youth, 2 persons with disabilities and elected councilors from parishes.

Sanginga *et al.* (2004) continued to explain that the LC-IV-Saza-County comprise 3-5 sub-counties thus has 5 chairpersons or vice chairpersons from each sub-county. LC-V Buganda Lukiiko-District compose of 3-5 counties and has the following members 36, 12 women councilors,

2 youths, 2 people with disabilities and 19 elected councilors. The district LC-V is the highest level of local government and links with central government. Banana *et al.* (2007) added that this layer provide a viable platform for crafting by laws and enforcing forest rules at the various levels of local governance. Since, the local councilors around SBCFR were forest users they are accountable to other forest user groups through elections.

Currently, political interference with the management of the forestry sector is high in Uganda. It is assumed that official statements from government indicate a shift in its position on the sanctity of protected areas, especially the Central Forest Reserves (CFR) (Kamugisha-Ruhombe, 2007). This apparently oozed from National Resistance Movement's (NRM) the ruling party in Uganda's manifesto Chapter 2 No. 91 Review the policy on forest reserves to ensure equitable usage of forestry resources and partly pacified by No. 92 Pursue policies to ensure a clean and safe environment. In the same year, the Presidential Executive Order in 2006 stopping evictions was dispatched (Manifesto, 2006; Nsangi, 2006). Kamugisha-Ruhombe (2007) claimed that these aspects have posed a slow effect but discernible disintegration of the alliance of the law enforcement agencies which NFA painstakingly stitched together in its 1st 2 years of establishment. Nsangi (2006) added that with this, lawlessness openly and silently supported by local politicians has cropped up in forest reserves evident at SBCFR in Mayuge district.

Environmental issues rarely in Uganda like elsewhere receive a political airing, especially not in pre-election periods, simply because no politician can subsume analysis and solutions into simple, tabloid dimensions (Jordan and O'Riordan, 2000). For long there has been confusing government policies coupled with irresponsible political statements seeking cheap popularity. Thus, >80% of encroachments in Uganda's forest reserves have the backing of politicians who usually trade forest reserve land for votes (Jao and Kiyungi, 2005). These apparently irresponsible statements arise from gaps not addressed in either acts or policies hence, deter enforcement of forest policy as seen in SBCFR, Mayuge district.

The following were the objectives of the study; to find out politicians' involvement in enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy in 2001 at SBCFR, Mayuge district to establish politicians' interference with enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district and to establish how politicians participate in the compliance with Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district.

Description of the study area: The case study forest reserve was gazetted and demarcated in Legal Notice No. 110 of 1938. Under Legal Notice No. 41 of 1948 the title of the forest is South Busoga Central Forest Reserve (Leggat, 1954). It is currently under NFA with a total area of 16382 ha. It is absolutely situated on the Northern shores of L. Victoria between latitudes 0°16'59"N and longitudes 33°34'22"E (Davenport *et al.*, 1996). The area has a bimodal type of rainfall which begins in March or April with peaks in May to June and October to November. From December to March the area experiences dry spell though occasionally irregular rains fall in the former months (Leggat, 1954; Davenport *et al.*, 1996).

The natural vegetation conforms to the rainfall intensity thus decreases Eastwards and Southwards from Kityerera (Leggat, 1954). According to Davenport *et al.* (1996) the forest can be broadly classified as medium altitude moist semi-deciduous forest (*Albizia-Chlorophora* dominated) and moist Combretum savanna this is within an altitudinal range of 1140-130 m above sea level. The main species in the closed area were *Albizia-markhamia* with *Chlorophora canarium*, *Croton macrostachys*, *Sapium*, *Premna*, *Pseudospondias*, over an under storey mainly of *Caetacme*, *Teclea* and *Clausena* over a dominantly *Aframomum* and *Cyathula achyranthoides*. Besides these between 1949-1941 Mvule (*Chlorophora excelsa*) and other valuable species were planted in 765 acres (Leggat, 1954). Most of this vegetation has been devegetated due to de-legitimization of the Forestry Policy through encroachments leaving behind tree stamps of the mentioned species.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This was a case study conducted through a cross-sectional survey research design. It was concerned with investigating politicians' meddling in enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy in 2001 at SBCFR, Mayuge district. Such issues are appropriately investigated using a cross-sectional survey research design. The design enabled the researchers to obtain information that described existing phenomena with respect to one or more variables (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Given its nature as viewed by many researchers including the researchers, triangulation was used especially QUAL-Quan Model where qualitative study came before a quantitative study as arranged in the objectives/research questions of the research (Gay *et al.*, 2009; Bailey, 2007; Amin, 2005; Morse and Richards, 2002; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1987). A total of 344 respondents participate out of the expected 369 households. This number, especially of the households was chosen in line with Krejcie and

Morgan's sampling size for research activities determination table (Amin, 2005). There was also triangulation of sampling techniques thus both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were concurrently used (Bailey, 2007; Amin, 2005). The techniques applied were stratified sampling; snowballing, purposive sampling and convenience sampling techniques.

The researchers used; questionnaires, interviews, observation and document analysis as the main tools for collecting data. The researchers were mainly concerned with views, perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behaviors of the respondents. Such information could be best collected using the given tools (Cauvery *et al.*, 2007; Oso and Onen, 2005). The percentage distribution techniques was used to show the particular frequencies of respondents preferring a particular alternative to give the face value implications on non-compliance and enforcement problems of the policy on deforestation of SBCFR attributed to politicians' meddling in the process of enforcement. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Version 10 was used given the number of respondents and carrying out cross tabulations which cannot be done either manually or using Excel (Fisher, 2007; Fraenkel and Wallen, 2008). A Spearman correlation analysis was done to establish the relationship between the local communities' perceptions and the conservationists' perception on politicians' meddling in the process of enforcement the Forestry Policy and other related regulatory systems at SBCFR, Mayuge district (Kothari, 2004; Oso and Onen, 2005).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The characteristics of politicians in the proximity of SBCFR, Mayuge district: Table 1 shows characteristics of politicians representing the local communities living adjacent SBCFR, Mayuge district. More than half of respondents from the local politicians (52.6%) were LC-I according to Table 1. LC-I was politically headed by a chairperson with a complete council of nine elected members of the council (Sanginga *et al.*, 2004). Slightly above one sixth of the politicians (17.1%) were representing the LC-III (sub-county) according to Table 1 LC-III constituencies according to Table 1 were only two viz., Kityerera and Malongo sub-counties.

These were the only active points of decision making within the proximity of SBCFR, Mayuge district, politically. They were constitutionally empowered to make by-laws affecting SBCFR besides the LC-V, the highest decentralized political council in the district.

Results from Table 1 shows that more than half of the politicians (55.3%) were seasoned politicians having been in politics for >1 and 5 years term (The Republic of Uganda, 1995). Incidentally, 5.3% of them were serving either a fourth term or fifth term as presented on the table. Table 1 also shows that more than a third of the politicians (39.5%) were not engaged in any other activity other than politics. Through interviews it was clear that the politicians attended funerals, made casual visits and attended any other occasion soliciting views from their electorates making them part and parcel of their constituents (Tumushabe and Bainomugisha, 2004).

The results from Table 1 clearly shows that three quarters (75%) of the respondents from the political domain were people in whose dockets Forestry Policy had

a stake viz., chairpersons, speakers and secretaries for finance, information, production and environment. This force was ostensibly appropriate in effective management of forestry within their constituencies given the mandate they had over environment within their areas of jurisdiction as in the Uganda National Forestry and Tree Planting Act in 2003, Forestry Policy in 2001, Local Government Act, 1987 and Constitution of the Republic of Uganda in 1995 (The Republic of Uganda, 1995, 2003). This therefore, made their decisions and enacting of by laws paramount in either compliance with or enforcement of Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district.

On constituencies, the results in Table 1 shows that both Wandegeya and Bukalenzi parishes had >9 required members (Sanginga *et al.*, 2004). This could be attributed to the fact that every member elected had a parish of origin hence, some politicians could have preferred to associate with their parishes other than a wider constituency represented in the consequent layers of the tier. The results from the table also show that more than half of the members of the village councils responded to the questionnaires viz., Bubinge parish (77.8%), Bwondha parish (77.8%), Namadhi parish (77.8%), Bukatabira parish (66.7%) and Kityerera parish (66.7%), an authentication of the results.

Table 1: Characteristics of politicians representing the local communities living adjacent SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 76)

| Characteristics | n | Percentage |
|--|----|------------|
| Elective post | | |
| LC-I | 40 | 52.6 |
| LC-II | 03 | 03.9 |
| LC-III | 13 | 17.1 |
| LC-IV | 03 | 03.9 |
| LC-V | 03 | 03.9 |
| Experience in politics (years) | | |
| <5 | 34 | 44.7 |
| 6-10 | 07 | 09.2 |
| 11-15 | 29 | 38.1 |
| 16-21 | 02 | 02.6 |
| >21 | 04 | 05.3 |
| Occupation | | |
| Politician | 30 | 39.5 |
| Politician/Self employed | 46 | 60.5 |
| Responsibilities | | |
| Chairpersons | 09 | 11.8 |
| Vice chairpersons | 12 | 15.8 |
| Speaker | 04 | 05.3 |
| Deputy speaker | 03 | 03.9 |
| Secretary for finance | 06 | 07.9 |
| Secretary for information | 09 | 11.8 |
| Secretary for production and environment | 14 | 18.4 |
| Others | 19 | 25.0 |
| Constituencies | | |
| Bubinge parish | 07 | 09.2 |
| Bukalenzi parish | 13 | 17.1 |
| Bukatabira parish | 06 | 07.9 |
| Bwondha parish | 07 | 09.2 |
| Kityerera parish | 06 | 07.9 |
| Kityerera sub-county | 07 | 09.2 |
| Malongo sub-county | 06 | 07.9 |
| Namadhi parish | 07 | 09.2 |
| Wandegeya parish | 16 | 21.1 |

Politicians' involvement in enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy in 2001 at SBCFR, Mayuge district:

Table 2 shows the Local politicians involvement in enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district. Table 2 has it that close to two thirds (58.7%) of the house holds claimed that the politicians from the communities engulfing SBCFR could positively get involved in convincing their constituents on compliance with the Forestry Policy. This was in line with the fact that the politicians had more powers to cajole the local communities compared to the NFA officials. The local communities through the politicians viewed NFA officials as anti-development (Nsita, 2006; Nsangi, 2006; Natusiimira, 2007). Though 39.2% of the local communities in SBCFR's neighbourhood were on the contrary, vote hunting is cardinal in political games despite the nature of the voter. This therefore led to a justification that politics

Table 2: Local politicians involvement in enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 344)

| Politician's activities | Local communities' responses | |
|--|------------------------------|-------------|
| | Agreed | Disagree |
| Make by laws which protect SBCFR | 202 (58.7%) | 142 (41.3%) |
| Make enforcement strategies for the Forestry Policy | 165 (48.0%) | 179 (52.0%) |
| Protect SBCFR individually | 159 (46.2%) | 185 (53.8%) |
| Can convince their constituents to comply with the Forestry Policy | 209 (60.8%) | 135 (39.2%) |
| Act as mouth pieces of their constituents on conservation of SBCFR | 202 (58.7%) | 142 (41.3%) |

and environmental conservation are parallel in goals (Pearl, 1996). Hence, continued degradation of SBCFR, Mayuge district evidenced by settlement, farming and charcoal burning in the reserve with the consent of the local politicians.

More than half of the respondents (58.7%) according to Table 2, shows that those politicians did the following made by laws which protected SBCFR and acted as mouth pieces of their constituents on issues pertaining conservation of SBCFR. By-laws making has oscillated between local and central government as per the Local Governments (Resistance Councils) Statute in 1993 and the instrument No. 52 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, respectively. This mainly affected the CFRs in Uganda (Nsita, 2006; Banana *et al.*, 2007). Because of insufficient sensitisation the local communities were apparently unaware of the changes. On contrary these acts were not evident within SBCFR which was devegetated with the local communities' conscience.

Table 2 shows that more than half of respondents disagreed with the following roles of politicians in relation to enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district; protect SBCFR individually (53.8%) and make enforcement strategies for the Forestry Policy (52.0%). This disagreement could have a bearing on the fact that the local politicians were either active participants or participated in the illegalities within SBCFR by proxy according to many local communities interviewed. It therefore meant that the politicians from the communities engulfing SBCFR did not maximally endeavour to either protect or make strategies which could conserve the forest reserve in their proximity. This was observably manifested in illegalities in SBCFR, Mayuge district.

Politicians' interference with enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district: Table 3 shows the local community engulfing SBCFR's response on political interference with the enforcement of the Forestry Policy.

More than two thirds of the households (68.3%) agreed that politicians stopped evictions from the forest reserves during the national political campaigns periods according to Table 3. The following utterances came out

of the politicians during the campaigns; promises of change of SBCFR boundaries (62.5%) and land reclamation from SBCFR (61.6%) (Table 3). Politicians were believed to be mouth pieces of the local communities in issues related to SBCFR as shows on Table 2. Given their charisma and power the locals sided with them and they also do the same noted by more than half the respondents (52.3%). Therefore given the fact that NFA officials were perceived as anti-development, the politicians' acts deterred compliance with and enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district manifested in degradation of the forest reserve.

More than half of the respondents agreed according to Table 3 on the following politicians exploited conflicts between their constituents and NFA to campaign (57.6%); politicians used radio talk show programmes to express their dissatisfaction with the NFA as a campaign mechanism (56.7%) and they sided with their constituents on non-compliance (52.3%). The siding with constituents was refuted by about half (47.7%) of the households in the proximity of SBCFR. The acts of politicians could be attributed to wooing votes to get political positions either locally or nationally. Therefore, the apparent fight between the political side of the government and civil service led to the peril of SBCFR which was directly under the civil service.

Table 4 shows the views of the lead agencies on politicians' interference with the enforcement activities of NFA at SBCFR, Mayuge district. From Table 4, it was clear that the lead agencies in totality (100%) agreed that politicians use radio talk show programmes to express their disagreement with the NFA as a campaign strategy. The lead agencies also agreed that in close to totality (96.8%); that politicians exploited their constituents' conflicts of interests with NFA officials to campaign. Table 4 also shows that politicians; backed their constituents' non-compliance with the Forestry Policy (90.3%) and advocated for land reclamation from the SBCFR estate (90.3%). More than three quarters of the lead agencies (83.9%) agreed that politicians stopped evictions from SBCFR during political campaign seasons and promised a change in SBCFR boundaries (74.2%) as a campaign burner for elective posts (Table 4).

Table 3: Local communities' response on political interference with the enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 344)

| Politicians' activities | Local communities responses | |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------|
| | Agreed | Disagreed |
| Side with the locals in non-compliance activities | 180 (52.3%) | 164 (47.7%) |
| Use radio programmes to express dissatisfaction with NFA | 195 (56.7%) | 149 (43.3%) |
| Stop evictions during campaigns especially national | 235 (68.3%) | 109 (31.7%) |
| Exploit voters conflicts with NFA to campaign | 198 (57.6%) | 146 (42.4%) |
| Promise to change boundaries of the forest reserve | 215 (62.5%) | 129 (37.5%) |
| Advocate for land reclamation from the forest estate | 212 (61.6%) | 132 (38.4%) |

Statistically, the views of both the local communities and the lead agencies on political interference was correlated using Spearman's correlation to establish level of association of political activities with non-compliance of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district as in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that the relationship between local communities' and lead agencies' views on political interference with either compliance with or enforcement of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR was $r = 0.74$. This value lay on a (0.60-0.79) segment of the strength of a correlation, manifesting a high/strong correlation at a 0.05 level of significance (Fowler *et al.*, 1998; Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003; Fraenkel and Wallen, 2008). It could therefore be concluded that there was a high/strong relationship between the politicians' interference with enforcement of

Forestry Policy at SBCFR (Table 5). Hence, politicians' meddling in Forestry Policy enforcement had delegitimised the policy expressed by the observable lawlessness in SBCFR.

Politicians and compliance with Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district: Local and national politicians emanating from SBCFR's neighbourhood had both direct and indirect link to compliance with the Forestry Policy in 2001 portrayed in the Table 6 and 7.

Table 6 shows that about two thirds (60.5%) of the local communities engulfing SBCFR, Mayuge district, shows that politicians should be involved in the enforcement of Forestry Policy. This active involvement of politicians in enforcement concurred with the fact that politics more than anything else is about how people

Table 4: The Lead Agencies' views on politicians' interference with enforcement of Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 31)

| Politicians' activities | Views of the lead agencies | |
|--|----------------------------|------------|
| | Agreed | Disagreed |
| Side with the local communities' on non-compliance | 28 (90.3%) | 03 (09.7%) |
| Exploit voters' conflicts with NFA officials to campaign | 30 (96.8%) | 01 (03.2%) |
| Express disagreement with NFA over radio programmes | 31 (100.0%) | 0 (0.0%) |
| Promise to change SBCFR boundaries | 23 (74.2%) | 08 (05.8%) |
| Reclaim the ancestral land | 28 (90.3%) | 03 (09.7%) |
| Stop evictions during campaigns | 26 (83.9%) | 05 (16.1%) |

Table 5: A Spearman Rank correlation of the views of local communities and lead agencies on politicians' interference with enforcement of Forestry Policy at SBCFR

| Subjects | Political activities | Views of the local communities (Table 3) | | Views of the lead agencies (Table 4) | | d | d ² |
|----------|--|--|------|--------------------------------------|------|------|----------------|
| | | Agreed | Rank | Agreed | Rank | | |
| 1 | Back their constituents on illegalities at SBCFR | 180 | 6 | 28 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 6.5 |
| 2 | Express disagreements with NFA over the radio | 195 | 5 | 31 | 1.0 | 4.0 | 16.0 |
| 3 | Stop evictions during campaigns | 235 | 1 | 26 | 5.0 | -4.0 | 16.0 |
| 4 | Exploit voters conflicts with NFA to campaign | 198 | 4 | 30 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 |
| 5 | Promise to change boundaries of the forest reserve | 215 | 2 | 23 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 16.0 |
| 6 | Advocate for land reclamation from SBCFR | 212 | 3 | 28 | 3.5 | -0.5 | 2.5 |

Σd^2 60.75

Table 6: The role of politicians on major aspects of the Forestry Policy at SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 344)

| Statements | Local communities' perception | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| | Agreed | Undecided | Disagreed |
| Advocate for conservation before elections | 165 (48.0%) | 63 (18.3%) | 116 (33.7%) |
| Advocate for conservation after elections | 203 (59.0%) | 44 (12.8%) | 97 (28.2%) |
| Advocate for Collaborative Forest Management | 179 (52.0%) | 59 (17.1%) | 106 (30.8%) |
| Encourage reforestation outside the forest reserve | 206 (59.9%) | 52 (15.1%) | 86 (25.0%) |
| Encourage privatisation of the forest reserve | 94 (27.3%) | 63 (18.3%) | 187 (54.3%) |
| Politicians should be involved in enforcement of forest policy | 208 (60.5%) | 53 (15.4%) | 83 (24.1%) |

Table 7: Politicians and illegalities in SBCFR, Mayuge district (n = 344)

| Statements | Local communities' perception | | |
|---|-------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| | Agreed | Undecided | Disagreed |
| Politicians encourage settlement in the reserve | 158 (45.9%) | 29 (8.4%) | 156 (45.3%) |
| Politicians encourage free use of forest resources | 167 (48.5%) | 40 (11.6%) | 137 (39.8%) |
| Politicians conflict with NFA over forest management | 196 (57.0%) | 52 (15.1%) | 144 (41.9%) |
| Politicians actively participate in illegal activities | 182 (52.9%) | 58 (16.8%) | 104 (30.2%) |
| Politicians incite people against NFA officials | 159 (46.2%) | 70 (20.3%) | 115 (33.4%) |
| Politicians claim to fight for peoples properties' rights | 218 (63.4%) | 41 (11.9%) | 85 (24.7%) |

organise their communities to collaboratively tackle their problems (Sodaro, 2001). This therefore was positive given the politicians' charisma and organizational ability besides being elected by the same community.

In a positive gesture, the locals agreed that politicians did encourage them on reforestation outside the forest reserve by about 60% of their numbers (Table 6). In line with this it was also agreed that politicians advocate for conservation after elections (59%). The politicians' minimally advocated for conservation before elections (48%) according to the local community. Admittedly, politicians from this region could not go contrary to a widely taken perception that politics is a game of numbers despite the nature of the voter (Schmidt *et al.*, 2005). This therefore, meant less campaigns on conservation before elections for it would be counter productive politically on about 10,000 people in SBCFR, Mayuge district (Watasa, 2009). However, through observation the neighbourhood of SBCFR was reforested by exotic species of trees similar to those in the forest reserve an apparent acknowledgement of politicians' advocating on reforestation in the area.

Table 6 shows that slightly more than half (52%) of the local community living adjacent to SBCFR claimed that politicians advocated for CFM. Many researchers claim that CFM is a strategy for promoting rural development resource conservation through empowerment and partnership with the local communities living adjacent to the forest reserves. In this case, the local communities take responsibility for both protection and management of the reserve as agreed upon by the stakeholders besides reciprocation of accrued benefits (Fisher, 1995; Hoefsloot, 1997; Otieno and Buyinza, 2010; Buyinza, 2010). Contradictorily, SBCFR, Mayuge district had not adopted CFM, yet it was one of the pillars of the Forestry Policy.

Table 6 portrays that slightly more than half the households (54.3%) claimed that politicians discouraged privatisation. NFA licensed the Kakira Sugar Works and the Nile Ply Companies as investors in tree growing at SBCFR, Mayuge district (De Temmerman, 2007). These companies have faced the local population's non-compliance with the policy with an apparent political backing manifested in uprooting, grazing on and burning planted trees (Lumu, 2007). All these justified the results shown on Table 6 where slightly more than a quarter of the locals (27.3%) conceded that the politicians encourage privatisation of SBCFR, Mayuge district.

Table 7 shows the local communities' perception on the role of politicians on illegalities in SBCFR, Mayuge district. Table 7 has it that about two thirds (63.4%) of the local communities agreed that politicians were fighting for peoples' properties' rights. These rights included among

others land and household commodities lost after evictions. The former being attributed to the fact that the gazettement of SBCFR like most CFRs were done arbitrarily making the locals claim it as an ancestral property (Mugenyi *et al.*, 2005). These local communities form constituents of both national and local politicians emanating from these areas who were accountable to them (Sodaro, 2001). This therefore made politicians to vehemently pester for either resettlement or compensation for damages caused by evictions using all medias.

Results in Table 7 show that there was a conflict between NFA and politicians over management of SBCFR accepted by more than half of the respondents (57%). The points of conflict ostensibly accrued from the perception of both sides on encroachers in SBCFR. In this case, NFA viewed them as environmental criminals while politicians viewed them as voters capable of initiating a political mileage. Jao and Kiyingi (2005) added that for long there has been confusing government policies in Uganda coupled with irresponsible political statements seeking for cheap popularity. This therefore undoubtedly spurred the conflict between the conservators (NFA) and masked engineers of utility (politicians) as manifested in Table 7. The conflict at extreme ended up making politicians incite the local communities against NFA officials acknowledged by about half the local communities' responses (46.2%).

Table 7 also shows that the local community acknowledged that politicians were active participants in the illegal activities by slightly more than half their numbers (52.9%). Active participation in illegal activities could not solicit much positive response from the local community. This could have been due to the fact that almost half of these people's population was and had political ambitions. Through, observation the following activities like in other CFRs in the country were evident; farming, grazing, settlement, charcoal burning and timber exploitation (Otieno, 2003; Otieno and Buyinza, 2010).

There was also a claim that that politicians encouraged settlement in the forest reserve by about half the number of the local communities engulfing SBCFR (45.9%) a fact equivocally denied by about the same number (45.3%) (Table 7). To that effect the politicians encouraged free use of the forest resources accepted by almost half of the local community (48.5%). Through observation, there was an established settlement where shopping and refreshments within that part of the forest reserve were done. To condone the practice the government established a police post not purposely to handle the forest crimes but social crimes of apparently forest criminals in Nakalyango trading centre and the neighbourhood deep in the SBCFR. The act was contrary

to Article No. 33 of the NFTP in 2003 which prohibits free use of forest resources (The Republic of Uganda, 2003).

CONCLUSION

This study shows that there was a high/strong (at $r = 0.74$) relationship between the politicians' interference with enforcement of forestry policy at SBCFR. Hence, politicians' meddling in Forestry Policy enforcement had de-legitimised the policy expressed by the observable lawlessness in SBCFR. The independent variable here was politicians' meddling manifested in their negative pronouncements. The politicians' meddling counteracted enforcement activities through direct and indirect activities viewed as illegalities in the forest reserve. The illegalities included; settlement; farming causing bodily harm to the NFA officials with impunity by the locals, siding with the encroachers on illegalities and the next. Dependent variable was enforcement of the policy which included evictions, imprisonment, notices and any other punitive measure which were barred by political meddling in the activities. This could be attributed to the fact that politicians had both charisma and power compared to NFA or lead agencies which had merely authority. It was also ostensibly clear that there was no political will to support both compliance with and enforcement of the Uganda Forestry Policy in 2001. This therefore meant deforestation with impunity at SBCFR, Mayuge district.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Forestry Policy should be amended to include politicians' role. Their role should include among others mobilization, sensitization, making laws, by laws and policies on sustainable use of forest resources. The politicians' activities should be done in consultation with NFA as a lead agency in forestry. Otherwise truncation of NFTP in 2003 Act, National Forestry Plan in 2001 and the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda in 1995 would be exploited and jeopardize sustainability of the forestry resources in the country as it was in SBCFR, Mayuge district. NEMA should therefore be allowed to vet political party manifestos before official campaigns for presidential and national elections with a bias on environmental conservation. Political interference with either compliance or enforcement of Forestry Policy contradicts The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The constitution is clear on environment conservation. Politicians of any kind in Uganda before taking office swear to uphold it not partially but fully. So,

there is a need to remind them of the objective No. XIII and Article 237 of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. They need to be conversant with both The 1995 Constitution and National Forestry and Tree Planting Act in 2003 where no specific role is given to them other than protection of the environment where forestry docket is part and parcel. Therefore, there is need for them to respect and appreciate institutions for the smooth running of the country. Truncation of any of the documents does not mean success.

There was a need for an appropriate political will which this research established that was lacking to both effectively and efficiently either comply or enforce the Forestry Policy. Politicians need to upgrade from hand out promises to ideological and philosophical promises. They should therefore be exemplary on both compliance with and enforcement of forestry policies in the country.

Politicians should act as checks and balances to the mismanagement of the forestry sector if any. Thus should use their position to point out mismanagement of government funds for conservation; corruption of NFA officials; the mode of evictions; negligence of NFA officials and the next. This would perfect forest resource utilization without confrontation of the legislative arm of the government and civil service for the good of the nation.

It should also be brought to the attention of the local communities that environmental issues have longer life span compared to politics. To that effect political backings are temporary and short lived. The effect of forest degradation supersedes either the life span of a politician or their utterances. This therefore makes the local communities to adequately use their conscious in take in politicians' claims.

REFERENCES

- Amin, E.M., 2005. Social Science Research: Conception, Methodology and Analysis. Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.
- Anderson, K.P., C.C. Gibson and F. Lehoucq, 2006. Municipal politics and forest governance: Comparative analysis of decentralization in Bolivia and Guatemala. *World Dev.*, 34: 576-595.
- Bailey, C.A., 2007. A Guide to Qualitative Field Research. 2nd Edn., Pine Forge Press, London, ISBN: 9781412936507, Pages: 214.
- Banana, A.Y., N.D. Vogt, Bahati and G. Ssembajjwe, 2007. Decentralised governance and ecological health: Why local institutions fail to moderate deforestation in Mpigi District of Uganda. *Acad. J. Sci. Res. Essay*, 2: 434-445.

- Buyinza, M., 2010. Income distribution analysis of collaborative forest management programme in Mt. Elgon National Park, Uganda: Dual action for poverty alleviation and environment management. *Res. J. Applied Sci.*, 5: 101-107.
- Cauvery, R., U.K.S. Nayak, M. Girija and R. Meenakshi, 2007. *Research Methodology*. S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, India.
- Davenport, T., P. Howard and R. Mathews, 1996. South Busoga forest reserve biodiversity report. Department of Forest, Kampala International University, Uganda.
- De Temmerman, E., 2007. 40,000 new encroachers in one year. The New Vision Printing and Publishing Co., Kampala.
- Fisher, C., 2007. *Researching and Writing a Dissertation: A Guide for Business Students*. 2nd Edn., Prentice Hall-Financial Times, Harlow.
- Fisher, R.J., 1995. Collaborative Management of Forests for Conservation and Development. IUCN., Oxford, UK., pages: 65.
- Fowler, J., L. Cohen and P. Jarvis, 1998. *Practical Statistics for Field Biology*. 2nd Edn., John Wiley and Sons, Chichester, pages: 132.
- Fraenkel, J.R. and N.E. Wallen, 2008. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. McGraw-Hill Higher Education, Boston, MA., USA.
- Gay, L.R., G.E. Mills and P.W. Airasian, 2009. *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Applications*. 9th Edn., Merrill/Pearson Education International, New Jersey, ISBN: 9780132338776, Pages: 618.
- Hoefsloot, H., 1997. Collaborative Management on Mt Elgon: An Account of First Experience. IUCN-The World Conservation Union, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Jordan, A. and T. O'Riordan, 2000. Environmental Politics and Policy Process. In: *Environmental Science for Environmental Management*. O'Riordan, T. (Ed.). 2nd Edn., Prentice Hall, Harlow Essex, pp: 63-93.
- Kamugisha-Ruhombe, J., 2007. Forest law enforcement and governance Uganda Country assessment and issues paper. Aforinet, Kampala, Uganda.
- Kantwi, P., 2001. Conserving by decree: Protecting the forests from the Natives. The East African, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.
- Kothari, C.R., 2004. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. 2nd Edn., New Age International Pvt. Ltd. Publishers, New Delhi, India.
- Leggat, G.J., 1954. Working Plan for South Busoga Central Forest Reserve. Busoga District, Eastern Province-Uganda.
- Lumu, D., 2007. Big Shorts grab forests to grow beans, maize. Proceedings of the Weekly Observer, July 12-18, 2007, The Observer Media Limited, Kampala.
- Manifesto, N.R.M., 2006. Prosperity for All: Prosperity, Transformation and Peace. National Resistance Movement, Kampala.
- Morse, J.M. and L. Richards, 2002. *Read Me First for a User's Guide to Qualitative Methods*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, India.
- Mugenda, O.M. and A.G. Mugenda, 2003. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS), Nairobi, Kenya.
- Mugenyi, O., B. Twesigye and E. Muhereza, 2005. Balancing nature conservation and livelihoods: A legal analysis of the forestry evictions by the National Forestry Authority. ACODE Policy Briefing Paper No. 13, ACODE, Kampala, Uganda.
- Mupada, E., 1997. Towards collaborative forest management in the conservation of Uganda's rainforests. Proceedings of the Limbe Conference on African Rainforests and the Conservation of Biodiversity, January 17-24, 1997, Limbe, Cameroon.
- Nachmias, D. and C. Nachmias, 1987. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. 3rd Edn., St. Martin's Press, New York, USA.
- Natusiimira, P., 2007. Imprisoned for Protecting a Forest. National Forestry Authority, Kampala, Uganda.
- Ndemere, P., 2007. Policy and Law. Design of Appropriate Agro-Forestry Interventions in Uganda. Fountain Publishers, Kampala, pp: 66-86.
- Nsita, S.A., 2006. Key issues affecting management of Uganda's forest resources. Proceedings of the Workshop on Forestry Organized for Senior Officers, June 7, 2006, Entebbe, Uganda.
- Olet, D.E., 1977. The overall contribution of forestry industries to economic developments of Uganda. M.Sc. Thesis, The University of New Brunswick, Canada.
- Oso, W.Y. and D. Onen, 2005. *A General Guide to Writing Research Proposal and Report*. Option Printers and Publishers, Kisumu, Kenya.
- Otieno, A.C. and M. Buyinza, 2010. Collaborative forest management in Uganda: A strategy for controlling deforestation in West Bugwe Forest Reserve, Busia District. *Res. J. Applied Sci.*, 5: 337-344.
- Otieno, A.C., 2003. Collaborative forest management: A strategy for controlling deforestation in West Bugwe forest reserve, Busia district. Master's Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda.
- Pearl, M.C., 1996. *Tropical Deforestation*. Colombia University Press, New York, USA., pp: 314-317.

- Sanginga, P.C., R. Kamugisha, A. Martin, A. Kakuru and A. Stround, 2004. Facilitating participatory processes for policy change in natural resource management: Lessons from the highlands of South Western Uganda. *Uganda J. Agric. Sci.*, 92: 958-970.
- Schmidt, S.W., S.M.C. Helley and B.A. Bardes, 2005. *American Government and Politics Today 2005-2006*. Wadsworth Publishing, USA., pp: 1-29.
- Sodaro, M.J., 2001. *Comparative Politics: A Global Introduction*. McGraw Hill, Boston, USA., pp: 27-50.
- The Republic of Uganda, 1995. *The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995*. LDC Publishers Printing Press, Kampala, Uganda, Pages: 55.
- The Republic of Uganda, 2003. *The national forestry and tree planting act*. Supplement No. 5, Acts Supplement to the Uganda Gazette No. 37, UPPC by Order of the Government, Entebbe, Uganda.
- Tumushabe, G.W. and A. Bainomugisha, 2004. *Constitutional reform and environmental legislative representation in Uganda: A case study of Butamira forest reserve in Uganda*. ACODE Policy Research Series No. 10, ACODE, Kampala, Uganda. <http://pdf.wri.org/acodelegrep.pdf>.
- Watasu, M., 2009. *Brawling encroachers: Time to resume evictions*. *The Forester News from the Uganda Forestry Sector Issue No. 24*, NFA, Kampala, pp: 7-8.