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Dynamics of women's Secure Land Rights for Sustainable Rural household Food Security in Uganda

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Abstract

Food security is a major concern of a global agenda as reflected in the UN Post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2000, 2016). Globally more than 2 billion people are food insecure and this situation is on the rise and has turned into a crisis especially in Sub Saharan Africa. Uganda which was the focus of this paper has had multiple food crises in various regions at different times. Isingiro district where this chapter is situated has been experiencing food crisis in recent times. Women who are the main producers of food lack secure land rights to enhance food production. The goal of this study was to explore how women's secure land rights can be strengthened to enhance sustainable rural household food security in Uganda. Our methodology was largely qualitative. We interviewed 102 respondents including local women, local leaders and key informants. We held three focus group discussions one in each sub-county where we collected data from. Our findings indicate that women have limited land rights with regard to control of land, but majority of them have access rights but with minimal decisions on what to produce. Our findings indicated that barriers to women to secure land rights are from institutional as well as lack of enforcement of the legal frameworks in place. Owing to the sensitivity of land ownership and patriarchal nature of Ugandan societies, Isingiro district in particular, we therefore concluded that secure land rights for women can be strengthened through active sensitization of both men and women on the value of women's rights to land and its implication on sustainable rural household food security.

Key words: Uganda, Land Rights, Women, Rural Households, Food Security

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Dynamics of women's Secure Land Rights for Sustainable Rural household Food Security in Uganda¹

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Introduction

Uganda's food security situation remains alarming since nearly half of Uganda's 7.3 million households in the country are food insecure (Ssewanyana & Kasirye 2010; WFP, 2015; OPM, 2017; IPC, 2017; IPC, 2018 & Twongyirwe et al 2019). And the country continues to receive food supplies to abet food crisis from world food program. Recently for example, the World Food Program of the United Nations supplied food to Ugandan government for reducing hunger in the Karamoja region. In Uganda, women account for 3 out 4 agricultural labourers and 9 out 10 food producing labourers; producing more than 90% of the food consumed in Uganda (Teeter & Sandberg, 2016; Rist & Dahdouh, 2006; Moore, et al., 2013; Action Aid Uganda, 2016; SUNS, 2016). But with minimal or no secure land rights (MISR, 2010). There are no laws explicitly prohibiting women from owning land, but customary inheritance laws make it difficult for Uganda women to own land despite being the main food producers at rural household level.

This paper examines secure land rights for women or lack of them and how it influences rural household food security in Uganda taking a case of Isingiro District. Isingiro District is considered focal for this paper because it has been experiencing a cute food insecurity and the trend looks continuous (Siriri, 2007; Sachs 2005 & 2010; ACORD 2010; OPM 2017; IPC 2017; GoU,UNHCR,UNICEF, WFP, 2017 & Isingiro District LGDP11 2015/2016 - 2019/2020) in the recent one of 2016-2017 a number of people lost their lives (Daily Monitor, 2016)

According to Mayra and Hein (2012) & UN, 2014) securing women's land rights is repeatedly explained as means to enhance food security in rural communities in developing countries. Mervyn, (2010); FAO, (2010 &2016) emphasize that if women had access to productive resources as men, they would increase yields on their farms by 20-30%. In addition, such gains in agricultural production could uplift 100-150 million people out of hunger. Thus, there exists a positive correlation between women secure land rights and food security in that women will be motivated to invest much time in food production and adapt environmentally friendly farming practice. However, this motivation is undercut by prevalence of patriarchal in most rural developing communities; Uganda inclusive. Strengthening women secure land rights could be one way of increasing food production in rural households in Uganda and Isingiro District in particular

In order to accomplish the research objectives, a case study strategy was used and methodological pluralism was employed in gathering information. Data was majorly collected using qualitative methods and the tools used included interview guides, FGD guide, observation checklist, questionnaire and analysis of the documents. This paper comprises of the following sections: Abstract, Introduction, background, statement of the problem / justification for the study, goal, objectives, methodology, study findings, conclusion and recommendations

¹ Data for this chapter was gathered under the PhD project titled "Integrating Indigenous Agricultural Knowledge into Modern Agricultural Practices for Sustainable Rural Household Food Security in Uganda" being undertaken by Milton Rwangire

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Background to the study

Food security is an essential part of the international development agenda as stated in the Rome Declarations of the World Food Summit in 1996 and 2001(FAO, 1996 & 2001). The Millennium Declaration reflected the World Food Summit target by making hunger part of Millennium Development Goal No.1 (UN 2000). Food security is also recognized as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and is reflected in Goal number 2 (zero hunger) of Sustainable Development Strategies (SDS) of the UN (UN, 2016). This is in recognition that food access continues to be one of the global challenges in this century. According to United Nations (2016), about 800 million people lacked access to adequate food, more than half of the adult population in sub- Saharan Africa had severe food shortage by 2015. Six million children die of hunger every year and 17,000 every day (Chan, 2010; Mishra & Khanam, 2010; Ying, 2014). Sasson (2012), details the continuous nature of food insecurity in Africa with no signs of improvement since 2008. In 2001–03, FAO estimated there were still 854 million undernourished people worldwide and stated that there was no progress made so far to meet the target of ending hunger by half in 2015(Skoet & Stamoulis, 2006).

Women who are the main producers of food in most developing countries lack secure land rights to enhance food production (Bikaako and Ssenkumba 2003; FAO 2013 and FAO 2016). The European commission underscores the importance of land rights for women and specifically refers to food security (Europa, 2020). In Uganda, women account for 80% of agricultural laborer and produce more than 90% of the food (Shively & Hao, 2012; Moore, et al., 2013; Action Aid Uganda, 2016). Therefore, granting women secure land rights would be one way of increasing food production and food security in general. Despite women's significance in food production, they have limited land rights. Women's land rights in Uganda are limited by the patriarchal system and the multiple land laws existing in Uganda (Namanya 2019). Men own productive resources including land compared to women; and this asymmetry in ownership of productive (livelihood resources) negatively affects food production. Granting land rights to women is therefore likely to enable them make more productive decisions on land, invest more time and resources and this will contribute to sustainable rural household food production. Land rights of access give women rights and authority to control household resources including financial resources and household property including buildings.

Land is source of women's livelihoods and survival; they grow food and it is a means through which women can provide for the family. At a rural household level in most developing societies; Uganda inclusive, a woman is one who should provide food for the family. Secure land rights for women therefore improve family livelihoods. Jacobs (2009) provides three basic reasons why women's land rights are important: Equity, welfare and efficiency. With regard to efficiency, Jacobs contends that constraints facing rural women such as decision-making power often affects their capacity to farm to the best abilities and can act as a disincentive towards food production (emphasis added). With regard to equity, she contends that, giving rights to the tiller of land is natural justice. Moreover, the principle of natural justice requires that women be equal to men. Women in Uganda, are the main cultivators of land and are responsible for providing household feeding, as such women should thus be the main owners of land, and should have control of land and proceeds from agriculture. Therefore, food security will be ensured if women get secure land rights because women mainly cultivate food crops such as beans, groundnuts, millet, sweat potatoes and maize which are important for nutritional standards. Jacobs (2009) in a study done in most parts of Southern and East Africa argue that studies have shown that men's incomes do not

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improve children's nutrition whereas women's do. The EU notes that context matter when arguing for land rights. We base our arguments on the Ugandan context and argue that strengthening women secure land ownership, access, use and control of the proceedings from the land is likely to enhance sustainable food security at rural house hold level. In Uganda, women are mostly engaged in agricultural production and also are ones responsible for home care.

In Uganda, a number of laws have been enacted to this effect and provide for secure women's land rights. The 1995 Constitution, National Land policy 2013 and The Land Act 1998 and subsequent 2010 Amendment provide for women land rights (Barca, 2009 and Kasirye, 2005). The 1995 Constitution states:

Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men. Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities. Laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited (The 1995 Constitution, Chapter IV, Article 33).

In The Land Act, Burke & Kobusingye (2014) ensured that the issues of women stand out prominently. Despite the successes and the acceptance of integration of these into policy and law, the discriminatory practices against women have not changed. Women are still discriminated against in relation to land access, ownership and control due to customary inheritance laws. Uganda being majorly a patriarchal society, women's rights to land under customary law is grounded in assumptions that women are dependent on men and cannot own land in their own right under customary tenure and have what many term "secondary rights" to own and access land (Kibwika, et al., 2009).

Statement of the problem / Justification for the study

Uganda's food security situation remains alarming since more than half of 7.3 million households in the country are food insecure (UCAR 2010; UANR 2011 & WFP, 2015). More than 90% of the food produced in Uganda is by peasant farmers especially women (Semana 2010, Sebagara and Matovu 2013 and NDP II (2015) with minimal or no secure land rights (Kindo 2010, MISR 2010 and Rugadya et al 2010). Since the coming to power of NRM government to power in 1986, four agricultural extension approaches have been put in place to solve the issue of food security namely: The Project Approach, The Unified Extension Approach, National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS) and the New NAADS model; Operation Wealth Creation in 2014. None of these approaches addresses explicitly the issue of women's secure land rights and its importance in sustaining rural household food security in Uganda, in addition to other legal and policy reform efforts to redress gender based inequalities in land access and ownership.

Uganda is predominantly a patriarchal society and the ownership of land is dominated by men, who dominate the majority of decisions related to land use and management, and the security of women's land tenure is tenuous (MISR, 2010 & Women Land Link Africa (WLLA), 2010). A number of laws exist that provide for women secure land rights that include; The 1995 Constitution, The Land Act 1998 and subsequent 2001, 2004 and 2010 Amendments & The land policy 2013 (Kasirye, 2005; Burke and Kobusingye 2014). Despite the successes and the acceptance of integration of these into policy and law, the practice has not changed. Customary law and the statutory laws are parallel being implemented and

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women are still discriminated against in relation to land access, ownership and control; thus the need to strengthen women secure land rights especially in the rural areas where they are major providers of food to enhance sustainable rural household food security in Uganda and Isingiro District in particular . The establishment of Ruhiira Millennium Project in the district never changed the situation and none of such studies has ever been conducted in this Isingiro District

Goal and Specific objectives Goal of the study

The goal of the study was to explore how women's secure land rights could be strengthened to enhance sustainable rural household food security in Uganda

Specific objectives

- 1. To find out if women exercise secure access to land in Isingiro District
- 2. To find out who controls gardens, produce and what to sell in a homestead in Isingiro District
- 3. Examine the relationship between women's secure land rights and food security in Isingiro District
- 4. Establish the barriers to women exercising their secure land rights in Isingiro District

Review of Related Literature History of land rights in Uganda

Uganda has experienced a number of land tenure systems since the time of kingdoms and chiefdoms, protectorate time up to the present day. Each continuum providing different sets of land tenure, rights, security and responsibilities. Land reforms are of two types namely; the redistributive reform and the land tenure reform. Redistributive reform refers to a type of land restructuring that involve transfer of land from one group of people to other people or groups. This changes land distribution, access, ownership and rights.

On the other hand, land tenure reform refers to changes in rights, access, ownership and obligations to land by holder. It involves modifications in the terms and conditions on which land is held, used, and transferred; a situation that has been happening in Uganda. Prior to Uganda becoming a British protectorate in 1894, land was owned communally depending on the level political governance of the community. Three land tenure systems existed clan, tribal and nomadic. Access to and land usage depended on customs, norms and the level of political development of each segment. (Wabineno-Oryema, 2014; Mugambwa, 2000; Asiimwe, 2001 and Mabike, 2016). Thus, land was held "in allodium"; this means that the ownership of land was independent of any body. There was no land lord (s) or those who owned land as a private property. There was no exclusion and marginalization in ownership to access and use of land. Land was held and managed under customary law and not subjected to any restriction, rights or obligations by anybody accept those of customary law.

People were guaranteed access to land through membership to kinship (Bruce, 1988). Land rights were governed through unwritten customary rules, regulations and norms which were orally passed on from generation to generation. All people in the respective locality had the right to ownership, access and use of land according the customary system and could be inherited from generation to generation or by birth right (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2003). Thus, land belonged to the dead, the living and many unborn.

In the interlacustrine centralized kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro, land was later vested in the king as trustee of land in the kingdom. This was due to the fact that he was the head of the army with a major responsibility of not only defending his

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kingdom but also to conquer more land to expand the kingdom. In the acephalous regions of Kigezi and Acholi, land was owned under clanship customary system. While in the nomadic regions like Karamoja, all the people had grazing rights in the specific locality in accordance to customary rules and regulations.

Uganda become a British protectorate in 1894 and the protectorate was supposed to be self-sustaining for its of operational costs since protectorates were becoming a burden to the British tax payers (Batungi, 2008). Taxation was one source for a self-sustaining government. Self-sustaining protectorate government could not be achieved through small scale farming which was the main sources of taxation. This necessitated the establishment of commercial farming on large scale agricultural estates that could only be established by foreign investors. This required the introduction of a new forms of land tenure ownership hence the introduction of lease hold and free hold land tenure systems

In 1899 when Sir Harry Johnston arrived in Uganda, Buganda kingdom had a strong centralized semi-feudal government system and land tenure system had started to change with the Kabaka having power to grant land through *obutongole*, *obutaka and obwesengeze*; but still land belonged to the community (Mabikke, 2016). This was the reason as to why the British had to enter into an agreement with Buganda Kingdom in 1900 first in order to change the land tenure system to pave way to commercial farming. They knew that having Buganda kingdom giving in to its terms then the rest of the kingdoms of Ankole, Toro, Busoga and Bunyoro would easily follow as they were politically weaker than Buganda Kingdom; which became the case.

The British Administration under the Buganda Agreement of 1900, introduced four new forms of land tenure namely Leasehold, Freehold, Mailo Tenure and Crown land (Olanya, 2011). For the rest of Uganda, all land was declared crown land entrusted in the Queen of England where the British became holder of the radical title and proceeded to give limited number of freehold estates to individuals and corporations (Nkioki, 2006). Customary land tenure was recognized but within limits (Mugambwa, 2007). Under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1903, Ugandans had a right to occupy any land not granted in freehold or leasehold with prior license or consent in accordance with their customary law (Mabikke, 2016). Similar land tenure arrangement were done in the Kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro under various agreements namely Toro Agreement, 1901, Ankole Agreement of 1901 and the Bunyoro Agreement of 1933. By these agreements the Kingdoms committed themselves to British protection and became part of the Uganda Protectorate.

According to the 1998 Land Act, leasehold land tenure means the holding of land for a given period from a specific date of commencement, on such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon by the lessor (government) and lessee (land holder). Freehold land tenure means the holding of registered land in perpetuity subject to statutory and common law qualifications. While mailo land tenure is the holding of registered land in perpetuity but recognizing the rights and obligations of tenants.

Uganda got independence in 1962, and Crown land was renamed public land under the Public Land Act of 1962 (Mabikke, 2016 & Batungi 2008). In the Act, Ugandans had the right of occupancy in public land, but could be converted into leaseholds and freeholds by the government since permission from the customary owners was not a requirement. The act also recognized private mailo owners as owners in perpetuity but respecting the user rights of tenants. This Act was reapplied due to massive conversion of public land to leasehold which left customary occupiers landless and the Public Land Act of 1969 was enacted (Wabineno-Oryema, 2014). This Act stopped granting of freehold and leasehold on any public land occupied by the customary tenants without any proof of their consent.

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In 1971, President Idi Amin Dada came to power and in 1975, he issued a Land Reform Decree No. 3 of 1975 (Olanya, 2011; Mabikke, 2016 & Wabineno-Oryema, 2014). This degree, vested all land in government, to be held in trust for the people of Uganda. The whole land in Uganda was declared public land and administered by Uganda Land Commission a situation that existed until promulgation of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda.

In 1995, a new constitution was promulgated; The 1995 Constitution of Uganda by National Resistance Movement (NRM) government under President Yoweri Museveni. It abolished the Land Reform Decree of 1975 and restored mailo, freehold and leasehold tenure that existed before 1975. Customary tenure system was also recognized and the Uganda land commission was re-established. The constitution stipulates that land belongs to the citizens of Uganda and that they could hold it in any of the four land tenure systems (Olanya, 2011; Mabikke, 2016 & Wabineno-Oryema, 2014). In addition, in July 1998, The Land Act 1998 come into force as was required by the constitution and reaffirms that land belongs to the people and the four land tenure systems. Other changes included setting up a new system of land administration consisting of Land Boards in every district.

Most land in Uganda (95 per cent) is held under customary tenure (Government of Uganda, 2010) and is regulated by customary law. Women own only 7% of the land, leaving 93% with access to land only through a male relation, usually a father, husband or son (MGFSD, 2015). Though statutory law does not bar women from owning property, the reality within which they live effectively denies them this right. There are many socio cultural practices that discriminate against women, discouraging women from owning land, access and use.

The Land Act 1998, was supposed to address the historical gender imbalances in land ownership and bring a new era of women's rights. However, when the Land Act was passed the co-ownership clause was missing, despite having been discussed and approved of by members of parliament (Asiimwe 2001). Some sections of the act give women some rights; Section 40 requires the prior written consent of both spouses in transactions involving land on which the family ordinarily resides and from which they derive sustenance. Thus, a woman has no control over other plots of lands a man may have. The Act requires land management bodies have female representation. The Uganda Land Commission must include at least one female among its five members, one-third of the membership of the District Land Boards must be female, and land committees at the parish level must have at least one female among their four members. The women on these boards have not changed the situation; either they are easily manipulated by male counterparts or they held down by the culture of being subjective to the demands of men.

One can conclude that the current land tenure system in Uganda has not transformed much from what existed in between 1900 to 1995. Different political regimes have been coming up with a continuum of land tenure and rights only to suits their political agenda and ambitions. The British during the colonial era, introduced land tenure systems that suited their political interests of promoting commercial farming. President Idi Amin gave himself power to control land but never cancelled or withdrew the land titles. The National Resistance Movement under Museveni reinstated; mailo, lease and freehold tenure systems and legalized customary tenure. All the reforms since 1900, had a political bearing and relied less on legal frame work put in place, the legal perspectives were and still are considered after the political agenda has been satisfied. The customs, cultures on land acquisition and management have not changed and women are still marginalized.

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The relationship between women's secure land rights and food security

Studies have shown that there is a positive correlation between land rights and food security (see for example, (Crowley, 2019; Hanstad & Nielsen, 2009; Mayra & Hein, 2012). The relationship is even more evident when women access land rights. According to Allendorf (2007), in his study in Nepal, Doss (2017) in southern Nigeria, Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger, southern Nigeria and Uganda and Kassie (2015) in Malawi, women are more likely than men to make decisions that improve food and nutrition needs; securing women's land rights is thus repeatedly explained as means to enhance food security in rural communities. Security of tenure by women increase likelihood that those women will invest much time and resources in the land they have for production of crops for food and adopt environmental friendly sustainable farming practices which would enhance food production and security. A study in Rwanda by Mukahigiro (2015) found that women with secure rights to land were 19 percent more likely to invest in soil conservation efforts.

In Brazil, women's secure land rights are associated with women's increased ability to participate in household-decision making (Mardon, 2005). Women with secure rights to land have greater influence over decisions regarding what types of crops to grow on that land (Landesa, 2012). Men tend to plant crops with a high market value, whereas women tend to plant crops that can supplement a family's diet. In Ghana, Doss, (2006), argues that when women own a larger share of the household's farm land, families allocate a larger proportion of their land to food production and food security. Ownership of land and rights to make decision on land improves the family nutritional standards (Jacobs, 2009). Women secure land rights provide incentives to invest in improvements to land, increasing opportunities to access financial services and government programs and remove the fear among women of losing it. In Uganda women land rights are not secured as provided for in the land laws enacted and put into policy regimes; yet they are the main food cultivators who need to make decisions on land usage and management at rural household level in order to produce more food. Strengthening their land rights is one way that is seen to improve food production by undercutting customary land laws especially through sensitization owing to the nature and sensitivity of land ownership in patriarchal society.

A study by Miggiano et al (2010) in five Asian countries found that among four levels of food security, the food secure group had the largest percentage of land owner cultivators at 70% (Keyman, 2017). In China, the number of undernourished people fell from 387 million in 1969-1971 to 150 million in the mid-2000s, a reduction that had its roots in key agricultural reforms related to improve land rights (Skoet & Stamoulis, 2006). According to Landesa (2012) secure rights to "micro plots" of land (plots as small as one-tenth of an acre) provide enough space for house gardens, keeping poultry and livestock that can protect against household food insecurity by enabling production of majority of fruits and vegetables. Small plots held by urban residents in the former Soviet Union played a major role in ensuring household food security [Household food security is year-round access to an adequate supply of nutritious and safe food to meet the nutritional needs of all household members (men and women, boys and girls] in both the Soviet and post-Soviet era, with small plots comprising about 2% of agricultural land. There secure rights to land are a critical, but often overlooked, factor in achieving household food security. In the next section, we discuss women's land rights and food security in Isingiro district.

Women's Land Rights and food Security in Uganda; Views from Isingiro District

Land rights are a variety of legitimate claims to land and the benefits and products produced on that land. They are claims that are legally and socially recognized and enforceable by an

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external legitimized authorized, be it a village level institution or some higher level judicial or executive body of the state (Schlager & Ostrom 1992 & Agarwal, 1994 & 2003). Secure rights to land for women are widely regarded as fundamental to ensuring effective and sustainable human development. (World Bank 2001; Aus AID 2000; UN 2014; Mayra & Hien 2012 and FAO 2016). Rights to land include the right to own, use, access, control, transfer, exclude, inherit and otherwise make decisions about land and related resources. Secure rights to land are rights that are clearly defined, long-term, enforceable, appropriately transferable, and legally and socially legitimate. For women, exercising these rights should not require consultation or approval beyond that required of men (Mayra and Hein 2012). In most Sub Saharan countries; Uganda inclusive, this is not the case. Uganda being predominantly a patriarchal society and the ownership of land is dominated by men, who decide on the majority of decisions related to land use and management, the security of women's land tenure is tenuous that require strengthening the gist of this study so as to enhance sustainable food security at rural household level since they are the main producers of food.

Since the coming to power of NRM government to power in 1986, a number of agricultural reforms have taken place to solve the issue of food security. They include the four extension reform programs; The Project Approach, The Unified Extension Approach, National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS) and the New NAADS model; Operation Wealth Creation in 2014. These reforms are in addition to the deliberate legal and policy reform efforts to redress gender based inequalities in land access and ownership (see chapter 5 Uganda Constitution and Land act 1998 as amended 2004)(Republic of Uganda, 1995; "The Uganda Land (Amendment) Act, 2004," 2004).

Despite the strong contribution of women to food production, none of the mentioned reforms have addressed the issue of women's secure land rights and its importance in sustaining rural household food security in Uganda. There are no laws explicitly prohibiting women from owning land since the Constitution of Uganda provides equality of access to land by both men and women, but customary inheritance laws make it difficult for Uganda women to own land. The implementation and enforcement of such laws and policies remain a big challenge. Women's rights to land under customary law is grounded in the tradition that women are dependent on men and their sons to own land and cannot own land in their own right under customary tenure (Burke & Kobusingye, 2014). This is not aligned with all the laws and policies regarding land administration and management in Uganda, but it is the practice and government has not labored much to address it through sensitization an indicator that customary law and the statutory laws are parallel being implemented.

In terms of land use, women's use of land is restricted to temporary cultivation rights allocated to her by the husband and in exchange, she provides food and other goods for the household. She is not able to pass the land to her heirs and is not entrusted with the land if her husband dies. Instead, the land is automatically granted to her husband's family or any male children the couple may have produced. It should therefore be noted that despite the government's deliberate efforts to redress gender based inequalities in land access and ownership there is a challenge of women exercising secure land rights especially in the rural areas such as Isingiro District where we focused this study. The establishment Ruhiira Millennium Project in Kabuyanda and Nyakitunda Sub Counties in the district whose one of Millennium Development Goals; Number Three; was to promote gender equality and empower women, never changed the situation.

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Uganda is predominantly a patriarchal society and the ownership of land is dominated by men, who dominate the majority of decisions related to land use and management, and the security of women's land tenure is tenuous (Makerere Institute for Social Research (MISR), 2010)(MISR, 2010). It is believed that if a woman claims a right to land, the claim can result in household conflict and loss of support from extended family, social and economic costs that women may be unwilling or unable to bear. Thus, where women depend on a patriarchal family structure for basic family welfare, they might give up on their rights in order to maintain social and household harmony. Indeed our findings concur with other studies that have concluded that the problem of Uganda and other East African countries is not the issue of use but of control and ownership, (Budlender & Alma, 2011; Makerere Institute for Social Research (MISR), 2010).

Methodology

The study was conducted in Isingiro District which is one of the rural districts in South Western Uganda. The district has a population of about 396,700 people and 98% of the population depend on agriculture specifically crop cultivation for livelihoods and more than 90% percent of the food produced is by women who lack secure land rights (Isingiro District Production Office, 2014 and ACCORD, Uganda 2013). The study was carried out in three sub counties of Masha, Kabingo and Kabuyanda that were purposively selected. Kabingo Sub County is predominantly dominated by crop farmers and it is surrounded by seven other sub counties that are predominately dominated by crop farmers while Masha Sub County is mainly dominated by mixed farmers (Isingiro District Production Office 2017; OWC Report, Isingiro North 2017 & Isingiro District LGDP11 2015/2016 - 2019/2020). Kabuyanda Sub County was the first sub county where Ruhiira Millennium Project was established. One of the Millennium Development Goals; number three was Promote gender equality and empower women. Local Leaders, Agricultural Extension Workers, Community Development Officers and Operation Wealth Creation Officers were involved in the study as key informants.

The study employed a case study research design adopting a mixed method approach where both qualitative and quantitative methods were used but priority was given to qualitative methods. The quantitative methods were only used in generation of simple descriptive statistics. The sample size where greater emphasis is placed on qualitative methods follows the concept of saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Most qualitative research scholars agree that the point of saturation is usually reached towards 30 interviews and 15 interviews is the smallest acceptable sample (Mason 2010; Guest et al 2006; Ritchie et al 2003 and Teeter et al 2016).

The case study strategy was chosen because it allows an in-depth analysis of the phenomena and use of various methods for data collection and analysis to be combined thus ensuring the principle of triangulation. Data was collected using majorly qualitative methods and the tools used included interview guides, FGD guide, observation checklist, questionnaire and analysis of the documents from district, ministries and organizations.

Simple random, systematic and purposive sampling methods were used in selecting the respondents to participate in the study. Using Taro Yamane formula for sample selection (Yamane 1973). I was able to get the number of parishes per Sub County to consider in the study. Masha has 6 parishes, Kabingo 6 and Kabuyanda 7 Parishes (Isingiro District LGDP11 2015/2016 - 2019/2020). Through the use of the above formula, I sampled 5 parishes in Masha and Kabingo and 6 parishes in Kabuyanda.

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Systematic sampling / systematic random sampling was used to get the households to be considered in the study. This is the sampling method in which the Kth element of the sampling frame is selected; which gives a sampling interval. A sampling frame was constructed using each parish register and the number of households in the parish would be divided by 30 to get the size of each interval in order to get the household to consider in the study after randomly selecting the first one. This sampling technique uses the random number only once on the sampling frame to find a starting point (first respondent) (Amin, 2005).

Thirty households were selected from the 3 sub counties which gave a total of 89 households (respondents). This method was preferred because it was non-biased since all households had an equal opportunity of being selected. Moreover all the farmers in Isingiro District have similar experiences and any of the household selected to participate would be in position to give views on the relation between women land rights and food production. Purposive sampling was used to select local leaders, community development officers, agricultural extension workers and operation wealth creation officers. Purposive sampling was further used to get participants in FGDs. These were respondents that were earmarked during the interviews for being more knowledgeable with food security strategies and women land rights

Study Findings

Women exercising secure access to land in Isingiro District

One of the objectives of the study was to establish if women exercise secure access to land The respondents were asked and their views and narratives are presented below;

Table 1; showing respondents views regarding if women exercise secure access to land

Women excise secure access to land	*Frequency	%
Women exercise secure ownership of land	31	30.4
Women exercise secure access to land for cultivation	46	45.1
Women control gardens, produce and what to sell	43	42.2
Women secure land rights enhance house hold sustainable food	68	66.7
security		

Source: Field data 2017 *Multiple Responses

From the above findings, it can be deduced that less than 50% of respondents indicated women have secure land rights indicated by ownership and disposal (30.4%), access (45.1%), control and decision on farm produce (42.2%). Of interest we probed for ownership and disposal rights since literature indicate that most women have user, access rights but limited disposal rights (Jacobs, 2009). Respondents argued that the constitution give women land rights like men and that when a man wants to sell land, he has to consult a woman and if he sells without her consent, the sell would be nullified. However some women said that if a man wants to sell land and you refuse, it leads to domestic violence.

One female respondent (Respondent F1) in Masha Sub County had this to say:

My husband wanted to sell land and I refused and he had to beat me for almost a week until when I reported him to Nyarubungo police station and he was arrested

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and imprisoned. When he came back, he parked his belongings and left, he came back after one year; and he is here, I don't know what he is planning.

One male respondent (Respondent M1) in Kabingo Sub County during the FGD had this to say:

Some men, sell part of the land when women are not aware and they take the agreement to the woman to sign. If she refuses, she is threatened and ends up signing to have harmony at home

The above findings indicate that women's land rights are not secured. As already indicated Uganda's constitution provides for equal land rights but this provision does not guarantee security of tenure. The customs and tradition as indicated by the above findings indicate that override the legal provisions. It should be noted that customs, values and traditional pose enormous challenges to women to gain secure land rights. As earlier noted many countries have granted equal rights to men and women "but where laws for marriage, divorce and inheritance contradict these laws by discriminating against women and daughters" (SIDA, 2015a).

We found out that majority of women especially widows have limited land rights. A male respondent (Respondent M2) observed:

Many women have limited control of land but windows suffer the most. Widows don't have total control over land, the brother in laws have control over that land to ensure that a woman does not sale it and children become land less. It is our cultural obligation as in laws to protect land for the sons and daughters of our late brother. If you leave it; some women become reckless when a man dies and want to sell and go away thus brother in laws have to protect the land.

Rights to Use

This aspect of land rights centered on the right to use land by women and 46 out of 102 (45.1%) respondents, revealed that women were deciding where to cultivate and what to grow. The respondents argued that when a man does not stay at home and works somewhere say in government or in urban centers, it is the woman who decides where to cultivate and what to grow especially seasonal crops. For planting of banana plantations, it was the man who decided. When a man was staying at home with his wife, it was the man who decided where to cultivate and what to grow in a particular place. Even in situations where a woman hired a piece of land to cultivate, sometimes the man dictated what to grow on the hired land.

One female respondent (Respondent F2) had this to say:

It is me who decides where to grow beans, maize, sweet potatoes and cassava; this a woman's work not for a man. A man should grow crops that generate household income.

Another female respondent (Respondent F3) narrated:

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I don't normally allow my gardens to fallow, I keep rotating crops in it. If I leave it to fallow for some time the man may think that I no longer need it and he uses it for other purposes like planting pineapples or bananas, so I have to continuously cultivate my gardens. This however has affected yields, as the land is overused leading poor harvests

From the above findings it is noticed that in most cases women decided on land use but as indicated in the last respondents' views, men condition continuous use as they can withdraw the use rights any time land is seen to be vacant or fallow. Our finding is in agreement with Goldstein &Udry (2002) whose findings are that in Ghana women with less secure tenure are less likely to leave land to fallow to restore soil fertility. Similar results in Uganda showing that because women lack secure rights to the land, they do not allow it to lie fallow when necessary since not using the land would affect their ability to gain future access (Budlender & Alma, 2011; Makerere Institute for Social Research (MISR), 2010; Women's Land Link Africa (WLLA), 2010).

The control gardens, produce and what to sell

Our second objective aimed at finding who controls gardens, produce and what to sell in homesteads in Isingiro Distict. The findings showed that few women were in control of gardens, the produce and what to sell as indicated by 43 out of 102 (42.2%) respondents. Whereas all the respondents agreed that women were more involved in cultivation than men, very few were in control of the gardens, the produce and what to sell. The control varied depending on whether the man was staying at home or not like working in government or far from home. In such a situation where a man was not staying at home, the woman had partial control. In case of selling some produce, she was obliged to declare to the man how much she got, what she has used and the balance.

A male respondent (Respondent M3) had this to say:

There are women who are trust worthy and hardworking and their husbands give them some freedom to be in control of gardens, produce, matooke and what to sell. But also, she has to tell the man when he comes what she sold and to declare the money, though in most cases not all and they both decide how to spend the money or the man decides.

We found that in some cases men sell gardens before crops mature. A female respondent (Respondent F4) had this to say:

There are men who sell gardens of maize, beans, cassava and sweet potatoes to traders and the family is left with nothing to eat! And it is the trader who gives the family what to eat when he comes to harvest.

Despite rural women multi-dimensional efforts at various levels in food production in a home and their fundamental contribution to food accessibility, most women have limited control over gardens, the produce and what to sell due to widespread patriarchy. Therefore, there is a need to put in place measures to enable women to have a decision as regards their gardens, the produce, what to sell and the proceeds from such a transaction if sustainable food production is to be enhanced in Uganda and Isingiro District in particular.

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Perceptions about the relationship between women secure land rights and food security in Isingiro District

In spite of the general argument in literature, that women's secure land rights is positively related to food security at rural household level, we investigated how people of Isingiro district perceive this relationship.

The following analysis were done using descriptive statistics mainly mean and standard deviation to show how strongly, participants agreed with the statement put to them. The mean above 3 indicate that participants agreed with the statement put to them and vice versa. The standard deviation close to one indicate that participants agreed with the statement put to them whereas the standard deviation close to zero indicate that participants disagreed with the statement put to them.

These results were based on the Likert scale options shown below that was presented to the respondents showing 1. Strongly disagree, 2. Disagree, 3. Neutral, 4. Agree & 5. Strongly disagree.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics on women secure land rights

Items	N	Mean	Std.
Women own land	102	1.56	.190
A man cannot sell land without informing his wife	102	1.53	.071
The decision on where to cultivate is made by women	102	2.01	.150
Women decide what to grow at a particular area	102	2.14	.245
Women control gardens	102	1.98	.101
A man cannot sell a garden without consulting a wife	102	2.27	.227
Women control the produce/harvests	102	1.74	.086
Women determine what to sell	102	2.13	.155
Women secure land rights enhance food availability in a home	102	3.91	.725
Women secure land rights enhance food utilization in a home	102	4.32	.845
Women secure land rights enhance food stability in a home	102	4.21	.749
Women secure land rights are important for food security in general	102	4.21	.848

Source: Field data 2017

Table 6.3.1, above shows that majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement put to them that 'women own land' (Mean= 1.56, Std. = 0.190). The analysis further shows that majority of the respondents disagreed that 'A man cannot sell land without informing his wife' (Mean=1.53; Std. = 0.071). Also, majority disagreed that "the decision on where to cultivate is made by women" (Mean= 2.01; Std. =0.150). In addition, a significance number of participants disagreed that 'Women decide what to grow at a particular area' (Mean=2.14; Std. =0.245). With regard to women control of gardens, majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement that 'Women control garden' (Mean=1.98; Std. = 0.101). On whether 'A man cannot sell a garden without consulting a wife' majority also disagreed with this view (Mean=1.53; Std. = 0.071). In addition, a significant number of the participants disagreed that "Women control the produce/harvests' (Mean= 2.01; Std. = 0.150). The study findings further show that majority of the participants disagreed that

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'Women determine what to sell' (Mean=2.13; Std. = 0.155). The observation further show that majority of the respondents agreed that 'Women secure land rights enhance food availability in a home' (Mean=3.91; Std. = 0.725). Also, majority agreed that 'Women secure land rights enhance food utilization in a home' (Mean= 4.32; Std. =0.845). In addition, a significant number 'Women secure land rights enhance food stability in a home' (Mean= 4.21; Std. =0.749). Finally, results show that 'Women secure land rights are important for food security in general' (Mean= 4.21; Std. = 0.848).

The above results indicate that women land rights have influences food availability, stability and utilization. However, the same results indicate that women have no land rights in terms of ownership, decision-making and control of crops grown.

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Table 3: Descriptive Statistics on Food Security

Items	N	Mean	Std.
We grow enough food crops for home consumption	102	2.47	.198
We have sufficient dietary diversity / balanced deity	102	1.82	.054
We take adequate meals a day	102	1.77	.079
We take 3 meals a day	102	1.93	.154
We take 2 meals a day	102	2.23	.319
We take 1 meals a day	102	4.32	.655
Our consumption behavour is normal	102	1.70	.162
We buy food very often	102	4.09	.924
Our children are healthy	102	2.66	.189
We get food from relatives/ friends	102	3.02	.577
We are able to buy enough food	102	2.26	.144
We eat what we prefer	102	2.33	.133
I work to obtain food for my family from the neighborhood	102	3.10	.503
We normally worry that food would run out or fail to raise money	102	3.80	.635
to buy food	102	3.60	.033
There are some instances adults skip meals	102	3.95	.677
There are some instances adults don't eat in the entire day	102	4.09	.924
There is when food is reserved for children only	102	3.69	.783

Source: Field data 2017

Table 6.3.2 indicate that majority of the respondents disagreed that 'We grow enough food crops for home consumption' (Mean=2.47; Std. = 0.198). In addition, majority of the respondents disagreed that 'We have sufficient dietary diversity / balanced deity' (Mean=1.82; Std. = 0.079). Also, a significant number of participant disagreed that 'We take adequate meals a day' (Mean=1.77; Std. = 0.079). The participants further disagreed with the statement put to them that 'We take 3 meals a day' (Mean=1.93; Std. = 0.154). It was also found out that majority disagreed that 'We take 2 meals a day' (Mean=2.23; Std. = 0.319). In addition, majority agreed that 'We take 1 meals a day' (Mean=4.32; Std. = .655). Regarding consumption, majority of the participants disagreed with the statement that 'Our consumption behavour is normal' (Mean=1.70; Std. = 0.162). Also, a significant number agreed that 'We buy food very often' (Mean=4.09; Std. = 0.924).

Furthermore, majority of the respondents disagreed that 'Our children are healthy' (Mean=2.66; Std.=0.189). Results also show that majority of the respondents agreed that 'We get food from relatives/ friends' (Mean=3.02; Std.= 0.577). They also disagreed that 'We are able to buy enough food' (Mean=2.26; Std.= 0.144). On eating what they prefer, majority disagreed with the statement that 'We eat what we prefer' (Mean=2.33; Std.= 0.133). A significant number agreed that 'I work to obtain food for my family from the neighborhood' (Mean=310, Std.=0.503). In addition, majority agreed that 'We normally worry that food would run out or fail to raise money to buy food' (Mean=3.80; Std.= 0.635). Results further show that majority agreed that 'There are some instances adults skip meals' (Mean= 3.95; Std.= 0.677). Also, a significant number of the participants agreed that 'There are some instances adults don't eat in the entire day' (Mean= 4.09; Std.= 0.924). Finally, majority of the respondents agreed that 'There is when food is reserved for children only' (Mean= 3.69;

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Std.=0.783). Results indicate that majority of the families in Isingiro district are food insecure.

Association between women land rights and food security

	8	· ·	
Correlations			
		Women Land Food Securit	ty
		Rights	
Women Land Rights	Pearson Correlation	1	.689**
_	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	102	102
Food Security	Pearson Correlation	.689**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	102	102
**. Correlation is signi	ficant at the 0.01 level (2	-tailed).	

Results indicate that there is a strong positive significance between women land rights and food security ($r=0.689^{**}$, $p\le0.001$). This observation shows that women land rights influences food security at household level in Isingiro district, an indication that an improvement in women land rights predicts an improvement in food security at household level. These findings confirm that any positive change in women land rights leads to positive change in food security at household level by 68.9% in Isingiro district.

The above findings are further supplemented by data from FGD. A male respondent (Respondent M4) during a FGD in Kabingo Sub County had this to say;

When women are given secure land rights, they gain confidence that the land is theirs and what they produce. They are motivated to produce more food for the home consumption, storage and even some sell.

However, there are some respondents whose perception was that women having secure land rights does not enhance sustainable food security. A male respondent (Respondent M5) who was not in agreement during a FGD in Masha Sub County had this to say;

Women having rights over land does not mean having enough food in a home all the time. We have widows around.....are their homes better off as regards food production than when their husbands were a live? In fact, they are worse off, yet land is there. Why are they not better off when they have land where to cultivate and there is no man interfering?

This finding is corroborated by a female respondent (Respondent F5) in a FGD Kabuyanda Sub County who said thus;

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A man is a head of a home, without him a home cannot function properly. It is rare for widow's home to produce more food than a home where there is a man

The above findings are collaborated with Deere, et al (2013) who in their study on property rights and the gender distribution of wealth in Ecuador and Ghana found that women secure land rights do not necessary translate into increased food production. Despite the diverging views on the relationship between secure land rights and sustainable food production, and in consideration of the multiple benefits that come with women's access to land rights (Jacobs, 2009), we contend that women's secure land rights are important for sustainable food security in Uganda and particularly in Isingiro district. Securing land rights is a first step towards increasing food production although it may not be the ultimate solution in itself (Tanner, 2013). Secure land rights need to be taken as a component of a package of investments in agriculture and sustainable food production in particular. Sustainable food security should always be looked at holistically, taking into account land governance as a crucial component, with proper attention to different aspects. Secure land rights for women should be considered as part of this package. Secure land rights for women are a building block for sustainable agricultural productivity, social and economic empowerment since they will have an incentive to increase production and productivity. We do believe however that for women's land rights to be secured, there is need to promote a culture of talking and communication in a home. Moreover we have shown that one of the barriers to land rights is not lack of laws and institutions to protect women from unfair discrimination against land access but enforcement and cultural norms.

Barriers to women exercising their secure land rights in Isingiro District

We have already highlighted the importance of women's contribution to agricultural production and sustainable food production. Despite women's key roles in agriculture, household management, and food production, as well as the significant benefits that accrue when women have secure rights to land, women remain significantly less likely than men to own land, even in situations where they own land, they have limited control on its disposal. Moreover, the land they do own is usually smaller and of poorer quality, and their access to land is typically more tenuous. In this section we present barriers and challenges which women face to secure their land rights. Respondents were asked the barriers to women exercising secure land rights in Isingiro District and their responses are presented in the table below:

Table 3 Showing Barriers to Women Secure Land Rights in Isingiro District

Barrier	Response Rate *Frequency	Percentage
Culture and traditional norms	92	90.2
Limited knowledge of land rights	83	81.2
Limited government support	46	45.1

Source: Field data 2017 *Multiple Responses

According to the table above, 92 out 102 (90.2%) of respondents revealed culture and traditional norms as the barrier to women secure land rights. 83 out of 102 (81.2%) of respondents revealed limited knowledge of land rights while 46 out of 102 (45.1%) reported

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limited government support. Culture and other institutional challenges pose enormous hindrance to secure land rights for women. Institutional barriers to women's access to land rights include, formal legal systems (property rights, inheritance, land use and control), decision-making powers, community and household support systems, customs and religion, economy and education (access to credit, access to legal and enforcement rights. Owing to these institutional challenges, no matter the efforts to grant land rights such as is enshrined in the constitutions of many countries, land rights cannot be guaranteed or easily accessed (SIDA, 2015a). Jacobs (2009) details the tedious process women have to go through to get their land rights recognized even when they are granted by African countries' constitutions. Lessons from such narratives. Indeed Budlender & Alma, (2011) argue that positive changes in statutory law to protect women's rights may have limited effect due to the lack of enforcement and cultural and social norms that may limit women's willingness to exercise their rights under the law.

In Uganda, research shows that women's land rights are granted by the constitution and provided by the land act. The 1995 Constitution, National Land policy 2013 and The Land amendment Act 2004 as amended provide for women land rights. The 1995 Constitution for example, states,

Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men. Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities. Laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited (The Constitution 1995, (5)33) (Republic of Uganda, 1995).

And the land amendment act 2004 states thus

For the purposes of subsection (2), the spouse shall in every case have a right to use the family land and give or withhold his or her consent to any transaction referred to in section 39, which may affect his or her rights("The Uganda Land (Amendment) Act, 2004," 2004)

However, Women's Land Link Africa (WLLA)(2010) shows that cultural norms and customs have excluded women from obtaining land ownership in practice and that most women remain dependent upon the existence and goodwill of male relatives for access to land. Isingiro District is patriarchal society and men are obliged to pay dowry / bride wealth thus; culturally a woman and her belongings belongs to the man. Women believe in male dominance as the heads of the family and the owner of a home including land. A female respondent (Respondent F6) had this to say:

Culturally the man is the head of the family and land belong to him not to a woman. The LCs (Local councils) tell us that we have rights on land; but in essence, the land belongs to a man

There are other challenges related to institutions and culture such as gender stereotypes exhibited by law enforcers who adhere to discriminating norms (SIDA, 2015a). A study on the impact of statutory land policies and land reform in Uganda's Kapchorwa and Luwero Districts found that a majority of women did not have land registered in their names.

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In most cases, the few women who purchased land registered it in their husband's names, according to custom (Women's Land Link Africa (WLLA), 2010).

Gender relations have an impact on women access to land rights. Women in developing countries depend on men usually her husband or relatives for survival and a source of livelihood. Access to land thus is dependent on her relationship with a male who provide livelihood; if that relationship changes, her rights to land change. Where patriarchal marriage is the norm, women born into the group are expected to leave the group when they marry, so they are accorded lesser rights to land than their brothers and in practice do not inherit land from their fathers. Women who marry into the group are deemed outsiders, so they too have lesser land rights. A woman typically gains rights to use her husband's land by virtue of marriage to provide for their children, but if the marriage ends, so too does her rights to use land even if she has depended on it for years for her family's livelihood and wellbeing. A female respondent (Respondent F7) in Masha Sub County during the FGD observed:

Our rights on land are in government and not in homes. The man is the owner of the land and the head of the family.

A female respondent (Respondent F8) in Kabuyanda Sub County during the FGD had this to say:

Land belongs to a man, I do not see how a woman can claim that she has equal rights to the land with the man; when you found the man with his land.

These findings are in agreement with Hategekimana (2011) who found that in Rwanda even after the land reforms that granted rights to women, land rights are still limited to the extent that women felt that widows and divorced women had virtually no tenure or inheritance rights with which to ensure food security for themselves or their children; it is only through their male children, or male relatives from their husband's lineage, that women have land tenure rights. The dependence of women on the existence and goodwill of men for access to land undermines food security; need to be addressed if sustainable food is to be attained.

Lack of Knowledge about Land rights

Most women were found to be having little knowledge about their land rights as provided for in the laws governing land in the country such as the 1995 Constitution and the Land Act 1998 and the subsequent amendments 2001, 2004 and 2010). With regard to limited knowledge of land rights, a female respondent (Respondent F9) had this to say:

I don't know the laws governing land, what the man decides on land is what I follow in order to have harmony in a home.

According to one of the Community Developments Officers (CDO) (Respondent CDO1) commented:

Most people in this area are not aware of the laws governing land, culturally men think that women have no rights over land. The women also don't know their rights; what the majority know is that when a man wants to sell part of their land where they are staying, she has to sign. But in most cases men sell without informing the women and the agreement is brought to her later to sign; it is rare that women refuse to sign.

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The above findings are in agreement with Women's Land Link Africa (WLLA) (2010) study in Uganda that women have limited knowledge of their property rights under the legal system, and that gaps in the legal system prevent inheritance and co-ownership of property acquired in marriage. Other studies also found that women were less likely than men to be aware of or to participate in meetings regarding the community – based land registration process that strengthened tenure security (Quisumbing & Kumar, 2014).

Lack of knowledge about land rights is also linked to limited government support. The government has not labored enough to educate / sensitize people about their land rights as put in the laws governing land in the country. During the study, it was found that most the respondents did not know their rights and obligations. What most women knew was that if a man wants to sell land, she has to be consulted and convinced to sign; short of that the sale would be nullified. A CDO (Respondent CDO2) we interviewed had this to say;

In order for people to know their land rights, the government should put up a fund to sensitize the people especially women about land laws.

Uganda has elaborate laws about land and in all cases, women's land rights are guaranteed, yet as we have argued there is limited knowledge about the existence of these laws. Educating people about these laws especially the rural areas where the majority have limited knowledge about land rights is yet to be seen. From the discussion above it can be noted that barriers to women's access to land rights are multiple, interconnected and overlapping. This is in agreement is in line with Landesa (2012) who argue that barriers to women's secure land rights result from an overlapping web of legal, structural, socio-economic and cultural factors and which can be addressed by building the capacity and knowledge of both men and women as well as by developing approaches that influence policies and laws towards women secure land rights sustainably. This will enable women to have a meaningful voice and equitable representation in decision making process.

Solutions to the barriers faced by women towards secure land rights

As earlier discussed, food security can be ensured if land rights for women are secured. However, we have also discussed that secure land rights for women are limited by formal and institutional barriers. The above mentioned barriers of culture and traditional norms, limited knowledge of land rights and limited government support are intricately connected. The disparity in land control and ownership and the benefits from land rights are mainly premised on the cultural beliefs that women should access land through their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons, thus keeping women's rights to land in the private domain and dependent on a good relationship with her male relatives (Baltissen & Betsema, 2017). Thus, women's access to land in Uganda is primarily conditioned by marital regimes and inheritance regimes in the customary domains. Addressing the barriers therefore will be successful if strategies to deal with the traditional structures that imped access and secure women's land rights. In this section we discuss solutions to some of the barriers we have identified from our study. Respondents were asked to articulate the possible solutions to the barriers to women secure land rights. Responses are presented in the table below;

Table 5: Showing solutions to the barriers faced by women towards secure land rights

Solution	*Frequency	Percentage
Sensitization of women on their land rights	68	66.7

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Sensitization of both men and women on land laws	81	79.4
Land laws be translated in vernacular	24	23.5
Byelaws prohibiting men from selling food staffs and gardens	43	42.2
Women be allowed to control their gardens, produce and what	61	59.8
to sell		
Local councils to be sensitized on land laws and to stop siding	52	59.9
with men when handling land issues		
Women be allowed to decide where and what to grow	48	47.1

Source: Field data 2017 *Multiple Responses

According to the table above, 68 out 102 (66.7%) of respondents revealed sensitization of women on their land rights. 81 out of 102 (79.4%) of the respondents revealed sensitization of both men and women on land laws. 24 out of 102 (23.5%) mentioned that land laws be translated in vernacular. 43 out of 102 (42.2%) revealed the need for byelaws prohibiting men from selling food staffs and gardens. 61 out of 102 (59.8%) revealed that Women be allowed to control their gardens, produce and what to sell. 52 out of 102 (59.9%) revealed Local councils to be sensitized on land laws and to stop siding with men when handling land issues. 48 out of 102 (47.1%) Local councils to be sensitized on land laws and to stop siding with men when handling land issues. 48 out of 102 (47.1%) revealed Women be allowed to decide where and what to grow.

In regard to solutions revealed by respondents towards barriers to women secure land rights, it can be seen that sensitization of people about land rights stand out as a major solution. We have earlier presented, that there are a number of laws in Uganda such the 1995 Constitution, Land Act 1998 and land policy that provide for women secure land rights, but in essence they are hardly implemented and they are overshadowed and overlapped by traditional customs. We have also presented that women are not aware of their rights and the existence of the protection they have before the law. This may be partly due to women high illiteracy rates in Uganda A female respondent (Respondent F10) in a FGD in Kabingo had this to say;

We don't understand our land rights as women. Personally, what I know is that when a man wants to sell a piece land he has to consult me. The government should sensitize both women and men on our land rights. This will reduce land related conflicts in homes.

Similarly, a male respondent (Respondent M6) in Masha Sub County observed:

I know little in regard to land laws; what I know is that the man is the owner of land, but when he wants to sell he has to inform his wife. This is what majority of the people know; other laws we don't know. The government should plan and educate us on rights for men and women.

SIDA (2015a) argue that efforts to improve women's land rights need to focus on understanding customary norms and proposes and engagement with religious groups and traditional leadership to sensitize people against discriminatory traditional cultural practices. Though SIDA (2015a) suggest law enforcement, it would not be the best approach given the sensitivity of land in patriarchy setting like Uganda.

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A CDO (Respondent CDO3) had this to say in regard to dispensing land disputes;

The Local council executive members need to be sensitized about land laws and to always be neutral when handling land disputes because in most cases they side with men which disadvantage women the more in their effort to secure their land rights

Encourage gender -sensitive laws and regulations.

Increased appreciation of the role of women secure land rights towards agricultural and food security has led to a number of measures aimed at addressing the many challenges to women's secure land rights and strengthening the already existing ones. Cultural beliefs as well as a lack of clear legislation stifle women, not to own land hence affecting their agriculture production. Women cited that their harvest and expected yields (gardens) were taken away because the land belonged to their husbands. We have presented that Uganda has laws that are gender sensitive, what is lacking is enforcement and strengthening it. Enforcement can be strengthened by ownership of land. Our finding indicated that the Ugandan land law requires that a woman must witness/endorse the sale of land, but in most cases because men are perceived to be the owner of the land according to culture, women are consulted only for a signature when the land deal is already concluded. SIDA (2015a) proposes joint certificate as a way of strengthening women's land rights. In Guatemala and India, for instance, state-sponsored land programs require that land documents be in the name of both spouses or in the name of the female only (Deere & León, 2001). In India, ownership rights for women are encouraged by incentives offered at the state and local government levels, including a reduced stamp duty rate for land registered jointly or in the name of the woman only. In the Mozambique Constitution and land and family laws, women have equal rights to use and benefit from land, and women are joint owners of community title (Norfolk & Tanner, 2007). We argue that a joint title would not only give a woman the power to negotiate but would also send away land dealers. Ideally, joint ownership means that women have full rights to participate in all decisions made about the land (Norfolk & Tanner, 2007).

Formalize Customary Laws

In some countries, governments have recognized and strengthened customary laws in ways that emphasize the rights of women. Uganda acknowledges existence of the customary land holding but it does not guarantee women's rights and access to land. Customary land allocation is still guided by the patriarchy principle of men getting more than women. Efforts should be made to give women a voice not only by sensitizing them but also by allowing them to be part of the land committees. For instance, Tanzania's Village Land Act of 1999 grants customary rights of occupancy to families, and simultaneously protects "the right of every woman to acquire, hold, use, and deal with land, to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions...as the right any man" (Article 3(2), of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, constitution (Duncan, 2014). Spousal and family rights over property are protected because applications are required to be presented and signed by at least two family members, and village adjudication committees must record when two or more persons or groups of persons are co-occupiers and users of land. At least three of the seven village council members, and at least four of the six to nine adjudication committee members, must be women (Duncan, 2014).

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Conclusions

Women are the major actors in food production in Uganda and in Isingiro District, but encounter difficulties in decision making process in food production. Men continue to dominate the decision making as regards where to cultivate, what to grow, control of gardens, control of produce and what to sale which negatively impacts on food availability in homes. In Uganda, women secure land rights are provided for in all the land governance laws, but various barriers limit women's access to secure land rights. This affects not only food production but secure sustainable food access. Addressing land access barriers through sensitization and strengthening existing law should take place alongside addressing traditional structures such as customs and patriarchy. It is thus argued that "to increase the security of property rights, legal and institutional issues need to be tackled in tandem or evolve jointly, with reference to the broader social and economic environment within which land rights are embedded" (Deininger, 2003, 8). It is only when such approach which recognizes the environment in which land rights are discussed that will guarantee secure women's land rights. We have argued that barrier to land rights access are intricate and therefore addressing them requires multipronged approach if food security is to be enhanced. We thus conclude that women's rights in Isingiro District are not secure and need to be secured if food security is to be ensured and sustained.

Recommendations

There is need to secure women land rights to enhance in rural household food security in Uganda and Isingiro District in particular. An improvement in women land rights predicts an improvement in food security at rural household level since women account 9 out 10 food producing labourers; producing more than 90% of the food consumed in Uganda but with no secure land rights.

Strengthening women land rights will motivate them to invest much time and resources in food production, adapt environmentally friendly farming practices which will enhance sustainable food production at rural household level.

Educating people about land laws and policies especially in the rural areas where the majority have limited or no knowledge about land rights. Land governance ought to a component of agricultural extension services especially women land rights and its importance towards sustaining rural household food security. This is likely to improve food production by undercutting customary land laws which are barriers to women land rights

There is need to harmonize land laws and policies with customary laws since there are no laws and policies prohibiting women from owning land and exercising secure land rights. Uganda is predominantly a patriarchal society and cultural norms and traditions overshadow formal laws and policies which weaken women land rights

Registering the matrimonial land in the names of both the man and a woman (Join land titles) which out to be a state sponsored nationwide project. The joint ownership will give women full rights and be able to participate in decisions regarding ownership, access, control, disposal, where and when to cultivate and have a say on what has been produced.

Owing to the sensitivity of land ownership and patriarchal nature of Ugandan societies, Isingiro district in particular, it is recommended that secure land rights for women can be strengthened through active sensitization of both men and women on the value of women's land rights and its implication on sustainable rural household food security.

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